An Analysis of Housing Distress and Remedies in Tuskegee, Alabama during World War II

by

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Abstract

The evaluation of a proposed military air base necessarily takes into account the suitability of its locale; in particular, with regards to the terrain, certain logistical concerns, and the local infrastructure and populace. Given that proposed locations are less than ideal, many problems are overcome with time—given that time is available. But what happens when unforeseen events overtake plans?

With this idea in mind, my dissertation first focuses on housing conditions in Macon County, Alabama that became the World War II home base of the Tuskegee Airmen fighter pilots. A military air base in Macon County was proposed for construction in late 1940. The dissertation utilizes data from the 1940 US Housing Census to explore the availability of housing and its suitability with regards to electricity, running water, and repair. The town of Tuskegee is dissected with regards to racial areas between the white living areas and those of African-Americans. The influence of Tuskegee Institute and Tuskegee's African-American Veterans Hospital on local housing conditions is analyzed.

Various aspects of this housing market are then examined with respect to the original 1940 housing requirements of the military. The base population increased by approximately six times over original estimates by war's end. Adequate housing for white personnel focused primarily on availability. Results were similar for African-

Americans with an added emphasis on the lack of amenities. The latter issue made the available housing issue more dire and immediate.

Reactionary solutions to this unplanned increase is explored in the post-Pearl Harbor environment, with remediation efforts hampered by the lack of immediacy by federal agencies. This not only delayed the construction of the two original housing projects, but intensified the housing issue until additional government housing was both authorized and constructed. These projects, all of which were occupied by both military and civilian in-migrant African-Americans, considerably lessened the burden on local housing although not eliminating it. White in-migrants, consisting almost entirely of military personnel after construction was completed, were not supported with government assistance with regards to housing. As a result, the issue was alleviated by a significant number relocating to Auburn, Alabama.

Acknowledgements

This dissertation is dedicated to Frederick D. Patterson and George L. Washington of Tuskegee Institute—two Americans who adamantly believed in advancement through a meaningful education, success through an honest and diligent work ethic, and the ultimate victory of the American democratic process. It was primarily through their visionary initiative and pragmatic leadership that the experiment known as the Tuskegee Airmen came to auspicious fruition.

I would foremost like to thank those who had a significant impact with regards to my research: Dana Chandler of the Tuskegee University archives, Glenn Drummond of the Macon County archives, and Lanice Potts Middleton, formerly of Tuskegee University. Without their assistance, guidance, encouragement and friendship this dissertation would not only have been a lonesome and soulless journey, but also impossible to write to completeness. This company of friends would insufficient without the addition of Shirley L. Curry, Cheryl Ferguson, Keri Hallford, James B. McSwain, and Edie Powell. Their friendship, advice, banter and occasional flurry of copying assistance is greatly appreciated.

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I would also like to thank my wife Kelly V. Bryant and my parents, the late John P. Bryant (API 1957, Auburn University 1962) and Martha M. Bryant for their faith, love and support. Their belief in the ultimate success of this paper never wavered.

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List of Abbreviations

ACAFS	Air Corps Advanced Flying School
ADAH	Alabama Department of Archives and History
AFHRA	Air Force Historical Records Agency
ASC	Air Service Command
BES	Bureau of Employment Security of the Social Security Board
CAA	Civil Aeronautics Authority
CPT	Civilian Pilot Training
CWA	Civil Works Administration
FPHA	Federal Public Housing Authority
FSS	Field Service Section
GLS	Generalized Least Squares
IG	Inspector-General
LOC	Library of Congress
MPC	Marginal Propensity to Consume
NAATL	National Archives at Morrow, GA
NACP	National Archives at College Park, MD
OCAC	Office of the Chief of the Air Corps
OLS	Ordinary Least Squares
OPA	Office of Price Administration

PWA	Public Works Administration
RFC	Reconstruction Finance Corporation
TAAF	Tuskegee Army Air Field
TAFS	Tuskegee Advanced Flying School
USHA	United States Housing Authority
USO	United Service Organization
WPA	Works Progress Administration

Chapter 1: Introduction

The creation of an Army Air Corps pursuit squadron composed of African-Americans at Tuskegee was largely based on political considerations. However, it was only a very minor part of a larger military buildup that was occurring in the Army Air Corps prior to America's entry in World War II.

In reaction to world tensions during the 1930s, both the Army Air Corps and the U. S. Navy had been increasing and upgrading military capabilities. The first of these large increases for the Army Air Corps began in fiscal year 1937. The Army Air Corps possessed an inventory in 1936 of only 946 airplanes, a figure which increased to 2,546 airplanes by the end of 1939.[1]

President Franklin D. Roosevelt gave a speech before a joint session of Congress on May 16, 1940, after the Nazi invasions of France, Denmark, Norway, and the Low Countries. He outlined the urgency of the world situation and asked for increased defense preparations. This request was approved and preparations increased accordingly thereafter. [2]

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[1] Wesley F. Craven and James L. Cate, *The Army Air Forces in World War II; Men and Planes*, vol. 6 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1955), 171–172; Craven and Cate, *Army Air Forces in World War II,* vol. 6, 423, table: Airplanes on hand in AAF (by major type).

[2] Office of Price Administration, *First Quarterly Report for the Period Ended April 30, 1942*, (Washington D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1942), pp. 1–2, Nos. 1–2, Quarterly Reports, Progress Reports, Administrator's Office, Executive Offices, Box 5, Office of Price Administration, Record Group 188, National Archives at College Park, MD, NACP. This speech to Congress should not be confused with Roosevelt's more famous "Arsenal of Democracy" speech, which was actually a fireside chat broadcast nationwide by radio on December 29, 1940. Interestingly, the date of that radio broadcast coincided with

As a result, expenditures by the War and Navy Departments increased from $1.6 billion in fiscal year 1940 to $6.0 billion in fiscal year 1941 and $22.7 billion in fiscal year 1942.[3]

Defense-related housing construction increased dramatically as well. By August 1940, the Army and Navy saw an immediate demand for approximately 100,000 housing units in industrial areas, and a report dated December 1940 noted that "approved defense housing projects now under way involve 42 states, 97 localities (areas), and approximately 125 cities for a total of 45,739 units for which funds have been allocated."[4]

As was to be expected, the U. S. Army Air Corps participated in this expansion. At the time of Roosevelt's speech, the Army Air Corps was authorized to have twenty-five air combat groups. In June 1940, the Army Air Corps presented figures contained in its First Aviation Objective that would more than double the number of air groups to fifty-four. Manning this number of combat groups would require more than 136,000 enlisted men and the training of seven thousand pilots per year.[5] This goal was to be completed by April 1, 1941, but in February 1941 the Army issued a Second Aviation Directive tasking the Air Corps with increasing the number from fifty-four to eighty-four

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one of the largest German air raids on London, England, resulting in the famous photo of St. Paul's Cathedral standing largely intact amidst the destruction of the surrounding area.

[3] John R. Craf, *A Survey of the American Economy: 1940–1946* (New York: North River Press, 1947), 120–121, 127, tables 14, 20. A fiscal year ended on the last day in June of the stated year. Therefore, the 1940 fiscal year ended June 30, 1940—only forty-five days after Roosevelt's speech in May.

[4]National Defense Commission, The Advisory Commission to the Council of National Defense, Housing Coordinator, *Summary of the Weekly Operations Progress Reports, August 1940*, 136, July–October 1940, National Defense Advisory Council, Weekly Progress Reports, Executive Offices, Box 1, OPA, RG 188, NACP; National Defense Commission, The Advisory Commission to the Council of National Defense, Defense Housing Coordinator, *Weekly Reports of Operations, December 4, 1940*, 771, January–June 1941, National Defense Advisory Council, Weekly Progress Reports, Executive Offices, Box 2, OPA, RG 188, NACP.

[5] Craven and Cate, *Army Air Forces in World War II*, vol. 6, 130–131.

combat groups. Accordingly, pilot training quotas increased dramatically from seven thousand pilots to thirty thousand pilots annually.[6] These increases in group strength requirements led to continued increases in airplane acquisitions by the Army. By the time of the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor, Hawaii in December 1941, the number of airplanes in the Army Air Corps inventory had increased from 2,546 airplanes in 1939 to approximately 12,297.[7]

Besides the increase in the number of airplanes and pilots, the Army's air arm expanded in accordance with General Henry H. "Hap" Arnold's dictum that an effective air force should incorporate a balance of three components. These components were "airplanes, combat and maintenance crews, and air bases."[8] Accordingly, the infrastructure with regards to facilities increased in tandem with the increase in the Army Air Corps.

As of the late 1930s, approximately half of the Army Air Corps air installations assigned to combat units consisted largely of small airbases that were quickly, and perhaps haphazardly, built in response to the needs of World War I. Many of these early airbases had been upgraded and formed the nucleus of operations for the Air Corps well in to the 1930s, although other airfields had been constructed during the interim.[9]

In January of 1939, the infrastructure on hand to support the Air Corps consisted of only seventeen airbases, four air depots, and six bombing and gunnery ranges. [10] This increased to 114 bases and sub-bases by December 1941, with another forty-seven bases

[6] Ibid., 138, 267.
[7] Ibid., 423, table: Airplanes on hand in AAF (by major type).
[8] Ibid., 8, 119. General Arnold became the Chief of the Air Corps in September 1938 after the death of Major General Oscar Westover.
[9] Ibid., 121–130.
[10] Ibid., 120.

either planned or under construction.[11] By the end of the war, these figures peaked at 783 air bases of all types, eighty air depots and specialty depots, and 480 bombing and gunnery ranges. The area under the control of the Air Corps at the end of the war included almost twenty million acres, "an area nearly as large as that of New Hampshire, Vermont, Massachusetts, and Connecticut combined."[12]

Many Alabama communities found themselves energized by new war work in the months following Roosevelt's speech of May 1940. By September, 2,282 defense housing units were either planned or under construction for the Alabama cities of Montgomery, Selma, Anniston, and Tarrant and Fairfield near Birmingham.[13] Additionally, the labor markets and future housing needs for Mobile, Gadsden, and the Florence-Sheffield-Tuscumbia areas of Alabama were being assessed as early as November of 1940.[14]

In contrast to the war preparations underway in other portions of the state, the months following President Roosevelt's speech of May 1940 found Macon County, Alabama to be relatively quiet. With the exception of the approximately twenty-five students enrolled that summer at Tuskegee Institute's Civilian Pilot Training (CPT) program, and the induction of draft-age men into the Armed Forces through the Selective

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[11] Ibid., 145.
[12] Ibid., 120–121.
[13] National Defense Commission, The Advisory Commission to the Council of National Defense, Defense Housing Coordinator, *Status of Defense Housing, September 25, 1940*, Office of Production Management Reports 1941–1942, National Defense Advisory Commission 1940–41, Administrator's Office Progress Reports, Executive Offices, Box 13, OPA, RG 188, NACP. The 400 units at Tarrant and 1,000 units at Fairfield were planned for civilians and were probably related to increased production at local steel mills. The fifty units at Anniston were slated for enlisted personnel stationed at Ft. McClellan. The 624 units at Montgomery and 208 units at Selma were to be allocated to enlisted personnel, most likely at local Army air fields.
[14] National Defense Commission, The Advisory Commission to the Council of National Defense, Labor Division, *Summary of Weekly Reports of Operations, November 13, 1940*, 634, January–June 1941, National Defense Advisory Council, Weekly Progress Reports, Executive Offices, Box 2, OPA, RG 188, NACP.

Training and Service Act beginning that fall, war preparations had largely unaffected the county thus far.[15]

Macon County, with the unique exception of Tuskegee Institute and the United States Negro Veterans Hospital, was typical of many counties in Alabama during 1940 in that it was primarily dependent upon agriculture.[16] Since agricultural conditions had been depressed for almost two decades, many of Alabama's sixty-seven counties, along with their respective housing markets, had been negatively affected as well.[17]

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[15] George L. Washington, *The History of Military and Civilian Pilot Training of Negroes at Tuskegee Alabama, 1939–1945* (Washington DC, n.d.), 61,75, 98; Craf, *A Survey of the American Economy: 1940–1946*, 11–12; *The Tuskegee News,* "Three Men from Macon County Selected for Service," December 5, 1940; *The Tuskegee News,* "Two Tuskegee Boys Called to Service," December 19, 1940; *The Tuskegee News,* "Hunter Thrasher Given Honor at Camp," December 19, 1940. The number of student pilots may have increased to thirty-five students in the fall of 1940 based on the addition of an instructor course.

[16] Work Progress Administration (WPA), Alabama State Planning Commission, *Alabama, A Guide to the Deep South* (New York: Hastings House, 1941), American Guide Series, 283–284; Tuskegee Institute, *The Fifty-Ninth Annual Catalog, 1940–1941* 34, no. 1 (1940): 178; Clifton O. Dummett, and Eugene H. Dibble, "Historical Notes on the Tuskegee Veterans Hospital," *Journal of the National Medical Association* 54, no. 2 (March 1962): 133–138; Work Progress Administration (WPA), Alabama State Planning Commission, *Alabama, A Guide to the Deep South* (New York: Hastings House, 1941), American Guide Series, 285. Bureau of Business Research, School of Commerce and Business Administration, University of Alabama, *Alabama County Statistical Abstracts,* no. 4 (University, Alabama, 1944), 195, table: Hospital facilities, 1940. Tuskegee Institute was founded by Booker T. Washington in 1881. As of 1940, its grounds consisted of 132 buildings on 1,800 acres and enrolled approximately 1,282 students. Courses were offered in forty-one trades. The Veteran's Hospital began operations in 1923, administering solely to African-American veterans. It had approximately 1,498 patient beds and employed 620 African-Americans as of 1940. These two institutions gave Tuskegee an atypically large black middle class, resulting not only in greater stability within the larger population of African-Americans living there, but bringing with it the attending social and education opportunities for African-Americans not available in most other Southern towns of its size.

[17] Bureau of Business Research, School of Commerce and Business Administration, University of Alabama, *Alabama County Statistical Abstracts,* no. 4 (University, Alabama, 1944), 195, table: Employed workers 14 years and over, 1940; Vernon Davies, "Comparison of Farm Housing Factors among the States," *Social Forces* 25, no. 4 (May 1947): 433; Alabama Cooperative Crop Reporting Service, *Alabama Agricultural Statistics* (Montgomery, Alabama: February 1948), 76, table: Alabama farm income, cash receipts from farm marketing and government payments, calendar year basis, 1924–46. Agricultural dominance determined by a workforce of at least fifty percent either employed or engaged primarily in agriculture, with data compiled from individual county information. Based on this criterion, of Alabama's sixty-seven counties, the number of Alabama counties involved primarily in agriculture was forty-three, or 64.2 percent. For the period 1924–1940, cash receipts on Alabama farms peaked at 193 million dollars in 1925. Cash receipts subsequently fell to 63 million dollars in 1932, then increased to 138 million dollars by 1937. Cash receipts declined again after 1937, totaling 113 million dollars in 1940. Not accounting for inflation or other factors, this 1940 figure represents a decline in cash receipts of 41.5 percent as compared to 1925.

The county's organization, overall appearance, and population distribution reflected one involved primarily in agriculture. The county seat of Tuskegee contained less than five thousand inhabitants. As Tuskegee was the governmental nerve center of the county, it included a county courthouse in the town center with an adjacent row of law offices. Tuskegee's city hall, police station and fire department were located directly behind the courthouse, and the county's sheriff's department was located two blocks distant.[18]

The other towns located throughout the county were smaller than its county seat, a characteristic that was typically repeated in other counties throughout a majority of the state. Notasulga, located in the extreme northern part of the county, was the largest of these secondary towns with 863 inhabitants. Much smaller towns in Macon County included Shorter, Franklin, and Hardaway. Remaining concentrations of persons were often relegated to community status, which often encompassed the area around little more than a country store.[19]

Population trends in Macon County were generally steady; the county recorded a population increase of 2.0 percent between 1930 and 1940. African-Americans, which comprised 82.1 percent of the county's population, recorded an increase of 1.7 percent.

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[18] Bureau of Business Research, *Alabama County Statistical Abstracts,* 195, table: Population and land area, 1940; Dozier and Holland Architects, *Guide to Tuskegee's Historic Resources,* Brochure (n.p., 1983); Glenn Drummond, interview by John T. Bryant, September 26, 2006, Tuskegee, Alabama.

[19] Bureau of Business Research, *Alabama County Statistical Abstracts,* 195, table: Population and land area, 1940. Data compiled from individual county information for all counties contained in the reference. The county seat in forty-eight, or 71.6 percent of Alabama counties had fewer than five thousand persons; the average population of these towns being 2,054 (using the larger of the two reported numbers for St. Clair county). Of these forty-eight counties, only four contained a town that was larger than five thousand persons. Thus forty-four Alabama counties, or 65.1 percent, contained no towns larger than five thousand in population.

The county's white population increased by 3.4 percent.[20] The exception to this slow growth was Tuskegee itself; although the town's white population had only increased by 5.6 percent during the decade, the black population in Tuskegee increased by 24.3 percent during the same period.[21]

With these facts in mind, it is fortuitous that immediately before the eve of the United States entering World War II, the U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, conducted the Sixteenth Census of the United States. Because of the lack of direct industrial or military investment within Macon County during 1940, the timing of the this census was doubly fortuitous in that it provided an *ex ante*, timely snapshot of housing conditions in the county just prior to the United States' involvement in World War II.[22]

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[20] Bureau of Business Research, *Alabama County Statistical Abstracts,* 196, table: Composition of Population, 1940 and 1930.
[21] U.S. Bureau of the Census*, Fifteenth Census of the United States: 1930, Population, vol. 3, part 1, Alabama* (Washington D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1932), 111, table 16; U.S. Bureau of the Census*, Sixteenth Census of the United States: 1940, Population, Characteristics of the Population, vol.2, part 1, Alabama* (Washington D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1943), 315, table 30.
[22] Robert J. Jakeman, *The Divided Skies: Establishing Segregated Flight Training at Tuskegee, Alabama, 1934–1942*, (Tuscaloosa, Alabama: The University of Alabama Press, 1992), 117–157; Craf, *A Survey of the American Economy: 1940–1946*, 11–12; *Tuskegee News,* "Three Men from Macon County Selected for Service," December 5, 1940; *Tuskegee News,* "Two Tuskegee Boys Called to Service," December 19, 1940; *Tuskegee News,* "Hunter Thrasher Given Honor at Camp," December 19, 1940.

Chapter 2: General Overview of Tuskegee and Macon County

2. 1. County Overview

Tuskegee was situated in the middle of Macon County, which was described somewhat inaccurately in the 1940 Soil Survey of Macon County as being almost rectangular.[1] Four hard-surfaced roads intersected the town from the north, south, east and west.

U. S. Highways 80 and 29 were the two primary U. S. highways. These entered Macon County from the west and south, joining at the town square in Tuskegee to travel northeast before again separating—U. S. Highway 29 traveling towards Auburn, Alabama located to the northeast, and U. S. Highway 80 towards Columbus, Georgia to the east. A state highway, Alabama Highway 81, traveled from Tuskegee northward towards the town of Notasulga in the extreme northern part of the county.

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[1] U.S. Department of Agriculture, Agriculture Research Administration, Bureau of Plant Industry, Soils and Agricultural Engineering, in cooperation with the Alabama Department of Agriculture and Industries, *Soil Map, Macon County, Alabama*, series 1937 (n.p., A. Hoen and Co., n.d.), 1:50,000 (approximate); State of Alabama, Department of Agriculture and Industries, Alabama Industrial Development Board, *Alabama, 1938* (Birmingham, 1938), 32–35; Works Progress Administration, Alabama, Work Progress Administration (WPA), Alabama State Planning Commission, *Alabama, A Guide to the Deep South* (New York: Hastings House, 1941), American Guide Series, 282; Dozier and Holland Architects, *Guide to Tuskegee's Historic Resources,* Brochure (n.p., 1983); Sanborn Map Company, Pelham, New York, *Tuskegee, Alabama*, 1929 revised to 1954, map, Macon County Archives, Tuskegee, Alabama. The description that follows is based upon personal observations of the author along with contributions by some of those interviewed who lived in Tuskegee during World War II. The Department of Agriculture soils map was used as well at it marks the locations of houses, businesses and other buildings throughout the county during that time. The Sanborn map was used for a similar purpose in Tuskegee, and the brochure by Dozier and Holland Architects identify and describe many of the historical buildings of Tuskegee in detail. Due to a lack of information, some buildings and businesses may be approximated to 1940 as their exact location or existence in 1940 is unknown. Additional references provided as necessary.

These roads which radiated to the north, south, east and west from Tuskegee were the primary hard surface roads in the county. Lesser roads—usually county roads—most often incorporated some type of earthen base.[2] See figure 2.1 for the shape of Macon County, the location of Tuskegee, and the primary arterial roads.

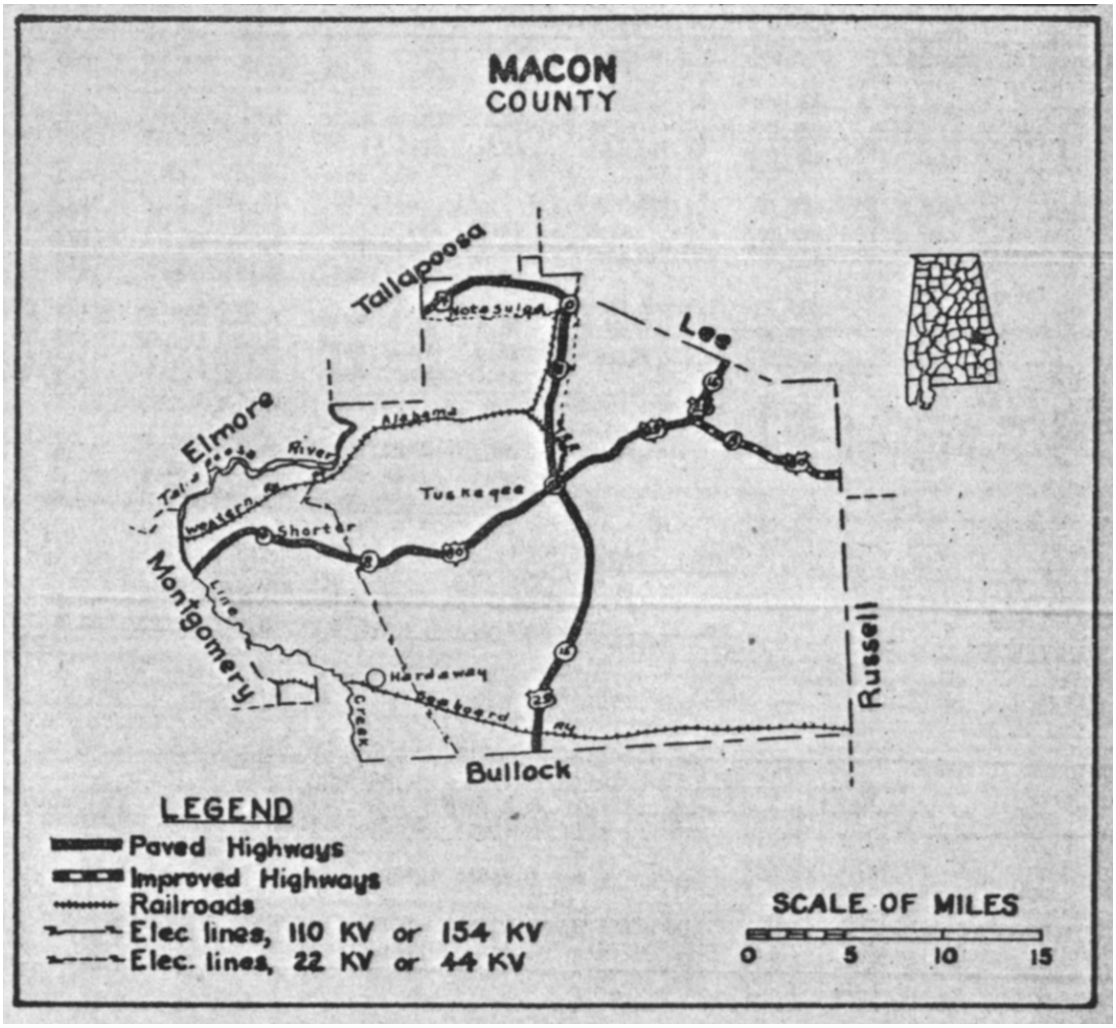

Figure 2.1. Map of Macon County (Source: Bureau of Business Research, Alabama County Statistical Abstracts, 195, map: Macon County)

[2] Alabama State Highway Department, *General Highway and Transportation Map, Macon County, 1937* (n.p., n.d.), 1:1, http://alabamamaps.ua.edu/historicalmaps/counties/macon/macon.html (accessed March 11, 2014).

2.2. Tuskegee

The gently undulating land made the fifteen mile drive to Tuskegee from the southern edge of the county visually uneventful, and the approach to Tuskegee itself was no different. Although indiscernible to the motorist, U. S. Highway 29 gradually entered the southern part of a ridge which ran in a southeast to northwesterly direction. Tuskegee is located on the highest point of this ridge at an elevation of 459 feet.[3] The land dropped—sometimes dramatically—in either direction from this ridge at varying distances. Figure 2.2 is provided as a guide to the remaining discussion.

[3] U.S. Department of Agriculture, *Soil Map, Macon County, Alabama*, series 1937; U.S. Department of Agriculture, Agriculture Research Administration, Bureau of Plant Industry, Soils and Agricultural Engineering, in cooperation with the Alabama Department of Agriculture and Industries, *Soil Survey, Macon County Alabama*, series 1937, no. 11, November, 1944 (Washington D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1944), 2; U.S. Department of the Interior, U.S. Geological Survey, *Tuskegee Quadrangle, Alabama—Macon County,* 7.5 Minute Series (Topographic), 1:24,000, 1971, N3222.5–W8537.5/7.5, AMS 3848/NW—SeriesV844 (Washington, D.C: U.S. Geological Survey, 1973).

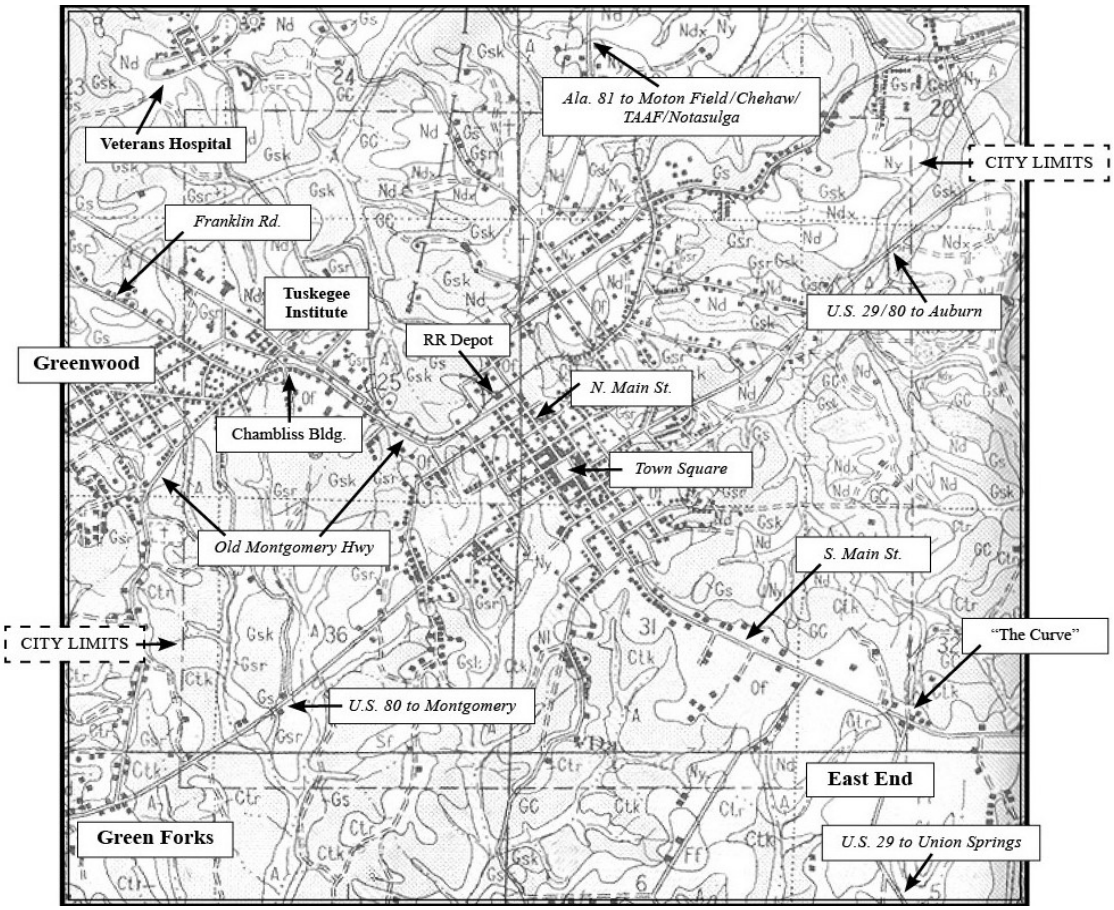

Figure 2.2. Map of Tuskegee and Environs (Source: U.S. Department of Agriculture, *Soil Map, Macon County, Alabama*, series 1937)

U. S. Highway 29 approaching from the south became South Main Street once within the city limits, continuing north to the town square where U. S. Highway 29 joined U. S. Highway 80 arriving from Montgomery to the west. North Main Street continued on the north side of the square and followed the ridge in a northwesterly direction for a few blocks. A series of turns on various streets then followed, with the road eventually becoming Alabama State Highway 81 as it descended the ridge towards Notasulga.

The Old Montgomery Highway intersected North Main Street north of the town square, leading to the west, or left, towards Tuskegee Institute. Traveling past the Institute, it looped back to the south and intersected U. S. Highway 80 on the southwest side of town at an area known as Green Forks.

The majority of businesses, predominately owned by whites, were centered on the town square and adjacent streets. A small industrial area was clustered around the tracks of the Tuskegee Railroad on North Main Street. After leaving the small industrial area, a choice had to be made whether to travel straight ahead on a narrow, somewhat unassuming road towards the isolated African-American Veterans Hospital, or turn to the right towards Alabama Highway 81. At the bottom of the long descent off the ridge on Alabama Highway 81 and to the right was the future home of Moton Field. To the left of Alabama Highway 81 down a county road was the train station servicing the main rail line at Chehaw. The future home of Tuskegee Army Air Field was located a few miles beyond. One had to travel past Chehaw to reach it, thus this county road was the primary route used to travel to both the train station at Chehaw and the airbase.[4]

2.3. Tuskegee Institute and Greenwood

Traveling towards Tuskegee Institute and located in a curve on the Old Montgomery Highway was an area known as "The Bottom." There were perhaps ten or twelve African-American businesses located in this area; the ones on the left side of the road being supported by stilts due to the sudden drop-off immediately adjacent to the road. Behind the businesses on the right were the railroad tracks of the Tuskegee Railroad, which disappeared into the campus soon thereafter.[5] Continuing through Tuskegee Institute and past Booker T. Washington's house, another small area of businesses began in the vicinity of a large brick building known at the Chambliss

[4] *History of the Corps of Aviation Cadets from 1 August, 1941 to 1 March, 1944*, 289.28–1 v.2, IRIS 00179145, Air Force Historical Research Agency (AFHRA), Maxwell Air Force Base, Montgomery, Alabama, 1. This reference pertains to the distance from Tuskegee Institute to Tuskegee Army Air Field.
[5] Sanborn Map Company, Pelham, New York, *Tuskegee, Alabama*, 1927 revised to 1954, map, Macon County Archives, Tuskegee, Alabama; Lanice Potts Middleton, conversation with John T. Bryant, February 15, 2012.

Building. Past this point was a fork in the road where Franklin Road veered to the right and ran adjacent to the west side of the Institute campus.

Beginning at the intersection of the Old Montgomery Highway and Franklin Road was a large, roughly diamond-shaped African-American housing area approximately fifteen to twenty blocks in size.[6] This residential area, known as Greenwood and to be described in a later chapter, was created by Booker T. Washington in 1901. It was designed to be a residential community for Tuskegee Institute employees.[7] As can be seen in figure 2.2, the city limits of Tuskegee, which were created before the development of this area, did not include the bulk of Greenwood as the city boundary passed through the development approximately one block beyond the fork in the two roads.

[6] U.S. Department of Agriculture, *Soil Map, Macon County, Alabama*, series 1937.
[7] Dozier and Holland Architects, *Guide to Tuskegee's Historic Resources,* Brochure (n.p., 1983).

Chapter 3: Characteristics of Tuskegee Housing

3.1. Location of African-American Housing in Tuskegee

The last chapter gave the reader a general description of the primary thoroughfares and features in the town of Tuskegee. In this regard, the reader may be forgiven for assuming that, with the exception of those living around Tuskegee Institute, the population consisted primarily of whites. This was not true; although the main streets and adjacent areas were lined exclusively with houses owned by whites, the town itself was dominated by African-Americans. The Census of 1940 lists Tuskegee having a total population of 3,937. Of this population, 2,844 or 72.2 percent were black and 1,093 or 27.8 percent were white. Thus the African-American population dominated the white population in town by a ratio of 2.6:1.[1] Naturally, this predominance carried over into housing as well. In this regard, 737 or 70.7 percent of the 1,042 occupied housing units in Tuskegee were domiciled by African-Americans.[2]

The percentage of dwellings occupied by blacks in Tuskegee may have been higher than officially recorded; because census housing data did not include "dormitories for students…[or] educational…institutions," some of the Institute dormitories and other

[1] U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Sixteenth Census of the United States: 1940, Population, Characteristics of the Population, vol.2, part 1, Alabama* (Washington DC: Government Printing Office, 1943), 315, table 30. The total white population count includes 1,077 native-born whites and sixteen foreign-born whites. Table 28 of the same source lists the population of Tuskegee at 4,897; however, this figure pertains to the voting precinct of Tuskegee (Precinct 1) and not the town of Tuskegee itself.
[2] U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Sixteenth Census of the United States: 1940, Housing, vol. 2, General Characteristics, part 2: Alabama–Indiana*, Alabama, (Washington DC: Government Printing Office, 1943), 36, table 22.

housing units which held employees were omitted from the housing data.[3] For example, over the course of years, George Washington Carver resided in several locations on campus to include Rockefeller Hall. Towards the end of his life, he moved to Dorothy Hall—which primarily functioned as a hotel—where his friend Henry Ford had an elevator installed for Carver's personal use. His name is missing from the appropriate individual census schedule sheets pertaining to the Institute.[4]

A natural inquiry at this point would be to ask where the African-Americans lived in Tuskegee besides in the area surrounding the campus of Tuskegee Institute.

Initially, whites developed the most centrally located lands on Tuskegee Ridge—upon which traversed both North and South Main Streets—and their servant's quarters were often located on their property. After the Civil War, African-Americans probably built their settlements in other locations, although a number of blacks still lived in the same location as the former slaves.[5] These newer settlements—regardless of the location—were often known more politely as "The Quarters," a term that was commonly used in the Antebellum South and continued thereafter.[6] These enclaves were usually located on the outskirts of white development on land either less suited for development and/or further from the center of town. For example, Tuskegee Institute's location on the

[3] U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Sixteenth Census of the United States: 1940, Housing, part 2: Alabama–Indiana*, Alabama, 3. The assertion that not all persons at Tuskegee Institute were included in the 1940 Housing Census was determined by an examination of the individual population schedule sheets pertaining to the Institute.
[4] Carolyn Wolcott Ford, interview by John T. Bryant, March 15, 2007, Tuskegee, Alabama; *Tuskegee News*, "Henry Ford Visits School," April 16, 1942.
[5] Albert B. Moore, *History of Alabama* (1934; Atlanta: Foote and Davis, 1951), 368; *Tuskegee Weekly News*, "Tuskegee in Olden Times," April 12, 1877, 44.0101, Alabama Department of Archives and History (ADAH), Montgomery, Alabama; John Thomas Vaughan, interview by John T. Bryant, September 24, 2012, Auburn, Alabama.
[6] Moore, *History of Alabama*, 354; Charles S. Johnson, *Shadow of the Plantation* (1934; Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1966), 19. Citation is to the Phoenix edition; John Thomas Vaughan, interview by John T. Bryant, September 24, 2012, Auburn, Alabama.

Old Montgomery Highway was some distance from the center of Tuskegee, yet a portion of the campus was relatively level. This was primarily because the Old Montgomery Highway followed the left fork of Tuskegee Ridge as it coursed away from town, and also because it was located on the former site of a one hundred acre plantation.[7]

Other scattered settlements in Tuskegee included Zion Hill, located on a ridge just west of the town center around the vicinity of U.S. Highway 80, and the Mount Olive, Bethel, and Rockefeller Hill communities. These last three communities combined to form a much larger settlement to the northeast of North Main Street, the northernmost one being centered around the tracks of the Tuskegee Railroad as they wound down the hill towards Chehaw. Although being located farther from the center of town, these areas were also fairly desirable in a topographical sense for development. Other settlements, perhaps smaller or less dense, were scattered throughout the city limits of Tuskegee as well although they are not well documented by name.[8]

3.2. Early History

A possible reason for the inclusion of a large number of African-Americans within the Tuskegee city limits was related in part to the third incorporation of Tuskegee in 1848. Tuskegee was initially created with a gift of eighty acres of land by an Indian trader named William Walker; the official description of the gift being "the south half of the southwest quarter of section 30, township 17, range 24." [9] The earliest streets of the town were established by surveyor Laird W. Harris and on January 16, 1834, the

[7] Booker T. Washington, *Up from Slavery* (1900; repr. New York, Sun Dial Press, 1937), 128, 138.
[8] Dozier and Holland Architects, *Guide to Tuskegee's Historic Resources,* Brochure (n.p., 1983); U.S. Department of Agriculture, *Soil Map, Macon County, Alabama*, series 1937; U.S. Geological Survey, *Tuskegee Quadrangle, Alabama—Macon County,* AMS 3848/NW—SeriesV844, 1971, map.
[9] "Tuskegee in Olden Times," *Alabama Historical Quarterly* 18, no. 2 (Summer 1956): 161–163, reprinted from an editorial in the *Tuskegee Weekly News*, April 12, 1877.

Alabama legislature authorized this land to be sold in parcels of two acres each.[10] The first incorporation of Tuskegee on December 22, 1836 did not legally define the limits of the city, but stated "that tract of land purchased by commissioners authorized to locate the seat of justice for the county of Macon, shall be known as the town of Tuskegee."[11] This amounted to eighty acres of land, equating to an area of 0.125 square miles. Tuskegee forfeited its incorporation after a few years due to a failure to hold elections, but was re-incorporated by the state legislature on February 13, 1843. At that time, the city limits were increased to "the distance of a half mile in every direction from the courthouse in said town." This increased the city limits to one square mile, or 640 acres.[12] A third act dated January 14, 1848 increased the city limits from one square mile to "an area of land two and a half miles square, the marginal lines of which shall be equi-distant east, west, north and south from the centre of the present Court House of said county."[13]

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[10] Ibid.

[11] Alabama, General Assembly, Annual Session of 1836, *Act No. 86, An Act to Incorporate the Town of* Tus*kegee*, *December 22, 1836* (Tuscaloosa: David Ferguson, State Printer, 1837), 80–82, (Microfilm 366-2), Alabama Department of Archives and History (ADAH), Montgomery, Alabama.

[12] Alabama, General Assembly, Annual Session of 1843, *Act No. 82, An Act to Incorporate the Town of Tuskegee, in the County of Macon, February 13, 1843* (Tuscaloosa: Phelan and Harris, 1843), 84–85, (Microfilm 366-2), Alabama Department of Archives and History (ADAH), Montgomery, Alabama; "Tuskegee in Olden Times," *Alabama Historical Quarterly* 18, no. 2 (Summer 1956): 161–163, reprinted from an editorial in the *Tuskegee Weekly News*, April 12, 1877. The "Tuskegee in Olden Times" article inaccurately stated that the town's acreage was kept at eighty acres during the 1843 re-incorporation.

[13] Alabama, General Assembly, First Biennial Session of 1848, *Act No. 127, An Act to Incorporate the Town of Tuskegee, in Macon County, January 14, 1848* (Montgomery: McCormick and Walshe, State Printer, 1848), 185–189, (Microfilm 366-3), Alabama Department of Archives and History (ADAH), Montgomery, Alabama; Heritage Publishing Consultants Company and The Macon County Heritage Book Committee, *The Heritage of Macon County, Alabama* (Clanton, Alabama: Heritage Publishing Consulting, 2003), 2; Dozier and Holland Architects, *Guide to Tuskegee's Historic Resources,* Brochure (n.p., 1983); Roy Tillman Alverson, "A History of Tuskegee" (master's thesis, Alabama Polytechnic Institute, 1929), 6; "Early History of Tuskegee," *Alabama Historical Quarterly* 18, no. 2 (Summer 1956): 159–160, reprinted from the Mobile, Alabama *Register*, June 26, 1859. The page reference to Alverson's thesis is from a retyped copy located in the Macon County Archives. The increase in area which was authorized in 1848 was most likely measured from the county's first courthouse, which *The Heritage of Macon County* lists as being built in the town square in 1837. Dozier and Holland agree with this location. However, Alverson was told by local townspeople that the county's first courthouse was a log structure, whose location as of 1927 was on the site of William Varner's office adjacent to the 1907 courthouse. The confusion probably arose from the fact that, as described in the "Early History of Tuskegee," the first structure used for judicial proceedings predated the structure of 1837 and was actually a log cabin built for worship at the shrine of

Thus the 1848 Act enlarged the city limits from one square mile to 6.25 square miles or four thousand acres, representing a significant increase in area over the original 1836 charter of eighty acres. This area included not only the actual layout of the town itself but surrounding farmland and woodlands as well, affording plenty of room for others to live—including African-Americans—as the population either increased or moved within the city limits after the Civil War. These more remote areas may not have always contained the most desirable land, yet the land was available for those wishing to build upon it.

3.3. Description of Present City Limits

Referring to figure 2.2 in the previous chapter, it is these city limits authorized in the third incorporation in 1848 which were still in effect as of 1940.

An acceptable proxy for the location of white housing in Tuskegee as of 1940 is graphically illustrated by a new city boundary which was proposed in the 1950s. These new city limits, which was approved by the Alabama Legislature in 1957, was an attempt to limit voting by African-Americans living in Tuskegee. This act was subsequently overturned by the U.S. Supreme Court in 1960.[14]

Themes, which may have been a misspelling in the Mobile *Press* of the word Thebes. Alverson also mentions that local residents stated that the log cabin was also used for worship by local Methodists.

[14] *City of Tuskegee, Alabama,* (n.p., Polk, Powell and Hendon, March 1950), TUA, map; Alabama, General Assembly, Session of 1957, *Act No. 140, An Act to Alter, Re-arrange, and Re-define the Boundaries of the City of Tuskegee in Macon County, July 15, 1957* (Montgomery: Brown Printing, 1957), 185–186, Alabama Department of Archives and History (ADAH), Montgomery, Alabama; Gomillion v. Lightfoot, 364 U.S. 339 (1960).

