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Village Creek

AN ARCHITECTURAL AND HISTORICAL RESOURCES SURVEY

OF

THE VILLAGE CREEK PROJECT NEIGHBORHOODS,

CITY OF BIRMINGHAM

JEFFERSON COUNTY, ALABAMA

submitted to The U.S. Army Corps of Engineers, Mobile District

by

BIRMINGHAM HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Birmingham, Alabama



Carter L. Hudgins, Project Director



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Birmingham, Alabama

Marjorie L. White, Principal Investigator

Carter L. Hudgins, Project Director



COESAM (PD-EC-84/005 Contract Number DACW/01-84-C-0068

November 1984

ABSTRACT

A cultural resources survey conducted by the Birmingham Historical Society from April to June 1984 recorded 651 domestic dwellings and other structures in selected sections of the flood plain of Village Creek, a small tributary of the Black Warrior River that meanders through the City of This creek played an important role in supplying the "Magic Birminaham. City's" first industries and inhabitants with water, but it is no longer considered a primary resource. Demographic and economic patterns in study areas with the three communities of East Lake, East Birmingham, and Ensley, while tied to booms and lulls in Birmingham's industrial economy, evolved on different tracks. The architectural character and history of each community was accordingly distinctive and revealed a close relationship between class In addition, the shotgun house type exhibited an and housing type. unexpected persistence in the black neighborhoods of Ensley that were included in the survey. This traditional house form was still being constructed in the 1960s in a community with a strong tradition of working class home owners and remarkable continuity in residency patterns.

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PREFACE

This report is about Ensley, East Lake and East Birmingham, three communities in Birmingham, Alabama, through which Village Creek, a tributary of the Black Warrior River, flows. More precisely, it is about the houses that lie in Village Creek's flood plain and the working class men and women who have lived there during the slow transformation of the creek from asset to liability. Birmingham's earliest generations drew their drinking water from Village Creek for several decades after they established in 1871 what quickly became known as the "Magic City." Many of the city's furnaces and mills also drank from the creek and used its water to cool furnaces and hot iron, and early industrialists dreamed that water from the creek might be diverted into a canal that would transport the products of Birmingham's mills Once essential to Birmingham's industrial success, to far-away markets. Village Creek is today best known to the people who live along its banks as the source of seasonal affliction. Normally swift-flowing but amiable, Village Creek occasionally rages through the communities of East Lake, East Birmingham, and Ensley after winter and spring storms lash northern Alabama with heavy rain. Once and sometimes twice a year, some of the residents of these communities leave their homes as the creek, gorged on rain, creeps into their yards, rises still higher, and enters their houses.

Past efforts to control Village Creek's seasonal rampages by widening and deepening the channel have proved ineffective. Flooding persists, and the Mobile District of the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers has undertaken a project to determine a solution to the chronic flooding of the communities that line the creek. This report, commissioned by the Corps of Engineers as part of the Village Creek Flood Control Project, is a history of the project areas and is part of the Corps effort to manage the archaeological, cultural, and historical resources that exist there (see Figures 1, 2, and 3).

The report that follows is an initial historical investigation of the social, economic, and cultural development of the communities of East Lake, East Birmingham, and Ensley with particular reference to neighborhoods included in the Village Creek Flood Control Project. It is based on an architectural survey of more than 650 houses in the project area, oral interviews with long-time residents of the project neighborhoods, and research in local archives. Although we are not the first to study working class housing in Birmingham, this survey provided an unmatched opportunity to document a large sample of industrial housing and to analyze these houses and the social and economic factors that shaped them. What follows is, in some ways, a collective biography of working class houses in Birmingham.



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 East Lake, Birmingham, Alabama in 1978. U.S. Army Corps o Engineers Village Creek Flood Control Survey Area outlined in bold (U.S. Geological Survey Map, 1978).

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East Birmingham, Birmingham, Alabama in 1978. U.S. Army Corps of Engineers Village Creek Survey Area outlined in bold (U.S. Geological Survey Map, 1978).

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 Ensley, Birmingham, Alabama in 1978. U.S. Army Corps of Engineers Village Creek Survey Area outlined in bold (U.S. Geological Survey Map, 1978).

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Our report is divided into two sections. The first describes the historical relationship between the survey areas and the larger communities of which they are a part. Chapter I is a brief history of Village Creek and how its relationship to the communities through which it passes has changed during the last century. Chapter II summarizes the settlement and growth of Birmingham and discusses the relationship of Ensley, East Birmingham, and East Lake to the "Birmingham District". Used initially by geologists as a label for the geographic area in northern Alabama that encompassed remarkable mineral resources, the term "Birminaham District" was used to describe Birmingham, the central industrial city, and the web of railroads and highways that connected the constellation mining camps, industrial sites, and towns that resulted from the exploitation of coal and iron ore. Chapter III is a narrative of land use in the project areas that focuses on subdivision of large holdings along Village Creek for development as residential areas and analyzes the social, cultural, and ethnic traits of the individuals who purchased land and built houses there. Oral interviews with residents of the project neighborhoods corroborated the portrait elicited from archival sources, and so did an architectural analysis of the 651 structures extant in the survey areas in April and May of 1984. Chapter IV presents an architectural analysis of housing stock in the three communities.

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Chapters I through III are thus introductions to the second section of the report, a discussion of domestic architecture that appears in Chapter IV and the brief discussion of recommendations for further cultural resource studies that is presented in Chapter V. This information and the recommendations for further research presented in Chapter V will assist the Corps of Engineers during the remainder of its cultural resources study of Village Creek.

The history presented below of the communities of East Lake, East Birmingham, and Ensley is one in which buildings and yards are the primary objects of analysis. Much of what we currently know about the men and women who lived in these communities becomes more intelligible through an analysis of the houses they built and occupied. When iron and Birmingham boomed in the last two decades of the nineteenth century, the city's civic leaders called their city the "Magic City" and whole towns for factory laborers and mechanics appeared almost overnight. East Birmingham, for example, housed workers who labored at the Vanderbilt furnaces and at related fabricating and foundry operations. At Ensley, a community built adjacent to the great iron and steel mills of the Tennessee Coal, Iron, and Railroad Company, block after block of houses in the company's "Quarters" and other residential neighborhoods near the furnaces filled rapidly with workers and their families.

Many of these working men had, like their counterparts in East Birmingham and elsewhere in the mines and mills of the Birmingham District, migrated to Birmingham from farms and small towns in south

Alabama and central Georgia and the Tennessee River Valley. Land companies and contractors, allied to and dependent on the success and initiative of the factory-builders like Memphis planter and industrialist Enoch Ensley, built houses and then sold them to these laboring men. Initially, however, no land developer in Ensley or East Birmingham built houses in the flood plain of Village Creek. House builders in East Lake, which sponsors hoped would become a suburban community free from the smoke and noise of Birmingham's industrial core, also avoided the section of Village Creek that meandered through it.

Given the availability of building lots in higher, drier locations adjacent to Birmingham's early furnaces, land near Village Creek was spurned for nearly half a century. Deemed unsuitable for development, it was left as farm land or simply allowed to stand vacant. During the boom years around World War I and in the late 1920s, however, the pressures of urbanization made potential building sites in the low-lying areas along the creek in Ensley and East Birmingham more palatable. Similar pressures did not transform the land along the East Lake section of Village Creek from farm fields to building lots until after 1945, but when houses were built there by the dozens during the post-war building boom, it was apparent that in East Lake, as earlier in East Birmingham and Ensley, the risk of building near the creek had become acceptable.

The result of this individual building and buying was working class neighborhoods whose streets were lined with a diversity of house types seldom seen in surrounding communities where much of the industrial housing was company-constructed, cheap, and crowded. Each of these neighborhoods is unlike the other two. Two are black and one is white. They all, however, hold one trait in common. The workers who settled in East Birminaham and Ensley, and less visibly at East Lake, established neighborhoods in which the values and culture of a rural South, left behind for better lives in the industrial "Magic City," flourished for more than a half century. The older residents of East Birmingham and Ensley remember that it was not very long ago that many of their neighbors kept cows and goats and other small livestock. A few of them still sweep their yards and put their trash cans on scaffolds four and five feet off the ground. And some of them, born in Birmingham, talk about their home places in counties far to the south and north where growing cotton was the biggest industry. These men and women call some houses in their neighborhoods "big houses" even if they have only a few rooms. This report is about how individuals adapted to life in an industrial city, but it is also about the aspirations of Birmingham's working classes and how they were shaped by the rural culture from which they came.

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Our thanks go first to the Mobile District of the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers for the funding that made this architectural and cultural resources survey of East Lake, East Birmingham, and Ensley possible. Mr. Neil Robison of the Mobile District office cheerfully guided us through the project and has helped us bring order to our research findings. In Birmingham, we are indebted to Dr. Marvin Whiting, Director of the Department of Archives and Manuscripts of the Birmingham Public Library, and Jenny Scott, Yvonne Crumpler, Ann Knight, Marry Miller, and Charles May, the staff of the Tutwiler Collection of Southern History at the Birmingham Public Library, for their courteous, prompt responses to our many requests. At the Sterne Library of the University of Alabama in Birmingham Ms. Tinker Dunbar was always delightful and efficient while she acquired interlibrary loans for us.

Special thanks go to Joey Brackner and to his assistants, Judy Sproles and Claudia Cowser for efficiently completing the architectural survey of the Village Creek neighborhoods. Brackner's photographs and remarkable interviews with long-term residents of the project areas will remain valuable sources of historical information long after what we have to say has been forgotten. We inveigled architect Claudia Cowser to draw plans and elevations of a sample of houses in the survey areas and hope she knows that we appreciate her efforts. Julia Casey, Don Veasey, and Bitsy Williams conducted most of the archival research which is summarized below and are to be commended for their diligence and patience. Carolyn Stern performed double duties by conducting interviews with Italian residents of East Lake and managing the day-to-day administrative tasks required by the project.

Vernon James Knight, Senior Research Archaeologist at the University of Alabama's Office of Archaeological Research; Nancy N. Holmes, Preservation Consultant, Holmes & Holmes, Architects, Mobile, Alabama; Kirk A. Cordell of the National Park Service, Atlanta, Georgia; Eugene M. Wilson of the University of South Alabama in Mobile; and F. Lawrence Oaks, Alabama's State Historic Preservation Officer, reviewed drafts of the report and provided helpful suggestions for revision, as did architectural historian Alice Bowsher and labor historians Randy Lawrence and Bob Casey of Birmingham. Virginia Tent read the entire manuscript closely during final editing.

Finally, to Mrs. Louise Holz, who came to the project later than we did, we would like to say thanks for typing portions of the manuscript.

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Carter L. Hudgins Fredericksburg, Virginia Marjorie L. White Birmingham, Alabama

Mayone L. White Principal Investigator

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CHAPTER ONE: A BRIEF NATURAL HISTORY OF VILLAGE CREEK

No history of Birmingham, the New South's "Magic City," is complete without a discussion of the geologic circumstances that gave the city the raw materials of industrial success. Contiguous deposits of coal, iron ore, and limestone have traditionally commanded most historical attention (see White, 1981; Armes, 1910) but there was another resource, equally essential to the production of iron, without which there would have been no boom in Birmingham. That resource was water, and Birmingham and its early industries depended on Village Creek for their water supply. Village Creek today generally follows the same course it did when white settlers first entered Jones Valley. The creek, however, looks and behaves quite differently than it did a century ago. The brief natural history of Village entered Jones Valley. Creek that follows discusses what the creek was like a hundred years ago and what it has become. There is no better introduction to the communities that developed along the banks of Village Creek than a history of its role in Birmingham's agricultural beginnings and industrial growth.

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Village Creek is hidden now by several generations of urban and industrial buildings that line its banks and by the concrete culverts, channels, and bridges it passes under and through. More recent accretions like expressways and chain link fences also obscure it. Village Creek begins its 40-mile course through the center of urban Birmingham in eastern Jefferson County in the vicinity of Huffman. It flows throughout the year, fed, like most of the streams that lace Jones Valley, by run-off and by springs in the limestone formation that underlies much of Jefferson County. Like Turkey and Five Mile Creeks to its north and Valley Creek to its south. Village Creek is a tributary of the Black Warrior River (see Figure 4). Village Creek flows Its 40-mile course begins by flowing toward the generally westward. southwest through Jones Valley, continues through a gap in Flint Ridge, enters Oppossum Valley, and then travels toward the northwest to its junction with the Locust Fork of the Black Warrior River. The creek drains more than one hundred square miles of valleys and ridges in the center of Jefferson County (Szabo, et al, 1979; Federal Insurance Agency, 1980).

Village Creek still generally adheres to its ancient course, but it flows through a landscape markedly different from that found by the first white settlers who moved into Jones Valley. Families by the thousands left their homes in the seaboard states during the first years of the nineteenth century to clear farms in the territories that lay beyond the Appalachian Mountains. Some pioneers on their way west decided that the valleys at the end of the Appalachian chain seemed the right place to stop. The soil in



northern Alabama's valley bottoms was not as fertile as that of the famous Black Belt, but dozens of families settled in what became Jefferson County by the 1820s. The initial attraction of Jones Valley, a two-to-three-mile-wide valley between Red Mountain and the ridges and hills of the Cumberland Plateau, was the alluvial soil four major creeks had deposited along their meandering courses. One of those streams was Village Creek.

When John T. Milner, chief engineer for the construction of the state-financed South and North Railroad, rode along the ridge of Red Mountain to survey the route of his railroad through Jones Valley, he was struck by the "quiet beauty" of the small farms that lay in the valley below Jones Valley was "one vast garden as far as the eye could reach," and him. Village Creek was one of the "beautiful, clear running streams found gushing out everywhere" which watered a relatively prosperous, if isolated, farming community that cultivated wheat and small crops of corn and cotton for market. There was then no easy way to transport agricultural produce to markets outside the valley, but Milner remarked that the farmers living in Jones Valley were "easy-going, well farmed, well framed, and well regulated" (quoted in White, 1981, 19). One of these early planters was Williamson Hawkins from Tennessee. Hawkins purchased 2,000 acres on Village Creek and cleared a plantation that produced 100 bales of cotton a year by 1860 in addition to crops of corn, wheat, oats, rye, potatoes, and turnips (White, 1981, 20).

If water from Village Creek was indispensable to planters like Williamson Hawkins, it was no less valuable to men who dreamed about a different kind of wealth that might be coaxed from the ground in Jones Valley. Alabama's first generation of white settlers did not quickly recognize that the creeks and streams that watered their fields also cut through potentially valuable mineral deposits. Coal outcropped on Hawkins' land. He put this coal to no intensive use, but a few residents of Jefferson County began to exploit some of the mineral wealth that lay buried near their farms during the second quarter of the 19th century. In 1851 Michael Tuomey. Alabama's first state geologist, observed what he described as the "novel process" of "diving for coal" at the mouth of Village Creek. A coal seam exposed by the stream channel was then being worked by a small crew. Laborers working from an anchored flatboat loosened coal with wedges and mauls suspended from the work boat. Chunks of coal broken away from the seam were then retrieved by divers working in twos and threes or were hoisted to the surface by chain harnesses and a crane rigged to the flatboat. Tuomey called this "primitive" mining, but the divers he watched brought significant amounts of coal to the surface free of shale and at relatively low cost (Armes, 1910, 49).

Of course, not all the coal deposits buried near Village Creek were as easy to extract as those Tuomey visited. Jonathan Steel and James A. Mudd started to dig for coal in this same area soon after the geologist's visit. They hauled coal out of the ground by the more strenuous process of digging drifts and heading. But they, the men who did the digging, and other men who began

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to build industrial towns near the mines in the third quarter of the 19th century put Village Creek at the center of their plans. The 2,000-acre tract John T. Milner, railroad-builder turned city-builder, planned to acquire for an industrial city in Jones Valley was several miles to the east of the established farming settlement and county seat of Elyton and adjacent to Village Creek. Milner dreamed of a big city, and he chose this site because there were 53 springs and a creek in it to provide his city with an ample water supply. Milner quickly established two roads to the stream, located a channel in which Village Creek might be diverted still closer to his proposed town, and waited for success (Armes, 1910, 218-219).

Due to competition from a rival developer, however, Milner selected a second site for Birmingham. This site was not located on Village Creek. The notion persisted nevertheless that the new site, criss-crossed by rivers of underground water, was situated on the banks of Village Creek. Charles Linn, a Swedish sea captain turned banker and industrialist, established a park in 1874 in the heart of infant city's fledgling business district. Graded walks, rustic seats and benches, and two summer houses "where young couples would hide themselves and recite poetry" were planned as was a fountain that the local newspaper reported would soon be "throwing up Village Creek water by the ton" (Birmingham Iron Age, 18 June 1874; <u>Weekly Iron Age</u>, 27 August 1887).

There were two demands for water in early Birmingham. One was domestic, for drinking, cooking, and cleaning. The second, which demanded far more water than domestic users, was industrial. Enormous quantities of water are required at every stage of iron production. The Tennessee Coal, Iron, and Railroad Company estimated that it used 25,000 gallons of water for every ton of ore charged into one of its blast furnaces. By 1910, TCI was using 400 million gallons of water every day, more than 10 times that consumed by all of the residential customers of Birmingham (<u>The Jemison Magazine</u>, n.d., 34).

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Meeting the enormous demand for water was never easy. Unlike northern industrial centers, Birmingham was not located near a major river like the Monongahela, Schuylkill, or Merrimack, and it had to depend on the flows of the creeks that had first caught John Milner's eye. Milner's halfbrother Willis J. Milner moved to Birmingham, became secretary of the Elyton Land Company in 1871, and soon managed the new city's water supply. Maintaining a water supply sufficient to supply Birmingham's rapidly growing population and industries kept Milner "on the jump." Early reservoirs constructed to store water pumped from Village Creek were soon inadequate. As a string of furnaces went into blast in the early 1880s, Milner remarked that "Village Creek, by reason of the growing population, was fast becoming unfit for a source of water" (Johns, 1977, 22).

Water to meet the growing demand was eventually diverted from Five Mile Creek (1887) and from the Cahaba River (1891). But while tunnels and canals from these streams were under construction, Milner spent "many anxious moments" when gauges told him the old reservoir was nearly empty.

Even with all the pumps at the pumping station in full operation, there were times when only a few inches of water remained in the old reservoirs (Johns, 1977, 23). Milner's planning for an expanded water supply system and the timely completion of the Five Mile Creek and Cahaba River projects, however, averted disaster.

Birmingham's industrial neighbors faced similar water supply problems. And just as the Milner brothers saw Village Creek as the best source of water for their city, other developers tapped the stream for their projects (see Figure 5). The industrial town of Thomas was located on a 2,000-acre tract, formerly William Hawkins' plantation, four miles from Birmingham. Village Creek flowed through it. The creek supplied water to cool the furnaces at Thomas and filled a reservoir which held water to be used in time of drought. In 1887 the North Birmingham Land Company acquired 1,200 acres "favorably situated for manufacturies" on Village Creek. And when Enoch Ensley planned the furnaces and town that eventually bore his name, he bought land adjacent to Village Creek. Ensley positioned his furnaces close enough to the creek to draw water from it, but far enough away, he said, to leave room for construction of a steel mill. Ensley's calculations, however, were incorrect. The open space he left between the furnaces and Village Creek was soon filled with accumulations of waste and slag and left no room for expansion. The slag even began to impede the flow of the creek (Armes, 1910, 354, 411, 530; Du Bose, 1886, 263).

The construction of the furnaces at Ensley, North Birmingham, Thomas, and their Birmingham counterparts, the Sloss, Mary Pratt and Alice furnaces, created enormous demands on the modest flow of Village Creek. In 1896 John Milner and Julian Kendrick, Birmingham's city engineer, reported optimistically to Mayor J. A. Van Hoose that Village Creek contained "sufficient water . . . throughout the entire year" to fill a canal from Birmingham to the Black Warrior River (Jemison Papers, 1896, 48.1.1.2.23). By 1910, however, Village Creek failed to supply the furnaces at Ensley with a sufficient amount of water just as earlier it alone could not meet the demands of Birmingham's mills. Finding and maintaining an adequate supply of industrial water remained the "greatest drawback with which industry in the Birmingham District was faced" (Weibel, 1969, 15). The Tennessee Coal, Iron, and Railroad Company, which owned the mills at Ensley and thus became a major user of water, proposed a solution to the water problem. TCL constructed a dam at Bayview in the coal mining district northwest of their furnaces to empound water from Village Creek for use at the plants (See Figure 4). TCI's Bayview Dam was an enormous stone and concrete block structure that stood 407 feet high and 106 feet long when completed in 1911. The dam impounded 3.5 billion gallons of water in a lake that covered 530 acres. Pumps near the dam lifted water to a reservoir near Wylam from which it was fed to TCI's plants at Ensley and Fairfield. At Ensley, the water was used and then dumped, untreated, back into Village Creek. Water from the Bayview reservoir was also fed to the company's steel and finishing mills at Fairfield (The Jemison Magazine, n.d., 34; Steelmaking at Birmingham, 1924, 131; Weibel, 1969, 38-40).



At each of these early industrial sites—Birmingham, North Birmingham, East Birmingham, Thomas, and Ensley—industrialists and developers chose sites near Village Creek. The expansion of Birmingham's mills between 1880 and 1910 required additional quantities of coal, limestone and iron ore. New mills also required additional sources of water. Water from Village Creek was just as vital to these men and their mills as the raw materials from which they made iron and steel. Every day millions of gallons of water cooled their boilers. Village Creek had given Birmingham's earliest furnaces and mills the water they needed, but it was quickly apparent that the one stream alone could not supply all the water needed in the city's booming mills. Additional water came from Five Mile Creek and the Cahaba River, then sections of Village Creek were transformed into holding reservoirs. In the 1930s Inland Lake was constructed to increase Birmingham's industrial water supply, and Smith Lake, built by Alabama Power in the 1960s, was added to Birmingham's industrial water system. These changes meant that the creek was less a source of water than a conduit through which water from the creek's drainage area flowed past furnaces on the city's western edge toward holding basins that had become the sources of industrial water. After 1911, therefore, perceptions of the creek changed. And so did its character.

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On May 1, 1925, the Birmingham Park and Recreation Board announced a plan prepared by the firm of Olmsted Brothers of Brookline, Massachusetts, for a comprehensive system of urban parks and boulevards: The Olmsted Plan addressed a wide range of social problems that stemmed from Birmingham's industrial growth and proposed that Village Creek become a major part of an expanded park system (see Figure 6).

The need for an expanded system of urban parks was clear. Birmingham's population then exceeded 200,000, and city officials anticipated a growth rate of 33 percent per decade as the city's work force continued to expand. Year by year, the Park Board stressed, "Birmingham's population increases and suburban development spreads . . . over a larger area." The Park Board was too polite to say so, but they implied that forty years of industrial concentration in the Birmingham District had produced what some observers in Birmingham and other large American cities called "blighted" neighborhoods. America's first generation of social workers generally agreed that crowded living conditions in industrial cities encouraged a rise in crime and engendered a clear threat to the moral character of the nation.

In Birmingham living conditions also posed an economic threat. Executives and supervisors of TCI complained that a chronically high turnover in their work force was detrimental to the efficiency of the operation of their mills. TCI officials blamed their failure to recruit and retain an "adequate labor force" on the "unattractive and unhealthy conditions of surrounding communities." An official history of the company summarized the problem. Living conditions in neighborhoods near TCI mills were "such that good steel





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> Map of 1925 Oimsted Brothers proposal for a system of parks in Birmingham. The Village Creek flood plain was to be one vast park from East Lake to Ensley (Olmsted Brothers, 1925).





workers and miners were reluctant to bring their families into the area." Many men who accepted employment with the company quit after working for a short period and moved to more attractive surroundings (U. S. Steel, 1960, 41).

The Olmsted Plan was proposed as a partial remedy for this problem. Parks alone could not curb urban crowding or industrial pollution. but they could provide opportunities for family recreation and temporary release from the monotony of industrial life. A more extensive system of parks and "opportunities for exercise and fresh air" was needed, the Park Board suggested, for the "physical, mental, and moral development of the city. Parks, playgrounds, and open spaces paid multiple dividends. They trained bodies, improved moral standards, reduced crime, encouraged good citizenship, and strengthened families." In an address to the National Conference on City Planning in 1924, Frederick Law Olmsted, Jr., one of the authors of the Birmingham park report, emphasized that all large cities "spread city conditions more and more widely over hundreds of square miles of land and backs the unsophisticated open country off the map." Open park land, Olmstead argued, was "vital to the nervous health of the people and the maintenance of what makes life worth living in such a metropolis" (Olmsted, 1924, n.p.). The Olmsted Brothers' Report to the City of Birmingham repeated the arguments of this speech and argued that "playgrounds are not luxuries; they are absolute necessities" which complemented public school activities and provided places of rest and recreation for "nerve-strained, city-strained men and women" (Olmsted Brothers, 1925, 6-7, 10).

The Olmsted Report recommended that Birmingham provide "refreshment" for its citizens by expanding its existing parks and by acquiring and developing a system of large parks. The largest of these proposed recreational parks was the Village Creek Project, a plan that would transform the flood plain of the creek from East Lake to Ensley into an elongated park of meadowlands, bridal paths, foot paths, and automobile parkways (see Figure 7). Olmsted, perhaps unaware of the value Village Creek once had as a source of water for factories and homes or how the stream had appeared to the first settlers in Jones Valley, described the creek as a "storm-water drainage channel" that flooded easily. Village Creek's reputation for volatile flooding had apparently been recently earned, and Olmsted attributed it to the "encroachment of slag dumps and various constructions and industrial developments." Olmsted predicted, correctly, that flooding along Village Creek would grow worse and pose a greater threat to industrial plants located along it as pavement areas and storm run-off increased in the creek's drainage district. Building a park along Village Creek made good sense, Olmsted argued, not only because it would provide recreational opportunities for Birmingham, but also because it would permit an "open-channel" solution to the stream's increasing drainage problems. The Olmsted Report suggested that it was time to build such a park while market value of the land was relatively low and industrial and private developments in the flat meadows and tree-covered "flats" that then bordered the creek were sparse.



Once a source of industrial and domestic water, Village Creek, if developed according to the Olmsted Plan, might have become part of a solution to crime, immorality, and the stress of urban life. Birmingham, however, did not adopt the Olmsted Plan, ignored the Olmsted Brothers' warnings, and allowed the area to be privately developed in the late 1920s.

Village Creek did nevertheless provide recreation for the young men and women, boys, and girls who lived near it. While the city considered the Olmsted Park Plan, Lula P. Williams and her friends picked blackberries and hunted in the brambles and briars that filled the flood plain and fished along the Ensley stretches of the creek (Brackner, 1984a). One man who fished along the creek as a boy remembered that he "just caught small fish," but other men who took cane poles to the creek remembered catching "nice fish." Willie A. Riggins caught catfish and bream in the creek. He also caught turtles with a pole there until chemicals killed both the fish and the turtles. And John L. Thomas remembers catching gold fish which he and his friends called red snappers (Brackner, 1984d, e, f).

Many of the youngsters who hunted and fished along the creek also swam in it. Swimmers in Ensley splashed in what they called "the big pipe." Upstream in East Lake, boys swam in the "blue hole" until the creek was dredged and straightened. Adults also came to bathe in the creek, and some used the water for baptisms (Brackner, 1984h, i, j). Even without Olmstedplanned paths and plantings, Village Creek and its flood plain were a place of recreation and diversion for youngsters who lived near it. But while they played, the creek was becoming a more eminent part of the problems of urban life in Birmingham.

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The Olmsted Plan predicted that unless Birmingham quickly acquired unoccupied land along Village Creek, industries and private houses would soon line its banks. By 1928, three years after the publication of the Olmsted Park Plan, hundreds of houses had been constructed in the creek's flood plain in Ensley and in East Birmingham. Rapid development of the East Lake reaches of Village Creek did not occur until after World War II, but when it came residents faced the increased flooding Olmsted predicted would result from additional concentrations of industrial and residential building along the creek and in its tributary area. Willie Wayne was one of the residents who watched Village Creek overflow its banks with increasing intensity and frequency after the mid 1930s. The flood that filled his house at 3959 14th Avenue North on April 12, 1979, was nothing new. "Every year it floods around here," Wayne told reporters from the Birmingham News, 1979).

Once and often twice a year, sometimes more often, the residents of neighborhoods near Village Creek watch flood waters enter their homes. Some of them remember that the flooding was not as regular or as high as it had become by the time Willie Wayne watched the creek cover his chain link

fence and carry away dumpsters in his neighborhood in East Birmingham. The Olmsted Park Plan acknowledged that Village Creek flooded occasionally in But residents of the communities of East Lake, East the mid 1920s. Birmingham, and Ensley recall that the flooding has become progressively worse since then. Willie Riggins remembers that "bad flooding" started in the early 1940s (Brackner, 1984d). Riggins cannot explain why flooding started then and has since become worse, but increased areas of pavement in the drainage area of Village Creek seem to be the cause of the creek's dramatic floods. The construction in 1931 of Birmingham Municipal Airport and its subsequent enlargements and, more recently, of large shopping complexes in the Roebuck area have been part of a trend that has paved areas that ince absorbed rain water. After the major flood in March 1970, Tom Joiner of the Alabama Geological Survey explained increased flooding along Village Creek Joiner observed that "housing as a result of man-made surfaces. developments and new shopping centers create large amounts of black top or pavement" that give rain "no place to soak in." Rain consequently flows "toward the nearest low spot" (Birmingham News, 1970).

