

*REPORT FOR*  
**GREENWOOD DISTRICT**  
TULSA, TULSA COUNTY, OKLAHOMA



*The 100-block of North Greenwood Avenue, June 1921, Mary E. Jones Parrish Collection, Oklahoma Historical Society*

*PREPARED FOR THE*  
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# 1. ABSTRACT

This document serves as the final report of services provided for the planned preparation of a National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form for the Greenwood district in Tulsa, Tulsa County, Oklahoma. The Indian Nations Council of Governments, on behalf of the Tulsa Preservation Commission, sponsored the study. Funds for the project were provided by the City of Tulsa's Certified Local Government Fund. Preservation and Design Studio PLLC undertook the study in April 2020.

Preservation and Design Studio staff conducted the study to locate, identify, and document resources within a designated area that are associated historically with the reconstruction of Greenwood after the Tulsa Race Massacre of 1921. Resource types under investigation included commercial buildings, churches, schools, and residences constructed prior to or during the recovery period following the race massacre. These resources are accompanied by numerous other buildings constructed after the recovery period and associated with late-20<sup>th</sup>-century/early-21<sup>st</sup>-century urban redevelopment, including office and apartment buildings, single-family dwellings, the Oklahoma State University-Tulsa (OSU-Tulsa) and Langston University-Tulsa branch campuses, and a minor league baseball park known as ONEOK Field. Interstate 244 (Crosstown Expressway) and U.S. Highway 75 (Cherokee Expressway) are also prominent in the study area.

This study includes two basic components: historical research and fieldwork. Due to the closure of many public facilities because of the COVID-19 pandemic, research relied almost exclusively on digital resources. The Tulsa City-County Library's "1921 Tulsa Race Massacre Materials" includes numerous digital sources. Historic Sanborn maps were accessed via the Metropolitan Public Library System in Oklahoma City. Digital copies of the Tulsa city directories dated 1922-1935 were available through Ancestry.com. Sufficient historical research was performed to prepare a brief historic context on the reconstruction of Greenwood following the race massacre.

Fieldwork conducted on April 16-17, 2020, covered over 550 acres of commercial and residential development within a 4-mile perimeter to the north and east of Tulsa's central business district. This study area was bound roughly by East Pine Street (north), North Lansing Avenue (east), the Burlington Northern and Santa Fe Railroad tracks (south), and Martin Luther King, Jr. Boulevard (west).

Fieldwork was completed in two phases. Phase 1, completed on April 16, centered on residential and commercial sections of Greenwood bound roughly by East Pine Street (north), North Lansing Avenue (east), East King Street (south), and Martin Luther King, Jr. Boulevard (west). There is no evidence of previous surveys in this area. Phase 2, completed on April 16-17, included the intersection of East Archer Street and North Greenwood Avenue and adjacent blocks. Most of the resources in Phase 2 were minimally documented in previous surveys, and several are individually listed on the National Register of Historic Places or are included within the Brady Historic District (NRIS #10000618). Because stakeholders assert that some resources within the Brady Historic District are associated historically with Greenwood, historical research

and fieldwork sought to explore the validity of those assertions and consider the potential incorporation of those resources into a Greenwood historic district.

In all, approximately 460 individual resources were surveyed. Of this total, three (3) buildings are individually listed on the National Register of Historic Places and eight (8) are contributing resources to the Brady Historic District. Ten (10) buildings located on the 100-block of North Greenwood Avenue are eligible for inclusion on the National Register of Historic Places as a commercial historic district. Two (2) buildings in proximity require additional documentation for potential inclusion in the district, and one (1) building in proximity is individually eligible for the National Register of Historic Places. One (1) contributing resource and one (1) noncontributing resource in the Brady Historic District were found to have an historic association with Greenwood. One (1) contributing resource in the Brady Historic District requires additional documentation to discern an historic association with Greenwood. One (1) contributing resource and one (1) noncontributing resource in the Brady Historic District are no longer extant. It is recommended that the Brady Historic District nomination be revised and the district boundaries be potentially expanded to better incorporate the area's historic association with Greenwood.

Remaining sections of the study area, specifically areas north of Interstate 244, lack sufficient historic integrity to merit identification as a historic district. This does not mean that these places are absent of any historic significance, however. One (1) commercial building at 802 East Pine Street requires additional documentation and six (6) church buildings in the study area require additional documentation. Carver Middle School (historically, George Washington Carver Public School) is potentially individually eligible for the National Register of Historic Places, but requires additional documentation. Two (2) buildings, Tulsa Fire Station No. 10 and the Ben Hill Community Center, require additional documentation because each is over fifty years old. This study also identified over twenty (20) residential properties that require additional documentation because they are associated historically with the reconstruction of Greenwood. Although the designation of a residential historic district is unfeasible due to the overall lack of continuity and integrity in the area, these residential properties may be eligible for the National Register of Historic Places as an update to the "Greenwood Community Historic Resources in Tulsa, Tulsa County, Oklahoma" Multiple Property Documentation, which was submitted to the National Park Service in 2018.

This study will assist the city in future preservation planning endeavors concerning Greenwood. It is anticipated that the materials included with this study will facilitate community efforts on behalf of current and future historic preservation initiatives in the area. Additionally, this report will assist decision-making processes pursuant to Section 106 of the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966, as amended.

## 2. INTRODUCTION

In April 2020, Preservation and Design Studio PLLC of Oklahoma City, Oklahoma, conducted a study of Greenwood for the Indian Nations Council of Governments (INCOG) on behalf of the City of Tulsa's Preservation Commission. Because of its local, state, and national significance, Greenwood has been subject to previous survey initiatives. In addition, several resources with a historic association to the origins, destruction, and reconstruction of Greenwood have been listed on the National Register of Historic Places. They include:

- Brady Historic District, roughly along Cameron and Archer Streets and from North Boulder Avenue to North Detroit Avenue, NRIS #10000618;
- Mount Zion Baptist Church, 419 North Elgin Avenue, NRIS #08000847;
- Oklahoma Iron Works/Bethlehem Supply Company Building, 118 North Lansing Avenue, NRIS #15000067;
- Vernon A.M.E. Church, 311 North Greenwood Avenue, NRIS #RS100002547

Concerted attempts to survey, preserve, and designate sections of Greenwood as a historic district began in the 1980s. In 1980, the Greenwood Chamber of Commerce secured a grant from the Economic Development Administration to revitalize the 100-block of North Greenwood Avenue. The Greenwood Centre was established three years later, and the Chamber is currently tasked with leasing and managing the Centre's office, retail, and restaurant space.<sup>1</sup> Also in 1980, the Keeper of the National Register issued a formal Determination of Eligibility (DOE) for a "Greenwood Historic District" that included the 100-block of North Greenwood Avenue.<sup>2</sup>

Between 1997 and 2001, the Oklahoma State Legislature appointed a commission to study the Tulsa Race Massacre, then referred to as the Tulsa Race Riot. The commission comprised eleven members, and its responsibilities included developing a comprehensive historical study of the event. This report was published in 2001 and titled *Tulsa Race Riot: A Report by the Oklahoma Commission to Study the Tulsa Race Riot of 1921*. In addition to providing an overview of key events leading up to and during the massacre, the study included an investigation of potential mass burials sites and an analysis of legal culpability on the part of the City of Tulsa and the State of Oklahoma for their handling of the disaster. Finally, the commission created a Reconciliation Design Committee, whose purpose was to purchase property near or in Greenwood to build a museum. The result of this effort was the installation of John Hope Franklin Reconciliation Park in 2010.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Ben Herrington, "Greenwood restored," *Tulsa Tribune*, January 29, 1985, 1B-2B and Ben Herrington and Edward M. Eveld, "Timing may be off for \$4 million Greenwood Centre," *Tulsa Tribune*, January 21, 1986, 1C, 6C, in Tulsa City-County Library, *Race Riot Vertical File*. See also Greenwood Chamber of Commerce, "About Us," accessed April 27, 2020, <https://www.historictulsagreenwoodchamber.org/about-us.html>.

<sup>2</sup> Paul R. Lusignan, "Tulsa Race Riot of 1921, Tulsa County, OK, National Register of Historic Places – Return Comments," December 12, 2012.

<sup>3</sup> Oklahoma Commission to Study the Tulsa Race Riot of 1921, *Tulsa Race Riot: A Report by the Oklahoma Commission to Study the Tulsa Race Riot of 1921*, Oklahoma City, February 28, 2001. See also Randy Krehbiel, *Tulsa 1921: Reporting a Massacre* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2019), 218-19.

In 2003-2004, upon request of the Reconciliation Design Committee and the Oklahoma Historical Society, the National Park Service conducted a reconnaissance level survey of Greenwood to provide “basic information to determine whether [the] site merits further evaluation for possible affiliation with the National Park Service, such as a national historic landmark, national heritage area, or unit of the national park system.”<sup>4</sup> The survey affirmed the national significance of the race massacre, but also noted that the designation of Greenwood as a national historic landmark, heritage area, or historic site was “problematic” due to “a significant loss of integrity throughout the study area...”<sup>5</sup> Reluctance within Congress (including among the Oklahoma delegation) to increase the National Park Service budget or to add new sites to the national park system has also obstructed support for the potential inclusion of Greenwood to the national park system.<sup>6</sup>

In 2011-2012, Preservation Central, Inc. of Austin, Texas, wrote and OKSHPO submitted to the National Park Service a “Tulsa Race Riot of 1921” National Register nomination under Criterion A at the local and national levels of significance. Areas of significance included Ethnic Heritage: Black, Military, Politics/Government, and Community Planning and Development. The period of significance was 1905-1965, with a significant date of May 31-June 1, 1921. The nomination received significant opposition from stakeholders, including the Greenwood Chamber of Commerce and the John Hope Franklin Center for Reconciliation. In December 2012, the National Park Service returned the nomination to OKSHPO for revision. Among the concerns stated by stakeholders and the National Park Service were the nomination’s overwhelming focus on the violence associated with the race massacre and its lack of attention on the reconstruction of Greenwood.<sup>7</sup>

In 2017-2018, OKSHPO prepared a National Register of Historic Places Multiple Property Documentation (MPD) form titled “Greenwood Community Historic Resources in Tulsa, Tulsa County, Oklahoma.” Preparation of this MPD coincided with the effort to nominate Vernon A.M.E. Church (NRIS #RS100002547), which was individually listed on the National Register of Historic Places in August 2018. The MPD notes that most of the buildings within Greenwood that were destroyed during the race massacre were rebuilt within one year. In addition, it defines key characteristics for identifying historic properties associated with Greenwood’s reconstruction.<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>4</sup> *Final 1921 Tulsa Race Riot Reconnaissance Survey* (U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, 2005), 3.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, 99.

<sup>6</sup> Krehbiel, *Tulsa 1921*, 218-19.

<sup>7</sup> The nomination’s Statement of Significance is roughly 43 pages in length. Of this amount, 34 pages discuss the early development of Greenwood and the destruction associated with the race massacre. Only 3 pages of the nomination’s Statement of Significance pertain specifically to the reconstruction of Greenwood. See National Register of Historic Places, “Tulsa Race Riot of 1921 Historic District, Tulsa, Tulsa County, Oklahoma”, draft nomination, Section 8, Pages 16-59. See also Lusignan, “Return Comments”. In addition to these Return Comments, the Greenwood Chamber of Commerce and other stakeholders wrote letters to the National Park Service and OKSHPO stating the reasons for their opposition to the nomination. Copies of this correspondence are available at OKSHPO.

<sup>8</sup> National Register of Historic Places Multiple Property Documentation Form, “Greenwood Community Historic Resources in Tulsa, Tulsa County, Oklahoma,” Section F, 49-50.

As of this writing, the Greenwood Chamber of Commerce is sponsoring a National Register of Historic Places nomination for the 100-block of North Greenwood Avenue. OKSHPO recently reviewed a draft of the nomination and returned it to the preparer with significant comments.<sup>9</sup>

**GREENWOOD DISTRICT PROJECT TEAM  
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<sup>9</sup> Sara Werneke, OKSHPO National Register Program Coordinator, email messages to author, April 29-30, 2020.



### 3. RESEARCH DESIGN

As identified in the Secretary of the Interior's *Standards and Guidelines for Identification*, a research design consists of three elements: 1) identification of project objectives; 2) discussion of methods used to implement the study; and 3) expected results of the study.

### 4. PROJECT OBJECTIVES

This study had three objectives:

The first objective was to prepare a brief historic context of the reconstruction of Greenwood following the Tulsa Race Massacre of 1921. This component of the study can aid in the creation of National Register nominations as well as provide the City of Tulsa with needed historical information to inform decision-making processes, especially as it strives to maintain Greenwood's vitality and identify stakeholders' concerns.

The second objective was to minimally document the study area. Minimal documentation included a combination of windshield and pedestrian surveys within the study area and taking a sufficient number of photographs to provide a fair representation of its various resources, which are a combination of residential, commercial, educational, and industrial properties.

The third objective was to identify and characterize the portions of the study area that warrant consideration as potential historic districts. Resources were considered thematically for association with the recovery period following the Tulsa Race Massacre, defined as 1921 to 1958, when Booker T. Washington High School relocated from Greenwood to its present location. To be considered eligible, resources had to retain sufficient historic integrity to convey a significant association with Greenwood's reconstruction in the aftermath of the race massacre.

## 5. METHODOLOGY

First, project personnel gathered historical information. This work included reviewing information available from the City of Tulsa, Tulsa County, the Oklahoma State Historic Preservation Office, the Oklahoma Historical Society's Research Center, the Metropolitan Library System of Oklahoma City, and the Tulsa City-County Public Library. Due to formal "shelter in place" orders issued by city and state officials in response to the COVID-19 pandemic, these facilities were closed to the public and all historical research was conducted digitally.

Sanborn Fire Insurance Maps for the City of Tulsa (available digitally via the Metropolitan Library System), the Tulsa City Directories (editions dated 1909-1935 available digitally through Ancestry.com), and aerial photographs (available digitally via the U.S. Geological Survey's "EarthExplorer" program and Google Earth) provided the foundation for the historical research and subsequent fieldwork. Sanborn maps used for this study include a volume published in 1915, six years before the massacre, and a revised volume published in 1939 that includes sheets completed at intermittent dates between 1920 and 1935. City directories were available for each year between 1921 and 1935. Aerial photographs from the U.S. Geological Survey were available for the years 1954, 1967, 1984, and 1995. The 1967 and 1995 photographs were available in the highest resolutions and were most often used in conjunction with the Sanborn maps.