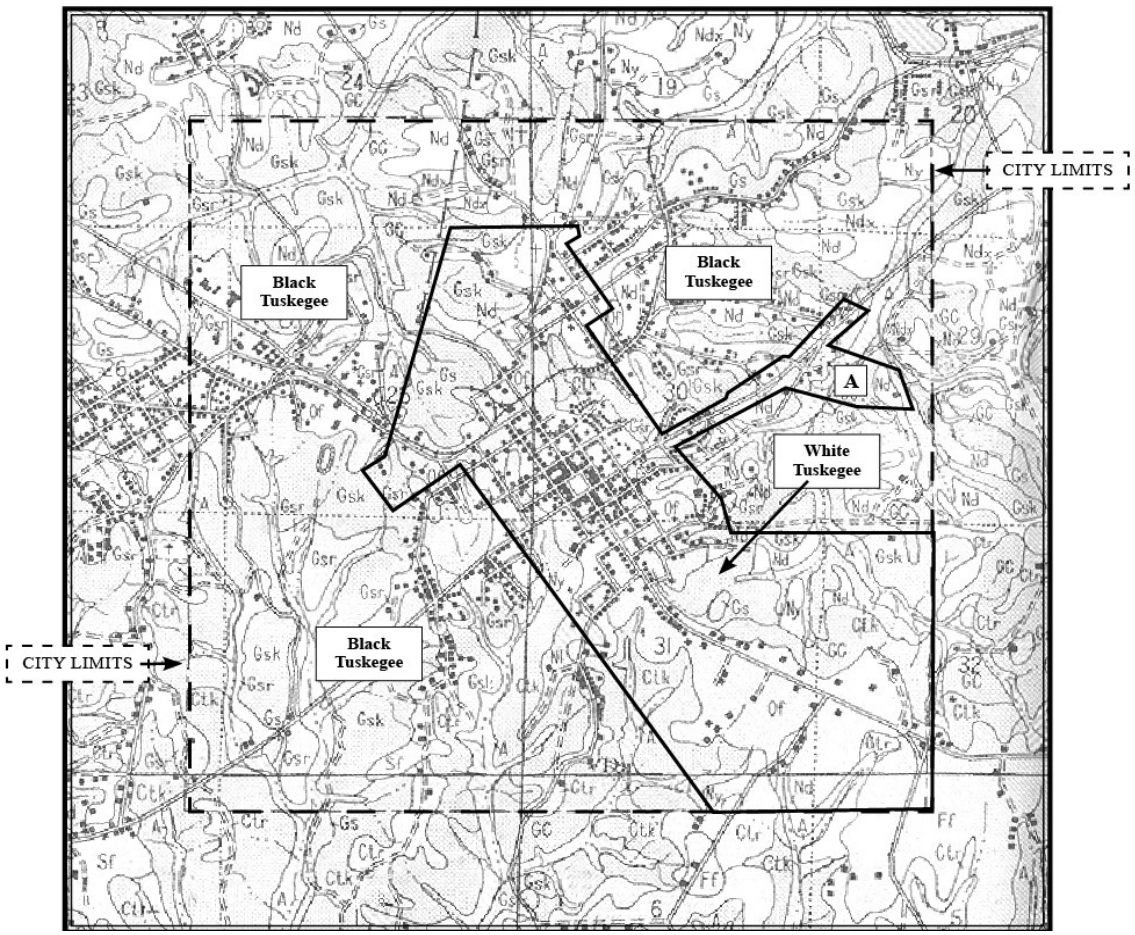

Figure 3.1. Approximate racial delineation of Tuskegee (Sources: U.S. Department of Agriculture, *Soil Map, Macon County, Alabama*, series 1937; *City of Tuskegee, Alabama* [n.p., Polk, Powell and Hendon, March 1950], Macon County Archives, map)

Figure 3.1 shows the original, square city limits authorized in 1848 and the new city limits proposed in 1957. Associate Justice Felix Frankfurter likened these new city limits to an "uncouth twenty-eight-sided figure," and the syllabus of the Supreme Court document noted that the effect of the new city lines would be to "eliminate from the City all but four or five of its 400 Negro voters without eliminating any white voter."[15] As mentioned previously, the general area radiating outward from North and South Main Street were the primary areas of white habitation. Added to this would be an additional

[15] Gomillion v. Lightfoot, 364 U.S. 339 (1960). It is important that the quote mentions that these new boundaries eliminated most black voters, not black citizens; therefore, it is quite probable that some blacks–perhaps more than may be imagined–lived within the newly-proposed city limits.

extension on U.S Highways 29/80 to the east towards Auburn.[16] Interestingly, the main campus area of Tuskegee Institute was allowed within the city limits when the Institute was created in 1881, leading one to assume that future voting conflicts between the races were not anticipated. As the Veterans Hospital and Greenwood areas were both outside of the town limits, this might lead one to suspect that this occurred in such a manner that was intentional. However, housing development tended to follow ridgelines and other areas of relatively level ground. The topography of both areas—the Veterans Hospital especially—lent themselves to development at their present location and would have been largely impractical at other sites located nearby. The development of the Greenwood location, which contained some hilly portions, was chosen due to its close proximity to the Institute campus. An article from 1934 stated that "Dr. Washington…made it a policy for the institution to buy as much as possible of the land immediately surrounding the school and sell it on easy terms to teachers and workers."[17]

The Green Forks area, developed during World War II for African-American servicemen, was likely built outside of the Tuskegee city limits to eliminate these persons from potentially voting in Tuskegee elections, although the suitable terrain would have also been a factor. The same can be said for the two World War II government housing developments located near Tuskegee Institute.

[16] The white habitation area A denotes the locations of a roadway constructed across the Tuskegee Lake dam which led to the white hospital. Both were built after World War II.
[17] *Tuskegee News,* "Greenwood a Community of Owners of Homes; Planned by Dr. Washington," May 24, 1934.

3.4. Delineation of the 1940 Census Housing Data

The 1940 Housing Census provides data at the state and county level, and for selected cities and towns. In the case of Macon County, much of the county data is divided into the three subcategories of Tuskegee, Rural-nonfarm, and Rural-farm. Additionally, portions of the data are further subdivided by race. Not all data is complete; for example, data pertaining to the number of rooms per dwelling may not be present for all subcategories. In some cases however, enough data exists so that it can be delineated by all three locational subcategories as well as by race.

The ability to delineate the data is especially helpful with regards to accurate analysis. Data presented at the county level can be extremely misleading with regards to the actual underlying conditions within the different segments of society. In this regard—depending upon which issue is being researched—any data coalesced at the county level for analytical purposes should be regarded as suspect, and caution must be taken when comparing one county to another within the state.

3.5. Housing Characteristics

Pertaining to the housing areas that are of importance later in the paper, the analytical discussion will begin with Tuskegee. Importantly, since it is sometimes best to compare data from one subcategory to another in the county, not all of the pertinent data pertaining to Tuskegee will be presented in the Tuskegee discussion. Rather, it will be presented later in order to compare it to other subcategories and avoid excessive repetition.

A fitting introduction to the data would be to first discuss the ownership of housing in Tuskegee. [18] The 1940 housing data show that 429, or 41.2 percent, of the 1,042 occupied dwellings in Tuskegee were owner-occupied. Whites showed a greater prevalence of home-ownership than African-Americans, at 63.6 percent versus 36.4 percent respectively.[19] Generally speaking, homes owned by African-Americans were biased towards the lower valuations while those of whites were biased towards higher valuations. This is consistent with history in that African-Americans had more impediments to wealth accumulation over the generations.

Figure 3.2 illustrates the quantity of owner-occupied housing at different valuations separated by race. Although this data do not include rental home values, the information is instructive.

[18] All data presented throughout the paper is derived from reporting households. The number of non-reporting households will not be noted unless the percentage is deemed to be excessive.
[19] U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Sixteenth Census of the United States: 1940, Housing, part 2: Alabama–Indiana*, Alabama, 36, table 22; U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Sixteenth Census of the United States: 1940, Housing, part 2: Alabama–Indiana*, Alabama, 3. A dwelling was categorized as owner-occupied if it was owned "either wholly or in part by the head of the household or some other member of his family living in the dwelling unit." Additionally, all data officially excluded the inclusion of Tuskegee Institute proper, as educational institutions and student dormitories were excluded from the survey. Examination of the 1940 census individual population schedules illuminated the fact that this may not have been true in all cases.

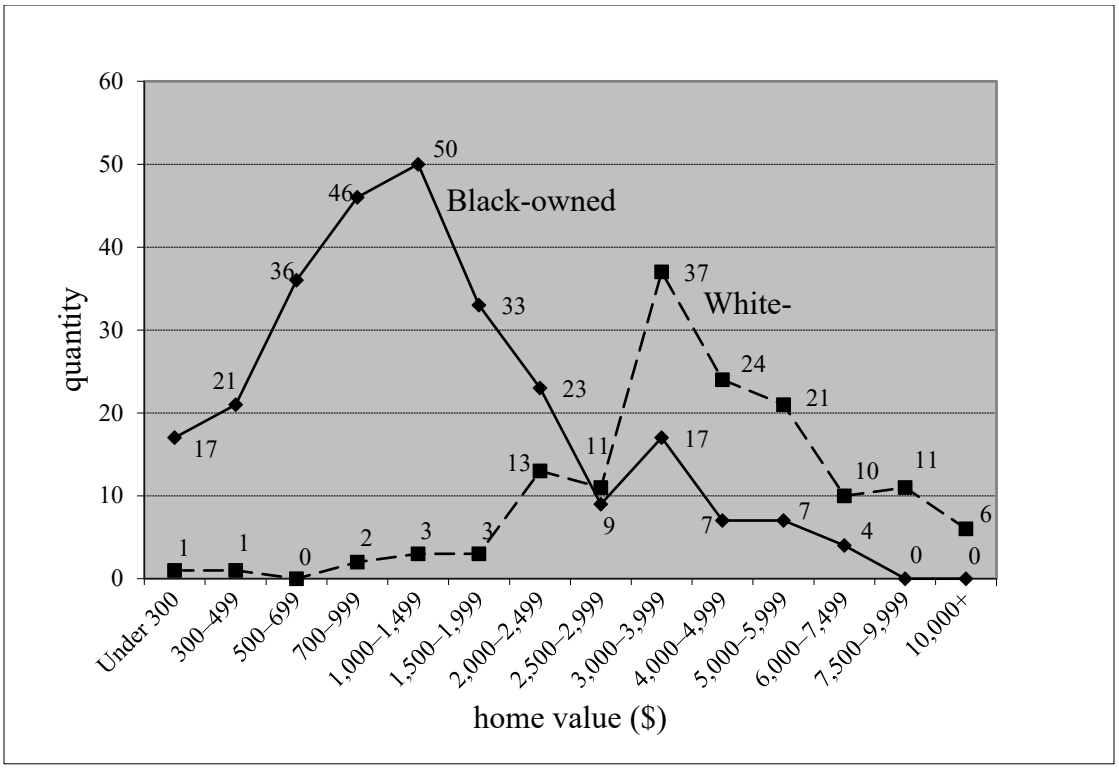

Figure 3.2. Value of owner-occupied housing in Tuskegee (Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Sixteenth Census of the United States: 1940, Housing, part 2: Alabama–Indiana*, Alabama, 36, 64, 92, tables 22, 24, 29)

Figure 3.2 illustrates that the majority of owner-occupied, African-American housing was valued lower than that of white housing, with white owner-occupied housing peaking at a valuation which was approximately two thousand dollars greater than that of African-Americans. More specifically, 87.0 percent of black-owned housing was valued at less than $3,000 per dwelling, and 63.0 percent was valued at $1,500 or less. In contrast, only 23.8 percent of white owner-occupied housing was valued at less than $3,000 per dwelling, and a miniscule 4.9 percent was valued at less than $1,500.[20]

This disparity in the housing values between the races was also reflected in amenities such as running water and electrical use. A total of 46.2 percent of homes

[20] Bureau of Labor Statistics, Consumer Price Index calculator, http://research.archives.gov/description/5822615 (accessed November 9, 2018). Current prices as of November 9, 2018 are $54,483 and $27,242 respectively. For those desiring it, further computation of current prices can be calculated from this site.

reporting in Tuskegee had running water and 59.0 percent had electrical lighting, but again a contrasting picture emerges when these figures are separated by race. Only 21.5 percent of African-Americans had running water in their homes and 43.7 percent had electrical lighting; in contrast, 93.0 percent of whites had running water and 93.4 percent had electricity.[21] The primary reason for this disparity probably lies in the fact that whites had more disposable income and historically controlled local politics; however the high percentage of whites with running water can just as likely be explained by the fact that they lived closer to the center of town and thus closer to the main utility lines.[22] Finally, it should be considered that utility companies, having high fixed costs, would have an incentive to increase their customer base by as much as practical. But to increase the customer base meant first extending the water or electrical lines—an expensive proposition—then depending on the expected increase in revenue from new users to offset the cost. Very often, people living on the outer edges of town were also those who could least afford the added expense of new utilities. Thus it was a money-losing proposition for the utilities.[23]

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[21] U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Sixteenth Census of the United States: 1940, Housing, part 2: Alabama–Indiana*, Alabama, 36, 52, 92, tables 22, 23, and 29. With regards to running water, the category "Water Supply" was utilized for the total water supply in town, whereas "State of Repair and Plumbing" was used to delineate by race. The category "Water Supply" includes all housing including vacancies. The other category does not include vacancies and has a higher number of non-reporting, but it is from this category that the data can be delineated by race. All figures derived net from non-reporting units.

[22] Photograph, Macon County Courthouse, Macon County Archives, Tuskegee, Alabama. A photograph of the second courthouse of Macon County, which is undated but was probably taken just prior to its demolition in approximately 1906, shows the presence of electrical lines in the area. This courthouse was located in what is presently the town square.

[23] *WPA Community Service Projects Meeting: Butler's Chapel, Zion Hill,* January 24, 1941, Wolcott Papers, 089.016, Community Service Projects, TUA, 3.

3.6. Water Sources

It is not surprising that 53.8 percent of dwellings in Tuskegee still utilized wells, springs, or creeks. This percentage should not be surprising; the town officially encompassed an area of 6.25 square miles and a significant portion of the housing was located outside of the more formally developed center of town.

As might be expected, these water sources were necessary but unpopular. Residents of Rockefeller Hill, located in the northern part of Tuskegee, desired a city ordinance against obtaining drinking water from sources such creeks and branches. Citing the health dangers of such practices, a summary report originating from that area stated that "no doubt you're shocked but it is true, and it would be a great shock indeed if an epidemic should break out here in the city from the use of water from such places. City water is needed."[24] The residents of Zion Hill, located west of downtown Tuskegee, were just as detailed in their complaint, if not more emphatic:

> One can hardly believe that in the 20th Century, in a progressive city like Tuskegee, that its taxpayers are drinking water from ditches along the road and highway where all kinds of rubbish washes, but this fact is true. There are a few wells that cost a lot of money and give such a little service. They afford water during the rainy season for one family. But sometimes four or five families use one well that is hardly sufficient for one family. The other wells are dry most of the year. When they are affording water, they are full of roaches and other insects. Some wells contain pumps previously mentioned, but do not have enough water for the pumps to operate. (*Report of the Committee on Problems of*

[24] *Rockerfellow* [*sic*] *Hill,* February 28, 1941, Wolcott Papers, 089.016, Community Service Projects, TUA, 3.

our Immediate Community: Zion Hill Community, January 24, 1941, Wolcott Papers, 089.016, Community Service Projects, Tuskegee University Archives [TUA], 2)

The Tuskegee City Council's *Minutes* dated July 25, 1944, recorded that twenty-eight African-American residents of Zion Hill petitioned the city council for a four-inch city water main to be installed in their community and that they were willing to pay a total of five hundred dollars for the installation.[25] As of 1944, a portion of this area west of the town's center was adjacent to U.S. Highway 80; however, this section of the highway was not part of the original route into town and thus no water lines had been extended to this black community prior to the construction of the highway. These residents had previously applied for city water in 1931 after it was confirmed that the State Highway Department wished to construct a highway through downtown Tuskegee.[26] This highway, which eventually became known as U.S. Highway 80, was probably completed during 1933.[27] At that time, it was known as the New Montgomery Highway, with the old route through the Institute campus becoming the Old Montgomery Highway.[28]

Zion Hill's request for a water line seems to have been tabled as of 1931. The reason could have been simple economics; that is, that the city council did not feel that there were enough customers in that area to defray the cost of the project. As it happens,

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[25] Tuskegee City Council, *City of Tuskegee, Minute Book Two*, 265, July 25, 1944.
[26] Tuskegee City Council, *City of Tuskegee, Minute Book One*, 421, July 14, 1931; Tuskegee City Council, *City of Tuskegee, Minute Book One*, 414, February 11, 1931.
[27] Tuskegee City Council, *City of Tuskegee, Minute Book One*, 452, November 11, 1932. The reference mentions that the highway was still in the process of being built at that time.
[28] City Council, *City of Tuskegee, Minute Book One*, 411, November 25, 1930. In November 1930, Mayor Edwards had proposed paving the new highway from the town square to the city limits. In this proposal, he mentions the phrase *New Montgomery Highway*.

water lines at that time were still in the process of being laid down in the white areas of town; approximately half a year before the request was made by the residents of Zion Hill, a decision had been made to extend the main water line further down South Main Street to East End.[29]

Still another reason for the refusal may have been the supply of water itself, as references to a water shortage were made during the summer of 1931.[30] This shortage may have been occurring for some time, necessitating the need for a new 150,000 gallon water tank and the acquisition of additional water springs. The possibility of drilling a water well was also investigated.[31]

However, evidence provides more support towards the income argument. The water issue was brought up in 1941 at a meeting that Mayor Greene B. Edwards attended with residents of the Zion Hill community. Possibly in reference to the 1931 request, Mayor Edwards noted that "we all want water and light, these all cost money…Are you prepared for these improvements when they come to you? Will you take it when you get it? 65 petitioned for water, but [only] 3 took it. Do the people appreciate it? We are as anxious to serve all as to serve a few."[32]

Probably due to increased subscription, the residents of Rockefeller Hill had more success in having city water installed in their community. Mayor Edwards was thanked

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[29] City Council, *City of Tuskegee, Minute Book One*, 410, November 25, 1930.
[30] City Council, *City of Tuskegee, Minute Book One*, 419, June 9, 1931; City Council, *City of Tuskegee, Minute Book One*, 420, June 23, 1931.
[31] City Council, *City of Tuskegee, Minute Book One*, 405, October 14, 1930; City Council, *City of Tuskegee, Minute Book One*, 416, March 11, 1931; City Council, *City of Tuskegee, Minute Book One*, 417, April 14, 1931; City Council, *City of Tuskegee, Minute Book One*, 427, August 25, 1931; City Council, *City of Tuskegee, Minute Book One*, 428, September 8, 1931; City Council, *City of Tuskegee, Minute Book One*, 427, October 27, 1931.
[32] *WPA Community Service Projects Meeting: Butler's Chapel, Zion Hill,* January 24, 1941, Wolcott Papers, 089.016, Community Service Projects, TUA, 3.

for extending the water lines to this area, although it was noted separately that water coverage in Rockefeller Hill was not complete.[33] Mayor Edwards responded that a greater number of African-Americans had lights than whites, but extending water to [presumably all] African-Americans would cost $120,000, but only a few are willing to pay for it.[34]

3.7. Electric Utility

As noted earlier, electrical use in Tuskegee was more prevalent than running water in Tuskegee, but it does not necessarily imply that homes having electricity also had an electrical or gas stove, or other related amenities. Asa Vaughan, a white merchant and farmer who lived in a middle-class house only two blocks from the courthouse, still utilized a wood stove and coal heaters during World War II. In addition to lacking a modern stove, the Vaughan's also had an icebox on the back porch; there was little need for a larger or more expensive refrigeration unit since many food items were canned at home.[35] The situation at the Vaughan's was more commonplace than some may realize; in fact, the 1940 Housing Census reported that of the 1,035 homes in Tuskegee that reported their cooking fuel source, over half, or 55.9 percent, used wood and 28.9 percent used natural gas. A miniscule twenty-one houses reporting using an electrical stove and twelve houses used coal. The situation with regards to refrigeration was split more evenly

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[33] *WPA Community Service Projects Meeting: Washington Public School,* February 24, 1941, Wolcott Papers, 089.016, Community Service Projects, TUA, 2; *Rockerfellow* [*sic*] *Hill,* February 28, 1941, Wolcott Papers, 089.016, Community Service Projects, TUA, 3.
[34] *WPA Community Service Projects Meeting: Washington Public School,* February 24, 1941, Wolcott Papers, 089.016, Community Service Projects, TUA, 3.
[35] John Thomas Vaughan, interview by John T. Bryant, June 12, 2007, Auburn, Alabama; Asa H. Vaughan; p. 19-A, line 11, Enumeration District 44-1, Beat 1, Tuskegee, Macon County, Alabama, Census of Population; Sixteenth Census of the United States, 1940, Records of the Bureau of the Census, Record Group 29 (1940census.archives.gov; March 14, 2013). The Vaughan house was valued at $2,500 in the 1940 census.

between modern appliances and the old-fashioned icebox. Of the 1025 houses reporting, 354 houses had mechanical refrigeration (which may have been electrical, gas, kerosene, or gasoline engine), 392 houses used ice, and 273 houses had no refrigeration. Six houses reported using something other than mechanical refrigeration or ice, which may have been a springhouse or something similar.[36] This data cannot be delineated by race, although one may assume that mechanical refrigeration use was more prevalent in the white community simply because they had greater access to utilities.

Of course, African-Americans who had electricity also had access to electric stoves, refrigerators, and other amenities. An interesting list originated from Zion Hill, which both expanded on this theme and illuminated the problems sometimes associated with it:

> There are more than forty subscribers for electricity to the Alabama Power Company (Tuskegee Light and Power). These subscribers have eight or ten stoves, fourteen or more [well] pumps, a radio in each home, electrical refrigerators in at least eight or ten homes, irons and other electric appliances [which] use an enormous amount of current. All of the appliances mentioned are using only one transformer, (and it is very small) located near Butler's Chapel. During the evening when all families are using current, the lights are quite dim and it takes a much longer time for the heating of irons, etc. We pay for the maximum amount of current and receive the minimum amount. (*Report of the Committee on Problems of our Immediate Community: Zion Hill,* January 24, 1941, Wolcott Papers, 089.016, Community Service Projects, TUA, 1)

[36]U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Sixteenth Census of the United States: 1940, Housing, part 2: Alabama–Indiana*, Alabama, 52, table 23; U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Sixteenth Census of the United States: 1940, Housing, part 2: Alabama–Indiana*, Alabama, 5.

The area around Washington Public School also had electrical power, although no details similar to that of Zion Hill have yet emerged.[37] Regarding the low usage of either electricity or running water in African-American households, it should be kept in mind that most of the Greenwood housing development next to Tuskegee Institute was outside of the city limits and thus omitted from the data. Its inclusion would have boosted the percentages somewhat as a 1934 article in the *Tuskegee News* stated that homes located there included "modern conveniences."[38]

As of 1940, there were three water systems in and near Tuskegee, so it is uncertain as to exactly who was responsible for the supply of water in some locations. Besides the city water supply in Tuskegee itself, both Tuskegee Institute and the Veterans Hospital had their own water supply. All three systems were linked together and could supply each other's needs as required.[39] However, it appears that by the late 1930s, the Tuskegee water system was more prominent in the Institute area due to the installation of a new water system.[40]

3.8. Repair Issues

In the 1940 Census Report, the Bureau of the Census instructed that "a structure was to be reported as 'needing major repairs' when parts of the structure such as floors, roof, plaster, walls, or foundations required repairs or replacements, the continued neglect

[37] Burrell, *Community Improvements,* February 28, 1941, Wolcott Papers, 089.016, Community Service Projects, TUA, 2. Washington Public School was located northeast of the town square, on the north of U.S. Highways 29 and 80 as one drove on the long hill approaching the town center.
[38]U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Sixteenth Census of the United States: 1940, Housing, part 2: Alabama–Indiana*, Alabama, 92, table 29; *Tuskegee News,* "Greenwood a Community of Owners of Homes; Planned by Dr. Washington," May 24, 1934.
[39] *Tuskegee News*, "Survey of Tuskegee Reveals Population Increase; Many Assets," August 7, 1941.
[40] City Council, *City of Tuskegee, Minute Book Two*, 15, August 27, 1935; City Council, *City of Tuskegee, Minute Book Two*, 77–79, December 21, 1938.

of which would impair the soundness of the structure."[41] Although the determination of repairs was necessarily subjective, the 1940 Housing Census reported that 40.1 percent of houses in Tuskegee, to include both owner-occupied and tenant housing, required major repairs. This included 23.0 percent of white houses and over twice that amount, or 48.0 percent of African-American houses.[42] An important determinant in the lack of maintenance was probably related to income; however, it is also possible that some of the issues related to disrepair had its roots in other causes.

One of these other possibilities pertained to upkeep of rentals by landlords. Significantly, rentals accounted for 48.9 percent of houses occupied by whites and 61.6 percent of houses occupied by blacks.[43] The repair of the house was the responsibility of the owner, who could be as attentive or negligent as he desired. It is possible that some African-American rental housing was owned by local whites; however, blacks in Tuskegee owned rental houses as well, so it is difficult to make an accurate determination of significance with regards to the former assertion.[44]

With regards to the condition of rental housing in urban areas, two fitting examples of rental neglect are given by the following letters of complaint written during World War II; one from Mobile, Alabama and the other from Birmingham, Alabama. This first example was written by the wife of a man who was an Officer in the U.S. Army

[41] U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Sixteenth Census of the United States: 1940, Housing, part 2: Alabama–Indiana*, Alabama, 5.
[42] U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Sixteenth Census of the United States: 1940, Housing, part 2: Alabama–Indiana*, Alabama, 36, 92, tables 22, 29.
[43] Ibid.
[44] Reverend C.W. Kelly, News among the Colored People, *Tuskegee News*, November 29, 1945; Macon County Heritage Book Committee, *The Heritage of Macon County, Alabama*, 114.

Corps of Engineers in Mobile:

> I wish you could see the maintenance done on this house. The house is probably 15 or 20 years old, the plumbing is outmoded, floors in disgraceful condition, a back door that won't shut when the weather is wet and when it is dry it has to be locked to keep it closed; a back porch that has steps(?) made of boxes; windows that have long since lost their weights and must be kept locked to keep them closed…Every time it rains there is a puddle of water on the kitchen floor that comes in under the kitchen door…Not long ago our doorbell refused to work. I called Cowan-Irvine who assured me that a letter would be written [to] the owner requesting him to repair the doorbell. What was done about that request? Absolutely nothing. (Mrs. Paul E. Werner to Governor Frank Dixon, March 11, 1942, Alabama Governor [1939–43]: Dixon, Administrative Files, Fiscal Year 1942, Box SG012271, Folder 04, Alabama Department of Archives and History [ADAH], Montgomery, Alabama)

The next example may be more applicable to housing in Tuskegee on the lower end of the valuation scale. An employer in Birmingham has written a complaint regarding an increase in rent to Mr. Leon Henderson, the Administrator of the Office of Price Administration (OPA) in Washington, DC:

> I am familiar with a particular case that should deserve consideration. Our part-time maid, Violet Brookins, a colored woman, rents two rooms of a shack in the Negro section of Birmingham. She has no running water or sanitary facilities, no electric lights and the building is very old. Until last Fall, she paid the landlord's agent $2.00 per week for these accommodations. At that time much needed repairs were made to the front porch and her rent was raised to $2.25 per week. (W. H. McClure to Leon Henderson, March 13, 1942, Alabama Governor (1939–43): Dixon, Administrative Files, Fiscal Year 1942, Box SG012271, Folder 04, ADAH, Montgomery, Alabama)

Besides income issues and the possible lack of landlord maintenance, another possibility with regards to maintenance is simple neglect by the owners pertaining to their

own houses. About forty years before World War II, Booker T. Washington gave a speech to students at Tuskegee Institute imploring them not only to buy land and build a house, but to set the example among their neighbors by keeping houses that were tidy and orderly:

> I notice with regret that there are many of our people who have already bought homes, who, after they have secured the land, paid for it and built a cabin containing two or three rooms, do not seek to go any further in the improvement of the property. In the first place, in too many cases, the house and yard, especially the yard, are not kept clean. The fences are not kept in repair. Whitewash and paint are not used as they should be. After the house is paid for, the greatest care should be exercised to see that it is kept in first-class repair; that the walls of the house and the fences are kept neatly painted or whitewashed…Paint and whitewash add a great deal to the value of a house. If persons would learn to use even a part of the time they spend in idle gossip or in standing about on the streets, in whitewashing or painting their houses, it would make a great difference in the appearance of the buildings, as well as add to their value. (Booker T. Washington, *Character Building* [1902, New York: Doubleday, Page, and Company], 58–59)

Although it is uncertain how widespread this negligence was within the African-American population in Tuskegee, it does not take too much of a stretch of the imagination to realize that this type of neglect with regards to both races, especially if it was of an institutional nature over decades and even generations, could lead to larger maintenance issues within the housing stock over time. Thus it is possible that at least a portion of these maintenance issues were not related to faulty or shoddy construction, but to simple neglect by the owner.

With regards to these maintenance issues, it would be helpful to illustrate the water and plumbing situation with regards to race in more detail. Mentioned earlier was

the fact that 93.0 percent of houses occupied by white families had running water as compared to only 21.5 percent of black families. This is delineated further in Table 3.1, where the amenities associated with running water are more clearly defined.[45]

Table 3.1 Housing by race, amenities, and state of repair, by percent

Amenity	Black		White	
	% of total	% req. repair	% of total	% req. repair
Private bath and toilet	15.0	5.8	76.2	10.3
Private toilet, no bath	0.4	33.3	2.6	55.6
Running water, no private toilet	6.1	50.0	14.0	65.1
No running water	78.0	55.9	6.8	57.1

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Sixteenth Census of the United States: 1940, Housing, part 2: Alabama–Indiana*, Alabama, tables 22, 26, 29, pp. 36, 75, 92.

Table 3.1 illustrates that a greater percentage of whites than blacks had running water with the full amenities of a private bath and toilet. This would be expected since white-owned homes were more central to the town center and home valuations were much greater than those for African-Americans.

The absence of full amenities also correlates with a greater percentage of dwellings requiring major repairs. Interestingly, the percentage of those houses requiring major repairs is generally similar for those without water as it is for those with water but without the full amenities. This would again suggest that income may have been more of a factor with regards to repair than location. Lastly, the percentage of black households requiring major repair was less in every category than for those of whites, with the general exception of those without running water. This may have been due to a probable increase in the population after to the construction of the Veterans Hospital in 1923. In

[45] A discrepancy exists between the total figures and those delineated by race, in that those delineated by race include occupied units only, whereas the total figures include seven unoccupied units. In this instance, the data suggests that all seven unoccupied units are attributable to whites. As this results in 307 white units—more than the 305 white units listed in the census—the figure of 307 units was still utilized for consistency purposes with regards to the African-American data.

contrast, many older white homes, although centrally located and possessing a full range of amenities, dated back to the 1800s.[46]

[46] Work Progress Administration (WPA), Alabama State Planning Commission, *Alabama, A Guide to the Deep South* (New York: Hastings House, 1941), American Guide Series, 285.

Chapter 4: Characteristics of Rural-nonfarm Housing

4.1. Definition

As the previous section dealt with the housing conditions in Tuskegee, this section will describe housing conditions in the non-rural portions of the county outside of its city limits. The primary thrust of this section will be to illustrate the similarities between the Greenwood area, located adjacent to Tuskegee Institute, and the African-American portion of Tuskegee itself.

The 1940 Housing Census defined urban areas such as Tuskegee as any incorporated area of at least 2,500 inhabitants. It also defined the term *Rural-nonfarm dwelling units* as "those located outside the boundaries of urban places but not on farms. This group is composed of dwelling units in a wide variety of locations ranging from isolated nonfarm homes in the open to homes in small unincorporated areas adjacent to a large city."[1] In the context of Macon County, this would include towns such as Notasulga in the northern part of the county (population 863) as well as smaller communities such as Shorter, Ft. Davis and Hardaway.[2] Other residences such as houses or apartments located at the Veterans Hospital, or Institute faculty housing not located in dormitories and outside of the city limits were also included.[3]

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[1] U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Sixteenth Census of the United States: 1940, Housing, part 2: Alabama–Indiana*, Alabama, 2.
[2] Bureau of Business Research, *Alabama County Statistical Abstracts,* 195, map: Macon County.
[3] U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Sixteenth Census of the United States: 1940, Housing, part 2: Alabama–Indiana*, Alabama, 3.

With regards to Rural-nonfarm housing, the 1940 Census documents 159 Rural-nonfarm houses in the county occupied by whites and 597 Rural-nonfarm houses by blacks. These include both owners and tenants.[4] For comparison, the number of white Rural-nonfarm houses throughout the county was roughly half the number of white dwellings in Tuskegee (159 versus 305 units), but the number of black Rural-nonfarm houses equated to just over eighty percent of the number in Tuskegee (597 versus 737 units).[5]

4.2. Veteran's Hospital

Although the Veterans Hospital does not have the international renown of Tuskegee Institute, the hospital itself had an important impact on both the Tuskegee and the Rural-nonfarm housing sectors since many of the African-Americans employed there lived in either Tuskegee or Greenwood.[6]

Today the Veterans Hospital is overshadowed by the historical prominence of Tuskegee University, but as of 1940 it was hardly a minor operation; in fact, Effie Jean Lanman Corbitt stated that it was "a huge place—a regular town out there."[7] Located about 1.5 miles northwest of the town square and as of 1940 known the United States Negro Veterans Hospital, it began operations in 1923. Located on a reservation of 464 acres—three hundred of which were donated by Tuskegee Institute—the hospital area

[4] U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Sixteenth Census of the United States: 1940, Housing, part 2: Alabama–Indiana*, Alabama, 36, table 22.
[5] Ibid.
[6] Ethel Bulls Elsberry, interview by John T. Bryant, April 16, 2007, Tuskegee, Alabama.
[7] Effie Jean Lanman Corbitt, interview by John T. Bryant, May 7, 2007, Tuskegee, Alabama.

proper was originally composed of twenty-seven buildings. The hospital area itself occupied fifty-five acres by 1940.[8]

Under the direction of Dr. Eugene H. Dibble from 1936 to 1946, the hospital grew in capacity to sixty-four buildings, 1730 patients and, as of 1940, 620 employees. It also contained 1,498 hospital beds at the time of the 1940 Census, over three-fourths of which were allotted to mental or psychiatric patients.[9] Although the hospital and grounds were attractive, the presence of mental patients necessitated additional security features; according to James Wilson, there were "bars all around it—looked like a damn prison."[10]

Although the timeframe of the data is uncertain, the number of employees at the hospital included thirty-eight physicians, three dentists, and 116 nurses. Some of these employees lived in the Institute and Greenwood areas, yet many of the doctors and nurses also lived at dedicated housing at the hospital itself. This housing area, commonly known as "The Circle," lay on the northeast side of the hospital complex.[11] Around the cul-de-sac itself—that is, "The Circle" proper— were ten houses and a three-story building that contained twelve apartments. Eight of the ten houses were two bedroom affairs with the remaining two being larger. Additional housing located nearby consisted of nurses' quarters for fifty-eight nurses and two smaller buildings for female employees.[12] With the

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[8] U.S. Department of Agriculture, *Soil Map, Macon County, Alabama*, series 1937; Clifton O. Dummett, and Eugene H. Dibble, "Historical Notes on the Tuskegee Veterans Hospital," *Journal of the National Medical Association* 54, no. 2 (March 1962): 133–138; Work Progress Administration (WPA), Alabama State Planning Commission, *Alabama, A Guide to the Deep South* (New York: Hastings House, 1941), American Guide Series, 285. The WPA reference lists the total acreage as 486 acres.

[9] Clifton O. Dummett, and Eugene H. Dibble, "Historical Notes on the Tuskegee Veterans Hospital," *Journal of the National Medical Association* 54, no. 2 (March 1962): 133–138; Work Progress Administration (WPA), Alabama State Planning Commission, *Alabama, A Guide to the Deep South* (New York: Hastings House, 1941), American Guide Series, 285; Bureau of Business Research, *Alabama County Statistical Abstracts,* 195, table: Hospital facilities, 1940.

[10] James Wilson, interview by John T. Bryant, May 17, 2007, Montgomery, Alabama.

[11] See figure 3.1 for location and layout of both the VA hospital and the living area.

[12] Clifton O. Dummett, and Eugene H. Dibble, "Historical Notes on the Tuskegee Veterans Hospital," *Journal of the National Medical Association* 54, no. 2 (March 1962): 133–138; Sallie Fernandes, interview

figures provided and if one assumes that the houses and apartments were reserved for doctors and their families, then twenty-two of the doctors lived on the hospital grounds and the other nineteen lived elsewhere, most likely in Greenwood. Additionally, housing was provided for half of the nurses. The bulk of the remaining employees—equal to five hundred at the minimum—also lived in various parts of town or elsewhere in the county. At least one to five employees were documented as living in Union Springs, the county seat of Bullock County located twenty-one miles south of Tuskegee.[13] This figure was most likely only an indication of a much larger presence of people in Union Springs working at the hospital.

4.3. Greenwood

For the purposes of this paper with respect to African-American housing, the most important aspect of the Rural-nonfarm category is that it included the Greenwood community adjacent to Tuskegee Institute. In this regard, any meaningful analysis of Tuskegee housing in the general sense would be biased by the omission of this data. Unfortunately, the Rural-nonfarm data cannot be further delineated with regards to Greenwood verses the remainder of the county, yet some important inferences can be made from the available data.

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by John T. Bryant, May 9, 2007, Tuskegee, Alabama; Ethel Bulls Elsberry, interview by John T. Bryant, April 16, 2007, Tuskegee, Alabama; Bureau of Business Research, *Alabama County Statistical Abstracts,* 195, table: Hospital facilities, 1940; Work Progress Administration (WPA), Alabama State Planning Commission, *Alabama, A Guide to the Deep South* (New York: Hastings House, 1941), American Guide Series, 285; Personal inspection by the author. In addition to the Veterans Hospital, another hospital named the John A. Andrews Memorial Hospital was located on the campus of Tuskegee Institute. As of 1940, it contained 125 beds and recorded 1,041 admissions.

[13] Office of Price Administration, District Office-Montgomery 4, Alabama, Rationing Appeal of John Coleman, *John Coleman v. W. P. and R. Board #41:4:1,* Union Springs, Docket 5C-108, Appeals, Box 16, Enforcement Files, Rationing Records, Office of Price Administration, Record Group 188, National Archives at Atlanta, Morrow, Georgia (NAATL); Bureau of Business Research, *Alabama County Statistical Abstracts,* 195, table: Distance from county seat.

The Greenwood development was begun in 1901 and located adjacent to the Institute. It was a formally planned area which began at the fork where Franklin Road veered to the right from the Old Montgomery Highway as one drove away from Tuskegee. This development, roughly diamond-shaped, was located between these two roads.[14]

Tuskegee's city limit in this area ran in a north-south direction. Passing through the Institute, it continued southward to separate the Tuskegee portion of Greenwood from the much larger unincorporated area. This occurred approximately a block and a half past the fork on the Old Montgomery Highway halfway between Green Street and the intersection of Logan and Scott Streets.[15]

A *Tuskegee News* article from 1934 detailed the Greenwood area and its history, although the exact area as described is contradictory.[16] On one hand, the article described the area as having streets named after members of the executive council. This description would conform to the more formally-planned housing area between the Old Montgomery Highway and Franklin Road. It also mentioned that its residents lived in an unincorporated area; that is, outside of the Tuskegee city limits. This incurs confusion as a portion of Greenwood was inside the city limits. The Chambliss Building and the Tuskegee Institute Savings Bank were also mentioned as being part of Greenwood,

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[14] Dozier and Holland Architects, *Guide to Tuskegee's Historic Resources,* Brochure (n.p., 1983); U.S. Department of Agriculture, *Soil Map, Macon County, Alabama*, series 1937.
[15] Sanborn Map Company, Pelham, New York, *Tuskegee, Alabama*, 1929 revised to 1954, map, Macon County Archives, Tuskegee, Alabama; U.S. Department of Agriculture, *Soil Map, Macon County, Alabama*, series 1937.
[16] *Tuskegee News,* "Greenwood a Community of Owners of Homes; Planned by Dr. Washington," May 24, 1934.

although these buildings were located on the Old Montgomery Highway towards downtown Tuskegee and well within the city limits.[17]

One reason for this confusion is that the Institute and Greenwood areas blended together seamlessly with regards to daily life and thus it was quite easy to become confused as to exactly which term described a particular area. Another possible reason is that, although the majority of Greenwood proper was located outside the city limits, there may not have been a formal distinction of this delineation since signs denoting the city limits may not have been posted as of 1934.[18]

Regardless of the confusion regarding the exact boundaries of Greenwood, it seems that the article's computation of persons and businesses within Greenwood included areas adjacent to Greenwood itself. There were approximately 175 houses, fifty businesses and one thousand wage earners in Greenwood as of 1934. If these facts are taken at face value, that would imply that there were 0.3 businesses and 6.7 wage-earners per household—a seeming impossibility for what is essentially a bedroom community for the Institute and Veterans Hospital. Nonetheless, the 1934 *Tuskegee News* article lists the following forty-three businesses as being located in Greenwood: "six grocery stores, ten filling stations and auto repair shops, three general merchandise establishments, three shoe repair shops, five cafes, four barber shops, three hotels, two tailor shops…two apparel shops, one dental office, a beauty parlor, a drug store, an undertaking

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[17] *Tuskegee News,* "Greenwood a Community of Owners of Homes; Planned by Dr. Washington," May 24, 1934; Lanice Potts Middleton, interview by John T. Bryant, October 16, 2012, Tuskegee, Alabama; *Chambliss Building*, n.d., TUA, photograph. Lanice Middleton recalled the Savings Bank as being directly across from the main gate at Tuskegee Institute as of 1945, thus the bank could have been located in another location as of 1934. However, the facade of the Chambliss Building was dated 1922 so the article is contradictory on that fact alone.

[18] Tuskegee City Council, *City of Tuskegee, Minute Book Two*, 247, August 10, 1943. The reference pertains to installing city limit signs on all roads transiting the town.

establishment, and photo shop."[19] Four churches were also mentioned: Greenwood Baptist, Washington Chapel A.M.E., St. John A.M.E. Zion, and St. Joseph Catholic Church. These were also located within Greenwood proper with the exception of the Catholic Church, which met in various locations until construction of its building adjacent to the Greenwood Cemetery in 1940.[20]

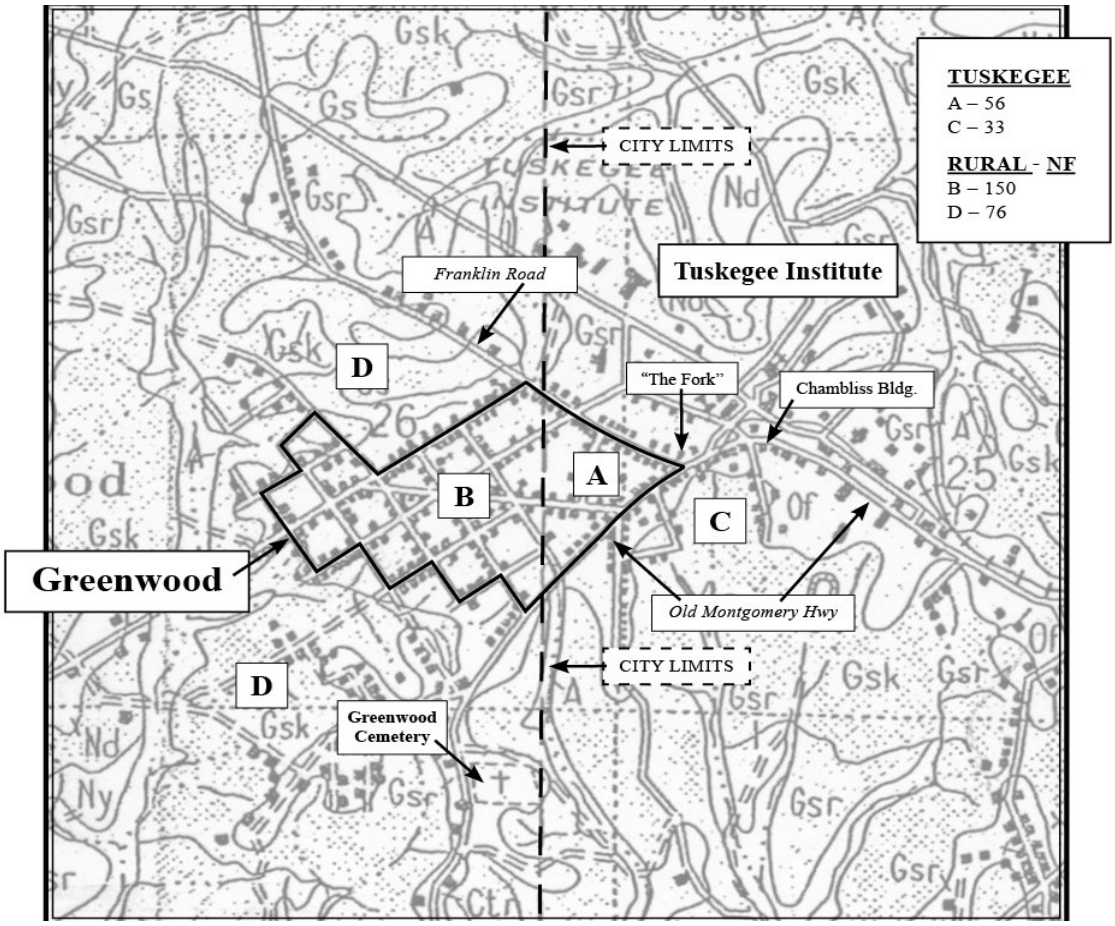

Figure 4.1. Greenwood and environs (Source: U.S. Department of Agriculture, *Soil Map, Macon County, Alabama*, series 1937)

Figure 4.1 illustrates the Greenwood area as of 1937. As Greenwood is amorphously defined in the 1934 article and encompassed land both within and outside of

[19] *Tuskegee News,* "Greenwood a Community of Owners of Homes; Planned by Dr. Washington," May 24, 1934.
[20] *Tuskegee News,* "St. Joseph Catholic Church to be Dedicated," October 31, 1940; Personal knowledge of the author.