Obstructions in the creek have also aggravated its proclivity to flood. Numerous bridges along the creek cause what the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers calls "rapid changes in hydraulic scheme" (Corps of Engineers, 1981, 28). Culverts constructed after World War II to carry the creek under the airport and concrete channels and which were part of efforts to straighten the creek constrict the flow of the creek and force it to race into areas where "the land is low" (Birmingham <u>Age-Herald</u>, 1949). The construction of Interstate 59 created additional problems.

Some flood control measures have ironically also aggravated the flood problem. The City of Birmingham attempted in 1930 to alleviate flooding of the creek by widening and clearing the creek channel at a substantial cost. This did little good, however, since the Jefferson County government did nothing with its sections of the creek (Birmingham <u>Age-Herald</u>, 1949a). The flow of the creek was still restricted below the city limits and backed up in the low-lying areas of Ensley and East Birmingham. It was reported that to protect its buildings, a corporation constructed an artificial bank along the creek. The dike diverted flood waters from the company's buildings, but in doing so deflected more water to the opposite side of the creek where the flooding was consequently deeper (Birmingham News, 1970).

Tuxedo Park, portions of Ensley, and sections of East Birmingham were all flooded with increasing regularity after about 1940. In 1951, for example, 3,000 Ensley residents were marooned temporarily in their homes by a flood on March 28 (Birmingham <u>Post-Herald</u>, 1951). Birmingham officials complained that the flooding was caused by the narrowness of the creek after it left the city limits and proposed joining forces with Jefferson County to end the yearly floods (Birmingham <u>Post-Herald</u>, 1952). The city and county, however, failed to calm Village Creek, and its floods became more damaging and more deadly in the 1960s. In the summer of 1965, a 16 year old youth was swept away by the creek at First Avenue North and 39th Street North and drowned (Birmingham Post-Herald, 1965).

Measures to control the creek combined with additional construction and paving had created what the Birmingham <u>News</u> called a "monster." By the end of the 1970s, it was estimated that flooding along Village Creek resulted in annual property losses of more than \$2.4 million (U. S. Army Corps of Engineers, 1981). Miss Vera Brown blamed the flood which forced the evacuation of Shields Elementary School in East Birmingham on the construction of the interstate highway system through the city. She told reporters, "I knew that without those houses to slow the water down, we'd be flooded" (Birmingham <u>News</u>, 1970). A teacher at the school, however, suggested that flooding was a problem for the neighborhood before the demolition of houses for the freeway. "This isn't the first time something like this has happened," she said. "This creek has been flooding for 17 years."

Residents along the East Lake reaches of Village Creek also experienced what many of them described as increased flooding in the 1970s. In March, 1976, the East Lake Neighborhood Committee complained to the city about the flooding of their community. They report that the problem had grown worse, but emphasized that floods had "plagued" their community "for the 66 years it has been part of Birmingham" (Birmingham Post-Herald, 1976).

Residents of East Lake, like those in East Birmingham and Ensley, demanded that something be done about the creek "before it gets really serious" (Birmingham <u>News</u>, 1970). Little was or could be done quickly, however, and few of the people who lived near the creek or within its flood plain anticipated that the flooding could get worse. Few people, therefore, were prepared for the flood of 1979. The creek rose all night and forced Ensley residents to shelters. Lee Harmon of Avenue U had left his house twice before during a flood and waited at the Ensley Evacuation Center with other "flood veterans" to return to his house. Annie Page had left her house the night before by boat. It was her fourth flood (Birmingham News, 1979a, b).

After what some victims called Village Creek's "worst" flood in 1979, the City of Birmingham and federal government agencies began to evaluate the course of Village Creek and to consider flood control measures. In a series of community meetings held to discuss the problem and possible solutions, residents of Ensley, East Lake, and East Birmingham expressed attitudes about the creek much different from those voiced earlier by John T. Milner. Their comments and complaints revealed just how dramatically industrialization and urbanization had changed the character of Village Creek and the relationship of the city to it. Rev. William A. Hamilton, pastor of the First Baptist Church of Ensley, pointed out that "homes located in the flood plain have a lower value than similar houses in other areas." Birmingham Councilwoman Nina Miglionico, who reminded the men and women who attended one of the public hearings that she was born in Avondale and was familiar with the "problems of Village Creek," told the audience that she sympathized with anyone who "lived with all of the human misery that results from having a creek of this magnitude running through the middle of Birmingham" (Birmingham Post-Herald, 1981).

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In their expressions of frustration and anger, the "flood veterans" of East Lake, East Birmingham and Ensley expressed attitudes about Village Creek at variance with those held a century earlier. They did not welcome the creek's occasional flooding as an event that replenished depleted soils. Instead, they feared the floods because they damaged property, depressed the value of their houses and drowned their children. They no longer described the creek as a place to catch turtles and fish or swim. They now warned their children that the creek is a repository for industrial filth. Few remembered the creek as a vital and valuable source of water. Most residents knew only that the creek is a source of trouble.

Village Creek, in many ways, made Birmingham's industrial miracle possible. Water from the creek was as necessary and as important a part of the early iron industry as the iron ore, limestone, and coke that charged the district's furnaces. A century of industrial concentration and expansion, however, changed the role the creek played in Birmingham's mills. Industrial growth also changed the character of the creek and the attitudes of the residents of the communities that line its banks. Once a valued asset, Village Creek was, by the end of Birmingham's centennial year, widely regarded as a nuisance.

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NOTES CHAPTER ONE: A BRIEF NATURAL HISTORY OF VILLAGE CREEK

1. The South and North Railroad became part of the Louisville and Nashville Railroad (now Family Lines System) and is still commonly known as the L.&N.

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CHAPTER TWO: THREE COMMUNITIES IN THE MAGIC CITY

In 1871 the site of the city of Birmingham was an old cornfield "cleared of stumps and trees" waiting for the tracks of the South and North Alabama Railroad to cross those of the Alabama and Chattanooga line. Surveyors employed by the railroads and the Elyton Land Company drew rights-of-way and streets on maps of land where only rabbits lived, but few men accepted the promoters' claim that the projected city would ever become the "El Dorado of the iron masters" (The <u>South</u>, 5 April 1873).

Within a decade, however, Alice Furnace No. 1 on the city's western edge produced Birmingham's first pig iron and was followed quickly by imitators. Eleven companies put furnaces into production during the 1880s. Between 1886 and 1890, the height of the first iron boom, 28 furnaces went into blast, and by 1890 Birmingham's mills produced 816,911 tons of iron, 8.8 percent of the nation's total production. Birmingham's share of the nation's iron production was at its peak.

America's iron industry was then in the midst of its greatest period of expansion, and entrepreneurs by the dozens came to join the boom in Birmingham. 'Men, some already active in the Elyton Land Company and others simply eager to emulate the land company's success, pooled their capital and acquired land near Birmingham which they hoped would also soon become bustling industrial towns. East Lake, East Birmingham, and Ensley, like half a score of towns, were founded by speculators during Birmingham's pig iron boom (see Figure 8). Village Creek meandered through or near many of them. Because of their proximity to the creek, East Birmingham and Ensley, were, according to their promoters, "favorably located for manufacturing enterprises" and offered ideal sites for "residences for workingmen." East Lake was planned as a residential community that would be free of the "smoke, and other annoyances, of an iron manufacturing town" (Du Bose, 1887, 264-265).

Each of these communities was eventually successful, but success did not come simultaneously or even quickly. East Birmingham, for example, boomed in the late 1880s and acquired an economic base more diverse than East Lake or Ensley. Ensley languished through the 1880s and 1890s, but then exploded with the development of steel and steel products at the turn of the century. East Lake, in contrast, boomed in the late 1890s and again in the 1910s. All three communities grew in fits and starts that generally coincided with Birmingham's industrial booms and recessions, and they developed intricate social and economic ties between themselves and Birmingham. This chapter presents a summary of the founding of these communities and, by discussing their development, establishes the historical context for later





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discussions of the portions of these communities that are included in this study of Village Creek and the working men and women who have lived there.

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Late in November, 1886, a group of prominent Birmingham businessmen and industrialists met and completed their plans to form the East Birmingham Land Company. William J. Cameron, president of the First

National Bank, Edward Linn, cashier of First National, George Kelley, president of Baxter Stove Works, Richard Boland, president of Birmingham Machine and Foundry Company and Goldsmith B. West, president of the East Birmingham Corrugating Company, were among the investors who combined \$850,000 capital, the support of English investors in the Alabama Great Southern Railroad, and their own energy to organize what a promotional history of Birmingham called a "very strong . . . and a very active" company (Du Bose, 1887, 265). The East Birmingham Land Company quickly acquired 600 acres, "favorably located for maufacturing enterprises," just one mile east of Birmingham city limits and adjacent to the Louisville and Nashville Railroad and on the projected route of the Alabama Great Southern Railroad. Village traversed the company's land. One year later the incorporators reported that they controlled \$1.5 million in capital stock, planned "important manufacturies" for their site, and would "put its lots on the market as soon as they could be surveyed" (North Alabama Illustrated, 1888, 86).

In 1887 East Birmingham was little more than an idea shared by a handful of Birmingham's most influential men. A plat of this "splendidly located land" depicts projected streets and planned railroad lines cutting across what was then open pasture and old fields (North Alabama Illustrated, 1888, 86; White, 1981; see Figure 9). The company sold some lots later that year but withdrew their land from the market because their lots had sold too quickly (It was curious that a land company would suspend its land sales due to "rapid sales," but when sales resumed the following year the pace of the land business reflected Birmingham's phenomenal expansion). In 1888 the North Alabama Illustrated reported that "suburbs around the city are rapidly growing" and that "several of them are destined to become sites of many manufacturing enterprises." It was the Illustrated's opinion that "the leading place just now seems to be East Birmingham" (North Alabama Illustrated, 1888, 85-86).

Two things were required, however, to insure East Birmingham's success. The first was industry; the second, a transportation link to Birmingham. Industry came quickly and soon replaced the small farms that once filled the area. The land company directors were themselves engaged in successful early plant construction in East Birmingham. Kelley, for example, employed 300 laborers in his Baxter Stove Works, a manufacturer of heating and cooking stoves, grates, mantels and country hollow ware (Du Bose, 1887, 282). Richard Boland, who one newspaper called "one of the most progressive



manufacturers of the New South," located his Birmingham Machine and Foundry, a maker of heavy machinery, in East Birmingham (North Alabama Illustrated, 1888, 77). Additionally, within a year of its incorporation, the East Birmingham Land Company announced its plans to build a rolling mill, a plate mill, a chain works, a firebrick works, and a 100-ton furnace. "Clara," a pig iron furnace was later built by the Vanderbilt Steel and Iron Co. in 1890. Constructed along the L.&N. mainline, this furnace operation initially lacked efficient access to local supplies of coal and iron ore and was shut down, but it was put back into blast by the Tutwiler Coal, Coke, and Iron Co. in 1899. "Clara" and a second furnace remained in blast at the site under the management of local men like Morris Adler and E. M. Tutwiler and later under the Woodward Iron Company, a major Birmingham owned and operated iron-producing firm until 1929. These furnaces, known as the Vanderbilt furnaces, seem only to have been marginally profitable, but they established a sound economic base from which East Birmingham continued to diversify.

George Cruikshank, a historical chronicler of Birmingham's early years, described East Birmingham in 1920 as a "varied industrial district with a population largely composed of working people" (Cruikshank, 1920, 134, 136). East Birmingham's population climbed from 193 households in 1898 to an estimated 1,000 inhabitants in 1910, the year the community was annexed by the City of Birmingham. Large iron foundries, many of which still operate, and the furnaces employed most of the workers. In addition to the Vanderbilt furnace, Birmingham Machine and Foundry Company (now Goslin-Birmingham) and Baxter Stove and Manufacturing Company were major early employers (North Alabama Illustrated, 1888, 77). In the years that followed, other firms eventually became East Birmingham's major employers and drew hundreds of additional workers from other neighborhoods and communities throughout Birmingham. Stockham Pipe (later Valves) and Fittings Co. (established in 1903), C. E. Sawyer's Industrial Metal Fabricators, Inc. (established 1919), the McWane Cast Iron Pipe Co. (established 1921), Steward Machine Company Inc. (moved to East Birmingham in 1927), and O'Neal Steel (moved to East Birmingham in 1942) were the most prominent. There were also several roofing companies, lumber companies, and brickworks located in the community which provided services and material to expanding mills, lumber for houses, and jobs for East Birmingham's expanding work force. Always home-owned, these companies prospered and remain vital components of Birmingham's economy.

Investment capital and industrialists like Morris Adler provided the impetus that established East Birmingham, but the town's industrial success depended to a large degree on the laborers who worked in its mills. Many of East Birmingham's workers lived in company housing and neighborhoods constructed adjacent to the mills, and others commuted by streetcar. Streetcars brought laborers to East Birmingham and also made the growth of residential sections of the community possible. By June 1887 the East Birmingham Land Company had opened a two-mile streetcar line along 10th Avenue that linked the town with downtown Birmingham (Hudson, 29-30). This line was extended further to the east along 10th Avenue in September 1888 to reach Woodlawn and new mills in Gate City. (see Figure 10). It was



along this line, operated for the remainder of the nineteenth century by the East Birmingham Land and Railroad Co. and then by the Birmingham and Gate City Co., that McWane and Stockham located the entrances to their mills. In 1905 the L.& N. located its shops and yards near Boyles, a new community several miles northeast of Birmingham. When the new yards were complete, a streetcar line was constructed to connect Boyles with Birmingham. Completed in 1906, the additional East Birmingham trackage followed Coosa Street and was eventually extended to Tarrant (Hudson, 104–107). The extension of this streetcar line made possible the development of East Birmingham north of the major east-west axis along 10th Avenue. A small commercial district grew at that intersection, and beyond it, to the north, the lots of the East Birmingham Land Company were sold to developers who filled them with small houses for the community's industrial workers.

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When Lizzie Mae Lopp moved to Birmingham more than 58 years ago, she lived in Ensley and Smithfield before she moved to her current home in the Greenwood subdivision of East Birmingham. Mrs. Lopp's third Birmingham house was on an unpaved street, but she remembered that it was in a "real good neighborhood" that was "quiet and everything." There was, however, one problem with Greenwood: it was "right smoky" (Brackner, 1984). Lizzie Lopp's memories of the smoke and haze that hung over Birmingham during its industrial heyday are not unusual. It did not take very many years of mining and iron-making before an almost perpetual industrial haze hovered in the skies over Jones Valley. And in 1886 a group of prominent Birmingham investors began plans for a community whose principal asset became its distance from sooty furnaces and the industrial haze.

Promoters of East Lake, Alabama, wrote that Birmingham was "destined to be . . . constantly growing." Crowded with population and "obscured by the smoke of furnaces, foundries, and factories," the city would be "ideal for business, but its centre will be by no means the best location for homes." Noise and smoky air were "distractions men willingly bare in business hours, and refer to with pride," but they were not acceptable as part of normal home life. East Lake would provide a community of "cheaper housing" where the families of businessmen and workingmen could "escape the smoke and other annoyances of an iron manufacturing town (East Lake Land Company, n.d.).

Principal investors Robert Jemison, Sr. and James A. Van Hoose, with the assent of 25 other men, incorporated the East Lake Land Company on July 7, 1886 with capital stock of \$200,000. M. F. Porter, R. H. Hagood, J. R. Broddie, A. A. Clisby, W. H. Wood, G. M. Hanby, George Morris, and T. R. Lyons were, along with Jemison, Van Hoose, and Hagood, appointed to the company's first board of directors (East Lake Land Company "Minutes," 1886, 7). Investment money ran toward iron production in late 19th century Birmingham, and as a first order of business, the board of directors set priorities for their new company. The "general purpose" of the East Lake

Land Company as initially expressed was consonant with that espoused by other late 19th century industrial speculators. The East Lake Land Company proposed to "carry on a general manufacturing and industrial business" and engage in the "quarrying of limestone and other stones... the manufacture of pig iron, steel, and all other articles which can be made or manufactured with coal or coke and iron ore as from wood iron or steel either alone or in conjunction with any other material" (East Lake Land Company "Minute Book," 7).

It was soon apparent, however, that Robert Jemison and his associates would sink most of their capital into the development of a new town rather than new furnaces and mines. None of the investors and directors of this land company were industrialists. In the years preceding Birmingham's industrial boom, some of these men had been prominent local merchants and attorneys; others were well-to-do farmers from eastern Jones Valley. It seems that these men shared a proclivity to make their profits by buying and selling land, and their company quickly recovered some of their initial investment by selling a portion of their property to the Sloss Furnace Company for development as a lime guarry (Birmingham Age, 5 December 1886).³ The principal business of the East Lake Land Company would be the "buying and selling of lands, the improvement of such lands . . . into lots, streets, and tracts, the construction of lake, race tracks, and other pleasure resorts." The land company would also construct the businesses, canals, tramways, water works, and railroads necessary to connect their community with Birmingham and provide the services necessary for the community's survival and expansion (East Lake Land Company "Minute Book," 7).

A reporter from the Birmingham <u>Age</u> wrote that much of the talk at the initial stockbrokers meeting of the East Lake Land Company concerned a plan to build "an ideal residence town." The men of the East Lake Land Company predicted that their town would "quickly spring into the list of Alabama's finest." It was, according to promotional pamphlets distributed by the company, the intention of its planners that their new town would remain "strictly a residence suburb and pleasure resort" with "genteel homes . . . ornamented with parks" (East Lake Land Company, n.d.).

Promoters of East Lake depicted their community as a place that would combine "woodland graces" with the advantages of city life (see Figure 11). Located beyond the eastern fringes of Birmingham, East Lake would be "within easy reach of the finest farms in the county" and thus allow its residents to have "first call on fresh vegetables and fruit, milk, butter, and poultry (Robert Jemison, Sr. Papers, n.d.). Well-established institutions would provide East Lake the amenities of urban life. Ruhama Baptist Church, a congregation established in 1818 and still active, would support spiritual and intellectual growth. So would Ruhama Female Institute, the East Lake Atheneum and Howard College, a Baptist school of higher learning coaxed to East Lake from Marion, Alabama.



Figure 11. In the late 1880s enthusiastic promotion and excellent streetcar service helped popularize East Lake, then located six miles from the city of Birmingham (O'Brien's Map of Birmingham, 1887).

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This suburban paradise was not intended to be an exclusive development for the wealthy. Lots were to be kept to modest dimensions and houses built for "the average purse . . . at prices within the reach of all." Speculators were discouraged and social harmony was invoked by requiring every houseowner to improve his lot with ornamental plantings (East Lake Land Company, n.d.).

The community of East Lake was to be constructed on 2,000 acres of farmland located near Woodlawn 6 miles east of Birmingham among gently rolling hills near the headwaters of Village Creek (Birmingham <u>Age</u>, 5 November 1886). East Lake was initially laid out as a rectangular grid three blocks wide between Underwood Avenue and East Lake Boulevard parallel to the old Huntsville Road, now called Second Avenue South (Schoel, 1888; see Figure 11). This area had supported an isolated farming community since about 1818, but the isolation of the place came to an end when the East Lake Company completed a streetcar line to tie it to Birmingham.

The East Lake dummy line opened on October 8, 1887. Developed as a promotional device to encourage the sale of the East Lake Land Company's lots, this streetcar line linked East Lake to Birmingham and its furnaces and mills to the west as well as to mills at Avondale and Gate City on the city's eastern fringe. A system of branch lines eventually emanated from a station built on 77th Street from which cars made the run to Birmingham every thirty minutes. When in 1912 East Lake streetcars were tied to lines that extended 14 miles west to Bessemer, residents of East Lake had efficient transportation to most of the industrial sites in the Birmingham District (Hudson, 18). Robert Jemison, Sr. played a key role in the development of this network of streetcar lines which his son called the best in the Birmingham District (Jemison and Company Magazine, 1910, n.p.).

in 1893 the letterhead of the East Lake Land Company crowed that its beautiful suburban property contained everything a homeowner could want (see Figure 12). East Lake offered its residents and Sunday tourists superb recreational opportunities. East Lake's promoters dammed Roebuck Springs to create East Lake, the heart of an amusement center that became the trademark of the community. Advertised as the "finest artificial lake in the South," East Lake covered thirty acres and was said to be surrounded by parks and drives (East Lake Land Company, 48.1.1.1.35). Two and a half blocks long and nearly a block wide, the lake offered rowing, fishing, and carriage rides along its shore (see Figure 13). During the summer months band concerts, fireworks, and theatrical productions, some promoted by streetcar companies, attracted large crowds (Bigelow, 270). A 150-room hotel opened at the lake in 1889, and in 1892 Monsieur Montabaro opened a zoo near the park that contained a collection of deer, pelicans, eagles, groundhogs, racoons, prairie hens, and wolves. One enthusiastic newspaperman predicted that the East Lake zoo would soon "rival the famous zoological garden of Central Park" (Birmingham Age Herald, 15 April 1892). After 1900 Sunday excursion trains attracted thousands to the "popular pleasure resort." The City of Birmingham purchased the park in 1917, and a bath house was



Figure 12.

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1888 promotional advertisement for East Lake (Birmingham City Directory, 1888, 200).



constructed there in 1932 at a cost of \$32,000 (Birmingham <u>News</u>, 18 October 1959). East Lake Park has remained an important recreational facility and was extensively renovated in 1979 (Birmingham <u>News</u>, 10 January 1979).

From 1905 until about 1921, East Lake was the site of another major recreation. Birmingham businessmen Robert E. Collins, J.D. Collins, and E.J. Smyer incorporated the Trotwood Park Land Company in January, 1905, and stated their intentions to buy and sell land, survey lots, construct houses and "build or operate and maintain race tracks for speeding of horses thereon or for the speeding of vehicles or racing of any kind" (Jefferson County Records of Incorporation, Vol. 1, 368). This was not the first proposal for a horse The East Lake Land Company, soon after it was track at East Lake. incorporated, announced that it intended to construct a large park in their community to honor Charles Linn, a recently deceased Birmingham industrialist and banker. Linn's son Edward was one of the investors in the East Birmingham Land Company. Plans announced for "Linn Park" included playing grounds for baseball and cycling, a fair ground, and a race track. The Age reported in 188% that it was "altogether probable that the fair grounds and race track will be built" on a site just south of East Lake Park, but they were not (Birmingham Age, 7 July 1886).

The Trotwood Park Company's horse track was East Lake's first. The company named its oval for John Trotwood Moore, a native of Marion, Alabama who graduated from Howard College in 1878, and who was a school teacher for six years in Butler and Wilcox counties before he moved to Tennessee where he earned modest acclaim as a poet and author of short stories and great fame as an authority on thoroughbreds. According to the <u>Dictionary of Alabama Biography</u>, Moore moved, "impelled by his love of nature and literary work," to Maury County, Tennessee, where he purchased a stock farm near Columbia where he contributed to <u>The Horse Review</u> and then edited <u>Trotwood's Monthly</u> and <u>The Taylor-Trotwood Magazine</u> (Dictionary of <u>Alabama Biography</u>, 1231; The South and the Building of the Nation, 205-206).

Lucien Brothers has lived in East Lake, "right around this neighborhood . . . on both sides of Village Creek," for 82 years. He remembers that as a boy of six or seven (in 1910 or 1911) he saw races at Trotwood Park. Trotting horses and sulkey drivers practiced on Saturdays and raced on Sundays. Racing fans came to the track via streetcar to East Lake and then crossed Village Creek on foot over an iron bridge that was located at 7500 5th Avenue (Jefferson County Records of Incorporation, Vol. VII, 7; see Figure 14).

The Trotwood Park Company was dissolved in 1921, and the races stopped soon afterward (Jefferson County Records of Incorporation, Vol. VII, 300). The track and its grandstands were leveled and filled, and the site was subdivided and sold to several Italian families who raised5"swell beans and cabbage" on the site until the early 1950s (Brackner, 1984h).

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Figure 14. Plan of Trotwood Park and Race Track and Subdivision, 1906. The Southern Museum of Flight now occupies the site of the track (Jefferson County Map Book, V, 151).

Despite the best intentions of the land company, East Lake did not grow as quickly as East Birmingham. East Lake may have enjoyed air that bore the scent of "comfort and prosperity," but East Birmingham had streetcar connections to Birmingham, cheaper housing and a source of employment. At the end of 1886 there were reported to be 15 "substantial, comfortable and roomy dwellings" in the community. The collapse of the iron boom and the Panic of 1893 bore some of the blame for East Lake's slow start. So did the slow progress of civic improvements. Few of the public improvements such as sidewalks, curbs, gutters, sewers, and landscaping the East Lake Land Company had promised were complete at the beginning of the 20th century (East Lake Land Company brochure, n.d., Robert Jemison, Sr., Papers).

Perhaps most telling was competition with the Elyton Land Company. The Elyton Land Company owned 4,000 acres in the heart of the Birmingham District which included the central business district, all the land on Birmingham's north and south sides, Lakeview Park, and the Highland Avenue area. All of it was closer to the city's downtown mills, and as the city expanded it was this land, closer to the industrial core, that filled with residents first. East Birmingham, Avondale, and Woodlawn, all contiguous to the city's eastern border, filled with houses and local businesses during the late 1880s and early 1890s. East Lake, in comparison, did not begin to expand until late in the 1890s. In 1898 the city directory listed 491 households. In 1902, one year after East Lake was incorporated as an independent municipality, there were approximately 320 residences on lots whose average size was 50 by 200 feet.

Robert Jemison, Sr., one of the original investors in the East Lake Land Company, managed the corporation until 1904 after which Webb W. Crawford assumed control. Crawford expanded East Lake with the initiation of new streetcar routes and by offering more East Lake property for development and sale. By 1906 a system of branch lines in East Lake was completed and run by the East Lake Land Company as a free service. By feeding into the older lines that then traveled between East Lake and Birmingham, the new lines (Lake Highlands No. 35 and Rugby No. 36) helped open new sections for residential development, and East Lake boomed (see Figure 15). Between 1909 and 1912 Crawford was assisted by Bradley J. Sanders, a developer who was also vice president of the Lake Highlands and Rugby Land Company subdivisions. Together, Crawford and Sanders guided East Lake toward the goals established by Jemison and his colleagues in 1886. A town hall was constructed on 77th Street, and by 1910 schools, a fire department, churches, and other "modern conveniences" had earned East Lake a reputation as the "most complete of smaller towns in the Birmingham District" (Jemison Magazine, May, 1910, n.p.). When it was annexed into the City of Birmingham in 1910, East Lake's population was estimated to be 3,000 (Cruikshank, 1920, 136).



On a site six miles west of Birmingham and 12 miles from East Lake, Enoch Ensley, a wealthy planter and entrepreneur from Memphis, Tennessee, built an iron-making complex and town. The site was "rough, sterile, full of scrubby pine and blackjack," but Ensley had been buying large chunks of land in Jefferson County since the mid 1880s and knew the site he had chosen for his town lay at the southern edge of the highly productive Pratt coal seam. The iron boom in Birmingham was then at its height, and Ensley predicted emphatically that his industrial town would eventually eclipse the nearby "Magic City." He stood on the site of his proposed city in 1886 and told his friend and fellow entrepreneur Alfred M. Shook that it was his intention to "bring in . . . manufacturing plants here that will work up all the products of the furnaces and steel works" he planned and that he would "fill this valley from the foot of Chert Ridge to the railroad with manufacturing plants and business houses" (quoted in Fuller, 1976, 43).

Ensley named the industrial center he proposed after himself and established a land company to direct the work necessary to transform his vision to reality. Thomas D. Radcliffe, industrialist T.T. Hillman, and William A. Walker, an Elyton merchant, real estate entrepreneur and planter, joined Ensley in the formation of the Ensley Land Company on December 5, 1886. Hillman was by far the most experienced investor in this group. Α member of a Tennessee family whose iron furnaces prouced 80 percent of Southern iron production before the Civil War, Hillman financed Alice Furnace in 1879–1880 and benefited from good financial and industrial connections in Nashville and New York. Hillman and the new Ensley Land Company claimed capital assets of \$10 million. 51 percent of which was retained by the Tennessee Coal, Iron, and Railroad Company which deeded nearly 4,000 acres to the Ensley Land Company in exchange for its stock (White, 1981, 98).