By utilizing the Sanborn maps, city directories, and aerial photographs together with the 2005 *Final Report of the Reconnaissance Level Survey of Greenwood Historic District* and the 2012 draft "Tulsa Race Riot of 1921" National Register nomination, project personnel identified resources within the study area that were associated historically with the reconstruction of Greenwood. Such information also provided a basis for identifying dates of construction for resources within the study area.

With a working knowledge of the resources based on this historical information, project personnel took to the field to complete minimal level documentation of the resources within the study area. Field work was conducted on April 16-17, 2020. Given the size of the study area, field work was divided into two phases. Phase 1, conducted on April 16, involved a windshield and pedestrian survey of the area bound roughly by East Pine Street (north), North Lansing Avenue (east), East John Hope Franklin Boulevard (south) and Martin Luther King, Jr., Boulevard (west). Phase 2, conducted on April 16-April 17, involved a pedestrian survey of the area bound roughly by John Hope Franklin Boulevard (north), North Greenwood Avenue (east), East Archer Street (south), and Martin Luther King, Jr., Boulevard (west). Each phase involved work sufficient to gather minimal descriptive information of each area within Greenwood and photographs to provide a fair representation of potentially eligible and ineligible resources within the study area.

A resource must retain historic integrity and have historic significance at the local, state, or national level in order to be determined eligible for the National Register of Historic Places. Historic integrity is defined by seven aspects: location, design, setting, workmanship, materials,

feeling, and association. While a resource may retain some aspects of integrity to a higher degree than other aspects, it must retain sufficient characteristics of each aspect in order to convey historic significance and meet the National Register's eligibility requirements. Even within a historic district, where individual resources might lack distinction, those resources must retain their integrity in order to be considered contributing to the district. Typically, contributing resources within a historic district retain moderate to high degrees of integrity. Because individual resources must convey unique aspects of their significance, they must retain a high degree of integrity in order to be considered individually eligible for the National Register of Historic Places.

In addition to maintaining historic integrity, a resource eligible for the National Register of Historic Places must possess at least one of the following:

- Criterion A: association with events that have made a significant contribution to the broad patterns of history;
- Criterion B: association with the lives of persons significant in our past;
- Criterion C: embodies the distinctive characteristics of a type, period, or method of construction, or represents the work of a master, or possesses high artistic values, or represents a significant and distinguishable entity whose components may lack individual distinction;
- Criterion D: has yielded, or may be likely to yield, information important in prehistory or history.

Based on the nature of this study and the resources involved, all four criteria were given consideration. Strong consideration was given to Criterion A at the local and national levels of significance due to recommendations provided by the National Park Service in its 2005 *Final Report* and comments in response to the 2012 draft "Tulsa Race Riot" National Register nomination. Strong consideration was also given due to the 2018 "Greenwood Community Historic Resources in Tulsa, Tulsa County, Oklahoma" Multiple Property Documentation, which outlined the characteristics of property types within the survey area that could potentially date to the reconstruction of Greenwood.<sup>1</sup>

The project team also considered the applicability of Criterion D given recent news about the City of Tulsa's efforts to search for mass burial sites associated with the race massacre. Upon additional research of the survey area, however, the application of Criterion D for this reason was considered unlikely for two reasons. First, the primary and secondary sources consulted for this work indicate that mass burial sites were most likely located outside of the survey boundaries.<sup>2</sup> Second, the extent of new development within the survey boundaries, particularly road construction and the expansion of the Oklahoma State University-Tulsa campus, has

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<sup>1</sup> National Register of Historic Places Multiple Property Documentation Form, "Greenwood Community Historic Resources in Tulsa, Tulsa County, Oklahoma," Section F, Pages 50-51.

<sup>2</sup> Sites of mass burials in the wake of the race massacre are reported to have occurred at Oaklawn Cemetery, Newblock Park and along the Arkansas River, and Booker T. Washington Cemetery. See *Final 1921 Tulsa Race Riot Reconnaissance Survey* (U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, 2005), 26-27.

decreased the likelihood of the area's ability to provide archaeological information potentially significant to Greenwood's early history.

Of the seven criteria considerations, only Criteria Consideration A, B, and E are considered to have possible application in this study. Criteria Consideration A allows an exemption for a resource owned by a religious institution or used for religious purposes. Criteria Consideration B allows an exemption for a resource relocated from its original location. Criteria Consideration E allows an exemption for a reconstructed building, object, or structure.

## 6. EXPECTED RESULTS

As a thematic study, it was anticipated that the study would focus on resources related to the reconstruction of Greenwood during a period of significance from 1921 to 1958. Such resources were anticipated to be concentrated in two areas:

1. The 100-block of North Greenwood Avenue, which contains the densest collection of commercial buildings associated historically with Greenwood during and after the race massacre.
2. Residential neighborhoods in the vicinity bound roughly by East Pine Street (north), North Greenwood Avenue (east), East King Street (south), and Martin Luther King, Jr., Boulevard (west).

This study anticipated the presence of at least some houses in the residential neighborhoods with dates of construction within the period of significance. However, the study was unaware of the possible extent, condition, and integrity of those houses prior to conducting fieldwork.

Given the construction of the Crosstown and Cherokee expressways, the expansion of the Oklahoma State University-Tulsa and Langston University-Tulsa campuses, and the installation of a commercial warehouse and office park along North Lansing Avenue, it was anticipated that the majority of the study area lacked sufficient historic integrity to merit identification as a historic district.

## 7. AREA SURVEYED

North Greenwood Avenue served as the centerline of the study area. It extends in a southeast-to northwest diagonal within Tulsa's Original Townsite plat before veering in a general south-to-north orientation toward East Pine Street.

Two other north-south streets defined the east and west ends of the study area. North Lansing Avenue is three blocks east of North Greenwood Avenue and one block east of the South Kansas and Oklahoma Railroad tracks, which extend generally south-to-north through the study area.<sup>1</sup> Lansing Avenue also extends generally south-to-north and parallel to the railroad tracks through the study area. Martin Luther King, Jr. Boulevard is three blocks west of North Greenwood Avenue. Known historically as North Cincinnati Avenue, this street extends in a southeast-to-northwest diagonal within the Original Townsite plat. Immediately to the northwest of the Original Townsite, it merges with North Detroit Avenue and veers in a general south-to-north orientation toward East Pine Street. The study area included the 100-1400 blocks of North Lansing Avenue. Martin Luther King, Jr. Boulevard, meanwhile, serves primarily as a thru-traffic corridor and has few adjacent properties.

East Pine Street served as the north boundary of the study area. Originally indicated as "North Street" in early city maps, East Pine Street extends east-to-west along a section line (Township 20 North, Range 12 East, between Sections 25 and 36). The Burlington Northern and Santa Fe (historically, the St. Louis-San Francisco) Railroad tracks served as the south boundary of the study area. The railroad right-of-way extends generally along a southwest-to-northeast orientation.

Interstate 244 (also known as the Crosstown Expressway), which extends generally east-to-west through the study area, demarcates the north, suburban section of the study area from the south, urban section. The presence of Oklahoma State University-Tulsa immediately to the north of Interstate 244 further separates these sections from each other. Likewise, the South Kansas and Oklahoma Railroad separates the properties located along North Lansing Avenue from the rest of the study area. The properties along North Lansing Avenue are primarily industrial and commercial.

The north portion of the study area is bound roughly by East Pine Street (north), Martin Luther King, Jr. Boulevard (east), East King Street (south), and North Hartford Avenue. This section of the study area included the 300-500 blocks of East Oklahoma Place, East Oklahoma Street, East Newton Place, East Marshall Place, East Marshall Street, East Latimer Court, and East Latimer Place; the 400-500 blocks of East Latimer Street and East King Street; and the 600 block of East Marshall Street, East Latimer Court, and East Latimer Place. Beginning in the late 1970s and early 1980s, the Tulsa Development Authority (historically, the Tulsa Urban Renewal Authority) demolished numerous structures in the area and altered several streets to establish cul-de-sacs and to install stormwater management floodplains. This entire portion of the survey area is

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<sup>1</sup> There is a spur belonging to the Osage Railroad that branches north from the South Kansas and Oklahoma tracks and extends toward North Pine Street. The Osage Railroad is defunct, and sections of the spur were recently converted to the Osage Prairie walking/biking trail.

primarily residential. There are some religious buildings and one school building (Carver Middle School, historically George Washington Carver Public School) in the area as well.

The southern portion of the survey area is bound roughly to the north and west by Interstate 244 (north), Martin Luther King, Jr., Boulevard to the east, and the San Francisco Railroad tracks to the south. This section of the survey area included the 100 block of North Greenwood Avenue, the 100-600 blocks of East Archer Street, the 200 block of North Elgin Avenue, the 200-300 blocks of East Reconciliation Way (also known as East Brady Street), and the 300 blocks of North Boston Avenue and Martin Luther King, Jr. Boulevard. The area is primarily commercial. Other building types represented include apartments, museums/cultural centers, and urban parks.

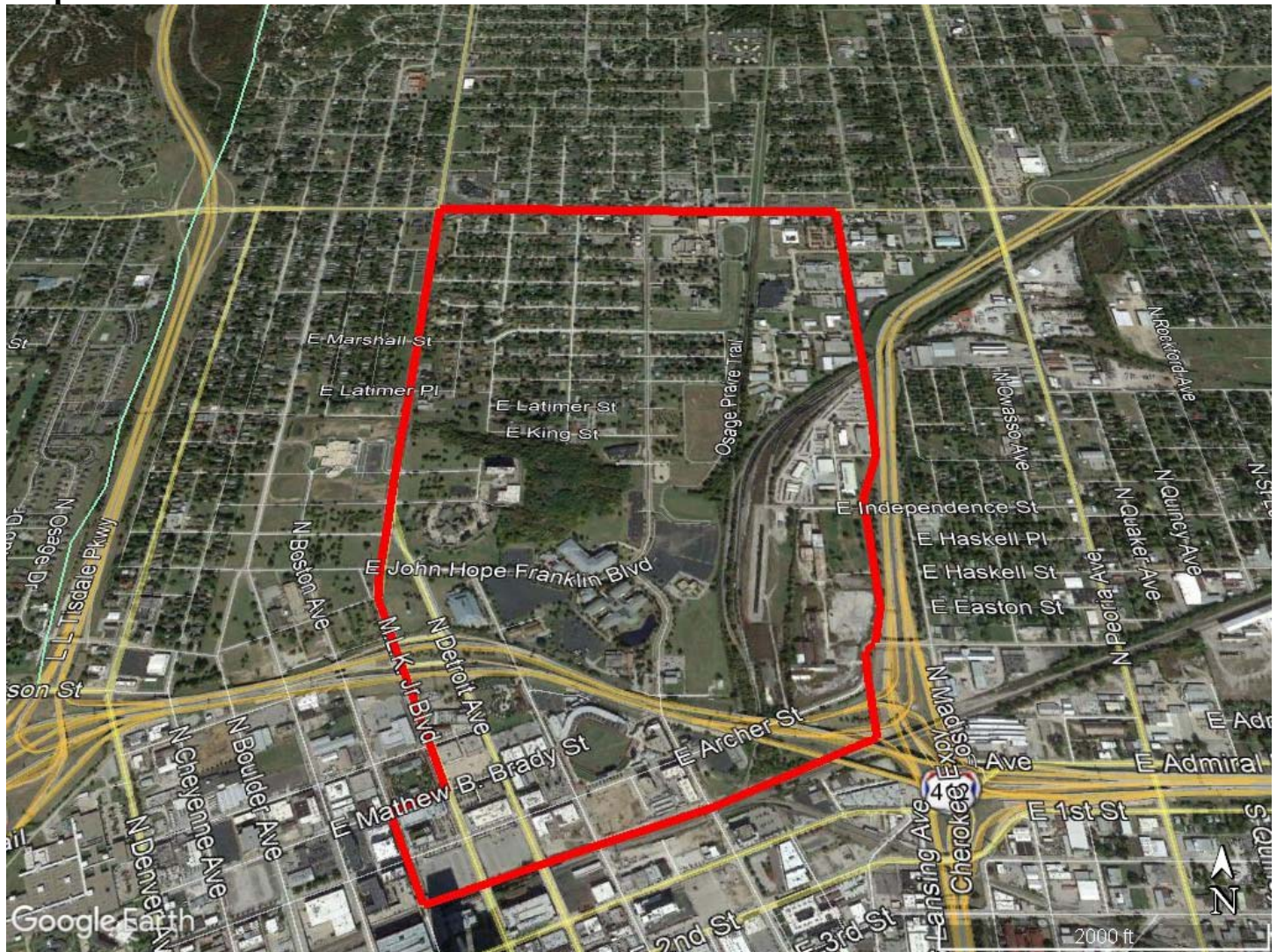
The vicinity of the Oklahoma State University-Tulsa campus is characterized by open, tree-lined streets (most notably East John Hope Franklin Boulevard), large paved parking lots, and several multi-story education and administrative buildings. Mount Zion Baptist Church (NRIS #08000847) is southeast of the campus, on North Elgin Avenue. The Greenwood Cultural Center, the Mabel Little Heritage House (historically, the Mackey House), and Vernon A.M.E. Church (NRIS #RS100002547) are to the southwest, on North Greenwood Avenue.

The area to the northwest of the Oklahoma State University-Tulsa Campus, where a section of North Elgin Avenue intersects with East Jasper Street and East Independence Street, consists of the Tulsa Housing Authority Office building, the Sunset Plaza Apartment Complex, and Pioneer Plaza Apartment Building. These buildings were constructed during the 1970s and early 1980s. The remainder of this area consists of open fields and trees.

In all, the survey area encompasses over 550 acres with a 4-mile perimeter. The survey area was determined by the Indian Nations Council of Governments, in coordination with Preservation and Design Studio. Previous surveys and reports, most notably the 2005 *Final 1921 Tulsa Race Riot Reconnaissance Survey*, 2012 “Tulsa Race Riot of 1921” National Register draft nomination, and 2018 “Greenwood Community Historic Resources” Multiple Property Documentation were also consulted for the review of the survey boundaries and identification of significant resources.