Tuskegee, the general area in figure 4.1 has been divided into four sections. Areas A and B include the more formally developed areas of Greenwood, with area A being located within the city limits and area B located in the county. These two areas included approximately sixty-four and 143 buildings respectively for a total of 207 buildings. Excluding additional construction since publication of the article in 1934, this number is reasonably aligned with the 175 homes and forty-three businesses mentioned, although it falls short of the 218 buildings required to include both houses and businesses. Construction in the area did occur during the 1930s as "scarcely a month passes that does not witness the addition of at least one new residence."[21]

However, the mention of the Chambliss Building and the Tuskegee Institute Savings Bank necessitates a further expansion of the area that unofficially comprised Greenwood as it pertains to the 1934 article. As one drove from downtown Tuskegee to Greenwood on the Old Montgomery Highway, the residential and business area which began near the Chambliss Building was reached after first passing through the campus proper. In a practical sense, this small business area was fully integrated with that of Greenwood, thus these buildings near Greenwood but still within the city limits were included as well and labeled area C. Forty-one buildings comprised this area.[22]

Area D may also be considered part of Greenwood, but was on land that surrounded the more formal part of Greenwood outside of the city limits. This area included seventy-five buildings.[23]

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[21] *Tuskegee News,* "Greenwood a Community of Owners of Homes; Planned by Dr. Washington," May 24, 1934.
[22] The subject area was defined by the author.
[23] The subject area was defined by the author.

Thus the entire area of Greenwood as subjectively defined (areas A, B, C, and D) totaled approximately 323 buildings. The area of Greenwood inside the city limits (areas A and C) included approximately 105 buildings. The area of Greenwood outside of the city limits—that is, the portion of Greenwood that is included in the Rural-nonfarm portion of the 1940 Census—included approximately 218 buildings. If the assumption is made that ten of the forty-three listed businesses as of 1934 were located in the unincorporated portion of Greenwood, and split evenly between areas B and D, then the area in the Rural-nonfarm portion included 208 residential buildings—138 in area B and seventy in area D. Areas A and C inside the Tuskegee city limits contained an estimated twenty-three businesses, with an additional ten businesses being included in the street curve area known as "The Bottom" as described in chapter 2. The inclusion of "The Bottom" was necessary as it appeared to the author, based on a perusal of the area, that the more proper area of Greenwood did not contain the number of businesses as described above.[24]

Dividing the twenty-three businesses equally among Areas A and C, with Area A predominating, leaves a total of fifty-two houses in Area A and thirty houses in area C.

More adjustment must be made, however, as more than a few of these dwellings had individual rooms rented; therefore the actual number of households was certainly higher although not counted as such in the 1940 census. Additionally, it is possible that some of the listed businesses were located at the person's place of residence. The 1940 census lists ten such businesses in the Rural-nonfarm portion of Macon County. This latter issues however will not be considered for estimation purposes.

[24] This is the personal opinion of the author.

Thus the 208 estimated homes, by a physical count, should stand as a first acceptable estimate of houses located in the unincorporated portion of Greenwood. This figure was then increased by 8.5 percent to account for the possible presence of either duplexes or triplex dwellings to a final figure of 226 dwellings—150 in area B and seventy-six in area D.[25] This final figure represents approximately 37.9 percent of the county's Rural-nonfarm housing attributed to African-Americans within the entire county. Additionally, if the unincorporated portion of Greenwood area had been included in the Tuskegee data instead of the Rural-nonfarm data, it would have increased the number of dwellings occupied by African-Americans in the town by 30.7 percent. Naturally, it would have also increased the ratio of blacks to whites in the Tuskegee data as well. [26] With the addition to Areas A and C, increasing the housing stock by 8.5% in each area to account for the possibility of duplexes and triplexes finalizes the number of houses in Areas A and C as fifty-six and thirty-three respectively.

4.4. Home Ownership and Values

According to the 1940 housing census, African-Americans in the Rural-nonfarm areas of the county had a higher percentage of home ownership than those living in Tuskegee. Home ownership in the Rural-nonfarm segment was 264 units, or 44.2 percent of the total occupied housing. This compared favorably to that of Tuskegee at 37.0 percent.[27] The higher percentage of home ownership in the Rural-nonfarm data may be

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[25] U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Sixteenth Census of the United States: 1940, Housing, part 2: Alabama–Indiana*, Alabama, 36, table 22. A personal evaluation of the site did not reveal the presence of large multi-dwelling complexes. However, to account for the possible presence of multi-dwelling units, the number of duplexes and triplexes for the entire Rural-nonfarm sector was computed as a percentage of the single, duplex and triplex dwellings, then added to the original figure of 793 dwellings. As a result, the final count was then increased by 8.5 percent.
[26] Ibid.
[27] Ibid.

surprising to the casual observer, but one must remember that Booker T. Washington created the Greenwood development with home ownership in mind. Additionally, the influx of black professionals who worked at both Tuskegee Institute and the Veterans Hospital ensured that the income necessary for viable home ownership was available.[28]

The value of the owner-occupied African-American houses in the Rural-nonfarm data is compared to their Tuskegee counterparts in figure 4.2.

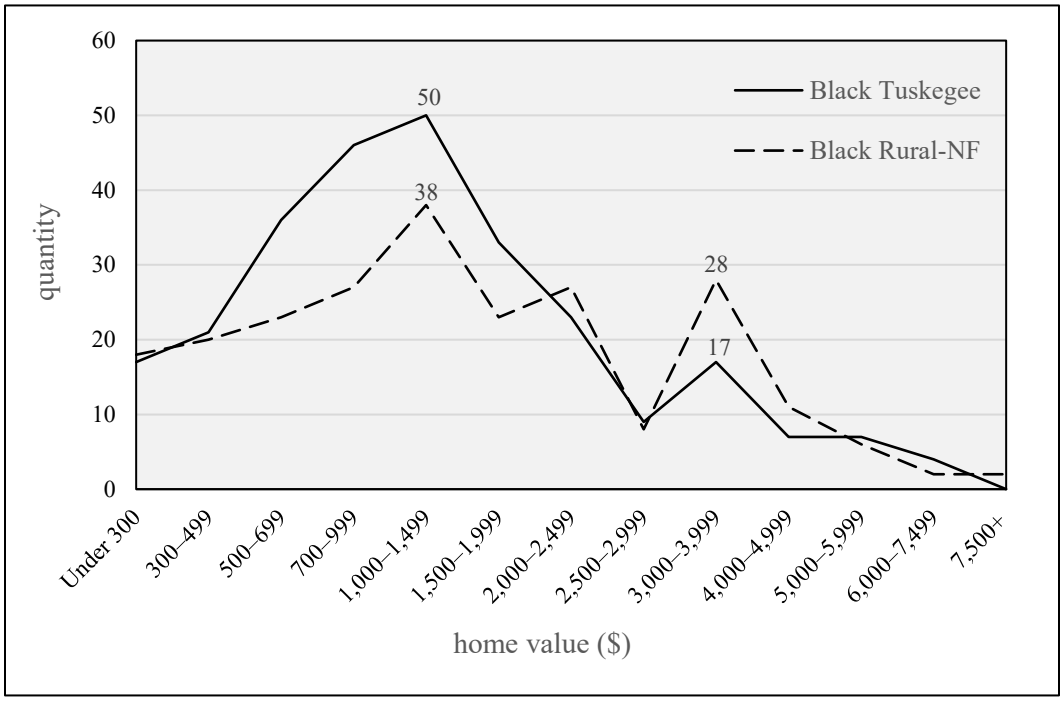

Figure 4.2. Value of black housing in Tuskegee and Rural-nonfarm categories (Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Sixteenth Census of the United States: 1940, Housing, part 2: Alabama–Indiana*, Alabama, 75, 92, tables 26, 29.

As figure 4.2 illustrates, the number of houses in both categories was similar; however, housing valuations in the Rural-nonfarm category were more evenly distributed as compared to those in Tuskegee, with the increase in the number of houses in the $3,000 to $3,999 range probably attributable to those located in Greenwood.

[28] *Tuskegee News,* "Greenwood a Community of Owners of Homes; Planned by Dr. Washington," May 24, 1934.

Although the validity of the information cannot be ascertained, the 1934 article concerning Greenwood also stated that "these homes, including [the] value of land, modern conveniences, and furnishings, represent an average investment of about $3,500."[29] These comments further reinforce the middle class nature of the houses in Greenwood.

4.5. Black Rural-nonfarm Amenities and Repair

With regards to amenities, the 1940 Census lists ninety-nine of 365 African-American, Rural-nonfarm homes reporting as having running water. This translates to 27.1 percent, which compares favorably to blacks in Tuskegee at 21.5 percent. However, this estimation is perhaps inaccurate since 38.9 percent of Rural-nonfarm dwellings were listed as not reporting their repair or plumbing information.[30] The presence of water lines in the Greenwood area, however, does suggest that the higher percentage as compared to Tuskegee is warranted. Not surprisingly, considering Greenwood's location, electrical use was greater as well at 50.5 percent versus 43.7 percent respectively.[31]

4.6. Development of Utilities in Greenwood

Houses in Greenwood were originally supplied with running water from Tuskegee Institute, with additional pipes being laid in subsequent years due to further development.[32] But supplying the necessary water to Greenwood was most likely problematic as the Institute had always struggled to obtain enough water for its own use.

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[29] Ibid.
[30] U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Sixteenth Census of the United States: 1940, Housing, part 2: Alabama–Indiana*, Alabama, 75, 92, tables 26, 29.
[31] Ibid.
[32] *Utilities* (n.d., edited March 1969), Wolcott Papers, 089.020, TUA, 15; *Treasurer's Annual Report: 1925–26*, vol. 22, no. 1, TUA, 9; *Treasurer's Annual Report: 1926–27*, vol. 24, no. 2, TUA, 7.

Before 1892, the school was serviced by shallow wells scattered around the Institute property. In 1891, a large spring was discovered and developed for use. This spring was located in a rugged, wooded area with steep banks, and was located in the area between the Veteran's Administration road and the Institute's power plant which was built in 1915.[33] The area was purchased for $1250 and named after the benefactor, Mrs. Finette Seelye, although it was more popularly known as "The Springs." Picnics were held there and a small dance pavilion was built on the site as well.[34]

The first of many artesian wells was dug in 1906, perhaps to alleviate the threat of malaria, smallpox, and yellow fever episodes that struck periodically.[35] These wells, along with "The Springs" and water obtained from the city of Tuskegee were supplying the school with 130,000 gallons per day.[36] Additional wells were dug as the years passed; for example, an additional 90,000 gallons per day in volume was added during 1918–1919.[37] Water was also sourced from the Veterans Hospital after it was built in 1923.[38]

It is logical to assume that these wells were placed in out-of-the-way areas in an effort to keep the more developed areas of campus intact. However, one of these wells was located directly in front of Rockefeller Hall.[39]

Dry weather and the sudden influx of persons associated with both Commencement and the Annual Farmers Conference stressed the available water supplies. As late as the 1930s, the campus water supply was cut off during the dry season

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[33] *Utilities* (n.d., edited March 1969), Wolcott Papers, 089.020, TUA, 8.
[34] Ibid., 9.
[35] Ibid., 12, 13.
[36] *Tuskegee Student*, "Tuskegee to Date: Heat, Light, Water, Drainage," April 28, 1906.
[37] *Annual Report Edition of the Principal and Treasurers: 1918–1919, January–March* 14, no. 1, Year ending May 31, 1919, TUA, 17.
[38] *Principal's Annual Report Edition: 1929–1930*, vol. 25, no. 2, April 1930, TUA.
[39] *Utilities* (n.d., edited March 1969), Wolcott Papers, 089.020, TUA, 9.

from 8:00 AM to 6:00 PM as a conservation measure.[40] Naturally, this affected any houses in Greenwood that obtained water from the Institute supply.

After the school was forced to obtain water periodically from both the Veteran's Administration and the City of Tuskegee, it was decided that Greenwood was too dependent on the Institute's water supply and an attempt should be initiated to formally join the city's water system.[41]

In 1932, two men from Tuskegee Institute initially approached the City Council about taking over the responsibility of providing water to the Greenwood area. At least one other meeting followed.[42] After a survey of Greenwood was accomplished, the city decided to apply for funds from the Reconstruction Finance Corporation (RFC) to extend the present water system to Greenwood. [43] The additional water necessary for the project would be sourced from new wells. However, this application, which was filed in September of 1933, was denied.[44] At that time, it was decided to reapply for the approval through the Civil Works Administration (CWA), the application later being sent to the Public Works Administration (PWA) due to the cessation of the former agency. Additionally, the overall plan was changed from the original idea of obtaining more water by drilling new wells to the new plan of using Eufaupee Creek as the water source.[45] The application also included additional water service for those living both within and outside the city limits to include the Tuskegee Institute vicinity, Greenwood and South

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[40] Ibid., 15.
[41] Ibid.
[42] Tuskegee City Council, *City of Tuskegee, Minute Book One*, 435, April 26, 1932; Tuskegee City Council, *City of Tuskegee, Minute Book One*, 447, August 23, 1932.
[43] Tuskegee City Council, *City of Tuskegee, Minute Book One*, 463, March 14, 1933.
[44] Tuskegee City Council, *City of Tuskegee, Minute Book One*, 471–473, September, 1933; Tuskegee City Council, *City of Tuskegee, Minute Book One*, 480, February 13, 1934.
[45] Tuskegee City Council, *City of Tuskegee, Minute Book One*, 480, February 13, 1934; Tuskegee City Council, *City of Tuskegee, Minute Book Two*, 15, August 27, 1935.

Greenwood.[46] This project was approved in October of 1936 and, after some disputes with the contractor, accepted as complete in December of 1938.[47] Through this project, the city of Tuskegee gained both a new water source and increased its customer base. In 1939, two additional extensions in the black areas—one on Franklin Road and the other on Bibb Street—were proposed after surveying four or five possibilities.[48]

In spite of these improvements in the municipal water supply, it seems that Tuskegee Institute was still reliant upon their well system. J. L. Anderson, Superintendent of Tuskegee Institute, informed Captain J. A. Ellison in December of 1940 that the Institute was still "using five artesian wells from which we get a total of 220 gallons of water per minute. These wells, averaging 250 feet…are not free or self-flowing wells. This is exceptionally good drinking water, the chemical analysis of which is as follows…[and] the bacteria count of this water is low (1 to 50 per cubic centimeter)."[49]

Similar to Greenwood's water source, electric power to Greenwood originally emanated from Tuskegee Institute. The first electrical power in Macon County was installed in the Tuskegee Institute Chapel in 1898.[50] This was extended to another seven buildings on campus by 1903, and to Greenwood on Washington Avenue in 1908.[51] By 1905, the Institute was already supplying power for lights on the Montgomery Highway leading to Greenwood.[52] As with the water situation, there were interruptions in service.

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[46] Tuskegee City Council, *City of Tuskegee, Minute Book Two*, 15, August 27, 1935.
[47] Tuskegee City Council, *City of Tuskegee, Minute Book Two*, 36–37, November 3, 1936; Tuskegee City Council, *City of Tuskegee, Minute Book Two*, 77–79 , December 21, 1938.
[48] Tuskegee City Council, *City of Tuskegee, Minute Book Two*, 90, October 24, 1939; Tuskegee City Council, *City of Tuskegee, Minute Book Two*, 92, November 28, 1939.
[49] J. L. Anderson to Captain J. A. Ellison, December 23, 1940, Local 1940, 131.033, J. L. Anderson, TUA.
[50] *Utilities* (n.d., edited March 1969), Wolcott Papers, 089.020, TUA, 16.
[51] Ibid., 18, 21.
[52] *Utilities* (n.d., edited March 1969), Wolcott Papers, 089.020, TUA, 21; *Tuskegee Student*, "The Electric Light Plant," October 7, 1905, TUA.

Power was shut off at 10 p.m. nightly, although "scarcely a week passed without periods 30 minutes to three hours of total darkness even before the 10 p.m. lights out."[53]

Tuskegee Institute also provided trash collection to the unincorporated areas of Greenwood for a small fee, although this was discontinued on August 1, 1943. The reason given to residents for the discontinuance was that other demands upon the Institute's personnel and equipment made it impractical to continue the service. Pickup was still available for those who lived on property owned by the school.[54]

More examination of the issue, however, reveals that the primary reason for the discontinuance may have been because as of July 1, 1943, Tuskegee Institute was to obtain Tuskegee Army Air Field's kitchen organic waste, also known as swill. For this privilege, Tuskegee Institute paid $0.0425 for each man stationed at the airbase. The swill in turn was to be fed to the animals in the school's swine production program.[55] This new swill supply from the airbase was planned to supplement that obtained from the Institute's cafeteria. This cafeteria supply had caused the production unit to operate at a loss due to the cost of removing the swill from the cafeteria three times per day using a mule-drawn wagon.[56] Additionally, the supply from the cafeteria was "scanty" in relation to the one hundred and eighty hogs which required feeding. Obtaining Tuskegee Army Air Field's swill supply was voluminous enough so that the Institute's swine program could be expanded. This in turn increased the estimated meat supplied to the Institute's cafeteria to four thousand pounds per month—an important consideration in a time of

[53] *Utilities* (n.d., edited March 1969), Wolcott Papers, 089.020, TUA, 19, 20.
[54] Luther H. Foster, Jr. to Greenwood Residents, June 30, 1943, Local 1943, 131.054, L. H. Foster, TUA.
[55] Frank B. Adair to Frederick D. Patterson, June 10, 1943, Local 1943, 131.053, F. B. Adair, TUA; F. D. Patterson to Frank B. Adair, June 12, 1943, Local 1943, 131.053, F. B. Adair, TUA.
[56] Frank B. Adair to Luther H. Foster, Jr., April 10, 1943, Local 1943, 131.053, F. B. Adair, TUA.

wartime meat shortages.[57] In fact, President Patterson was informed in June 1943 that "we are having considerable difficulty in procuring meats and vegetables required in our Cafeteria," so procuring the airbase's swill supply to lessen the need for purchasing pork was especially timely.[58] It was estimated that one truck would suffice for collecting the swill from the airbase.[59]

The increased percentage of home ownership and the ready availability of amenities in Greenwood as compared to the African-American sections of Tuskegee correlated to a lower percentage of Rural-nonfarm houses that required major repair. Only 43.8 percent of all black Rural-nonfarm housing required major repairs versus 48.0 percent of similar housing in Tuskegee.[60] In contrast to the overall maintenance and upkeep of black housing as presented by Booker T. Washington, the Greenwood residents, or at least a certain percentage of them, appear to have done much to encourage high standards within the community. In the early 1900s, the *Tuskegee Student* contained a section entitled "Village Improvement and Greenwood Notes." The edition of January 24, 1903 stated that "clean and inviting back yards, clean streets and flowers in [the] front yard[s] with nice painted or whitewashed fences are some of the things the Village Improvement Association members are living up to."[61]

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[57] Frank B. Adair to Frederick D. Patterson, April 15, 1943, Local 1943, 131.053, F. B. Adair, TUA.
[58] Luther H. Foster, Jr. to Frederick D. Patterson, June 11, 1943, Local 1943, 131.054, L. H. Foster, TUA.
[59] Frank B. Adair to Frederick D. Patterson, April 15, 1943, Local 1943, 131.053, F. B. Adair, TUA.
[60] U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Sixteenth Census of the United States: 1940, Housing, part 2: Alabama–Indiana*, Alabama, 36, table 22. A significant 30.1 percent of houses in the Rural-nonfarm category were non-reporting with regards to repairs; thus this omission of data might severely impact the conclusion stated above.
[61] *Tuskegee Student*, "Village Improvement and Greenwood Notes," January 24, 1903.

4.7. Greenwood Street Issues

In spite of the superiority of the Greenwood section with regards to some attributes, the street situation was not one of them. In contrast to Tuskegee, which had nine miles of paved streets with an additional three miles under construction as of 1941, the bulk of Greenwood's location adjacent to Tuskegee meant that it was left to the county's Board of Revenue to maintain and improve their streets.[62] In the earliest days of Greenwood, the responsibility for the streets was placed upon the Village Improvement Association. In this regard, approximately two hundred dollars was collected each year for their upkeep.[63]

However, it does not seem that this scheme was operating in later years, and apparently the county was not in a hurry to pave the streets of Greenwood. The *Tuskegee News* article of 1934 lamented, but did not place blame, on the fact that "the streets have been laid out for a number of years, but are as yet unpaved."[64] Of course this situation was not unusual, as almost all of the roads and streets under the care of the county were unpaved. Yet the density and activity of the Greenwood area made the street situation uncomfortable for many people. Rain turned the hilly streets into muddy ruts and one interviewee noted that "that red clay was something [else]."[65] Ladies in earlier years often went to local gatherings with their dress shoes in little bags, only to don them once they arrived.[66]

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[62] *Tuskegee News,* "Survey of Tuskegee Reveals Population Increase; Many Assets," August 7, 1941.
[63] *Tuskegee Student*, "Tuskegee to Date: Heat, Light, Water, Drainage," April 28, 1906.
[64] *Tuskegee News,* "Greenwood a Community of Owners of Homes; Planned by Dr. Washington," May 24, 1934.
[65] Carolyn Wolcott Ford, interview by John T. Bryant, March 15, 2007, Tuskegee, Alabama.
[66] Carolyn Wolcott Ford, interview by John T. Bryant, March 15, 2007, Tuskegee, Alabama.

Early 1941 witnessed the streets of Greenwood still being in a poor state of repair. In February of that year, a group of citizens approached the Macon County Board of Revenue and asked that their streets be improved.[67] This followed an earlier meeting with a Works Progress Administration (WPA) official in December of 1940, who had toured the Greenwood area and was overall impressed with the houses and facilities. However, the writer noted that WPA official stated that the agency would not be responsible for "our roads or lack of roads and streets…[of which] we were very much ashamed."[68] The county's *Notes* do not record exactly what was requested at the 1941 meeting, but it apparently prompted two county commissioners to personally assess the situation in Greenwood. The outcome of the visit is unclear; however, it is possible that that little or nothing was accomplished since the county had recently released a number of its WPA workers to assist the Federal Government in the hard surfacing of U.S. Highway 80.[69]

Yet three years later, Greenwood residents appeared again before the Board of Revenue to once again ask for the "consideration of the Board to the roads in Greenwood."[70] No matter what had transpired in early 1941, the situation within the county was much different by 1944. The influx of new people into the Greenwood area meant that additional demands were being placed upon the streets. However, personnel shortages within the road crews and the prior sale of some of the county's road equipment to the Corps of Engineers implies that road maintenance was necessarily prioritized during the war years. In fact, a report dated November 1944 from the County Commission stated that there was only "one machine with which to maintain 300 miles of

[67] Macon County Board of Revenue, *Commission Notes, Book E*, page 110, February 10, 1941.
[68] Reverend C. W. Kelly, News among the Colored People, *Tuskegee News*, December 5, 1940.
[69] Macon County Board of Revenue, *Commission Notes, Book E*, page 106, January 13, 1941.
[70] Macon County Board of Revenue, *Commission Notes, Book E*, 322, December 11, 1944.

road."[71] Yet some maintenance work in Greenwood appears to have taken place in at least the Tuskegee portion of Greenwood during that year. In a letter from President Patterson to Reverend Charles W. Kelly, Patterson wrote that "I wish to suggest that you contact Mayor Carr and follow through on having the Chapel road scraped. The Greenwood Community appreciates the recent road work done on the streets, and we shall be most grateful for such a courtesy."[72] Patterson wrote Mayor Carr a week later, thanking him and in particular noted that Carr had "personally supervised the improvement of streets in the Greenwood Community and I have heard several splendid comments on the gracious gesture."[73]

[71] Reverend C. W. Kelly, News among the Colored People, *Tuskegee News*, July 16, 1942; Macon County Board of Revenue, *Commission Notes, Book E*, 161, November 22, 1941, Macon County Board of Revenue, *Commission Notes, Book E*, 201, September 22, 1942; *History of Tuskegee Army Air Field (TAAF), 1 November 1944 to 31 December 1944*, 289.28–7 v.1, IRIS 00179163, AFHRA, 4. The equipment sold to the U.S. Government consisted of two bulldozers, two scrapers, and two power control units for a total price in excess of eighteen thousand dollars.

[72] Frederick D. Patterson to Charles W. Kelly, April 20, 1944, Patterson Papers, 003.150, Folder K, TUA. The Institute Chapel was inside the city limits; therefore it was more appropriate to ask for assistance from Mayor Carr than the County Board of Revenue. Although Tuskegee was responsible for scraping the Greenwood streets within the city limits, it is possible that the city helped out with regards to the streets outside the city limits as well.

[73] Frederick D. Patterson to Frank Carr, April 27, 1944, General 1944, 121.005, Ca–Cl, TUA.

Chapter 5: Characteristics of Rural-farm Housing

5.1. Introduction

The previous sections dealt with housing conditions in both Tuskegee and the Rural-nonfarm categories of the 1940 housing census. This section will analyze the Rural-farm category, which contained the majority of houses in Macon County. Consisting of 4,556 occupied units, or 71.7 percent of occupied dwellings in the county, the Rural-farm category dominated both the Tuskegee category (1,042 occupied dwellings or 16.4 percent) and the Rural-nonfarm category (756 occupied dwellings or 11.9 percent).[1]

As with the other categories, the dwellings in the Rural-farm section must be separated in terms of owner and tenants by race. The breakdown by these characteristics is as follows:[2]

Type	Quantity
White owners	395
Black owners	542
White tenants	426
Black tenants	3,193

[1] U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Sixteenth Census of the United States: 1940, Housing, part 2: Alabama–Indiana*, Alabama, 36, table 22.
[2] Ibid.

The data show that housing occupied by white farmers was almost evenly divided between owner and tenants, but housing occupied by African-American tenants dominated that occupied by black owners by a ratio of almost 6:1. In total, 82.0 percent of all occupied dwellings in the Rural-nonfarm section were occupied by African-Americans, and 70.1 percent were occupied by black tenants.

5.2. Owner-occupied House Values

Similar to previous chapters, some housing characteristics in the Rural-farm section will command greater emphasis than others. The emphasis in this chapter is the characteristics pertaining to the African-American portion of rural housing, especially with regards to the differences between owners and tenants. The owner-occupied portion of the data will be discussed first.

Rural-farm, owner-occupied housing delineated by both value and race is shown in Figure 5.1:

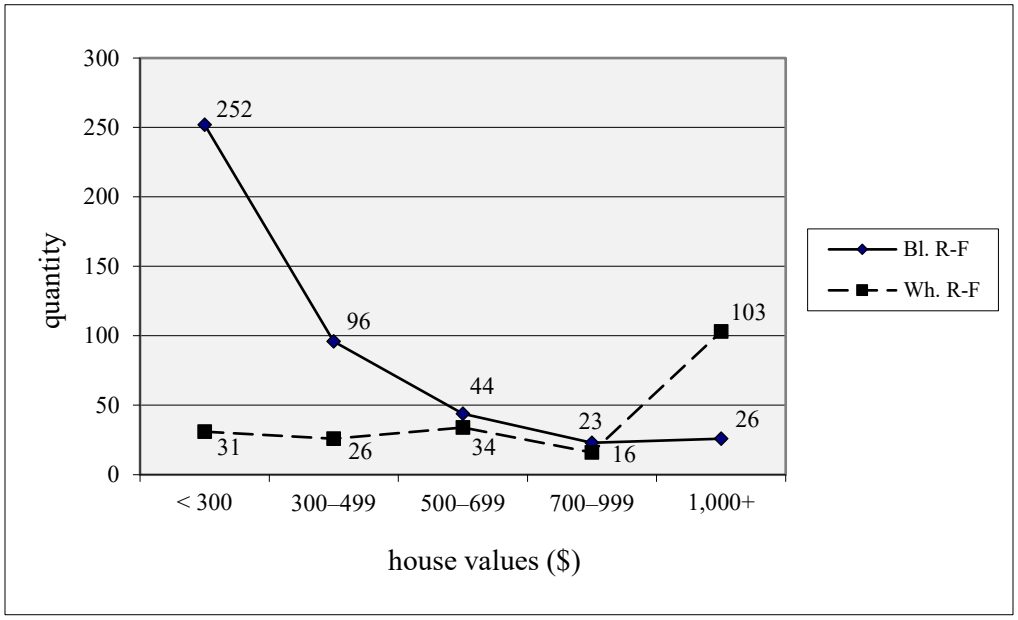

Figure 5.1. Value of Rural-farm housing by race (Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Sixteenth Census of the United States: 1940, Housing, part 2: Alabama–Indiana*, Alabama, 75, table 26)

Figure 5.1 illustrates that most rural black families owned homes in the lower valuation ranges, and these quantities dropped dramatically—by approximately fifty percent— in each of the first four data points as valuations increase. Of the 441 African-American owners reporting their house values, 57.1 percent of these houses were valued at less than three hundred dollars. This compares unfavorably to African-Americans in both Tuskegee and the Rural-nonfarm sectors, where the percentage of owner-occupied homes valued at less than three hundred dollars were 6.3 percent and 7.0 percent respectively.[3]

White Rural-farm housing was much more evenly distributed in the valuation categories below one thousand dollars, with only 14.8 percent valued at less than three hundred dollars. Interestingly, this percentage was approximately twice that of similarly valued black-owned houses in both the Tuskegee and the Rural-nonfarm sectors.

White owner-occupied, Rural-farm housing was biased towards valuations above one thousand dollars. Almost fifty percent was valued in excess of one thousand dollars, whereas only 5.9 percent of their black counterparts reported a similar valuation.

Additional data pertaining to African-American housing above one thousand dollars is not available from the 1940 housing census; however, additional insights were gained by analyzing the raw data as collected by census workers.[4] White owner-

[3] U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Sixteenth Census of the United States: 1940, Housing, part 2: Alabama–Indiana*, Alabama, 92, table 29.

[4] U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Sixteenth Census of the United States: 1940, Housing, part 2: Alabama–Indiana*, Alabama, 75, table 26; Enumeration Districts 44-4 thru 44-21, Macon County, Alabama, Census of Population, Sixteenth Census of the United States, 1940, Records of the Bureau of the Census, Record Group 29 (1940census.archives.gov; January 28, 2013). Data was analyzed for every farm household which was outside of Tuskegee city limits. A problem was encountered in that table 26 of the 1940 Housing Census listed twenty-six black, owner-occupied Rural-farm houses valued at greater than one thousand dollars, whereas an actual count of the raw data pertaining to the 1940 population census as published online by the National Archives revealed a count of fifty-two black, owner-occupied Rural-farm houses. The discrepancy could not be explained; however, for consistency the figure of twenty-six houses from the

occupied, Rural-farm housing was then estimated by subtracting the estimated black-owned, Rural-farm houses from all Rural-farm, owner-occupied homes. The results are illustrated in figure 5.2.

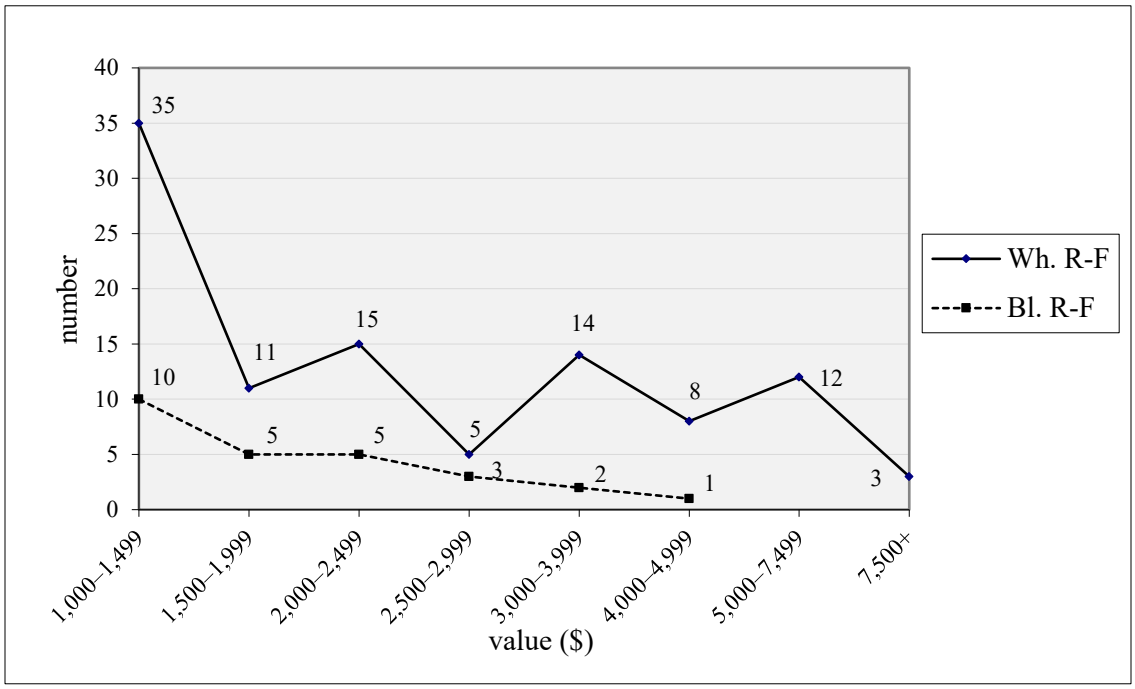

Figure 5.2. Estimated Rural-Farm housing values of $1,000 or more (Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Sixteenth Census of the United States: 1940, Housing, part 2: Alabama–Indiana*, Alabama, 75, table 26; Enumeration Districts 44-4 thru 44-21, Macon County, Alabama, Census of Population, Sixteenth Census of the United States, 1940, Records of the Bureau of the Census, Record Group 29 (1940census.archives.gov; January 28, 2013)

Figure 5.2 amplifies the data for Rural-farm housing in Macon County beyond that of figure 5.1, showing that the greatest number of owner-occupied houses of both races valued at one thousand dollars or more was in the $1,000–$1,499 range. Only fifteen houses —all white-owned—were in the two highest valuation categories, revealing that relatively few white farmers in the rural areas lived in accommodations that might be described as ostentatious.

1940 housing census was used. Housing values found in the online data were delineated by value on a percentage basis and applied to the figure in table 26 as an estimate of black, Rural-farm housing values above one thousand dollars. Due to rounding issues, the resulting figures were adjusted to total twenty-six homes in accordance with the Law of Demand.

The data concerning white Rural-farm ownership in the previous two figures can be compared to black ownership in both the Tuskegee and Rural-farm categories. Figure 5.3 shows that white, Rural-farm ownership was similar to African-American housing in both the Tuskegee and the Rural-nonfarm sectors.

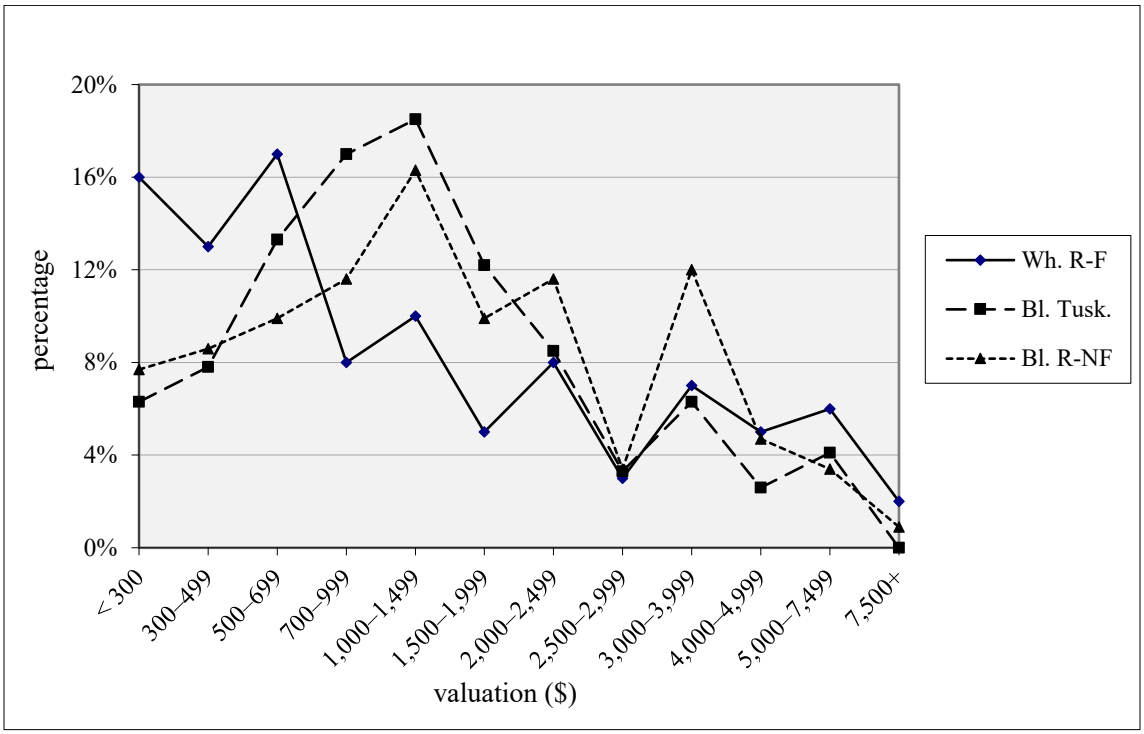

Figure 5.3. Housing values across various sectors (Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Sixteenth Census of the United States: 1940, Housing, part 2: Alabama–Indiana*, Alabama, 75, 92, tables 26, 29; Enumeration Districts 44-4 thru 44-21, Macon County, Alabama, Census of Population, Sixteenth Census of the United States, 1940, Records of the Bureau of the Census, Record Group 29 (1940census.archives.gov; January 28, 2013)

The percentage of houses in all three valuation categories track each other fairly well beginning at two thousand dollars. Below this amount, a greater percentage of black homeowners in both categories lived in housing that was of higher valuation than their white counterparts, with percentages peaking in the $1,000–$1,499 category. This peak percentage for both black categories occurred at a valuation that was approximately twice that of the peak percentage of white-owned Rural-farm houses.

5.3. Owner-occupied Housing Characteristics

Available descriptions of owner-occupied housing in the Rural-farm section are primarily limited to houses in the middle range of valuations at approximately two thousand dollars; therefore, the description of African-American houses in the lower valuations will necessarily be described in the tenant section to follow. Sufficient is the idea that "few outstanding Negro farm-owners were encountered…such as were recorded were persons of very moderate personal accomplishments."[5] This perception by Johnson may have been due to the location of his research, which was performed primarily in the southwestern and western areas of the county and "characterized by large plantations with Negro tenants."[6] In contrast, a detailed study of all black, Rural-farm housing in the county valued at one thousand dollars or greater showed that almost all of these houses were in the northern half of the county; that is to say, outside of Johnson's area of research.[7]

As was seen in the previous data, many white farm home-owners, although living in better housing than most sharecroppers, lived in dwellings of relatively modest means that might be defined as low- to middle-class. This applies to the farm owners who actually lived in rural areas, since some large landowners lived elsewhere—perhaps in

[5] Johnson, *Shadow of the Plantation*, 105.
[6] Ibid., 11.
[7] Enumeration Districts 44-4 thru 44-21, Macon County, Alabama, Census of Population, Sixteenth Census of the United States, 1940, Records of the Bureau of the Census, Record Group 29 (1940census.archives.gov; January 28, 2013).

Tuskegee, Notasulga or Union Springs.[8] One of the largest landowners in the county was W. E. Huddleston, who lived near Tuskegee but not within the city limits.[9]

Typical in many ways of the housing which exemplified white middle class persons living on a farm was that owned by Willie Kirk. Farming approximately one hundred acres and living in a home that was valued at two thousand dollars, the Kirk's lived in a house which was only a few years old by the time of the 1940 census.[10] Like many homes in the area, this house was constructed of wood and included a porch that extended across the entire front of the house. It was supported by two-foot square brick pillars and thus open underneath to air circulation. It consisted of three bedrooms, a kitchen, a dining room, a living room, and a bathroom. This equated to a seven-room house, yet the census personnel were instructed to count only the rooms "available for use as living quarters…[therefore] bathrooms, closets, pantries, halls, screened porches, and unfinished rooms…are not counted as rooms."[11] Thus this house as described would have been categorized as a six-room dwelling.

The house had electrical power, which meant that it was possible to have electrical lighting and an electric well pump. This in turn meant that running water was

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[8] Robert G. Pasquill, Jr., *Planting Hope on Worn-Out Land: The History of the Tuskegee Land Utilization Project* (Montgomery: NewSouth Books, 2008), 20. Pasquill did not provide a minimum number of acres in his comment concerning large farm owners.

[9] *Tuskegee News,* "Funeral Services Held at Home for W. E. Huddleston," November 29, 1945; W. E. Huddleston, p. 13-B, line 75, Enumeration District 44-5, Precinct 1, Macon County, Alabama, Census of Population; Sixteenth Census of the United States, 1940, Records of the Bureau of the Census, Record Group 29 (1940census.archives.gov; February 26, 2013). At the time of his death, he was also president of the Auburn Production Credit Association. In prior years he had served one term as sheriff of Macon County.

[10] Charles Kirk, interview by John T. Bryant, March 5, 2007, Tuskegee, Alabama; Will Kirk, p. 5-A, line 4, Enumeration District 44-8, Precinct 2, Macon County, Alabama, Census of Population; Sixteenth Census of the United States, 1940, Records of the Bureau of the Census, Record Group 29 (1940census.archives.gov; February 26, 2013).

[11] U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Sixteenth Census of the United States: 1940, Housing, part 2: Alabama–Indiana*, Alabama, 5.

available in the house for both the kitchen and the bathroom. The lack of electricity—which was the more typical situation for rural living—would require that water be hand-carried into the house. An outhouse would have been necessary as well.

Similar to houses in Tuskegee, the availability of electricity did not mean that the house was completely electrified. Food was stored in an electric refrigerator but cooked on a wood stove. The Kirk household was not unusual in having an electric refrigerator, as almost half of Rural-farm households with electricity also had mechanical refrigeration.[12] However, within the entire Rural-farm portion of the county, only 4.9 percent of all households had mechanical refrigeration and approximately ten percent owned an icebox. Eighty-four percent had no refrigeration.[13] Houses that used an icebox had an ice delivered once a week in either twenty-five or fifty pound blocks.[14]

Kirk's house also included two fireplaces for heat, which meant that an abundance of wood had to be cut and stacked in preparation for winter. As with most houses in the South, this house, although it was built in the mid-1930s, did not have insulation or windows that were tightly sealed. This meant that houses of this type were not necessarily warmer in the winter than those owned by persons of lesser means.