After a year of planning, Ensley began construction of four major blast furnaces. Each of the "big four" had a 200 ton per-day capacity, and when they were completed in 1889 they were said to be the largest battery of iron furnaces in the world. Ensley personally lit the last of the"big four," and the gigantic iron-makers enjoyed a short, prosperous reign. Ensley died in 1891. An admirer once called Ensley the "most conspicuous example of the conversion of a cotton planter into a great miner and manufacturer in the whole South" (DuBose, 1887, 590). Ensley had created an enormous industrial facility, and when the "big four" were sold the next year and consolidated with rival industrialist Henry DeBardeleben's holdings in the Bessemer area, the result was called the "largest single industrial enterprise in the Birmingham District." The Tennessee Coal, Iron, and Railroad Company owned all of it (White, 1981, 99).

While the iron industry suffered through the depression of the 1890s, the town of Ensley languished. A land office constructed during 1888 did not sell a single lot. Except for the land office, a hotel, some company housing, and the furnaces, there were few other structures in the town. Ensley

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remained essentially a pine barren above which loomed a mammoth iron complex. It was estimated that 200 to 300 people, almost all men, lived in the town in 1887 (DuBose, 1887, 595). The North Ensley streetcar line connected the town to Birmingham (see figure 16).

Following the Panic of 1893, economic and industrial confidence returned and Ensley's fortunes rose. Pig iron production picked up, and in 1899 TCl began producing steel and put America's second coke by-products plant into operation. By 1902 the Ensley works were producing rails from open hearth steel, and in 1906 Ensley's 10 open hearth steel furnaces produced 400,000 tons. In 1900 and 1904, TCl added a fifth and a sixth blast furnace to its Ensley battery. Construction of cement, brick, lumber and metal finishing mills also contributed to the growth of the town and attracted national attention. In 1907, United States Steel Corporation, then the nation's largest steel producer, acquired control of the very strong TCl operation in Ensley.

Rapid expansion of the industrial plants in Ensley attracted large numbers of new workers and initiated a period of phenomenal growth. When Ersley was formally incorporated in 1899, its population was fewer than 600. Two years later, the town's population numbered several thousand (Birmingham Age Herald, 5 August 1900). In 1907 14,000 men worked in Ensely mills; and in 1910, the Ensley post office estimated that it served 20,000 to 25,000 people and operated the largest general delivery service in Alabama (Perkins, 1907, 39, 51). Ensley's population expansion continued in the years prior to World War I, and one observer noted that if the town "had more houses, the population would be increased by from 2,500 to 5,000 people immediately (quoted in Perkins, 1907,36). Ensley was a "city of young men" who had swarmed to its mills and mines. An early Linsley booster reported that "Dame Fortune" had smiled on these men and made it possible for many of them to have "munificent bank accounts and permanent homes" (Perkins, 1907, 36). Ensley workers lived in houses the Ensley Land Company, an affiliate of TCI, built where pine barrens had stood only a few years before. The land company had built 200 houses in 1898 to accomodate the first wave of workers and in 1900 constructed many more dwellings which the Birmingham Age-Herald described as "neat and comfortable houses" that were "taken as rapidly as the keys could be turned over by an industrious, wide-awake and most excellent set of people" (Birmingham Age-Herald, 5

wide-awake and most excellent set of people" (Birmingham <u>Age-Herald</u>, 5 August 1900).

Despite the efforts of the Ensley Land Company and TCl, housing remained in short supply during the first years of the 20th century. The Ensley Land Company developed 17 additions to Ensley between 1898 and 1929, 14 of them by 1903. TCl constructed 17 company "quarters," clusters of houses for its workers on land near the mills, between 1910 and 1940. Even so, there were never enough dwellings to house the enormous labor force employed in the Ensley works, and many workers continued to commute to the mills. Increased streetcar service from Birmingham to Ensley was started in 1902. Robert Jemison, Sr., president of Birmingham Railway, Light and Power Company until 1901, routed the Ensley-Fairfield, or South Ensley, line through Tuxedo Park, a neighborhood begun in 1898 on the southeastern



Figure 16. Birmingham Railroad and Electric Company cars crossing Village Creek on the North Ensley Line, 1900 (from Hudson, 137). Map not to scale. fringes of Ensley. In 1913, the "Tidewater" line of the Birmingham, Ensley and Bessemer Railroad connected Ensley with Fairfield, to the west, and Birmingham's central business district and its residential neighborhoods, including East Lake, toward the east. The "Tidewater" line also entered Ensley through Tuxedo Park along what is now Avenue U (see figure 17).

Throughout the 1910s and 1920s, Ensley's prduction of iron, steel and steel products at TCI's mills continued to grow. So too did the town's residential and commercial districts. By 1926, Ensley and its satellite mining towns employed 18,318 industrial workers, and Enoch Ensley's vision of a valley filled with industrial plants, business houses, and the residences of working men had been fulfilled (Ennis, 1926, 36; see figure 18).

IV

From this brief discussion of the formation of Ensley, East Birmingham, and East Lake, it is possible to see that the growth of each community was intimately related to the vigor, or torpor, of the iron and steel industries. East Birmingham boomed early and filled rapidly with industrial plants and the dwellings of workers and supervisors who owed their jobs to pig iron. Begun somewhat later, Ensley's development was impaired by depression in the 1890s, but it too boomed when a vigorous steel industry emerged in the first years of the 20th century. Finally, East Lake, where the major industry was the sale of residential lots, got a quick start but reached maturity as a community only after residential development rippled out to it from the center of Birmingham.

Brash, confident, sometimes arrogant men like Enoch Ensley had captained the transformation of pine barren, field, and pasture into industrial The men of the East Birmingham Land Company were typical of the towns. entrepreneurs who led Birmingham toward industrialization. Their average age was 36 at the height of the pig iron boom between 1885 and 1886. They had already enjoyed business successes. And when, drawn by the promise of wealth, they migrated to Birmingham, they arrived already well-connected to southern and northern banks. A few had English sources of credit. They had the plans for mills and mines and the money and connections to turn their visions into industrial realities. They built streetcar lines that connected their new towns to adolescent Birmingham, and they guided the land companies which sold residential lots near their plants as well as the development of working class neighborhoods. East Lake, East Birmingham, and Ensley thus bore the imprint of the entrepreneurs who led in their development. Surveyor's lines and street plans reveal the thinking of the men who were responsible for planning each of the communities, but they do not reveal much about the character of each of these communities. East Lake, East Birmingham, and Ensley each evolved from open land to a tightly built community, and there emerged in each patterns of land use and lifeways that were characteristic of life in an industrial city. Those patterns are discussed in the following chapter.



Figure 17. By 1913, three streetcar lines served the bustling industrial community of Ensley, Alabama. Two of these lines ran through Tuxedo Park (Adapted from Hudson, 20, 83-84, 114). Map not to scale.

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NOTES

CHAPTER TWO: THREE COMMUNITIES IN THE MAGIC CITY

- 1. The Alabama and Chattanooga line, later called the Alabama Great Southern Railway, is now part of the AMTRACK system. This railroad originally extended from Chattanooga to Meridian, Mississippi, and later to New Orleans.
- 2. The Vanderbilt furnaces were dismantled and sold for scrap in 1935. One was sold to a Chinese company but was destroyed in a dock fire in Mobile before it could be shipped.
- 3. This Sloss quarry is presently on the grounds of the Ruffner Mountain Nature Center.

- 4. In 1957 Howard College, renamed Samford University, moved to a site in Homewood, Alabama. The Atheneum is now owned by the Catholic Church.
- 5. The Trotwood Park stables, minus their second story, served as a residence until 1983. Older residents of the neighborhood called this structure "Trotwood House" (Stern, 1984c). The site of the race track is currently occupied by the Southern Museum of Flight.

CHAPTER THREE: CITY LIFE ALONG VILLAGE CREEK

Lucille Brown moved from Columbus, Georgia, to live with her grandparents at 1207 Avenue T in Ensley in 1912 and has lived there ever since in a house she says her grandfather built. Mrs. Brown's house is much the same now as it was then, but her neighborhood has changed "a good deal" (Brackner, 1984b). Houses packed tightly together on narrow lots fill blocks which briggs, brambles and "little patches of woods" covered at the beginning of the century (Brackner, 1984a). Laboring men, who worked at TCI like her grandfather and her husband, moved to this neighborhood and built houses close to their jobs, but the iron and steel furnaces at Ensley are now dormant and her neighbors work elsewhere. There have been other changes. None of Mrs. Brown's neighbors keep turkeys, geese, chickens, hogs, and other livestock behind their houses as they did until the 1950s. And there are no more woods. Construction of the interstate highway that passes through Ensley not too many blocks from Mrs. Brown's house has eroded the fabric of her old neighborhood which, like her, has grown old and is no longer as lovely and vigorous as it once was. Many residents of this neighborhood are old, and many of those that are not too old to work are unemployed. There have been many changes (see Figures 19 and 20).

What Lucille Brown saw happen to her neighborhood in Ensley also took place in East Birmingham and East Lake. The purpose of this chapter is to trace patterns of land use in the three project areas and present an analysis of the occupations held by the heads of households in each of the three communities. This information is vital to understanding the character of the houses constructed in each of the survey areas and to understanding the relationships of these areas to the larger communities of which they are a part. Initially held in relatively large tracts, the land along Village Creek in East Lake, East Birmingham, and Ensley was acquired during the advent of industrialization by land companies and entrepreneurs who supervised the transition of land use from lightly populated agricultural tracts to residential neighborhoods filled largely with detached single and double family dwellings.

11

Land use in the Birmingham District prior to industrialization may be illustrated by patterns of land holding in the East Lake area. During the first wave of migration into Jefferson County, individual settlers acquired relatively large tracts of land that encompassed the best available farming areas. Thomas Barton, for example, acquired three parcels in section 15 of Township 17 in 1821 through which Village Creek meandered. Barton's neighbor Jonathan Ellard shared access to the creek in an adjoining tract (Jefferson County Map Book from Birmingham Historical Society Eastern Properties File).

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Figure 19.

1233–1239 Avenue T, Tuxedo Park, Ensley. Edna Douglas Richmond, a 70-year resident of Tuxedo Park remembers that "as people moved in, they started buying, . . . it was a lovely neighborhood, it was lovely."



Figure 20.

1610-1612 Tallapoosa Street, Greenwood, East Birmingham. "Since they put that highway in (she is referring to the Tallapoosa Street exit ramp from Interstate 20/59), I ain't a been across that street walkin'," Lizzie Mae Lopp of 1623 Tombigbee Street, and a 58-year resident of Greenwood observed in 1984. "Too dangerous.Too many folks a been killed."

In the years that followed, initial land purchasers like Ellard and Barton consolidated their holdings, made additions to their first holdings, and watched other men acquire adjoining vacant tracts. By 1870, just prior to the incorporation of the City of Birmingham, Ellard and Barton were among the more substantial land owners in Jefferson County. Thomas Barton's descendants George with his wife Hilda and William with his wife Ferinda were, along with William Ellard and his wife Lititia, the last farmers listed in the 1898 Birmingham city directory as residents of East Birmingham (Birmingham City Directory, 1898). George Barton and William Ellard followed their fathers' craft, but they and other descendants of the first land claimants in Jones Valley sold their farms to land companies during the last decades of the 19th century and early years of the 20th. The slow transformation of farmland to streets and city lots then began.

Subdivisions did not immediately supplant farms as the principle use of the land that lay adjacent to Village Creek. Indeed, farming enjoyed something of a boom at the beginning of the 20th century. Several farms and three dairies, Brewster, Huckabee, and Glass, filled land within the limits of East Birmingham at the end of the 19th century (Birmingham City Directory, 1898). George and Hilda Barton, William and Ferinda Barton, and William and Lititia Ellard worked farms nearby Thomas Barton's 600-acre farm extended several miles north of Village Creek toward the industrial and railroad centers at Boyles and Tarrant City. In East Lake, the land along Village Creek remained open, and a small community of farmers of Italian descent obtained title to land along the creek and began to raise tomatoes, beans, spinach, collards, and onions for sale in Birmingham. David Lett, a 72 year old who has lived near Village Creek for most of his life, remembers that the Italian farmers would get "up in the morning, about one o'clock, hook up their horse and wagon and go down to the farmers market . . . to sell what they had" (Stern, 1984a).

These small truck farms flourished until the mid 1950s. Then the Mussos, Maginas, Levitas and Larechhias subdivided their fields and sold them as residential lots or as additions to the municipal airport. Russ Tortorigi was the last to give up the plowing and sold his 12-acre farm in 1970 (Stern, 1984b). Franton Terrace, one of the resulting subdivisions, marked the end of a process that had transformed most of the land along Village Creek from agricultural fields to city streets and residential lots. Each community, according to the pace of residential development in it, experienced the transition from rural to residential use.

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The transition of land use from forest and mixed agricultural use to industrial and residential use is clearly illustrated by the development of East Birmingham. It has already been stated that East Birmingham became the successful early industrial enclave in the Birmingham District. East Birmingham's residential areas were defined by its industrial plants. By 1890, the L.&N. Railroad and Vanderbilt furnaces formed a hard western boundary,

while Sloss-Sheffield Steel and Iron Company's North Birmingham works lay to the north. By the 1920s Stockham Pipe and Valve and the yards of McWane Cast Iron Pipe lay to the south. To the east, low open lands stretched away toward East Lake. This vacant, low land was used as farm and pasture until the construction of Birmingham Municipal Airport in the 1930s. So was some of the area north beyond the industrial plants and railroad yards.

Inside this ring of industrial plants, the East Birmingham Land Company and other real estate companies developed four residential subdivisions. Portions of each are represented in the East Birmingham portion of the Village Creek survey areas. The oldest of the four, East Birmingham, is represented by a single dwelling. Established in 1887 and developed by the East Birmingham Land Company, this subdivision was followed by Klondyke in 1902 and Lincoln City and Greenwood in 1903, all well-represented in the project areas. Settlement in these subdivisions generally spread from south to north, from lots Goldsmith B. West, first president of the East Birmingham Land Company, sold toward the north and east. Tenth Avenue remained an important thoroughfare and had become, by World War I, a dividing line between white and black segregated neighborhoods.

By 1898, settlement had filled the streets from 10th Avenue, well to the south of Village Creek (Jefferson County Map Book I, 7). Initially, most house construction occurred close to and south of 10th Avenue. A 1902 property atlas of the area depicts a scattering of structures in this area. Subsequent maps, the Sanborn insurance maps of 1911, 1917, and 1928, indicate the spread of small houses for workers into Lincoln City, Greenwood and Klondyke and generally north and east along existing streetcar lines. By 1917, East Birmingham had evolved into the form it was to retain until the 1960s (see Figure 21). More than half of the land surface in East Birmingham was covered by finishing mills, always the backbone of industry in the community, with dwelling units in neighborhoods tucked between industries, railroads and a new interstate highway interchange which sliced through and obliterated much of the community in the 1960s.

Goldsmith B. West, identified as a "well-known correspondent of leading industrial journals," disappears from local records soon after his company began selling lots, but the leaders of other land companies who speculated in East Birmingham left less mysterious tracks (DuBose, 1887, 267). Two local real estate speculators, William Henry Tharpe and J.C. Wright, manager of the Kingston Planing Mill, owned the land that became Klondyke (Jefferson County Map Book V, 62). Klondyke, the section of East Birmingham through which Village Creek runs, was subdivided into 48 lots per block. Benjamin F. Johnson, general manager and president of the Equitable Trading Company, supervised, with the assistance of Jefferson County Building and Loan Association president F.M. Jackson, the subdivision of land that became Lincoln City and Greenwood (Jefferson County Map Book V, 85-Jackson and Johnson fit 20 to 25 building lots into each of the blocks 86). they laid out in their parcels and eventually filled them with houses. There were two peaks of building during the expansion into this area, the first between 1913 and 1915, the second, between 1924 and 1928. By 1911



scattered settlement extended as far as 15th Street, roughly to the banks of Village Creek and engrossed smaller tracks held by W.P. Ward, J.D. Leak, and Emma Shaw (Jefferson County Map Book VI, 5, 54, and 95). The last lots to be included in this expansion and the last lots on which houses appeared were those nearest Village Creek. Black laborers bought all these lots; by World War I, the blocks along Village Creek were black neighborhoods (see Figure 22).

The transition from mixed agriculture to residential and industrial use is not as clear in Ensley as it was in East Birmingham. The Ensley area was never as intensively farmed as the eastern area. Earliest settlement and house construction occurred along 19th Street near the entrance to the mills and expanded away toward the east (See Figure 23; Jefferson County Map Book IV, 3). House construction in low-lying areas along Village Creek began only after subdivisions nearer the plants had filled and diverted demand for housing sites near work places or within coalescing ethnic communities toward new subdivisions along Village Creek.

Subdivision of land near Village Creek in Ensley began early in the 20th century, but land sales to individuals and house construction did not peak until the mid 1920s. Baist's "Property Atlas of Birmingham and Suburbs" depicts the city at the beginning of the early twentieth century steel boom. Three hundred houses then stood in the urban center of a community that employed a work force estimated in the thousands. By 1911, residential construction had filled the blocks between 11th and 35th Streets and from the mills east to Avenue J (Sanborn Property Atlas, 1911).

In the Village Creek survey areas, the Ensley Land Company played a prominent role in acquiring land and later selling residential building lots along the creek (see Figure 24). Organized in 1887 by Enoch Ensley along with T.T. Hillman, Thomas D. Radcliffe, John Inman, and William B. Walker, the Ensley Land Company was re-organized in 1898. From 1898, the year a plan for Ensley was filed with the Jefferson County Probate Court, until 1929 when the company's assets were transferred to the Tennessee Company, the Ensley Land Company developed 17 additions to Ensley (see Jefferson County Map Book IV, 3). Walker Percy was president of the company from 1910 to 1917; TCI president George Gordon Crawford led the company from 1918 until its demise. This land company, as well as its competitors, benefited from the continued growth of Ensley's population after World War Between 1898 and the late 1920s, 30 land companies were active in ١. developing residential property in Ensley. The Ensley Company was the most prominent of these other land companies and was directed by former TCI officers George McCormack, Erskine Ramsey, and Pascal G. Shook. Lots in subdivisions planned optimistically at the beginning of the century and newly surveyed parcels in areas along Village Creek that had been avoided during Ensley's first boom were sold to black laborers. The most significant period of buying and building along the Ensley stretches of Village Creek, that is, along Avenues K, L, S, T, U, V, and W, occurred between 1924 and 1928 (Sanborn Property Atlas, 1928, plates 522 and 551). Also included in this

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building boom were the northern blocks of Moro Park and Tuxedo Park (see Figure 24).

Tuxedo Park was considerably older than the building that occurred in the late 1920s. Established by Robert Jemison, Sr., Tuxedo Park was managed by the Sessions Land Company from 1902 until 1916. Jemison. Birmingham's pre-eminent entrepreneur, was president of this land company throughout its existence and was assisted by secretary/treasurer A.B. T.T. Hillman, a principle in the Ensley Land Company, was briefly Tanner. associated with the Sessions Land Company in 1902 and 1903. Located between Avenues S, T and U and 13th and 16th Streets, Tuxedo Park was adjacent to a streetcar line Jemison operated between Ensley and Birmingham and the "Tidewater" line. Lots in this subdivision measured 25 by 140 feet, considerably smaller than the 50 by 140 foot lots other Ensley and East Birmingham companies sold. Many of the earliest residents of these two neighborhoods purchased two or more of these relatively narrow lots.

Most of the oldest properties in Tuxedo Park and the dwellings of many long-time residents of the neighborhood lay outside the project area. In the study area, six residents have lived in this neighborhood for 20 years, and one resident has lived there for 45 years. Houses in the blocks nearest the creek were not constructed until 1961.

By 1902, 34 dwellings had been constructed south of 16th Street by white laborers, some of whom attended Tuxedo Baptist Church. This church disappears from the city directory in 1912, at precisely the time when the subdivision was expanding and becoming a neighborhood of black laborers and their families. Tuxedo Park, located between 13th and 16th Streets and Avenues T and U, was also the site of an amusement park and, later, a swimming pool for blacks between 1928 and 1956 (Brackner, 1984f).

Tuxedo is probably best known for Tuxedo Junction, originally a crossing of the Ensley-Fairfield and Tidewater streetcar lines. A small commercial district developed where these streetcar lines crossed, and on the second floor of a corner commercial building, black workers gathered in a music hall. In 1939 Birmingham musician/composer Erskine Ramsay Hawkins gave the junction and social gatherings there national fame in a hit song whose lyrics told listeners to "Come on down, forget your care, Come on down, you'll see me there! So long, town, I'm heading for Tuxedo Junction, now!" Band leader Glenn Miller later arranged Hawkins' lyrics.

Mrs. Lula Williams recalls Tuxedo Junction's jazz era, but she remembers that it did not last very long. A local club which charged a 50¢ admission fee was outdrawn by groups who played at a TCI owned auditorium where tickets cost 25¢ (Brackner, 1894a).

Moro Park, another subdivision laid out during the industrial expansion that accompanied World War I, expanded into the blocks closest to Village Creek in the late 1920s. Frank Nelson, a leading independent coal operator in the Birmingham district during the early 20th century, began to


develop the subdivision in 1919. Closely associated with Steiner Brothers, a Birmingham banking house which financed his coal business and the development of Moro Park, Nelson was primarily interested in coal ventures such as his Empire Coal Co. and real estate in Birmingham's central business district. Steiner Brothers, acting as mortgage agents, assumed control of Moro Park and was financing house construction there by 1925 (White, 1984; Grefenkamp Atlas, 1925). By then, the area north of 11th Street was a neighborhood of black laborers; avenues L, M, and S defined the eastern and western boundaries of the subdivision. Mrs. Lula E. Moses and her husband were among the black families who built houses in the Moro Park area in the late 1920s (Brackner, 1984g; see Figure 25).

The occupational profile of Moro Park was characteristic of the Village Creek survey areas in Ensley. All of the heads of households held unskilled jobs, 80 percent of them as laborers. In 1932, for example, seven laborers, a maid, a miner, and a grocer lived on 11th Street in Moro Park; nine laborers and two maids lived on 12th Street. None of them lived in Moro Park twenty years later, and short-term residency was characteristic. New residents, however, worked in the same kind of unskilled jobs the earlier residents had.

Plans for the C.B. Sewall and Kelsko Subdivisions were filed in 1901. Nicholas H. Sewall and his wife Catherine were active in real estate development in Birmingham between 1900 and 1909. Sewall and his wife evidently grew impatient of waiting for their Ensley property to boom and subdivided their land into 34 lots per block and moved to Gadsen, Alabama, where they headed the Southern Mineral Development Company. Black laborers initiated house construction in this subdivision in the mid 1920s. Lots along Village Creek were full by 1928 (see Figures 26 and 27).

On the Pratt City side of Village Creek house construction followed a different pattern. Pratt City, the most successful of Birmingham's early mining communities, developed in the 1870s and 1880s. One section of this community became known as Frenchtown after August Fayette, an immigrant who built 51 houses there on land just to the east of a tract on which the Huey Land Company constructed 45 houses. White laborers initially purchased these cottages, but black working men purchased them from their white owners in the 1920s. Additional new construction by blacks in this area was financed, in part, by the Steiner Bank which was then also involved in the construction of houses in nearby Bailey and Cummings subdivision (Brackner, 1984e; Brackner, 1984a). By 1928, Avenues H and I in the 900 block were filled with houses.

This small neighborhood has enjoyed remarkable persistence in residency patterns. Seven residents in the project have lived in the area for more than 50 years. Seventeen percent of the residents of the 900 block of Avenue H, for example, and 29 percent of the residents of the 800 block have occupied the same street address for half a century. Lee Alto moved into 916 Avenue H in 1928 and has lived there ever since; Henry Caldwell and five of his neighbors came to the neighborhood in 1932 (see Figure 28).





Figure 26.

1244-1224 Avenue K, Sewall-Kelsko Addition, Ensley, developed 1927-1929. Lula P. Williams of 1245 Avenue K remembers how the neighborhood was developed: "They just made this into a livin' place. They sold it out, lot by lot. ... One real estate started selling it. They sell you a lot. The real estate built for you, if you keep up your notes. Got the money through the Steiners... They just put it together and kept paying. Buy and pay."



Figure 27.

Fifteen proprietors, including several members of the Williams family and Italian grocer Philip Gagliano, ran this neighborhood grocery and meat incrket at 1243–1245 Avenue K, Kelsko Subdivision, Ensley.



During the first three decades of the 20th century, the area between Avenues F and J from 17th Street north to Village Creek was an Italian enclave. Laborers from Sicily and Italy drawn to Birmingham's mills and mines settled there together for "support." Mr. Joe Giattina remembers that Italian laborers lived in a neighborhood whose unofficial boundaries were marked by the Ku Klux Klan. Resurgent throughout the nation between 1918 and 1931, the Klan directed some of its terror and hate toward Catholics and immigrants living in Ensley, and, according to Mrs. Giattina, "wouldn't allow Italians to cross 17th Street" (Williams, Birmingham Historical Society, 1979). Some of the Italian residents of Ensley who could not or chose not to work in the mines or furnaces, operated grocery stores. The Klan restricted the trade of these stores by putting signs on their doors that told "whites not to shop there." Consequently, some of the grocers relocated their stores in the neighborhoods into which black laborers were beginning to move.

The replacement of black residents in an area that had been white, and which in some cases had been Italian in ethnic composition, is reflected in the history of St. Joseph's Catholic Church. Established in 1915 on Avenue K, this church became the hub of the Italian community, but as Italian residents of Ensley moved to other neighborhoods in the 1950s and 1960s, St. Joseph's congregation dwindled and moved to a site west of 20th Street in Ensley. Property adjacent to the church became a community ball park in the early 1950s, and the church building itself was sold in 1968 to the Metropolitan A.M.E. Church, a congregation which had originated in Nolan's Quarters, one of TCI's Ensley housing projects.

The movement of black families into the area between Avenues K and J known as the Sewall-Kelsko subdivision is illustrated by changing ethnic patterns of residency along those avenues between 1910 and 1923. In 1910 the 1300 block of Avenue K was solidly Italian. In 1922 one black family lived among the 17 Italian households in that block, but one year later, no Italian families remained. They had moved to the 1400 block after selling their houses to black working men.

From this point, black families dominated the subdivision and the new construction that occurred in it. In 1924, there were six houses in the 1200 block. By 1930, there were 35, and three in the 1100 block that touched the creek. This pattern was repeated along Avenue J as blacks moved into the 1300 block and as Italians moved south to the 1400 and 1500 blocks. Houses in the area increased from eight in 1925 to 25 that filled all available building lots by 1928. By that time there were four houses in the 1100 block and 28 houses in the 1300 block, which was also entirely black in population.

The occupations of the heads of households in these neighborhoods revealed the blue collar character of the subdivision. In 1930, when 14 vacant houses in the neighborhood bore testimony to the effects of the Depression, 54 percent of the men (N=24) worked as unskilled laborers, 27 percent (N=12) as miners, while six female heads of households (14 percent) worked as maids. The mix of occupations in the subdivision changed little in the next 20 years. In 1952, 64 percent of the heads of households were laborers (N=18), all but one of whom worked for TCl, and 21 percent of the men in this neighborhood worked in the mines. The picture that emerges from the analysis of the occupations held by the heads of households in this neighborhood is that the area was home for a less skilled group of working men than the subdivisions in East Birmingham.

IV

Development of land along Village Creek lagged in East Lake as it had in East Birmingham and Ensley. By 1911 dense residential development of single family dwellings sprinkled with duplexes spread across land first surveyed by the East Lake Land Company in 1887 (Sanborn Property Atlas, Birmingham, vol. 4, 500–504, 508–511). Privies, sheds, and chicken coops filled rear yards of lots, generally 50 x 200 feet in size, which lined 1st, Sloss, and Hillman Avenues from 71st to 85th Street and along 1st, 2nd, and 3rd Avenues South between 73rd and 80th Streets. A few scattered houses appeared near Village Creek in Trotwood Park and Lake Highlands. subdivisions started in 1906 (Jefferson County Map Book I, 217; Map Book VI, 34; Map Book V, 157; Map Book XXXVIII, 28). The Southern Realty Company and the sale of several undivided parcels in 1925 just to the west of East Lake Park accounted for all activity in the project area after initial building at the beginning of the century (See Figure 29). Otherwise, the low-lying land on either side of Village Creek was still vacant.

Concentrated development of land along the creek did not commence until after World War II. Delmar Terrace, a subdivision of Andrews-Wood Realty of which J. Levert was president and Jim Wood secretary, was begun in March of 1949. Franton Terrace, named for Frank and Antony Sazera, was initiated 6 years later (October, 1955). Additional land sales and divisions in the vicinity of old Trotwood Park by Italian-Americans expanded that neighborhood into land perviously utilized for truck farming. H.M. Strauss, Sr. of Vulcan Housing Co., Ross and Pete Tortorigi, and A.F. Pontillo were active in the sale of lots in this area (Jefferson County Map Book XXXVIII, 28; Map Book XLVII, 38; Map Book LII, 56; Map Book LXXII, 9).