**Map 7.1: Aerial View of Greenwood from East Archer Street**

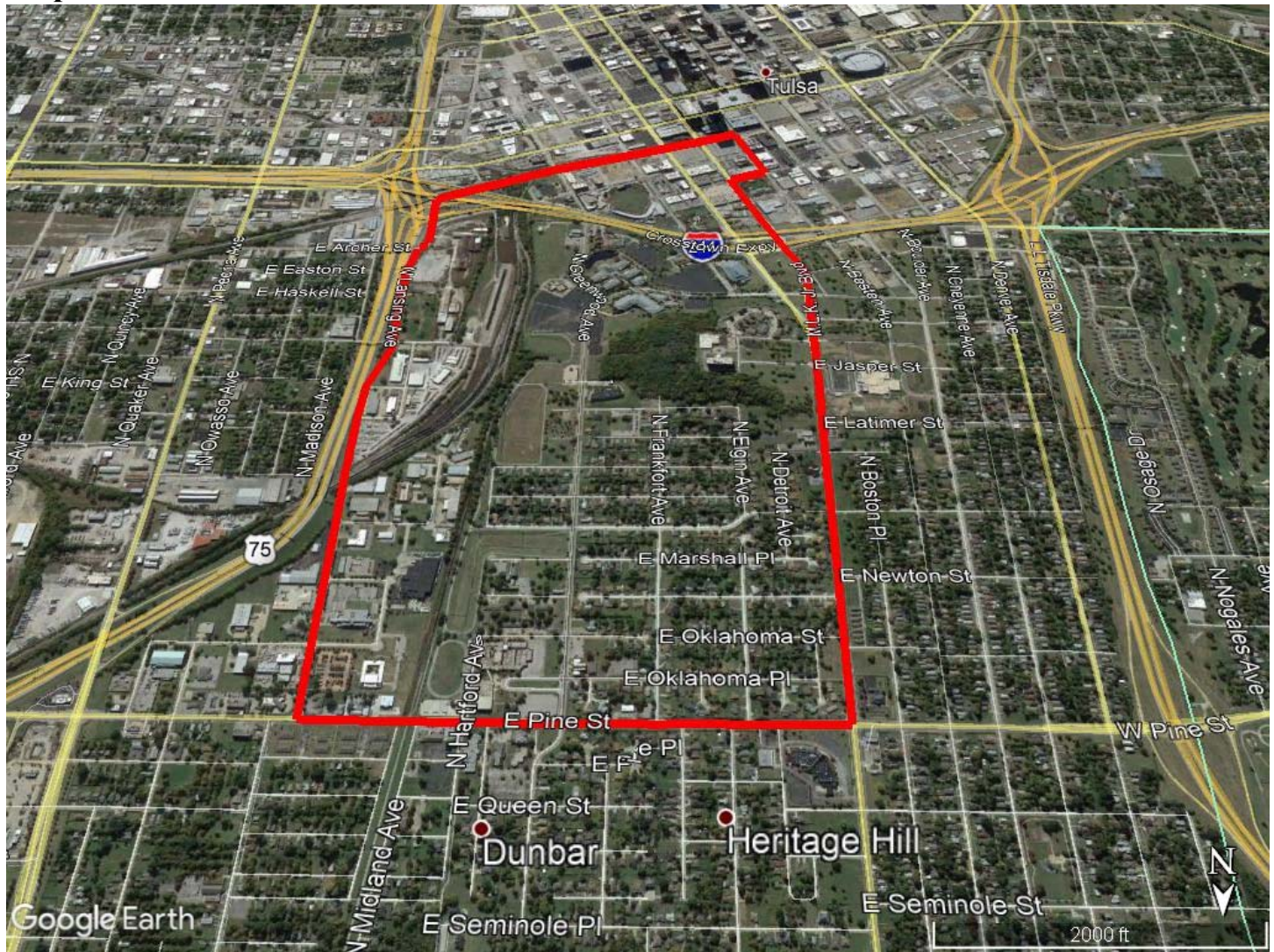


(Google Earth, 2018)

The Greenwood Study Area (indicated in red) is north of the central business district of the City of Tulsa, Tulsa County, Oklahoma. North Greenwood Avenue was the centerline of the survey area. The Burlington Northern Santa Fe Railroad tracks served as the south boundary. North Lansing Avenue and Martin Luther King, Jr. Boulevard defined the east and west boundaries, respectively. East Pine Street served as the north boundary. Interstate 244 (Crosstown Expressway) extends generally east-to-west through the south section of the survey area. The interstate demarcates urban, commercial development in the south end of the study area from the rest of the district. Oklahoma State University-Tulsa is immediately north of the interstate. Its campus is characterized by tree-lined streets, paved parking lots, and sprawling education/administrative buildings. Northwest of the campus, and near the center of the survey area, is an office building and apartments affiliated with the Tulsa Housing Authority.



**Map 7.2: Aerial View of Greenwood from East Pine Street**



(Google Earth, 2018)

Most residences within the Greenwood Study Area (in red) are in a vicinity bounded roughly by East Pine Street (north), North Hartford Avenue (east), East King Street (south) and Martin Luther King, Jr. Boulevard (west). Several church buildings and one public school building are in this area as well. The South Kansas and Oklahoma Railroad tracks extend generally south-to-north along the east (left) side of the study area, separating the properties along North Lansing Avenue from the rest of the district. Properties along North Lansing Avenue and east of the railroad are primarily industrial and commercial. Much of the land adjacent to the west (right) side of the railroad is undeveloped and utilized as stormwater drainage floodplains.

## 8. HISTORIC CONTEXT

Historians have long recognized that Oklahoma occupies a unique place in the history of the American West and the Deep South. Western historians such as H. Wayne and Anne Hodges Morgan commonly frame Oklahoma's development within a frontier context, or "that peculiar phenomenon of restlessness that pushed people across the North American continent in [an] unending pursuit of richer soils, better opportunities, and the chance to begin anew."<sup>1</sup> On matters of race, however, historians commonly characterize Oklahoma as a southern state. "The racial customs and policies of Oklahoma," notable African American and Oklahoma historian Jimmie Lewis Franklin has written, "have been more akin to those of the Deep South than to those of any other part of the nation."<sup>2</sup> Legal historian Paul Finkelman is more succinct by describing Oklahoma as "a southern, segregating state with a western twang in its voice."<sup>3</sup>

The migration of black American to present-day Oklahoma challenges the conventional frontier narrative of western wagon trains and 89'ers. During the 1830s, thousands of enslaved blacks were forcibly removed to Indian Territory along with their Cherokee, Chickasaw, Choctaw, Creek, and Seminole owners.<sup>4</sup> Although the federal government abolished slavery in Indian Territory after the Civil War, freedmen struggled to obtain land, achieve economic independence, and secure citizenship amidst efforts by white homesteaders, entrepreneurs, and politicians to open Unassigned Lands in present-day Oklahoma for settlement. Although their contributions are often overlooked, thousands of black migrants participated in the land runs of the late 1880s and early 1890s or moved to Oklahoma soon thereafter. They settled in Edmond, Guthrie, Oklahoma City, and Tulsa as well as in all-black communities like Langston City and Boley.<sup>5</sup> In all, approximately 100,000 African Americans moved to Oklahoma between 1890 and 1910; a phenomenon that historian Steven Hahn argues should be understood as "the early rumblings" of the Great Migration.<sup>6</sup>

Greenwood, located to the north and east of downtown Tulsa, was the most prominent African American residential and commercial district in Oklahoma during the early 20<sup>th</sup> century. In 1905, O. W. Gurley of Arkansas acquired a 40-acre tract north of Tulsa for the sole purpose of creating an African American community. Although this specific transaction has not been confirmed by

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<sup>1</sup> H. Wayne Morgan and Anne Hodges Morgan, *Oklahoma: A History* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1984), 3. See also Edward Everett Dale and Gene Aldrich, *History of Oklahoma*, 3<sup>rd</sup> ed. (Edmond, OK: Thompson Book and Supply Co., 1972) and Michael J. Hightower, *1889: The Boomer Movement, the Land Run, and Early Oklahoma City* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2019).

<sup>2</sup> Jimmie Lewis Franklin, *Journey Toward Hope: A History of Blacks in Oklahoma* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1982), xi.

<sup>3</sup> Paul Finkelman, "Conceived in Segregation and Dedicated to the Proposition That All Men Were *Not* Created Equal: Oklahoma, the Last Southern State," in *Black Americans and the Civil Rights Movement in the West*, ed. Bruce A. Glasrud and Cary D. Wintz (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2019), 214.

<sup>4</sup> Approximately 8,000 individuals in Indian Territory (approximately fourteen percent of the territorial population) were enslaved by the time of the Civil War. Barbara Krauthamer, "Slavery," *The Encyclopedia of Oklahoma History and Culture*, <https://www.okhistory.org/publications/enc/entry.php?entry=SL003>, accessed May 18, 2019.

<sup>5</sup> Franklin, *Journey Toward Hope*, 8-19 and Quintard Taylor, *In Search of the Racial Frontier: African Americans in the American West, 1528-1990* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1998), 143-151.

<sup>6</sup> Steven Hahn, *A Nation Under Our Feet: Black Political Struggles in the Rural South from Slavery to the Great Migration* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2003), 455.



Tulsa County land records, Gurley was among Greenwood's early retailers and developers. Other notable figures associated with Greenwood's commercial evolution included John and Loula Williams, who owned and operated the famous Dreamland Theater, Jim Cherry, who managed several different enterprises, and John B. Stradford, who completed the Stradford Hotel in 1920. By 1921, numerous black-owned businesses lined North Greenwood Avenue, also known as "the Black Wall Street of America."<sup>7</sup> While Greenwood Avenue provided the commercial hub, adjacent residential neighborhoods housed approximately 11,000 African Americans. Various community and professional services were available as well, including Dunbar Public School and Booker T. Washington High School, a hospital, lawyer's and doctor's offices, newspapers, a library, fraternal lodges, and over twenty churches. Collectively, Greenwood's businesses, residences, and amenities spanned north along Greenwood Avenue from East Archer Street to East Pine Street, east to Lansing and Madison avenues, and west to Detroit Avenue (see Map B.1).<sup>8</sup>

Greenwood's economic and social prominence was a product of racial segregation. The City of Tulsa refused to extend many vital services such as sewers, running water, or paved streets, and northern sections of the district remained outside of city limits until the mid-1920s. White developers often prohibited African Americans from purchasing lots in new subdivisions. City ordinances reinforced these efforts by forbidding African Americans from moving into majority-white neighborhoods. Nor were African Americans allowed to frequent white-owned restaurants and stores or attend whites-only schools, hospitals, and professional offices. In the words of Hannibal K. Johnson, segregation "forced the development of an insular African-American economy" that catered exclusively to Greenwood's residents.<sup>9</sup> Private discriminatory practices worked in tandem with segregation laws and ordinances in the effort to marginalize and exclude African Americans. As a result, Greenwood emerged as "a town within a town," and thousands of African Americans were drawn to the district's cultural offerings and economic opportunities, most notably the chance "to fashion a comfortable life through hard work and diligence."<sup>10</sup>

In less than 24 hours between May 31 and June 1, 1921, much of Greenwood—35 blocks in all—was looted and burned by white mobs. Known today as the Tulsa Race Massacre, this episode is among the deadliest and most destructive instances of racial violence in U.S. history. The outbreak was triggered after the arrest of a young African American named Dick Rowland

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<sup>7</sup> Booker T. Washington bestowed this title to Greenwood Avenue in 1913. See Hannibal B. Johnson, *Black Wall Street: From Riot to Renaissance in Tulsa's Historic Greenwood District* (Fort Worth, TX: Eakin Press, 1998), 9 and Randy Krehbiel, *Tulsa 1921: Reporting a Massacre* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2019), 5. Krehbiel and others have noted that this title is a slight misnomer because there were no banks or other formal financial institutions located on Greenwood Avenue during this period. Also see Mehrsa Baradaran, *The Color of Money: Black Banks and the Racial Wealth Gap* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2017).

<sup>8</sup> For overviews of Greenwood's development prior to 1921, see Johnson, *Black Wall Street*, esp. 1-26; Krehbiel, esp. ch. 3; *Final 1921 Tulsa Race Riot Reconnaissance Survey* (U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, 2005), 16-39; National Register of Historic Places, "Tulsa Race Riot of 1921 Historic District, Tulsa, Tulsa County, Oklahoma," draft nomination, 2012, Section 8, Pages 23-30; and Hannibal B. Johnson, "Greenwood District," *The Encyclopedia of Oklahoma History and Culture*, <https://www.okhistory.org/publications/enc/entry.php?entry=GR024>.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid., 9.

<sup>10</sup> Krehbiel, *Tulsa 1921*, 25.

on the morning of May 31. Although there are several conflicting accounts of the incident as well as details that remain in dispute, the conventional story is that on May 30, Rowland entered an elevator operated by a young white woman named Sarah Page. Exactly what happened in the elevator is unclear, but the most common explanation is that Rowland stepped on Page's foot, causing Page to scream, which attracted the attention of a nearby employee who called the police as Rowland fled the scene. Crowds gathered at the Tulsa County Courthouse beginning in the evening of May 31, inflamed by a newspaper report accusing Rowland of "[a]ttacking" Page and an editorial calling for Rowland's lynching.<sup>11</sup> Violence between whites and blacks, many of whom were veterans of World War I, ensued by 10:00 PM on May 31 and continued into the night throughout downtown Tulsa, specifically along the St. Louis-San Francisco (presently, Burlington Northern Santa Fe) Railroad tracks. As June 1 dawned, thousands of armed whites flooded across the tracks into Greenwood to loot homes and businesses and to set buildings ablaze. Although official death estimates range between thirty and fifty individuals (the majority of whom were black), others estimate that as many as three hundred people died. Many bodies remain unaccounted for and the specific location of several mass burial sites are unknown. Thousands more black Tulsans were humiliated and incarcerated as the violence unfolded. Many marched under white armed guards to the Tulsa Convention Hall or the fairgrounds and were only able to leave these facilities if a white person vouched for them. The extent of the property damage, meanwhile, was incalculable, with estimates ranging between \$1.5 and \$4 million.<sup>12</sup>

Although false and racially charged articles and rumors concerning Dick Rowland provided the immediate cause of the race massacre, journalist James S. Hirsch notes that the widespread violence "was fueled by two headstrong forces: whites reasserting their supremacy in the South through the Jim Crow laws and disenfranchisement, and blacks demanding political equality and economic opportunity."<sup>13</sup> In the words of historian Karlos K. Hill, meanwhile, the race massacre amounts to nothing less than "an attempted community expulsion" by white Tulsans "to terrorize blacks into leaving the city."<sup>14</sup> The scale of an attempted reconstruction in the face of widespread destruction and devastation was daunting. Prior to the race massacre, city directories identified over 1,100 residences within Greenwood, including many multi-family dwellings such as duplexes or rooming houses. Most of these buildings were destroyed, leaving approximately 9,000 individuals, or over 1,700 families, homeless.<sup>15</sup>

Just as segregation influenced Greenwood's creation, racial prejudice and discriminatory policies attempted to dictate its reconstruction. Immediately after the race massacre, white civic leaders and businesses created ad hoc committees to guide redevelopment. The Public Welfare Board, the Real Estate Exchange, and the Reconstruction Committee were the most notable of these

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<sup>11</sup> Ibid., 32-35.