There is mention of large African-American landowners who used sharecropper labor; however, no specific evidence has surfaced of black-owned farms in Macon County consisting of, say, five hundred to one thousand or more acres.[15] An African-

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[12] U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Sixteenth Census of the United States: 1940, Housing, part 2: Alabama–Indiana*, Alabama, 52, table 23.
[13] Ibid.
[14] Charles Kirk, interview by John T. Bryant, March 5, 2007, Tuskegee, Alabama.
[15] Pasquill, Jr., *Planting Hope on Worn-Out Land*, 20; U.S. Bureau of the Census*, United States Census of Agriculture 1940, vol.1, part 4, Alabama: Statistics for Counties,* County Table 3 (Washington D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1942), 311. Pasquill's reference is to 1930 data in a report by J. R. Otis: *Economic Aspects of the Farm Situation of Negro Farmers in Macon County Alabama—1931*. 1940 Census of Agriculture data indicates that there were fifty-eight farms in Macon County consisting of at least five

American farmer of moderate means was briefly described in *Shadow of the Plantation.* His house is similar to what might be described as a middle-class white farm house in the county. Typical of many of the better farmhouses in the area, his five-room house also had window blinds and lightning rods. The house was noted as requiring major repairs.[16]

Another home owned by an African-American in the Rural-farm section was that owned by Mrs. Mary Simpson, an industrious farmer who owned one hundred and eighty acres of land.[17] A plucky, short woman who was sixty-three years old at the time of her WPA interview in 1939, Mrs. Simpson was the daughter of a former slave who had purchased three hundred and twenty acres from his former master, subsequently bequeathing forty acres to Mary.

The house that she owned with her second husband was humble enough in the beginning, having "only one room and a dirt-floor kitchen." But she improved and expanded it over the years, and was particularly inspired by the indoor toilets which she had seen in Tuskegee. This led her to subsequently build both a toilet and a dining room partition; the new toilet was particularly welcome since she had previously gone to the toilet in the nearby woods. When that first house burned in 1930, she built a better one on

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hundred acres and nineteen farms consisting of at least one thousand acres. However, not all of this land was in cropland, as some was in other uses such as pasture or woodlands. The cropland harvested was much less than total acreage on these farms. Over sixteen hundred acres of crops were harvested from farms consisting of five hundred acres or more, while 7,702 acres of crops were harvested from farms that consisted of one thousand acres or more. This particular farm data was not delineated by race.

[16] Johnson, *Shadow of the Plantation*, 106. See also the photograph on the page adjacent to page 106 which shows a house of similar construction. A porch of the house in the photograph ran the entire length of the front, the roof of which was supported by seven pillars, the lower half of which were of brick. An automobile was also in the front yard. It cannot be determined whether this is the same house as described on page 106.

[17] R. L. P., "Mary Gets Her Desires," Works Progress Administration (WPA) Alabama Writers' Project, Life Histories-Stories, Macon County, August 24, 1939, Box SG022773, Alabama Department of Archives and History (ADAH), Montgomery, Alabama.

the same site for two thousand dollars, with most of the necessary funds coming from insurance money.

Located about twelve miles north of Tuskegee and about one hundred feet off the road to Franklin, this second house was described by the WPA author as a bungalow in which "excellent taste is shown throughout the lovely farm house in color, harmony and furnishings." Two four-foot, rock columns bordered the driveway entrance, and the lawn—described as "a thing of beauty"— included a flower garden, shrubbery, and fruit trees. The outbuildings in the back yard included a barn, a stable, and a chicken house. A smokehouse was probably present as well since it was explained that "the year around you can find hams and bacon which she kills and cures on her place." A walled well with an electric pump sat behind the house, with electricity provided by Dixie Electric.

The three-bedroom house was described as having furnishings which rivaled a home in the city, to include a mahogany living room suite and a nine-piece oak dining room set. Music was played on a Victrola record player. Eight rooms were mentioned, yet two of these rooms—the bathroom and the pantry— would not have been included in 1940 housing census.[18] Thus this house as described would be a six-room house, and was one of 177 such houses in the Rural-farm section of the 1940 housing survey.[19] It was valued at $2,200 in the 1940 census.[20]

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[18] U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Sixteenth Census of the United States: 1940, Housing, part 2: Alabama–Indiana*, Alabama, 5; Thomas Monroe Campbell, *The Movable School Goes to the Negro Farmer* (Tuskegee: Tuskegee Institute Press, 1936), photograph, 137–140. Five photographs of both the interior and exterior of the house are included in the second reference.

[19] U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Sixteenth Census of the United States: 1940, Housing, part 2: Alabama–Indiana*, Alabama, 52, table 23.

[20] Mary Simpson, p. 4-A, line 26, Enumeration District 44-19, Precinct 9, Macon County, Alabama, Census of Population; Sixteenth Census of the United States, 1940, Records of the Bureau of the Census, Record Group 29 (1940census.archives.gov; February 26, 2013).

5.4. Tenant Housing Introduction

The Rural-farm tenant housing situation in Macon County was often in sharp contrast to many farmers who owned their homes. Unfortunately, it is impossible to delineate the data for the Rural-farm category between owner, tenant, and race with regards to certain housing characteristics. However, a suitable proxy for the overall situation can be observed in figure 5.4, in which the results are derived from two sets of data.

The first set of data detail the number of rooms per household—to include both occupied and unoccupied units— for the entire Rural-farm category. The second two sets divide the data for the entire county (to include Tuskegee, Rural-nonfarm, and Rural-farm) by either owner or tenant.[21] As the Rural-farm category comprised 71.7 percent of all occupied units and Rural-farm tenants comprised 77.6 percent of all tenants within the county, this category would naturally dominate the data for the entire county.[22]

[21] Figures exclude non-reporting households. Owner and tenant data exclude vacant dwellings.
[22] U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Sixteenth Census of the United States: 1940, Housing, part 2: Alabama–Indiana*, Alabama, 36, table 22.

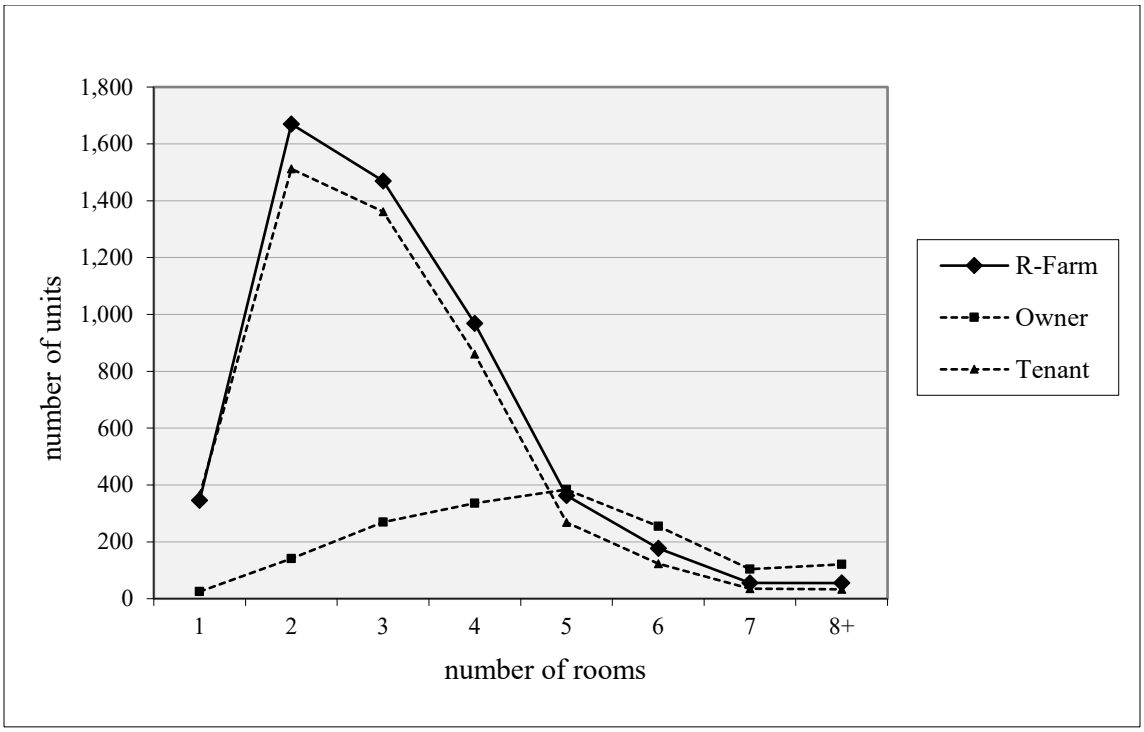

Figure 5.4. Number of rooms per household (Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Sixteenth Census of the United States: 1940, Housing, part 2: Alabama–Indiana*, Alabama, 52, 85, tables 23, 28)

Although the relationship between the two sets of data is somewhat tenuous, the results shown in figure 5.4 are striking in how closely the county tenant data are correlated with that of the entire Rural-farm sector. Accordingly, the assumption is that the county tenant data closely approximates that of tenants in the Rural-farm sector.

Figure 5.4 illustrates that the greatest number of houses within the Rural-farm category contained two rooms, a characteristic which data contained in the source document equates to 32.7 percent of total tenant housing. Housing data also reveals that 68.3 percent of reporting households in the Rural-farm category contained no more than three rooms, and 87.2% contained no more than four rooms.[23] Although the assumption

[23] U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Sixteenth Census of the United States: 1940, Housing, part 2: Alabama–Indiana*, Alabama, 52, table 23.

is that this applied primarily to Rural-farm tenant data, it should not be forgotten that it would also include the lower-valued, owner-occupied houses as shown in figure 5.1.

As a reminder, the number of rooms accorded to each dwelling in the housing census may be less than the actual number of rooms in the house. This was especially important with tenant houses as they sometimes had a wide hallway which opened to the outside on at least the front of the house and perhaps the back as well. In a two-room house, this hallway was often located in the middle with a room on each side. The hallway was usually called a "dogtrot" or "dogrun" and often afforded the best air circulation in the house. Accordingly, it was an integral part of the living area during the warmer months and was often used for sitting or sleeping.[24]

5.5. Booker T. Washington

Booker T. Washington was one of the first prominent African-Americans to record the living conditions of black rural farmers in Macon County.

After his arrival to Tuskegee in 1881, he set out on a month-long tour of the county. Although finding some bright spots of encouragement, overall he found the living and social conditions typically both overwhelming and appalling, recording that "what I saw during my month of travel and investigation left me with a very heavy heart. The work to be done in order to lift these people up seemed almost beyond accomplishing."[25]

In the plantation districts, which were generally located in the southern and western sections of the county, Washington found crowded conditions in the cabins and "that, as a rule the whole family slept in one room, and that in addition to the immediate

[24] Johnson, *Shadow of the Plantation*, 91; Personal knowledge of the author.
[25] Washington, *Up from Slavery*, 111, 117–118.

family there sometimes were relatives, or others not related to the family who slept in the same room."[26]

Proper furnishings and hygiene were also primitive and sparse. Rarely were there any washing or bathing facilities indoors, and Washington often had to go outside to wash his face and hands.[27]

Proper money management appeared to be a problem with some of the black farmers. Staying as a dinner guest of one particular family of four, he found himself having to share one fork between himself and the rest of the family, probably to eat the typical meal of either cornbread and pork, or sometimes cornbread and black-eyed peas. However, it was not that this family had no money. On the contrary, as "in the opposite corner of that same cabin was an organ for which the people told me that they were paying sixty dollars in monthly installments. One fork, and a sixty dollar organ!"[28] This was apparently more common than may be imagined, as Washington noted that he frequently saw in these shacks either an expensive sewing machine or a fancy clock. He noted that "in most cases the sewing-machine was not used, the clocks so worthless that they did not keep correct time—and if they had, in nine cases out of ten there would have been no one in the family who could have told the time of day."[29]

5.6. Tenant Housing Age and Description

If Booker T. Washington found conditions in Macon County primitive for rural blacks in 1881, Charles S. Johnson, a sociologist from Fisk University in Nashville,

[26] Ibid., 112.
[27] Ibid.
[28] Ibid., 112–114.
[29] Ibid., 112–114.

found conditions relatively unchanged when he arrived approximately fifty years later. Publishing his findings in 1934, Johnson studied 612 African-American families, or 2,432 persons in Macon County. This figure equaled approximately ten percent of the county's African-American population as of 1930.[30]

Johnson stated that his study included "virtually the total lower third of the county;" however, further investigation indicates that approximately ninety percent of those included in the study were located in the extreme western and southwestern portions of the county—an area much more limited in scope.[31] Johnson estimated that seventy-four percent of the houses in his survey area were at least seventeen years old and twenty-five percent were more than thirty years old.[32] The change in the overall housing situation between the time of his survey and the 1940 housing census was not dramatic, and these percentages probably changed little as of the 1940 census.

Table 5.1 illustrates the age of all rural housing in Macon County as of 1940. The 1940 housing census does not delineate the age of rural housing by ownership and race,

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[30] Johnson, *Shadow of the Plantation*, 15.

[31] Johnson, *Shadow of the Plantation*, 12; Johnson, *Shadow of the Plantation*, 15, table 1; Bureau of Business Research, School of Commerce and Business Administration, University of Alabama, *Alabama County Statistical Abstracts,* no. 4 (University, Alabama, 1944), 195, table: Population and land area, 1940; Enumeration District 44, Macon County, Alabama, Census of Population; Sixteenth Census of the United States, 1940, Records of the Bureau of the Census, Record Group 29, https://1940census.archives.gov/index.asp (accessed February 26, 2013); 1940 Census Enumeration Maps-Alabama-Macon County, ED 44-1 thru ED 44-21, http://research.archives.gov/description/5822615 (accessed February 26, 2013); U.S. Department of Agriculture, *Soil Map, Macon County, Alabama*, series 1937. All settlements listed in table 1 of *Shadow of the Plantation* were located with the exception of Cecil. Examination of the 1937 soils map and the 1940 census precincts show that approximately ninety percent of the 612 families involved in the 1934 survey were located in precincts six (Hardaway) and seven (Cross Keys). See the 1940 Census Enumeration Map for a general representation of the area, and the 1937 soils map for more detail.

[32] Johnson, *Shadow of the Plantation*, 92–93.

but since 70.1 percent of the dwellings in this category were occupied by black tenants, the information is useful for the purposes of this paper.[33]

Table 5.1. Rural-farm housing age by decade(s)

Decade(s)	Number	Percent
1859 or earlier	74	1.6
1860 to 1879	105	2.2
1880 to 1889	147	3.1
1890 to 1899	458	9.7
1900 to 1909	1,223	25.9
1910 to 1919	1,132	23.9
1920 to 1929	981	20.7
1930 to 1940	608	12.9

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Sixteenth Census of the United States: 1940, Housing, part 2: Alabama–Indiana*, Alabama, 36, table 22.

Table 5.1 demonstrates that almost fifty percent of rural-farm housing reporting was constructed between 1900 and 1919. An additional 33.6 percent was built in the 1920s and 1930s. Only 16.6 percent of rural-farm housing was built in the 1800s.

Thus most rural housing was less than forty years old by the start of World War II. However, that does not necessarily imply that it was in good condition. Johnson described most of the tenant housing as being "a dreary monotony of weatherworn cabins…[of] extremely cheap construction…Their age made it inevitable that they should soon become uninhabitable except of persons adjusted to a primitive type of dwellings."[34] Perhaps this why the majority of the housing—or 83.4 percent—was built after 1900, as many of the earlier dwellings may have rotted into the ground decades earlier.

[33] U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Sixteenth Census of the United States: 1940, Housing, part 2: Alabama–Indiana*, Alabama, 36, table 22.
[34] Johnson, *Shadow of the Plantation*, 93, 99.

In conjunction with data contained in table 5.1, figure 5.4 illustrated that two-room houses dominated the rural housing stock and that 68.3 percent of houses consisted of three rooms or less. Johnson's findings were similar, stating that "over half of the 612 families live in the one- and two-room cabins, and 175, or 28 percent, live in three-room cabins."[35]

Johnson provided some detailed accounts of tenant housing. He noted that these houses were sometimes placed in rows on very large farms, but were more often either clustered or isolated in a field of cotton. As to their appearance, "The physical pattern varies but slightly, and there are not enough houses of better model and construction about to incite interest in anything different. It is a standard of housing so widespread and so far inferior to the towns as to make extremely difficult any comparable measurement."[36]

With that forewarning in mind, the description of the Jenifers' house will suffice as a typical example:

> The home of the Jenifers is set in the midst of a new stretch of cotton beyond the trees, and once there, no other dwelling is visible. Around the dwelling is a cleared space packed hard and yellow. On the left, and beginning a few feet from the house, is an inclosed area about the size of a bedroom. It is the family garden, and into it has been crowded a patch of cabbage, greens, and onions which the family has attempted to shield from marauding animals and the younger children by a fence randomly constructed of sticks, tin advertising signs, tar paper, and stray bits of canvas. The house itself is constructed of upright boards about a foot wide with thin strips down the seams to keep out the weather. It is set rather precariously about a foot from the ground upon four uprights of rocks placed one upon the other and held plumb by the weight of the house alone.

[35] Johnson, *Shadow of the Plantation*, 92.
[36] Ibid., 13, 93.

On first sight it gives the appearance of two single-room cabins set close together and joined by a roof. The passageway, however, has a rough flooring like the two enclosed rooms, and this passageway is called the 'dog-run.' The soft wood of the floor has been worn into smooth and grimy ruts, testifying to the habits of the family.

The dog-run is an important part of the house. It is the sitting-out place, and in the summer, especially, it is the meeting place for the family. They rest, eat, doze, and gossip there. Two benches fashioned after a simple pattern are planted against the wall. On the end of one of these is a battered wooden water pail covered over with a damp cloth. A pair of overalls and a man's hat, both frayed and dusted white with earth, hang from a nail support. A tub and washing stick, a pair of men's heavy shoes, a rusty water-dipper, and pieces of firewood also find a place in this areaway…

Doorways lead off the dog-run into the two rooms. In one of these rooms, where Father and Mother Jenifer sleep, there is a large bed with a double mattress, one of [corn] shucks, the other of feathers, and they are covered over with a quilt patched laboriously from an indeterminate variety of cloth scraps into an intricate pattern of squares. They call it, modestly, a 'crazy quilt.' The bed is the outstanding piece of furniture. Besides this article there is a wooden box spread over with a newspaper, a rocking chair, and a small table on which stands a kerosene lamp with a broken chimney. Some pride of home has gone into the effort to select newspapers with colored pictures for the wall covering and to keep it reasonably fresh. There are no glass windows. For light and air a board window is pushed open. But this can be done comfortably only in spring and summer, and at other times the family contents itself with light from the open fireplace, where, incidentally, the cooking is also done. On any day when the window and door are closed, sharp slices of light, from the sides of the house and from the roof, spatter the rooms with shadows. When it rains or the winds blow cold, these interstices bring a great deal of inescapable discomfort.

The second room is little different from the first. It has its bed under which most of the miscellaneous possessions of the family are stored, a larder consisting of a couple of shelves in one corner of the room, and underneath this a pile of seed cotton. There is an accumulation of soiled and worn clothing and bed coverings in and near an open box.

> This is the home of the Jenifers, father, mother, two sons, a daughter and her infant. The other belongings of the family, to be precise, are one plow (now in serious disrepair), two hoes, two frying-pans, an iron pot, several tin plates, four pounds of salt pork and a bag of corn meal, church clothes, an insurance policy, a Bible, two almanacs, and a bottle of 'Black Draught' medicine. (Johnson, *Shadow of the Plantation*, 91–92)

Of course, not all tenant housing conditions were identical to the Jenifers, nor were African-Americans the only race using newspapers for wall decoration and insulation.[37] The Jones house provides interesting similarities and contrasts:

> The home of Essie Mae Jones is located about three miles from the little community of New Rising Star, in Macon County, Alabama. The one-story frame dwelling occupied by the family shows obvious signs of age and deterioration, but in spite of this its cleanliness and a fresh coat of whitewash makes it appear attractive. Inside there is very little furniture. The two front rooms contain only beds, but these are neatly covered with white sheets. A large pallet is stretched across the floor. The crude furnishings are accentuated by the neatness. The floors have recently been scoured with a disinfectant, giving the place a sanitary, clean odor. There are no chairs in the house, but several small home-made benches are lined up on the porch. The yard and garden, like the house, have been made attractive. Flowers are growing and serve to relieve the gaunt and bare house. Despite the apparent poverty, it is obvious that the family takes pride in its home. (Charles S. Johnson, *Growing Up in the Black Belt* [Washington DC: The American Council on Education, 1941], 11)

The above two examples illustrate typical tenant conditions in the sections of the county studied by Johnson; similar conditions probably prevailed in the other parts of the county as well. The Jenifers' house consisted only of two rooms, whereas the Jones'

[37] Photograph, *Life*, July 1942, as reprinted in *Life: The First Decade*, 1979, 22. The photograph shows a white high school girl in Oklahoma laying across a bed. The bedroom walls are in poor condition, with newspapers cover much of the areas exhibiting missing plaster and exposed slats. Much of the ceiling plaster is missing as well, which was left uncovered.

house might have included three rooms, with possibly a lean-to kitchen attached to the rear of the house.

Although not explicitly described in the first example, it was typical of most tenant dwellings in that one of the rooms doubled as both a bedroom and kitchen. In houses with a separate kitchen, it was not necessarily confined to its own room. Sometimes, as Johnson notes, it was nothing more than "a crudely boxed-off space between the stove and a table which was intended as a dining compartment."[38] This would not have counted separately as a kitchen in the census data, as "a kitchen is a separate room [only] if it is partitioned off from floor to ceiling.[39]

5.7. Utilities

A family's water source was not always mentioned by Johnson as there was little reason to do so; the water well was so ubiquitous that it that it probably escaped his attention.

Although it was possible to have a gravity water system which enabled one to have running water in the home, the most advanced form of water conveyance in rural areas would have been the electric-powered water pump—more officially known as a hydropneumatic water system. In the South, this pump was placed on top of a well that was usually situated in a small, low wooden or concrete structure near the house.[40]

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[38] Johnson, *Shadow of the Plantation*, 145.
[39] U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Sixteenth Census of the United States: 1940, Housing, part 2: Alabama–Indiana*, Alabama, 5.
[40] Charles Kirk, interview by John T. Bryant, March 5, 2007, Tuskegee, Alabama. In rural areas, a gravity water system would entail having a windmill that pumped water into a tank atop a platform. The water would then enter the house by gravity. This type of system is rare in Alabama since wind conditions in the most of the state are unfavorable. However, one system of this type was located in neighboring Lee County, Alabama.

When the pump was operating, it would lift water into a pressurized cylindrical, metal tank located next to the pump. A water pipe led from this tank into the house.[41]

Although this was undoubtedly the best method of securing water, it was by no means the most common. The 1940 housing census records that only 138 of the 821 white dwellings and eighteen of the 3,735 African-American houses reporting in Macon County had running water in the home. The equates to 16.8 percent and 0.5 percent respectively.[42] The reason for its rarity was simple: Besides the cost of the pump itself, most rural dwellings did not have electricity.

Electrical use has been previously discussed with regards to Tuskegee and the Rural-nonfarm sectors of the population. Table 5.2 shows this data in comparison with data for the Rural-farm sector divided by race.[43]

Table 5.2. Percent of households with electrical lighting

Race	Tuskegee	Rural-Nonfarm	Rural-farm
White	93.4	84.6	45.9
Black	43.7	50.5	1.6

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Sixteenth Census of the United States: 1940, Housing, part 2: Alabama–Indiana*, Alabama, 36, 52, 75, 92, tables 22, 23, 26, 29.

In contrast to the availability of electricity in Tuskegee and many portions of the Rural-nonfarm sectors, Table 5.2 shows that electrical use declined considerably for both races in the rural-farm sector; in particular, African-American usage in the rural areas exceedingly low.

[41] J. P. Schaenzer, *Rural Electrification,* 4th rev. ed. (1935; Milwaukee: Bruce Publishing Company, 1948), 169–182. Page references are to the 6th printing.
[42] U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Sixteenth Census of the United States: 1940, Housing, part 2: Alabama–Indiana*, Alabama, 36, 75, tables 22, 26. Non-reporting units omitted. Occupied dwellings only.
[43] Percentages derived by obtaining actual electrical use numbers, then dividing them by occupied units.

There were other advanced means of obtaining water besides having an electrical pumping system installed in an outside well. One of these was to install a hand pump in a well located inside the house. Frequently these wells were located on the back porch.[44] Hand-pumps were rare in Macon County; only twenty-nine households in the Rural-farm sector reported having one, representing 0.6 percent of all reporting units. The actual number of hand-pumps in both the Tuskegee and the Rural-nonfarm sectors were lower at three and eight units respectively.[45]

Another source of water which was relatively uncommon was to obtain running tap water from a nearby source. The 1940 housing census categorized this as "Running water within 50 feet." Obtaining water from this source was more common in Tuskegee and the Rural-nonfarm areas than at Rural-farms, most likely due to the greater availability of tap water. The 1940 housing census lists twenty-one dwellings in the Rural-farm section as having this availability. Thirty-five dwellings in the Rural-nonfarm category and fifty-one dwellings in Tuskegee possessed it as well.[46]

The last method of obtaining water from a nearby source was from either from outside wells, springs, or creeks. The 1940 housing census does not delineate between

[44] Carol Johnson Holder, e-mail message to author, March 4, 2013; Carlton Nell, e-mail message to author, March 5, 2013.
[45] U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Sixteenth Census of the United States: 1940, Housing, part 2: Alabama–Indiana*, Alabama, 36, table 22. Both referenced wells were located in Loachapoka, Lee County, Alabama and Waverly, Chambers County, Alabama. They were originally located on the back porch; however, that area has since been enclosed, with the result that both wells are now in the hallway near the back of the house. It cannot be ascertained whether these once had hand pumps since both wells are now under a floor, but it is very likely that they once did.
[46] U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Sixteenth Census of the United States: 1940, Housing, part 2: Alabama–Indiana*, Alabama, 5, 36, table 22.

these sources; rather, it describes these under the catch-all category of "Other water supply within 50 feet."[47]

The last option in the 1940 census was "No water supply within 50 feet." Having a water supply close at hand was the more common of the two; 3,324 households on farms had a source of water within fifty feet versus 1,575 households did not. Tuskegee was more fortunate in this area, as almost as many persons had a water source within fifty feet as had running water. Additionally, those in Tuskegee having a source of water within fifty feet outnumbered those that did not by a ratio of four-to-one, or 412 and ninety-six respectively. Naturally, the ratio was a little lower in the Rural-nonfarm area since those living in the Rural-nonfarm areas were not always close to a central water supply. In this category, 321 households had a water source within fifty feet and 111 households did not.[48]

Overall, these last two water sources dominated the Rural-farm sector as 96.0 percent of households in this category utilized wells, springs, or creeks.

5.8. Housing Repair

Having previously discussed some characteristics of African-American housing in the Rural-farm section, it would be appropriate in table 5.3 to compare some aspects of their repair characteristics with those in the Tuskegee and the Rural-Farm sectors.

[47] U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Sixteenth Census of the United States: 1940, Housing, part 2: Alabama–Indiana*, Alabama, 5.
[48] Ibid., 36, table 22.

Table 5.3. Black tenant characteristics and repair

Characteristic	Tuskegee	Rural-nonfarm	Rural-farm
Percent of black tenants/all tenants	75.7	76.9	88.2
Percent of black tenants/all black dwellings	63.0	55.8	85.5
Percent of all black housing needing repair	48.0	43.8	65.2
Ratio of bl. housing req. repair/bl. tenants	0.71	0.48	0.71

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Sixteenth Census of the United States: 1940, Housing, part 2: Alabama–Indiana*, Alabama, 36, 75, 92, tables 22, 26, 29.

The various relationships in the above data are tenuous since there is no direct link between race, ownership, tenancy and state of repair in the three categories of Tuskegee, Rural-nonfarm, and Rural-farm. However, there is a link between ownership, tenancy and state of repair for the county as a whole. Essentially, the data show that on a county-wide basis, there was an inverse relationship between ownership and tenancy, and the state of repair. Of all households reporting throughout the county, 60.8 percent of owner-occupied housing did not require major repairs, whereas major repairs were required for 62.3 percent of tenant housing. Moreover, of the owner-occupied housing in the county which required major repairs, the great majority of these—91.4 percent—were either too poor to obtain running water or simply did not have access to it.[49] This last fact would imply that, as suggested in chapter 3, income was a significant determinate with regards to household repair.

Naturally, property rights issues would also be important, and landlord neglect was also suggested in chapter 3 as a possible factor with regards to poor maintenance—an idea furthered by Johnson. One of the more extreme cases—the worst in his survey of 612 households—was "a perilously dilapidated one-room log cabin known to be over

[49] U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Sixteenth Census of the United States: 1940, Housing, part 2: Alabama–Indiana*, Alabama, 80, table 27.

thirty years old. It was without windows, the roof was buckled and crumbling, the chimney had caved in and constituted a constant menace to the occupant. There was no water near the place and no toilet, no floor, no provision for bathing, no lighting." The occupants were an elderly woman and an adopted child.[50]

Johnson wrote that the "extravagance of disrepair" of many houses led some to accept their condition with contentment, stating that "it was all right for common folks like us."[51] However, Johnson well documented strong, opposing opinions as well—opinions probably in the majority.[52]

All of the ills of rural tenants were not due to inaction on the part of the landlords, as ignorance and culture played a part. Ignorance regarding proper sanitation—that is, the prevalence of open wells, poor or nonexistent bathing facilities, improper waste disposal, and a lack of screening for insects—only exacerbated the situation.[53]

Curiously, an additional concern during both winter and summer was the possibility of inadequate air circulation. More often than not, a solid wooden window was present in tenant houses instead of one that contained glass panes. Almost unbelievably in this present age, these windows were almost always shut at night, even in the stifling, humid heat of summer. The reason was often attributed to various fears such as "prowlers, mosquitoes, night air, thieves, and ghosts."[54] One woman kept her windows closed at night because "people do's so much killin' round here, I'se scared to leave 'em open."[55] Violence was actually the number one cause of death in Macon County during

[50] Johnson, *Shadow of the Plantation*, 98.
[51] Ibid.
[52] Ibid., 98–99, 109.
[53] Ibid., 149.
[54] Ibid., 89, 93.
[55] Ibid., 190.

the early 1930s; however, data relating to the overall death rate were probably distorted since many cases involving disease went unreported. Nonetheless, violence was still a prime concern, as there was "a tradition of violence [among African-Americans] which seems to mark personal relations to a high degree...[and was] an inescapable fact in a large number of families in the county."[56]

Overall, housing conditions may have been better for those whose landlords lived in close proximity to their tenants; since the days of slavery, personal relations between the two races were usually more entwined if they worked and lived near each other.[57]

Alternately, the previous examples of landlords who appeared to visit their tenants infrequently implies that they did not live nearby and obviously had more concerns than the welfare of their tenants. Of course, this assertion concerning larger landowners does not hold in all cases. In fact, it was Tom Vaughan's opinion that the higher classes of persons were responsible for better treatment of African-Americans than those in the lower classes, as it was the lower classes that were more associated with "visceral white supremacy."[58]

Tom Vaughan stated that that it was poor whites which tended to be more racist and opportunistic—an opinion shared by Johnson.[59] Although this was probably true, it should not be taken as an absolute. For example, Carolyn Wolcott stated that her mother, who was the local African-American representative of the Red Cross during World War

[56] Ibid., 187, 189–190.
[57] Moore, *History of Alabama,* 357.
[58] John Thomas Vaughan, interview by John T. Bryant, June 12, 2007, Auburn, Alabama.
[59] John Thomas Vaughan, interview by John T. Bryant, June 12, 2007, Auburn, Alabama; Johnson, Embree, and Alexander, *The Collapse of Cotton Tenancy*, 10.

II, had to visit a large landowner near Shorter because he was attempting to misappropriate his tenants' allotments.[60]

But these assertions concerning the treatment of tenants, regardless of the owner's social status or proximity to them, would be incomplete without considering the character of the landlord himself. In fact, it may be the most important characteristic. Some incidents may be perceived to be racist in nature, but perhaps could better be attributed to poor character and a tendency towards abuse—a trait of some landowners that probably went back generations even before the days of slavery.[61] As Tom Vaughan opined, "A lot depends on how you were brought up."[62]

5.9. Occupancy

Figure 5.4 illustrated the preponderance of small homes which were attributed primarily to tenant farmers, the greatest percentage of which having two rooms. An additional factor with regards to these small homes was the overcrowding which was supposedly common to them.

Some of this overcrowding was attributable to cultural conditions. First, the rule rather than the exception was that the children of black tenant farmers engaged in field work beginning at an early age. In this context, it was to a family's advantage to maintain the status quo, and boys or girls were generally discouraged from marrying at an early age. This naturally led to extended courtships which included sexual contact, with the inevitable result that many babies were born out of wedlock. This helped to create large

[60] Carolyn Wolcott Ford, interview by John T. Bryant, March 15, 2007; Special Service Page, *Hawk's Cry*, September 16, 1942, Box 22, Folder 2, Parrish Papers, LOC.
[61] Johnson, *Shadow of the Plantation*, 22, 34–35.
[62] John Thomas Vaughan, interview by John T. Bryant, June 12, 2007, Auburn, Alabama.

families of various compositions, especially when combined with the early death of one or both parents. Of the 612 families studied by Johnson, 122 women in 114 families had birthed 181 illegitimate children; however, the term *illegitimate* with regards to these statistics was attached to children either born or acquired thru a variety of situations, including children born to widows and common-law couples. There was usually little no social stigma attached to this unless the families involved had acquired more modern concepts related to marriage—an infrequent event according to Johnson.[63]

The marital relations and the attitudes therein among most tenants seemed to have a fluidity not generally seen in families that had, as Johnson put it, "home-ownership and education."[64] For example, only 231 of the 612 families consisted of both spouses having only been married once. One hundred seventy-three families were categorized as having either one or both spouses being married at least twice. Twenty-four couples were unmarried and living together, fifty-two were married but separated and twelve families consisted of an unmarried mother with children. One hundred and five persons—or about twenty percent— of 612 families in the study were widowed. Only two were divorced. The small number of divorces was due in part to confusion surrounding what constituted a divorce, as the legal definition of such was not innate to their culture: "Some of the families thought that going from one county to another gave them the legal right to remarry [and] it was believed that crossing the 'line' the (Mason and Dixon) meant divorce." Only eight were single and living alone. The remainders were under living under other circumstances.[65]

[63] Johnson, *Shadow of the Plantation*, 66–69.
[64] Ibid., 80.
[65] Ibid., 71–72.

This fluidity of relationships was a significant determinate in the health of black families. Of first importance with regards to health was the proclivity for sexual liaisons outside of marriage, which led to an increase in syphilis and other diseases. The aspects of the treatment of syphilis among African-Americans due to the famous Tuskegee Experiment need not be discussed.[66] Of more interest with regards to this paper is the state legislation passed in 1943 which mandated that all Alabamians aged fourteen to fifty years be tested for syphilis.[67] The results were subsequently published in the *Tuskegee News* detailed that syphilis rate for whites in Macon County was 0.0082 percent and 10.14 percent for blacks. While the African-American positive rate was much higher than for that of whites, it was noted that this rate of infection was much lower than for the other three counties previously tested. This was most likely due to the inclusion of non-rural blacks associated with either Tuskegee Institute or the Veteran's Hospital, many of whom operated largely under different cultural standards.[68]

A popular misconception seemed to be that black rural families were frequently much larger than other families. Wiltshire Mote stated that of the fifteen to twenty tenant families living on the farm that he managed towards the end of the war, "Two room shacks is all they had; eight and ten of them to the family."[69] This concept of large

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[66] James H. Jones, *Bad Blood: The Tuskegee Syphilis Experiment* rev. ed. (1981; New York: Free Press, 1993), 1–15; Allan M. Brandt, "Racism and Research: The Case of the Tuskegee Syphilis Study," *The Hastings Center Report* 8, no. 6 (November-December 1978): 21-29, http://nrs.harvard.edu/urn-3:HUL.InstRepos:3372911 (accessed November 25, 2018). What is today more popularly known as the "Tuskegee Experiment" pertains to a medical study of syphilis in African-Americans living in Macon County. Occurring from 1932 to 1972, syphilitic patients who participated in hopes of a cure were unknowingly to them given an ineffective treatment, thus allowing the disease to take its natural course. Because of the secret nature of the study, it was not known to the general populace during World War II. Ironically, the term "Tuskegee Experiment" originally referred to the Tuskegee Airmen project during the war, not the ongoing syphilis experiment.

[67] *Tuskegee News*, "Blood Testing Program to Begin in County June 5, Smith Announces," May 4, 1944.

[68] *Tuskegee News*, "Macon Ranks Low in Percentage of Syphilis Casses," September 21, 1944.

[69] Wiltshire Mote, interview by John T. Bryant, February 28, 2007, Hardaway, Alabama.

families and overcrowding was reinforced by a 1936 report, which noted that east of Tuskegee there were frequently families of eight to fifteen persons sharing a one- or two-room shack, although it was later stated that the average number of persons per family was seven. [70]

Wiltshire Mote may have been correct with regards to the tenants in his area; however, figure 5.5, which compares the number of Rural-farm blacks per household to those in other sectors, illustrates that this perception may have been largely inaccurate.

Fig. 5.5. Number of persons per household (Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Sixteenth Census of the United States: 1940, Housing, part 2: Alabama–Indiana*, Alabama, 36, 75, 92, tables 22, 26, 29)

Figure 5.5 compares black Rural-farm households to both white households in Tuskegee and black households in both Tuskegee and the Rural-nonfarm sector. Unfortunately, the data for the black Rural-nonfarm and Black Rural-farm categories were combined in the 1940 census. In previous analysis, similarities have been noted

[70] Pasquill, Jr., *Planting Hope on Worn-Out Land*, 38–39.

between the black populations in the Tuskegee and Rural-nonfarm categories. Therefore, to separate the combined black Rural-farm and Rural-nonfarm data, density percentages consistent with those in the black Tuskegee sector were applied to the known population in the black Rural-nonfarm sector in order to obtain the number of households for each density. These figures were then subtracted from the combined Rural-nonfarm/Rural-farm data to obtain estimated figures for the Rural-farm sector.

When the results are analyzed in figure 5.5, the results are surprising in that they are not as dramatic as might be expected. Although the results in figure 5.5 cannot be taken as an absolute given the estimation of the black Rural-farm data, it seems that households in the Black Rural-farm category were indeed more heavily biased towards the higher-populated households—yet not as dramatically so as might have been expected.

It is interesting to note the comparison of households which hold greater than five persons per household. Approximately 10.8 percent of white Tuskegee households included more than five persons. Black Tuskegee households which contained more than five persons were higher at 16.0 percent. The percentage of black Rural-nonfarm households was assumed to be equivalent to their Tuskegee counterparts, so that category was also estimated at 16.0 percent. The number of black Rural-farm households containing more than five members was estimated to be 32.6 percent—double that of the two non-farm black counterparts and triple that of white Tuskegee households. Although not shown in figure 5.5, the percentage of white Rural-farm families consisting of more than five persons was only 16.0 percent, or half that of the black Rural-farm sector.

Thus the data show that black Rural-farm households were more populous than those of other selected categories, but not dramatically so. The phase "eight persons living in a two-room shack" has a certain amount of truth to it, but it seems that the latter part of that phrase is the one that gives the stereotype more meaning. That is, not only was it the greater number of persons in the Black Rural-farm category that was important, but it was this number combined with the overall smaller dwelling size that amplified the situation. As dwelling size and the number of persons per household have both been discussed, table 5.4 is presented which links the two subjects in one table, displaying room density per household.

Table 5.4. Number of persons by room, by percentage

Density	Wh. Tusk	Wh. R-NF	Wh. R-F	Bl. Tusk	Bl. R-NF	Bl. R-F
<0.51	41	32	23	21	23	9
0.51–1.00	44	47	48	43	43	31
1.01–1.50	9	13	15	16	14	16
1.51–2.00	5	4	8	13	9	20
>2.00	2	4	5	7	10	25

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Sixteenth Census of the United States: 1940, Housing, part 2: Alabama–Indiana*, Alabama, 36, 75, 92, tables 22, 26, 29.

Of first importance is the realization that 41.0 percent of white Tuskegee households had a room density of 0.51 persons or less. This was the highest percentage among all of the six categories. The percentages declined for the remaining groups, but notice the similarity between the white Rural-farm, black Tuskegee, and Rural-nonfarm sectors. Also, notice that the black Rural-farm sector lags greatly behind the others, with only 9.0 percent of households in this category having such a low density per household.

The highest percentage among all of the categories occurred in the 0.51–1.00 category. In comparison to the other densities, this was the most consistent, garnering a 48.0 percentile rating among the white Rural-farm households and a 31.0 percentile

rating among black Rural-farm households. The high rating for the white Rural-farm sector is probably due to a lower family size and a greater number of houses larger than those in the black Rural-farm sector.

As with previous data, note the general similarities between the black Tuskegee and black Rural-nonfarm sectors. Lastly, and most importantly for the discussion, note the wide disparity in the higher density ranges with regards to the black Rural-farm sector in relation to the other sectors. Forty-five percent of black Rural-farm households had a household density of at least 1.51 persons per room and 25.0 percent had a density of greater than 2.0 persons per room. The former percentage was roughly double that of the other black categories, and at least triple that of the white Rural-farm category.

It was this great disparity in household densities between the black Rural-farm category and the others that probably lead to the most popular misconceptions about the number of blacks per household—a condition that was probably amplified by the larger number of households in this category. To put the figures in perspective, there were almost as many black Rural-farm households that had a density of greater than two persons per room than households of all densities in the entire town of Tuskegee. Johnson noted the effect of overcrowding on those who lived in such circumstances: it "destroys all privacy, dulls the desire for neatness and cleanliness, and renders virtually impossible the development of any sense of beauty."[71] While this was likely true in the main, certainly at least some exceptions existed. It must also be remembered that this was the opinion of Johnson—an educated African-American who observed things as an outsider. Perhaps most importantly, it must be remembered that Johnson's study was largely

[71] Johnson, *Shadow of the Plantation*, 100. There were an estimated 934 households with a density greater than two persons per room in the Rural-farm sector, as compared to 1,042 occupied dwellings in Tuskegee.

conducted in the western and southwestern portions of Macon County—areas which originally had a higher number of large plantations. As a result, it's possible that African-American home ownership and income levels were lower than in some other parts of the county.

Chapter 6: Regression Analysis of Tuskegee Rental Housing

6.1. Introduction

Prior to 1940, the housing situation in Tuskegee was typical of a small town. Because there was little housing turnover in small towns and Tuskegee was located in an area that was largely agricultural, the housing market did not fluctuate to a great extent.[1] This fact was changed by both Tuskegee Institute and the Veterans Hospital. In particular, as mentioned in chapter 1, although the town's white population had increased by 5.6 percent during the 1930s, the black population in Tuskegee increased by 24.3 percent during the same period. Thus at the time of the 1940 census, the town had experienced a significantly expanding African-American population over the past ten years.[2]

6.2. 1940 Rental Analysis

An examination of Tuskegee rents prior to the creation of Tuskegee Army Air Field was performed utilizing individual data recorded in the 1940 census. This data was recorded in the population schedule sheets as compiled by census workers who visited each household throughout the county.

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[1] *History of TAAF, Conception–6 December 1941*, 289.28–1 v.1, IRIS 00179144, AFHRA, 15.
[2] U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Fifteenth Census of the United States: 1930, Population, vol. 3, part 1, Alabama* (Washington D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1932), 111, table 16; U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Sixteenth Census of the United States: 1940, Population, Characteristics of the Population, vol.2, part 1, Alabama* (Washington D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1943), 315, table 30.