Unlike the neighborhoods that coalesced in Ensley and Pratt City, no pattern of long-term residency developed in these areas of East Lake. In Trotwood Park, one of the older subdivisions in this part of East Lake, four of 18 residents of the 4300 block remained at the same address for 10 years; one stayed for as long as 20 years; and one for 43 years. What was more, not one initial resident stayed there longer than 10 years. Between 1950 and 1970, only three of 18 residents who lived there in 1950 remained until 1970. Built quickly, and filled rapidly, the houses in these subdivisions seem to have been perceived as temporary residences for a population more mobile than the one that settled in Ensley in the 1920s. Flooding along Village Creek and the impact of the expansion of the adjacent municipal airport may explain this



residency pattern which contrasts sharply with patterns of long-term residency that characterize older East Lake neighborhoods.

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At the end of the 19th century the occupational structure of East Birmingham bespoke the community's industrial origins. Simple statistical analysis of the Birmingham city directory for 1898 reveals that 58 percent (N=62) of white residents of East Birmingham worked in the industrial sector of the community (See Table III-1). A slightly smaller percentage of the community's workers, 42 percent (N=44), held jobs in the service sector. These numbers may be compared with those for black laborers, 82 percent of whom worked in industrial jobs, 18 percent of whom held service jobs. It should be noted that in 1898 there were 17 widows, 10 white and seven black, living in East Birmingham who were listed as heads of households.

Further distinctions between white and black workers are evident in the occupations of men in the industrial sector. Almost all blacks were employed as laborers (54 of 58), while fewer white men held unskilled jobs. The most frequently held job among blacks was that of laborer, while the most frequently held job among white workers was that of machinist.

Employment in the residential areas closest to Village Creek, those being considered in this study, matches that of the larger communities. Mapping the pattern of employment trends in these areas between 1910 and 1970 provides some indications of the character of the community (See Table III-2). Between 1910 and 1940, the first three decades of settlement in the East Birmingham reaches of Village Creek, heads of households residing there were employed more often in the industrial sector (73 percent) than the service sector. Most often, these working men were employed by railroad companies. Between 1910 and 1935, five brakemen and two switchmen lived in this area. There were three miners. This pattern of industrial employment held during the 1950s and 60s. There were by this time no white residents in the area, and among the remaining black residents there was a dramatic increase in the number of men who worked in unskilled jobs. Much of this increase is explained by the rise in the number of domestic workers, up from one to 15, and day laborers, up from six to 13, who worked outside the industrial sector. The most common industrial occupation, due in part to the nearby location of Stockham Pipe and Fitting Company, was that of pipefitter.

All white laborers had left this section of East Birmingham by the end of the 1920s. Before they departed, a slight majority of white heads of households worked in semi-skilled trades such as salesmen, carpenters, molders, and electricians, while fewer held professional or managerial positions.

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TABLE 111-1 OCCUPATIONS OF HEADS OF HOUSEHOLDS, EAST BIRMINGHAM, 1898

		Wh	ite	Blo	ick
		N	%	N	%
Servic	e Sector Professional-				
	Managerial	7	.07	2	.03
	Semi-Skilled	32	.30	3	.04
	Unskilled	5	.05	8	.11
	subtotal	44	.42	13	. 18
Industrial Sector Professional- Managerial		2	.02	0	.00
	Semi-skilled	48	.45	4	.06
	<u>Unskilled</u>	12	.11	54	.76
	subtotal	62	.58	58	.82

Note: Table does not reflect widows or students.

TABLE 111-2 OCCUPATIONS OF HEADS OF HOUSEHOLDS, EAST BIRMINGHAM SURVEY AREA, 1910 TO 1970

		1910	-1949			950-	1970	
	wh	ite		ack	whi	te	bla	ck
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Industrial Sector								
Professional/								
Managerial	3	.3	0	.0	0	.0	0	. t
Semi-skilled	5	.5	22	.22	0	.0	27	•
								÷
Unskilled	2	.2	49	.48	0	.0	95	<u> </u>
subtotal	10	.1	71	.70	0	.0	122	•
Service Sector							•	
Professional/	•	•		• •	•	^	•	
Managerial	0	.0	I	.01	0	.0	3	•
Semi-skilled	0	.0	10	•1	0	.0	11	•
Unskilled	0	.0	20	.2	0	.0	50	
subtotal	0	.0	31	.3	0	.0	64	•
Total	10		102		0		186	

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Similar occupational patterns prevailed in Ensley. There were very few professionals or managers in the initial wave of residents in the Ensley study area. Only one professional, a minister, remained in the area in the 1960s (See Table III-3). From the initial settlement of the neighborhood most heads of households held industrial jobs--87 percent between 1920 and 1949, 66 percent between 1950 and 1969. Far fewer residents of this section of Ensley worked in the service sector. The number of men employed in

TABLE 111-3 OCCUPATIONS OF HEADS OF HOUSEHOLDS, ENSLEY SURVEY AREA, 1920-1970

Job Sector	Indus	trial	Service		
	1920-1949	1950-1969	1920-1949	1950-1969	
Professional/ Managerial	3	I	0	0	
Semi-Skilled	24	24	3	2	
Unskilled	68	28	11	25	
Totals	95	53	4	27	

NOTE: All workers were black.

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industrial jobs declined between 1920 and 1970, reflecting a trend evident throughout the Birmingham District. The decline is evident in the loss of mining jobs and demand for unskilled laborers. Even so, unskilled labor was the work followed by the majority of Ensley men who lived along Village Creek.

Decline of employment in the industrial sector was partially offset by an increase in jobs in the service sector. The number of residents in the study area who held positions in the service sector increased from 11 to 25 between 1920 and 1970. Domestic service (N=9) emerged in Ensley as the leading job opportunity as it had earlier in East Birmingham.

East Lake's aspirations to be a residential community safely removed from the smoke and noise of Birmingham's expanding industries is reflected in the diversity of occupations represented in the community and the dominance of the service sector as the primary area of employment (See Table III-4). In 1898, industrial jobs trailed those in the service sector 71 to 263 among white workers, 30 to 34 among East Lake's smaller black community. Significantly, 42 of East Lake men who held industrial jobs worked for railroad companies, and only one industrial worker commuted to TCI's Ensley mills despite efficient streetcar service. Machinists (N=7) were the single largest industrial occupational group in the community while "company owner" (N=14) was the most often listed service-related job among white citizens of East Lake. For black workers, miner (N=6) and unskilled

TABLE 111-4 OCCUPATIONS OF HEADS OF HOUSEHOLDS, EAST LAKE, 1898

	White	Black
Industrial Sector		
Professional/ Managerial	9	0
Semi-Skilled	43	11
Unskilled	19	19
subtotals	71	30
<u>Service_Sector</u> Professional/		
Managerial	72	6
Semi-Skilled	157	3
Unskilled	34	25
subtotals	263	34

labor (N=14) headed the list of industrial jobs, while domestic service (N=5) and other tasks such as cooking (N=7) and laundry (N=9) employed a larger number of black women. East Lake never developed an industrial base and remained, as its planners and promoters had hoped, a residential community (see Appendix I).

By the early 1950s, the occupational structure had inclined even closer to the service sector. This trend was reflected by the jobs held by residents of the East Lake study area. Industrial jobs (N=37) trailed those in the service sector (N=97) by a wide margin. Hayes Aircraft, an aircraft maintenance and repair contractor of military aircraft located adjacent to East Lake, was the largest employer of workers in the neighborhood (See Table III-5).

TABLE 111-5 OCCUPATIONAL SUMMARY OF EARLIEST HEADS OF HOUSEHOLDS EAST LAKE SURVEY AREA

······································	Industrial	Service	
Professional/ Managerial	10	19	
Semi-skilled	27	78	
Unskilled	9	34	
iotais	46	131	

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The impression that emerges from the analysis of occupational structures of East Lake, East Birmingham and Ensley is that East Birmingham and Ensley were similar and remained so after their early years and that East Lake remained service oriented, more middle than working class and almost completely white (See Table III-6).

TABLE 111-6						
OCCUF	PATION	L SUMM	VRY			
VILLAGE	CREEK	SURVEY	AREAS			

Community	East 1898	Lake Study I	East Bi 1898	rmingham Study ²	Ensley Corps ³
Percent White	.86	1.00	.64	.04	.05
Percent Black	. 14	0.00	.36	.96	.99
Percent Employed	.81	.92	.81	.94	.86
Percent White Employed	.64	.92	.75	.83	.86
Percent Black Employed	.96	0.00	.91	.95	1.00
Percent Industrial	.25	.26	.68	.67	.79
Percent Service	.75	.74	.31	.33	.21
Percent White Professional	.24	.17	.08	.00	.00
Percent Black Professional	.09	0.00	.03	.01	.02
Percent White Semi-Skilled	.60	. 59	.76	.00	.00
Percent Black Semi-Skilled	.22	0.00	.10	.25	. 22
Percent White Unskilled	.16	.24	.16	.00	.00
Percent Black Unskilled	.69	0.00	.87	.74	.75
(2) Empl	oyment oyment oyment	for 1920			

NOTES CHAPTER THREE: CITY LIFE ALONG VILLAGE CREEK

1. William Ellard sold his land to the Birmingham Municipal Airport in the 1930s.

2. The Ensley Land Company originally leased, and later sold, this land to the Wylam-based realty firm of Bailey and Cummings run by Joseph W. Bailey, his wife, Margaret, and Hugh Jefferson Cummings.

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CHAPTER FOUR: BLUE COLLAR HOUSING ALONG VILLAGE CREEK

Willie Johnson was only a boy when his father decided to move his family from Athens, Georgia, to Birmingham and what he hoped would be a better life. Willie's father found work at coke ovens in Pratt City, later repaired railroad steam locomotives, and did well enough to move his family into a six-room house. When Willie's turn came to go to work, he followed his father into Birmingham's labor-hungry industries and took a job at Republic Steel where he earned \$2.00 for ten hours of work. He remembers that "a person can't do much with that," but he and many other working men like him took what they made in Birmingham's mines and mills, saved some of it, and bought houses. Johnson's neighbors in Pratt City had "pretty nice houses," and he remembers that "most everybody who lived in here owned their own house" (Brackner, 1984i).

In Ensley, Pratt City, East Birmingham, and East Lake, the blocks along Village Creek filled with the houses of working men and women. In Ensley and East Birmingham, building booms came in the 1920s; in East Lake house construction along the creek did not peak until after World War II. The neighborhoods that resulted, built quickly--often in a few years--for racially and socially similar owners, reflect attitudes about housing that prevailed in their day. Of course, constraints of money and location affected what Willie Johnson and other house-buying workers could afford, but their choices tell a little of what they thought was sufficient in a house and reveals a little of the aspirations and hopes working men in Birmingham shared during the 1920s and later. One of the first things that long-time residents of the blocks along Village Creek want visitors that come to their houses to know is that they own their houses and have for a very long time. Willie Johnson is a home owner and proud that he lives in a neighborhood where people own their houses instead of a neighborhood of "project houses"--dwellings built by individuals or companies and leased or rented to workers (Brackner, 1984d). Long before there were public "projects" in Birmingham and other large cities, to live in a "project house" was a mark of some kind of not measuring up.

Willie Johnson worked hard to avoid living in a neighborhood of "project houses," and so did other working men who moved into the Village Creek sections of Ensley and East Birmingham in the late 1920s. These houses, 651 of them, are the subject of the architectural analysis that follows. It should be noted that this analysis of working class houses along Village Creek will begin with a general discussion of industrial housing in the Birmingham District in the early years of the 20th century. We have done so for two reason. First, this short discussion makes clear the differences that existed between privately-owned and company-owned housing. The attraction of living along Village Creek becomes more comprehendible when the alternatives in housing in the first quarter of the 20th century are understood. Second, this summary will make possible comparisons between "company" and "project" houses and between "company" neighborhoods and private neighborhoods, and that is essential to understanding why workers in the Village Creek survey areas were and are so fiercely proud of their houses and where they live.

11

Explosive growth spurts during the iron boom of the 1880s and the steel boom of the early 20th century created a voracious demand for laborers in Birmingham. The booms, in turn, spawned demands for dwellings to house the workers who arrived from the rural South, from northern cities, and from abroad. Coal and iron mine operators and the iron and steel companies built thousands of housing units in the Warrior and Cahaba coal fields, along Red Mountain and near their furnaces as part of their campaians to attract Most of the workers were like Willie Johnson's sufficient labor forces. father, men who came to Birmingham without skills, and by 1920 there were more than 17,000 of them living in the Birmingham District in houses constructed and maintained by 30 industrial companies. Governmentcollected statistics indicated that the average company house in the Birmingham District contained 3.5 rooms and provided living space for two workers and their families (U.S. Department of Labor, 1920, 71).

There was in the working class neighborhoods of the Birmingham District a hierarchy of sufficiency in the houses that companies provided their employees. At the bottom of this scale were houses of rude sufficiency. A company-built town in Ensley contained houses that were representative of dozens throughout the Birmingham District. These houses were of board and batten construction, one-story high with a single room. They had no ceilings, and the interior walls were not plastered. Their windows were small, their walls were not painted, and they had no plumbing or electricity (U.S. Department of Labor, 1920, 31, 69). One observer described houses like these as "unpainted and weather-beaten." Rent for one of these houses was \$1.50 per room per month (Fitch, 1912, 1532).

A nearby mining camp, completed in 1916, contained dozens of 4 room houses, each one a duplicate of its neighbors. Built at a cost of \$666, exclusive of electricity and plumbing, and topped by a pyramidal roof, these dwellings could be easily converted into duplexes (U.S. Department of Labor, 1920, 70). Mining camps like this one evolved in a generally rectangular plan on "rugged and hilly" land which confounded street paving and inspired systems of zig-zagging trails that sufficed for streets (Gillenwater, 1979, 70). Dolomite screenings were used as paving materials.

A few individuals and corporations planned communities that offered their workers better housing. Corey, since renamed Fairfield, was one of the more notable attempts to build a humane community for workers, but much of the available housing in Birmingham was barely sufficient as shelter. In 1940, the city of Birmihngham declared that at least "40 percent of the housing in every district" was substandard (Birmingham Housing Authority, 1940, 8). The consistent presence of substandard housing in Birmingham had inspired an earlier observer to comment that company houses were visible proof of the nexus where "business overshadows humanity" (Fitch, 1912, 1537). Writing in <u>The Survey</u>, James A. Fitch observed that Birmingham's housing problems were shared by other industrial cities but reminded his readers that his purpose in writing about worker houses was to tell "the American people what are the conditions where its toilers live and work" (<u>The Survey</u>, 1912, 1663). By doing so, Fitch and other social reformers hoped the nation could correct what he and other progressives perceived as debilitating imbalances in how rich and poor lived and worked.

Fitch described the wide range of "company houses" that stood at the beginning of the 20th century in the Birmingham District. Houses in outlying mining camps were, Fitch reported, preferable in setting to those which stood in the heart of industrial Birmingham, surrounded by slag heaps, coke ovens, blast furnaces, steel mills and railroad tracks. The contrast between the "considerable beauty" Fitch admired in the mining camps and the "abominations of desolation" he saw near the Sloss-Sheffield City Furnaces was sufficient to convince Fitch that living outside town was far better than living in the city. Even so, the quality of housing was uniformly crude at both locales. Sloss houses, for example, were "unpainted, fences . . . tumbling down, a board ... occasionally missing from the side of a house." Indecently built dry closets and privies cluttered rear yards. Another writer described Ensely at the beginning of the 20th century as "typical of down-in-the-heel visionless house cluster" and similar to America's other industrial cities. Ensley's "general unattractiveness" in 1912 revealed that "little thought was given to the town except as an industrial barracks" (Taylor, 1912, 1467).

It was Fitch's opinion that the company houses in the mining camps and near the furnaces were "desperately cheap in construction" because of the constraints of the capitalist system. The industrialists who had built the mills and ran the mines of the Birmingham District had a "desperate struggle to get sufficient capital" to bring their schemes to completion. Building houses "without regard to performance or comfort" had been one way to save Other men, however, had what they on short-term capital outlays. considered more immediate explanations for why they built flimsy houses for their workers. When asked why he had chosen to build small houses which deteriorated rapidly for his workers, Col. William Maben, Superintendent of the Sloss City Furnaces, replied that he did not believe in "cuddling workmen" (Fitch, 1912, 1532).

Coal operators and factory managers might save money which they could invest in increasing the productive capabilities of their plants if they built cheap houses for their workers. But if they did so, they risked creating an environment that would not attract a stable, reliable work force. It had long been argued that one of the best ways to attract a good labor force was to provide suitable housing. The <u>Manufacturers Record</u>, a Baltimore journal that published news for southern industrialists, recommended in 1888 in an

article entitled "Cheap Houses for Workers" that solid houses for workers were solid investments:

Good dwellings at low rents is one of the essential features of a ... prosperous manufaturing town, as the better class of mechanics will not put up with interior accomodations nor with exorbitant rents.... Contented laborers, well housed and well fed, are essential to the prosperity of any industrial enterprise. Cheap homes but good homes will attract good laborers who can afford to and will work for much lower pay than where houses are scarce and rents high (Edmunds, 1888, 2).

There was at least one other matter to consider in the construction of housing for industrial workers, and that was the rural origins of many of the men who migrated to southern mining and manufacturing centers. David A. Thompkins, mill operator, engineer, and author of the influential textbook for textile mill operators <u>Cotton Mill: Commercial Features</u>, suggested that "the whole matter of providing attractive and comfortable habitations for cotton operatives . . . can be summarized in the statement that they are essentially a rural people." It had been Thompkins' experience that workers arrived at his mills "accustomed to the farm life," and that while "their condition is in most cases decidedly bettered by going to the factory, the old instincts still cling" (Thompkins, 1899, 117). Birmingham's mill operators discovered that their laborers came largely from rural agricultural communities, but unlike Thompkins, they did not ordinarily include generous amounts of open space in their housing projects where workers might raise some of their own food and keep a milk cow or some other stock animals.

Two ideals about housing thus came into conflict when coal operators and factory managers planned housing for their workers. On the one hand, company-built housing should be compatible with notions rural folk had about what made a proper house and attractive enough to encourage them to move to new industrial work places. On the other hand, company houses had to be built cheaply enough so that they could be rented cheaply, turn a profit, and not divert too much capital from needed improvements or additions to industrial plants. That seldom clear-cut choice between profits and comfortable housing for workers was not Birmingham's alone. Most often, the former, building expediently and often to the point of negligence, The photographs Walker Evans and Arthur Rothstein made of prevailed. worker houses in Ensley and outlying mining areas in the 1930s for the Farm Security Administration are perhaps the most famous images of the point in the development of an industrial city where "business overwhelms humanity" (see Figure 30).

These houses, grim, grimy, unpainted, and poorly maintained, were the worst Birmingham had to offer its workers, and there were hundreds of them. It should be noted that there were houses in Birmingham even more dilapidated than the ones Evans visted in the late 1930s and that the



Figure 30. TCI company quarters at the Ensley works, February, 1937, by Arthur Rothstein (Courtesy of the Department of Archives and Manuscripts, Birmingham Public Library.

Department of Labor and the Jefferson County Board of Health labeled as "substandard." There were worse elsewhere. TCl built some of its houses for \$666, but Texas oilfield workers sometimes lived in shotgun houses erected quickly for between \$90 and \$124.

Some sections of Birmingham had better records for housing their workers. The houses TCl built for its miners in 1912 at Bayview are idyllic in setting and comfortable and spacious compared to those near its Ensley furnaces. Houses at nearby Fairfield, Westfield and Docena provide another sharp contrast to those Evans photographed.²

There were thus ample reasons why working men and women and their families left houses their employers provided and purchased houses of their own. Tiny mining camps carved rudely from cut-over timber land that laced improved roads and reliable sources of water and densely packed urban clusters on dusty unpaved streets had limited appeal for blue collar families. A move to town or a move across town to new neighborhoods where laborers owned their own houses, even if those houses were small, was a step up from paying rent for a company house (Brackner, 1984i).

Folks like Mrs. Viola Williams were glad to escape the squalor and monotony of life in company towns, but there was another reason why she and other workers wanted to escape company housing. Black workers purchased lots in Tuxedo and Moro Parks, Lincoln City, and Greenwood, and built houses that were nearly identical in size, style and setting to houses in the camps and company towns and not much better than those they left behind. This suggests that the move from rented, company-owned housing to nearly identical private housing was motivated by other causes. Part of the answer may lie in the area of control. In company towns, workers lived near their supervisors, in a way under their eye at work and at home. Reporters for The Survey wrote in 1912 that deputy sheriffs employed by companies and who represented the "will of the company" rather than the law patrolled the streets and paths of company towns with instructions to bar "undesirable persons" and men of "sinister purpose" from the camps. Labor agents who hired for competing firms and union organizers, both perceived as threats to the stability of mining operations, were the intended targets of the deputies' vigilance (The Survey, 1912, 1663).

Housing workers in camps and company-owned towns allowed management to control their work forces. Management could control who lived in a camp and who visited there. Management could use the lure of housing, and the threat of taking it away, as a powerful tool to enforce its will. After the general strike of 1908, coal company operators inserted clauses in their house leases that directed that the employing company could dictate to their tenants who could come on company property and who could not (Fitch, 1912, 1538). In an economy where working conditions were "under the control of the employer" and where no controls but those exerted by the "natural laws of demand and supply in the labor market" existed to moderate

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management's perception of labor, employees often found their lives controlled, directly and indirectly, by their employers. A move to Tuxedo or Greenwood or Lincoln City was one way to move away from control toward self-determination. If a worker owned his house, he controlled at least one segment of his life.

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The movement of hundreds of working class families into the neighborhoods and subdivisions that line Village Creek in East Lake, East Birmingham, and Ensley resulted in the construction of a wide range of house types between 1909, the year of construction of the oldest house in the survey area, and the 1970s. During the fieldwork phase of the Village Creek Survey, the Birmingham Historical Society examined 672 street addresses compiled from topographic maps of the survey areas. Twenty-one of the structures indicated on the base map of the project areas had been demolished since the map was last updated in 1976, leaving 651 structures to be recorded. Each house in the project areas was photographed and information regarding it entered on a form the Birmingham Historical Society utilizes in all of its architectural surveys (see Appendix II). The survey crew routinely made notes concerning the placement of chimney stacks and flues, foundation types, and indications of alterations to each structure. Such observations, however, revealed little about internal modifications. Only inspections of the interiors of each of the structures could provide that kind of information, and that was not possible during this phase of the project. This survey was essentially a "windshield" view of the three project areas. Right of entry had not been obtained for any of the houses, and the "fast track" schedule established for the project made it necessary to make most observations about each of the houses from the curb.

Structures designated as of special interest to the Corps of Engineers and the Alabama Historical Commission by red circles and hatchering on base maps of the project areas were photographed more extensively. Photographs of the front and both side elevations of these structures were taken. In addition, photographs of streetscapes throughout the project areas were made to record the character of the project neighborhoods.

The structures in the three project areas ranged from single-family dwellings to multi-family tenements, from relatively old to relatively new. Eleven types, each of which is widely distributed throughout the eastern United States, were observed among the 651 structures which stood in the survey area during April and May of 1984. Typically, house types were mixed through each block in the project areas. These types range from shotgun houses, a type common to both rural and urban creas, to the ranch-type dwellings which dominated the suburbs of post-World War II America.

A brief discussion is needed here to explain how a date of construction was determined for each of the dwellings in the study area. It must be understood that due to the large number of structures for which a date of construction had to be determined, it was not possible, within the limits of the current study, to complete deed and title searches for each dwelling. In lieu of title searches, we substituted a three-phased method that substitutes year of first occupation for year of construction. The procedure combined research in map collections with analysis of extant city directories. First, the "Burkhardt, Erdreich, White Inventory of Early Birmingham Houses" was searched to determine if any of the structures in the project area appeared on either the Beers map of 1887 or the 1902 Baists map. No structures designated by the Corps of Engineers appeared on either of these maps. Next, later maps, the Sanborn Property and Insurance Maps of 1911, 1917, and 1928, were studied to identify individual structures extant in the survey area at these dates. This review of historical maps, proceeding from early to more recent maps of the project area, also measured the rate of expansion of each of the project subdivisions.

The third phase of our method for determining a date of construction for each structure in the project area consisted of refining the rough dates obtained from our map reviews. City Directories from 1909 forward were canvassed on a street by street, block by block basis for the areas included in the project. The "year of first listing" of a street address in these directories was taken as the year of first occupation. This date was accepted as equivalent to date of construction. Informant interviews, analysis of the stylistic features of the houses, and dates of construction when those were known from archival sources, confirmed "year of first listing" as equivalent to year of construction. A review of a random sample of known dates of construction suggested that "year of construction" generally preceded "year of first occupation" by one or two years.

In all but a few cases, interviews and architectural features affirmed the date of first occupation as equivalent to date of construction. In the handful of cases where a structure's stylistic age did not agree with the year of first occupation, the discrepancy was later explained by the fact that the houses appear to have been moved to their present locations several decades after they were built. These dwellings have nevertheless been included in our analysis and including them does not, we think, weaken the pattern that emerged from our analysis.

IV

Table IV-1 summarizes the distribution of house types identified during the survey of the Village Creek Areas (See Table IV-1). The presence and absence of types and their rate of incidence give each of the three areas distinctive housing profiles. The social and economic factors which affected the formation and evolution of each area and its residents are evident in the combinations of house types which are at once clues to the age of the areas and indications of their character. The high incidence of contractor modern houses in East Lake, for example, bespeaks the relative youth of the Village Creek section of that community, just as the absence of older house types

says clearly that land along Village Creek was judged marginal by the community during the first fifty years of its existence.

Туре	Eas	t Lake	East E	3 i mingham	Ens	sley	Total
·····	N	%	<u>N</u>	%	<u>N</u> .	%	
Shotgun Single	0	0.0	46	17.6	50	27.2	96
Shotgun Double	1	0.5	45	18.0	35	18.3	81
Pyramidal 4 Roam	0	0.0	3	1.2	I	0.5	4
T-Shaped Cottage	0	0.0	7	2.7	0	0.0	7
Victorian Cottage	e	0.5	10	4.2	0	0.0	11
English Cottage	16	8.7	0	0.0	0	0.0	16
Bungalow	20	11.0	51	20.7	43	23.6	114
Ranch	6	3.2	I	0.3	2	1.0	9
Contractor Modern	133	73.0	28	12.3	45	26.3	206
Saddle Bag	0	0.0	I	0.3	0	0.0	ł
<u>Multi-Family Unit</u>	s 4	0.5	51	19.6	4	2.1	59
Totals	181		243		180		604

TABLE IV-I HOUSING TYPES IN THE VILLACE CREEK SURVEY AREAS

NOTE: 3 garages, 4 churches, 8 commercial structures, I mobile home and 21 demolished and burned-out dwellings were not included in this table. 2.2

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The discussion that follows, a kind of gazetteer of houses built along Village Creek in the twentieth century, begins with the oldest house forms and proceeds generally toward more recent ones.

Shotgun: The most persistent house form in the Village Creek survey areas, shotgun houses are long, narrow dwellings, one room wide and two to four rooms deep (see Figures 31, 32 and 33). Forward-facing gable roofs cover these dwellings and, in many cases, a full front porch. Hipped roofs are not uncommon and when they occur, the front porch is covered by a shed roof. Front doors, ordinarily off-set from center, face the street. The shotgun type is widely distrubuted through the South in both urban and rural settings where it is occupied by sharecroppers, small farmers, miners, and urban industrial workers.

The shotgun house has been widely discussed (Grider, 1975, 47-55; Vlach, 1975; Glassie, 1975, 218-220). Most commonly wood framed on brick piers and clad with clapboards or, less often, covered with board and batten siding, shotguns in the Village Creek survey areas were constructed from 1909 until the mid 1970s. The most recent shotgun in the Village Creek area is consistent in form to its wooden predecessors and is a low cinder block structure built on a poured concrete slab with a front porch supported by 2inch iron pipes (see Figure 34). Figure 34 compares the plans and elevations of three shotgun houses from the Village Creek survey areas and reveals the salient characteristics of this persistent house form.

Shotgun houses dominated in East Birmingham where they comprised 35.6 percent of all dwellings and in Ensley where they were 45.5 percent of all dwellings.

Shotgun Double: Two rooms wide rather than one, shotgun double houses were duplex versions of the shotgun house. Two parallel shotgun units shared a center wall and were covered by a common, single gable roof whose ridge ran parallel to the shared center wall. These dweilings were constructed as frequently as were shotguns and had either one full front parch or two individual gabled porches (see Figures 35, 36, and 37). Shotgun doubles were sometimes called "double houses," "two tenant houses," or "duplexes" by residents along Village Creek and, like shotguns, housed laborers (Brockner 1984a). The range of construction dates for these structures was 1905 1965, but the peak building years for shotgun doubles was 1924 to 1928.

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Figure 31. 1335 Avenue U, Ensley, Alabama, a shotgun house constructed or moved into the area in 1961 and currently rented to a widow. John L. Thomas told an interviewer that a house like this one was a "shotgun house . . . long and narrow (Brackner, 1984e).