<sup>12</sup> Secondary sources on the Tulsa Race Massacre referred to for this paragraph include Krehbiel, *Tulsa 1921*, Scott Ellsworth, *Death in a Promised Land: The Tulsa Race Riot of 1921* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1982), and James S. Hirsch, *Riot and Remembrance: America's Worst Race Riot and Its Legacy* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 2002). See also Scott Ellsworth, "Tulsa Race Massacre," *The Encyclopedia of Oklahoma History and Culture*, <https://www.okhistory.org/publications/enc/entry.php?entry=TU013>.

<sup>13</sup> Hirsch, *Riot and Remembrance*, 6.

<sup>14</sup> Karlos K. Hill, "Foreword" to Krehbiel, *Tulsa 1921*, xii.

<sup>15</sup> "Tulsa Race Riot of 1921 Historic District," Section 8, Page 55; and *Final 1921 Tulsa Race Riot Reconnaissance Survey*, 1.

groups. While the Public Welfare Board and the Reconstruction Committee tried to influence or dictate city policies, the Real Estate Exchange was comprised of realtors and assessors who appraised property values. Regardless of their specific purpose, these groups were part of “a concerted campaign” to remove Greenwood’s residents further north and convert the district into a warehouse and manufacturing site.<sup>16</sup>

One of the more insidious measures enacted in the wake of the race massacre was a city ordinance that required any new building in Greenwood located south of Sunset Hill to be of fireproof (brick or concrete) construction and equivalent to the height of two stories. On the surface, this measure appeared to strengthen the safety of Tulsa’s built environment, but the framers of the ordinance and its supporters knew full well that most property owners could not afford to rebuild to those standards. Described as “a thinly-veiled mechanism to prevent African American reoccupation under the guise of safety standards,” the ordinance was indicative of the sentiments held by many white Tulsans who did not support the reconstruction of Greenwood, blamed African Americans for causing the violence, and contributed precious few financial resources toward their relief.<sup>17</sup> The Oklahoma Supreme Court ultimately declared the ordinance unconstitutional in September 1921, but only after concerted litigation on behalf of Greenwood property owners by Mather Eakes, a white lawyer, and B. C. Franklin, Isaac Spears, and P. A. Chappelle, all of whom were black attorneys.<sup>18</sup>

Similarly, assertions that Greenwood’s property owners “simply lacked the capital to rebuild” obscures the racism present within Tulsa’s banking, construction, and insurance industries.<sup>19</sup> First, no banks in Tulsa issued loans to property owners in Greenwood following the race massacre. Sam and Lucy Mackey, for example, had to obtain a \$6,500 mortgage from the Oklahoma City Building and Loan Corporation in 1926 before they were able to rebuild their house on North Greenwood Avenue (presently, the Mabel B. Little Heritage House).<sup>20</sup> Second, white-owned construction companies, including manufacturers of brick and concrete, refused to sell materials to Greenwood residents.<sup>21</sup> Lastly, few African Americans owned insurance policies, and those who did found their claims for property damage denied due to “riot” or “civil insurrection” exemptions written into their policies. Despite their best efforts, Greenwood residents were unable to successfully sue the City of Tulsa for negligence in its handling of the race massacre. Although black property owners filed \$5 million in claims against the city, these lawsuits failed by 1923 because an all-white grand jury blamed African Americans for causing the violence and denied any culpability on the part of city officials.<sup>22</sup>

In the face of such obstacles, Greenwood property owners and residents “turned inward” to rebuild, relying on established networks of friends, families, churches, fraternal groups, and

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<sup>16</sup> Krehbiel, *Tulsa 1921*, 112.

<sup>17</sup> “Tulsa Race Riot of 1921”, Section 8, Page 54.

<sup>18</sup> Krehbiel, *Tulsa 1921*, chs. 9-11 and ch. 13.

<sup>19</sup> “Tulsa Race Riot of 1921,” Section 8, Page 55.

<sup>20</sup> Johnson, *Black Wall Street*, 99.

<sup>21</sup> “Tulsa Race Riot of 1921,” Section 8, Page 55.

<sup>22</sup> See *ibid.*, Section 8, Page 55; Krehbiel, *Tulsa 1921*, 191-206; and *Final 1921 Tulsa Race Riot Reconnaissance Survey*, 31-32.

charities.<sup>23</sup> The American Red Cross, led by Maurice Willows, provided direct assistance by distributing tent shelters, many of which residents placed on sites of their former houses, and helping construct more permanent dwellings. African American builders and tradesmen, including carpenters, masons, and electricians, were in high demand. By the end of 1921, the Red Cross reported that over 750 frame houses and 50 buildings of brick or concrete construction had been built in Greenwood. Within one year of the race massacre, Tulsa city directories listed 1,134 residences in Greenwood, only 15 less than the number listed the year before. Most houses were rebuilt atop their original foundations. Some were identical to the previous structure, but few rebuilt homes had indoor plumbing. In time, several notable buildings that had been destroyed during the race massacre were also rebuilt on their original foundations, including Vernon A.M.E. Church (NRIS #RS100002547) and Mount Zion Baptist Church (NRIS #08000847).<sup>24</sup>

Although prior nominations and surveys note that much of Greenwood was “reconstructed” or that such efforts were “virtually complete” by 1922, it is more accurate to describe the reconstruction of Greenwood as a process that occurred throughout the mid-20<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>25</sup> Construction of new residences and commercial buildings continued within the district during the 1920s and 1930s. In 1941, the *Negro City Directory for Tulsa*, published by the Greenwood Chamber of Commerce, described North Greenwood Avenue as flanked on both sides by “teeming business structures” for two miles between East Archer and East Pine streets. These structures housed many of the over 240 “black-owned and operated businesses” within Greenwood, including grocery stores, restaurants, salons/barbers, hotels, and theaters. Approximately 20,000 African Americans resided in or near Greenwood by 1941-42, a significant increase from approximately 11,000 residents in the mid-1930s. Residents, business owners, and employees alike were serviced by a small professional class comprised of teachers, religious leaders, physicians and nurses, and social workers. In particular, Thursday nights were an “institution” throughout Greenwood, as this was the typical off day for domestic workers employed by affluent white Tulsans. By Thursday night, these individuals “stream[ed] into Greenwood...by the hundreds...joined by admirers, friends and spectators to form a crowd somewhat like that in tumultuous Times Square.”<sup>26</sup>

The City of Tulsa remained segregated, however. As the renowned African American sociologist Charles S. Johnson wrote in 1930, there was “no large city, with the possible exception of Tulsa,

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<sup>23</sup> “Tulsa Race Riot of 1921,” Section 8, Page 55.

<sup>24</sup> For overviews of initial relief and reconstruction efforts in Greenwood, see *ibid.*, Section 8, Pages 54-56; *Final 1921 Tulsa Race Riot Reconnaissance Survey*, 43-44; Krehbiel, *Tulsa 1921*, esp. 143-45, 168; and Johnson, *Black Wall Street*, esp. 82-100. See also National Register of Historic Places, “Vernon A.M.E. Church, Tulsa, Tulsa County, Oklahoma,” NRIS #RS100002547, Section 8, Pages 11-12; and National Register of Historic Places, “Mount Zion Baptist Church, Tulsa, Tulsa County, Oklahoma,” NRIS #08000847,” Section 8, Pages 8-10.

<sup>25</sup> The claim that the majority of buildings in Greenwood were “reconstructed” comes from *Final 1921 Tulsa Race Riot Reconnaissance Survey*, 44. The claim that the reconstruction of Greenwood “was virtually complete” comes from “Tulsa Race Riot of 1921,” Section 8, Page 56.

<sup>26</sup> *Negro City Directory of Tulsa* (Greenwood Chamber of Commerce, 1941), quoted in Johnson, *Black Wall Street*, 244-245. According to the *Directory*, domestic workers such as “maids, butlers, cooks, [and] chauffeurs” comprised fifty percent of the African American workforce in Tulsa at this time.

Oklahoma, a concentration [of African Americans] approaching absolute segregation.”<sup>27</sup> Tulsa, like other cities in the United States, achieved this concentration largely through discriminatory housing policies. White landlords often discriminated against African Americans who sought to rent properties. Similarly, homeowners in white neighborhoods developed informal arrangements or official contracts (also known as covenants) in which they agreed not to sell their homes to African American buyers. Many banks also denied mortgages to prospective African American homeowners. This final practice, also known as redlining, was sanctioned by the federal Home Owners’ Loan Corporation (HOLC), which developed a neighborhood classification system during the late 1930s that assisted homeowners and lenders in refinancing mortgages and distributing new home loans.<sup>28</sup>

A “Residential Security Map” of Tulsa created by the HOLC in the late 1930s provides visual confirmation of the perpetuation of the city’s racial divide (see Map B.2). To create this map, surveyors went into neighborhoods to assess the age and condition of its buildings as well as the quality of the infrastructure and amenities that each neighborhood provided. Surveyors also paid close attention to the racial and ethnic composition of each neighborhood. In the case of Greenwood and other neighborhoods in northeast Tulsa, which were predominantly African American, the HOLC gave them “D,” or “Hazardous” classifications and were shaded red on the accompanying map. Residents in these neighborhoods were therefore less likely to qualify for mortgages because banks considered them too risky for investment. Nor would any new developments in these neighborhoods likely receive significant financial support from lenders because of the HOLC’s “Hazardous” designation. In contrast, predominantly white and more affluent neighborhoods nearby, including present-day Brady Heights Historic District (NRIS #80003302), received “A” or “B” classifications from the HOLC, meaning that those communities were categorized as “Best” or “Still Desirable” areas for investment.<sup>29</sup>

The gradual decline of a reconstructed Greenwood as the residential and commercial heart of north Tulsa began in the 1950s. As Hannibal Johnson notes, most of the “pioneers” who had a stake in Greenwood’s founding and reconstruction were “aged, retired, or deceased” by this time.<sup>30</sup> This aging of Greenwood’s original commercial class coincided with post-World War II suburbanization and consumerism. New suburban developments for prospective African

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<sup>27</sup> Quoted in “Tulsa Race Riot of 1921,” Section 8, Page 56. This quote is from Johnson’s 1930 book titled *The Negro in American Civilization*.

<sup>28</sup> Richard Rothstein, *The Color of Law: A Forgotten History of How Our Government Segregated America* (New York: Liveright Publishing Co., 2017) is an accessible, comprehensive overview of discriminatory housing policies in the United States.

Include overall citation for forms of housing discrimination—Rothstein, *Color of Law*

<sup>29</sup> For an overview of the HOLC’s neighborhood classification system, see Kenneth T. Jackson, *Crabgrass Frontier: The Suburbanization of the United States* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985), 195-203. For a copy of Tulsa’s “Residential Security Map,” refer to Robert K. Nelson, LaDale Winling, Richard Marciano, Nathan Connolly, et al., “Mapping Inequality,” *American Panorama*, ed. Robert K. Nelson and Edward L. Ayers, accessed May 5, 2020, <https://dsl.richmond.edu/panorama/redlining>. According to the nomination, Brady Heights (bounded roughly by West Marshall Street (north), North Main Street (east), West Fairview Street (south), and North Denver Avenue (west), was an affluent neighborhood in north Tulsa that contained the homes of several prominent early city developers and leaders, including W. Tate Brady. See National Register of Historic Places, “Brady Heights Historic District, Tulsa, Tulsa County, Oklahoma,” NRIS #80003302

<sup>30</sup> Johnson, *Black Wall Street*, 106.

American homeowners drew families out of Greenwood. Similarly, new shopping centers and businesses, including chain stores and drive-in movie theaters, attracted African American consumers who had historically frequented businesses along North Greenwood Avenue.<sup>31</sup> The desegregation and restructuring of Tulsa's public schools in response to the 1954 *Brown v. Board of Education* Supreme Court decision further accelerated these trends. For example, the relocation of Booker T. Washington High School from Greenwood in 1958 is commonly seen as a key moment in the area's decline. Currently located approximately one-mile northeast of Greenwood, the school's moving benefitted new suburban developments at historic Greenwood's expense.<sup>32</sup>

Post-World War II suburbanization, consumerism, and school desegregation was ultimately a "one-way street" from Greenwood's perspective.<sup>33</sup> By 1961, more than 90 percent of the income from Tulsa's African American population, or approximately \$15 million, was spent outside of Greenwood. At the same time, white Tulsans or the City of Tulsa failed to spend a comparable amount of money inside of Greenwood. In short, the steady outflow of black families and dollars during the mid-twentieth century essentially starved Greenwood of the economic and cultural vitality that had contributed to its founding.<sup>34</sup>

Certain actions by the City of Tulsa, specifically highway construction and building demolition under the guise of "urban redevelopment," only exacerbated Greenwood's socioeconomic difficulties by erasing significant parts of it from the landscape. Hoping to revitalize an urban core that appeared congested and deteriorated in the face of suburbanization, city planners proposed a series of elevated highways and new developments to rejuvenate the city center. The Inner Dispersal Loop (IDL), a series of seven expressways designed to link downtown Tulsa to the interstate highway system and suburban neighborhoods, commenced construction in the late 1950s. Sections of the IDL that had the most profound impact on Greenwood included the Crosstown Expressway (Interstate 244/U.S. Highway 412), which extends east-to-west through the heart of Greenwood, and the Cherokee Expressway (U.S. Highway 75), which runs north-to-south and essentially separates Greenwood from other neighborhoods to the east. The construction of each of these sections of the IDL, which was completed by the early 1970s, involved the City of Tulsa condemning property located within the proposed routes and forcing those owners to relocate. Those who remained, meanwhile, found themselves amid "a concrete box canyon" comprised of highway overpasses and exits.<sup>35</sup>

As suburban shopping centers and elevated highways devastated Greenwood's historic commercial sector, the Tulsa Redevelopment Authority irrevocably altered much of Greenwood's residential areas by condemning and destroying black-owned homes and

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<sup>31</sup> Ibid., 106-7; "Tulsa Race Riot of 1921," 56-57

<sup>32</sup> See Krehbiel, *Tulsa 1921*, 207. See also Booker T. Washington High School, "History," accessed April 28, 2020, <https://btw.tulsaschools.org/about-us/history>

<sup>33</sup> Johnson, *Black Wall Street*, 146.