The Census Bureau divided Macon County into enumeration districts. For the purposes of this paper, the pertinent districts are: Tuskegee (ED 44-1, ED 44-3), Tuskegee Institute (ED 44-2), Greenwood (ED 44-6), and the Veterans Hospital (ED 44-7).[3]

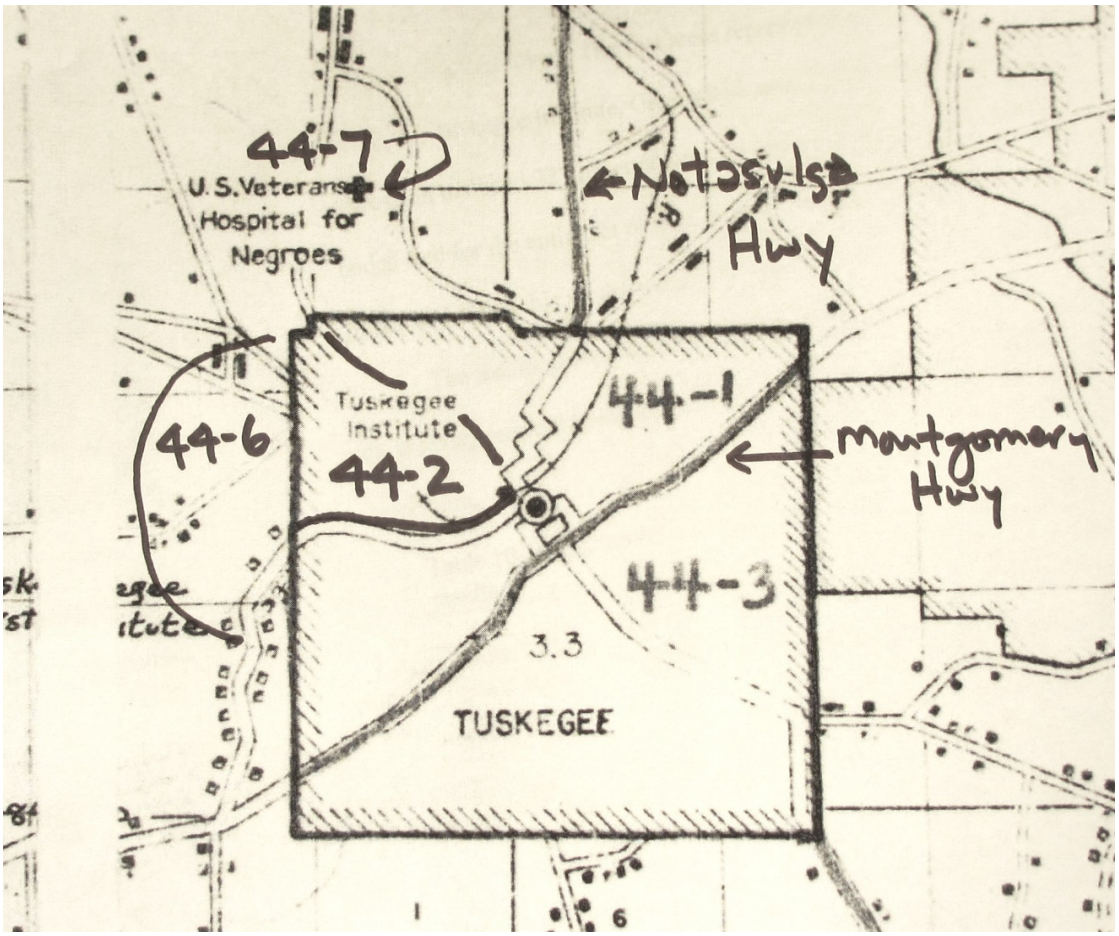

Figure 6.1. Tuskegee enumeration district map (Source: 1940 Census Enumeration Maps-Alabama-Macon County, ED 44-1 thru ED 44-3, ED 44-6, ED 44-7, (http://1940census.archives.gov/search/#searchby=location&searchmode=browse; November 10, 2014)

[3] 1940 Census Enumeration Maps-Alabama-Macon County, ED 44-1 thru ED 44-3, ED 44-6, ED 44-7, (http://1940census.archives.gov/search/#searchby=location&searchmode=browse; November 10, 2014). Search parameters: "Alabama" and "Macon County," then "Descriptions" button for overview of enumeration districts. Enumeration districts usually were first designated by county. Macon County, Alabama was designated as "44." The individual areas within the county were designated by another number following the hyphen.

Enumeration districts 44-2, 44-6 and 44-7 in figure 6.1 were not originally identified by the bureau, but have been included by the author. Their respective areas were approximated since their exact boundaries could not be ascertained.

Enumeration districts 44-1 and 44-3, divided by U. S. Highway 80, included both whites and blacks living in Tuskegee, whereas districts 44-2, 44-6 and 44-7 contained only African-Americans. As a result, rental data relating to each race in districts 44-1 and 44-3 were analyzed separately. For the purposes of this chapter, these two groups are called White Tuskegee and Black Tuskegee.

Lastly, summary data pertaining to enumeration districts 44-1, 44-2, and 44-3 are contained in the Tuskegee portion of the 1940 Housing Census as discussed in chapter 3, while the Greenwood (ED 44-6) and Veterans Hospital (ED 44-7) areas are contained in the Rural-nonfarm sector as discussed in chapter 4.

It is important to note that the data contained in the 1940 Housing Census is much more detailed than that in the individual population schedules. Whereas the 1940 Housing Census contained details such as housing size, density per room, and the availability of amenities, the individual population schedules was limited primarily to homeowners' annual wages, home values, and monthly rents. The salaries of self-employed persons, perhaps more specifically business owners, was not recorded. As per the population schedule sheets, the only reportable items included with regards to annual wages were wages and commissions. Thus these two items will be used as a proxy for

household income, and will hereafter be termed annual income or income. Additional monies such as dividends and transfer payments will not be considered.[4]

As a result of the limited individual information available, only renters' annual income and monthly rents were extracted from the population schedules for data analysis. These figures were extracted solely for the heads of households, as it was uncertain whether additional income earned by other family members contributed to the total income of the family or was used for other purposes. Thus the assumption is that only income earned by the head of the household was applied towards household income and rent. This is most likely an inaccurate assessment in some cases, but the wealth of other possibilities demands that this assumption is the simplest for analytical purposes.

Because rural-farm areas were not germane to the purpose of this paper, the remaining population schedules in Macon County were not examined. Also, with the exception of the Greenwood area and the Veterans Hospital, rural-nonfarm data from other enumeration districts were also disregarded.

6.3. Characteristics by Enumeration District

Before continuing to the analysis, a better understanding of the characteristics across areas can be derived by examining details regarding renter annual incomes. These results are provided in table 6.1.

[4] Designated as column 32 on the population schedule sheets, this included "amount of money wages received, including commissions" during 1939. However, this column was sometimes left blank, particularly with regards to business owners.

Table 6.1. Enumeration District characteristics

			Annual Income ($)				
E-D	Area	No. obs.	Low	High	Mean	Median	%<$1000
44-1, 44-3	White Tusk	102	245	4400	1558	1380	23.5
44-1, 44-3	Black Tusk	301	45	2148	428	320	92.4
44-2	Institute	61	385	5000	2053	1808	8.2
44-6	Greenwood	90	76	3800	1208	1140	35.6
44-7	VA Hospital	173	250	5800	1804	1500	5.8

Source: 1940 Census Enumeration Maps-Alabama-Macon County, ED 44-1 thru ED 44-3, ED 44-6, ED 44-7, (http://1940census.archives.gov/search/#searchby=location&searchmode=browse; November 10, 2014).

Table 6.1 illustrates the number of rentals in each enumeration district and their respective characteristics with regards to annual income. Of particular interest are the mean and median incomes and the corresponding percentage of incomes below one thousand dollars.

Interestingly, the Institute area had the highest mean and median incomes, followed by the Veterans (VA) Hospital. However, the data in the Institute area is tainted somewhat by the fact that additional income was sometimes provided by Tuskegee Institute with the purpose of being specifically allocated towards rent in Institute-owned housing.

Mean and median income in White Tuskegee was below that of Tuskegee Institute and the Veterans Hospital, with the Greenwood area's incomes below that of White Tuskegee. Black Tuskegee was dramatically lower in all respects. The percentage of households with income lower than one thousand dollars followed the same pattern. To place this information in perspective, sample incomes from the population schedules are listed for various occupations.

Table 6.2. Sample occupations and annual incomes

Race	Occupation	Income ($)	Race	Occupation	Income($)
W	Bookkeeper-Standard Oil	1200	B	VA-dentist	3800
W	Painter-auto dealer	1500	B	VA-physician	3200
W	Salesman-retail store	720	B	VA-nurse	1800
W	Carpenter	1400	B	VA-mess attendant	1260
W	City policeman	1100	B	VA-barber	832
B	Laundry labor	260	B	Institute dean	2600
B	Auto mechanic-Ford	630	B	Institute instructor	1900
B	Truck driver-lumber co.	520	B	Institute instructor	1600
B	Cook-private home	156	B	Institute secretary	700
B	Laborer	260	B	Institute cook	460

Source: 1940 Census Enumeration Maps-Alabama-Macon County, ED 44-1, ED 44-2, ED 44-7, (http://1940census.archives.gov/search/#searchby=location&searchmode=browse; November 10, 2014).

In the context of this paper, table 6.2 illustrates that, with the exception of some persons employed at the Veterans Hospital, occupations of a more menial nature generally paid less than one thousand dollars annually, while more skilled or professional jobs generally paid in excess of one thousand dollars. Thus this income level appears to be an acceptable delineator between the two classes.

Frederick D. Patterson is recorded in the census has having a salary of five thousand dollars per year. Eugene Dibble, head of the Veterans Hospital, earned five thousand eight hundred dollars.[5] As a result, these two salaries should be considered as indicative of the upper levels of black incomes. Undoubtedly, some white businessmen in Tuskegee may have also earned similar amounts; however, income figures for the self-employed were not collected in the census data.

[5] Frederick D. Patterson , p. 5-B, line 43, Enumeration District 44-2, Precinct 1, Macon County, Alabama, Census of Population; Sixteenth Census of the United States, 1940, Records of the Bureau of the Census, Record Group 29 (1940census.archives.gov; February 26, 2013); Eugene H, Dibble, Jr., p. 1-A, line 1, Enumeration District 44-7, Precinct 1, Macon County, Alabama, Census of Population; Sixteenth Census of the United States, 1940, Records of the Bureau of the Census, Record Group 29 (1940census.archives.gov; February 26, 2013).

6.4. Regression

Data collected from the population schedules is cross-sectional in nature. A linear regression using Ordinary Least Squares (OLS) was performed to ascertain the relationship between monthly rents given yearly income. Because the census theoretically includes all known households, this regression represents more of a true model than an estimated sample. The theoretical model is represented as

$$Y_i = \beta_1 + \beta_2 X_i + \varepsilon_i$$

Dependent variable Y_i represents monthly rent, intercept β_1 represents the estimated dollar amount paid in monthly rent when annual income is zero, slope coefficient β_2 represents the elasticity of rental prices with regards to income, X_i represents the independent variable annual income, and ε_i represents the error term. The expectation is that rental housing is a normal good; therefore the slope coefficient will be significant and positive.

There are possible specification errors present. If additional information were available, a preferred, multiple regression model would include other variables such as: the exact contribution of all wage earners in each household; each household marginal propensity to consume (MPC), whether the dwelling was a house, apartment, or room in a house; the dwelling size in terms of square footage; the number of renters for a given dwelling; the number of renters per room, the number of rooms in the dwelling; its condition of repair; the addition of electricity and running water; whether the dwelling was furnished or unfurnished; and whether the dwelling was located on a hard-surface road. Perhaps the most important of these is the presence of electricity and running water.

Also, as with all data collected from individuals, the possibility exists that a respondent correctly answered the questions in the survey, yet their answers were misleading in a broader context. For example, someone may have paid only a token rent because the dwelling was rented from a relative, or perhaps the renter performed work for the owner as part of the payment.

Deception may have been used in other cases, perhaps to under-report a person's income. In the case of at least one household in the 1940 census of Tuskegee, inaccurate information may have been provided in another context, either have some fun, or to spite the enumerator or the process as a whole.[6] It is also possible that the mistake was a clerical error on the part of the census enumerator.

6.5. Regression Results

With these data issues in mind, a regression representing each area was performed using dummy variables to estimate both intercept and slope. The five areas represented were White Tuskegee, Black Tuskegee, Tuskegee Institute, Greenwood, and the Veterans or VA Hospital. The combined regression included 723 observations, resulting in a R^2 of

[6] Benjamin O. Davis, Jr., *American: An Autobiography* (Smithsonian Institution Press, 1991), 1, 63–67; Booker Conley, *Tuskegee University Demolished Building/Structures*, 1996, TUA; Lanice Potts Middleton, conversation with John T. Bryant, February 15, 2012; Boyd O. Davis, Jr., p. 4-B, line 68, Enumeration District 44-2, Precinct 1, Macon County, Alabama, Census of Population; Sixteenth Census of the United States, 1940, Records of the Bureau of the Census, Record Group 29 (1940census.archives.gov; February 26, 2013); Benjamin O. or Benjamin D. Davis, Jr., p. 1-A, line 24, Enumeration District 44-7, Precinct 1, Macon County, Alabama, Census of Population; Sixteenth Census of the United States, 1940, Records of the Bureau of the Census, Record Group 29 (1940census.archives.gov; February 26, 2013); Clay Albright, interview by John T. Bryant, May 28, 2007, Richmond, Virginia. B. O. Davis, Jr. and his wife Agatha lived in Tuskegee during the time of the census, and it has been generally confirmed that they lived on campus at that time in cottage #10, located across from the Chambliss Building. There is a possibility that the Davis household, and most likely Agatha, intentionally mislead the census worker by providing names, birth dates and places of birth that were similar to their own but inaccurate. These names were possibly associated with a doctor at the Veterans Hospital. Agatha in particular was bitter about her treatment in the South, confirmed in a poem entitled "Dear Mom, Tuskegee is a Hell of a Hole," and may have transferred this bitterness to the census process. Clay Albright, a white instructor and friend of the Davis family, stated that Agatha was very nice, "but man she had a temper, and would speak her mind...and she had her ideas about minor [racial] things that went on in town."

78.7 percent. While this high R^2 bodes well for the entire set of data, it was not very explanatory with regards to each geographical area of concern. Log, log-log and quadratic regressions were also conducted to evaluate the model for fit, but the results were not significantly improved from the first regression. As a result of these concerns, the aforementioned models were discarded in favor of individual regressions as delineated below.

The results posted below in table 6.3 are derived from the separate regressions, the primary purpose being to more accurately record the coefficient of determination (R^2) pertaining to each regression.

Table 6.3. Regression results

Area	Intercept	Income	No. Obs.	Std. Error	t-stat	R2
White Tusk	9.29	0.005091	102	0.000714	7.129	33.7
Black Tusk	3.28	0.004419	301	0.000377	11.722	31.5
Institute	9.38	0.006629	57	0.001147	5.778	37.8
Greenwood	4.81	0.007024	90	0.000803	8.749	46.5
VA Hospital	-2.56	0.010273	173	0.000321	31.968	85.7

Table 6.3 illustrates that the respective R^2 for each regression, with the exception of the VA Hospital, fell dramatically compared to that from the combined regression. This is due primarily to the decrease in observations for each regression. As a result, the possibility of an omitted variable problem would be of increased importance.

The test of significance with regards to the independent variable was that income had no effect on rental rates at the five percent level, or $H_0 = 0_{(.05.\ d.f.)}$. T-statistics for all regressions at the five percent level were significant; thus the null hypothesis was rejected, lending viability to each model. As expected, the income estimator was positive, with monthly rent being largely inelastic with regards to changes in marginal income.

Based on the results given in Table 6.3, both monthly and annual rents for various income levels with regards to each area are provided below. [7] Furthermore, the percentage of annual income which was paid in rent is detailed as well.

Table 6.4. Income and rent schedule across areas

	White Tusk	Black Tusk	Institute	Greenwood	VA hospital
$500 Income					
Mo. Rent	12	5	13	8	3
Ann. Rent	142	66	152	100	31
% AnnInc	28%	13%	30%	20%	6%
$1,000 Income					
Mo. Rent	14	8	16	12	8
Ann. Rent	173	92	192	142	93
% AnnInc	17%	9%	19%	14%	9%
$2,000 Income					
Mo. Rent	19	12	23	19	18
Ann. Rent	234	145	272	226	216
% AnnInc	12%	7%	14%	11%	11%
$3,000 Income					
Mo. Rent	25	17	29	26	28
Ann. Rent	295	198	351	311	339
% AnnInc	10%	7%	12%	10%	11%
$4,000 Income					
Mo. Rent	30	21	36	33	39
Ann. Rent	356	251	431	395	462
% AnnInc	9%	6%	11%	10%	12%
$5,000 Income					
Mo. Rent	35	25	43	40	49
Ann. Rent	417	304	511	479	586
% AnnInc	8%	6%	10%	10%	12%

With the exception of the Veterans Hospital, the results contained in table 6.4 first illustrate that all rents as a percentage of income generally declined as income increased towards five thousand dollars. This observation is consistent with the budget share model of the Engels curve, which postulates that a higher percentage of income for lower income groups was necessarily allocated towards necessities such as housing.

[7] Monthly and annual rents were rounded to the nearest dollar. As a result, the annual rent will not necessarily be twelve times the monthly rent.

Additionally, table 6.4 illustrates that, with the exception of the VA hospital in the lower income ranges, all monthly and annual rent estimates were inelastic with regards to changes in income.

The lowest percentage of income allocated towards rent across all sectors was six percent. The highest was thirty percent, although there were no estimated percentages greater than nineteen percent or greater once the one thousand dollar level was reached.

The highest estimated monthly rent at the one thousand dollar level was paid in the Tuskegee Institute area, followed by White Tuskegee. The lowest estimated rent at the one thousand dollar level was paid by those at the Veterans Hospital and Black Tuskegee. As income increased, rents at the Veterans Hospital increased at the highest rate, surpassing White Tuskegee at the three thousand dollar level and the Institute at the four thousand dollar level. The possible reasons for this fact will be discussed later in this chapter. Rents in Black Tuskegee lagged considerably behind the other categories at incomes higher than one thousand dollars.

6.6. Heteroscedasticity

Each model was tested for heteroscedasticity utilizing White's Test. The results are shown in table 6.5 below.

Table 6.5. Heteroscedasticity results across areas

Regression	no. obs.	R2	Chi2	Chi2crit	Hetero
White Tusk	102	0.033	3.44	5.99	No
Black Tusk	301	0.073	22.12	5.99	Yes
Institute	57	0.627	35.76	5.99	Yes
Greenwood	90	0.107	9.68	5.99	Yes
VA Hospital	173	0.039	6.84	5.99	Yes

Table 6.5 illustrates that varying degrees of heteroscedasticity were present in all regressions with the exception of White Tuskegee. This implies that the estimators for all

of the African-American areas are unbiased but inefficient, thus potentially leading to t-values lower than if the regressions were the best linear unbiased estimator, or BLUE. However, because this result is most likely caused by specification errors as detailed previously, Generalized Least Squares (GLS) was not used as a correction since it would be ineffective. Second, the t-values as estimated with heteroscedasticity were already significant; thus any correction, while reducing the standard error of the estimator, would not lead to any change in the estimators' validity. Most importantly, the lack of heteroscedasticity in the White Tuskegee data lends support to the idea of a specification error. Since the great majority of white households had both running water and electricity, it suggests that the most significant omitted variables pertain to those two characteristics.

6.7. Discussion of Results by Enumeration District

Partly as a result of the prior discussion, the White Tuskegee data represents the best baseline from which to evaluate the other regressions. Not only does it best reflect local wage conditions, but it also contains the highest percentages of both electrical and running water. In contrast, the Institute sector's data was tainted with a mixture of both on-campus and off-campus housing rental rates. Also, the Veterans Hospital rental rates were established by the federal government. As compared to the other sectors and with the exception of the Veterans Hospital, White Tuskegee also had the highest state of repair.

Both the amenities and repair issues have been discussed in previous chapters; however, an accurate assessment of these issues by enumeration district was impossible to determine due to a lack of data. As a review of data derived from the 1940 Housing

Census, table 6.6 compiles for the first time the appropriate amenities and repair issues in the Tuskegee, Rural-nonfarm and Rural-farm sectors in Macon County, readily illustrating the higher state of repair and amenities in White Tuskegee.

Table 6.6. Selected amenities and repair issues for households, by percent

Characteristic	White Tusk	Black Tusk	Rural-nonfarm	Rural-farm
Not needing major repairs	77.5	52.0	56.2	34.8
With electricity	94.5	43.7	50.5	2.3
With running water	93.2	21.5	27.1	0.5

With these details in mind, first to be discussed is a comparison of White Tuskegee with Black Tuskegee, the source data of which is located in enumeration districts 44-1 and 44.3. Regression results pertaining to the relationship between yearly income and monthly rents are given in figure 6.2.

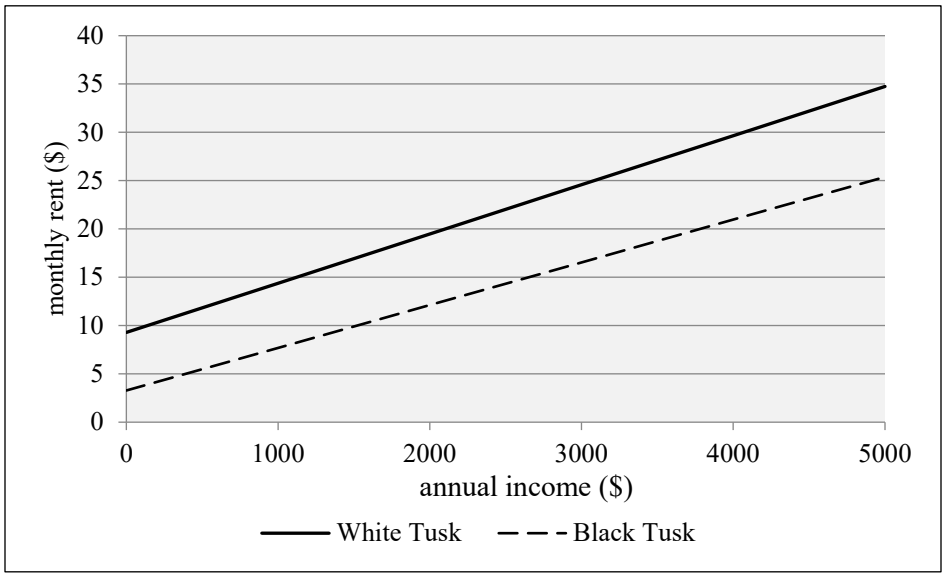

Figure 6.2. Monthly rent comparison of White Tuskegee and Black Tuskegee

Figure 6.2 first illustrates that monthly rents increased by roughly equal rates relative to changes in marginal income, with the increases in monthly rents for residents of White Tuskegee being slightly higher than for residents of Black Tuskegee. Residents of White Tuskegee paid an estimated $0.51 in additional monthly rent for every one

hundred dollars in additional income, whereas residents of Black Tuskegee paid an additional $0.44 in additional monthly rent for the same increase in income.

More dissimilar is the gap between the respective intercepts, with White Tuskegee's intercept at $9.29 per month besting Black Tuskegee's intercept of $3.28 per month by more than six dollars. The higher intercept of White Tuskegee is a most likely a result of the high percentage of both amenities and state of repair. As discussed in chapter 3, the majority of similar amenities and state of repair related to the African-American community in Tuskegee was primarily confined to the Institute area, leaving the remainder of blacks in Tuskegee area mostly bereft of them. As a result, the gap between the two intercepts best illustrates the possible difference in rent between areas which pertain to both high and low amenities and states of repair.

The presence of a specification error with regards to Black Tuskegee can be best explained by the varying states of repair and access to amenities. Additionally, chapter 3 detailed how some households lived in dwellings behind those of their employers. This data would be included in the area defined as Black Tuskegee, thus specific adjustments to incomes or rents due to services rendered would be included, regardless of whether or not they lived on site.

With regards to the primary cause of the intercept gap being due to the availability of utilities and states of repair, this can be further illustrated in figure 6.3, where regression results pertaining to Tuskegee Institute have been added to figure 6.2.

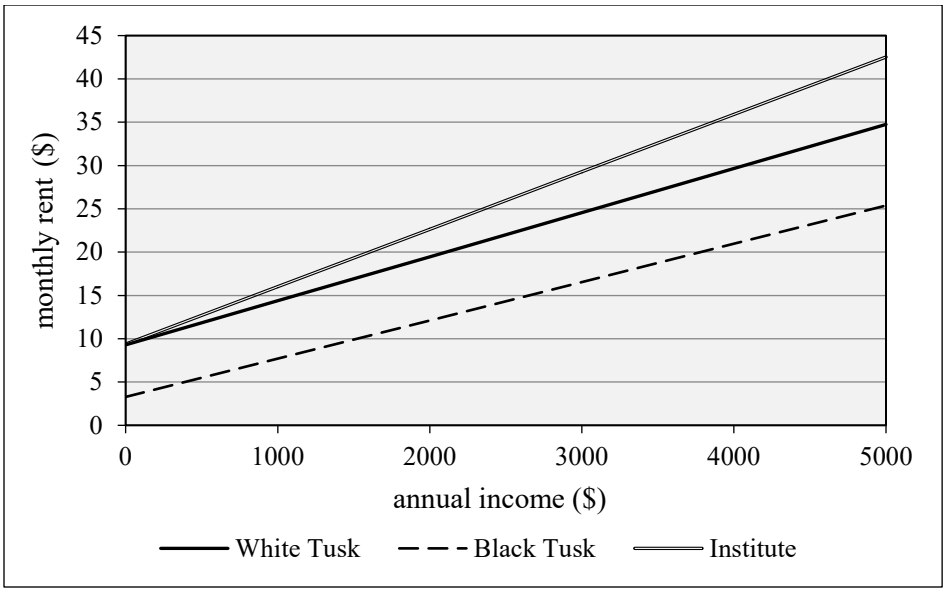

Figure 6.3. Monthly rent comparison of White Tuskegee, Black Tuskegee and Tuskegee Institute

Figure 6.3 illustrates that the intercepts for both White Tuskegee and the Institute are almost identical, with the Institute intercept being nearly identical to that of White Tuskegee. This similarity reflects in part the similarity in both amenities and state of repair between the two areas. Additionally, the Institute area includes both privately owned houses and accommodations owned by the Institute. As a result, the slightly higher intercept may suggest a rent adjustment on campus as the result of maintenance and possibly utilities being included in the monthly rent.

More obvious is the noticeably greater regression slope for the Institute, implying that persons in the Institute paid more in rent per given salary than those in White Tuskegee. Residents of Tuskegee Institute paid an additional $0.66 in additional rent for every one hundred dollars in additional income as compared to $0.51 in additional rent for residents of White Tuskegee.

As the Institute area included both privately owned houses and accommodations owned by the Institute, the most likely reason for this increase is that maintenance and

some utilities were often provided by the Institute. For example, water, electricity and heating were provided in the dormitories. The cottages and similar faculty apartments appear to have been heated by steam heat, gas or coal, the cost of which being borne individually by the occupant unless steam heat was provided.[8] Tuskegee Institute sold coal on campus until December 1941 to those requiring it.[9] An additional factor pertaining to the increased slope is that the rental quarters were possibly larger for a given income in the upper income brackets at the Institute as compared to their white counterparts.

A third possible factor which contributed to the increased slope was that some Institute employees had their rent paid by the Institute, although persons included in this select group were probably in the minority. This addition was usually reserved for faculty who were considered to be more vital to the operation of the Institute or persons who were given free rent in compensation for services to the Institute. President Patterson, for example, wrote in 1944 that his "house rent is assessed at a definite figure and added as a perquisite to the president's salary." He listed his total his total income of five thousand dollars in the 1940 census and rent as $960 per year.[10] His total salary had increased to seven thousand dollars by 1943.[11]

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[8] L. H. Foster, Jr., to F. D. Patterson, October 29, 1942, Local 1942, 131.036, L. H. Foster, TUA; J. L. Anderson to F. D. Patterson, December 18, 1944, Patterson Papers, 003.154, L. H. Foster, Jr., TUA; C. T. Mason to F. D. Patterson, August 31, 1944, Patterson Papers, 003.150, Housing, TUA; J. Max Bond to F. D. Patterson, December 11, 1940, Local 1940, 131.033, J. Max Bond, TUA. Coal may have been used to produce steam heat in some cottages.

[9] L. H. Foster, Jr., to Purchasers of "Domestic" Coal, December 12, 1941, Local 1941, 131.046, L. H. Foster, TUA.

[10] F. D. Patterson to Fred L. Brownlee, December 28, 1944, General 1944, 121.004, Bro–By, TUA; Frederick D. Patterson , p. 5-B, line 43, Enumeration District 44-2, Precinct 1, Macon County, Alabama, Census of Population; Sixteenth Census of the United States, 1940, Records of the Bureau of the Census, Record Group 29 (1940census.archives.gov; February 26, 2013). Patterson was assessed eighty dollars per month in rent.

[11] "Tuskegee Institute Budget Estimates 1944–45," revised April 15, 1944, 2, Patterson Papers, 003.154, no folder, TUA.

Other persons, such as Luther Foster, who was hired as the Institute's new treasurer and business manager after the sudden death of Edmund H. Burke on March 7, 1941, was offered a subsidy as well: "Thank you for your letter of June 18 [1941] in which you offered me the position of Treasurer-Business Manager of Tuskegee Institute at a salary of $300 per month and house…The inclusion of provision for my housing as a part of my salary at Tuskegee will be a convenient arrangement."[12] Foster's total salary amounted to $4,020, with $420 of that amount attributable to annual rent.[13] Other persons also received additional funds for rent; for example, B. O. Davis, Jr. was offered a subsidy, apparently of twenty-five dollars per month, in compensation for his duty as Commandant of Cadets.[14] Lottie Harris, who appears to have been Patterson's secretary, is also listed as receiving a salary of $1,680 annually, $210 of which was included for annual rent. This amount included all utilities except for natural gas for heating.[15]

The standard error of the Institute regression was the largest of all five regressions. Not surprisingly, this corresponds to the highest value of heteroscedasticity relative to the appropriate critical χ^2 value. This is likely due to additional factors not present in other sectors. For example, the data set is mixed in that some of the dwellings were owned by the Institute and others were privately owned off campus. Second, some persons on campus had their utilities provided and others did not. Third, some persons

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[12] L. H. Foster, Jr., to F. D. Patterson, July 5, 1941, Patterson Papers, 003.127, Folder F, TUA; Tuskegee Institute Board of Trustees, *Minutes of the Spring Meeting of the Board of Trustees of Tuskegee Institute*, April 5, 1941, 9, TUA.

[13] "Tuskegee Institute Budget Estimates 1944–45," revised April 15, 1944, 3, Patterson Papers, 003.154, no folder, TUA.

[14] F. D. Patterson to Lloyd Isaacs, September 5, 1941, Local 1940, 131.035, Lloyd Isaacs, TUA; Boyd O. Davis, Jr., p. 4-B, line 68, Enumeration District 44-2, Precinct 1, Macon County, Alabama, Census of Population; Sixteenth Census of the United States, 1940, Records of the Bureau of the Census, Record Group 29 (1940census.archives.gov; February 26, 2013).

[15] Luther Foster to F. D. Patterson, October 29, 1942, Local 1942, 131.036, L. H. Foster, TUA; F. D. Patterson to Luther Foster, October 31, 1942, Local 1942, 131.036, L. H. Foster, TUA.

had a higher stated income due to the inclusion of a rent supplement added to their regular pay. These factors would have contributed to the specification error since they could not be delineated in the data.

Most persons, however, were not offered this subsidy if they lived on campus. Instead, rent was deducted from their salaries, and board also if the individual dined in Tompkins Hall. Prior to August 1, 1944 and possibly in effect at the time of the 1940 census, this rental amount was generally set at twenty dollars monthly for a faculty member living singly in the dormitories and fifteen dollars each for persons sharing a room. Fifteen dollars was added to this amount monthly for board at Tompkins Hall if such was desired.[16] In one instance concerning an apartment, the rental amount was thirty-five dollars; twenty dollars of which was allocated for rent with the remainder going to the meal plan at Tompkins Hall. This apartment may have been in the dormitories; however, another faculty member was living in the practice cottage behind Dorothy Hall and paid thirty dollars per month for room and board. Thus these rates may have applied generally to dormitory or small apartment-type dwellings throughout campus.[17]

House rental in the case of Luther Foster was set at thirty-five dollars per month for his duplex apartment, and another faculty member, J. Max Bond also paid the same amount although it was originally assessed at the rate of forty dollars per month. These two examples appear to have been the rental rates for cottages of a more typical nature. For example, the Bond cottage included an upstairs with a porch and at least two

[16] F. D. Patterson to Coworkers, August 1, 1944, Patterson Papers, 003.150, Housing, TUA.
[17] F. D. Patterson to Lloyd Isaacs, June 15, 1940, Local 1940, 131.035, Lloyd Isaacs, TUA; I. A. Derbigney to F. D. Patterson, February 11, 1942, Local 1942, 131.036, Folder F–H, TUA.

bedrooms, a downstairs porch, a basement, an entrance hall, a dining room, living room, and kitchen, and several fireplaces.[18] Figure 6.4 adds Greenwood to the Black Tuskegee and Institute regressions.

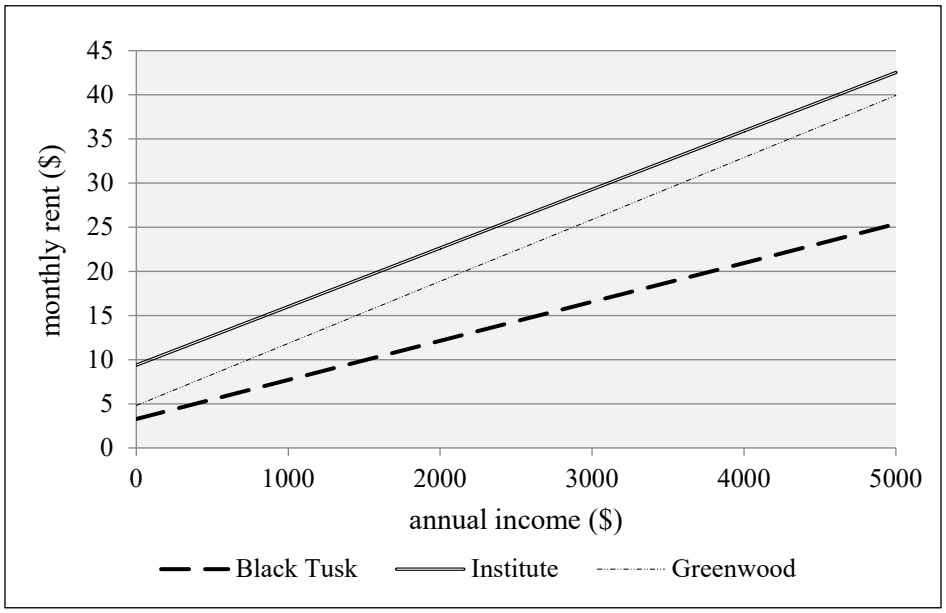

Figure 6.4. Monthly rent comparison of Black Tuskegee, Tuskegee Institute and Greenwood

Figure 6.4 illustrates that the intercept of the Greenwood regression at $4.81 is more akin to that of the Black Tuskegee area, while monthly rents at upper income levels are more similar to that of Tuskegee Institute. The result is a steeper slope relative to either Black Tuskegee or Tuskegee Institute, with estimated rents increasing $0.70 for every one hundred dollar increase in income.

The most logical reason for the lower intercept and steeper regression slope is that the Greenwood enumeration district, ED 44-6, included a mixture of the characteristics of two areas; these being the more middle-class area of formal Greenwood along with lesser housing on the periphery. Rents in the lower income areas were most likely located in the

[18] J. Max Bond to F. D. Patterson, May 10, 1940, Local 1940, 131.033, J. Max Bond, TUA; J. Max Bond to F. D. Patterson, December 11, 1940, Local 1940, 131.033, J. Max Bond, TUA; F. D. Patterson to Lloyd Isaacs, December 13, 1940, Local 1940, 131.035, Lloyd Isaacs, TUA.

peripheral areas with few or no amenities and poorer states of repair, while those with higher incomes being located in the more formal areas of Greenwood with better amenities and repair. Another possibility, due to its proximity to Tuskegee Institute, is an increased presence of boarders in existing homes would be included in the lower ranges of rent.

This view can best be visualized by revisiting figure 4.1 in chapter 4 that outlined the four areas of Greenwood both inside Tuskegee and in the Rural-nonfarm sector. Area B, or the more formal area of Greenwood that was outside of the city limits contained an estimated 150 dwellings as of 1937, while area D, the more informal area of Greenwood, contained an estimated 76 dwellings. As a result, the best calculation of 226 dwellings in both areas is numerically less than the 366 households actually determined to be in enumeration district 44-6. There are various possible causes for this discrepancy. First, the census worker was counting households while the author attempted to determine the number of housing units. Second, more houses may have been built since the map featured in chapter 4 was created; however, formal area B appears to be relatively developed, thus the increase was more likely to have been in area D. Government reports in 1941 mentioned that there appeared to be little development in Tuskegee at that time. Third, peripheral area D as enumerated by the census worker may have included a larger area than that originally estimated by the author. Fourth, the enumerator may have included all of the houses along the Old Montgomery Highway as it traveled south to the new U.S. Highway 80 at Green Forks.

Regardless of these possibilities, it was decided to leave the data as originally calculated. There are two reasons for this decision. First, an increase in the number of

households without a corresponding increase in the number of houses would increase the per unit density. This would decrease the likelihood of accepting in-migrant boarders in these units as the airbase developed. Second, even if the number of units is underestimated at 226 dwellings, the lower figure would help compensate for the large number of houses in Tuskegee which, although included in the data, were largely unfit for in-migrant habitation due to location, repair, lack of amenities, or a combination of all three. In summary, to quote Winston Churchill, the exact number of relevant buildings and households in Greenwood will remain "a riddle, wrapped in a mystery, inside an enigma," likely never to be solved.[19]

The last area of discussion pertains to the Veterans Hospital, or enumeration district 44-7. Figure 6.5 illustrates the steeper slope of the regression in comparison to the other two areas, Tuskegee Institute and Greenwood, both of which had a significant percentage of black middle class residents. Estimated rents increased $1.03 monthly for every one hundred dollar increase in annual income.

[19] Churchill's quote pertains to Russia, taken from a radio speech in 1939.

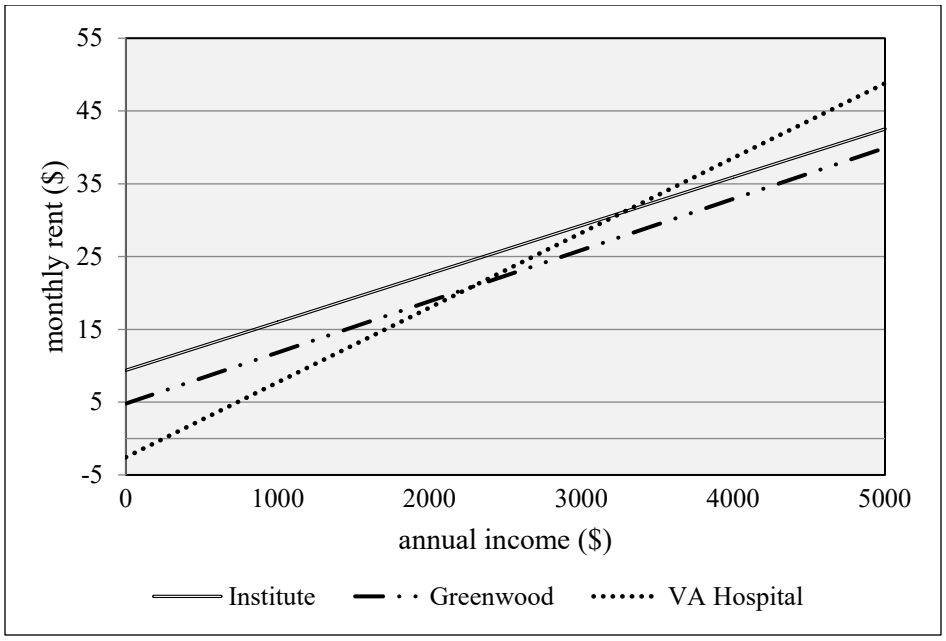

Figure 6.5. Monthly rent comparison of Tuskegee Institute, Greenwood and the VA Hospital

There are two primary causes of this steeper slope. The most important is that the 87.3% of persons or households living at the Veterans Hospital were living in one of two dormitories or apartments at a fixed rent of either ten or thirteen dollars per month, with the remaining 12.7 percent renting the government houses which surrounded "The Circle" as described in chapter 4. Thus rents were cheaper on the lower income ranges due not only to these persons living in dormitory-like buildings, but also because this type housing may have been subsidized at the Federal level. Dormitory rents were somewhat lower than rents at Tuskegee Institute. Additionally, these facilities most likely included free, full amenities and the buildings themselves were likely maintained to an excellent degree not seen at Tuskegee Institute.[20]

[20] United States Housing Authority, Department of the Interior, press release HA-46, n.d., Patterson Papers, 003.062, U. S. Housing Administration, Housing Authority Bulletin, TUA; Federal Works Agency, United States Housing Authority, *What and Why is the USHA?* (Washington DC: Government Printing Office, n.d.), brochure, Patterson Papers, 003.127, Federal Housing Administration, TUA. It is assumed that maintenance at the Veterans Hospital was at the same level as that of other federal housing projects.

With the discussion of all sectors accomplished, figure 6.6 summarizes all regressions in one graph.

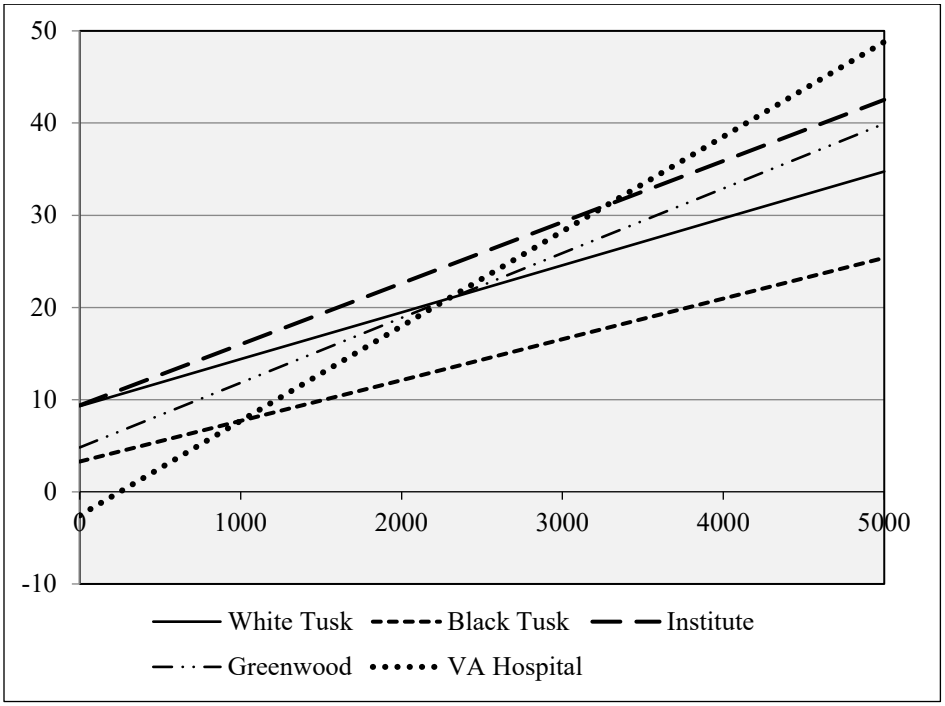

Figure 6.6. All monthly rent comparisons

Notice first that all estimated rents between incomes of one thousand dollars and approximately three thousand dollars are bounded by rental rates at Black Tuskegee and Tuskegee Institute. Estimated monthly rents for the Veterans Hospital are lower than all others at incomes below one thousand dollars—a fact that is largely irrelevant since almost all recorded incomes of those living at the VA Hospital exceed this amount. More importantly, rents at the VA Hospital exceed all others sectors at incomes exceeding approximately three thousand three hundred dollars. Lastly, estimated rents at the Veterans Hospital, Greenwood, and White Tuskegee coincide at an income of approximately two thousand three hundred dollars.