Figure 32. "This is a three room house. They call them shotguns." 1528 Cahaba Street, East Birmingham, Alabama. This shotgun dwelling, constructed in 1916, was first occupied by Washington Brown, alaborer. Fourteen other laborers, drivers, oilers, truckers, tractor operators, and widows have resided here.







5. Laborer Hubart Murphy was the first resident of this board and batten double shotgun in 1924 at 3926 16th Avenue North, East Birmingham. Figure 35.



Figure 36. 1621-1623 Sipsey Street, East Birmingham, a "double house" or shotgun double constructed in 1956 and initially rented to laborers at the Stockham, McWane, and Connors plants. A retired woman and a housekeeping aide at the University of Alabama in Birmingham have lived here since 1965.



Victorian Cottage: Constructed prior to World War I, these one and a half story dwellings are asymmetrical in massing and have, typically, a three room T plan or a central hall around which 5 rooms are arranged. Hipped roofs whose ridges are perpendicular to a gable projecting toward the street are most common although pyramidal roofs with several projecting gables are not rare (See Figure 38). 7710 4th Avenue North in East Lake is typical of this type (see Figures 39 and 40). The gable end of this dwelling is fully pedimented and covered with wood shingles. Classical details are often found on porch columns, brackets, and friezes. Sidelights and transom lights sometimes surround the front door, and porches are large and often wrap around the front and side of the structure. The range of construction for these structures was 1909 to 1918, with most examples (N=11) located in the East Birmingham area. It should be noted that this house type dominates older sections of East Lake not included in this study. Current residents refer to this house type as a "frame house" or as a "wood frame house."

<u>T-Shaped Cottage</u>: This three-room dwelling type was constructed in the Village Creek survey area as early as the Victorian Cottage, but was still being erected in the mid-1920s. Two intersecting gable roofs, the longer of which always faces the street (see Figures 41 and 42). 1610 Sipsey Street is typical of the T-shaped Cottages recorded in the Village Creek area; its characteristic gable roof was covered with a Birmingham-produced sheet metal roof. Unlike Victorian Cottages, the street-facing gables of T-shaped Cottages are generally undecorated and may contain a single small window or attic vent. Small front porches are always covered by a shed roof. Clapboards and board and batten coverings over wood frames are typical of these houses which were constructed by the thousands throughout the South in the early 20th century (Glass, 1978).

<u>Pyramidal Roof Cottage</u>: Square in plan, often with a central chimney with hearth openings for all four of its interior rooms, this dwelling was the quintessential company house (U.S. Department of Labor, 1920, 13). Constructed throughout the nation in the early 1900s, these single-story dwellings were often divided into two living units of two rooms each, a process that explains their emic name, "double twos." A shared front porch typically covered the full width of the street facade of the house and small shedded stoops covered rear doors.

Raised on brick piers, these dwellings are most often clad in clapboards or board and batten. Walker Evans' photographs of rows of cottages of this plan in the shadow of the iron furnaces at Ensley made this house type into one of the strongest symbols of industrial life in the South during the Depression. The Birmingham Chamber of Commerce estimated that 1,400 houses of this design were constructed in the Birmingham District in 1904 (White, 1981, 81). And in 1920, a Department of Labor survey of industrial housing noted that the four-room, hipped-roof frame cottage was the "typical house in the southern states." Construction costs for such a house ranged between \$600 and \$1,200 nationwide, and rent was generally \$5

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per month (U.S. Department of Labor, 1920, 13). Interestingly, there are no examples of the pyramidal roof cottage in the Village Creek survey area in Ensley and only 3 in East Birmingham (see Figures 43 and 44).

English Cottage: Constructed primarily in the 1920s, a period when American builders and architects liberally incorporated English architectural motifs into their designs, small dwellings with steeply pitched roofs, exposed timber work, and ornamental stonework mirrored larger houses constructed for the captains of Birmingham's industries on the heights that overlooked the city. Asymmetrically massed, English style cottages with small porches and arched entryways were normally constructed of brick or stucco over brick although some later examples were constructed entirely of wood (see Figure 45).

<u>Saddlebag</u>: Generally considered a rural house type, saddlebag houses were constructed in urban Birmingham between 1900 and 1920. A single story high with a gable roof parallel to the long axis of the structure, saddlebags are two rooms wide with a central chimney that pierces the ridge of the roof. Ells are often added at the rear, and front porches are typically covered with a shed roof that seldom runs the full length of the house. In Birmingham, these structures are covered with clapboards (see Figures 46 and 47).

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<u>Bungalow</u>: During the first half of the 20th century only shotguns houses outnumbered bungalows along Village Creek. One or one and one-half stories high, these low, typically frame dwellings with rectilinear floor plans are generally two rooms wide and two or more rooms deep and have broad, overhanging, forward projecting gabled roofs with ridge beams, rafters, and purlins exposed for decorative effect (Riedl, 1976,92). Large porches, frequently roofed by a smaller gable often set asymmetrically within the span of the roof, are supported by brick piers or tapering wood columns on brick or fieldstone bases. Details often associated with the Craftsman style such as knee braces, patterned brickwork and specially milled structural timbers are not uncommon (see Figures 48, 49, and 50).



Figure 43. 1622 Tombigbee Street, East Birmingham, a four-room house covered with a pyramidal roof constructed in 1922. During the 1920s and 1930s married laborers resided here. From 1956 to 1960 this house was rented as a duplex. James Gusha, a machine operator at Stockham, and his wife Leola lived here from 1960 to 1980. The current resident is a housekeeper at the University of Alabama at Birmingham.





Figure 45. 4335 74th Place North, Trotwood Park, East Lake, an English Cottage constructed in 1929.

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Figure 48. 1600 Tombigbee Street, Greenwood, East Birmingham. Thomas Thedford, a black miner, was the first resident of this large bungalow decorated with fieldstone trim in 1924.





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Bunglow type houses were built in the Village Creek survey areas most frequently during the 1920s and conform to earlier observations about the type. Geographer Milton Newton has written that the bungalow "may be the most common house in Louisiana for the period between ... 1930 and 1950" (quoted in Riedl, 1978, 92). Other observers have found that the bungalow is often referred to as the "main house constructed between World War I and World War II" (Rafferty, 1973, 98). The great popularity of this house type stems from its relative cheapness and its availability. Both Montgomery Ward and Sears, Roebuck and Company sold prefabricated bungalows in their catalogues in the 1920s. Ward, for example, offered its customers the "Florence," a five-room bungalow with a bath and "big front porch" supported by Craftsman brackets. For \$1198 a Ward customer could purchase the "ideal home for the average family" (Cohen, 1969,633). Sears had similar houses that ranged in price from \$1,041 to \$2,093. in the Birmingham area, native fieldstone was often incorporated into the standard catalogue house (see Figure 48).

<u>Contractor Modern</u>: This term describes a housing type built primarily during the post-World War II building booms of the late 1940s and 1950s. Box-like in shape and plan, low in price and relatively quick to build, these dwellings have uncovered stoops and covered carports or garages as intergral features. Factory-made materials such as aluminium siding and windows, asbestos shingles, pressed fiber siding, and concrete block foundations are the material hallmarks of these structures (see Figure 51).

<u>Ranch House</u>: A single story high, wide and set close to the ground with rambling, informal floor plans, ranch style houses dominated America's post-World War II suburbs. The horizontality of these dwellings is emphasized by shallow hipped or gabled roofs which often extended to cover a carport or garage and on occasion by the use of horizontal wood siding Constructed most often in brick, ranch style houses replaced large front porches with private rear patios (see Figure 52).

<u>Multi-Family Units</u>: As applied in this study, multi-family dwellings are those structures, typically constructed of concrete block, that were built in the 1950s and 1960s to house two or more families in a single structure. It should be noted that double shotguns and four room cottages were planned and built as multi-family dwellings, but have not been considered in this category because of distinctions in floor plan and dates of construction that distinguish them from gable-roofed, speculator-built rental units. Some of the multifamily units surveyed in the course of this study have become homes for extended family units for some of Birmingham's under-employed (see Figure 53).

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Tables IV-2, 3, and 4 describe the construction of the house types Periods of greatest described above in the Village Creek survey areas. building activity correspond generally with the early 20th century industrial booms that energized the development of East Birmingham, for example, and the lag in development of building lots along Village Creek in East Birmingham and Ensley. In East Birmingham potential building lots along Village Creek were not developed as quickly as those that lay to the south on higher sites, and house construction did not commence along the creek until just prior to World War I. The house building that occured from then until the end of the 1920s was the period of greatest construction activity until the 1950s. By then the fortunes of the residents of East Birmingham had declined as a whole as the neighborhoods in the study area evolved from being a community of mechanics and laborers into neighborhoods inhabited almost wholly by unskilled laborers, domestics and widows. For the most part their housing needs were met by the construction of large numbers of concrete block multi-family units. Planned, financed, constructed and rented by speculators in 1951, these dwellings marked the last surge of domestic construction in the East Birmingham area that falls in the Village Creek study area.

Similar surges and lulls in building activity are evident in the construction of housing in the Village Creek areas of East Lake and Ensley. As noted previously, while East Lake was developed late in the 19th century, the land that lay along Village Creek was utilized as field and pasture until after World War II. Figure IV-3 reflects the first post-war construction activity in subdivisions such as Franton Terrace and continued building through the 1950s. By the 1960s all lots had filled, and building activity ceased almost completely.

Booms and Iulls in house construction are evident in Ensley, but seem not to have been as marked as those that accompanied the development of East Lake and East Birmingham. In further contrast, new construction in the Village Creek survey area of Ensley continued in the 1960s and 1970s. In general, contractor modern houses gradually replaced shotguns as the construction of shotguns declined after World War II and contractor modern structures increased in number (See Table IV-4). It should be noted that no multi-family units were constructed in the Ensley study area during the first building boom in the 1920s or later during a second wave of building in the 1950s and 1960s. This pattern is attributable, in part, to the remarkable pattern of long-term residency that evolved in Ensley which not only saw dozens of households remain in the community for fifty years and longer but also witnessed sons and daughters build houses close to their parents and A strong sense of community continues in the area and helps relatives. explain the general kept appearance of the area when compared to the East Birmingham portions of the Village Creek survey area. In addition, Ensley has not had to contend with airport and industrial expansion during the past two decades that has eroded large sections of the East Birmingham study area.

House Type	1909- 1920	1921- 1930	1931- 1940	1941- 1950	1951- 1960	1961- 1975
Shotgun	6	15	5	4	12	1
Double Shotgun	7	25	I	0	[]	1
Pyramidal Rf Cottage	I	I	I	0	0	0
T-Cottage	6	i	0	0	0	0
Victorian Cottage	10	0	0	0	0	0
English Cottage	0	0	0	0	0	0
Bungalow	13	18	3	5	12	l
Saddlebag	I	I	0	0	0	0
Multi- Family	0	0	0	3	46	2
Contractor Modern	0	0	0	I	20	7
Ranch	0	0	0	0	0	i
Totals	44	61	10	13	101	13

TABLE IV-2 INCIDENCE OF HOUSE TYPES IN EAST BIRMINGHAM

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House Type	1909- 1920	1921- 1930	1931- 1940	1941- 1950	1951- 1960	1961- 1975
Shotgun	0	0	0	0	0	0
Double Shotgun	0	0	I	0	0	0
Pyramidal Rf Cottage	0	0	0	0	0	0
T-Cottage	0	0	0	0	0	0
Victorian Cottag e	I	0	0	0	0	0
English Cottage	0	11	5	0	0	0
Bungalow	0	11	3	6	0	0
Saddlebag	i	0	0	0	0	0
Multi- Family	0	0	0	0	0	0
Contractor Modern	0	0	0	15	84	4
Ranch	0	0	0	0	6	0
Total	2	22	9	21	90	4

TABLE IV-3 INCIDENCE OF HOUSE TYPES IN EAST LAKE

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House Type	1909- 1920	1921- 1930	93 - 940	1941- 1950	1951- 1960	1961 1975
Shotgun	0	24		16	0	
Double Shotgun	0	19	I	8	0	0
Pyramidal Rf Cottage	0	0	0	0	0	0
T-Cottage	0	0	0	0	0	0
Victorian Cottage	0	0	0	0	0	0
English Cottage	0	0	0	0	0	0
Bungalow	0	26	t	6	0	0
Saddlebag	0	0	0	0	0	0
Multi- Family	0	0	0	0	0	0
Contractor Modern	0	0	0	6	15	23
Ranch	0	0	0	0	0	2
Total s	0	69	3	36	15	26

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TABLE IV-4 INCIDENCE OF HOUSE TYPES IN ENSLEY

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One reason for conducting a survey of the dwellings industrial workers and their families occupied in East Lake, East Birmingham and Ensley concerns the perishable nature of the houses that are the primary objects of this study. Like most major urban areas. Birmingham has, even during the midst of the recent recession, experienced continued growth in some sectors of its business and industrial communities. New construction is the corollary to growth, and that means that old buildings will be demolished to make way for new ones. The construction and destruction of buildings is, of course, an inevitable part of the cycle of urban growth, and in Birmingham construction of new buildings, public housing projects and transportation systems during the last four decades has resulted in the demolition of large sections of older working class neighborhoods. Many more houses have fallen victim to passive destruction. Migration from older neighborhoods to newer suburban areas has left scores of former workers' dwellings vacant. Left unattended, they soon become the prey of vandals and utimately collapse or burn.

Very little is said when the construction of an expressway or office complex levels an older working class neighborhood. The owner and tenants of the houses complain, but few other people do since the houses that disappear are best described as "ordinary." It is, however, the very "ordinariness" of plain houses that makes them an important object of research. Many years ago when English historians began to consider seriously the study of vernacular architectural forms, architectural historian W.G. Hoskins remarked that it was the very plainness of vernacular structures that made them worthy of attention. Historians already knew a good deal about grand houses, Hoskins contended, and that it was "often the commonplace which is most in need of recording" (Hoskins, 1967, 67). If the Village Creek Project has done nothing else, it has, as Hoskins urged, documented a sample of the types of dwellings that once housed many more of Birmingham's ordinary citizens than they do today or will in the future. The project has, in short, recorded some of the architecture of Birmingham's early working class subdivisions and neighborhoods.

VI

NOTES

CHAPTER FOUR: BLUE COLLAR HOUSING ALONG VILLAGE CREEK

 Company quarters located in Ensley from 1910 to 1940 include Brick Quarters (two of that name), Eubanks Quarters, Furnace Quarters, L.&N. Quarters, Martin's Quarters, Mine Quarters No. 3, No. 4, No. 5, and No. 8, Nolan's Quarters, Perkins Quarters, Semet Solvay Quarters, Sheppard's Quarters, Steel Plant Quarters, TCl Quarters and Yellow Quarters (Birmingham City Directories, 1910–1940).

- 2. See White, <u>The Birmingham District</u>, 116-125, 256-260 for a discussion of Fairfield and TC1 Model Villages.
- 3. Baldone Grocery, 3940 16th Avenue North, Ensley, was demolished in September 1984 during the writing of this report.
- 4. The scales on the plans and elevations are drawn to the scale of 1 inch being equal to one foot.

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CHAPTER FIVE: CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

When the firm of Olmsted Brothers of Boston subjusted a comprehensive plan for a system of municipal parks for Birmingham, Alabama in 1924, briars, brambles and thickets of small trees occupied most of the low land along Village Creek. Boys from nearby neighborhoods swam in the creek and hunted for turtles and fished along its meandering banks. There were then few houses close enough to the stream to be threatened when, infrequently, Village Creek, swollen by rain, left its banks and filled its flood plain. Builders in East Lake, East Birmingham, and Ensley, three communities through which Village Creek flowed, had not constructed houses in Village Creek's flood plain, and Olmsted Brothers recommended that the creek and the land along it be transformed into a park in which boating lagoons, paths, and broad lawns and fields similar to those developed for the "Riverway" in Boston would provide open recreational space for Birmingham's working men and their families (see Figure 54). This ambitious proposal was, however, not adopted, and within a few years hundreds of small, working class houses filled the flood-prone land which Olmsted Brothers suggested was suitable as park but not as building sites.

An architectural and cultural resources survey commissioned by the Mobile District of the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers and conducted by the Birmingham Historical Society in selected areas of East Lake, East Birmingham, and Ensley provided an important opportunity to study the development of working class neighborhoods along Village Creek on land that until the mid 1920s was perceived as unsuitable for residential construction. This survey has deepened historical understanding of the social and economic forces which influenced the construction of houses along Village Creek, the evolution of communities there and the working class houses that filled the stream's flood plain. The results of this survey of 651 dwellings and other structures recorded during its course are summarized here. It should be noted that these conclusions are preliminary in nature. They nevertheless offer new insights into the history of laboring men and women in the South's pre-eminent industrial city, industrial housing, and the lifeways that resulted from the blending of rural traditions with urban life.

From shared beginnings in 1886, East Lake, East Birmingham, and Ensley grew in ways that were distinct and yet closely related to the booms and lulls of the industrial economy of the Birmingham District. East Birmingham was begun by a group of investors who came to Birmingham before it boomed and then pumped more than \$850,000 into iron furnaces, foundries, and fabricating plants in their new industrial town. Industrial development was also at the center of the vision Enoch Ensley had for the town that took his name. Ensley, T.T. Hillman and others invested \$10 million to build the mammoth furnaces that were the South's largest iron and

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THE RIVERWAY, BOSTON A combined storm drainage and parkway development during construction. Compare with view below from practically the same point twenty-eight years later



THE SAME AS ABOVE Picture taken twenty-eight years later. An inspiring object lesson of special significance for Village and Valley Creeks

Figure 54. The Riverway, Boston, Massachusetts before and after its development as an urban park. Olmsted Brothers proposed a similar development for Village Creek in Birmingham (Olmsted Brothers, 1925). steel making facility and which Ensley managed for the Tennessee, Coal, Iron, and Railroad Company. Robert Jemison, Sr., and the founders of East Lake, on the other hand, followed a different path. Astute farmers and businessmen, these men lacked the industrial acumen possessed by Ensley and chose to fashion their development into a middle class suburb rather than an industrial center. They directed some of the \$200,000 they invested in East Lake into the construction of streetcar connections with Birmingham.

Despite the dissimilarities in the formation of these three communities, they shared one trait in common. That was the unstated concensus held by the people who lived there during the first forty or so years in the life of each community that the land that lay in the flood plain of Village Creek was unsuitable for development. The pivotal illustration of this concensus is the 1925 plan produced by the firm of Olmstead Brothers. The flood plain of Village Creek was then largely vacant, utilized as pasture, truck farm fields, and for hunting turtles and blackberries. Land along the creek was a source of recreation for some of the people who lived near and a source of income for others who planted small farms there. There was a areat deal of activity along the creek, but not many people thought of the area as a suitable place to build a house. Accordingly, the flood plain of Village Creek was defined as marginal to the overall development of the communities through which the creek meandered. Industries pumped water from the creek to use in their boilers and to cool hot iron, but the land along the creek was not a part of the early house building that filled residential streets in East Lake, East Birmingham, and Ensley.

A continuing demand for building lots near the industries that rose at Ensley and East Birmingham transformed initial reluctance to build along the creek into an eagerness to construct houses there. The population of Ensley, for example, rose dramatically from about 6,000 in 1910 to 18,318 industrial workers in 1926. Great surges in building activity resulted. In East Birmingham, the building boom came in the years on either side of World War I; in Ensley, building reached a crescendo a little later, in the late 1920s and 1930s. A similar demand for housing for industrial workers did not transform East Lake's Village Creek farms and fields to residential lots until after World War II.

In all three communities, the houses constructed near Village Creek were located on lots that earlier builders had avoided. For the most part, unskilled laborers and miners made their homes in these newer subdivisions along the creek. The general pattern of economic status of the residents of the Village Creek subdivisions is that laborers lived in the Ensley areas, unskilled laborers purchased houses in East Birmingham, and middle level managers lived in East Lake.

Whenever the building occurred, the working class men and women who built or purchased houses along Village Creek created neighborhoods that reflected prevailing values about what constituted a proper house. During the initial phases of house construction in East Birmingham and Ensley, most

of the laborers who occupied houses there lived in shotgun-type houses or bungalows, dwellings generally with three to five rooms set on narrow lots with porches that almost touch the street. These houses reflect notions Birmingham's working classes held at the beginning of the 20th century about what constituted a proper house just as the contractor modern houses constructed in East Lake in the 1950s reveal something about the character of life among middle class laborers in the post-war years.

Several things can be said about these communities. First, it appears that aspirations held by black laborers and miners to gain a greater degree of control over their private lives may have motivated many of them to build houses in the blocks that lined Village Creek. Neighborhoods with remarkable patterns of long-term residency evolved there among men and women whose livelihoods depended on their industrial labors or work in domestic service. The white workers who built houses in East Lake have not demonstrated attachments to place, neighborhood, and community as strong as those evident in Ensley. Second, while the residents of both Ensley and East Lake have remained socially and economically similar to the first inhabitants of these neighborhoods, East Birmingham has declined so that it is today a community of unskilled and often unemployed laborers many of whom live in concrete block apartments constructed in the early 1950s. Lula Williams is quick to tell you that her neighborhood is not the same as it used The social character of the Village Creek survey areas has indeed to be. changed, but the houses along the creek give the ironic impression that the neighborhoods have remained much the same since they were established.

Third, it was noted that one house form, the shotgun, demonstrated what to us was surprising longevity in the survey areas. Constructed by the hundreds in the 1920s, shotgun houses were still be built in the post-war years. One shotgun house of concrete block was built in the 1960s. The persistence of this house form represents a consonance of old building traditions with new urban industrial surroundings and a continuity of culture among laborers whose origins were in the rural South.

Recommendations for Further Research

It is apparent that there is a long list of architectural, folklore, and material culture research which could be conducted in the Village Creek survey areas. Birmingham Historical Society's initial survey of the cultural resources in these areas has recorded information about 651 domestic dwellings and other structures that will be of interest to students of vernacular architecture in the South and industrial housing. It goes without saying that this research has raised a good many questions. Many of these are historical in nature. How, for example, did the black laborers who purchased lots and built houses along Village Creek earn the money to do so? What was the nature of local industrial pay scales that allowed them to save money for purchasing a house? The issue of the relationship between race and industrial housing also begs further attention. Who, for example,

profited from real estate transactions in the Village Creek neighborhoods? And what was the precise nature of the racial dynamics that led to racial segregation of the neighborhoods along the creek? There are also a number of architectural questions that could be addressed. Comparison of patterns in industrial housing identified in this study with other industrial cities is an obvious next step.

Aside from further analysis of the data already gathered, there are several tasks that we recommend be undertaken as expeditiously as possible. It must first be stated that during the course of our archival research and fieldwork we found little to suggest that archaeological testing or excavation is indicated in the project areas. First, we found no evidence that there are any industrial sites along the East Lake, East Birmingham, or Ensley reaches of Village Creek. Second, there appear to be no trash dumps or refuse sites in the survey areas that might provide an archaeological perspective on life in these three communities. During the middle of the 20th century a crematorium for refuse existed in Ensley and was located on property now occupied by McAlpine School, but that site is located outside the current survey area. This crematorium was a central dump for the residents of portions of Ensley, and several of our informants remember sending their household refuse there in carts. This dump site was superseded by another at the time the McAlpine School was constructed.

Individual patterns of refuse disposal also left little that could inspire an archaeological investigation of life in these industrial communities. During the first half of the 20th century, the residents of Ensley used "dry closets" as sanitary facilities. Small wooden structures that stood at the rear of each dwelling, these structures contained basins that were emptied regularly. Wagons (one informant called them "honey wagons") stopped along alleyways behind individual houses and emptied slop cans. This method of refuse disposal suggests that a tradition of privies, an important source of archaeological material on many urban sites, does not exist in the Ensley area. In sum, there is no documentary or oral tradition which suggests that there are significant subsurface features in the survey areas such as privy pits, wells, or refuse pits that would be archaeologically significant.

The same pattern seems also to be true for East Birmingham. Casual observations made in the survey areas suggests that some household refuse was deposited in rear yards and vacant lots, but whether that material would support an archaeological investigation is unknown. During the course of fieldwork and research conducted during the Village Creek Cultural Resources Survey, we attempted to remain alert to the existence of archaeological resources in the survey area and to manuscript information that might lead to potential sites. We found nothing that leads us to recommend any further archaeological research.

There are, however, areas that deserve and demand further attention. The first of these is the nomination of the Airport Service Station, 7500 5th Avenue North, to the National Register of Historic Places. This Tudor Gothic service station has operated continuously for half a century and has undergone relatively few structural or surface modifications. This structure is an example of a rapidly vanishing type of commercial structure designed specifically as a service station and represents an important element in the history of transportation in Birmingham and the nation. Nomination of this structure should be discussed with the Alabama Historical Commission. A complete history of the structure is not presented here or in the body of the report, but such a history can be constructed from the data gathered during the Village Creek survey.

We further recommend in the strongest possible way that quality floor plans be prepared for a large sample of buildings for the three survey areas. A small sample (10 structures) of the houses in the Village Creek survey areas has been drawn by the Birmingham Historical Society, but it is important that the sample of measured houses be expanded. A larger sample of Village Creek houses is desirable not only to refine the description of these houses but to make the analysis and interpretation of them more statistically reliable. Architectural historian Carl Lounsbury has argued that:

> "only when the simple house type is examined in conjunction with large numbers of structures in surrounding areas does its significance begin to emerge. Comprehensive surveys produce the social cross section of house types which can then be compared and contrasted with vernacular buildings nearby and with those of other regions" (Lounsbury, 1981, 190).

Only by expanding the sample of fully recorded houses in the Village Creek project areas will it be possible to measure and interpret change in housing preferences and the organization of household routines over time reliably. A procedure based on the collection and interpretation of a large sample of measured plans.

We recommend that the number of houses included in this second phase of the architectural study of the Village Creek project number at least This number constitutes an adequate sample of the house forms extant fifty. in the Village Creek areas, and is sufficient, we feel, to identify changing patterns in floor plan, use of building materials, and use of interior and exterior space. For example, given the persistence of the shotgun form in the survey areas, has room size remained constant? Are construction techniques consistent throughout the study areas, and through time. If they are not, what factors contributed to the observable changes. Further, what do locations of and alteration or improvement to heating systems reveal about Recent experience in field research in the character of the study areas? architectural history emphasizes the importance of recording floor plans of dwellings and other structures and suggests that plans should be an absolutely essential results of all architectural surveys. Indeed, researchers in many agencies now routinely include floor plans just as they have state traditionally used photographs as part of the field documentation of all structures they record.

The following dwellings are among the possible candidates for this phase of the project as they represent a sample of the house types distributed through the survey area and were selected because they (1) provide coverage of the older house in the Village Creek survey areas and (2) cover the chronological period from 1910 to 1960.

7500 5th Avenue North, East Lake, 1935 Gothic style service station. 7607 5th Avenue North, East Lake, a 1928 bungalow.

7710 4th Avenue North, East Birmingham, a 1909 T-cottage.

1429 Appalachee Street, East Birmingham, a 1932 shotgun.

1326 Sipsey Street, East Birmingham, a 1941 shotgun.

1416 Apalachee Street, East Birmingham, a 1909 T-cottage.

3956 13th Avenue North, East Birmingham, a 1920 shotgun.

3954 13th Avenue North, East Birmingham, a 1910 Victorian cottage.

1322 Escambia Street, East Birmingham, a 1910 pyramidal roof cottage

1227 Cahaba Street, East Birmingham, a 1911 T-cottage.

3939 13th Avenue, East Birmingham, a 1927 shotgun.

3938 and 3940 13th Avenue North, East Birmingham, a 1932 shotguns.

1327-1333 Escambia Street, East Birmingham, 4 1960s double shotguns.

1538 Escambia, East Birmingham, a 1928 shotgun.

1509–1519 Escambia, East Birmingham, 3 late 1920s double shotguns.

1011 Coosa Street, East Birmingham, a 1920 saddlebag.

3926 16th Avenue North, East Birmingham, a 1928 double shotgun.

3928 16th Avenue, East Birmingham, a 1928 double shotgun.

1528 Cahaba Street, East Birmingham, a 1916 shotgun.

1624 Tombigbee Street, East Birmingham, a 1932 double shotgun.

1622 Tombigbee Street, East Birmingham, a 1922 double shotgun.

1606 Tombigbee Street, East Birmingham, a 1912 T-cottage.

1600 Tombigbee Street, East Birmingham, a 1924 bungalow.

1622 Warrior Street, East Birmingham, a 1914 T-cottage.

1233-1239 Avenue T, Ensley, 4 shotguns from the late 1920s.

1334-1344 Avenue V, Ensley, 5 double shotguns, 1942.

1205-1213 Avenue I, Ensley, 5 shotguns from the late 1920s.

1309 and 1313 12th Place, Ensley, 1940s bungalows.

1304–1326 Sipsey Street, East Birmingham, 4 double shotguns.

907-913 Avenue H, Pratt City, 3 1928 bungalows.

116-1130 11th Street, Ensley, 2 bungalows and a 1928 shotgun.