<sup>34</sup> Ibid., 106-7, 113. See also Hirsch, *Riot and Remembrance*, 194.

<sup>35</sup> Hirsch, *Riot and Remembrance*, 195. See also Johnson, *Black Wall Street*, 114-18. For an analysis of the motivations behind urban redevelopment and its consequences in the City of Detroit, see Thomas J. Sugrue, *The Origins of the Urban Crisis*, Princeton Classic ed. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2005), 47-51.



businesses. By the early 1970s, the Authority had demolished more than 1,000 buildings in Tulsa, including many in Greenwood. In 1978, a city report described Greenwood of comprising of “generally abandoned and underutilized buildings, sitting in a sparse population of poor and elderly African Americans awaiting the relocation counselors of the Urban Renewal program.”<sup>36</sup> In general, Urban Renewal counselors relocated residents to neighborhoods to the north, east, or west. Greenwood Avenue itself, meanwhile, “became a stretch of boarded storefronts, parking meters, winos, and vacant lots.”<sup>37</sup>

In the late 1990s, writer Hannibal K. Johnson described Greenwood as amidst “a renaissance of spirit” stimulated by an ongoing effort to commemorate African Americans’ contributions to Tulsa and to preserve Greenwood’s historic built environment.<sup>38</sup> This “renaissance” began in the late 1970s, when a coalition of Greenwood community members, local civic leaders, and state representatives began fighting to save the area’s remaining historic resources from destruction. The most notable effort involved the acquisition and relocation of the Sam and Lucy Mackey House. Originally slated for demolition, the house was moved to its present location at 322 North Greenwood Avenue and rededicated as the Mabel B. Little Heritage House in 1986. The house is now associated with the Greenwood Cultural Center. Completed in 1989, the Center is a multipurpose facility that showcases and celebrates Tulsa’s African American history. Immediately south of the Mackey House and the Cultural Center, the Greenwood Chamber of Commerce (founded in 1938) continues to manage and lease office, retail, and restaurant space on the 100-block of North Greenwood Avenue. In April 2020, the Chamber received a \$500,000 grant from the National Park Service to pay for necessary maintenance and repairs to the historic buildings on this block, including the installation of new roofs and masonry repointing.<sup>39</sup>

These preservation efforts have been offset by the city’s attempts to integrate Greenwood through new housing and a diversified economy centered largely on innovation and tourism. This effort has not always been compatible with the protection of Greenwood’s historic integrity, however. Throughout the 1980s and 1990s, the Tulsa Redevelopment Authority constructed Ranch- or Contemporary-style houses on lots that historically contained dwellings with ties to Greenwood’s reconstruction. Several streets in Greenwood have been rerouted to accommodate cul-de-sacs. Some blocks that originally contained residences are now undeveloped to provide open space for parks and stormwater management. Combined with this new residential development, the construction of the Oklahoma State University-Tulsa and Langston University-Tulsa campuses in the heart of Greenwood have dramatically transformed the area’s historic integrity and character. Although these institutions are valuable for bringing “students, white and

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<sup>36</sup> Quoted in Johnson, *Black Wall Street*, 116.

<sup>37</sup> Hirsch, *Riot and Remembrance*, 195.

<sup>38</sup> Johnson, *Black Wall Street*, 119.

<sup>39</sup> Randy Krehbiel, “National Park Service grant to pay for Greenwood restoration,” *Tulsa World*, April 8, 2020, [https://www.tulsaworld.com/news/national-park-service-grant-to-pay-for-greenwood-restoration/article\\_926c8e2b-6914-51d5-9442-ecfbf8000013.html](https://www.tulsaworld.com/news/national-park-service-grant-to-pay-for-greenwood-restoration/article_926c8e2b-6914-51d5-9442-ecfbf8000013.html). See also Greenwood Chamber of Commerce, “About Us,” accessed April 27, 2020, <https://www.historictulsagreenwoodchamber.org/about-us.html>, and Greenwood Cultural Center, “About Us,” accessed April 27, 2020, <https://greenwoodculturalcenter.com/about-us>. For a comprehensive overview of preservation and commemoration efforts in Greenwood since 1970, see Johnson, *Black Wall Street*, 116-144; Krehbiel, *Tulsa 1921*, ch. 14; and Hirsch, *Riot and Remembrance*, chs. 11-20. Johnson, *Black Wall Street*, 116-144.

black, to Greenwood,” they have fundamentally reshaped the way that many Tulsans interact with the city’s historically black district.<sup>40</sup> Originally a “self-contained and largely self-sustaining community” in which a majority African American population lived and worked, much of Greenwood now caters to a community of commuters and visitors who live in other sections of Tulsa or beyond.<sup>41</sup>

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<sup>40</sup> Hirsch, *Riot and Remembrance*, 219.

<sup>41</sup> *Final 1921 Tulsa Race Riot Reconnaissance Survey*, 96.

## 9. SURVEY RESULTS

The historic significance of North Greenwood Avenue and the surrounding area cannot be denied. Despite concerted attempts by white Tulsans to expel African Americans from the area, Greenwood was a commercially and culturally vibrant community for much of the twentieth century. In addition to its association with the Tulsa Race Massacre of 1921, the Greenwood district provides insight to historical patterns that are underrepresented on the National Register of Historic Places, specifically the evolution of African American neighborhoods during the mid-twentieth century.

As was anticipated based on the developments that have occurred during the late 20<sup>th</sup> and early 21<sup>st</sup> centuries, the study area lacks sufficient cohesive historic integrity to merit identification of a historic district in its entirety. This is not to say that the area lacks historic significance, however. As the 1941 *Negro City Directory* of Tulsa noted, “Greenwood is something more than an avenue—it is an institution. The people of Tulsa have come to regard it as a symbol of racial prominence and progress—not only for the restricted area of the street itself, but for the Negro section of Tulsa as a whole.”<sup>1</sup> This sentiment toward Greenwood “as an institution” continues to the present-day and is voiced by numerous stakeholders who, on the one hand, acknowledge the devastation and tragedy of the Tulsa Race Massacre and, on the other hand, celebrate the reconstruction and resilience of the community in the face of contemporary challenges. From a historian’s perspective, the challenge of preserving Greenwood lies in creating a strategy that prioritizes the recognition and protection of extant resources that best convey the district’s historic distinctiveness and significance. This challenge is daunting given the extent of contemporary development within the area, which has fractured Greenwood’s historic integrity and continuity.

The survey area encompassed over 550 acres within a 4-mile perimeter that includes approximately 460 individual resources. Most resources (approximately 335) are residential in character and located in the north section of the study area bounded roughly by East Pine Street (north), North Hartford Avenue (east), East King Street (south), and Martin Luther King, Jr. Boulevard (west). Another collection of resources (approximately 35) are commercial or mixed-use in character and located in the southernmost section of the survey area, bounded roughly by Interstate 244 to the north and east, the Burlington Northern and Santa Fe Railroad tracks to the south, and Martin Luther King, Jr., Boulevard to the west.

Historical research of the area included a combination of the Sanborn Fire Insurance Maps for the City of Tulsa, the Tulsa City Directories, and aerial photographs provided by the U.S. Geological Survey. Field work included windshield and pedestrian surveys as well as photographs to gather minimal descriptive information on the area’s resources.

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<sup>1</sup> Appendix D, Excerpts from the *Negro City Directory*, Tulsa, Oklahoma 1941, quoted in Johnson, *Black Wall Street*, 244.

## 1. 100-Block of North Greenwood Avenue, i.e. “Greenwood Business District”

The 100-block of North Greenwood Avenue, also known historically as “Greenwood Business District” or “Deep Greenwood,” is bounded roughly by Interstate 244 to the north and east, the Burlington Northern and Santa Fe Railroad tracks to the south, and North Elgin Avenue to the west. The survey found fifteen (15) resources on or in the immediate vicinity of the 100-block. Of these resources, ten (10) were determined eligible for the National Register as part of a historic district, two (2) require additional documentation, and three (3) were determined not eligible. The properties determined eligible for the National Register as part of a historic district were done so under Criterion A for their association with a significant event or broad patterns of history and under Criterion C for their architectural design.

Properties determined eligible as part of a historic district are identified in Table 9.1.

**TABLE 9.1: Eligible Properties, 100-Block of North Greenwood Avenue**

Property Address	Property Name	Date	Style	Historic Use	Present Use
101-105 N. Greenwood Ave.	Botkin Building	ca. 1921	Commercial	Commercial	Commercial
107-109 N. Greenwood Ave.	N/A	ca. 1921	Commercial	Commercial	Commercial
111 N. Greenwood Ave.	N/A	ca. 1921	Commercial	Commercial	Commercial
102 N. Greenwood Ave.	Williams Building	1914	Commercial	Commercial	Commercial
104-106 N. Greenwood	Atheda Building	1924	Commercial	Commercial	Commercial
108-110 N. Greenwood Ave.	Bryant Building	1924	Commercial	Commercial	Commercial
112-114 N. Greenwood Ave.	N/A	1924	Commercial	Commercial	Commercial
116 N. Greenwood Ave.	N/A	1921	Commercial	Commercial	Commercial
124-126 N. Greenwood Ave.	Smith Building	1923	Commercial	Commercial	Commercial
128-130 N. Greenwood Ave.	N/A	1923	Commercial	Commercial	Commercial

One (1) property located at 118-122 North Greenwood Avenue was determined ineligible due to modifications, as the ground story has been converted to a breezeway to access ONEOK Field.

Two (2) properties along East Archer Street and in proximity to the 100-block of North Greenwood Avenue require additional documentation. Those properties are identified in Table 9.2.

**TABLE 9.2: Properties Requiring Additional Documentation, East Archer Street**

Property Address	Property Name	Date	Style	Historic Use	Present Use
502-504 E. Archer St.	National Supply Company Bldg.	ca. 1930	Art Deco	Commercial	Commercial
624 E. Archer St.	Williams Garage ( <i>Oklahoma Eagle</i> )	ca. 1925	Commercial	Commercial	Commercial

One (1) multi-story, contemporary apartment building located on the southwest corner of the intersection of East Archer Street and North Greenwood Avenue was determined ineligible due to insufficient age. ONEOK Field (201 North Elgin Avenue) was also determined ineligible due to insufficient age.

Interstate 244 serves as a prominent dividing line between the 100-block of North Greenwood Avenue and three resources to the north. Despite this intrusion, these resources are an important component of historic Greenwood Avenue and could be considered a discontinuous addition to a historic district. One resource, Vernon A.M.E. Church (311 North Greenwood Avenue, NRIS #RS100002547) is individually listed on the National Register. Two other resources are each located at 322 North Greenwood Avenue. The first is the Mackey House (presently, the Mabel B. Little Heritage House), which was determined eligible for the National Register of Historic Places under Criterion A and under Criterion C. Criteria Considerations B and E apply. This building was built in 1926. In 1986, it was disassembled, moved to, and rebuilt at its present location. A covered walkway connects the west (back) elevation of the house with the east side elevation of the Greenwood Cultural Center. Although connected, the Center is, in fact, a separate building and is set back (west) from the Mackey House so that it does not overwhelm the Mackey House or detract from the historic integrity of the Mackey House. The Greenwood Cultural Center was determined ineligible for the National Register due to insufficient age.

## **2. Historic Associations between Greenwood and Brady Historic District (NRIS #10000618)**

The southwest corner of the study area, which is bounded roughly by Interstate 244 (north), North Elgin Avenue (east), East Archer Street (south), and Martin Luther King, Jr. Boulevard (west), overlaps the east section of the Brady Historic District (NRIS #10000618, see Map A.3). The Brady Historic District was listed on the National Register of Historic Places in 2010 under Criterion A at the local level of significance for Community Planning and Development and Commerce, with a period of significance from 1906 to 1964. At the time of its listing, the Brady Historic District contained twenty-seven (27) contributing resources and nine (9) noncontributing resources. Of this number, fourteen (14) buildings, including ten (10) contributing resources and four (4) noncontributing resources are located within the study area.

- **215 East Archer Street**

The contributing resource to Brady Historic District located at 215 East Archer Street is associated historically with the reconstruction of Greenwood. Although the Brady Historic

District nomination indicates that this building was constructed in 1926, Sanborn maps indicate that it was built in 1925. In addition, city directories identify black-owned businesses, particularly a lunch counter owned by T. J. Jones, operating from this location in 1924 and 1925. By 1927, the building is associated with an oil well supply company called Dunn Manufacturing.

- **301 East Archer Street (Guess Building)**

The noncontributing resource to Brady Historic District located at 301 East Archer Street was built prior to the Tulsa Race Massacre and is associated historically with Greenwood. City directories identify African American grocer Louis Newman operating at this location from 1916 to 1925. According to the Greenwood Chamber of Commerce, this property was known as the Guess Building. Named for a prominent Greenwood attorney named H. Augustus Guess, it was among the few buildings in Greenwood that survived the Tulsa Race Massacre. Although the Brady Historic District nomination indicates that this building was constructed in 1913, the 1915 Sanborn map shows a 1-story dwelling at this location. By the time the building appears on the 1939 Sanborn map, which is the next edition available in the public domain, the existing building is indicated to serve as an office for an adjacent warehouse operation. Given the building's association with Greenwood and its significance as among the few original commercial buildings remaining in this section of Tulsa, this building is eligible to be a contributing resource to Brady Historic District. Although the original window frames and glass have been replaced, the building retains original window openings, brick subsills, and ornamental cast stone. Given these features, as well as the building's historic association with Greenwood, the window replacements do not sufficiently detract from the building's overall historic integrity.