Chapter 7: Origins of Tuskegee Institute's Involvement in Military Operations

7.1. Civilian Pilot Training Act of 1939

The impetus for the creation of a flight training program in Tuskegee was the passage of Civilian Pilot Training (CPT) Act of 1939, which authorized the training of college-age civilian pilots under the aegis of the Civil Aeronautics Authority (CAA). This training program complemented and coincided with the 1939 passage of Public Law 18, which initiated a significant expansion of the Army Air Corps from approximately 1,400 aircraft in 1938 to a maximum of 6,000 aircraft.[1]

Tuskegee Institute was approved for Elementary flight training, the more introductory of the two CPT programs, on October 13, 1939. This approval coincided with the 1939–40 academic year.[2] Instruction began on approximately December 1, 1939, with flight lessons originally being conducted in Montgomery, Alabama.[3]

Tuskegee Institute applied for the Secondary flight program in May of 1940, only a few months after the initiation of CPT elementary flight training.[4] The Institute was surprised when it was approved for Secondary training to begin on July 15, 1940—only two weeks after notification of their acceptance into the program.[5]

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[1] Jakeman, *Divided Skies*, 89–91.
[2] Washington, *Pilot Training of Negroes at Tuskegee Alabama,* 15, 17.
[3] Ibid., 27–28, 22–23.
[4] Ibid., 52–53.
[5] Ibid., 63, 75.

The ground school portion of the Secondary flight program was postponed from July 15 to July 22, 1940 due to a delay in the arrival of all ten students.[6] Because Tuskegee Institute did not have an approved airfield for Secondary training, flight training initially took place at an airfield in nearby Auburn, Alabama. This training began on July 30, 1940.[7]

Army Air Corps flight training consisted of four stages during this period. The first stage was Primary Training, or simply Primary, where student cadets were taught the fundamentals of flying in a stable and low-powered airplane. The second stage was Basic Training, which introduced the student to military maneuvers in a more demanding aircraft. Advanced Training followed Basic, and the airplane used in this training was designed to approximate the experience of flying an actual combat aircraft. Upon completion of Advanced Training, the cadet was commissioned as an Army Officer and sent to Transition Training. There he would train in the actual aircraft that he was assigned to fly in service. This could range from any one of a number of fighters, bombers, transports, or other aircraft.[8]

It was the CAA's wish that the two stages of the CPT program, Elementary and Secondary, be considered as the equivalent of the Army Air Corp's Primary flight program. The Army disputed the merits of the proposal, although necessity eventually forced it to accept the idea.[9]

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[6] Ibid., 76.
[7] Ibid., 84.
[8] Craven and Cate, *Army Air Forces in World War II, vol. 6*, 454; Jakeman, *Divided Skies*, 92.
[9] Jakeman, *Divided Skies*, 341, note 23. Also, as noted by Jakeman, the *Secondary* instruction in the CPT program was sometimes referred to as *Advanced.* Thus the term *Secondary* will be utilized in this paper to differentiate between it and *Advanced* instruction in the Army Air Corp's training program.

7.2. Towards Tuskegee Army Air Field (TAAF) and Primary

Concurrent with the initiation of Secondary flight training at Tuskegee, plans were being formed at the highest levels of the federal government to expand flight operations at Tuskegee.[10] In May 1940, the same month that President Roosevelt spoke to Congress concerning defense preparations, Grover Webster, director of the CAA's Private Flying Development Division, asked George L. Washington of Tuskegee Institute whether the Institute would like to have its own airport—an unusual question since that type of airport construction was under the jurisdiction of the military and not the CAA.[11] Nothing immediate developed from that visit, but soon after came the CAA's rushed approval of Tuskegee's request to conduct the CAA's Secondary course.[12] The impetus for this visit had come through political channels thanks to pressure by various African-American civil-rights groups. Tuskegee Institute was chosen by the military as the most appropriate organization to implement plans towards the formation of a black aviation unit—in part because the Institute had an excellent reputation for cooperating with the State and Federal Government.[13]

The expansion of Tuskegee Institute's air program progressed rapidly after the passage of the Burke-Wadsworth Bill, or the Selective Training and Service Act, on September 16, 1940. A press release issued by the White House on the same day stated that an effort would be forthcoming towards creating opportunities for African-Americans in the Air Corps.[14] The effort to expand black participation in the Air Corps

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[10] Washington, *Pilot Training of Negroes at Tuskegee Alabama,* 43–44.
[11] Ibid., 117.
[12] Ibid., 63–66.
[13] Washington, *Pilot Training of Negroes at Tuskegee Alabama,* 43–44.Washington, *Pilot Training of Negroes at Tuskegee Alabama,* 119–120.
[14] Jakeman, *Divided Skies*, 183–184.

was furthered on October 24, 1940, when the Army Air Corps was directed to begin the admittance of blacks and to develop plans for an all-black pursuit squadron.[15] Tuskegee was chosen as the site for this squadron, in large part because Tuskegee Institute was the only African-American school already approved for Secondary flight training.[16] On November 8, 1940, General Walter Weaver, the head of the Southeast Air Corps Training Command, was tasked with creating an airbase for an Army Air Corps pursuit squadron at Tuskegee as soon as possible.[17] A preliminary plan was completed by December 6, 1940, and after some revisions, approved on January 19, 1941.[18]

Significantly, the decision to create a pursuit squadron at Tuskegee also initiated the need for an Air Corps Primary flight training program for black pilots. As mentioned previously, it had been the CAA's wish that its Secondary flight program would substitute for the Air Corp's Primary program. The Air Corps thus decided in December—probably due to expediency—to use Tuskegee's Secondary CAA program as a substitute for Army Air Corps Primary training.[19]

On February 15, 1941, a meeting was held at Maxwell Field in Montgomery, Alabama. At this meeting, Tuskegee Institute was asked about its willingness to accept a contract to operate an Air Corps Primary training program. A deadline of July 15, 1941 was placed on Tuskegee Institute—should it accept the offer—to have all facilities and personnel in place so as to accept aviation cadets by this date. Tuskegee naturally

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[15] Ibid., 197.
[16] Jakeman, *Divided Skies*, 157, 197.
[17] *History of TAAF, Conception–6 December 1941*, 289.28–1 v.1, IRIS 00179144, AFHRA, 1. A pursuit squadron was later known as a fighter squadron.
[18] Ibid.; Brett to SEACTC Maxwell Field, Alabama, Signal Corps United States Army message, January 10, 1941, *History of TAAF, Conception–6 December 1941*, 289.28–1 v.1, IRIS 00179144, AFHRA, appendix 1b, p. 1.
[19] Washington, *Pilot Training of Negroes at Tuskegee Alabama,* 107.

accepted the offer. Because it was to be the sixty-sixth such operation in the country, it was designated as the 66th AAF Flying Training Detachment.[20]

[20] Washington, *Pilot Training of Negroes at Tuskegee Alabama,* 169–171.

Chapter 8: Inception of Tuskegee Army Air Field (TAAF)

8.1. Introduction

After Brig. Gen. Walter Weaver was directed on November 8, 1940 to create a plan to establish a training base at Tuskegee, the proposed manning level, divided by officers and enlisted men, was as follows:

Table 8.1. Proposed manning level (1940)

Section	Officers	Enlisted
Pursuit Squadron, Single Engine	33	210
Base Group Detachment	10	160
Weather and Communications	2	20
Services	2	39
Total	47	429

Source: Brig. Gen. Davenport Johnson to Commanding General, Southeast Air Corps Training Center, Maxwell Field, Alabama, November 8, 1940, *History of Tuskegee Army Air Field, Tuskegee, Alabama, Conception–6 December 1941*, 289.28–1 v.1, IRIS 00179144, AFHRA, appendix 1a, p. 1–2.

By March 1941, these figures had been increased to 570 men, with almost half of the increase due to the addition of a medical staff. [1]

The figures in table 8.1 pertain to the all-black squadron which was eventually planned for Tuskegee; however, as originally suggested in the original correspondence of November 8, 1940, Weaver noted in his reply of December 6 that the lack of trained

[1] Building and Grounds Division, Office of the Chief of the Air Corps, *Personnel Breakdown for Temporary Housing*, March 10, 1941, work sheet, Project Files, 1939–1942, Box 1828, Folder 686, Entry 295, Records of the Army Air Forces, RG 18, NACP; Building and Grounds Division, Office of the Chief of the Air Corps, Work Sheet, *Temporary Construction Data, revised January 11, 1941*, March 10, 1941, work sheet, Project Files, 1939–1942, Box 1828, Folder 686, Entry 295, Records of the Army Air Forces, RG 18, NACP; United States Engineer Office, Mobile, Alabama to Chief of Engineers, U. S. Army, Washington, DC, July 30, 1941, IRIS 02048555, (Microfilm Reel 686: Tuskegee Airfield, Part 1, Serial 1-83), AFHRA.

African-Americans necessitated the use of white personnel for approximately a year until such men could be trained. This group was to include eleven white officers and fifteen white enlisted men.

The white officers were initially planned to be eventually replaced by African-American officers once they had been trained. Fifteen white enlisted personnel would also be employed primarily in the technical aspects of aircraft support for approximately one year. African-American enlisted men were to be trained at Chanute Field in Rantoul, Illinois, where they would remain until the base at Tuskegee was operational. Thirteen African-American civilian ground instructors were to be employed as well.[2]

The lack of adequate local housing was noted in the initial report of 1940. General Weaver stated that "the city of Tuskegee has insufficient facilities for afford any of the necessary accommodations for the personnel required; therefore, in order to retain the unit within the vicinity of Tuskegee, it is necessary to construct at the site all the municipal facilities which may be needed. The building requirements accordingly, are in excess of those normally required, in order to accommodate all personnel concerned on the site."[3]

General Weaver's reply of December 6, 1940 estimated that the new airbase at Tuskegee would cost $1,091,270 to construct. Because a site for the base at Tuskegee had

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[2]Brig. Gen. Davenport Johnson, Air Corps, Chief of Training and Operations Division, to Commanding General, Southeast Air Corps Training Center, Maxwell Field, Alabama, November 8, 1940, *History of TAAF, Conception–6 December 1941*, 289.28–1 v.1, IRIS 00179144, AFHRA, 2; Brig. Gen. Walter Weaver to Chief of the Air Corps, Washington, DC, 1st Indorsement, December 6, 1940, *History of TAAF, Conception–6 December 1941*, 289.28–1 v.1, IRIS 00179144, AFHRA, exhibit E; *History of TAAF, Conception–6 December 1941,* 289.28–1 v.1, IRIS 00179144, AFHRA, 28–29. Exhibit E details only fourteen white enlisted men versus a total is fifteen men authorized. Sixteen white enlisted men were actually stationed at the base in 1941. This does not include those stationed at Moton Field.

[3] Brig. Gen. Walter Weaver to Chief of the Air Corps, Washington, DC, 1st Indorsement, December 6, 1940, *History of TAAF, Conception–6 December 1941*, 289.28–1 v.1, IRIS 00179144, AFHRA.

not yet been selected, this was necessarily a best guess—the estimate being based upon similar conditions for the airfield being constructed in Selma, Alabama. The Selma site was "in general similar in contour and soil conditions."[4] The plan was designed to allow for future expansion if needed—a wise consideration considering the events which occurred almost exactly one year later.[5]

As all of the officers, men and cadets were to be quartered at the airfield, provisions for them were as follows and necessarily divided by race.

Table 8.2. Initial housing proposal (1940)

Personnel type	Number bldgs.	Capacity per bldg.	Capacity by type	Total by pers. type
Officer				
White	1	14	14	
Black	1	33	33	
Unallocated	8	assumed 1	assumed 8	55
Enlisted				
White	1	17	17	
Black	7	63	441	458
Cadet	1	63	63	63

Source: Brig. Gen. Walter Weaver to Chief of the Air Corps, Washington, DC, 1st Indorsement, December 6, 1940, *History of Tuskegee Army Air Field, Tuskegee, Alabama, Conception–6 December 1941*, 289.28–1 v.1, IRIS 00179144, AFHRA, exhibit A.

As can be seen in table 8.2, planned housing space was sufficient for 55 officers and 458 enlisted men respectively—adequate for the entire contingent of expected personnel as of 1940, although it barely fulfilled the possibility of future expansion. With the exception of the Base Commanding Officer, who was required to be white, black officers and enlisted men would eventually occupy housing previously occupied by whites.

[4] Ibid.
[5] Ibid.

Although assignments for the original eleven barracks remained unchanged, the eight unallocated buildings were replaced with three barracks for the medical corps staff. This increased the total number of barracks to fourteen, a figure still in effect when construction began in July.[6]

An issue develops in that this housing proposal seems somewhat vague, and perhaps necessarily so. For example, no mention was made of the planned use of the cadet barracks once the majority of cadets were trained. The War Department stated in July of 1941 "that the quota of pilots for the 99th Squadron would be about 33, but a total of approximately 100 men would be trained annually." However, details regarding the required housing were omitted.[7] The presence of eight unallocated officer houses also remained a mystery. Since each dwelling was approximately 675 square feet in area, both protocol and the size of the units would suggest that these may be assigned to senior officers. Yet their addition also begs the question of housing for married enlisted personnel, since there was no mention of this possibility. Finally, there is no mention of civilian housing for the fifteen civilians. Thus the original housing plan as proposed in December 1940 seems incomplete at best—a deficiency which would be somewhat refined in the coming months.

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[6] Building and Grounds Division, Office of the Chief of the Air Corps, *Personnel Breakdown for Temporary Housing*, March 10, 1941, work sheet, Project Files, 1939–1942, Box 1828, Folder 686, Entry 295, Records of the Army Air Forces, RG 18, NACP; Building and Grounds Division, Office of the Chief of the Air Corps, Work Sheet, *Temporary Construction Data, revised January 11, 1941*, March 10, 1941, work sheet, Project Files, 1939–1942, Box 1828, Folder 686, Entry 295, Records of the Army Air Forces, RG 18, NACP; United States Engineer Office, Mobile, Alabama to Chief of Engineers, U. S. Army, Washington, DC, July 30, 1941, IRIS 02048555, (Microfilm Reel 686: Tuskegee Airfield, Part 1, Serial 1-83), AFHRA.

[7] Washington, *Pilot Training of Negroes at Tuskegee Alabama,* 223.

8.2. Site Selection

Finding a suitable location for the airbase commenced at the same time as its initial planning. The physical attributes of a proposed site were vital to its evaluation. Of first importance, the selected area and projected runways needed to be large enough to adequately incorporate the types of aircraft and training planned for that location.[8] The preferred terrain was one which was fairly level and well-drained so that runways and aircraft parking aprons could be built economically.[9] Equally important were the soil attributes with regards to runway construction and aircraft operations.[10] Lastly, considering that the Air Corps was expanding at that time, the potential site should offer room for expansion should the need arise.[11]

After some missteps, it was the third possible location which ultimately developed into what was initially known as Air Corps Advanced Flying School (ACAFS), Tuskegee, Alabama. Selected in late April 1941, this site was located a few miles northwest of Chehaw, Alabama.[12] The base was subsequently renamed Tuskegee Advanced Flying School (TAFS) in April of 1942, then redesignated in April 1943 as Tuskegee Army Air Field (TAAF).[13] For simplicity, the name Tuskegee Army Air Field (TAAF) will be utilized throughout the remainder of this paper.

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[8] Craven and Cate, *Army Air Forces in World War II, vol. 6*, 136. The reference pertains to the failure of site boards in this regard.
[9] Frederick J. Shaw, ed., *Locating Air Force Base Sites: History's Legacy* (Washington D.C.: 2004), 28.
[10] Henry L. Stimson to Frederick D. Patterson, May 10, 1941, Patterson Papers, 003.084, U.S. War Department, January–July 1941, TUA.
[11] Craven and Cate, *Army Air Forces in World War II, vol. 6*, 467.
[12] Jakeman, *Divided Skies*, 274–275, see notes 10, 11; Lt. Col. Mashburn to Commanding General, Southeast Air Corps Training Center, Maxwell Field, Alabama, *Sanitary Survey, Basic and Advanced Flying School for Colored, Tuskegee, Alabama*, April 26, 1941, IRIS 02048555, (Microfilm Reel 686: Tuskegee Airfield, Part 1, Serial 1-83), AFHRA.
[13] *History of TAAF, Conception–6 December 1941*, 289.28–1 v.1, IRIS 00179144, AFHRA, 28; Adjutant General, War Department to Commanding General, Southeast Air Corps Training Center, *Redesignation of Tuskegee Advanced Flying School (Colored),* April 17, 1942, Army Air Forces Training Command, IRIS 146001, 220.740 v.2 to 220.765–3, microfilm A2284, AFHRA, 1842; *History, Medical (Veterinary*

8.3. Moton Field

Although Tuskegee Institute's initial flight training was conducted in Montgomery for a short while, operations moved to Kennedy Field in February 1940. This field, which later became known as Field Number One, was located a few miles south of Tuskegee on U.S. Highway 29, otherwise known as the Union Springs Highway.[14] As a result, this field was already in use by Tuskegee Institute before the initiation of the Army's Primary training at Tuskegee.

As Tuskegee Institute needed an airfield capable of handling the requirements of the new Primary flight training program, an airfield for this purpose was established approximately four miles north from the town square.[15] It was in relatively close proximity to the proposed Tuskegee Army Air Field and mentioned briefly in chapter 2.

With the addition of a second field operated by Tuskegee Institute, the first airfield, or Kennedy Field, necessarily became known also as Field Number One.[16] The second field was sometimes called the Tuskegee Contract Field or some derivation thereof. [17] It was more formally known as Airport Number Two, but was renamed R. R. Moton Field on April 4, 1943 after some delay.[18] For the remainder of this paper, the first field will be named Kennedy Field, and the second field will be named Moton Field.

Activities), TAAF, December 1942 to October 1944, 289.28–3, v.2a, IRIS 00179152, AFHRA, 5. For simplicity, the airbase will hereafter be called either Tuskegee Army Air Field or TAAF.

[14] Washington, *Pilot Training of Negroes at Tuskegee Alabama,* 37–42.

[15] Personal inspection by the author.

[16] Washington, *Pilot Training of Negroes at Tuskegee Alabama,* 185.

[17] "National Defense Training and Aeronautic Activities at Tuskegee," *Service*, August 1941, 6, George L. Washington Files, 339.002, Publication Clippings–1941, TUA; "Tuskegee Institute Cooperates with Uncle Sam to Train Negroes for Air Corps," *Service*, August 1941, 7, George L. Washington Files, 339.002, Publication Clippings–1941, TUA.

[18] G. L. Washington to Administrator of Civil Aeronautics, February 2, 1942, George L. Washington Files, 339.003, Folder 6, TUA; F. D. Patterson to G. L. Washington, March 31, 1943, George L. Washington Files, 339.003, Folder 1, TUA; Reverend C. W. Kelly, News among the Colored People, *Tuskegee News*, March 25, 1943.

The details surrounding the construction of Moton Field will not be discussed in detail as its impact on local housing was not nearly as significant as that of Tuskegee Army Air Field. However, the following synopsis briefly summarizes its initial development.

Chapter 7 outlined the details regarding the development of the CAA's flight program in relation to Tuskegee Institute, and that Tuskegee Institute was authorized on February 15, 1941 to become a contractor for Army Air Corps Primary training program. The February proposal occurred a month after the Tuskegee Army Air Field was approved. As a result, the development of the Institute's Primary flight program largely coincided with that of Tuskegee Army Air Field. Primary flight training was tentatively set to begin on July 15, 1941. This date was later changed to July 19, 1941.[19]

A contract between the U. S. Government and Tuskegee Institute regarding Primary flight training was not signed until May 30, 1941. Approximately six hundred and fifty acres of land had already been tentatively purchased, and construction of the Institute airfield began on June 1, 1941.[20] Land condemnation letters for the larger Army base, Tuskegee Army Air Field, were dated June 10, 1941, with right of entry occurring on July 10, 1941.[21] Thus construction at both air facilities began within approximately six weeks of each other. It was this construction which would first place large pressures on the existing housing stocks in Tuskegee and the Greenwood areas.

[19] Washington, *Pilot Training of Negroes at Tuskegee Alabama,* 169–171, 177.
[20] Ibid., 176, 181, 185.
[21] *History of TAAF, Conception–6 December 1941*, 289.28–1 v.1, IRIS 00179144, AFHRA, 19.

Chapter 9: Initial Housing Recommendations

9.1. Moton Field

The construction of Moton Field, although beginning six weeks earlier than that at TAAF, would not be as complicated or extensive as that at the larger base. At the onset of operations, only flight operations would take place at Moton Field. Classes would necessarily be conducted at Tuskegee Institute.[1]

In the meantime, the initial number of cadets to be trained had been decreased from an initial thirty cadets per class to fifteen, then later from fifteen cadets per class to ten. As a result, Tuskegee Institute was forced to reduce the scope of the building project for financial reasons; the most significant change being that housing and messing facilities for cadets would not be constructed at the base as initially planned. Instead, permission was given by the Army Air Corps to use existing dormitory and dining facilities located at the Institute. Plans for the final version of the project were submitted by Tuskegee Institute on May 7, 1941.[2]

The initiation of the Primary training contract during the summer of 1941 meant that it would be operating in tandem with the Institute's ongoing CAA flight training program. To accommodate both groups of students and comply with Army airfield

[1] Washington, *Pilot Training of Negroes at Tuskegee Alabama,* 189–191.
[2] Ibid., 183, 188–189.

requirements, it was decided that Kennedy Field would continue to be utilized for the CAA program, with Moton Field being used exclusively for Primary training.[3]

Each entering class of Primary cadets would spend ten weeks training at the Institute, with a new class beginning every five weeks. Facilities were thus planned according to this schedule, along with the accepted cadet washout rate of forty percent. Thus an average of sixteen cadets would be in training at any one time. From the beginning, actual class size was slightly larger than the initial quota of ten students, but not dramatically so in that the facilities were stressed.[4]

Classroom work—that is, five weeks of Pre-flight instruction—began on July 19, 1941.[5] Primary flight training at Moton Field began after the completion of Pre-flight. For the first class of cadets composing Class SE 42-C, this commenced on August 25, 1941.[6] After training was completed at Moton Field, Class SE 42-C, which included Captain Benjamin O. Davis, Jr., the future commander of the 99th Fighter Squadron and five of the original twelve cadets, was to be transferred to Tuskegee Army Air Field on November 8, 1941. At TAAF they would begin Basic flight instruction. [7] It was on this date or thereabouts when it was initially planned that the construction of the larger base would be completed.

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[3] G. L. Washington to Administrator of Civil Aeronautics, February 2, 1942, George L. Washington Files, 339.003, Correspondences 1946, TUA.
[4] Washington, *Pilot Training of Negroes at Tuskegee Alabama,* 299.
[5] Washington, *Pilot Training of Negroes at Tuskegee Alabama,* 248–249; G. L. Washington to F. D. Patterson, February 7, 1942, George L. Washington Files, 339.003, Correspondences 1946, TUA. This arrangement lasted at Tuskegee Institute until February 25, 1942, when the Pre-flight instruction program was relocated to TAAF.
[6] Washington, *Pilot Training of Negroes at Tuskegee Alabama,* 246, 247. The designation Class SE 42-C is interpreted as the third class (C) of fiscal year 1942, composed of Single Engine (SE) students.
[7] Graduation Exercises of the Air Corps Advanced Flying School, Class SE 42-C, program, March 7, 1942, Box 24, Folder 12, Parrish Papers, LOC; *History of TAAF, Conception–6 December 1941*, 289.28–1 v.1, IRIS 00179144, AFHRA, 30. One cadet of the five failed to graduate in March 1942.

The architect for the Moton Field project was the firm of Alexander and Repass of Des Moines, Iowa.[8] Although Alexander undoubtedly brought many employees with him—all of which were white—he employed local construction persons as well. This would necessarily lessen the burden on local housing.[9]

The unusually heavy rains during the summer of 1941 greatly hindered construction progress. Extra help, primarily from employees and students at Tuskegee Institute, was needed to keep the project on schedule. However, the summer rains meant that the flying field and hangers were still not completed at the beginning of flight training at Moton Field.[10]

9.2. Initial Cadet Housing

According to G. L. Washington, arranging the necessary classroom space, accommodations, and dining hall facilities for this number of cadets never presented a significant problem, but President Patterson wrote in October 1941 that an increase in enrollment—in particular a record number of incoming freshmen—had "placed a strain on our housing facilities and imposed a rather severe burden on our limited staff of personnel workers."[11]

The availability of on-campus housing for both students and employees alike was stressed even before the advent of Army's Primary flight program.[12] The primary causes were the lean financial years due to the depression and, more specifically, financial

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[8] Washington, *Pilot Training of Negroes at Tuskegee Alabama,* 183, 189.
[9] Ibid., 181, 195, 281.
[10] Ibid., 246, 247.
[11] Tuskegee Institute, *President's Annual Report for the Year 1940–41,* Bulletin of Tuskegee Institute 35, no. 3, 10 (Tuskegee, Alabama: Tuskegee Institute Press, October 1941), TUA.
[12] F. D. Patterson to Hayse Tucker, April 5, 1939, Alabama Governor (1939–1943): Dixon, Administrative Files: Title of Records: Institution Files, Alabama Polytechnic Institute–Tuskegee Institute, Box SG012207, Folder 15, ADAH, Montgomery, Alabama.

reversals with regards to the Institute's investments. As of April 1942, the Institute had an accumulated investment loss of the past few years in excess of $220,000.[13] A further financial shock to the Institute would arrive in the spring of 1942, when it was discovered that the Tuskegee Institute Savings Bank was the victim of employee embezzlement, forcing its closure.[14]

These factors most certainly affected the upkeep of the Institute's housing stock, much of which was quite old and dilapidated. For example, the male students and employees living singly occupied approximately ten dorms. These included the four Emery buildings, Rockefeller Hall, Phelps Hall, Sage Hall, Cassidy Hall, O. D. Hall, and Thrasher Hall. The last three were in particularly poor shape.[15]

Months after the initiation of cadet training, E. H. Adams wrote to the Institute's Business Committee requesting that three large rooms in the basement of Sage Hall be remodeled into nine or ten double rooms. "We are constantly being ridiculed by parents," Adams said, "for putting their sons in rooms where there are twelve or fourteen other boys." Additionally, Adams requested that "we provide adequately equipped reception rooms. I think that this will be important in keeping young men from hanging around on the campus in certain areas and in front of the drugstore [located in the Chambliss building]. As it is now there is no place in the dormitory for them to sit and enjoy themselves in a home-like manner." Lastly, Adams requested that the attics in the four

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[13] Tuskegee Institute Board of Trustees, *Minutes of the Spring Meeting of the Board of Trustees of Tuskegee Institute*, hand–typed copy, April 11, 1942, 10–11, Filing Cabinet: Annual Reports, Folder: Minutes of Annual Spring Meeting, TUA.
[14] *Tuskegee News,* "Sentences Passed in Closing of Institute Bank," April 9, 1942; Tuskegee Institute Board of Trustees, *Minutes of the Spring Meeting of the Board of Trustees of Tuskegee Institute*, April 11, 1942, 12–13, 31–32, TUA.
[15] E. H. Adams to J. L. Anderson, June 2, 1942, Local 1942, 131.045, J. L. Anderson, TUA.

Emery buildings be renovated so as to make a third floor in each building. This would provide space for at least 140 more students.[16]

But as far as the two flight programs were concerned, both would occupy two buildings on campus. At that time, Phelps Hall was already being used to house CAA students who had arrived from other locales. In 1940, a proposal had been forwarded to place the CAA Secondary students in a house located on the campus. As this involved a capital outlay for renovations, however, it may have been rejected as no further mention of this proposal has surfaced.[17]

As for housing of the incoming Army flight cadets, it was decided to renovate the Boy's Bath House, with one or two classrooms being located in adjacent Phelps Hall.[18] The Boys Bath House was renovated by architect A. A. Alexander, with 2,400 square feet of space converted into sleeping quarters for thirty cadets.[19] The necessary toilet, shower and lavatory facilities were also constructed, as well as space allotted for the Army flight surgeon. [20]

9.3. Faculty Housing and Repair

Faculty housing was a complicated issue in that that these persons lived in either dormitories, apartments or cottages on-campus, or off-campus in the surrounding community to include Greenwood. On campus, single persons tended to live in

[16] E. H. Adams to the Business Committee, December 4, 1941, Local 1941, 131.044, E. H. Adams, TUA.
[17] Washington, *Pilot Training of Negroes at Tuskegee Alabama,* 78; G. L. Washington to F. D. Patterson, November 6, 1940, George L. Washington Files, 339.002, Correspondences 1940, TUA.
[18] Washington, *Pilot Training of Negroes at Tuskegee Alabama,* 191, 194, 235.
[19] Ibid., 190; G. L. Washington to Major J. A. Ellison, September 15, 1941, Patterson Papers, 003.084, U.S. War Department, August–December 1941, TUA.
[20] Washington, *Pilot Training of Negroes at Tuskegee Alabama,* 190, 235.

dormitories, while married persons lived in cottages. The Pinehurst apartment building housed married persons, yet may have included singles living either singly or in groups.

Many on-campus cottages were actually not cottages but large houses, duplexes, or of similar construction. For example, the President's cottage, also known as the Parker Cottage or Cottage Number 45, consisted of a two-story house of approximately 2,600 square feet in size.[21] Pinehurst Cottage was located between the power plant and the hospital.[22]

As mentioned briefly in chapter 8, the earliest military assessments noted the limited availability of living quarters in Tuskegee. This lack of off-campus space, combined with the equal unavailability of space on campus, meant that it was necessary to prioritize housing for new or returning faculty even before the advent of airfield construction during the summer of 1941.

For example, assuming that they sought it, pilot Chief Alfred Anderson and his wife apparently could not find space in town when they moved to Tuskegee during the summer of 1940. In the end, they were housed in the guest quarters of Sage Hall, a men's dormitory.[23]

Benjamin O. Davis, Jr., who had been stationed at the Institute as recently as February 1941, planned a return to Tuskegee after a brief tour serving as his father's aide-de-camp in Kansas. However, before construction had begun at either airbase, he could also not find living space in town. Writing to President Patterson on May 5, 1941, Davis

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[21] Booker Conley, "Demolished Buildings/Structures," 1996, TUA; Sanborn Map Company, Pelham, New York, *Tuskegee, Alabama*, 1929 revised to 1954, map, 10, Macon County Archives, Tuskegee, Alabama.
[22] L. Albert Scipio Jr., *Pre-War Days at Tuskegee* (Silver Springs, Maryland: Roman Publications, 1987), 53; Sanborn Map Company, Pelham, New York, *Tuskegee, Alabama*, 1929 revised to 1954, map, 10, Macon County Archives, Tuskegee, Alabama.
[23] Washington, *Pilot Training of Negroes at Tuskegee Alabama,* 203.

stated that "I expect to be ordered to Tuskegee, Alabama in the near future for duty with the Air Corps. On a recent visit to Tuskegee I discovered (as I had expected) that there are no houses available. I would like to know whether Tuskegee Institute will rent me a house or apartment. The housing situation being what it is, I will be very glad to get anything."[24] Replying later that month, Lloyd Isaacs, Institute Treasurer, informed Davis that temporary quarters had been arranged in Phelps Hall.[25]

Alonzo Davis, before arriving at Tuskegee Institute from Chicago, had asked in March 1941 for a house, hopefully "of the type now occupied by the Chenaults and Dawsons or as was formerly occupied by the Fryers."[26] His requested occupation date was June 1, 1941. Patterson replied that he would be happy to do so, but that "our present situation on this is little better than it was sometime back when we were extremely crowded and handicapped on quarters."[27] Apparently Alonzo Davis' arrival date changed, as he informed President Patterson in mid-June that he was planning to arrive on July 1, 1941 and that he had still not heard from the Business Committee concerning his quarters.[28] In a reply some days later, President Patterson informed Davis that "our housing situation is an acute one with us at the present time. We have in mind your request however and as soon as we can work out the matter you will be assigned to a house. It may be, however, that temporary arrangements will be required on your arrival."[29]

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[24] Captain B. O. Davis, Jr., to F. D. Patterson, February 14, 1941, Local 1941, 131.042, Folder D, TUA; Mitchell to Captain B. O. Davis, January 14, 1941, telegram, Patterson Papers, 003.084, U. S. War Department January –July 1941, TUA; Captain B. O. Davis, Jr., to F. D. Patterson, May 5, 1941, Local 1941, 131.042, Folder D, TUA.
[25] Lloyd Isaacs to Captain B. O. Davis, Jr., May 30, 1941, Local 1941, 131.043, Lloyd Isaacs, TUA.
[26] Alonzo Davis to F. D. Patterson, March 18, 1941, Local 1941, 131.042, Folder D, TUA.
[27] F. D. Patterson to Alonzo Davis, March 27, 1941, Local 1941, 131.042, Folder D, TUA.
[28] Alonzo Davis to F. D. Patterson, June 17, 1941, Local 1941, 131.042, Folder D, TUA.
[29] F. D. Patterson to Alonzo Davis, June 25, 1941, Local 1941, 131.042, Folder D, TUA.

Davis should have considered himself lucky; at least two other persons arriving later that year were completely rejected for housing and were asked to find something in the local community.[30]

Besides these two individuals, another employee who could not obtain living quarters on campus was Austin H. Humbles, who had been employed that summer to work in the Institute's pilot training program. After doggedly but unsuccessfully looking for living space, G. L. Washington became aware of his situation and wrote to President Patterson for help. "We have a very good man working with Mr. Gray at the Army field in the presence of Mr. Austin H. Humbles. Mr. Humbles has a family of six and is becoming so dissatisfied over his inability to locate any kind of house around Tuskegee, that he is at the point of leaving our service. This would embarrass us tremendously. I am addressing this letter as a special request that in some way provisions be made on the campus or in a school cottage of Mr. Humbles." [31] Patterson replied that temporary accommodation would be found for Mr. Humbles.[32]

In contrast to those either begging for Institute housing or forced to seek housing off campus, housing was made a priority for those indispensable persons working in the highest offices of the Institute. Luther Foster, who later became the president of Tuskegee Institute, arrived in the summer of 1941 to replace Lloyd Isaacs as the Institute's treasurer. This position was one of the most important positions at the Institute. As a result, Foster—even with the tight housing situation and with both aviation construction

[30] F. D. Patterson to T. W. Jones, September 4, 1941, Patterson Papers, 003.126, Folder J, TUA; F. D. Patterson to Emily Webb Allen, November 17, 1941, Local 1941, 131.044, Folder A, TUA.
[31] G. L. Washington to F. D. Patterson, n.d., Patterson Papers, 003.084, U.S. War Department 2, August–December 1941, TUA.
[32] F. D. Patterson to G. L. Washington, September 24, 1941, Patterson Papers, 003.084, U.S. War Department 2, August–December 1941, TUA.

projects either beginning or already underway—was offered accommodations even before he accepted the position.[33]

The tightness of available housing on campus also necessitated that all possible faculty buildings be either improved or converted into more housing whenever feasible. By October 1941, Patterson reported that with one exception, "all unoccupied cottages have been remodeled, renovated and converted into uses which will tend to relieve the acute shortage of living facilities for the families of workers and staff."[34]

There was additionally a limited amount of new construction. Two cottages, both of which were to be located near the intersection of the Old Montgomery Highway and Franklin Road, had been approved for construction by the Institute's Board of Trustees in 1940. G. L. Washington's office was tasked to create plans for their layout and construction, with the cost not to exceed six thousand dollars each.[35] Not completed until early 1942, one was described as including a kitchen, breakfast room, dining room, living room, library, and bathroom with a shower stall on the first floor. The second floor included three bedrooms, a small den, a dressing room, and a bathroom with a bathtub. One employee estimated that "a family of six could live quite comfortably in the whole house."[36]

[33] F. D. Patterson to L. H. Foster, July 9, 1941, Patterson Papers, 003.127, Folder F, TUA.
[34] Tuskegee Institute, *President's Annual Report for the Year 1940–41,* Bulletin of Tuskegee Institute 35, no. 3, 39 (Tuskegee, Alabama: Tuskegee Institute Press, October 1941), TUA.
[35] F. D. Patterson to G. L. Washington, June 22, 1940, George L. Washington Files, Folder 4, Correspondences 1940, Box 339.002, TUA.
[36] J. P. Guzman to F. D. Patterson, February 24, 1942, Local 1942, 131.036, J. P. Guzman, TUA.

Chapter 10: Housing Determinants, Procedures and Analysis

10.1. Defense Housing Coordinator Procedures

As outlined in chapters 7 and 8, the approval and initial planning of operations at Moton Field and Tuskegee Army Air Field was accomplished in the first half of 1941. A contract between the U. S. Government and Tuskegee Institute was signed on May 30, 1941, with construction of Moton Field beginning on June 1, 1941.[1] Condemnation papers for the land on which TAAF would be constructed had been sent to the Secretary of War on June 10, 1941 with the right to entry date—that is, the date upon which construction crews could enter the property—being established as July 10, 1941.[2]

As a result, the Tuskegee area saw construction personnel begin to arrive during the early summer weeks of 1941. The issues involving a lack of living space in and around Tuskegee Institute were already well evident and likely indicative of the tightness of African-American housing throughout the entirety of Tuskegee itself. It was into this tight housing situation that the first construction workers of both races arrived in Tuskegee. In addition to the arrival of construction workers, temporary housing would also be necessary for all incoming military personnel until adequate facilities could be built at TAAF.

[1] Washington, *Pilot Training of Negroes at Tuskegee Alabama,* 176, 181, 185.
[2] *History of TAAF, Conception–6 December 1941*, 289.28–1 v.1, IRIS 00179144, AFHRA, 18.

When defense preparations began in earnest, a national organization was required to coordinate economic activities throughout the country. As a result, procedures had already been developed to assess both the labor and housing situations within a given defense area such as Tuskegee.[3]

An Advisory Commission was created on May 28, 1940 to assist the Council of National Defense. This commission consisted of different departments such as Industrial Materials, Production, Labor, Price Stabilization, Agriculture, Consumer, and Transportation.[4]

Four separate divisions were also created to assist the Secretary of the Advisory Commission. In this regard, Charles F. Palmer began work as the Defense Housing Coordinator on July 22, 1940.[5]

The Defense Housing Coordinator's task was to plan and execute the nation's defense housing program. More particularly, he was responsible for six functions, the most relevant of which with regards to the purposes of this paper were to:[6]

- Anticipate housing needs in defense areas and conduct surveys related to the situation and needs in each area.

[3] Craf, *A Survey of the American Economy: 1940–1946*, 4.
[4] Ibid.
[5] The Advisory Commission to the Council of National Defense, *Weekly Progress Report of Operations*, Report 23, December 26, 1940, January–June 1941, National Defense Advisory Council, Weekly Progress Reports, Executive Offices, Box 2, OPA, RG 188, NACP, 847; The Advisory Commission to the Council of National Defense, *Weekly Report of the Advisory Commission to the Council of National Defense*, Report 3, August 7, 1940, July–October 1940, National Defense Advisory Council, Weekly Progress Reports, Executive Offices, Box 1, OPA, RG 188, NACP, 107.
[6] The Advisory Commission to the Council of National Defense, *Weekly Report of the Advisory Commission to the Council of National Defense*, Report 3, August 7, 1940, July–October 1940, National Defense Advisory Council, Weekly Progress Reports, Executive Offices, Box 1, OPA, RG 188, NACP, 106.

- Gather information from other Commissioners to assist in the accurate forecasting of housing needs, then insure that these needs were supplied.
- Determine whether the anticipated housing needs were best provided by private enterprise or public agencies.

These tasks illustrate that the Coordinator was responsible for providing an adequate housing supply in defense areas after first estimating the expected increase in demand. As all military personnel assigned to a new military base necessarily arrived from other locations, there were two general possibilities with regards to housing them.

As originally suggested in the report of December 6, 1940, the obvious first possibility was that these persons would live on the base proper. Ordinarily all single personnel, especially enlisted personnel, were required to live in on-base housing. This usually consisted of barracks for the lower enlisted ranks. In the case of more senior enlisted personnel or officers, buildings consisting of various types of apartments were typically available. Houses or small apartment buildings such as duplexes, if available, were occupied by the more senior single officers.[7] In general, a higher military rank was provided with better housing.

Married personnel of all ranks could live on base provided that married base housing was available. Like that of more senior personnel, these typically consisted of houses or small apartment buildings such as duplexes. If these types of housing were unavailable, couples would necessarily have to find housing off-base and be monetarily compensated according to local housing conditions. The same compensation would be

[7] General knowledge of the author.

available also to single personnel provided that they lived off-base.[8] Naturally, these persons would necessarily live within commuting distance.[9]

Civilian workers employed on these bases could be either local or in-migrant. With regards to housing, the essential task for the government was to first estimate the number of persons already living in the area who may be employable at the base. These persons would require no additional housing, thus no planning need occur for them. Once the number of potential local workers was subtracted from the expected total number of employees, an estimation of the number of in-migrant persons was possible. These persons would require housing in some form. Combining this figure with the estimated number of those military persons living off-base would hopefully give an accurate estimate of the off-base housing required.[10]

In rural areas, the Agricultural Division of the Advisory Commission was responsible for surveying the area within a thirty-five mile radius of a proposed defense plant. This may have included military installations requiring civilian labor as well. Data would be ascertained with regards to "the total farm population, its density, the number of gainful workers in agriculture, and estimates of the number of unemployed or partially employed workers in agriculture."[11]

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[8] General knowledge of the author.
[9] Samuel J. Dennis, "Housing in Relation to National Defense," *Journal of the American Statistical Association* 36, no. 213 (March 1941): 37–38.
[10] Samuel J. Dennis, "Housing in Relation to National Defense," *Journal of the American Statistical Association* 36, no. 213 (March 1941): 37–38. General knowledge of the author.
[11] The Advisory Commission to the Council of National Defense, *Weekly Progress Report of the Advisory Commission to the Council of National Defense*, Report 4, August 14, 1940, July–October 1940, National Defense Advisory Council, Weekly Progress Reports, Executive Offices, Box 1, OPA, RG 188, NACP, 140.