1400 block of Apalachee Street, East Birmingham, 6 1910 houses.

1318 and 1310 12th Place, Ensley, double shotguns from the 1940s.

1226-1240 Avenue K, Ensley, 6 double shotguns, 1927-1929.

The working class houses included in the Village Creek project are important documents that are essential to understanding the character of life in an industrial city and the social and economic forces that shaped the construction and evolution of working class neighborhoods along Village Creek. This project has made a first step toward insuring that some record of them survives, but measured plans of a larger sample of them are needed, particularly if these houses continue to vanish at the rapid pace that is apparent. There is no better source for understanding life past than analysis of house forms, and it is strongly recommended that further attention be given to the sample of working houses the Village Creek described above.

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Earliest Residents - East Birmingham Corps Area

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Corp	. /	Present Street Address**	Date of First CD listing	Earliest Occupation Place of Employmen Resident
7 1	1	3949 14th Ave. North	1953	Willie L. Carter, shoe repairer
		(also listed 1337 Escambia)		
	2	3951 A6B 14th Ave. North	1928	Joseph Thomas, car repairer (in 1929) (c)
	3	3733 ABB (4/11-13)	1925	Jones Allen, laborer (c)
	4	3733 A (4/13-17)	1925	Jule Cannon, laborer (c)
	5	3957 A " (4719-21) 3959 " (4723-25)	1925 1925	William Moss, laborer (c) George Alexander, laborer (c)
	7	1326 Sipsey	1941	William Sager, machine operator, Stockham Pipe Fittings (c
				Dee Franklin, laundress (in 1942) (c)
	8	1324 A6B "	1927	
	9	1324	1942	Clarence Thomas, laborer (c)
	10	1320	1941	Chris Overtree, laborer (c)
	11		1940	Johnnie M. Patterson, maid (c)
	12	1310	1940	Griffin Bray, laborer (c)
	13	1314A "	1947-48	Helvin Roberson, laborer, LáN (c)
	14	1314 "	1941	Harry Hall, peddler (c)
	15	1312 "	1946	Joseph Wilson, employee, LáN (c)
	16	1308 "	1929	Susie Bell, laundress (c)
		1310 "		Griffin Bray, laborer (c)
	17	1304 "	1912	William Craig, painter (c)
	18	3958 13th Avenue (4716)	1910	Alex Fletcher, laborer (c)
	19	3956 "	1922	Edna Fletcher, laupdress (1923) (c)
	20	3954 "	1910	G. A. Byrd, barber ^(C) J. E. Davis (c)
	21	3952 "	1937	Jobe Jackson, locomotive fireman (c)
	22	3950 "		
	23	1305 Escambia	1910	Cornelius Moore, laborer (c)
	24	1307 "	1910	George White, driver (c)
	25	1311 "	1910	Robert Coleman, laborer (c)
	26	1313 A6B "	1925	Charles Pettis, laborer (c)
	27	1317 "	1929	Russell Nicholson, drayman (c)
	28	1325 "	1961	Oscar Fields‡ employee, Mountain Brook Country Club
	29	1329 "	1960	Crutcher Jemison, punch operator, American Bridge
7 1	30	1333 Escambia (1133)	1953	Thomas Harmon, laborer
-	31 32	13375 " 1332 "	1961	Alfred Boswell, laborer, Connors Steel
	33	1326 "	1910	Martin Nelson, laborer (c)
	34	1322 "	1910	Clinton King, laborer (c)
	35	1318 "	1910	J. A. Robertson, laborer (c)
	36	1314 "	1910	John Wilkins, laborer (c)
	37	1312 "	1925	Loula Pitte, laundress (c)
	38	1308 "	1961	Oliver Jackson, occupation not listed
	39 40	3944 13th Ave. North (4614) 3942 "	1927 1910	Thomas Wilbors, miner (c) Robert Holman, Jaborer (c)
				Robert Holmes, laborer (c) Sanders Brooks, occupation not listed (c)
	41	1303 Cahaba Street	1909-	William Prince, clerk (c)
	42	1305	1909	
	43	1307	1917	Otis A. Hunt, laborer (c) Oliver Prince Writer (c)
	44	1307	1912	Oliver Prince, waiter (c)
	45	1313	1944	B. A. Foulkes, plasterer (c)
	46	1315	1918	Rev. A. G. McKinley, pastor, 45th Street Baptist Church (c)
	47	1327	1912	William Powell, drayman (c)
	48	1331 MBD	1926	John Mitchell, molder (c)
	49	1427	1911	Charles Barkston, occupation not listed (c)
	50	1225 "	1910	Silas Drewry, laborer (c)
	51	1223 "	c.1909	Henry Johnson, miner (c)
	52	1219 "	1946	Calvin Jennings, laborer, LáN (c)
	53	1217-174 "	1915	Adaline Henton, laundress (c)
	53	1215 "	1909	Frank Hester, laborer (c)
	54	1214 "	1909	Mattia Natthews, domestic (c)
	55	3939 13th Ave. North (4605)	1927	William Williams, laborer (c)
	56	3941 " (4607)		William Watkins (c)
	57	3941 A "	1927	John Betts, machinist (c)
V2	58	3938 "	1053	toos toos and
	59	3740	1952	Lena Jones, maid
		3947 14th Ave.	1953	Lonnie Urguhart, laborer
	60 61	3943 14th Ave.	1929	William Owens, laborer

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** Earlier addresses indicated in parenthesis

* Indicates home ownership, designated only in 1950 and thereafter (c) Indicates "colored", designated only through 1950

Cor	ps 🖡	Present Str	eet Address	Date of Ti	st Earliest Resident	Occupet (Place of Feelewart
			CEL MODIEDO	CD listin		Occupation	Place of Employment
12	62	1305 13th A 1307	ve. No.(dem	lished)1906	J. W. Porter, manager,	B. Nicoll & C	: 0.
	63	1309-11		lished)1904	W. I. Kinney, salesman,	M& H Hardwar	e Co.
	64 65	1315 1317	(Com	demned) blished)			
	66	1321		plished 1909	F. W. Blackford, Cudahy	Packing Comp	any
,	1	Demolished					
	2	1429 Apalaci	nee Street	1934	Neal Baxter, laborer (c)	
	3	1433	\$1	1962	James Whatley#		
	4	1423		1909	Hattie A. Hale George		г (с)
	5	1421 1419		1929 1909	Alex Thomas, laborer ((-)
	7	1417	41	1952	J. G. Washington, brake Mason Smith*, laborer L		(c)
	8	1415	"	1953	Jimmie D. Evans*, helpe		sion
	9	1432 Coosa S	Stree			·	
_	10	1428		1910	John Owens, laborer		
1	1	3938 16th Co	wrt North	1952	Willie Cooks*, laborer		
		3938A 3940	*	1952 1952	Jeff Thompson*, laborer Horace L. Johnson*, emp		tar Compt
		3940A	**	1952	Alf Lewis, Jr., janitor		
	2	3942	**	1952	Melvin B. Drake*, labor		
		3942A	**	1952	Arthur Williamst porter		Station
		3944		1952	Centris Crocker*, labor	er, ACIPCO	
	3	3944A 3946		1952 1952	Steve Smith*, laborer Neal Haley*, janitor, N	Second Seberal	
		3946A	**	1952 vacant			
		3948	••	1952	Mattle L. Jackson*, mai		
		3948A	14	1952	Nathaniel Olliver*, lab		
	4	3950	11 12	1952	James E. Caffey, driver	, Carlisle Fl	our and Grain
	5	39 DUA		1952	Samuel Giles*, USA		
	J	3952A	**	1952 1952	Henry B. Washington*, 1 Mathew Moore*, laborer,		-
	6	3954	н	1952	James Adams*, Jaborer	western Grai	n
VI	7	3956 16th C	ourt North	1952	Tommie Harden*, lab		
	8	3956A 3958	**	1952 1952	James L. Steele*, labo Frank Sanckey*, labor		reets and Garbage Dept.
	Ģ	3958A		1952	Ben Gorden*, 1aborer		
	9	3960	••	1954	Alfonzo Rowe, laborer,	Merit Oak Fi	looring
		3960A	**	1952	Willie J. Bean*, maid		-
	10	3962		1952	Alex McKenzie*, labore		rein
	11	3964		1952	George Moore, Jr.*, 1		
		3966		1952 1952	Roosevelt White*, lab		mour Fertilizer Works(in '5 affe 4 Son
	12	3966A 3968		1952	Alf Lewis*, laborer		• •••
	13	3970	••	1952	Willie Bickerstaff*, 1	aborer	
		3970A		1952	Annie Stanberry*, wide	, w	
		3972	**	1952	Lonnie Cooper, labore		3)
	14	3974		1952	Ettrice Burton*, labo Booker T. Brown*, clea		A MOUS
	15	3974A 3976	**	1952 1952	John L. Fraser*, labo		
	16	3978	**	1952	Jeff Davis*, inspector		alves and Fittings
	17	3980	**	1952	Prince Edmons*, labor	T	-
		3980A	"	1952	Henry Jones, helper,		
	18	3982 3982A		1952 1952	Sam Fort*, machine op Charles Breedy*, labo		ham Valves and Fittings
	19	3984		1952	William Johnson*, lab		
		3984A	#5	1952	Andrey Jefferson, lab	orer, Stockhau	n Valves and Fittings(in '5
	20	3986	**	1952	Emma L. Robinson, mai	i, County Hom	e (in '54)
	21	1618 Escamb	ia Street	1950-51	Thomas E. Jones, labo James Snow, laborer (unkyard (c)
		1620 1622		1950-51 1950-51	James Snow, Imporer (James Andrews, laborer		os. Junk (c)
		1624	*	1950-51			eets and Garbage Dept. (in'5)
	22	3988 16th C	ourt North	1952	Nettie L. Glaze , mai	t	
	23	1615 Escamb		1950-51	Willie Clay, employee		
		1615A	**	1950-51	Clyde W. Thomas, help		
	24	1613	**	1950-51	Kyser King, driver, B		n a Door (in '52)
		1611	• *	1950-51	Thelma Stover, maid (111 321	

No. CAR YEAR CONTRACT

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^		Bresent Street Address		
Cor	ps #	Present Street Address	Date of 1st CD listing	Earliest Resident Occupation Place of Employment
VI	25	1609 Escambia Street	1950-51	John Solomon, laborer, Adams Brothers Produce (c)
		1609 A "	1950-51	Ernest Barker, laborer, Armour Fertilizer (c)
	26	1007	1950-51	Hrs. Johnnie Caldwell, laborer, Hightower Box and Tank (c)
		100/A	1950-51	James L. Vann, laborer, BECo.
		1003	1950-51	L. D. Ogden, laborer (in '54)
	21	1603 " 1603A "	1950-51 1950-51	Otis Ogletree, laborer, Hanna Motors (in '52)
	28	1601 "	1950-51	Willie Burks, laborer (in '52) Ben Q. Phillips, laborer (c)
	29	3948A 16th Ave. North 3948B "	1952 1952	Willie Johnson*, laborer
		3952A "	1952	Robert Payne*, laborer Simpson Gilberta, laborer, ACIPCO
		3952B "	1952	Harding Lawson*, laborer
	30	3942 "	1952	William Everett, porter, Liberty Motors
		3942A "	1952	Buck Williams*, laborer
		3944 "	1952	Arthur Hammond, laborer, ACIPCO (in '53)
		3946 "	1952	Katherine Jones*, maid
		3946A "	1952	Willie E. McClain, btry setup, Stockham Valves and Fittings
	31	1600 Escambia Street	1950-51	Pearlie M. Callins, maid (c)
		1602 "	1950-51	Hyman Teague, textile worker, Avondale Mills (c)
		1602A "	1950-51	Willie Martin, janitor, Linde Air Products (c)
		1604 "	1950-51	Isaiah Edwards, student (c)
		1004A	1950-51	Willie Harrington, helper, TCI (c)
	33	1000	1950-51	Eunic Smith, polisher, Dixie Drive It. (c)
	21	TONOV	1950-51	Philip Lacey, inspector, Stockham Valves and Fittings (c)
	34	1608 " 1608A "	1950-51	Ella Wilkerson, maid (in '52)
		1610 "	1950-51 1950-51	Willie D. Jackson, helper, Thomas Foundry (c)
		1610A "	1950-51	Calvin Johnson, bundler, National Woodworks (c) Will Davis, helper, Dixie Wholesale (c)
	35	1612 "	1950-51	Joe Stephenson, helper, LáN (c)
	•••	1612A "	1950-51	Eugene Blue, laborer, Stockham Pipe and Fittings
	36	1614 "	1957-51	Fletcher Jones, laborer (in 1952)
		1614A "	1950-51	Frank Wilson, laborer (c)
VI	37	3981 16th Court North	1952	Ernest Ivey*, laborer
		3979 "	1952	Addie Ogletree, widow
		3977 "	1952	Willie Kirkland*, laborer
		27.65	1952	Hillie Austin*, maid
	38	39/3	1952 1952	George W. Thomas*, laborer Briss Goodsont inspector, Stockham Valves and Fittings
	39	3971 " 3969 "	1952	Robert Essley*, laborer, Western Grain
	40	3967 "	1952 vacant	
		3965 "	1952	L. Z. Dizaar, laborer (in '53)
	41	3963 "	1952	J. D. Ford, laborer, Donavan Coffee
		3961 "	1953	Hubert Long, oiler, U. S. Pipe and Foundry
	42	3959 "	1952	John W. Felton, #inspector, Stockham Valves and Fittings
		3957 "	1952	Ernest Bush*, racker, Stockham Valves and Fittings
	43	3955 "	1952	Hattie Wilson, #maid
	• •	1923	1952	Major Hill*, laborer
	44	3421	1952 vacant	
		3747	1952 1952	Eloise Peasand*, maid Augusta Rickardson*, laborer, Massey Concrete Products
		3947 " 3845 :	1952	George Hatten*, molder, Stockham Valves and Fittings
			1052	Albert Webb*, laborer, Merit Oak Flooring
	45	3943 16th Court North	1952 1952	Boise Lanier*, porter, Jack Cole Co.
	46	3943A " 3941 "	1952	Eugene Ellis*, laborer
	40	3941 3941A "	1952	A. J. Taylor*, machine operator, Stockham Valves and Fittings
		3939 "	1952	Leon Martin*, laborer
		3939A "	1952 vecant	Frank Heston, laborer (in '53)
	47	1605 Cahaba Street	1953 vacant	Henry Jones, helper, VC Chem (in '57)
	48	3940 16th Ave. North	1953	grocery, Shaver's Meat Co., owner, Forrest A. Shavers (res. 7808 lst Ave. South)
V11	1	1624 Coosa Street	1922	Isaac Petty, laborer (c)
	2	1622 "	1923	Madison Persons Mauser, laborer (c)
	3	1618 "	1912	R. B. Howard, brakeman (c)
	4	1616 "	1925	John Bailey, laborer (c)
	5	Demolished		

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Earliest Residents - East Birmingham Corps Area (Con't)

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Corps	6 /	Present St	reet Address	Date of 1st CD listing	Earliest Resident O	ccupation	Place of Employment
V1 I	6	1612 Coosa	Street	1913	Nathaniel Davis, laborer	(c)	
	7	1608	**	1920-21		(c)	
	8	1606	**	1927	Brooks Sanders, driver	(c)	
	.9	Demolished					
	10 11	1633 1625		1924 1957	H. A. Ward, electrician	1	Facalant
	12	1621	"	1957	Lewis Arrington, Jr., pi Douglas Smith (in '59)	ler, Lamout a	26881 Out
	13	1617	н	1920-21	A. B. Hurray, fireman (c)	
	14	1607	*	1919-20	· · · · · · · · · · · ·	c)	
	15	1605	••	1960	Willie Parker, handyman		
	16	1612	es	1924	Henry Madden, laborer (c)	
	17	1604	•	1918		(c)	
	18	1600	e+	1967	Mrs. Darlene S. Matthews	*, finisher, '	Templin Cleaners
	19	3926 16th	Ave. North	1924	Hobart Murphy, laborer	(c)	
	20	3928	**	1928	Jesse Caffie, laborer	(c)	
	21	1532 Cahaba	street	1963	Forty-Sixth Street Bapti	st Church	
	22	3925 16th /	Ave. North	1965	Willie J. Thompson*, lab	orer, ACIPCO	
	23	1535 Coosa	Street	1952	Prince Green*, laborer,		nd Cement
	24	1523		1915 1953	Polly Franklin, widow	(c) - (
	25 26	1531 1525		1953	Johnny C. Motley, janito Silas Lee, casket maker,		
	27		Street-Burned	1957 vacant	Curtis Matthews, employe		8)
	28 29	1508 Cahaba 1510	n Street	1952 vacant 1958	John Mader, lahorer (in Mrs. Eva Jennings*, wido		
	30	1512	н	1958	Boot Wilbert, laborer	-	
	31	1514	"	1928 vacant	Forrest Wellington, labo	rer (c) (in '2	!9)
	32	1518	**	1928	Minnie Caster* (c)		
	33	1516	**	1932	Parilee Andrews, conk (c		
	34 35	1524 1528		1959 1916	Anderson Todd, Jr. (c)		
	36	Demolished		1910	Washington Brown, labore	r (c)	
	37	1539	н	1929	Sol Johnson, laborer (c)	
VII	38	1535 Cahaba		1922	Mattie Stocks, laundress	(c)	
	39	1533	**	1922	Archie Jones, grocer (c		
	40	1531	**	1912 1912	Luther Snow, laborer (c)		
	41	1529 1527	**	1912	Joseph McElrath, laborer George Johnston, laborer		
		1525	**	1911	Henry Starks, laborer (c		
	43	1523	64	1947-48	Sandy Kelley. laborer L	έΝ (c)	
		1519	**	1956	Joseph Spencer*, pkr, Lel	-	Cement
		1515		1917	Sallie Kirby, widow (c		
		1513 1507		1919-20 1918	T. Fitzpatrick, laborer Alex Robinson, laborer	(c) (c)	
		1505		1911	Mitchell Wright, laborer		
		1503	**	1932	John L. Smith, laborer,		e and Iron Works (c)
	49	1501	**	1959			
	50	3943 16th /	we. North	1952	Harold McElrath, laborer		
	51	1538 Escant		1928	John McElrath, fireman	(c)	
		1536	**	1932	Joseph Fuller, laborer	(c)	//- 100
		1532	**	1952	Mamie L. Brown, presser, John H. Worshaim, helper	Simon & Mogi	1ner (in '59)
		1534 1530	**	1951 1954	Jimmy King, laborer (in		LTIES
		1526	**	1952	Tomie Sharks, *laborer	2.17	
		1522	**	1953	Mrs. Rosie M. Pope, *maid	, widow (c)	
		1518	**	1954	Ora Y. Lanier*, maid		
		1514	••	1957	Jerome Hudson, laborer, i		t (in '59)
		1510 1508		1959 1956	William A. Zeigler*, con John Hondon*, pipefitter		
		1508 1529A		1965	Bernice Shaw, maid, Nort		
		B		1965	Robert Griffin		•
		c	**	1965	Alfonso Lee, grinder, Th		_
		D	••	1965	Henry M. Little, laborer		lves and Fittings
		E	**	1965	Samual Smith, laborer, S.		
	62	1525A B		1965 1965	Samuel Maxwell, checker, Andrew T. Milte, crane d		
		C	**	1965	Alfred Cunningham, occup		
		D		1965	Lonnie Phillips, employe		
		E	••	1965	Julfa Brown, occupation		
		F		1965	Mrs. Katle M. Stevenson		

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Earliest Residents - East Birmingham Corps Area (Con't)

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Corps (Present Street Address	Date of 1st CD listing	Earliest Resident Occupation Place of Employment
VII 63	1519 Escambia Street	192 7 vacant	Robert Williams, laborer (in '28) (c)
64		1927	Lewis Sanderson, laborer (c)
65		192 7	Edward Jackson, laborer (in '28) (c)
66	1507 "	1927	Parker Jackson, laborer (c)
VIII 1		1952	Willie Hill*, laborer
2		1919-20	Major Hunter, laborer (C)
	1312	1954	Coatney Belcher*, laborer, U. S. Pipe
4	1010	1924	Anderson Murry, laborer (c)
5 6	1520	1923 1953	Leroy Carson, laborer (C)
7		1953	Charles Hall, grinder, Stockham Valves and Fittings Nehemiah Fordhen, top hae man, Alabama By-Products
	1528B "	1953	denemical Fordies, top use wait, kistens by froducts
8		1953	Mrs. Bessie Canter*, maid
Ş		1953	Levoyd Carson*, carpenter
10	3955 16th Ave. North	1923	Willis Snow, laborer (c)
11 12		1962	Jehovah Witness Kingdom Hall
13	1600 Sipsey	1915	Berry Ryals, laborer (c)
14		1916	John Davenport, switchman (c)
15	1610 "	1923	Otto Felton, laborer (c)
16	1619 Escambia	1950-51	Mattie Prince, molder, Stockham Valves and Fittings (c)
	1619A "	1950-51	George Thomas, helper, TCI (c)
	1617 "	1950-51	Luther Pruitt, laborer, TCI (c)
17		1950-51	Marion Lowe, laborer, LAN (c)
	1621A "	1950-51	James Richardson, laborer, Perfection Mattress (C)
18		1950-51	Charles May, helper, Stockham Pipe Fittings (c)
	1023A	1950-51	John H. Page, helper, Birmingham Slag (C)
10	1023	1950-51	Nelson McRaft, laborer, L. F. Bowdoin Foundry (c)
19 20		1965 1965	Apostolic Faith Church Mrs. Vinia T. Byrd, widow , Jas., laburer
V111 21		1954	L. C. Ragland ⁴ , machine operator, Stockham Valves and Fittings
22		1954	Henry H. Shanks*, assembler, Stockham Valves and Fittings
23		1956	John H. George, Jr., laborer, McWane Cast Iron Pipe
	1621 "	1957	Willie L. Merchant, laborer, Connors Steel
24	1619-15 "	c. 1913	Frank Moten, driver (c) Fannie Moore, laborer (c)
25	1613 "	1927	John Clark, laborer (c)
26	· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·	1915	Walter Franklin, laborer (c)
27		1925	Watson Harrison , laborer
28	1605 "	1925	Gus Cofield , laborer (c)
29		1928	Otto Felder, laborer (c)
30		1929	Adolphus Morris, laborer
31		1924	Thomas Studmirde, laborer
32	1111	1924	William Barnett, laborer
33	1329	1924 1958	Clifton Davis, laborer Ed Taylorit, laborer, Alabama Cament Tile (c)
34 35	1727	1952	Ed Taylor*, laborer, Alabama Cement Tile (c) Henry Sands, Jr.*, laborer (c)
30	· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·	1932	William Barnett, laborer (c)
37		1952	Charlie L. Morris*, laborer, U. S. Pipe and Foundry
38		1952	Bennie L. Jones*, laborer (c)
39		1952	James W. Fraser ^a , core blower, Stockham Valves and Fittings
40		1952	Henry Robinson, Jr.*, laborer
41		1924	Harrison Smith
42 43		1926 1947-48	Thomas Zuber, yardman (in '27) (c) Anderson Coleman , janitor, Comer Building (c)
43	1714	1947-48	Tony B. Carson, molder, Stockham Valves and Fittings (c)
44		1950-51	Sidney F. Cox, laborer, Loveman's (c)
46		1929	Handy Wilson, laborer (c)
47		1932	Thomas Montgomery, laborer (c)
48	1538 "	1929	Aaron L. Smith, fireman
49			
50 51		1931 1931	Lee Smith, laborer (c) Raymond Cory, laborer (c)

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Earliest Residents - East Birmingham Corps Area (Con't)

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Cor	ps 🖡	Present Street Address	Date of 1st CD listing	Earliest Resident Occupation Place of Employment
V11	152	1600 Tallapoosa Street	1919-20	C. Williams, brakeman (C)
		16005 "	1911	Parker St. Clair, sec. & treas., Fidelity Mortgage Co.
	53	1608 "	1917	James McReynolds, brakeman
	54	1612 "	1911	Holcomb C. Armstrong, løborer (c)
	55	1612 A or B		
	56	1610	1927	William Ross, fireman (c)
	57	Demolished		
	58	Demolished		
	59	Demolished		
	60	3968 16th Ave. North	1962	Jimmy Jones, *pkr, Stockham's
	61	3931 "	1954	Forty Sixth Street Bapt. Church
1 X	1	3975 17th Avenue	1952	Leroy Knight, United States Army
	2	3977 "	1952	Washington Jenkins, laborer, McWane Cast Iron Pipe
	3	1624 Tombigbee Street	1932	Lee Smith, packer (c)
	4	1622	1922	John Maddox, laborer (c)
	Ś	1620A "	1954	James J. Manley, laborer, U. S. Pipe and Foundry
	-	1620B "	1913	S. P. King, miner (c)
	6	1618 "	1925	Joshua Evans , laborer (c)
	7	1616 "	1925	Jordan Fair, laborer (c)
	8	1614 "	1924	Allen Jones, laborer (c)
	9	1612 "	1952	Jesse L. Hill, laborer, McWane Cast Iron Pipe
				Paul Daniel, laborer
	10	1610 "	1918	Hardy Field, laborer (c)
	11	1608 "	1925	Robert Johnson, laborer (c)
	12	1606 "	1919-20	William Jelks, miner (c)
	13	1604 ¹ 2 "	1957	Leon Pepper, sacker, VC Chem
	14	1600 "	1924	Thomas Thedford, miner (c)
	15	Demolished		
	16	1605 "	1913	
	17	1609 "	1950-51	Steele's Place restaurant
	18	1609 "	1950-51	Robert R. Steele, owner (c)
	19	1617 "		
	20	1613 "	1923	John O'Neal, laborer (c)
1 X	21 22	1615 Tombigbee Street	1929	James Dixon, laborer (c)
	23	Torn down	1919-20	
	23	1623 Tombigbee Street	1919-20	John Long, switchman (c)
	24	3992 16th Avenue	1952	Anna Lamb*, maid
	25	1602 Warrior Street	1914	Sandy Stevenson, laborer (c)
	26	1008	1952	Lewis Lyals; laborer
	27	1012	1953	Melvin Rembert*, laborer, ACIPCO
	28	1010	1964	Herbert Harrington*, grinder, U. S. Pipe
	29	1010	1964	Monroe Turner*, molder, Stockham's
	30	1618 "	1928	E. W. Ramsey, fireman (c)
	31	1622 Warrior Street	1914	Fayette Lisby , laborer (c)

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Occupations of Earliest Residents - Ensley Corps Area

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Cor	ps 🖡	Pre	esent St	reet	Date of	First	Earliest		
			Addres	8	CD Listi	ng	Resident	Occupation	Place of Employment
X	1		Avenue	G	1953		Lee E. Hornbuch	kle, miner, TCI	
		tments							
	2		A Avenu	e C	1961			ton, Jr., mail har	
			B "		1961			ers, cook, Nirk's	
		**	с "		1961			laborer, Golden I	Flake
		**	D "		1961		Lucille Bryant	, maid (1963)	
		t men tø							
	3	1009			1961		Percy Jones, si	teel worker, West!	field Steel
			B "		1961				Dimbo, driver, Cosby-Hodges
		**	С "		1961		Bob Hunter, lai	borer, TCI	
		••	D "		1961			Bowman, maid (196	
	4	1013	**		1961		James Armour,	laborer, Fairfiel	ld Barrel
	5	1008	(1100)	Avenue H	1956		Mrs. Bertha L.		
	6	1004				vacant,	1960, Otis Will:	iams*	
	7	1000	**	**	1959		Fletcher Morgan	n*, custodian, Man	rtin School
	8	928		**	1928		Clint Washingto	on, miner (c)	
	9	924	**	••	1928		William Houser,	, miner (c)	
	- 3	920	84		1928		Foster McCants	, ∎iner (c)	
	11	916			1928		Alto Lee, labor	rer (c)	
	12	907				vacant,		arker, laborer (c)
	13	909			1928		William Harris.	, laborer (c)	
		911			1928	vacant,	1929 Alex Dilla	rd, laborer (c)	
	14	913		**				er, laborer, TCI	(c)
		915	**	**			- remains vacant		
	15	921		**	1928	vacant,	1937, Joseph Hai	rris, blacksmith	(c)
	16	917	н	**	1963		Alphonso Smith	, clerk, Ebsco Ind	lustries
	17	925			1974		Andrew Sutton*	, laborer, U. S. S	Steel
	18	945		**	1928	vacant			
		947		••	1928	vacant		ewell Baptist Chu	
	19	1001		••	1963			ams*, lrhorer, Woo	
	20	1017		••					Alabama Metal Industries
	21	1021	"	**					oama Metal Industries
x	22		Avenue	I	1970		Joe Garrett, reti		
	23	1020			1970			, tin mill, U. S.	
	24	1012	"		1970			carpenter, U. S.	
	25	928	"		1941			, laborer, TCI (c)	
	26	924	"		1941		Thomas Young , 14		
	27	920	**		1941		Lige Pritchard ,		
	28	916	**		1941		Arthur Brooks , 1		
	29	914			1941		Joseph Boswell ,		
	30	912	**		1941			, laborer, TCl (d	
	31	908			1960				Street Baptist Church
	32	904			1960	I	Harry Smith*, min	ner TCI	
	33	900	**		1960		Bill Lawson*, che	ef, TCI	
	_						-		
XI	1		(800) 1	lth Street	1962		Pump House (liste	ed as 800 not 900)	
	2	904		••					
	3		lished						(teuto)
	4		(808)		1963		Mrs. Mattie E. S	turdivant, widow	(Dewis)
	5	910							
	6	1006			1962		Arthur W. Johnson		
	7	1008		•	1969				r, Charlie's Bar-B-Q (widow)
	8	1010		н			onstruction, unli	1sted 1964	
	9		(1030)		1929		Fannie Maul (c)		
	10	1110						()	
	11		(1102)		1927		John Smith, labor		
	12		(1104)		1927		James Gladden, 14		
	13		(1106)				1929, Norman Spe		
	14		(1100)					er, laundress (c)	
	15		(1110)		1928		William Phillips		
	16		(1112)					Ashe, laborer (c)	,
	17		(1114)		1929		Felix Armstrong,		
	18		A,B(1116) "	1929		J. D. Daniel, la		
	19		(1608)		1929		1931, Lonnie Ash		
	20	11400	(1120)		1938		James Moses, lab	orer, iti (C)	
			.		10/2		Incar Birgerst	ké keloktova (-)	
XI	21		Avenue	•	1942			k*, hricklayer (c)	,
	22	1105			1925		Edee Henry*, lab		
	23	1109			1926		Demus Hudson*, 1	anorer (C)	
	24	Demo]	Itshed						