- **305 East Archer Street**

Additional documentation is required for the contributing resource to Brady Historic District located at 305 East Archer Street. According to the district nomination, this building was constructed in 1920. However, city directories list African American-owned businesses, including a tailor and a physician, at this location from 1918 to 1920. Similarly, the directories indicate black-owned businesses, specifically a restaurant, at this location after 1922. The 1939 edition of the Sanborn map is the earliest edition in the public domain in which the building appears, by which time it is indicated as a warehouse for paint, glass, and other goods.

- **No Changes in Status**

The study observed no change in status for properties within the Brady Historic District at the following locations: 110 East Brady Street, 116 East Brady Street, 200 East Brady Street, 302 East Brady Street, 307 East Brady Street, 323 East Brady Street, 303 North Cincinnati Avenue, and 307 North Cincinnati Avenue. Nor did the study confirm an historic association with Greenwood (i.e. African American property or business owners) for any of these properties.

- **No Longer Extant**

The contributing resource to Brady Historic District located at 221 East Brady Street is no longer extant. The entire block on which this resource was located is currently under construction and slated to become an eleven-story headquarters building for WPX Energy, an oil exploration company based in Tulsa.<sup>2</sup>

The noncontributing resource to Brady Historic District located at 232 North Cincinnati Avenue is no longer extant. The entire block on which this resource was located is currently the site of Guthrie Green, an outdoor park and event venue.

- **Revising the History of the Brady Historic District**

Numerous recent developments in the vicinity, including ONEOK Field and several high-rise apartment buildings, hinder any contemporary sense of historic association or feeling between the 100-block of North Greenwood Avenue and historic properties to the west currently within the Brady Historic District. Given the historic associations between Greenwood and at least two properties within the historic district, and the additional documentation required to determine the status of another property, this study recommends that the Brady Historic District nomination be revised to better incorporate the area's early history as a site of white- and black-owned businesses. In addition, the district's current association with W. (Wyatt) Tate Brady is problematic. Although Brady was a significant figure in the commercial development of Tulsa, he was also a prominent member of the Ku Klux Klan and among the group of white commercial and civic leaders who sought to prevent African Americans from rebuilding Greenwood following the race massacre. A more accurate and inclusive nomination could discuss the district's initial history as a place where the dividing lines between white- and black-owned businesses were more fluid. In addition, the nomination needs to examine the processes through which the district became an exclusively white-owned commercial domain and restricted black-owned commercial enterprises to North Greenwood Avenue.

The fact that eastern sections of the Brady Historic District were once almost exclusively owned by African Americans is evidenced by numerous plaques located along the sidewalks of East Archer Street, North Elgin Avenue, and North Detroit Avenue. These plaques date from the 1980s and the early 2000s, and each identifies the location of a historic, black-owned business or residence. The plaques indicate whether this business or residence was destroyed during the Tulsa Race Massacre. More importantly, they state whether that business or residence was rebuilt. The plaques are in varying states of disrepair and several are missing. In addition, many plaques have been removed completely as new sidewalks are installed. Collectively, the plaques provide a unique opportunity for historic interpretation and wayfinding. Remaining plaques could be catalogued and removed plaques could be replaced. In addition, a digital wayfinding

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<sup>2</sup> Rhett Morgan, "WPX Energy breaks ground for new downtown headquarters," *Tulsa World*, October 23, 2019, [https://www.tulsaworld.com/business/wp-x-energy-breaks-ground-for-new-downtown-headquarters/article\\_144fc44b-55b5-51db-932a-9cd13f288bcc.html](https://www.tulsaworld.com/business/wp-x-energy-breaks-ground-for-new-downtown-headquarters/article_144fc44b-55b5-51db-932a-9cd13f288bcc.html).

application could be created to provide interpretive tours and other opportunities to interact with the history of the Brady and Greenwood districts.

### **3. Vicinity of Oklahoma State University-Tulsa, Langston University-Tulsa, and the Tulsa Housing Authority**

The vicinity of Oklahoma State University-Tulsa, Langston University-Tulsa, and the Tulsa Housing Authority is bounded roughly by East King Street to the north, the South Kansas and Oklahoma Railroad tracks to the east, Interstate 244 to the south, and Martin Luther King, Jr. Boulevard to the west.

One resource in this vicinity, Mount Zion Baptist Church (NRIS #08000847), was listed on the National Register of Historic Places in 2008 under Criterion A at the local level of significance for Ethnic Heritage: Black, with a period of significance from 1948 to 1952.

Oklahoma State University-Tulsa (700 N. Greenwood Ave.), Langston University-Tulsa (914 N. Greenwood Ave.), Sunset Plaza Apartment Complex (266 E. Independence St.), Tulsa Housing Authority Office (415 E. Independence St.), and Pioneer Plaza Apartment Building (901 N. Elgin Ave.) were each determined ineligible for the National Register of Historic Places due to insufficient association with Greenwood's reconstruction or due to insufficient age.

Standpipe Hill (south of intersection of Martin Luther King, Jr. Blvd. and N. Detroit Ave.) and Sunset Hill (south of E. King St. and between N. Greenwood Ave. and Martin Luther King, Jr. Blvd.) are located in this vicinity. Each was a site of intense fighting during the Tulsa Race Massacre. Both sites were determined ineligible for the Historic Register of Historic Places due to modifications.

### **4. Vicinity of North Lansing Avenue**

The vicinity of North Lansing Avenue is bounded roughly by East Pine Street (north), North Lansing Avenue (east), East Archer Street (south), and the Osage Railroad spur (west). The survey found approximately thirty (30) resources in this vicinity.

One resource in this vicinity, the Oklahoma Iron Works/Bethlehem Supply Company Building (NRIS #15000067), was listed on the National Register of Historic Places in 2015 under Criterion A at the local level of significance for Industry with a period of significance from 1911 to 1961. The site is currently under construction and is scheduled to become the headquarters of USA BMX bicycles.<sup>3</sup>

The property at 802 East Pine Street (ca. 1945) requires additional documentation. The Tulsa County Assessor lists the date of construction as 1945, and the building first appears on a 1953

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<sup>3</sup> Kevin Canfield, "After delays, city to break ground on BMX facilities Friday," *Tulsa World*, November 11, 2019, [https://www.tulsaworld.com/news/local/government-and-politics/after-delays-city-to-break-ground-on-bmx-facilities-friday/article\\_da277d83-98a2-512d-8f64-8a22dd174792.html](https://www.tulsaworld.com/news/local/government-and-politics/after-delays-city-to-break-ground-on-bmx-facilities-friday/article_da277d83-98a2-512d-8f64-8a22dd174792.html).



Sanborn map. The map indicates the building to be a store. It is currently vacant and in fair condition. Some of the storefront windows on the north-facing façade have been boarded.

Pine Street Christian Church (ca. 1953), located at 762 East Pine Street, requires additional documentation. The building first appears on a 1953 Sanborn map. The church remains in use and is in fair condition.

The remainder of this vicinity is characterized by undeveloped lots, paved parking areas, and commercial/manufacturing buildings or warehouses built during the late 20<sup>th</sup> and early 21<sup>st</sup> centuries. Such buildings (approximately 27 in all) were determined ineligible for the National Register of Historic Places due to insufficient age.

## **5. Historic Residences in Greenwood**

The residential section of Greenwood is bounded roughly by East Pine Street (north), the Osage Railroad spur (east), East King Street (south), and Martin Luther King, Jr. Boulevard (west). The study found approximately 400 resources in this section. These include Carver Middle School, Tulsa Fire Station No. 10 (508 East Pine Street), the Ben Hill Community Center (210 East Latimer Place), and six church buildings. Remaining resources are single-family residential in character.

Carver Middle School (historically, George Washington Carver Public School), located at 624 E. Oklahoma Place, is potentially eligible for the National Register of Historic Places under Criterion A for its association with a significant event or broad patterns of history and under Criterion C for their architectural design. Sanborn maps indicate that the school was originally built in 1928-29 and served African American children. Additional documentation is required to verify the dates of construction for subsequent additions south of the original building. According to recent aerial photographs, a gymnasium was constructed north of the original building in circa 2005. The gymnasium is connected to the original school building by an enclosed walkway. The walkway appears to have a minimal effect on the otherwise historic building.

Tulsa Fire Station No. 10 (ca. 1967), located at 508 E. Pine Street, and Ben Hill Community Center (ca. 1970), located at 210 East Latimer Place, each require additional documentation, as each property is over fifty years old.

Five church buildings in the vicinity require additional documentation. These properties are identified in Table 9.3.

**TABLE 9.3: Church Buildings Requiring Additional Documentation**

Property Address	Property Name	Date	Style	Historic Use	Present Use
<b>1251 N. Greenwood Ave.</b>	First Church of God in Christ	ca. 1935	Art Deco	Religious Structure	Religious Structure
<b>1414 N. Greenwood Ave.</b>	First Baptist Church North Tulsa	ca. 1930	Late Gothic Revival	Religious Structure	Religious Structure
<b>633 E. Marshall Pl.</b>	St. Monica Catholic Church	ca. 1935	Late Gothic Revival	Religious Structure	Religious Structure
<b>507 E. King St.</b>	Paradise Baptist Church	1960	Modern Movement	Religious Structure	Religious Structure
<b>1137 Martin Luther King, Jr. Blvd.</b>	Mount Rose Baptist Church	ca. 1970	Modern Movement	Religious Structure	Religious Structure

Most of the buildings listed above have congregations that predate the 1921 race massacre. Some buildings, especially First Baptist Church of North Tulsa, First Church of God in Christ, and St. Monica Catholic Church, are associated historically with the reconstruction of Greenwood. Subsequent construction of Paradise Baptist Church and Mount Rose Baptist Church, meanwhile, reflect the evolution of Greenwood during the mid-to-late twentieth century.

A sixth church building located at 648 East Marshall Street (City of Refuge Church of God) was determined ineligible due to modifications.

Residential properties in this vicinity vary widely in dates of construction, style, historic integrity, and condition. Prior to 1921, much of Greenwood was outside of Tulsa's city limits. Therefore, a significant portion of the study area was not included in a 1915 edition of the Sanborn maps, which is the earliest edition available in the public domain prior to the Tulsa Race Massacre. This edition of the Sanborn maps was republished in 1939, and it includes additional sheets that document most of the vicinity. However, the dates of individual sheets range from 1923 to 1935. As a result, the Sanborn maps provide an incomplete assessment of the reconstruction of Greenwood's residential properties.

Aerial photographs from the U.S. Geological Survey indicate that this vicinity was fully redeveloped by 1967. When combined with the data provided by the Sanborn maps, two trends are clear:

- 1) North Greenwood Avenue between East Pine (north) and East King (south) streets was primarily commercial. It featured a variety of stores, restaurants and cafés, filling stations and repair shops, hotels and boarding houses, and theaters.
- 2) Blocks to the east and west of North Greenwood Avenue in this vicinity were residential. While some lots were undeveloped by 1967, most contained one-story dwellings with small, rectangular-shaped footprints. Sanborn maps indicate the typical dwelling to be of frame construction with a shingle roof. Many had a covered front porch and a small percentage had a veneer exterior or a detached autohouse. Most buildings were single-family dwellings, with some duplexes and apartment buildings mixed in.

This vicinity lost much of its historic integrity during the late 20<sup>th</sup> and early 21<sup>st</sup> centuries due to urban renewal. Aerial photographs from the U.S. Geological Survey dated 1984 and 1995, combined with recent pedestrian and windshield surveys, indicate that the historic commercial corridor along North Greenwood Avenue between East King and East Pine streets is no longer extant. Approximately ninety (90) percent of the residential development visible in a 1967 aerial photograph is no longer extant, and the remaining ten (10) percent is interspersed with newer houses. These new builds were constructed between the late 1970s and early 2000s and have architectural styles associated with the Ranch or Contemporary subtypes. New houses have significantly larger footprints and nearly all have attached garages. In addition, several neighborhood streets were altered by the mid-1980s to accommodate cul-de-sacs and stormwater management floodplains. For example, this study found at least nine (9) cul-de-sacs in locations where they did not exist historically. Collectively, widespread demolition, construction of contemporary houses, and alterations to the street grid dramatically reduced population density and diminished the vicinity's feeling and association with historic Greenwood.

Despite the vicinity's overall lack of historic integrity, this study identified over twenty (20) residential properties that have a potential historic association with the reconstruction of Greenwood and require additional documentation. These properties are identified in Table 9.4.