The Labor Division was employed in a similar task, being charged with securing data on labor market conditions relative to housing needs in non-rural areas.[12] These surveys were performed by the Bureau of Employment Security of the Social Security Board (BES).[13]

On the supply side, two metrics were taken. The first was to study the number of available housing vacancies in the area. The second was to ascertain the number of large, older homes which could be converted into multiple dwellings. In smaller towns such as Tuskegee, a complete survey of all housing was performed, with statistical sampling occurring in larger areas.[14]

A process of homes registration was introduced as a practical step towards registering vacancies in a particular area. The forerunner of this program was a similar program which operated during and after World War I.[15]

The plan as initially conceived was to create local Homes Registration Bureaus under the umbrella of the local defense councils. These would operate in areas expecting housing shortages due to local defense activities.[16] The ultimate goal of the registration

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[12] The Advisory Commission to the Council of National Defense, *Weekly Progress Report of the Advisory Commission to the Council of National Defense*, Report 13, October 16, 1940, July–October 1940, National Defense Advisory Council, Weekly Progress Reports, Executive Offices, Box 1, OPA, RG 188, NACP, 485.
[13] Samuel J. Dennis, "Housing in Relation to National Defense," *Journal of the American Statistical Association* 36, no. 213 (March 1941): 41.
[14] Samuel J. Dennis, "Housing in Relation to National Defense," *Journal of the American Statistical Association* 36, no. 213 (March 1941): 42.
[15] The Advisory Commission to the Council of National Defense, *Weekly Report of Operations*, Report 18, November 20, 1940, January–June 1941, National Defense Advisory Council, Weekly Progress Reports, Executive Offices, Box 2, OPA, RG 188, NACP, 699; The Advisory Commission to the Council of National Defense, *Weekly Report of Operations*, Report 25, January 8, 1941, January–June 1941, National Defense Advisory Council, Weekly Progress Reports, Executive Offices, Box 2, OPA, RG 188, NACP, 937.
[16] The Advisory Commission to the Council of National Defense, *Weekly Report of Operations*, Report 25, January 8, 1941, January–June 1941, National Defense Advisory Council, Weekly Progress Reports, Executive Offices, Box 2, OPA, RG 188, NACP, 937.

was twofold: (1) to exploit all available opportunities to house in-migrant workers in existing dwellings in lieu of building new housing, and (2) to provide a central point of contact for in-migrant workers seeking to locate available housing.[17] Housing conversion and maintenance rehabilitation opportunities would also be exploited, assisted by various agencies such as the Federal Housing Administration and the Federal Home Loan Bank Board.[18] A Summary of Standards for Defense Housing was created by the Division of Standards, requiring that typical housing standards were met by landlords renting housing through the Bureau.[19] These standards can be assumed to be similar to those promulgated by the United States Housing Authority (USHA), designed to eliminate substandard housing conditions. Examples of substandard housing would include the lack of running water, inside toilet and bathing facilities; inadequate kitchen facilities to include the lack of running water and a sink; inadequate interior heating; and the presence of major maintenance issues. Inadequate room sizes and lighting were also considered. Maximum occupancy was also listed for a given number of rooms.[20]

The task of registering vacancies in selected areas was an onerous one and beyond the manpower capabilities of local defense councils. Accordingly, the Work Projects

[17] Samuel J. Dennis, "Housing in Relation to National Defense," *Journal of the American Statistical Association* 36, no. 213 (March 1941): 43.
[18] The Advisory Commission to the Council of National Defense, *Weekly Report of Operations*, Report 25, January 8, 1941, January–June 1941, National Defense Advisory Council, Weekly Progress Reports, Executive Offices, Box 2, OPA, RG 188, NACP, 937.
[19] The Advisory Commission to the Council of National Defense, *Weekly Report of Operations*, Report 25, January 8, 1941, January–June 1941, National Defense Advisory Council, Weekly Progress Reports, Executive Offices, Box 2, OPA, RG 188, NACP, 937; The Advisory Commission to the Council of National Defense, *Weekly Report of Operations*, Report 28, January 29, 1941, January–June 1941, National Defense Advisory Council, Weekly Progress Reports, Executive Offices, Box 2, OPA, RG 188, NACP, 1010.
[20] United States Housing Authority, Department of the Interior, press release HA-46, n.d., Patterson Papers, 003.062, U. S. Housing Administration, Housing Authority Bulletin, TUA.

Administration (WPA) was apparently tasked with this job from the onset, although it is uncertain as to the depth of the assistance.[21]

Once the supply and demand aspects of housing were estimated and the number of dwellings and available rooms were tabulated, the next step was to ascertain what types of additional housing would be appropriate for a given area. Of these additional units, it was then estimated how many units could be built privately, and how many units would necessitate the use of federal funds. The predominant considerations were those which would provide adequate housing so that (1) defense work operated in an efficient manner without unnecessary turnover, (2) proper living standards were maintained as much as possible and (3) reasonable rents and other costs were assured.[22] In short, additional housing units were to be provided for workers "when they are needed, where they are needed, and most important of all, within the means of those who need them."[23]

Four factors were considered as to the nature of the in-migrants and the type of housing which would be best suited for both them and the locality. The first consideration was whether the tenants were likely to be single—which could mean that either they were single or married but unaccompanied—or accompanied by their family. This was important in that the bulk of government housing was planned primarily for married couples or families. Single or unaccompanied persons were assumed to find accommodation locally in rooms if such availability existed. This would include "lodging

[21] The Advisory Commission to the Council of National Defense, *Weekly Report of Operations*, Report 29, February 5, 1941, January–June 1941, National Defense Advisory Council, Weekly Progress Reports, Executive Offices, Box 2, OPA, RG 188, NACP, 1027.
[22] Samuel J. Dennis, "Housing in Relation to National Defense," *Journal of the American Statistical Association* 36, no. 213 (March 1941): 36.
[23] Nathan Straus, Administrator, United States Housing Authority (address, annual meeting of the Structural Clay Products Institute, Washington DC, November 6, 1941), p. 1, Alabama Governor (1939–1943): Dixon, Administrative Files: Fiscal Year 1943, Box SG012280, Folder 007: 1941, U. S. Housing Authority, ADAH, Montgomery, Alabama.

houses, hotels, barracks, or in extra rooms in the houses to be built," although it later appears that barracks were built by the government in case of an extreme shortage of other types of accommodation.[24] The preponderance of housing planned for families is exemplified by the statistics available as of February 19, 1941. Per that date, 96.4 percent of the 68,632 units for which funds were either allocated, under construction, or completed were earmarked for family housing.[25]

The second consideration was the income of the tenants. In this regard, housing for higher income tenants would be built privately with or without government assistance. For lower income workers, federally-financed public housing in various forms would be provided, although these would be built primarily by private construction firms. Construction by the appropriate military organization was also possible in certain areas.[26]

The impetus for this assistance was that the estimated rental rates would be too low as compared to the cost of construction, thus there was no incentive for private investment.[27] In this regard, it was estimated that at least forty-five percent of defense

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[24] The Advisory Commission to the Council of National Defense, *Weekly Operations Progress Report of the Advisory Commission to the Council of National Defense*, Report 6, August 28, 1940, July–October 1940, National Defense Advisory Council, Weekly Progress Reports, Executive Offices, Box 1, OPA, RG 188, NACP, 226; The Advisory Commission to the Council of National Defense, *Weekly Report of Operations*, Report 35, March 19, 1941, January–June 1941, National Defense Advisory Council, Weekly Progress Reports, Executive Offices, Box 2, OPA, RG 188, NACP, 1133.

[25] The Advisory Commission to the Council of National Defense, *Weekly Report of Operations*, Report 31, February 19, 1941, January–June 1941, National Defense Advisory Council, Weekly Progress Reports, Executive Offices, Box 2, OPA, RG 188, NACP, 1061.

[26] The Advisory Commission to the Council of National Defense, *Weekly Operations Progress Report of the Advisory Commission to the Council of National Defense*, Report 6, August 28, 1940, July–October 1940, National Defense Advisory Council, Weekly Progress Reports, Executive Offices, Box 1, OPA, RG 188, NACP, 226; Federal Works Agency, United States Housing Authority, *What and Why is the USHA?* (Washington DC: Government Printing Office, n.d.), brochure, Patterson Papers, 003.127, Federal Housing Administration, TUA.

The Advisory Commission to the Council of National Defense, *Weekly Operations Progress Report of the Advisory Commission to the Council of National Defense*, Report 2, July 31, 1940, July–October 1940, National Defense Advisory Council, Weekly Progress Reports, Executive Offices, Box 1, OPA, RG 188, NACP, 136.

[27] Samuel J. Dennis, "Housing in Relation to National Defense," *Journal of the American Statistical Association* 36, no. 213 (March 1941): 38.

worker families received an income of less than $1,750 per year and could afford a monthly rent of thirty dollars or less. This amount of monthly remuneration was one which was less than private industry could afford to build.[28]

This concept of public assistance already existed at the time of war preparations. In 1933, President Roosevelt had created the Federal Emergency Administration of Public Works, more commonly known as the Public Works Administration, as an element of the National Industrial Recovery Act. Implemented under the responsibility of the Housing Division, its purpose was for the "construction, reconstruction, alteration, or repair under public regulation or control of low-cost housing and slum-clearance projects."[29] This idea of public assistance was altered somewhat towards more local control under the United States Housing Act of 1937, also known as the Wagner-Steagall Act. Under this Act, the federal government would lend up to ninety percent of the necessary funds for low-cost housing construction to a local public housing agency, the purpose being to assist in the "elimination of unsafe and insanitary housing conditions and for the development of decent, safe, and sanitary dwellings for families of low income." The local public housing agency was responsible for securing the remainder of the funding.[30] The United States Housing Authority (USHA) was created at this time and

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[28] Nathan Straus, Administrator, United States Housing Authority (address, annual meeting of the Structural Clay Products Institute, Washington DC, November 6, 1941), p. 2, Alabama Governor (1939–1943): Dixon, Administrative Files: Fiscal Year 1943, Box SG012280, Folder 007: 1941, U. S. Housing Authority, ADAH, Montgomery, Alabama; Federal Works Agency, United States Housing Authority, *What and Why is the USHA?* (Washington DC: Government Printing Office, n.d.), brochure, Patterson Papers, 003.127, Federal Housing Administration, TUA. The second reference states that two-thirds of workers qualified for low-rent housing assistance.

[29] Gilbert A. Cam, "United States Government Activity in Low-Cost Housing, 1932–1938," *Journal of Political Economy* 47, no. 3 (June 1939): 359.

[30] Gilbert A. Cam, "United States Government Activity in Low-Cost Housing, 1932–1938," *Journal of Political Economy* 47, no. 3 (June 1939): 374; Elizabeth Logan, "The Present Status of Municipal Housing and Slum Clearance in the United States," *The American Political Science Review* 31, no. 6 (December 1937): 1125.

acquired the previous housing responsibilities and projects of the Public Works Administration.[31] Thus the USHA, which was later placed under the umbrella of the Federal Works Agency in 1939, was well positioned and acquainted with the process of public housing construction by the time that war preparations began.[32]

The third consideration was duration of tenancy. For certain areas that anticipated a surge of temporary personnel—for example those involved in the construction of the facilities—temporary or emergency shelter was proposed if there was an immediate need for it.[33] Another possible need was "stopgap" housing for arriving defense workers in situations where permanent housing was still under construction.[34] Both types of housing were provided primarily in the form of trailers, the first of which were authorized for construction in February 1941.[35]

The fourth consideration included the possibility of using this housing in a post-war environment. Public housing authorized by the USHA had a defined life expectancy of at least sixty years.[36] Thus it was appropriate to build such war-related housing in areas where their usefulness would continue after the war. Demountable, or removable,

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[31] Elizabeth Logan, "The Present Status of Municipal Housing and Slum Clearance in the United States," *The American Political Science Review* 31, no. 6 (December 1937): 1128.
[32] Jason Scott Smith, *Building New Deal Liberalism: The Political Economy of Public Works, 1933–1956* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 234.
[33] The Advisory Commission to the Council of National Defense, *Weekly Operations Progress Report of the Advisory Commission to the Council of National Defense*, Report 6, August 28, 1940, July–October 1940, National Defense Advisory Council, Weekly Progress Reports, Executive Offices, Box 1, OPA, RG 188, NACP, 227; The Advisory Commission to the Council of National Defense, *Weekly Report of Operations*, Report 33, March 5, 1941, January–June 1941, National Defense Advisory Council, Weekly Progress Reports, Executive Offices, Box 2, OPA, RG 188, NACP, 1104.
[34] The Advisory Commission to the Council of National Defense, *Weekly Report of Operations*, Report 25, January 8, 1941, January–June 1941, National Defense Advisory Council, Weekly Progress Reports, Executive Offices, Box 2, OPA, RG 188, NACP, 937.
[35] The Advisory Commission to the Council of National Defense, *Weekly Report of Operations*, Report 31, February 19, 1941, January–June 1941, National Defense Advisory Council, Weekly Progress Reports, Executive Offices, Box 2, OPA, RG 188, NACP, 1062.
[36] Federal Works Agency, United States Housing Authority, *What and Why is the USHA?* (Washington DC: Government Printing Office, n.d.), brochure, Patterson Papers, 003.127, Federal Housing Administration, TUA.

housing was to be authorized in areas where there existed no such need for these dwellings after the war; to leave such buildings would add to the local housing stock and thus put unnecessary downward pressure on housing prices. These types of dwellings, being of a temporary nature, were not only quicker to construct on-site but were also easier to disassemble and move to another location.[37]

10.2. Evaluation of Macon County Housing

The potential for off-base housing had already been evaluated by the military—albeit in a preliminary manner—before the start of construction. This section will combine the need for off-base housing with potential vacancies within the county. The analysis will revolve around the three general sectors as defined by the 1940 housing census. The foremost option is to examine housing within the Tuskegee city limits as discussed in chapter 3. The second possibility is to evaluate housing in the Rural-nonfarm area as discussed in chapter 4. This option would necessarily focus on the Greenwood area near Tuskegee Institute. The third option, since the base was to be located in a rural area of the county, is to evaluate housing in the Rural-farm area as discussed in chapter 5.

In the initial housing surveys, military officials appear to have concentrated on the city of Tuskegee in lieu of the other two options.[38] It is important to discuss the pertinent reasons why, since the 1940 Census identified that the bulk of vacant houses as being located in rural areas—theoretically enough vacancies in fact to house the entire population of the proposed base. These vacancies cannot be delineated by race, although

[37] Samuel J. Dennis, "Housing in Relation to National Defense," *Journal of the American Statistical Association* 36, no. 213 (March 1941): 43.
[38] *History of TAAF, Conception–6 December 1941*, 289.28–1 v.1, IRIS 00179144, AFHRA, 18.

some assumptions could be made as previously discussed in various chapters.[39] Listed below are the housing vacancies as defined by the three census categories of dwellings in Macon County:

Location	Vacant Dwellings
Tuskegee	7
Rural-nonfarm	35
Rural-farm	592

The above data reveal that 93.1 percent of vacancies were located in rural areas; however, this extensive inventory was ignored in favor of Tuskegee. Also ignored—at least partially and perhaps entirely—were the thirty-five vacancies in the Rural-nonfarm sector.

Before discussing the housing data itself, a brief mention should be made concerning transportation issues in rural areas. As mentioned in chapter 2, the primary roads in the county consisted of U. S. Highways 29 and 80, and Alabama Highway 81. These roads were largely all-weather, paved roads.[40] The many county roads were based on various types of an earthen base—with most being roughly analogous to what is known today as a dirt road. Depending on where one had to travel, the commuting distance and the presence of dirt roads as opposed to all-weather roads considerably raised the cost of travel with regards to both time and vehicle wear and tear. Dirt roads were bumpy and dusty when dry, and full of muddy holes and perhaps even impassible

[39] U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Sixteenth Census of the United States: 1940, Housing, part 2: Alabama–Indiana*, Alabama, 36, table 22.
[40] Alabama State Highway Department, *General Highway and Transportation Map, Macon County, 1937* (n.p., n.d.), 1:1, http://alabamamaps.ua.edu/historicalmaps/counties/macon/macon.html (accessed March 11, 2014). As of 1937, U.S. Highway 80 from the "Y" east of Tuskegee to the Russell County line was not yet an all-weather road.

when wet. At that time, the unimproved nature of many county roads was commonly referred to as the "mud tax."[41]

As a majority of rural housing was located quite distant from paved roads, a high full cost of transportation would potentially be incurred by housing persons in these areas. This would be especially true for persons living in areas far from the base. Additionally, a certain percentage of persons living off-base would not own personal transportation. This would place additional demands on any vehicles, government or otherwise, tasked with transporting these persons. Thus the transportation issue was one factor which helped to negate most arguments for housing persons in rural areas.

Related more directly to the issue of housing, an extensive summary of the housing details discussed in the appropriate chapters related to the 1940 Housing Census is not necessary; however, a tabulation of selected data from those chapters, along with additional census data, are presented below. Because of the eventual plan to have the base composed almost entirely of African-Americans, only data pertaining to black households is presented in table 10.1.

Table 10.1. Selected amenities and repair issues for black households, by percent

Characteristic	Tuskegee	Rural-nonfarm	Rural-farm
Not needing major repairs	52	56.2	34.8
With electricity	43.7	50.5	1.6
With running water	21.5	27.1	0.5

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Sixteenth Census of the United States: 1940, Housing, part 2: Alabama–Indiana*, Alabama, 75, 92, tables 26, 29.

As mentioned previously, minimum housing standards were established by the Division of Standards in January 1941, and these standards were to be assessed by local

[41] David O. Whitten, "Rusty Roads: Ferrous Metal Paving Materials," *Essays in Economic and Business History,* 14, (1996): 249–266.

Home Registration Bureaus with regards to area rentals. Table 10.1 illustrates the percentage of black housing in all three sectors having the necessary repair and amenities which were in all likelihood inclusive in these requirements. Table 9.1 also illustrates that a significant portion of the black housing in all three sectors did not meet the minimum standards. Approximately half of the housing in Tuskegee and the Rural-nonfarm sectors did not require major repairs, while only one-third of the housing in the Rural-farm sector did not require major repairs. As discussed in the appropriate chapters, adequate repair by no means implied that the housing was up to a certain standard of acceptability; rather, only that it did not need major repairs.

Additionally, while running water was available in approximately one-fourth of the non-rural areas, less than one percent of black houses in the Rural-farm sectors had running water. This fact is significant. The electrical situation was roughly comparable with that of the state of repair throughout the county, with the exception of the Rural-farm sector where it was more comparable to the availability of water. This fact is also significant.

The number of houses in each category which met the minimum standards with regards to defense housing can be roughly estimated by taking these percentages and applying them to vacancies within the county. Due to the lack of data, this method is a best-guess only and cannot be assumed to be precise.

If one assumes that all three criteria were necessary to meet the government's minimum housing standards, then the lowest percentage of the three will be deciding factor, assuming that houses determined by this method also successfully fulfill the other two criteria. Thus the deciding issue in all three sectors was running water, and this

assumes that those houses having running water also had electricity and were in good repair. An additional assumption would be that the vacancies will be proportional to race within each sector.[42] With these assumptions in mind, the following estimations are presented in table 10.2.

Table 10.2. Estimated black vacancies which meet acceptable standards

Sector	Number of Vacancies	Percent black	Black vacancies	Percent running water	No. accept. vacancies
Tuskegee	7	70.7	5	21.5	1
Rural-nonfarm	35	79.0	28	27.1	8
Rural-farm	592	82.0	485	0.5	24

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Sixteenth Census of the United States: 1940, Housing, part 2: Alabama–Indiana*, Alabama, 36, 75, 92, tables 22, 26, 29.

Compared to the number of vacancies as initially presented, table 10.2 illustrates the dearth of acceptable black vacancies across all three categories. Although vacancies assumed to meet minimum housing standards in Tuskegee itself were especially acute, most dramatic is the decrease in acceptable housing in the rural areas—in reality, erasing most of the perceived oversupply even before the transportation issue is addressed.

Additionally, the results across all three sectors are probably more optimistic than reality would suggest. As most vacancies probably had more maintenance and amenity characteristics of a rental—that is, maintained to lower standards with fewer amenities than owner-occupied housing—the actual number of housing meeting minimum standards was probably lower than table 10.2 implies. This was discussed in more detail in chapter 5 in relation to tables 5.2 and 5.3.

Besides the dismal transportation and lack of acceptable housing in rural areas, another factor against utilizing rural housing relates to social and health concerns.

[42] Race percentage determined by number of all occupied housing units.

Discussed also in chapter 5 was the often deleterious social situation in many rural African-American communities. These issues included but were not limited to: poor sanitation, the increased presence of social diseases, the prevalence of a largely unsophisticated population, poor recreational opportunities, fluid cohabitation between households, and a heightened incidence of violence. Conditions such as these would surely have an adverse effect on soldiers and airmen, not to mention the overall readiness of the airbase. Therefore, it seems logical that the Army would neither desire nor encourage an intermingling between these two groups. This fact, when combined with the poor physical characteristics of the rural housing, insured that the vacant houses in the Rural-farm sector would not be utilized for housing military and civilian personnel unless absolutely necessary.

With the Rural-farm sector largely negated as a possible source of housing, attention now turns to Tuskegee and the Rural-nonfarm sectors. As discussed in chapter 4, the Rural-nonfarm sector included both black and white housing in non-farm areas outside of Tuskegee such as the towns of Notasulga, Shorter, and Fort Davis. More importantly for this discussion, it also included the African-American development of Greenwood and the area surrounding it.

10.3. Determination of Housing Needs in Tuskegee

The earliest reference to off-base housing in Tuskegee was contained in the initial plan for the establishment of a base promulgated in December 1940. This plan briefly mentioned that all housing would have to be built at the proposed base since there was

insufficient housing in Tuskegee.[43] It is not known whether the data from the 1940 Housing Census was available in the compilation of that assessment. More likely, the information came from conversations with George L. Washington and Frederick D. Patterson at Tuskegee Institute.

A military site board was convened in February 1941 to evaluate the first proposed location for an airbase. This first location, at Fort Davis, Alabama, was in the extreme southern part of the county adjacent to U. S. Highway 29. The subsequent report, besides noting "approximately 50 shanties" of low value at the proposed site, repeated the information from the December 1940 report that living quarters in Tuskegee were "very limited."[44]

Another site board was convened when the Fort Davis site was abandoned. This board selected the northern site near Chehaw, Alabama. Dated May 1, 1941, this new report omitted mentioning data from the 1940 housing census. Instead, it appeared to take a general inventory, locating more available housing opportunities in Tuskegee than did the 1940 Housing Census. Included in this inventory were nine houses available in Tuskegee for whites and nine for blacks "in the vicinity of Tuskegee Institute."[45] Presumably, this would include Greenwood as well although this is not certain. No mention was made of other towns such as Notasulga or Shorter. The board also included known hotels and apartment buildings in Tuskegee, with forty-three rooms for whites at the Harris Hotel and an undisclosed number of rooms for African-Americans in Dorothy

[43] Brig. Gen. Walter Weaver to Chief of the Air Corps, Washington, DC, 1st Indorsement, December 6, 1940, *History of TAAF, Conception–6 December 1941*, 289.28–1 v.1, IRIS 00179144, AFHRA.
[44] John B. Cooley, Adjutant General to Undersecretary of War, War Department, 1st Indorsement, *Board Report—Site for Flying Training Installation and Pursuit Squadron (Colored), Tuskegee, Alabama,* April 1, 1941, Project Files, 1939–1942, Box 1828, Folder 686, Entry 295, Records of the Army Air Forces, RG 18, NACP, exhibit C.
[45] *History of TAAF, Conception–6 December 1941*, 289.28–1 v.1, IRIS 00179144, AFHRA, 18.

Hall at Tuskegee Institute. Also mentioned were twelve apartments available for whites in Tuskegee.[46] The occupancy rates pertaining to the Harris Hotel and Dorothy Hall were not included; however, the 1940 Census listed fifteen guests in thirteen rooms in the Harris Hotel as of April 1940.[47]

Other potential vacancies included recent housing conversions, and at least one example exists of additional housing having been prepared in this manner prior to the arrival of the construction workers. However, the total number of such units converted in Tuskegee during this time was probably minor in relation to demand.[48]

Also, an initially small but increasing number of possible vacancies would include those rooms made available by persons drafted through the Selective Service System. Weekly selections in Macon County were held after that initial draft of three persons in late 1940; for example, fifteen persons from Macon County were drafted during the week ending March 27, 1941 and twelve persons were drafted during the week ending April 10, 1941. These figures represent the number of men of both races drafted countywide and not necessarily from Tuskegee. Others were not drafted but enlisted voluntarily.[49] A larger source of vacancies would originate from those laborers who sought defense-related jobs at locations elsewhere, such as those described in chapter 1.

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[46] Ibid.
[47] Enumeration District 44-3, Precinct 1, p. 81-A, lines 3–17, Macon County, Alabama, Census of Population; Sixteenth Census of the United States, 1940, Records of the Bureau of the Census, Record Group 29 (1940census.archives.gov; February 26, 2013).
[48] Society and Personal, *Tuskegee News,* June 19, 1941.
[49] *Tuskegee News,* "Three Men from Macon County Selected for Service," December 5, 1940; *Tuskegee News,* "Fifteen Additional Men from Macon County Drafted," March 27, 1941; *Tuskegee News,* "Twelve More Drafted from Macon County," April 10, 1941; *Tuskegee News,* "Thousands of Negroes Needed for Navy," September 4, 1941; *Tuskegee News*, October 2, 1941, U.S. Navy advertisement.

10.4. Locality Reports

With this history in mind, no additional reports have yet surfaced which detailed the availability of local labor and housing conditions prior to the beginning of construction in Tuskegee.[50] The first tentative Locality Report for Tuskegee, under the aegis of the Defense Housing Coordinator, appeared on July 14, 1941—four days after the construction right to entry date. A revision appeared on August 16, 1941.[51]

Since refinements pertaining to the Locality Report were still in progress after the right to entry date, it is apparent that no temporary housing was planned for the in-migrant workers building the base. Further, no evidence presents itself that additional housing was planned for these workers in later months. Perhaps the estimated number of local workers available indicated that the housing situation during this period would not be too severe. Another possibility is that since housing demand was more pressing in other defense areas, Tuskegee was allowed to handle the overflow as best as possible.

The initial Locality Report for Tuskegee, dated July 1941, did not reference the military Board Report of May. Instead, it most likely followed a prescribed format which included information—incomplete information—that referenced the April 1940 census data for Tuskegee, noting primarily that the town had only seven vacant dwellings for a vacancy ratio of 0.7 percent. Also provided was a 9.1 percent vacancy ratio for the entire 7,046 houses in the entire county. Also mentioned briefly was that "the Bureau of Labor

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[50] *History of TAAF, Conception–6 December 1941*, 289.28–1 v.1, IRIS 00179144, AFHRA, 18.
[51] Office of the President, Office for Emergency Management, Division of Defense Housing Coordination, *Locality Program Report No. 1—Tuskegee, Alabama, Tentative for Comment,* p. 2, July 14, 1941, Records of the National Resources Planning Board, Federal Project Files, 1939–1943, Box 2, National Resources Planning Board (NRPB), RG 187, NACP; Office of the President, Office for Emergency Management, Division of Defense Housing Coordination, *Locality Program Report No. 1—Tuskegee, Alabama,* p. 2, August 16, 1941, Records of the National Resources Planning Board, Federal Project Files, 1939–1943, Box 2, NRPB, RG 187, NACP.

Statistics has no reports of building permits since February 1938. Presumably this indicates a lack of statistical information rather than a lack of construction in Tuskegee." It did note that there was no new construction for African-Americans, but did reference a request by the War Department for thirty government, demountable houses for both military and civilians, with an additional fifty-five houses recommended for private construction.[52]

This educated guess with regards to the lack of statistical information was resolved in the second Locality Report dated August 1941. Approved by President Franklin D. Roosevelt on August 16, 1941, it stated that there was no local planning agency from which to gather additional statistical information.[53] While this was true in essence, the reasoning behind it seems somewhat incomplete as there was no mention of discussing the situation with either Mayor Greene B. Edwards or President Patterson of Tuskegee Institute. If meetings such as these did occur, pertinent information gathered from them were not included in the report.

While no information appears to be gathered from either the Mayor or the Institute's President, it seems that some information in the final report was sourced from the Alabama State Planning Commission. The commission was also informed of the

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[52] Office of the President, Office for Emergency Management, Division of Defense Housing Coordination, *Locality Program Report No. 1—Tuskegee, Alabama, Tentative for Comment,* p. 1–2, July 14, 1941, Records of the National Resources Planning Board, Federal Project Files, 1939–1943, Box 2, NRPB, RG 187, NACP. The report actually lists a county-wide vacancy rate of 1.9 percent; however, this figure was typed incorrectly as the actual number of vacancies reported at that time was 638 units out of a total housing figure of 7,037 dwellings, or 9.1 percent. How this number of vacancies was derived is somewhat of a mystery, yet it seems to be taken from the 1940 census as mentioned in the text. A best guess is that the total number of dwellings was taken from table 22 of the housing census as referenced in earlier chapters, then the number of occupied dwellings was subtracted from the total. From this difference was subtracted the number of unoccupied dwellings which were not for sale or rent. This final figure of 634 dwellings derived in this manner from table 22 is very close to the 638 figure provided in the tentative locality report.

[53] Office of the President, Office for Emergency Management, Division of Defense Housing Coordination, *Locality Program Report No. 1—Tuskegee, Alabama,* p. 2, August 16, 1941, Records of the National Resources Planning Board, Federal Project Files, 1939–1943, Box 2, NRPB, RG 187, NACP.

tentative Locality Report from July, and in a reply to Charles Elliot of the National Resources Planning Board, no mention was made of any meetings with Tuskegee officials by state or federal officials. Mention was made, however, of an inspection trip to Tuskegee and the absence of a city planning agency. It also noted that "several new houses were noted but apparently most of them are for white persons, however, a few new houses for negroes were noted. It is doubtful that this number will be sufficient."[54]

Thus the various analyses, although rudimentary, reinforces the idea of limited vacancies in the Tuskegee area. Additionally, as a final reminder, a quick perusal of the dates associated with the above reports indicate that, because the majority of reports were dated so close to the advent of construction in July 1941, there would be no consideration of housing for the construction workers of either race.

10.5. Arrival of Construction Workers

It is difficult to ascertain the number of construction persons employed at the airbase after July 10, 1941. Also difficult is the issue of how many locals were employed as opposed to in-migrants. It is improbable that the full complement of firms and workers arrived on the right-to-entry date; the land had to be cleared, graded and otherwise prepared before construction could begin. However, what is known is that employee numbers were well established within a few months. By November 1941, two newspaper estimates placed the total number of workers from "more than 1,200" to fifteen hundred; the latter figure delineated to include one thousand African-Americans and five hundred

[54] A. J. Hawkings, Alabama State Planning Commission, to Charles W. Elliot, National Resources Planning Board, August 1, 1941, Records of the National Resources Planning Board, Federal Project Files, 1939–1943, Box 2, NRPB, RG 187, NACP.

whites.[55] These men were under the direction of the African-American general contractors McKissack and McKissack of Nashville, Tennessee and approximately twenty-two subcontractors.[56]

It appears that either very few or none of the subcontractors listed in the reference were Tuskegee companies, although some had apparently maneuvered for such.[57]

Although these companies certainly brought in their own managers and workers to Tuskegee, local persons were preferred in accordance with government directives.[58] An African-American newspaper dated November 1941 supported the view that most employees were local hires, writing that "most of the men have been employed from Tuskegee and nearby counties."[59] To assist in the hiring and coordination of defense-related labor in Alabama, local labor offices had been established throughout the state and could refer workers from one locality to another.[60] Labor offices in Alabama, perhaps coordinated at the state level in Montgomery, were also likely to have been in contact with similar organizations in other states as well.

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[55] *Age-Herald,* "Negro Workers Build Air School for Own Race near Tuskegee," stamped November 14, 1941; *Daily World,* "Race Crews, Contractors Speed Work," stamped November 3, 1941; William Pickens to F. D. Patterson, January 22, 1942, Patterson Papers, 003.137, Defense Savings Staff, TUA. The last reference suggests that the number as being "a dozen hundred black workers and several hundred white workers," thus generally confirming the two earlier newspaper articles.

[56] *History of TAAF, Conception–6 December 1941*, Historical data relative to construction, Tuskegee Army Air Field, Tuskegee, Alabama, c: Prime contractors, sub-contractors, 289.28–1 v.1, IRIS 00179144, AFHRA, 2–3.

[57] W. M. Blount to Senator Lister Hill, July 31, 1941, IRIS 02048555, (Microfilm Reel 686: Tuskegee Airfield, Part 1, Serial 1-83), AFHRA; Brigadier General John W. N. Schulz to Chief of Engineers, memorandum, May 1, 1941, IRIS 02048555, (Microfilm Reel 686: Tuskegee Airfield, Part 1, Serial 1-83), AFHRA; *Tuskegee News*, "Construction on City Hall will be Started Soon," December 13, 1945. The latter two references pertain in part to Connor Brothers contractors, Tuskegee.

[58] Frederick D. Patterson to Captain P. E. Gieselman, Resident Engineer, Corps of Engineers, September 23, 1941, Patterson Papers, 003.127, Ga–Gl, TUA; Sidney Hillman to All Holders of Defense Contracts, prior to June 13, 1941, Patterson Papers, 003.132, Folder Y, TUA.

[59] *Daily World,* "Race Crews, Contractors Speed Work," stamped November 3, 1941.

[60] *Age-Herald,* "Negro Workers Build Air School for Own Race near Tuskegee," stamped November 14, 1941.

In Tuskegee, the Alabama State Employment Service opened a labor recruiting office on North Main Street on July 17, 1941. Originally this was located directly across from the courthouse. However, this office appears to have been moved to the actual construction site at a later date, assuming that the newer base office was not a secondary office.[61] However, there may have been two offices—one it town and one at the base—as the downtown office was still in use as of mid-November.[62]

Due to the situation of the having an African-American contractor in charge, the preference was for the majority of workers to be African-American. In this regard, McKissack and McKissack appears to have handled much of this hiring themselves. Another company, the C. G. Kershaw Company, appears to have hired most of the whites for work pertaining to the grading and leveling of land, and runway construction.[63] Both companies appear to have had segregated policies with regards to hiring. A letter from President Patterson to the local Corps of Engineers representative better illustrates the hiring issue:

> I am glad to have had an opportunity of talking with you regarding certain rumors and criticisms concerning employment discriminations. I thought your point of view was reasonable regarding the hiring of skilled Negroes by McKissack and McKissack and skilled white people by Kershaw and Company, especially so since the latter organization had a good many of its personnel already intact. I think such a policy, however, should be flexible enough so that McKissack and McKissack could hire skilled white people if there were no

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[61] *Tuskegee News,* "Office for Recruiting Labor Established Here," July 17, 1941; *Age-Herald,* "Negro Workers Build Air School for Own Race near Tuskegee," stamped November 14, 1941. See photo in the latter reference pertaining to the labor office established at the airbase.
[62] *Age-Herald,* "Negro Workers Build Air School for Own Race near Tuskegee," stamped November 14, 1941.
[63] *Age-Herald,* "Negro Workers Build Air School for Own Race near Tuskegee," stamped November 14, 1941; *Daily World,* "Race Crews, Contractors Speed Work," stamped November 3, 1941.
Frederick D. Patterson to Captain P. E. Gieselman, Resident Engineer, Corps of Engineers, September 23, 1941, Patterson Papers, 003.127, Ga–Gl, TUA.

> Negroes available, rather than see the project suffer, and in like manner I think Kershaw and Company should employ skilled Negroes where there are no white skilled persons available. Unless this amount of flexibility is permitted it seems to that the project itself is bound to suffer. (Frederick D. Patterson to Captain P. E. Gieselman, Resident Engineer, Corps of Engineers, September 23, 1941, Patterson Papers, 003.127, Ga–Gl, TUA)

The earlier delineation of one thousand African-Americans and five hundred white workers may be the most accurate description of the racial composition of the work force, assuming that this figure was sourced from McKissack and McKissack and not determined through casual observation. However, it is possible that African-American reporters visiting the work site would infer that the labor force consisted primarily of African-Americans provided that they did not tour the areas being worked primarily by whites. In contrast, one white worker who worked for Kershaw and whose perception may have been biased in the opposite direction, thought that more whites were employed than blacks.[64] Regardless of the actual racial composition, construction crews operated around the clock, seven days a week in three shifts of eight hours per day.[65] Assuming an average employment of fifteen hundred persons, this implies that five hundred were employed per shift.

The willingness of local citizens to shift their employment to TAAF was based primarily upon the potential increase in pay. One white teenager had been employed at local gas stations for fifty cents per day. His pay increased to twenty dollars per week at the airbase—the same salary as his father made employed as a butcher in Tuskegee. His friend made ten dollars per week at an uptown café, and sixty cents per hour, or twenty

[64] Dewey Randall, interview by John T. Bryant, May 8, 2007, Tuskegee, Alabama.
[65] Dewey Randall, interview by John T. Bryant, May 8, 2007, Tuskegee, Alabama.

four dollars per week at the base. His pay increased to thirty dollars when he changed to operating the electrical generators. The pay figures quoted above are based on a forty-hour workweek, but both stated that they could work as many hours and days as they wished, with one quoting "eight to sixteen hours per day."[66] And when spare time presented itself, the extra income allowed them to bicycle approximately forty-five miles to Montgomery, Alabama and enjoy the illicit pleasures of the capitol city.[67]

Many other local boys and older, full-time employees helped to construct Tuskegee Army Air Field. This became an issue for local business and government as persons either left employment, or as in the case of the county deputy sheriff, worked both jobs.[68] Many Tuskegee employers were left short-handed and the Macon County Board of Revenue in particular was forced to compromise on the issue in November 1941, attempting to placate the workers as best they could:

> A special meeting of the Board of Revenue was called for this day—all members being present the following business was had; viz.
>
> A motion was made by J. L. Youngblood and seconded by W. A. Humphries the following resolution passes—
>
> Due to the complications occurring by reason of employees of the county working for the county and also at the same time working at the U. S. Air Port, it is the order of the Board of Revenue that any employee of the county that is working at the Air Port, shall be given leave of absence from the county work subject to recall by the Board of Revenue or the Commissioner of the District. (Macon County Board of Revenue, *Commission Minutes, Book E*, 161, November 22, 1941)

[66] Dewey Randall, interview by John T. Bryant, May 8, 2007, Tuskegee, Alabama; James Wilson, interview by John T. Bryant, May 17, 2007, Montgomery, Alabama.
[67] Dewey Randall, interview by John T. Bryant, May 8, 2007, Tuskegee, Alabama.
[68] Dewey Randall, interview by John T. Bryant, May 8, 2007, Tuskegee, Alabama.

The city of Tuskegee followed five months later with an authorization to raise the pay of all city street workers.[69]

Local WPA workers also participated in certain phases of the construction. As mentioned previously, the initial mention of potentially utilizing WPA labor occurred on January 9, 1941—the day that the Tuskegee project was approved.[70] Specific data with regards to WPA labor was subsequently noted in the Board Report of February 20, 1941, in which exhibit C of that report listed five hundred WPA common workers and ten skilled workers. However, a *Tuskegee News* article from the following month mentioned a much smaller WPA enrollment of "more than one hundred men."[71]

Since few of the local WPA workers were skilled workers, the military's intention undoubtedly related to work for which the WPA rolls were well-suited; that is, tasks requiring unskilled labor. Approval for the use of WPA labor was not approved until well after construction began. One such project, valued in excess of thirty-two thousand dollars, pertained to "improvements to the advanced flying school field near Tuskegee, including excavating, clearing, draining, surfacing, installing water lines and sewage and water facilities, sodding, grassing, riprapping, landscaping, providing bridges and performing appurtenant and incidental work." [72]

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[69] Tuskegee City Council, *City of Tuskegee, Minute Book Two*, 213, April 14, 1942.
[70] Plans Division to Building and Grounds Division (via Training and Operations Division), January 9, 1941, Office of the Chief of the Air Corps, Routing and Record Sheet, Entry 1, Project Files, 1939–1942, Box 1828, Folder 686, Entry 295, Records of the Army Air Forces, RG 18, NACP.
[71] Board of Officers, Air Site Board, *Board Report—Site for Flying Training Installation and Pursuit Squadron (Colored), Tuskegee, Alabama,* February 20, 1941, Project Files, 1939–1942, Box 1828, Folder 686, Entry 295, Records of the Army Air Forces, RG 18, NACP, exhibit C; *Tuskegee News*, "County-wide WPA Project to be Continued," March 6, 1941.
[72] *Tuskegee News,* "2 WPA Projects for Tuskegee Approved in Washington—Hill," October 30, 1941.

10.6. Construction Workers and Housing

The arrival of the contractors and construction workers in July 1941 created a demand shock in Tuskegee and Greenwood. Some workers arrived with their families, which made finding adequate accommodations more difficult.[73] Others left their families at home.[74]

Beginning as early as mid-June, incoming workers first filled all available vacancies to include all rental houses, apartments and available rooms. Any vacancies at the Harris Hotel were also occupied. [75]

One week after the right of entry date at the future military airbase, an announcement in the *Tuskegee News* informed both the incoming personnel and local citizens that the city clerk's office would serve as a clearinghouse where landlords could be matched with potential renters.[76] The intended effect was increase market efficiency by lowering the full cost to market participants. Additionally, the advertising effect of the notice also served to increase the supply of available rooms as well.

Although not mentioned specifically in the *News* article, the notice is consistent with the homes registration program as outlined in chapter 6. However, there is thus far no documentation to this effect. The primary evidence regarding the creation of a local defense council is a letter which notes that Floyd F. Forman, the Chairman of the Macon County Board of Revenue, Tuskegee Mayor Greene B. Edwards, and Roland Anderson

[73] Clay Albright, interview by John T. Bryant, May 28, 2007, Richmond, Virginia.
[74] *Tuskegee News,* "Fall at Airfield Fatal to Worker," July 16, 1942.
[75] James Wilson, interview by John T. Bryant, May 17, 2007, Montgomery, Alabama; *Tuskegee News,* Society and Personal, June 19, 1941. The Harris Hotel reference pertains to the interview.
[76] *Tuskegee News,* "List Apts. And Rooms with City Clerk," July 17, 1941.

had been appointed to the Macon County Defense Council approximately six weeks earlier.[77]

It is not understood why the notice in the *Tuskegee News* was not published as the first workers arrived in June instead of one week after the right to entry date. It would have seemed more prudent to create such an office weeks earlier, but perhaps authorization was only granted after the right of entry date. As it stood, it appears that city officials were already reacting to events instead of anticipating them. The initial announcement of a clearing house at the city clerk's office included its reasoning behind the move:

> Large and rapid increases in the population of Tuskegee due to the extensive building program now on here, is fast creating a serious housing problem. Dozens of inquiries are being received daily at the office of the City Hall about places to live here.
>
> In order to try to assist with this problem, Tuskegee residents who have available renting space in their home or homes, are urged to call the office of the City Clerk and list what you have to offer. In that event, he will be more able to give definite information in answer to the inquiries being received and more quickly and satisfactorily place the new residents here. If your apartments, homes or rooms are listed with Mr. Ross, City Clerk, and are subsequently rented, please also notify him to this effect. The cooperation of the public in this matter will be appreciated. (signed) G. B. Edwards, Mayor (*Tuskegee News,* "List Apts. And Rooms with City Clerk," July 17, 1941)

[77] Floyd F. Forman to Governor Frank M. Dixon, June 2, 1941, Alabama State Council of Defense, Program Administration Files: 1941–1946, Box SG19877, Macon County 1941–1942, ADAH; Frank M. Dixon to Frank H. Carr, October 3, 1941, Alabama State Council of Defense, Program Administration Files: 1941–1946, Box SG19877, Macon County 1941–1942, ADAH; Roland D. Anderson to Governor Frank M. Dixon, May 31, 1941, Alabama State Council of Defense, Program Administration Files: 1941–1946, Box SG19877, Macon County 1941–1942, ADAH. The reference to Greene B. Edwards relates to his replacement in October 1941; however, it can be assumed that Edwards was appointed to the committee at the same time as the other two men.

The notice supports the idea that the increase in housing demand was much greater than available supply just one week after the right to entry date. This would indicate a seller's market as potential renters competed for a scarcity of available space.

10.7. Construction Delays

The creation of the housing referral office created a more efficient market by lowering the search cost. However, because the number of workers increased in the continuing weeks as the progress at the base developed, the pressure on the local housing market likely persisted or even increased due to unanticipated delays in construction. Compounding the shortage due to the initial influx of construction workers was the fact that construction continued for longer than initially planned.

The initial project rating request in June 1941 required a completion date at TAAF by November 30, 1941.[78] However, the official base history notes that the initial date of completion was set for November 8, 1941, the day which coincided with the initiation of flight training at TAAF.[79] Regardless of which date is accurate, a November completion date can be assumed as correct.

With this in mind, it was only one month after the beginning of construction that the Mobile District Corps of Engineers informed Major Ellison, who had replaced Major Twitty as project officer in July 1941, that the airbase would not be completed until January 31, 1942—approximately two to three months later than original estimates.[80]

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[78] Joseph L. D. Misiora, U. S. Corps of Engineers to the Priorities Committee, Army and Navy Munitions Board, June 23, 1941, IRIS 02048555, (Microfilm Reel 686: Tuskegee Airfield, Part 1, Serial 1-83), AFHRA.
[79] *History of TAAF, Conception–6 December 1941*, 289.28–1 v.1, IRIS 00179144, AFHRA, 19, 25, 30.
[80] Ibid., 19, 25; *Tuskegee News,* "Major Twitty Assigned Chungking Attache," July 17, 1941.