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*denotes home ownership (c) indicates "colored", indicated only through 1950

Occupations of Earliest Residents - Ensley Corps Area (Con't)

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Cor	rps #	ł	Present Street Address	Date of lst CD listing	Earliest Resident	Occupation	Place of Employment
XI	25 26 27 28	1121 Aven 1123 garage of torn down		1960 1930 1930	Ulysses S. Moore*, labo James C. Lewis , labore		
XI	29 30 31	1112 Aven 1108 torn down	" (1110?)	1964	Cornelius Taylor, ^a no oc	cupation listed	1
XI	32 33	1105 Aven 1109 "	ue I	1928 vacant	, 1929, Walker Moss, lab	porer (c)	
XI	34 35 36 37 38 39 40	1132 Avenu 1134 - 1136 - 1138 - 1131 - 1129 - 1127 -	n 19 19 19 19 19 19		Charles Rivers, laborer William Anderson, labor Dayton Bell, laborer (Edward Pruitt, laborer , 1930, Ella Elliott, nc , 1960, Willie J. Fells* Riley Hillery, shellman	er (c) (c) (c) o occupation lis , helper, Dunca	
	41	1117 '		1952	Frank Williams*, pipefi	tter, TCI	
	42	1109 '		1956	Mrs. Aubrey F. Jones*,		N (-)
	43	1105 '	•	1947-48	Nathaniel Moten*, labor	rer, TCI (in '49	(c)
XI	44	1104	Avenue K	1952	Grover Chambers*, labor	re r	
	45	1108		1960	Frank D. Robuski*, pipe		
	46	1112 '		1959	Richard Terrell*, labor		
	47	1117 '	•	1952	Stratman, Joseph*, with	n Peoples Clean	ers
					Josephine Bryant, nurse	2	
	48	1136		1938			
	49 50	1138 ' 1140 '		1950-51 1930	George McNeir*, machine William Howard , labore		
	51	1202(?)	•	1927	William Day, laborer (
	52	1204 '	a	1927	James Jones, laborer (
	53	1206	•	1926	Sarah Kemp, elevator op		
	54	1210 '		1927	Claude Phillips, labore		
	55	1214		1952	William Ford, laborer,		
	56	1216		1928	William Moten, carpente		
	57	1218		1928	William Weaver, laborer		Number 1 Inc. (a)
~ 7	58	1220		1928 196 1	Harrison Mitchell, orde Glenn Thomas, steelwo		
X1	59 60	1222 Aven 1224	ue K N	1929	Sarah Kemp, 1934 maid		•••
	61		••	1928	Jerry Mallory, miner		
	62		••	1928	Orrie D. Mallory , mi		
	63	12 34	**	1927 vacant	r, 1929, G. W. Scott, 1al		
	64	17.30		1926	Arthur McCall, labor		
	64	17.30	**		r, 1928, Reuben McCray, 2		\
	65 66	1240	•	1926 1926	Ernest Ragland, labor Nathan Cephus, labor		,
	66 67		••		, 1927, William Stinson		
	68		**	1927	John J. Smith, groce		
	68	1245	ŧ1	1934	Philip Gagliano, gro	cer (residence	1223 Avenue H)
	_						
XI	69	1112 12th		1931	Joseph Williams , min		
	70 71	1241 Aven 1239	He K	1927 1927	Hugh Thomas , labore: William Calhoun, labo		
	72		•	1927	Spencer Barbee, mech		auley (c)
	73		••	1927	Finley Huff, occupat	ion not listed	
		1233	**	1927 vacan			, Providence Baptist Church
	74	1447	H 	1927	Eliza Burnett, domes		
	75	1445	**		r, 1928, Junius Allen ,		
	76	1643		1928	William Dawson, Soli William Smith, labor		
	77 78	1441	••	1930 1929	James Reynolds, fire		
	79			1927	W. H. Robinson, labo		
	80			1928	Wade Rucker, laborer		
	81	1205	Ħ	1938	Richard George, labo		
	82	1141		1962	R. D. Walker, *labore	r, TCI	- · losophine Brusht
	83	1117	**	1952	Joseph Stratman*, with	tn reopies Ciew ar (c)	ners; Josephine Bryant, nurse
	84	1113	**	1928	John Calhoun , labore Reta Bass , laborer	er (C) (c)	
	85	1109		1928	vera nass ¹ tanolol	•=•	

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Occupations of Earliest Residents - Ensley Corps Area (Con't)

Corp	55 #	Present Street Address	Date of 1st CD Listing	Earliest Resident Occupation Place of Employment
X11	1	1275 Avenue S	1927 vacant	, 1930, Preston Philips , miner (c)
	2	1274 "		, 1928, Charles Dunklin , miner (c)
	3	1272 "		ant, 1929, Mattie Evans , domestic (c)
	4	1270 "	1927	Abraham Johnson, laborer (c)
	5	1268 "		ant, 1929 David Anderson , laborer (c)
	6	1266 "	1927 vacant	, 1928, Sidney Howard, plasterer (c)
	7	1262 (1136) "		• • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • •
	8	1260 (1134-32) "		Samuel Grandson, laborer (c)
	9	1258 (1130,28)	1926 1926	Mary Ray, comestic (c)
	,	1230 (1130,20)	1920	28, Julius King, Laborer (c)
	10	1256 (1122) "	1926 vacant	30, George Marshall, laborer (c)
	11	1254 (1120) "		Richard Dean, laborer (c)
XII	-	1309 12th Place	1944	
	13	1313 "	1926	(1824-26) 24 Jesse Willis, miner (c)
		1210 11 11		26 Lillie Jackson, domestic (c)
	14	1318 " "	1927	(1316-18) 16 Mollie Melone (c)
		1309 " "		18 Tiney Collins, laborer (c)
	15 15	1308	1931	
		1310 " "	1931	
XII :	16	1238 Avenue S	1959	Louis Cludet wrapper Allie Charles
	17	1234 "	1942	Louis Clyde*, wrapper, Allied Chemical Joseph Gaines, laborer, TCI (c)
	18	1214 "	1942	Frank Smith*, laborer (c)
	19		arage) 1949	train bertit, reboter (c)
:	20	1226 "	1949	Clarence R. Rogers, boilermaker, TCI (c)
	21 •	1220 "	1961	Mrs. Adele Robinson*
	22	1218 "	1942	Tim Robinson, laborer, TCI (c)
	23	1216 "	1942	Clarence Rogers, laborer, TCI (c)
X11 2	24	1201 Avenue T	1942	Charles Parks, laborer, TCl (c)
2	25	1200 Avenue U	(1100) 1962	Clinton Porter*, stocker, TCI (in '64)
	26		(1110) 1961	Frank Murphy*, laborer
	27		(1114) 1961	George Williams*, watchman, Birmingham Slag
	28	1210	(1118) 1961	Lawrence Langford*, deliveryman, Southern Wholesale Florist
	29	1222	(1122) 1961	Leonard Wehh*, steelworker, TCI
	30 31	1226 " (12 1230 Avenue U (12	(1204) 1961	Rev. Alfred T. Carter*, cleaner, Willard Cleaners
A 1 1	32		206) 1961 208) 1961	Harvey Jones*, laborer, TCI
	33		214) 1962	Oscar Gentry*, coil dresser, TCI Crommer,Allen*, stockman, TCI
	34		218) 1962	Willie C. Howard*, cleaner, Birmingham Slag
	35	1300 "	1961	Willie Lymon, * no occupation listed
x1 I	36	1233 Avenue T (11	133) 1926	Clifford Farrie Jaborer (c)
	37		135) 1926	Clifford Farris, laborer (c) Cleveland I. Edwards, laborer (c)
	38		137) 1926	George Gardner, laborer (c)
	39		139) 1928	Thomas Tellis, laborer (c)
	40	1341 " (15	519) 1925	Theo Mason, laborer (c)
	41		521) 1925	Lewis Eatman, miner (c)
	42	1347 " (15	i23) 1926	Hill Thomas, laborer (c)
x1 I	43	1337 Avenue U	1961	NTO MARY COVER maid
	44	1337 Avenue 0	1961	Mrs. Mary Govan, maid Mrs. Della Hancock, widow
	45	1333 "	1961	Mrs. Mary B. Sharp, maid
	46	1331 "	1961	Frank Patton, steelworker
	47	1325 "	1961	Ernest Woods, laborer
	48	1321 "	1961	James Jones, no occupation listed
	48	1323 "	1961	Ulysses Bishop, helper, TCI
	49	Demolished		-
	50	1313 "	1961	Genie Miles, laborer, Birmingham Slag
	50	1313	1961	Richard McMillon, construction worker
	51 52	1309 " 1305 "	1961 1961	Mrs. Lorene Jordan, *operator, Stewart's Beauty Shop Breking 1. Louis *booker TCI
	53	1303	213) 1963	Erskine L. Lewis,*hooker, TCI Robert Watts*, machine operator, Western Grain
	54	1237 (12	1963	Robert Watts", machine operator, western Grain Robert Swanson*, no occupation listed
	55		1963	Lucius Pitzpatrick, hooker, TCl
	56		1963	Willie Jackson*, caddy, Birmingham Country Club
	57	1221 "	1962	Porter Rollins*
	58	1217 " (11	17) 1962	Lee Glover, laborer, City Street and Sanitation Dept.
	59 60	1200 " (11 1201 "	100) 1962	Clinton Porter*, stocker TCl (1201)

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	Occupations of Earliest	Residents - Ensley Corps Area	(Con't)
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Corps 🖡		Present Street Address	Date of 1st CD Listing	Earliest Resident Occupation Place of Employmen	t
XII	61	1208 Avenue V	1942 vacant.	, 1944, Floyd Ware, helper (c)	
	62	1224 "	1947-48	David Tobe (c)	
	63	1226 "	1947-48	Wilbert Pennington, motorman, Woodward Iron Co. (c)	
	64	1228 "	1946	Folkes Harper, no occupation listed	
	64	1230 "	1946	Charles Perkins, no occupation listed	
	65	1234 "	1946	Floyd Ware*, laborer, TCl (c)	
XII	66	1242 Avenue V	1946	Ethel Howard, miner, TCI	
	67	1300 "	1923	Henrietta Johnson, laundress	
	68	1308 "	1954	Robert McGee*, miner, TCl (in '56)	
	69	1316 "	1957	Eddie McKinney, employee, TCI	
	70	1316 "	1952	Hrs. Claudia M. Davis, maid, YWCA (widow, Walter)	
	71	1 320 "	c.1946	Frank Smith, laborer, TCI (in '52)	
	71	1322 "	1946	Rosa L. Lewis , maid (c)	
	72	1324 "	1960	Willie M. Ingram [#]	
	73	1332 "	1942	1946, William T. Menefeet, laborer, Woodward Iron	
	74	1334 "	1942 vacant,	1944, Moses Crosby , helper (c)	
	75	1336 "	1942	Floyd Smith, miner, TCI (c)	
	76	1338 "	1942	Bee Wright , laborer, TCI (c)	
	77	1340 "	1942	James Summerville , musician	
	77	1342 "	1942	Esset Chandler, laborer, TCI (c)	
	78	1344 "	1957	Ethel L. Lee*, maid	
	79	1346 "	1954 vacant,	1957, Joe Selmon*, employee, TCI	
	80	1303 "	1927	Cleveland Turner , driver, Keith Furniture Co. (c)	
	81	torn down			
	82	1235 "	1946	Henry Kelly, miner, TCI (c)	
	83	1229 "	1947 - 48	Arthur Jackson , machinist (c)	
		1229A "	1949	Benjamin Clark, porter, Ingalls Iron Works (c)	
		1229B "			
	84	1227 "	1946	Albert Davis, no occupation listed	
	85	torn down			
	86	1221 "	1959	George Will*, laborer, TCl	
	87	1217 "	1957	Louis Robinson*	

Corps	Present Street Address	Date of first CD listing	Earliest Place of Resident* Occupation Employment	
Ι4	6513 41st Street No.	1952	Edward E. Armstrong*, meter str., Water Works	
5	6517 " "	1952	Woody A. Kennon* USAF	
6	6521 " "	1952	Mrs. Agnes H. Vetrano,*clerk, B'ham Linen Service	
8	6529 " "	1952	Edgar E. Seale*, mechanic	
9	6533 " "	1952	Joe Sainz* truck driver	
20	0312	1952	Clifford J. Strozier* no occupation listed	
21 22	6516 " " 6520 " "	1952 1952	William L. Fuller*, trimmer, Lamson and Sessions William E. Weekly*, switchman, L&N	
23	6528 " "	1952	Billy J. Craft, *clerk, ACIPCO	
ī	6525 " "	1952	Lane E. Hoggle*, driver, B & M Express	
I 44	6804 41st Ave. North	1954	William R. Kennedy, announcer, WCRT	
45	6801 " "	1954	Myron J. Sasser*, engineer, City Building Inspection Di	Iv.
46	6805 " "	1954	Delbert F. Pillard*, inspector Hayes Aircraft	
47	6809 "	1954	Monroe T. Harwell, *manager, Mutual Finance	
48	6813 " "	1954	Pete Hill*, Inspector, Høyes	
49	0017	1954	Emil J. Kochler*, grader, U.S. Dept. of Agriculture	
50 51	0021	1954	Leo T. Harbin*, clerk, Postoffice	
52	6825 " " 6901 " "	1954 1954	Herbert H. Lee*, foreman, Avondale Mills Joe D. Bright*, clerk, Alabama Gas	
53	6905 " "	1954	Melford C. Jones*, electrician, Hayes	
54	6909 " "	1954	Duell D. Speeglet serviceman, Alabama Service	
55	6913 " "	1954	Edgar J. Self, Jr.*, salesman, Jewel Tea	
56	6917 " "	1954	Samuel E. Arrington*, Rey-Low Sundries	
57	6921 " "	1954	Jesse W. Silvernail*, engineer, Hayes	
58	6808 " "	1954	Roy Davis*, employee, Hayes	
59	6812 " "	1954	Donald T. Sanders*, comptroller, TCI	
60	6814 " "	1954	Marvin K. Benson*, engineer, L6N	
61	0010	1954	Donald E. Jenkins*, employee, Swift & Co.	
62 63	6822 " " 6826 " "	1954 1954	Thomas A. Gardner*, technician, CAA J.K. Cooper*, inspector, Hayes	
• 64	6830 " "	1954	Charles L. Jones, clerk, Western Grain	
65	6900 " "	1954	Fred Broadfoot*, foreman, Sullivan, Long & Haggerty	
66	6904 " "	1954	Isaac Spinks*, cable splicer, Southern Bell	
67	6908 " "	1954	James T. Foster*, mechanic, Postolfice	
68	6912 "	1954	William R. Powell*, sign painter, Newberry's	
69	6916 "	1954	Louis J. Self*, press operator, Newberry Engraving Co.	
71	6813 43rd Ave. North	1953	Francis O. Latham*, salesman, Crawford Johnson	
72	001/	1953	Lewis G. Thompson*, tree trimmer, Alabama Power Co.	
73	0011	1953	Joe C. Akin*, assistant branch manager, Pure Oil Robert W. Heard*, supervisor, Foremost Dairies	
74 75	6901 " " 6905 " "	1953 1953	Carl K. Harper*, USN	
75	6910 " "	1955	Herbert R. Gammons*, warehouseman, Hill Grocery	
77	3914 " "		······································	
78	7301 " "	1953	D. O. Like*, USAF	
79	7303 ""	not listed 7	7305 - 1953 James A. Nolen*, Hayes	
80	7309 " "	1953	James H. Dodd*, adjuster, Travelers Ins.	
81	7313 " "	1953	Justin D. Roegener*, employee, Swiss Laundry	
82	7317 " "	1953	James T. Studdard*, USN	
83	6812 " "	1947	Jake Rumore, janitor, Chicago Bridge	
1 1	3901 65th St. North	1952	Vincent M. Raymond, salesman	
2	3901 65th St. Wotth	1952	Edwin E. Wilkinson*, switchman, L6N	
3	3909 " "	1952	Lester E. Mitchell*, USAF	
-				
1 10	4101 66th St. North	1952	Robert C. Kohler*, engineer, Hayes Aircraft	
11	4105 " "	1952	Louis C. LeCroy*, salesman, White Dairy	
12	4109 " "	1952	J. Harold Henegar*, machinist, Southern Railroad	
13	4113	1952	John L. Bright ⁴ , foreman, Jackson Foundry	
14	4111	1952	Roland H. Jenkins*, serviceman, Sears	
15	4121 " " 4125 " "	1952	Thomas G. Stevens*, insurance agent J ames L. Ray*, electricia n	
16 17	4129 " "	1952 1 9 52	Howard B. Martin*, clerk, L&N	
18	4201 " "	1952	Laverne C. Thompson*, buyer, New Williams	
19	4205 " "	1953	Elma G. Harpert department manager, Wood Chevrolet	
24	4108 " "	1953	Virgil M. Bryant*, mechanic, Southern Cement	
25	4112 " "	1953	Marvin Johnston*, appraiser, L&N	

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Occupations of Earliest Residents - East Lake Corps Area (Con't)

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	Corps #	Present Street Address 4120 68th St. North	Date of first CD listing	Earliest Resident Occupation Place of Employment
	I 26 27 28	4116 " " 4112 " "	1960 1958 1958	Sam D. Nabors*, helper, Fontaine Truck Co. Roy D. Hassell*, Alabama Air National Guard Wesley Martin*, assembler, Line Material Industries
	29 30	4108 " " 4104 " " 4100 " "	1960 1960	Curtia I. Weens*, craneman, Chicago Bridge Olen Hulpan, Jr.*, mechanic, Leary & Owens
	31 32	4012 " "	1960 1960	William T. Walker*, estimator, Nayes Chemter J. McKnipht*, employee, Nayem
	33 34 35	4008 " " 4004 " " 4000 " "	1960 1960	John W. Trotter*, agent, Eastern Air Lines Charles J. Rutland*, clerk, Juffe-Wohl Iron & Metal
	35 36 37	4000 " " 4001 " " 4005 " "	1960 1960 1960	Henry F. Naff, Jr.4, salesman, Falstaff J. W. Conner*, mochinist, Hayes Cluster F. Jane A. goding - 1
	38 39	4009 68th St. North 4101 " "	1961 1960	Clayton E. Jones*, painter, Haves Curtis I. Veens*, craneman, Chicago Bridge
	40 41	4101 4105 " " 4109 " "	1960 1960 1958	Homer F. Luther*, fireman, Woodward Iron William C. Davis*, mechanic, Hayes Herbert C. Hines*, service manager, Kirksey Motors
	42 43	4113 " "		1959 James C. Gattis*, maintenance supervisor, AT&T Harold L. Higgins*, track supervisor, L&N
	11 1 4	7304 5th Ave. North 7320 " "	1949 1954	Dan L. Mullins*, bracemaker, Crippled Children's Clinic Jack H. Chambers*, air conditioning, Shook & Fletcher
	5 6	7324 " " 7328 " "	1954 1950-51	Billy J. Jackson*, mechanic, White Dairy Albert O. Farmer*, maintenance man, Standard Brands
	11 61	7706 4th Ave. North		
	62 63	7710 " " 7705 " " 7709 " "	1909 1947-48 1949	Mrs. M. Chancellor; widow Herbert Welles, switchman, L&N Herm: C. Francet bound Bodewal Boarna
	64 65	7709 " " 7713 " "	1949 1949 vacant,	Henry C. Frazer*, branch manager, Federal Reserve 1950 James E. Harrell*, pipefitter, Rushton Equipment
	11 19 21 20	7500 5th Ave. North 7501 " " 7502(7504)" "	1935 1967-68 va _{car} 1938	Airport Service Station nt, 1969, Airport ENCO service station The Base Ball Cafe
	38	7512 " "	1953	Gordon B. Smith*, helper, Magic City Plumbing
	39 41	7527 " "	1958 1934 1039 - 20	Talmadge Q. East*, machinist, Continental Gin Jack P. Rylant, painter
	42 44 45	7532 " " 7600 " " 7604 " "	1929-30 Vacar 1929 1929	it, 1931, George R. Wise, machinist H. F. Porter, building contractor J. E. Hendrix, paperhanger
	46 47	7608 " " 7612 " "	1929	A. M. Bullock, civil engineer, Benton J. Penter ht, 1934 Claude V. Hoover, salesman
	48 49	7616 " " 7620 " "	1929 1925	W. F. Tichenor, lawyer William Coley, laborer
	50 51	7624 " " 7601 " " 7605 " "	1952 1929	John B. Leonard*, printer W. H. Pietson, laborer
	52 53	7607 " "		Jack S. Barry, patternmaker, Barry Pattern Works ht, 1930, William Z. Neugent, helper, John H. Brumbaugh
	54 55 56	7611 " " 7621 " " 7625 " "	1924 1928 1954	Mrs. M. A. Mullin, unlisted F. M. Porter, machinist James L. Rushing, bodyman, Fred Goad Motors
	2	7312 " "	1952	Mart Lowery ^A , driver, Foremost Dairies
and and a			C. Contract	<u></u>

Occupations of Earliest Residents - East Lake Corps Area (Con't)

Corps 🖡	Present Street Address	Date of first CD listing	Earliest Resident Occupation Place of Employment
11 56	7627 5th Ave. North	1954	Bruce B. Adams, painter
	7531 " "	1952	Lucian L. Brothers*, foreman, Alabama Outdoor Advertising
11 1	4313 74th St. North	1960	Homer L. Womack*, no occupation listed
2	4317 " "	1960	James Bell*, district manager, Ace Preight Lines
3	4321 " "	1960	Robert G. Love, messenger, Birmingham Southern Railway
4	4325 " "	1960	W. R. Morton*, mechanic, Hayes
5	4329 " "	1960	Alvie D. Payne*, engineer, Rust Engineering
6	4337 " "	1953	Olen D. Mann, tool planer, Mayes
7	4339 " "	1953	William E. Lee*, mechanic, State Highway Department
8	4343 " "	1960	Douglas E. O'Neal*, Fisherman's Friend
9	4347 " "	1960	Julius A. Cardwell*, painter, Hayes
111 10	4342 74th Place North	1932	Purdue J. Lincoln, armature winder, Bagby Elevator Co.
11	4338 74th Place North	1929-30 vaca	nt, 1931, James Kennedy, painter
12	4336 " "		nt, 1931, James H. Putman, insurance
13	4334 " "	1929-33 vaca	nt, 1934 Ray C. Kirby*, department manager
14	4332 " "	1929	P. A. Tarkington, plumber, Southern Plumbing & Heating Co
15	4328 " "	1930	Leonard Wills, clerk, First National Bank
16	4324 " "	1952	Haralson Davis*, city firefighter
17	4320 " "	1952	John Holcomb*, cashier, Dewberry Drugs
18	4316 " "	1952	Robert R. Ellis*, craneman, Connors Steel
22	4311 " "	1950-51	John E. Smyth*, supervisor, Hiller & Co.
23	4319 " "	1950-51	Earl E. Marbutt*, USAF
27	4335 " "	1929-30 vaca	int, 1931, William E. Martin, clerk, Educational Exchange Co
29	4343 " "	1930-36 vaca	nt, 1937 Arcemus V. Reese, Rejoy Service Station
30	4349 " "	1952	Maury W. McLemore*, operator, Birmingham Transit
111 31	524 75th Street North	1941	Charles F. Cunningham*, painter
32	522 " "	1941	Mrs. Carrie E. Watson, widow
33	516 " "	1941	Arthur A. Weeks‡U. S. Army
34	514 " "	1941	Emmett P. Hewett*, Cities Service Filling Station
35	510 " "	1941	Arthur G. Farley*, salesman
36	506 " "	1952	Collis E. Cowart*, driver, City Pire Department
37	502 " "	1952	James B. Sims*, USAF
43	525 " "	1949	Hrs. Etta Crowder*, widow
67	311 78th Street North	1954	Abe Oden*, no occupation listed
66	312 " "	1960	Glenn L. Trinkle*, engineer, Hayes
59	406 " "	1949	Earl C. Perrell, instructor, Commercial Trades School
59	406A " "	1950-51	William L. Gaines, measurement engineer, Southern Natural
58	408 " "	1949	John L. Hyche, clerk, City Comptroller
58	4084 " "	1950-51	Harold McAuley, salesman, Lawrence Purniture
57	416 " "	1950-51	Bradford E. Orr, unlisted
57	418 " "	1952	Lonnie E. Morris*, employee, Vulcan Rivet & Bolt
	410		
60	404 Oporto Madrid	1949	James L. Cummings, clerk, Noland & Co.
61	7706 4th Ave. North	1909	Mrs. N. M. Mounce, spinner

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Occupations	of	Earliest	Residents	-	East	Lake	Corps	Area	(Con't)
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Cor	ps 🖡	Present Add	Street ress		Date of first CD listing	Earliest Resident*	Occupation	Place of Employment
IV	21	8012 lst	Court	North	1957	Eldon L. Prue	tt*, inspector, Ha	iyes
	22	BOOB	н	••	1956		wson*, maintenance	
	23	8020		44	1957		, employee, Hayes	
	30	8028	60		1957		ley*, mechanic, Ha	1768
	31	8027	••	••	1940		. Gurley*, widow	•
	32	8023	н		1940		ley*, city fireman)
IV	18	8010 2nd		orth	1930 vacant,	, 1931; John N.	Yarbrough*, conduc	tor, Birmingham Electric Co.
	19	8011	**	**	1932	John B. Bragg	, watchman	
	21	8021		**	1934	Paul C. David	son, Laborer	
	25	8018			1934	Clayton V. Ke	nnedy, draftsman	
	26	8024	**	**	1968	Henry H. Byrd	, retired	
	27	8028	**	**	1980	Stanley E. Ar	rington, *apprentic	e electrician
	28	8025	**	84	1962	Hrs. Leona M.	Williams , widow	1
	29	8029	41	•	1962	Joe Cornell ,	no occupation lis	ted
		8011 (re	ar)	••	1957	James H. Thra	sher, carpenter	
1 V	1	132 80th			1950-51	G. W. Morriso	n*, salesman, Moor	e-Handley
	2	136	**	**	1950-51			, Long-Lewis Hardware
	3	140	••	<i>P</i>	1950-51	William H. Wa	rden*, salesman, M	arks-Fitzgerald Furniture
	4	200	••	••	1950-51	Burney C. McG	innis, Jr.*, plast	erer, Jackson & Levis
	5	204	**	••	1950-51	Nolen D. Hame	r*, with Pig Trail	Inn
	6	208	**	**	1950-51	Kenneth F. Ba	11*, instructor, C	Commercial Trades Institute
	7	212		**	1950-51	Clyde M. Cara	way*, helper, Maso	n & Dulion
	9	300	89		1950-51	B. C. King, J	r.*, clerk, Maring	-Crawford Motors
	10	304	*	**	1950-51	Joe R. Cook*,	superintendent, V	Veterans Cab
	11	121			1947-48	Frank Anselmo	*, superintendent,	Am Macaroni
	12	123			1929	A. B. Forehan	d, no occupation 1	isted
	14	215	**	**	1942	Alvin P. Dock	ery, carpenter	
	14	217	••	••	1925	E. B. Brock,	driver	
	15	223	••		1930	James H. Oran	ge, fitter, Birmin	gham Gas Company
	16	225	**	••	1929	T. M. Strawn,		
	17	227	••	**	1929	O, R. Bilbro.	bookkeepe r	
	18	216	**	41	1950-51	Daniel Turner	*, parts clerk, Li	berty Notors
	13	223		**	1930	James H. Oran	ge, fitter, Birmin	ngham Gas Co.