**TABLE 9.4: Residences Requiring Additional Documentation**

Property Address	Property Name	Date	Style	Historic Use	Present Use
424 E. Oklahoma Pl.	N/A	1922	Minimal Traditional	Single Dwelling	Single Dwelling
224 E. Oklahoma St.	N/A	1925	Craftsman	Single Dwelling	Single Dwelling
228 E. Oklahoma St.	N/A	1925	Craftsman	Single Dwelling	Single Dwelling
240 E. Oklahoma St.	N/A	1927	Minimal Traditional	Single Dwelling	Single Dwelling
408 E. Oklahoma St.	N/A	1947	Craftsman	Single Dwelling	Single Dwelling
408 E. Marshall Pl.	N/A	1924	Craftsman	Single Dwelling	Single Dwelling
416 E. Marshall Pl.	N/A	1925	Tudor Revival	Single Dwelling	Single Dwelling
420 E. Marshall Pl.	N/A	1924	Minimal Traditional	Single Dwelling	Single Dwelling
427 E. Marshall Pl.	N/A	1924	Craftsman	Single Dwelling	Single Dwelling
440 E. Marshall St.	N/A	1925	Craftsman	Single Dwelling	Single Dwelling
442 E. Marshall St.	N/A	1925	Craftsman	Single Dwelling	Single Dwelling
507 E. Marshall St.	N/A	1923	Craftsman	Single Dwelling	Single Dwelling
401 E. Latimer Ct.	N/A	1921	Craftsman	Single Dwelling	Single Dwelling
433 E. Latimer Ct.	N/A	1925	Craftsman	Single Dwelling	Single Dwelling
438 E. Latimer Ct.	N/A	1949	Tudor Revival	Single Dwelling	Single Dwelling
440 E. Latimer Ct.	N/A	1950	Tudor Revival	Single Dwelling	Single Dwelling
441 E. Latimer Ct.	N/A	1930	Craftsman	Single Dwelling	Single Dwelling
632 E. Latimer Ct.	N/A	1920	Craftsman	Single Dwelling	Single Dwelling
643 E. Latimer Ct.	N/A	1922	Craftsman	Single Dwelling	Single Dwelling
403 E. Latimer Pl.	N/A	1920	Craftsman	Single Dwelling	Single Dwelling
441 E. Latimer Pl.	N/A	1923	Minimal Traditional	Single Dwelling	Single Dwelling

Estimated dates of construction for the above properties range from 1922 to 1950. Dates derive from the Tulsa County Assessor, Tulsa city directories, Sanborn maps, or some combination thereof. Architectural styles represented include Tudor Revival, Craftsman, and Minimal Traditional. An intensive-level survey would be required to determine a comprehensive list of residential properties associated historically with the reconstruction of Greenwood

The creation of a residential historic district in this vicinity may be impractical due to the overall lack of historic continuity and integrity. However, individual residential properties could be eligible for the National Register of Historic Places under an update to the “Greenwood Community Historic Resources in Tulsa, Tulsa County, Oklahoma” MPD.

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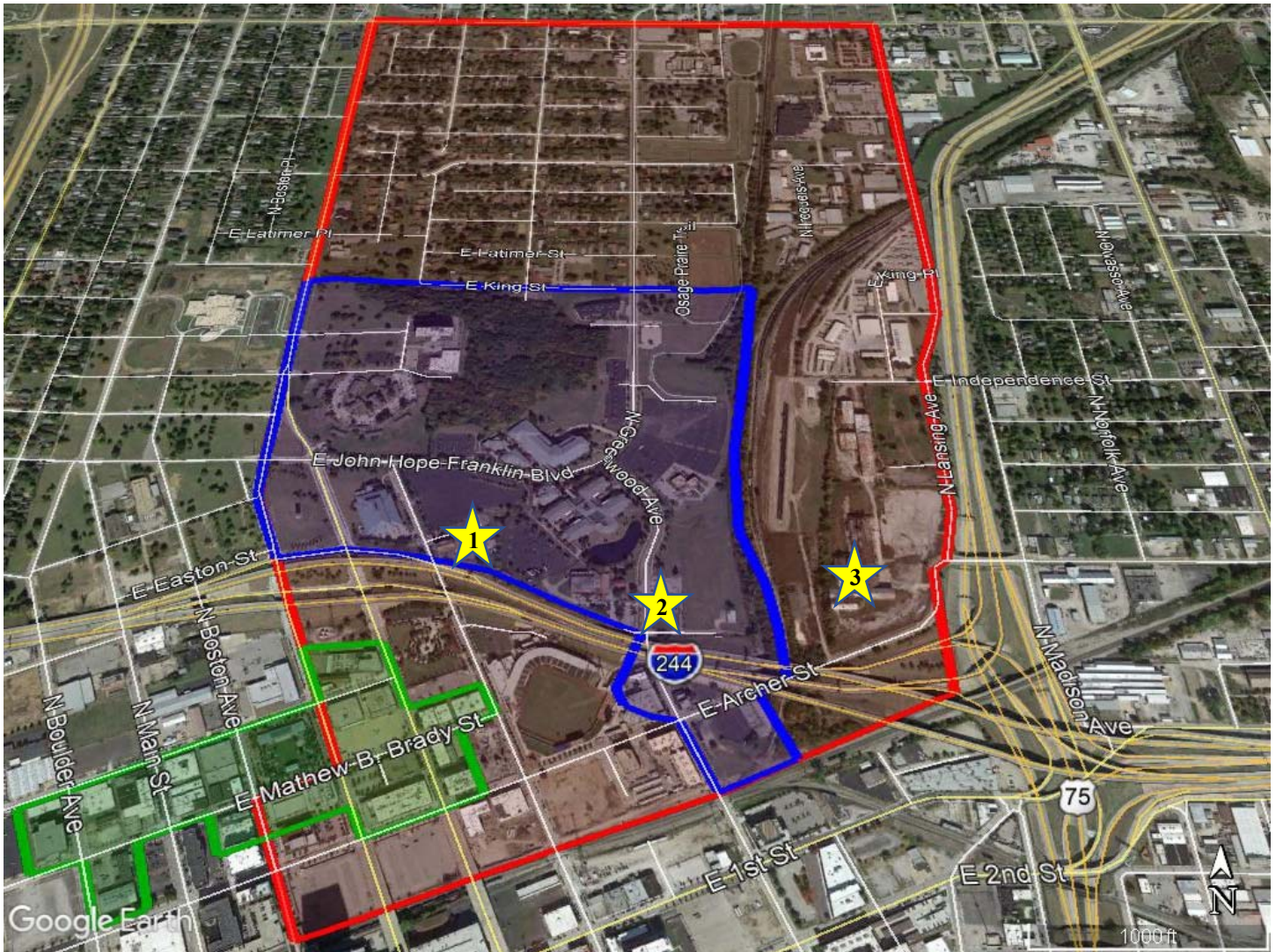
## **APPENDIX A**

### **MAPS and PHOTO KEY**





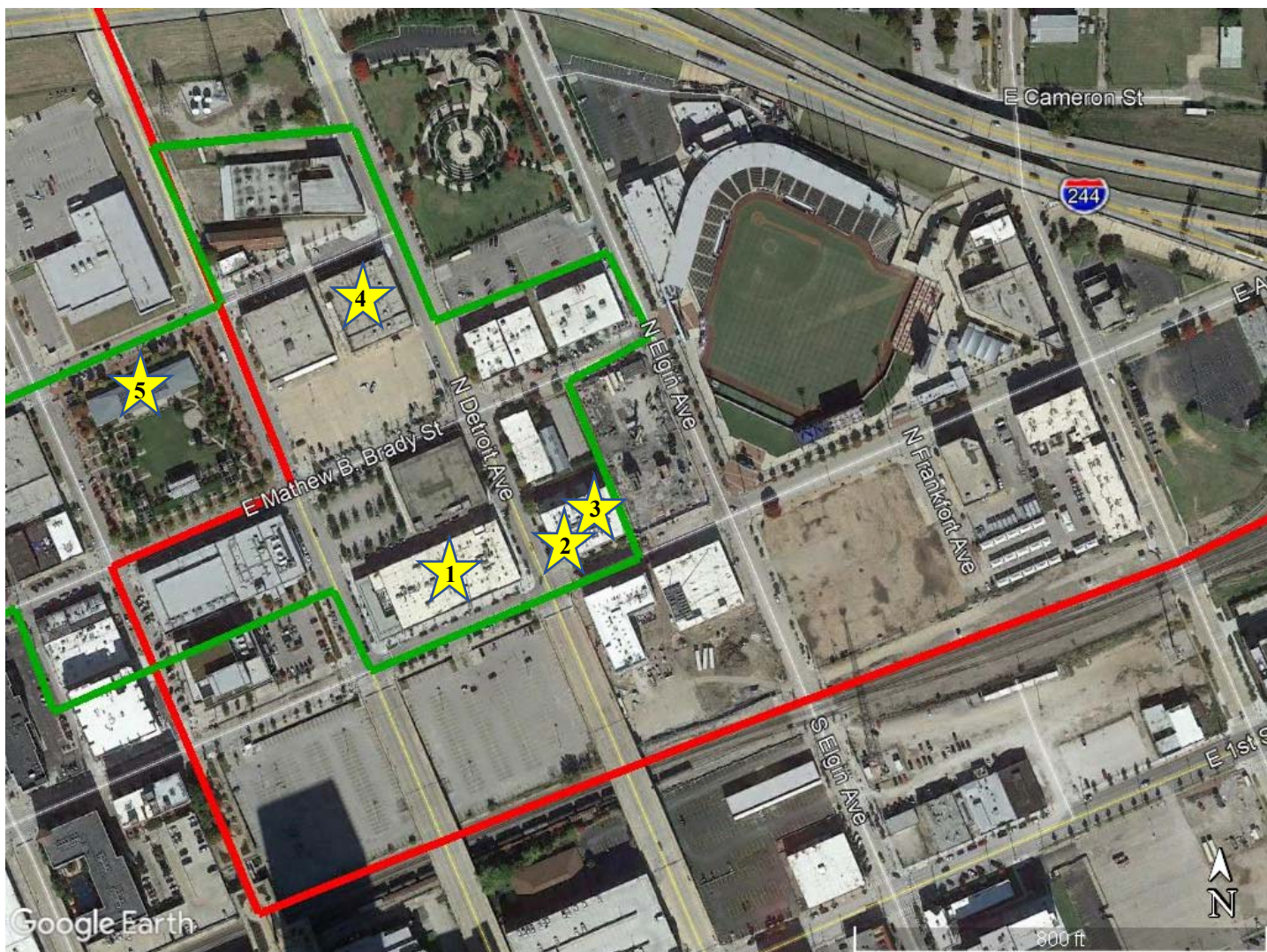
**Map A.1: The Big Picture, Greenwood**  
(Tulsa, Tulsa County, Oklahoma)



**Map A.2**  
**National Register Properties within Greenwood**  
 (Google Earth, 2018)

Greenwood (indicated in red) is north of the central business district of the City of Tulsa, Tulsa County, Oklahoma. The area has been the subject of previous surveys and several properties within the area are listed on the National Register of Historic Places. In 1980, prior to the expansion of the Oklahoma State University-Tulsa campus, the Keeper of the National Register issued a formal Determination of Eligibility for the area indicated in blue. The southwest corner of Greenwood overlaps the east section of the Brady Historic District (NRIS #10000618, indicated in green), which was listed in 2010. Individual properties within the study area currently on the National Register of Historic Places are: **1.** Mount Zion Baptist Church (NRIS #08000847); **2.** Vernon A.M.E. Church (NRIS ##RS100002547); and **3.** Oklahoma Iron Works/Bethlehem Supply Company Building (NRIS #15000067).

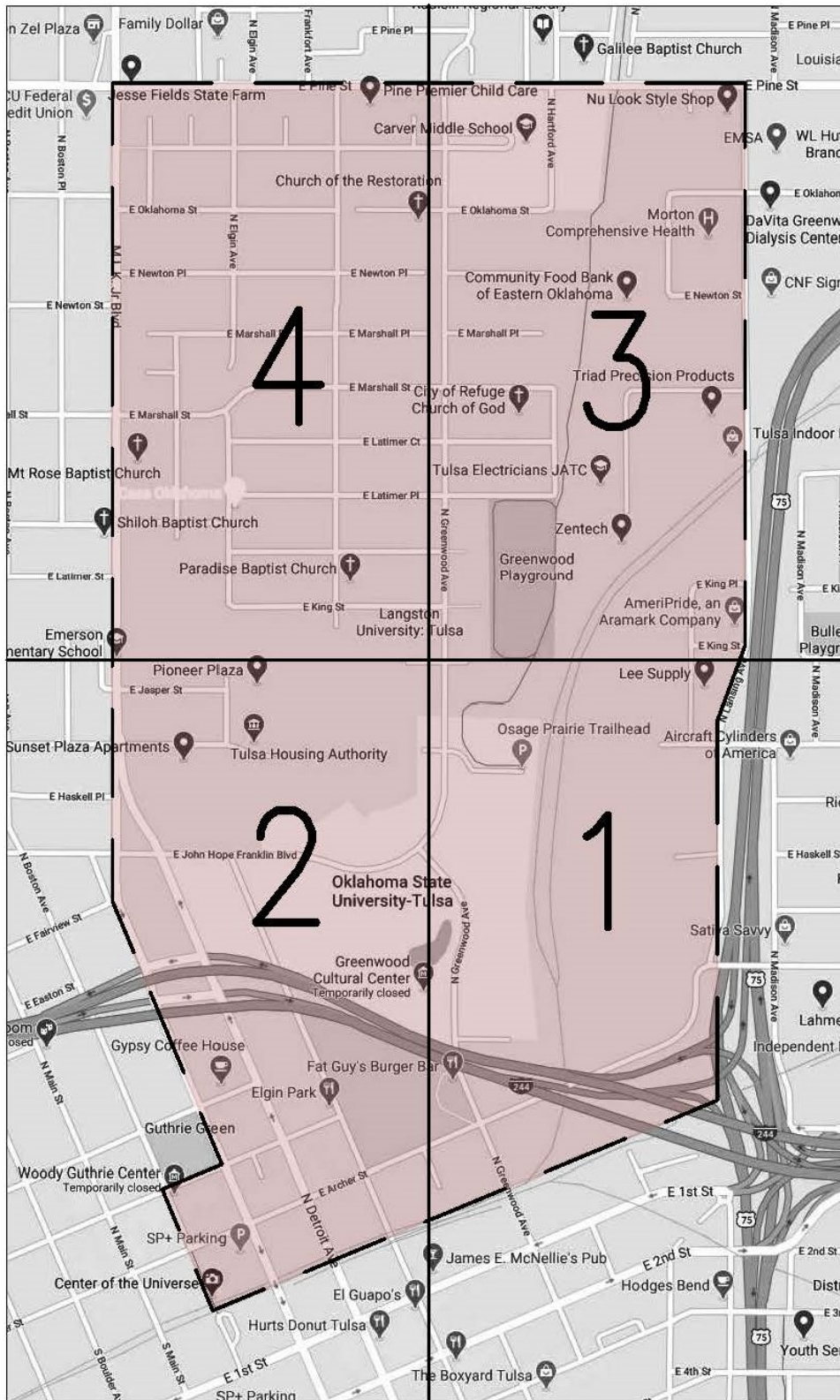




**Map A.3**  
**Brady Historic District in Relation to Greenwood**  
 (Google Earth, 2018)

The southwest section of Greenwood (indicated in red) overlaps the Brady Historic District (NRIS #10000618, indicated in green). The contributing property located at 215 East Archer Street (indicated as **1** above) is associated historically with the reconstruction of Greenwood. The noncontributing property at 301 East Archer Street (indicated as **2** above) was built prior to the Tulsa Race Massacre and is associated historically with Greenwood. The contributing property at 305 East Archer Street (indicated as **3** above) requires additional documentation to discern an historic association with Greenwood. The contributing property at 221 East Brady Street (indicated as **4** above) is no longer extant. The noncontributing property at 232 North Cincinnati Avenue (historic location indicated as **5** above) is no longer extant.