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	ARCHITECTURAL & HISTORICAL RESOURCES SURVEY Birmingham, Jefferson County, AL	BIRMINGHAM HISTORICAL SOCIET 1425 22nd St. S. Birmingham, Alabama 35205 205/254-2138
	IDENTIFICATION/OWNERSHIP	LEGAL DESCRIPTION (Jefferson County Courthouse
	Neighborhood	SecTspR
	Street Address	Legal Desc.
	Corner	
	Historical Name(s)	
	Present Name(s)	
	Present Use	Dimensions
	Owner	Present Zoning
	Mailing Address	Visible from Public Road? Yes \equiv No \equiv
	HISTORICAL BACKGROUND	Photo Roll #Neg. #
	Date of ConstructionSource	
	Architect	
	Builder/Contractor	
	Original Owner/Occupant	
	Original Use	
•	Other	
()	Other	
()	Other	Poor 🗌 Unknown 🗌 Under way 🗌
()	Other	Poor _ Unknown _ Under way _ derable _ g _ Compatible _ Noncontributing _ buting _ Compatible _ Noncontributing _ _ Notable _ Outstanding
((Other	Poor _ Unknown _ Under way _ derable _ g _ Compatible _ Noncontributing _ buting _ Compatible _ Noncontributing _ _ Notable _ Outstanding _ National _
ি ি	Other	Poor I Unknown I Under way I derable I g I Compatible I Noncontributing I buting I Compatible I Noncontributing I I Notable I Outstanding National I ted I More Research Needed I

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Corps /	Roll-Negative	Date	Type
V I	Demolished		
*2	13-16,17,18	1934	Shotgun Single
3	13-19,20,21	1962	Shotgun Double
4	13-22,23,24	1929	Shotgun Single
5 * 6	13-25,26,27 13-28,29,30	1929 1909	Shotgun Single Victorian Cottage
7	13-31,32	1952	Shotgun Single
8	13-33,34	1953	n t
9	14-1		Shotgun Double
10	14-2	1910	T-shaped cottage
V1 1	33-1,2	1953	Bungalow
23	35-11,12 35-9,10	1928 1925	Shotgun Double
4	35-7,8	1925	61
5	35-4,5,6	1925	U
6	35-1,2,3	1925	**
* 7	34-31,32,33	1941	Shotgun Single
8 9	34-28,29,30	1927	Shotgun Double
10	34-25,26,27 34-22,23,24	1942 1940	Shotgun Single
ii	34-19,20,21	1940	41
12	34-16,17,18	1940	
13	34-13, 14, 15	1947-4	8 Bungalow
*14	34-10,11,12	1941	
15	34-7,8,9	1946	Shotgun Single
16 *17	34-4,5,6 34-1,2,3	1929 1932	Shotgun Double Shotgun Single
18	33-33,34	1932	Victorian Cottage
*19	33-30,31,32	1920	Shotgun Single
*20	33-25,26,27	1910	Victorian Cottage
21	33-23,24	1953	Contractor Modern
22	33-21,22		Bungalow
23	33-19,20 33-17,18	1910 1910	Bungalow
24 25	33-15,16	1910	T-shaped cottage
26	33-13,14	1925	Bungalow
27	33-11,12	1929	"
28	33-9,10	1961	Contractor Modern
29	33-7,8	1960	
30 31	33-5,6 33-3,4	1953 1961	*1
32	35-13,14,15	1701	Bungalow
33	35-16,17,18	1910	- n
*34	35-19,20,21	1910	Victorian Cottage
35	35-22,23,24	1910	Bungalow
36 37	35-25,26,27	1910	T-shaped cottage Bungalow
38	35-28,29,30 35-31,32	1961	Contractor Modern
39	35-33,34,35	1927	Shotgun Single
40	36-1,2,3	1910	- H
41	36-8,9,10	1909	Victorian Cottage
42	36-11,12,13	1909	Shotgun Double Bungalow
43 *44	36-14,15,16 36-17,18,19	1917 1912	Other
45	36-20,21,22	1944	Bungalow
46	36-23,24,25	1918	Victorian Cottage
47	36-26,27,28	1912	Bungalow
48	36-29,30	1926	Shotgun Double
*49	37-1,2,3	1911	Victorian Cottage
50 51	37-4,5,6 37-7,8,9	1910 1909	Victorian Cottage Bungalow
52	37-10,11,12	1946	Bungalow
53	37-13,14,15	1915	Shotgun Double
54	37-16,17,18	1909	Bungalow
* 55		1927	Shotgun Single
56		1927	14
57	37-26,27,28	1927	

V2 58	36-6.7	1952	Shotgun Single
5 9	36-4.5	1952	**
60	36-33,34	1953	Contractor Modern
61	36-31,32	1929	Bungalow
62	Demolished	1909	
63	Demolished		
64	Condemned	1909	Shotgun
65	Demolished		-
66	Demolished	1909	

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*Indicates 5x7 photo submitted

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<u>East Birmingham</u> (Con't)

Corps Roll-Negative Date Туре

V1 1	17-25	1952	Multi-family o	dwelling	VII 1	14-3	1922	Sho
2	17-26	1952	**	-	2	14-4	1923	B
3	17-27	1952			3	14-5	1912	Bun
4	17-28	1952			4	14-6	1925	Sho
5	17-29	1952	•1		5	Demolished	1012	Sho
6	17-30	1952	••		6	14-7	1913 1924	Sho
7	17-31	1952	••		7	14-8 14-9	1924	ិ ខ្លាំព
8	17-32	1952			8 9	Demolished	1920	2011
9	17-33	1952	**		10	14-10	1924	Bun
10	17-34	1952	**		11	14-11	1957	
11	17-35	1952			12	14-12	1957	Sho
12	18-1	1952			13	14-13	1920-21	
13	18-2	1952			+14	14-14,15,16		
14 15	18-3	1952	**		15	14-17	1960	Bun
15	18-4 18-5	1952 1952	**		16	14-18	1924	
17	18-6	1952	••		17	14-19	1918	
18	18-7	1952	**		18	14-20	1967	Соп
19	18-8	1952			+19	14-24,25,26	,27	
20	18-9	1952					1924	Sho
21	18-11	1950-51	**		#20	14-21,22,23		
22	18-10	1952	**		21	14-28	1963	Chu
23	18-12	1950-51			22	14-29	1965	Ran
24	18-13	1950-51			23	14-30	1952	Bu
25	18-14	1950-51			24	14-31	1915	C.L.
26	18-15	1950-51	**		25	14-32	1953	Sh
27	18-16	1950-51			26	14-33,34	1953	Bu
28	18-17	1950-51	17		27	Burned 15-1.2.3	1067	Bu
29	10-4,5,6	1952	**		28 29	15-4,5,6	1952 1958	Sh
30	18-18	1952	61 79		30	15-7,8,9	1958	•
31	18-19	1950-51			31	15-10,11,12	1928	Sh
32	18-20	1950-51	**		32	15-13,14,15	1952	Bu
33	18-21	1950-51			33	15-16,17,18	1932	Sh
34	18-22	1950-51			34	15-19,20,21	1959	
35	18-23	1950-51			* 35	15-22,23,24	1916	
36	18-24 18-25	1950-51	Multi-family	dualina	36	Demolished		
37 38	18-25	1952 1952	HUILI-IMHIIY	OWETTINE	37	15-25,26,27	1929	She
39	18-27	1952			38	15-28,29,30/		
40	18-28	1952	**			16-31	1922	
41	18-29	1952			39	15-31,32,33	1922	Bui
42	18-30	1952			40	15-34,35	1911	Sh
43	18-31	1952	**		41	16-1,2,3	1911	VI
44	18-32	1952			42	16-4,5,6	1911	
45	18-33	1952	61		43	16-7,8,9	1947-48	
46	18-34	1952	**		44	16-10,11,12	1956	Con
47	18-35	1953	Contractor Mo	dern	45	16-13,14,15	1917	She
48	20~1	1953	Commercial		46A	16-16,17,18	1919-20	- B ut
					46B	16-19,20,21	1918	She
					47 48	16-22,23,24	1911	-
					40	16-25,26,27 16-28,29,30	1932 1959	Sh
					50	17-1	1952	Sh
					* 51	17-2,3,4	1928	
					52	17-5	1932	
					53	17-6	1956	Sh
					54	17-7	1954	Sh
					55	17-8	1952	Bun
					56	17-9	1953	Con
					57	17-10	1955	
					58	17-11		
					59	17-12	1957	
					60	17-13	1956	
					61	17-14	1965	Hu1
					62	17-15	1965	
					63	17-16,17,18		Sho
					64	17-19,20,21		
					65	17-22,23	1927	
					66	17-24		Cont

14-3	1922	Shotgun Double
14-4	1923	Ĥ
14-5	1912	Bungalow
14-6	1925	Shotgun Double
Demolished		
14-7	1913	Shotgun Double
14-8	1924	Shotgun Single
14-9	1926	Bungalow
Demolished		
14-10	1924	Bungalow
14-11	1957	
14-12	1957	Shotgun Double
14-13	1920-21	Bungalow
14-14,15,16		Saddlebag
14-17	1960	Bungalow
14-18	1924	- 41
14-19	1918	H
14-20	1967	Contractor Modern
14-24,25,26	,27	
	1924	Shotgun Double
14-21,22,23	1928	ni.
14-28	1963	Church
14-29	1965	Ranch
14-30	1952	Bungalow
14-31	1915	ñ
14-32	1953	Shotgun Single
14-33,34	1953	Bungalow
Burned		
15-1,2,3	1952	Bungalow
15-4,5,6	1958	Shotgun Single
15-7,8,9	1958	н ^т ,
15-10,11,12	1928	Shotgun Double
15-13,14,15	1952	Bungalow
15-16,17,18	1932	Shotgun Single
15-19,20,21	1959	
15-22,23,24	1916	**
Demolished	1710	
15-25,26,27	1929	Shotgun Single
15-28,29,30/		Success Stude-
16-31	1922	••
15-31,32,33	1922	Bungalow
15-34,35		Shotgun Double
16-1,2,3	1911	Victorian Cottage
	1911	"
16-4,5,6	1911 1947-48	Shotgun Single
16-7 ,8,9 16-10,11,12		Contractor Modern
	1956	Shotgun Single
16-13,14,15	1917	
16-16,17,18	1919-20	Builderow
16-19,20,21	1918	Shoteun Sinele
16-22,23,24	1911	Shotgun Single
16-25,26,27	1932	Shotgun Double
16-28,29,30	1959	Shotgun Single
17-1	1952	"
17-2,3,4	1928	**
17-5	1932	Shotgun Double
17-6	1956	Shotgun Single
17-7	1954	
17-8	1952	Bungalow
17-9	1953	Contractor Modern
17-10	1954	
17-11		**
17-12	1957	99 88
17-13	1956	
17-14	1965	Hulti-family dwelling
17-15	1965	
17-16,17,18	1927	Shotgun Double
17-19,20,21		\$5
17-22,23	1077	41
	1927	
17-24	1927	Contractor Modern

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East Bi	rmingham	(Con't	:)
Corps /	Roll-Negative	Date	Туре
VIII 1 2	9-16 9-17	1952	Contractor Modern
3	9-17 9-18	1954	
4	9-19	1924	Bungalow
5	9-20	1923	amilaion .
6	9-21,22,23	1953	Other
7	9-24,25,26	1953	Shotgun Double
8	9-27,28,29	1953	ñ
9	9-30,31,32	1953	
10	10-1,2,3	1923	"
11	9-33,34,35	1962	Church
12 13	Demolished 10-7,8,9	1915	Bungalow
14	10-10,11,12	1916	T-shaped cottage
15	10-13,14,15	1923	" "
16	10-16,17	1950-51	Multi-family dwelling
17	10-18,19	1950-51	
18	10-20,21	1950-51	**
19 ٨	10-22,23,24	1965	Church
19B			Other
20	10-25,26,27	1965	Bungalow
21	10-29,30,31	1954	Bungalow
22	10-32,33,34	1954	
23	10-35, 11- 1,2	1956	Shotgun Double
24	11-3, 4, 5	1913	T-shaped cottage
25	11-6,7,8		Contractor Modern
26	11-9,10	1915	Shotgun Double
27	11-11,12,13	1925	Shotgun Single
28	11-14,15,16	1925	Shotgun Single
29	11-17,18,19	1928	
30	11-20,21,22	1929	Bungalow Shotowa Dauble
31 32	11-23,24,25 11-26,27,28	1924 1924	Shotgun Double
33	11-29,30,31	1924	••
34	11-32,33,34	1958	Contractor Modern
* 35	11-35	1952	••
36	12-1	1952	
37	12-2	1952	*1
38	12-3	1952	
39	12-4 12-5	1952 1952	91
40 41	12-6,7	1736	Shotgun Double
42	12-8	1926	н
43	12-9,10	1947-4	
44	12-11,12	1934	**
45	12-13,14	1950-5	1 "
46	12-15,16	1929	
47	12-17,18	1932 1929	e#
48 49	12-19,20 12-21,22,23	1727	Commercial
50	12-24.25.26	1931	Shotgun Double
*51	12-27,28,29	1931	Bungalow
52	12-30,31,3		20 Bungalow
53	13-33,34		Contractor Modern
54	13-2,3		"
55	13-4,5,6		Other
56	13-7,8,9	1927	Bungalow
57	Demolished		
58	Demolished Demolished		
59 60	13-10,11,1		Contractor Modern
61	13-13,14,1		Church

1X 1	6-33,34,35	1952
2	7-1,2	1952
* 3	7-3,4,5	1932
* 4	7-6,7,8,9	1922
5	7-10,11,12	1913
6	7-13,14,15	1928
7	7-16,17,18	1925
8	7-19,20,21	1924
9	7-22,23,24	1952
10	7-25.26.27	1918
11	7-28,29,30	1925
* 12	7-31,32,33	1919
13	7-34,35	1957
* 1 4	8-1,2,3	1924
15	Demolished	
* 16	8-4,5,6	1913
17	8-9,10,11	1950
18	8-7,8	1950
19	8-12,13,14	1972
. 20	8-15,16,17	1923
21	8-18,19,20	1929
22	Demolished	
23	8-21,22,23	1919
24	8-28,29	1952
*25	8-30,31,32	1914
26	8-33, 34, 35	1952
27	9-1,2,3	1953
28	9-4,5,6	1964
29	9-7,8,9	1964
*30	9-10,11,12	1928
*31	9-13, 14, 15	1914

Shotgun Double
Pyramidal Roof Cottage
Shotgun Double
Shotgun Single
Shotgun Double
**
**
T-shaped Cottage
Shotgun Double
Bungalow
Pyramidal Roof Cottage
Commercial
Contractor Modern
Shotgun Single
Shotgun Single
Shotgun Single
Bungalow
**
Contractor Modern
Bungalow
Victorian Cottage

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Corps i	Roll-Negative	Date	Туре				
			Yump House	67	28-33,34	1926	Shotgun Double
1	26-1	1962	rump nouse	* 68	29-1,2	1927	Commercial
2	26-2	Burned		69	29-3,4,5	1931	Shotgun Single
3	Demolished	_		70	29-6.7	1927	Bungalow
4	26-3	Burned		71	29-8,9	1927	Shotgun Double
5	26-4		Shotgun Single	72	29-10,11	1927	Bungalow
6	26-5	1962	Contractor Modern	73	29-12,13	1927	· · · ·
7	26-6	1969	Shotgun Single	74	29-14,15	1927	Shotgun Double
8	26-7	1962	Contractor Modern	75	29-16,17	1927	Bungalow
9	26-8,9,12	1929	Shotgun Single	76	29-18,19	1076	Contractor Modern
10	26- 10,11		Shotgun Single	17		1928	Bungalow
11	26-13,14,15	1920s	Bungalow	78	29-20,21	1930	Shotgun Single
12	26-16,17	1927		78	29-22,23	1929	*
13	26-18,19,20		••		29-24,25	1927	
14	26-21,22	1927	**	80	29-26,27	1928	16
15	26-23,24	1928	Shotgun Single	81	29-28,29	1938	**
16		1930	4	82	29-30,31	1962	Contractor Modern
	26-25,26		8	83	29-32,33	1952	Bungalow
17	26-27,28	1929	Bungalow	84	29-34,35	1928	- + 1
18	26-29,30	1929		85	30-1,2	1928	*
19	26-31,32	1929			-		
20	26-33,34	1927					
21	27-1	1942	Bungalow				
22	27-2,4		Contractor Modern				
23	27-3		••	X 1	30-3	1953	Contractor Modern
24	Demolished			2	30-4	1961	Multi-family dwell:
25	27-5	1960	Contractor Modern	3	30-5	1961	••
26	27-6	1930	Bungalow	4	30~6	1961	Bungalo⊌
27	27-7		Garage	5	30-7	1956	Contractor Modern
28	Demolished		our ape	6	30-8	1959	**
29	27-8	1964	Contractor Modern	7	30-9	1959	••
30	27-9	1968		8	30-10	1928	Bungalow
-		1700	Church	9	30-11	1928	
31	Demolished			10	30-12		**
32	27-10	1928	Shotgun Single			1920s	**
33	27-11		Pyramidal Roof Cottage	11	30-13	1928	
34	27-12	1941	Shotgun Single	12	30-14,15	1928	Shotgun Double
35	27-13	1941	Shotgun Single	13	30-16,17	1928	
36	27-14	1941		14	30-18,19	1928	
37	27-15	1941	н	15	30-21,22	1928	
38	27-16	1929	11	16	30-23	1963	Contractor Hodern
39	27-17	1959	Contractor Modern	17	30-24	1976	•1
40	27-18	1959	Bungalow	18	30-25	1931	Shotgun Double
41	27-19	1952	"	19	30-26	1963	Ranch
42	27-20	1956	Shotgun Single	20	30-27	1964	Bungalo₩
42 43	27-21	1947-4		21	30-28	1964	
-				22	30-29,30	1970	Contractor Modern
44	27-22,23,24	1950	Contractor Modern	23	30-31,32,34		Bungalow
45	27-25,26	1960		24	30-33	1970	-
46	27-27,28	1959	Multi-family dwelling	25	30-35	1970	Contractor Hodern
47	27-29,30	1952	Bungalow				
48	27-31,32	1938		26	31-1	1941	Bungalow
49	27-33,34	1950-5	l Contractor Modern	27	31-2	1941	
50	27-35/28-1	1930	Bungalow	28	31-3	1941	Shotgun Single
51	28-2,3	1927		29	31-4	1941	**
52	28-4,5	1927	**	30	31-5	1941	Bungalow
53	28-6		Contractor Modern	31	31-6	196 0	Contractor Modern
54	28-7,8	1927	Shotgun Double	32	31-7	1960	••
55	28-9,10	1952	Shotgun Single	33	31-8	1960	**
56	28-11,12	1928	"				
			Puneela				
57	28-13,14	1928	Bungalow				
58	28-15,16	1928	Shotgun Single				
59	28-17,18	1961	Contractor Modern				
60	28-19,20	1929	Other				
61	28-21,22	1928	Shotgun Single				
62	28-23,24	1928	`н — [—]				
63	28-25,26	1927	Shotgun Double				
64	28-27,28	1926	n				
65	28-29,30	1926	**				
66	28-31-32	1926	Shotgun Single				
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Corps #	Roll-Negative	Date	Туре
XII 1	20-3,4,5	1927	Shotgun Single
2	20-6,7,8,9	1927	••
4	20-10,11,12 20-13,14,15	1927 1927	
5	20-16,17,18	1927	
6	20-19,20,21	1927	••
7	20-22,23,24	1928	••
8	20-25,26,27	1927	Shotgun Double
9	20-28,29,30	1926	"
10	20-31,32	1926	**
11 12	20-33,34,35 21-1,2,3	1946 1944	•
13	21-4,5,6	1944	**
14	21-7,8,9	1927	
15	21-10,11,12	1931	
16	21-13,14	1959	Contractor Modern
17	21-15,16,17	1942	Shotgun Single
18	21-18,19,20	1942	Contractor Modern
19	21-21	1949	Garage
20	21-22,23	1949	Bungelow
21 22	21-24,25	1961	Contractor Modern
23	21-26,27,30 21-28,29	1926 1942	Shotgun Double Shotgun Single
24	22-2	1942	Shotgun Single
25	22-3	1962	Ranch
26	22-4		Contractor Modern
27	22-5	1961	44
28	22-6	1961	••
29	22-7	1961	81 81
30	22-8	1961	**
31	22-9 22-10	1961	
32 33	22-10	1961 1961	Shotgun Double Contractor Modern
34	22-12	1961	"
35	22-13	1961	Contractor Modern
36	22-14,15,16		Shotgun Single
37	22-17,18,19		
		1926	11
38	22-21,22,23	1926	**
39	22-24,25,26	1928	Bungalow
40 41	22-30	1925	**
41	22-31 22-32	1925 1926	•
43	22-33, 34, 35	1961	Shotgun Double
44	23-1,2,3	1961	Shotgun Single
45	23-4,5,6	1961	Shotgun Single
46	23-7,8,9	1961	Shotgun Double
47	23-10,11,12	1961	**
48	23-13,14,15	1961	*
49 50	Demolished	1041	Change Da ha
51	23-16,17,18 23-19,20,21	1961 1961	Shotgun Double Contractor Modern
52	23-22,23,24	1961	"
53	23-27	1963	••
54	23-28	1963	••
55	23-29	1963	**
56	2 3- 30	1963	••
57	23-31	1962	Bungalow
58	23-32	1962	Shotgun Single
59 60	23-33 23-34	1962 1963	Multi-family dwelling Shotoun Double
61	23-34	1963	Shotgun Double Contractor Modern
62	24-2,3,4		Shotgun Double
63	24-5,6		Shotgun Single
64	24-7,8,9	1946	Shotgun Double
65	24-10,11	1946	Bungalow
66	24-12,13,14	1946	Shotgun Single
67	24-15,16,17	1923	Bungalow

XII	68	24-18,19,20	1954	Bungalow
	69	24-21,22	1951	Shotgun Single
	70	24-23,24,25	1952	Shotgun Single
	71	24-26,27,28	1952	Shotgun Double
	72	24-29,30,31	1960	Contractor Modern
	73	24-32,33.34.	35	
			1942	Shotgun Double
	74	25-1.2.3	1942	Shotgun Single
	75	25-4.5.6	1942	
	76	25-7.8.9	1942	67
	77	25-10,11,12	1942	Shotgun Double
	78	25-13,14,15	1957	Shotgun Single
	79	25-16,17	1954	Compercial
	80	25-20	1927	Shotgun Double
	81	Demolished		
	82	25-22	1946	Contractor Modern
	83	25-23	1947-48	Shotgun Double
	84	25-24	1946	Contractor Modern
	85	Demolished		
	86	25-25	1959	Contractor Modern
	87	25-26	1957	

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East	Lake

Corps #	Roll-Negative	Date	Туре	
1 1	1-1	1952	Contractor Modern	70
2	1-2	1952		71
3	1-3	1952	**	72
4	1-7	1952	**	73
5	1-8	1952	41	74 75
67	1-9 1-10	1952 1952		76
8	1-11	1952		77
ğ	1-12	1952	**	78
10	1-13	1952	**	79
11	1-14	1952	••	80
12	1-15	1952	**	81
13	1-16	1952		82
14 15	I-17 1-18	1952 1952	••	83
15	1-19	1952		
17	1-20	1952	04	
18	1-21	1952	н	11 1
19	3-20	1952	41	2 3
20	1-4	1952		4
21	1-5	1952		5
22 23	1-6 1-22	1952 1952	0	6
23	1-23	1952	u	
25	1-24	1952	**	
26	1-26	1960		
27	1-27	1958	Ranch	
28	1-28	1958	Contractor Modern	
29	1-29	1960	Ranch Ranch	
30 31	1-30 1-31	1960 1960	Kanch	
31	1-32	1959	Contractor Modern	
33	1-33	1960	Contractor Modern	
34	1-34	1960		
35	1-35	1960	**	
36	2-1	1960	**	
37	2-2	1960	84	
38 39	2-3 2-4	1960 196 0	Contractor Modern	
40		1960	"	
41		1958	**	
42	2-7	1958	*1	
43		1959		
44		1953	Ranch	
45 46		1953 1953	Contractor Modern	
40		1954	14	
48		1953		
49	2-14	1953		
50		1953	••	
51		1953		
52		1953		
53 54		1953 1953	**	
55		1953		
56		1953		
57		1953		
58		1953	**	
59		1953	44	
60		1953 1953	**	
61 62		1953	11 · · ·	
63		1953	••	
64		1953	14	
65		1954	11	
66	2-31	1953		
67		1953	14 40	
68		1953	17	
69	2-34	1953		

71	3-1	1953	44
72	3-2	1953	\$ 7
73	3-3	1953	*1
74	3-4	1953	**
75	3-5	1946	64
76	3-7	1957	**
77	3-8	1953	Contractor Modern
78	3-9	1953	**
79	3-10	1954	••
80	3-11	1953	89
81	3-12	1953	
82	3-13	1953	**
83	3-6	1946	••
		1949	
1	6-27	1949	Mobile Home
2	6-28		
3	6-29	1954	Contractor Nodern
4	6-30	1954	
5	6-31	1954	e1
6	6-32	1950-1	51 "

1952

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كالتقال المنافعات والمنافعات والمتعامل والمتعادين والمنافع المنافعا والمنافع والمنافع والمنافع والمنافع والمنافع

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	Roll-Negative	Date	Type				
)	•			111 56	5-14	1954 M	ulti-family dwelling
111 1	3-21	1960	Contractor Hodern	57	5-15	1952	*
2	3-22	1960	**	58	5-16	1950-51	**
3	3-23	1960	**	59	5-17	1950-51	*
4	3-24	1960	**	60	5-18	1949 C	ontractor Modern
5	3-25	1960	••	* 61	5-19,20,21	1909 0	ther
6	3-26	1953	**	* 62	5-22,23,24	1909 Vi	ictorian Cottage
7	3-27	1953		63	5-25		Contractor Modern
8	3-28	1960		64	5-26	1949	**
9	3-29 3-30	1960 1932	Realdsh Cateron	65	5-27	1949	87
10			English Cottage	66	5-28		nch
11	3-31 3-32	1929 1929	to the loss	67	5-29	1954 Ca	ontractor Modern
12 13	3-32	1929	Bungalow English Cottage				
13	3-33	1929	English Corrage				
14	3-35	1929	Bungal <i>o</i> w	IV 1	5-30	1950-51	Contractor Hodera
16	4-1	1952	Contractor Modern	2	5-31	1950-51	**
10	4-2	1952	P P P P P P P P P P P P P P P P P P P	3	5-32	1950-51	*
18	4-3	1952	**	4	5-33	1950-51	
* 19	4-4, 5.	1752		5	5-34	1950-51	
	-	1938	Commercial	6	5-35	1950-51	
20	4-6,7	1967	Comercial	7	6-1	1950-51	
21	4-8		5] Contractor Modern	8	6-2	1950-51	
22	4-9 4-10	1950-2		9	6-3	1950-51	
23		1952	, n	10	6-4	1950-51	
24	4-11 4-12	1930	Bungalow	11	6-5	1947-48	
25		1952	Contractor Modern	12	6-6	1929	English Cottage
26	4-13 4-14	1929	English Cottage	13	6-7	1950-51	
27	4-14	1952	Contractor Modern	14	6-8	1942	Bungalow Real(ab. Cathere
28 29	4-15	1930	English Cottage	15	6-9	1930 1929	English Cottage
29 30	4-10	1952	Contractor Hodern	16	6-10	1929	
31	4-21	1941	Bungalow	17	6-11	1930	P4
32	4-22	1941	Bungalow	18 19	6-12 6-13	1930	
33	4-22	1941	ei 	20	6-13	1912	Garage apartment
33	4-24	1941	••	20	6-15	1957	Contractor Modern
35	4-25	1941	**	21	0-15	1437	Contractor Robern
36	4-26	1952	Contractor Modern	22	6-16	1956	Contractor Modern
37	4-27	1952	••	23	6-17	1957	
38		1953	w	24	6-18	1934	English Cottage
39	4-29	1958	**	25	6-19	1934	4 0
40				26	6-20	1968	Contractor Hodern
41		1934	Bungalow	27	6-21	1980	
42		1934	10	28	6-22	1962	**
43		1960	Contractor Modern	29	6-23	1962	
44		1929	Bungal ov	30	6-24	1957	
45		1929	n	31	6-25	1940	Shotgun Double
46		1930	English Cottage	32	6-26	1940	Bungalow
47		1932					
48		1929	Bungalow				
49		1925	**				
50		1952	Contractor Modern				
51		1929	Bungalow				
52		1953					
* 53		1928					
54		1924	ō				
5		1928	**				

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