**Map A.4: Photo Key Overview**  
(Tulsa, Tulsa County, Oklahoma)



GREENWOOD  
BOUNDARY  
(TYPICAL)

KEY:

#

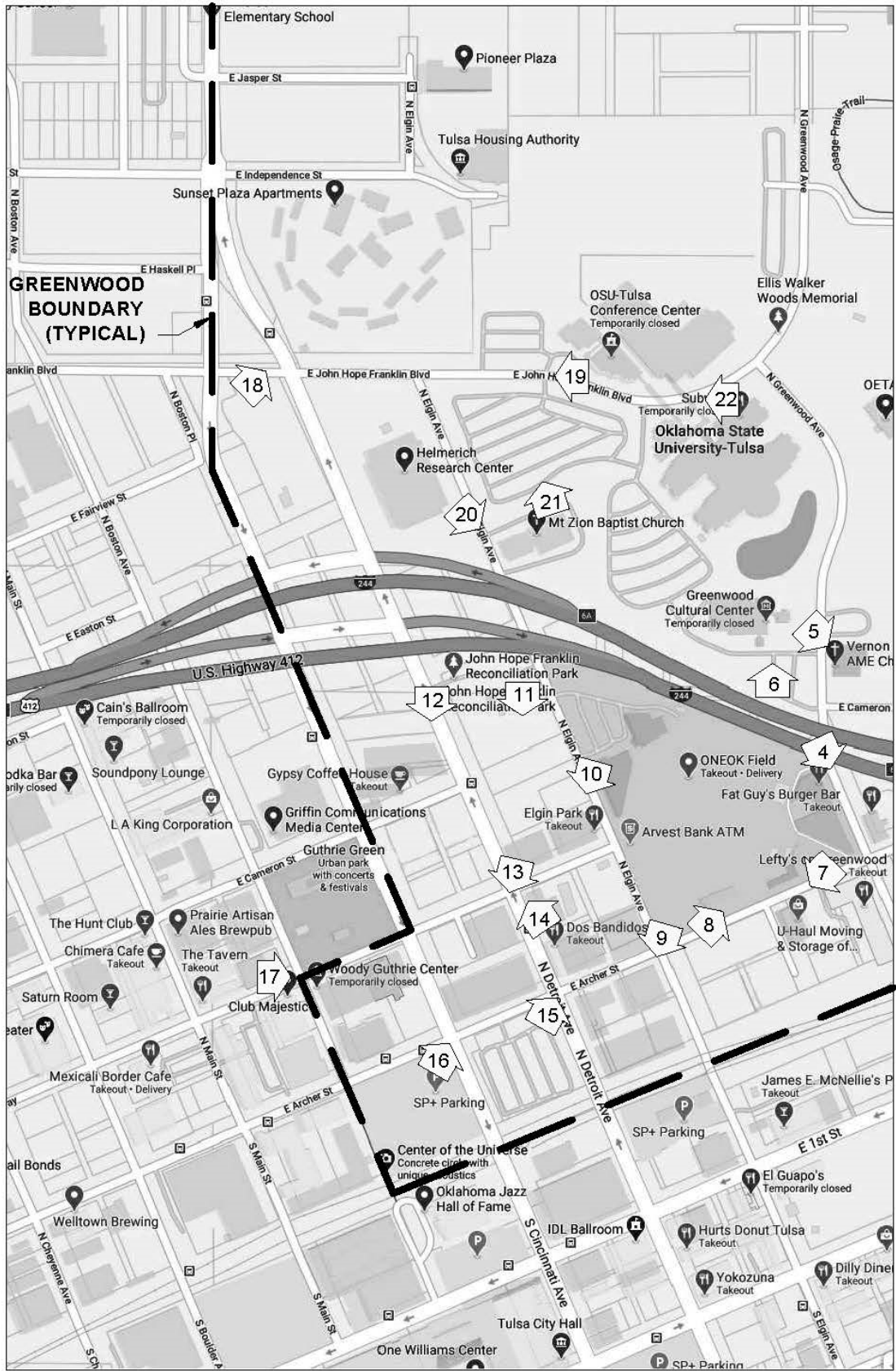
PHOTO TAG



MAP KEY

**Map A.5: Photo Key, Section #1 (SE)**



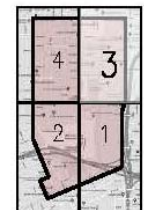


Map A.6: Photo Key, Section #2 (SW)



**GREENWOOD  
BOUNDARY  
(TYPICAL)**

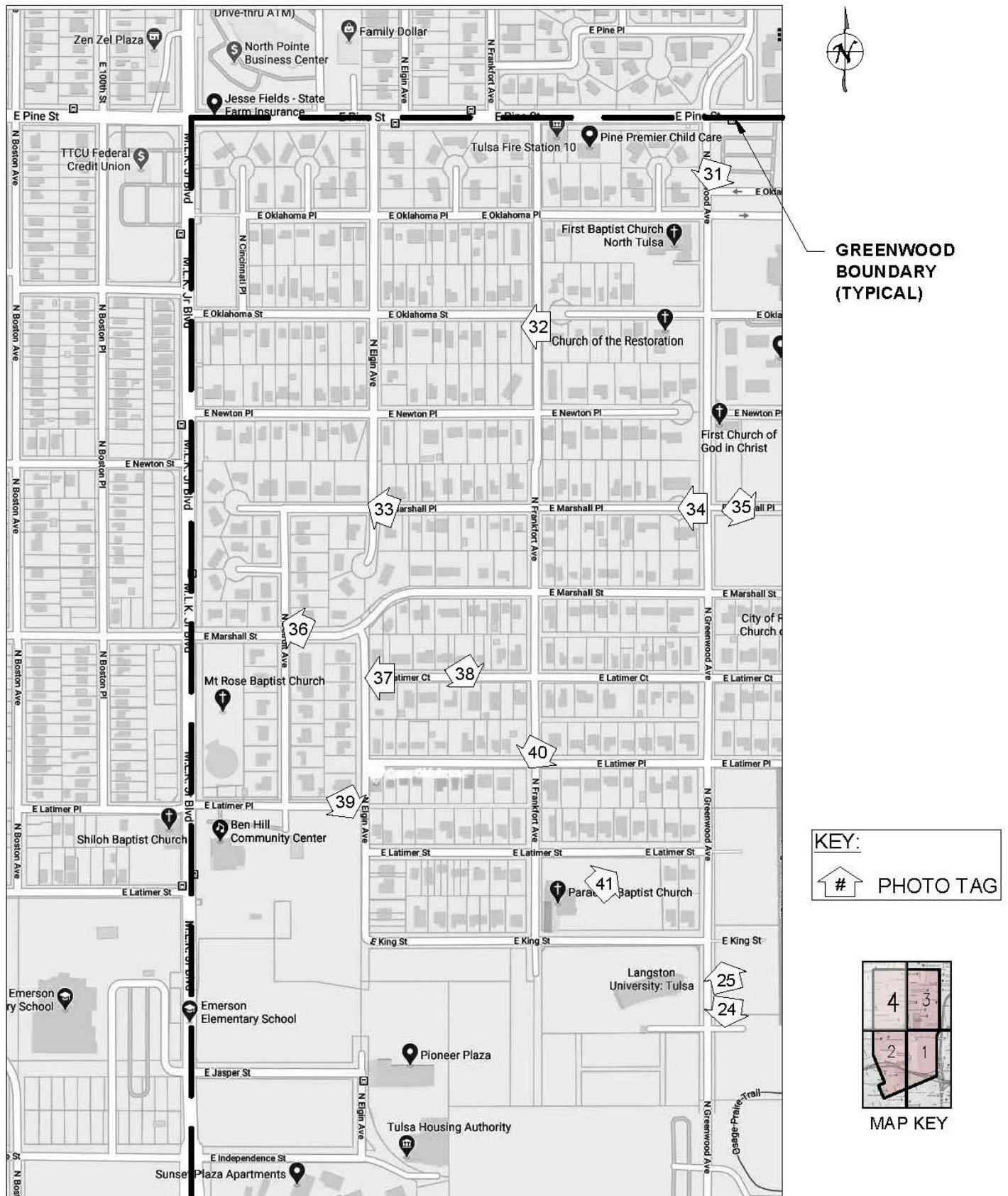
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# PHOTO TAG



**MAP KEY**

**Map A.7: Photo Key, Section #3 (NE)**







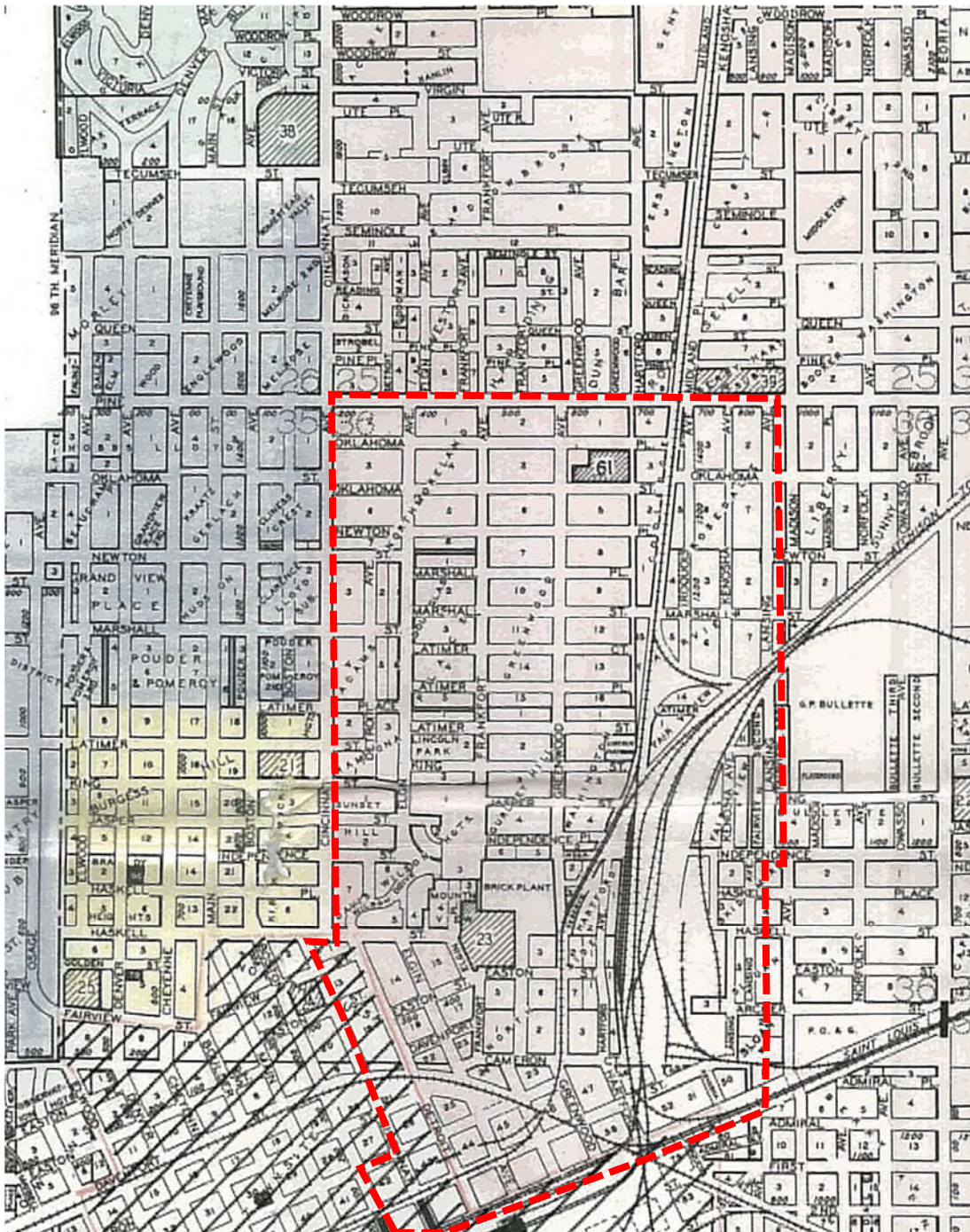
## **APPENDIX B**

### **HISTORIC MAPS**



**Map B.1: African American Sections of Tulsa, 1921**  
(Oklahoma Historical Society)

Shaded sections of this map, produced by the Oklahoma Historical Society for the 2001 *Oklahoma Commission to Study the Tulsa Race Riot*, identify the extent of African American sections in Tulsa by 1921. Greenwood was bounded roughly by Pine Street (north), Lansing Avenue (east), Archer Street (south) and Detroit and Elgin avenues (west). Boundaries of the current study are indicated in red. (Map derived from *A Report by the Oklahoma Commission to Study the Tulsa Race Riot of 1921*, 2001, Page 89).



**Map B.2: Residential Security Map, Tulsa, ca. 1940**  
(Home Owners' Loan Corporation)

The HOLC identified building age and condition as well as neighborhood demographics to classify urban areas on a scale from “Best” or “Still Desirable” (shaded above in green and blue, respectively) to “Definitely Declining” or “Hazardous” (shaded in yellow and red, respectively). It classified Greenwood (indicated by dashed red line) as “Hazardous,” meaning its residents and business owners were unlikely to qualify for loans because banks considered the area too risky for investment. (Robert K. Nelson, LaDale Winling, Richard Marciano, Nathan Connolly, et al., “Mapping Inequality,” *American Panorama*, ed. Robert K. Nelson and Edward L. Ayers, accessed May 4, 2020, [https://dsl.richmond.edu/panorama/redlining/\[TULSA\].](https://dsl.richmond.edu/panorama/redlining/[TULSA].))