A primary cause of this delay appears to be that the site board had underestimated the work necessary to level the site near Chehaw, although perhaps the fault was not completely theirs. Because of the late rejection of the first two proposed sites and pressure to make a final selection, the site board was likely pressed for a speedy evaluation. Additionally, it must be remembered that these sites typically involve a large area. If the site was partially covered with trees, as was the case at Chehaw, accurately assessing the nature of the terrain may have been difficult under a tight deadline.

Disregarding time pressures, this initial underestimation of the construction timeframe is not surprising; in fact, inaccurate site estimates were not uncommon and may have been more common than not. Site estimates were often obtained before the site's location was even determined, sometimes leading to estimates so questionable as to be, in the words of a Colonel in the Buildings and Grounds Division, "no more than 'a shot in the dark.'" [81]

In the case of the TAAF site, at least the terrain issue could be remediated with time. In other cases, base sites as selected by military site boards were spectacular failures. For example, one site board chose the municipal airport in New Orleans to house a heavy bomber group, yet upon the group's arrival it was discovered that the runway was too short for its bombers. An airport in Augusta, Georgia, was chosen as the site of a tactical fighter group with similar results.[82]

The construction delays due to terrain issues were compounded by rainy summer weather. G. L. Washington noted that efforts to construct Tuskegee Institute's Airport

[81] R&R, Col. F. M. Kennedy, C&B/G Div., OCAC to Exec. OCAC, July 8, 1941, quoted in Craven and Cate, *Army Air Forces in World War II,* vol. 6, 136.
[82] Ibid.

Number Two, later to become Moton Field, were severely hampered by "almost continuous" summer rains, and that "because of the unfavorable weather, it was practically impossible for the contractor to complete the facility in the time allotted." [83] Construction at Moton Field had begun on June 1, 1941, and by late August its grass runway was only partially serviceable.[84]

After the wetter than normal summer months, the fall season in Tuskegee followed the more typical pattern of low precipitation combined with cool temperatures and clear skies. This condition typically lasts until late November or early December, with the winter rains usually arriving soon after the Thanksgiving holiday. It seems that this pattern was followed in 1941, except that the rainfall after Thanksgiving was heavier than usual. The base history commented that conditions "were not particularly uncomfortable during the mild weather of November 1941, but when the weather became more severe in December and the winter rains set in they were a real trial to the pioneer class."[85]

Thus foul weather further aggravated the already-delayed construction timeline. If the site evaluation had not been underestimated and the summer rains had not been so

[83] Washington, *Pilot Training of Negroes at Tuskegee Alabama,* 246–247; W. A. Mattice, "The Weather of 1941 in the United States," *Monthly Weather Review* 69, no. 12 (December 1941): 362, table 2: Percentage of normal precipitation, 1941. The second reference records that Alabama received 98, 147 and 117 percent of normal rainfall in the months of June, July and August 1941, respectively. Conditions in Tuskegee may have varied from this state average.
[84] Washington, *Pilot Training of Negroes at Tuskegee Alabama,* 194–195, 246–247.
[85] Personal knowledge of the author; *History of TAAF, Conception–6 December 1941*, 289.28–1 v.1, IRIS 00179144, AFHRA, 31; W. A. Mattice, "The Weather of 1941 in the United States," *Monthly Weather Review* 69, no. 12 (December 1941): 362, table 2: Percentage of normal precipitation, 1941. The last reference records that Alabama received 149 percent of normal rainfall in December 1941. Conditions in Tuskegee may have varied from this state average.

heavy, ideal fall weather should have made for timely progress. However, by the end of December 1941, only one of the four runways at TAAF was completed.[86]

The combined terrain and weather issues delayed the entire project timeline, which in turn delayed the arrival of some construction workers—by weeks if not months. In early November, the state employment service "notified its local offices that there was need for journeymen Negro carpenters at Tuskegee and requested them to make every effort to recruit as many as possible. Several carpenters were referred as a result…but in many instances reports came back that Negro carpenters qualified for the job were already engaged in national defense or private work in their home counties."[87] Assistance was found in Mobile, where a majority of two hundred black carpenters without work there were sent to Tuskegee through contact with the Alabama State Employment Service.[88]

10.8. Arrival of Military Personnel

Construction delays would have consequences with regards to housing. Per the original plan—depending on which original completion date in November was accurate—the construction workers were to be either finished or only weeks from completion by the time of the base's planned beginning of operations. With construction still ongoing as of November 1941, it was apparent that there would be a more pronounced overlap between the construction workers and the arrival of military personnel.

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[86] *History of TAAF, 7 December 1941–31 December 1942*, 289.28–2, IRIS 00179149, AFHRA, 3, 11–12. It is assumed that the base historian acquired this information from the base weather officer.
[87] *Age-Herald,* "Negro Workers Build Air School for Own Race near Tuskegee," stamped November 14, 1941.
[88] Ibid.

The original personnel plan from 1940 called for approximately half of the total base strength of approximately 475 military personnel to arrive two weeks before the initiation on training in November 1941.[89] This training was later established to begin on November 8, 1941, when B. O. Davis and the five cadets, who had just graduated from their training at Tuskegee Institute's Moton Field, arrived at TAAF.[90]

A small number of the military personnel, however, began to arrive just after the initiation of construction. The majority of these were part of the base group, tasked with administering the airbase proper. Even so, this small number was scheduled to swell as the months progressed, with approximately 275 military personnel and eight civilians scheduled to be on station by the initiation of flight training.[91]

On October 15, 1941, funds were authorized for the WPA to build a tent camp at the base, the purpose of which was to house both the enlisted men and the aviation cadets when they arrived for training on November 8, 1941.[92] This original tent camp was located in the south-eastern boundary of the base near the southeast end of the northwest-southeast runway. Completed on November 10, 1941, it was informally called Camp Hazard in honor of John T. Hazard, the base Executive Officer.[93] This tent city was later moved to the main base, and with the assistance of the WPA was expanded with the addition of another eighteen tents.[94]

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[89] *History of TAAF, Conception–6 December 1941*, Personnel Requirements (W) and (C), during Pilot Training Phase, 289.28–1 v.1, IRIS 00179144, AFHRA, exhibit E.
[90] *History of TAAF, Conception–6 December 1941*, 289.28–1 v.1, IRIS 00179144, AFHRA, 30.
[91] *History of TAAF, Conception–6 December 1941*, Personnel Requirements (W) and (C), during Pilot Training Phase, 289.28–1 v.1, IRIS 00179144, AFHRA, exhibit E.
[92] *History of TAAF, Conception–6 December 1941*, 289.28–1 v.1, IRIS 00179144, AFHRA, 30–32; Harry W. Hecht to Intelligence Officer, TAAF, February 28, 1944, *History of TAAF, 1 January 1943–29 February 1944*, 289.28–3 v.1, IRIS 00179150, AFHRA.
[93] *History of TAAF, Conception–6 December 1941*, 289.28–1 v.1, IRIS 00179144, AFHRA, 32, 39.
[94] Harry W. Hecht to Intelligence Officer, TAAF, February 28, 1944, *History of TAAF, 1 January 1943–29 February 1944*, 289.28–3 v.1, IRIS 00179150, AFHRA.

The original 1940 schedule pertaining to the arrival of personnel most likely followed standard Air Corps guidelines, and was probably expected to be utilized only as a preliminary guide.[95] As it developed, delays in the construction of the airfield delayed the arrival of over half of those who were supposed to have reported by early November. By December 7, 1941, only twenty-five officers and 127 enlisted men—not including B. O. Davis and the five cadets in class 42-C— were stationed at the base.[96] The remaining personnel, most of whom were black enlisted recruits and had been undergoing technical training at Chanute Field in Rantoul, Illinois, were to arrive in groups intermittently between December 3, 1941 and January 5, 1942.[97] A significant portion of these arrived just after the beginning of the year, when 324 of them arrived on January 5, 1942.[98] Their arrival coincided with the completion of the General Mess Hall 1. The men from Chanute Field were first housed at the tent camp, then moved in the barracks, which were at that time still under construction.[99] By the end of January 1942, forty-six officers and 561 enlisted had arrived at TAAF.[100]

Even with the construction delays, over ninety percent of the original plan relating to housing, administration and hospital buildings was completed by mid-January 1942. This was in line with the revised projections during the previous August. Runway

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[95] General knowledge of the author.
[96] *History of TAAF, Conception–6 December 1941*, 289.28–1 v.1, IRIS 00179144, AFHRA, 39.
[97] *History of TAAF, Conception–6 December 1941*, Personnel Requirements (W) and (C), during Pilot Training Phase, 289.28–1 v.1, IRIS 00179144, AFHRA, exhibit E; War Department, Bureau of Public Relations, "Additional Details on Plan for Negro Squadron," for release March 24, 1941, Patterson Papers, 003.084, Box 1, U.S. War Department, August–December 1941, TUA. As in earlier documents, the assignment of one white enlisted man is unaccounted for and the figures can be interpreted in different ways.
[98] *History of TAAF, 7 December 1941–31 December 1942*, 289.28–2, IRIS 00179149, AFHRA, 33.
[99] Ibid., 11–12, 33.
[100] *History of TAAF, 1 January 1943–29 February 1944*, table, "Strength, Tuskegee Army Air Field—January 1942 to February 1944," 289.28–3 v.1, IRIS 00179150, AFHRA.

construction was still lagging—most likely due to heavy rains in December.[101] The remaining three runways would not be completed until the spring of 1942.[102]

10.9. Tuskegee Housing

When the local housing situation is considered, the delays in construction thankfully translated into delays in the arrival of the military.

It has been well illustrated that housing was already in short supply by the summer of 1941. As illustrated previously, President Patterson referred to this fact in letters to incoming professors prior to the initiation of airfield construction. Mayor Edwards referred this fact in the *Tuskegee News* at the commencement of airfield construction. And the presence of a large number of black carpenters arriving in November 1941 assures that the housing shortage continued throughout the remainder of the year. Thus it is not surprising that the official history of Tuskegee Army Air Field states that the rental situation for both races "was also aggravated for military personnel as the station was still under construction when they began to arrive and practically all available space had already been taken by civilian employees of the Corps of Engineers and of the contractors. It must be said, however, in fairness to the local citizens that they made available all facilities possible, a great many renting rooms who had never done so before and who had no financial necessity to do so."[103] This statement is certainly true, and a great compliment to the local populace. Yet it does not mean that the additional

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[101] *History of TAAF, 7 December 1941–31 December 1942*, 289.28–2, IRIS 00179149, AFHRA, 11–14.
[102] *Hawk's Cry*, "A Note from the Engineers," March 2, 1942, Box 22, Folder 1, Parrish Papers, LOC; J. L. Baldwin, "The Weather of 1942 in the United States," *Monthly Weather Review* 70, no. 12 (December 1942): 273, table 2: Percentage of normal precipitation, 1942. The second reference illustrates that Alabama received less than normal rainfall in January, February and April 1942, but 125 percent more than normal rainfall in March 1942. Conditions in Tuskegee may have varied from this state average.
[103] *History of TAAF, Conception–6 December 1941*, 289.28–1 v.1, IRIS 00179144, AFHRA, 16.

money obtained from rentals was not welcome. Effie Jean Lanman Corbitt stated that those renting space "made good money," and money was certainly a motivator for some families.[104]

As a result of this potential income which dangled enticingly before the citizens of Tuskegee, some families were willing to go to more extremes than others in order to house boarders, sometimes at the expense of the occupants. In one example, a family living on North Main Street rented space in their house to construction workers solely for the extra income. As the family had no extra bedrooms to rent, they moved into the dining room for the duration, renting all of the bedrooms to workers.[105]

Due to the lack of adequate rentals with regards to space, amenities and repair, a substitution effect occurred where room rentals, sometimes of inferior quality, were necessarily substituted for more adequate housing. This is of more importance with married personnel; as noted earlier in the chapter, only single persons were expected to find single rooms for rent, while married personnel were to find something more commodious. Yet the expectation is that all renters would rather have a place to live than not, and married couples would rather rent a single room with electricity and running water than a house lacking these amenities.

Thus room rentals, which in a normal market would have been both an inferior good and the opportunity cost, by necessity were transformed into a normal good. It is possible too, although not probable, that rents did not necessarily increase, but that the same dollar amount in rent was applied to quarters of lesser quality.

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[104] Effie Jean Lanman Corbitt, interview by John T. Bryant, May 7, 2007, Tuskegee, Alabama.
[105] Personal knowledge of the author.

With a full complement of construction workers and the addition of incoming military personnel, the active business climate in Tuskegee that December brought optimism to the business community. As the *Tuskegee News* announced only days before the attack at Pearl Harbor, "Tuskegee has benefitted directly from the defense spending which is making money so plentiful and [the] general improvement in business, increased wages, and more widespread employment here are expected to combine to give local merchants the best holiday season they have ever experienced."[106] In fact, business was expected to be so good that their primary concern was that local inventories may be depleted, with little chance of being restocked due to the increasing pressures of defense needs.[107]

10.10. Analysis of Housing Demand Shock

The initial housing demand shock for both races can be visualized in the following series of figures beginning with figure 10.1. Because of a lack of empirical data, this explanation is necessarily theoretical.

[106] *Tuskegee News,* "Local Merchants Preparing for Big Xmas Trade," December 4, 1941.
[107] Ibid.

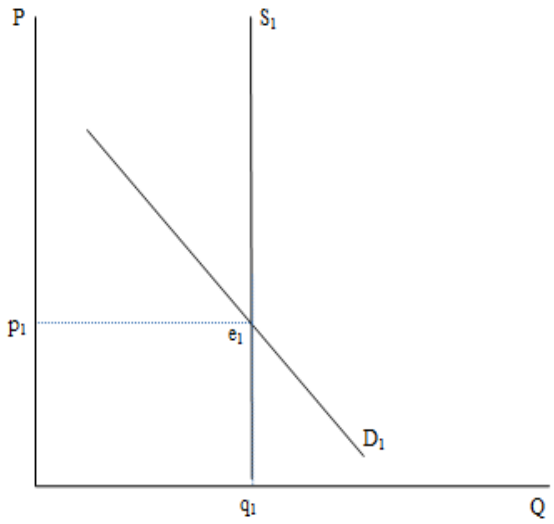

Figure 10.1. Short-run housing availability in Tuskegee prior to construction

Figure 10.1 represents the short-run situation immediately prior to the arrival of the construction workers. Of particular note, rental supply (S_1) is perfectly inelastic due to the general inflexibility of the rental market in the short run. Therefore the supply of available rentals was fixed in the short run and additional quarters could only become available as time progressed.

Figure 10.1 also illustrates that the rental equilibrium (e_1) resulted in an equilibrium price (p_1) and quantity demanded (q_1). Due to the general stability of the population, this equilibrium was relatively static.

The long-run is a period when the amount of capital is variable. During a long-run period, capital changes until a new short-run equilibrium is reached, at which point capital becomes fixed once again. In this case, capital represents a change in the quantity of the available rental housing stock.

The transition to a new short-run equilibrium, that is, a period of long-run capital adjustment, began in June 1941. Incoming workers first occupied the small number of available vacancies to include all rental houses, apartments and available rooms.

Vacancies were also filled at the Harris Hotel. [108] After these vacancies were filled, it naturally fell upon to the local populace to increase supply by offering space in their own homes. This would be doubly so as there was a lack of government support in the form of government temporary housing.

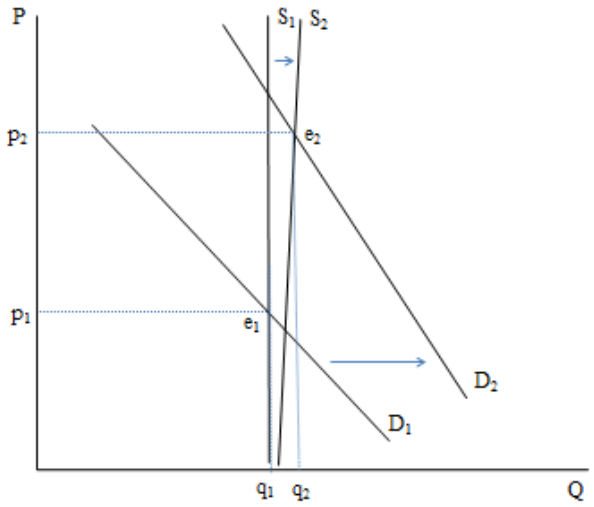

Figure 10.2. Initial reaction to housing demand shock

Figure 10.2 illustrates the introduction of a demand shock as workers arrived in the few weeks surrounding the date of entry. This demand shock is illustrated in the outward shift from demand curve (D_1) to (D_2). Due to the presence of perfectly inelastic supply, the increased demand at (D_2) also became more inelastic as competition increased among workers for housing.

As the initial housing supply (S_1) was exhausted, and perhaps even earlier, word likely spread among Tuskegee residents that opportunities were available to rent space to incoming workers. As referenced earlier, some households decided to rent a room for the

[108] James Wilson, interview by John T. Bryant, May 17, 2007, Montgomery, Alabama; Society and Personal, *Tuskegee News,* June 19, 1941. The Harris Hotel reference pertains to the interview.

additional income, shifting supply from (S_1) to (S_2) and increasing elasticity as well. This was the beginning of the long-run capital adjustment.

The *Tuskegee News* announcement mentioned previously supports the idea that the increase in housing demand was much greater than available supply just one week after the right to entry date. As a result, the shift in the demand curve at this time was likely much greater than that of supply. It also illustrates why demand inelasticity increased as well. This impact is illustrated as the increase in demand from (D_1) to (D_2) to include the resulting change in elasticity. The change in equilibrium from (e_1) to (e_2) resulted in increased rent prices (p_2) with a smaller increase in the number of rented accommodations (q_2).

As already discussed, the delays in construction thankfully translated into delays in the arrival of military personnel. And yet a previous statement from the base official history illustrates that available housing was already occupied by construction workers by the time of their arrival. Thus the normal rental supply continued to be outstripped by demand as construction progressed. This is illustrated in figure 10.3.

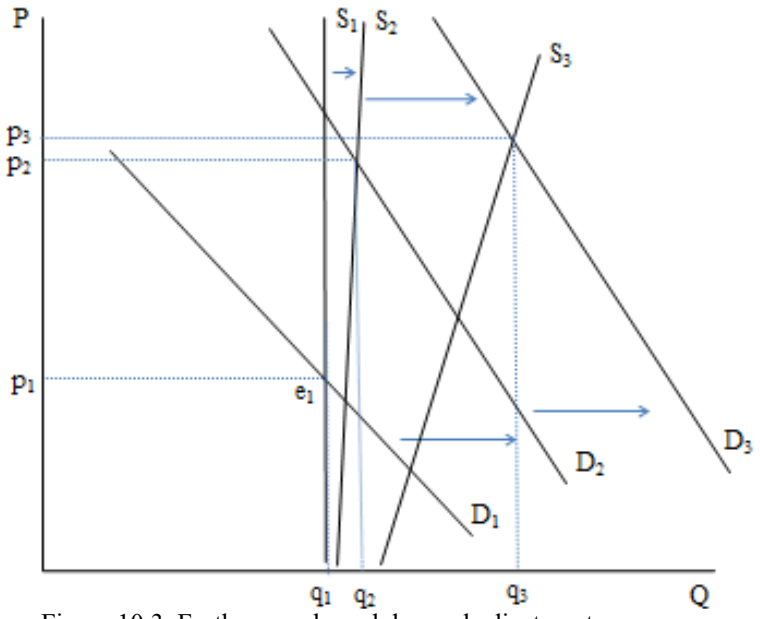

Figure 10.3. Further supply and demand adjustments

As figure 10.3 illustrates, both supply and demand increased from (S_2) to (S_2) and (D_2) to (D_3) respectively into late 1941 and 1942. The elasticity of supply both supply and demand increased as well, although demand likely increased in greater proportion since workers continued to arrive in the following weeks and months. Although there is a lack of empirical data relating to rents, it's possible that the elasticity of demand eventually changed from inelastic to elastic for both races. As a result, rents may have increased further to (p_3), but the percentage increase would not have been as high as in earlier months. To a certain point, the amount of rent that could afford to be paid would depend on a person's income, and a brake in rental increases would have been have been due to the renter's budget preferences. Certainly, construction workers generally received more in wages than available locally before advent of construction, yet their individual budget line would have been a constraint on the amount of rent which they were willing to pay.

Chapter 11: 1942–1945: In-migrant Population Growth and Implications

11.1. Introduction

The events described thus far relate to the planning and construction of the military bases before the Japanese attack at Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941. A vast, unanticipated enlargement of both the aviation cadet training program and other activities at Tuskegee Army Air Field occurred after this date.[1] This in turn led to a dramatically increased pressure on housing in Tuskegee.

Three factors played a significant role in the expansion of activities at TAAF. The first was the pre-war plan to establish a maintenance sub-depot at Tuskegee. The second was the expansion of aviation training beginning in 1942. The third was the increased number of units and individuals assigned to Tuskegee from other military bases.

11.2. Sub-depot

The first factor which affected the number of personnel at TAAF, although not the most obvious, was the pre-war plan to create a maintenance sub-depot at TAAF. This greatly increased the number of civilians to be employed at TAAF; the impact of which increased in tandem with the expansion of the base itself.

Interestingly, the timing of events leading to the creation of the sub-depot system roughly correspond to the creation of TAAF itself; that is, from its initial tasking in

[1] *History of TAAF, 7 December 1941–31 December 1942*, 289.28–2, IRIS 00179149, AFHRA, 30.

November 1940 to the right to entry date on July 10, 1941. As a result, the sub-depot at Tuskegee was not included in the original plans for the base.

The creation of the sub-depot maintenance system was a relatively new invention; its purpose being to decentralize this type of higher-echelon maintenance closer to the user units. In November 1940, the same month that the Army Air Corps was tasked with creating an African-American pursuit squadron, the Field Service Section (FSS) of the Material Division of the Office of the Chief of the Air Corps (OCAC) proposed to control all aspects of aircraft maintenance with the exception of first echelon maintenance. In other words, the FSS would control all aspects of aircraft maintenance with the exception of that performed by the operational unit.[2]

In late April 1941, an Air Corps Maintenance Command was approved by the War Department. Sub-depots were to be organized at Air Corps stations under this new arrangement, affecting an increasing number of airbases due to reorganizational changes instituted on July 1, 1941.[3]

The Maintenance Command was subsequently renamed the Air Service Command (ASC) in October 17, 1941, and a sub-depot was activated at Tuskegee Army Air Field on October 20, 1941.[4] However, its activation at that time was only a formality since the field was then under construction. It was not until the spring of 1942 that the sub-depot at Tuskegee became operational.[5]

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[2] Craven and Cate, *Army Air Forces in World War II*, vol. 6, 364–365.
[3] Ibid., 365.
[4] Craven and Cate, *Army Air Forces in World War II*, vol. 6, 366; *History of TAAF, 7 December 1941–31 December 1942*, 289.28–2, IRIS 00179149, AFHRA, 45.
[5] *History of TAAF, Conception–6 December 1941*, 289.28–1 v.1, IRIS 00179144, AFHRA, 43.

The October authorization occurred only weeks before the initiation of cadet training on November 8 and the initially planned completion date of base facilities. This fact, combined with the general "policy to man the sub-depots with civilians, the number of employees per sub-depot ranging from 100 to 800," would only compound the housing situation at Tuskegee as the base expanded.[6]

11.3. Pearl Harbor

In contrast to the formation of the sub-depot system, the more obvious event which affected Tuskegee Army Air Field was the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor. Occurring only a month after the initiation of cadet training at TAAF on November 8, it led to a vast, unanticipated enlargement of both the cadet training program and related activities.[7]

As noted in chapter 1, the Air Corps' First Aviation Objective in mid-1940 planned for the training of seven thousand pilots annually. A Second Aviation Directive in early 1941 increased this figure to thirty-thousand pilots annually. This latter figure included those pilots to be trained at Tuskegee.[8] In January 1942, the quota was increased to fifty thousand pilots annually, with a further goal to train seventy-thousand pilots annually.[9] This last figure, coming only a year and a half after the installment of the First Aviation Objective in mid-1940, represented a ten-fold increase in pilot training.[10]

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[6] Craven and Cate, *Army Air Forces in World War II*, vol. 6, 368.
[7] *History of TAAF, Conception–6 December 1941*, 289.28–1 v.1, IRIS 00179144, AFHRA, 49; *History of TAAF, 7 December 1941–31 December 1942*, 289.28–2, IRIS 00179149, AFHRA, 30.
[8] Craven and Cate, *Army Air Forces in World War II*, vol. 6, 138–139.
[9] Ibid., 148.
[10] Ibid., 130, 148.

11.4. Additional Units

The third factor which greatly increased the population at Tuskegee Army Air Field was the increased number of units and individuals assigned from other bases. As Tuskegee Army Air Field was the only base assigned to train African-American pilots, it soon became a target of opportunity for other commands who wished to reduce their potential or actual racial troubles. This they did either by sending entire units or individuals to Tuskegee.[11] The result was that "for a flying training station the Tuskegee Army Air Field has probably had the strangest aggregation of units imaginable."[12] To add to the confusion, these units were often assigned to Tuskegee without the knowledge of the new base commander, Col. Frederick V. H. Kimble, who had relieved Major Ellison on January 12, 1942.[13] This fact naturally forced Col. Kimble to react to the arrival of new personnel and units in lieu of planning for them.

These reassignments to TAAF were due in part to a War Department directive which had dictated that ten percent of personnel all branches of the military should be African-Americans.[14] After this decision was relayed in March of 1942, it was not long before scouting parties from other Army Air Force commands inspected Tuskegee to ascertain whether the base was a suitable location for their allocation of such a contingent. As the base historian noted, "Judging by future events these officers reported very favorably on the possibilities. Each of these branches proceeded to activate units to be located at this station."[15] Excessive detail is not necessary besides the main thrust of

[11] *History of TAAF, 7 December 1941–31 December 1942*, 289.28–2, IRIS 00179149, AFHRA, 35.
[12] Ibid., 57.
[13] Ibid., 20, 30.
[14] Ibid., 53.
[15] Ibid.

the point already provided; however, the base historian noted these additional units included

> portions of a Task Force, a Technical School Squadron, a Service Group and a Fighter Group. These units were not organized in their final form at the time of their activation but were shuffled and reshuffled from time to time as the situation changed. It will be difficult to go through the activation, assignment, reassignment and disbandment of some of the smaller units of these larger units without confusing the reader in view of the fact that some of the reasoning behind various changes was done at higher headquarters and this Headquarters only received the final decision in the form of an order to put the decisions into effect. (*History of Tuskegee Army Air Field, Tuskegee, Alabama, 7 December 1941–31 December 1942*, 289.28–2, IRIS 00179149, AFHRA, 57)

The author may have been mistaken about the assignment of the service group, assuming that he meant the sub-depot, but the primary point is that ancillary units began to be assigned to TAAF beginning in March 1942. Other units were added later that year, sometimes in conjunction with additional cadet training needs as discussed earlier.[16] These in turn added further pressure on the total base population and thus the local housing situation.

Finally, besides the assignment of additional units to Tuskegee, officers and soldiers were transferred there on an individual or small group basis as well. As of December 31, 1944, the officer to enlisted ratio at Tuskegee was one officer for every 4.8 enlisted men. This high ratio is due in part to the number of pilots at the base. But as the base history noted, "the closeness of this ratio is a result of a situation whereby other stations send and have sent negro officer candidates to the Army Air Forces Officer Candidate School, administrative, from which they are successfully graduated and then

[16] *History of TAAF, 7 December 1941–31 December 1942*, 289.28–2, IRIS 00179149, AFHRA, 53–56.

unceremoniously dumped upon the Tuskegee Army Air Field, higher authority apparently being at a loss as to know at what other station they may be profitably utilized." These men were assigned to trivial and largely unnecessary jobs which required little time. Morale suffered as a result. [17] In other situations, officers and men, considered to be potential troublemakers, were sent to Tuskegee. Such was the case when twenty-three quartermaster officers arrived from Fort Gordon, Georgia, where they had "threatened to make a little trouble."[18]

In a letter to Washington concerning the employment of African-Americans in the military, Noel Parrish commented that

> faced with a great surplus of idle officers at Tuskegee long ago, I was unable to persuade any one to assign these officers where they could be used. I was also unable to persuade any one to stop the flow of colored officers through Air Corps OCS, even though every one admitted no real attempt would be made to assign them where they could be utilized. This was only one of the many problems of this kind which arose constantly, with every one interested, every one admitting something should be done, yet no one doing anything decisive." (Noel Parrish to Brigadier General William E. Hall, August 5, 1945, Box 19, Folder 11, Parrish Papers, LOC)

In the end, Parrish noted that "I got all these odds and ends dumped on me. I didn't need half the officers I had, or about half the enlisted men. I had to take enlisted men; I planted thousands and thousands of trees with enlisted men with nothing else to do. My Adjutant was a forestry graduate and I had to make work all kinds of things."[19]

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[17] *History of TAAF, 1 November 1944–31 December 1944*, 289.28–7, IRIS 00179163, AFHRA, 9.
[18] Noel Parrish, interview by B. G. Coffman, October 11, 1974, 45–46, Colorado Springs, Colorado, Box 5, Folder 6, Parrish Papers, LOC.
[19] Ibid.

11.5. Construction Workers

The establishment and subsequent enlargement of a sub-depot, the increased pilot quotas, and the unplanned arrival of various individuals and units meant that more buildings of all types would be necessary at TAAF. This followed an initial increase of twenty-four buildings approved in the months after the beginning of construction. In a letter dated October 31, 1941, Brigadier General A. H. Carter informed President Patterson of "substantial additions" to the original plans, increasing the monetary outlay from $1.8 million to approximately $2.4 million. This increase may have been due to the recent addition of the new maintenance sub-depot. At that time, building occupancy was still expected to be completed by December 15, 1941.[20]

Further additions after America's entry into the war meant that the construction crews, which were already months overdue in the completion of their original tasking, would have to stay longer than originally planned in order to build additional barracks and other buildings.

Sources noting the number of construction personnel on site are sparse; however, a few reveal the extent to how many workers were in Tuskegee during this period. One source from late January 1942 noted that twelve hundred blacks and several hundred whites were still employed in construction. [21] This would not be unexpected; at the minimum, both terrain issues and inclement weather had delayed completion of the runways. The same month, the Post Engineer was quoted in the *Hawk's Cry* that "we are nearing the end of the construction program of the first objective of the ACAFS

[20] Brig. Gen. A. H. Carter to F. D. Patterson, October 31, 1941, Patterson Papers, 003.084, U. S. War Department (2): August–December 1941, TUA.
[21] William Pickens, "Fort Huachuca and 99th Pursuit Squadron," draft, January 1942, Patterson Papers, 003.137, Defense Savings Staff, TUA.

[TAAF].” This comment surely relates to those buildings originally tasked during 1941 and not the additions related to the 1942 expansion. [22] In all, fifty-five buildings had been completed by that time, although the four runways and the aircraft parking aprons were still under construction. A water pumping station, “nearly as large as one of a city having a population of 5,000 people,” was almost completed.[23] Thousands of contractors were still present in the spring. At that time, another article in the *Hawk’s Cry* indicated that a new Utilities Plant was under construction. Four of the eight persons in charge of its construction either were or had been connected with Tuskegee Institute, although it is assumed that these persons worked for McKissack and McKissack as well.[24]

The high employment numbers continued into the summer months, with McKissack informing President Patterson that “more than two thousand employees” were working at the field as of June 1942.[25] At the end of July 1942, he wrote again to say that “our work here is at the Air Base is nearing completion.” Continuing that theme, he complemented the workers and the Institute, saying that “it appears that our colored tradesmen have done a splendid piece of work, in which Tuskegee graduates played a large part.”[26]

Thus the construction program appears to have remained strong until the end of July 1942. It was during this same month that several workers were killed and injured by lightning, and another worker from Scottsboro, Alabama, was killed when he fell off a

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[22] *Hawk’s Cry*, “A Note from the Engineers,” March 2, 1942, Box 22, Folder 1, Parrish Papers, LOC.
[23] Ibid.
[24] *History of TAAF, 7 December 1941–31 December 1942*, 289.28–2, IRIS 00179149, AFHRA, 2; *Hawk’s Cry*, “Field News,” May 16, 1942, Box 22, Folder 1, Parrish Papers, LOC.
[25] Calvin L. McKissack to F. D. Patterson, July 28, 1942, Patterson Papers, 003.134, McKissack and McKissack, TUA.
[26] Calvin L. McKissack to F. D. Patterson, July 29, 1942, Patterson Papers, 003.134, McKissack and McKissack, TUA.

ladder.[27] Reverend Charles Kelly, writing in the *Tuskegee News* the same month, said that "with the local population being doubled in the past year because of the building program and the Flying School, the problem of housing visitors is most serious...should any one have a spare room or bed, a real service will be rendered to offer the same in the present situation."[28] This indicates that the housing issue was not improving, although it is possible that any decreases in the numbers of construction workers had been replaced by incoming Army personnel.

Some construction—perhaps minor in nature— likely continued in a declining manner throughout the remainder of the year, and the official history states that "practically all construction of a major nature at the Tuskegee Army Air Field had been completed by 1 January 1943."[29] This date may relate more to the date of the document, the contents of which spanned from January 1, 1943 to early 1944. However, the following excerpt from the first installment of the base history may prove more insightful:

> It will be noted that the acceptance dates or dates transferred to post begin in 1942. These are the dates that the Post Engineer accepted them from the Area Engineer as meeting specifications. It is not meant to infer that these buildings were not occupied prior to the dates shown. In fact some of the barracks buildings were being used for school rooms, operations and offices even before Pearl Harbor though they were far from complete...However most of the buildings were being used for the purpose for which intended long before the transfer date. The Post Engineer insisted that specifications should be met which frequently lead to delays in acceptance. The position of the Post Engineer is made clear when it is considered that usually the first rain after accepting a

[27] *Tuskegee News,* "Two Killed, Two Injured as Bolt Strikes Air Base," July 2, 1942; *Tuskegee News,* "Fall at Airfield Fatal to Worker," July 16, 1942.
[28] Reverend C.W. Kelly, News among the Colored People, *Tuskegee News*, July 16, 1942.
[29] *History of TAAF, 1 January 1943–29 February 1944*, 289.28–3 v.1, IRIS 00179150, AFHRA, 6.

building meant a roof patch job for his maintenance personnel. (*History of Tuskegee Army Air Field, Tuskegee, Alabama, Conception–6 December 1941*, 289.28–1 v.1, IRIS 00179144, AFHRA, 27–28)

With this narrative in mind, an examination of the buildings accepted during 1942 illustrates that the bulk of barracks were accepted by TAAF during October 1942 with additional buildings being accepted during the remainder of the year. The following information is provided regarding the acceptance dates for barracks of all types.[30]

Number of barracks	Month of acceptance (1942)
3	September
40	October
7	November
2	December

The figures provided above, along with the prior narrative, appear to indicate that construction by McKissack and McKissack declined soon after McKissack's letter to President Patterson dated July 29.[31] However, it also appears that although construction may have decreased significantly, a certain number of workers remained to complete minor tasks before the acceptance of buildings by the Post Engineer. Additionally, given that the bulk of barracks were transferred in October instead of September, perhaps construction was not completed as soon as his letter suggests.

This deceleration of construction at Tuskegee, presumably beginning in August 1942, coincided with the war construction trend throughout the rest of nation. According to the *Tuskegee News*, war construction peaked nationwide in August 1942, with a

[30] *History of TAAF, Conception–6 December 1941*, 289.28–1 v.1, IRIS 00179144, AFHRA, appendix II.
[31] *History of TAAF, 7 December 1941–31 December 1942*, 289.28–2, IRIS 00179149, AFHRA, 12.

million construction workers anticipated to be available for other work by the end of 1943.[32] The figures above also correlate to that provided by the base history, in that the construction was largely completed by the end of 1942.[33]

11.6. Personnel Numbers

Keeping in mind the three primary reasons for the expansion of Tuskegee Army Air Field, figure 11.1 illustrates the estimated personnel increase during 1942.[34] Data pertaining to population estimations for the remainder of the war are detailed in Appendix 1.

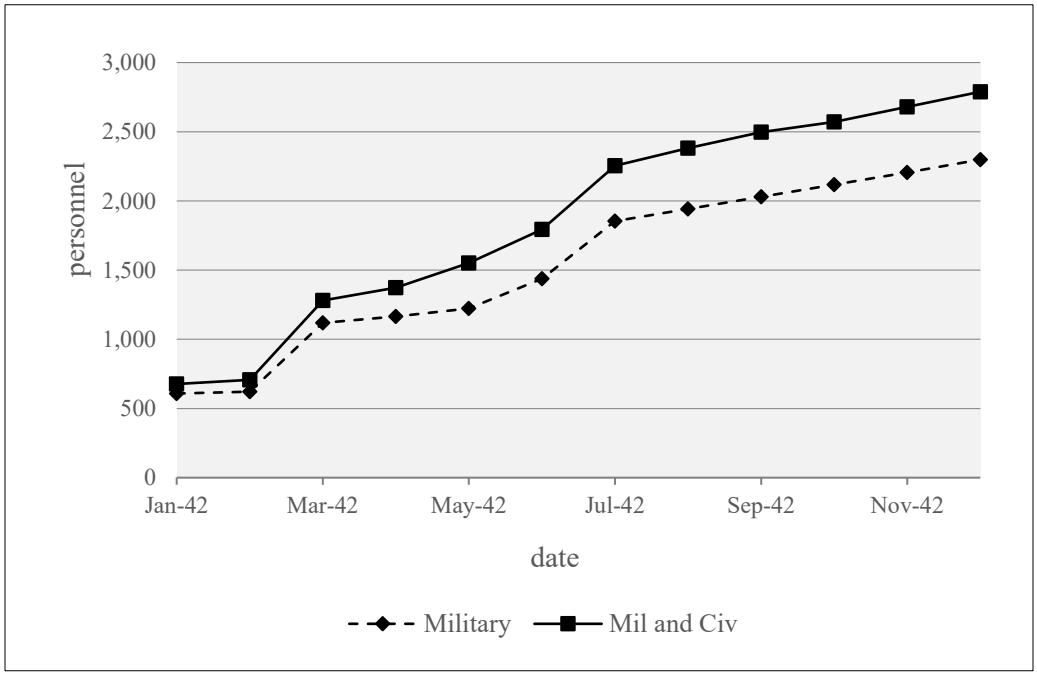

Figure 11.1. Military and civilian personnel, 1942 (Source: Appendix 1)

[32] *Tuskegee News*, "The Home Front," December 31, 1942.
[33] *History of TAAF, 1 March 1944 to 30 June 1944*, 289.28–4 v.1, IRIS 00179154, AFHRA, 15.
[34] *History of TAAF,* table, "Strength: Tuskegee Army Air Field, January 1942 to February 1944," *1 January 1943–29 February 1944*, 289.28–3 v.1, IRIS 00179150, AFHRA; Donald L. Layman to Historical Officer, TAAF, February 9, 1944, table, *History of TAAF, 1 January 1943–29 February 1944*, 289.28–3 v.1, IRIS 00179150, AFHRA. Military personnel figures for August thru November 1942 were unavailable and necessarily a best estimate based upon available data.

Excluding aviation cadets, figure 11.1 illustrates that the original, pre-war planned complement of approximately five hundred military and civilian personnel was completely overwhelmed by later arrivals as early as March 1942. Additional personnel arrived throughout the remainder of the year. By December 1942, an estimated 236 Officers and 2,057 enlisted were stationed at TAAF for a total of 2,293 military personnel. The addition of 593 civilians brings the total military and civilian contingent in December 1942 to 2,886 persons. This represents an increase of 506.3 percent over the original plan of December 1940.

This increase would result in a housing situation which was severe in itself, yet figure 11.1 omits the presence of construction workers during 1942. Figure 11.2 corrects this omission.

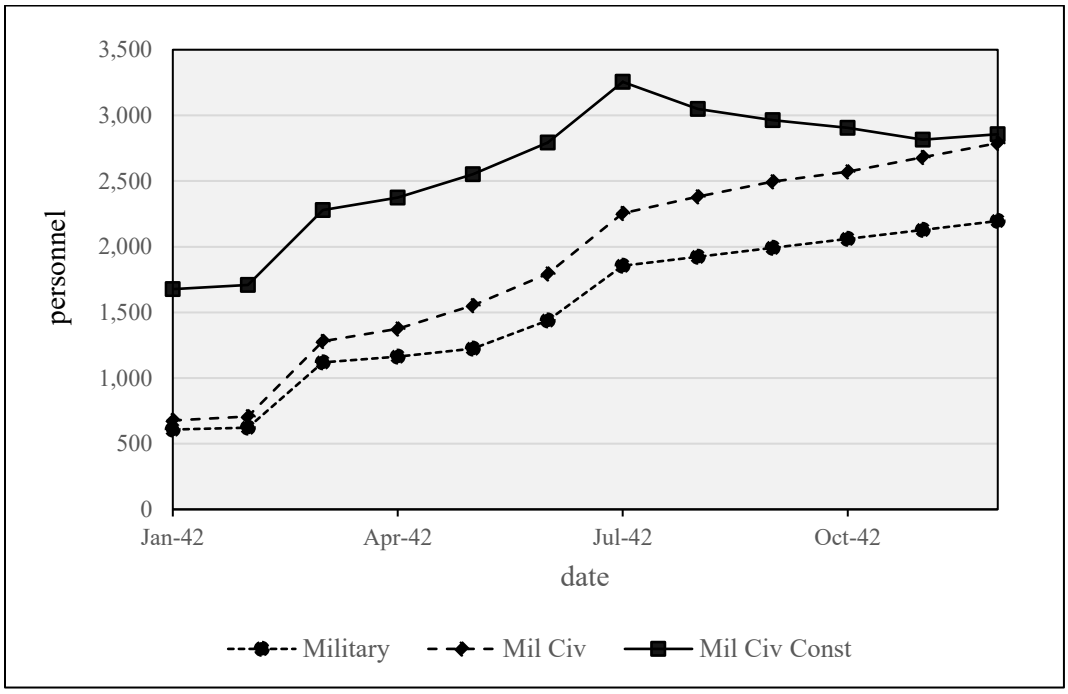

Figure 11.2. Military, civilian and construction personnel, 1942 (Source: Appendix 1)

Based on the various 1942 sources referenced previously, figure 11.2 assumes a conservative worker complement of fifteen hundred persons—one thousand African-

Americans and five hundred whites. These workers were assumed to be present in full complement until July 1942. After that date, an assumed drawdown was initiated with construction largely completed by January 1, 1943. Prior to this drawdown, the total number of military, civilian, and construction workers is assumed to have peaked in July 1942 at 3,755 persons. Keep in mind that a percentage of these civilian and construction workers were local; therefore, the number of in-migrant persons arriving in Tuskegee was necessarily smaller.

11.7. Kimble and Hazard

Due to the significant number of units arriving at TAAF, the more immediate issue was how to increase in the number of barracks and other necessary buildings as the airbase expanded. As explained previously, only African-American, single military personnel lived on base. The remainder, to include married personnel of both races and all civilians, necessarily lived elsewhere.

Both the Commanding Officer of Tuskegee Army Air Field, Frederick V. H. Kimble and his Executive Officer, John T. Hazard deserve much of the credit for the successful ends to which they solved these logistical problems as they arose. Although Hazard had been on board from the earliest days of construction, Kimble had replaced James Ellison in mid-January 1942 as station commander. In many ways, this replacement could have been expected. Ellison, although he had "boundless energy and worked long hours he did not possess the capacity for administrative organization that Col. Kimble displayed immediately upon taking command."[35]

[35] *History of TAAF, 7 December 1941–31 December 1942*, 289.28–2, IRIS 00179149, AFHRA, 29.

Both Kimble and Hazard were much maligned in the black press with regards to various issues. With regards to the press, perhaps the greatest offender was later identified as *The Pittsburg Courier*, which as late as 1944 was still railing against Hazard. The same would probably have occurred for Kimble as well had he not been transferred years earlier.[36] According to the official history of TAAF, accusations against both men were sometimes made in ignorance of the facts and, referring to Kimble, "besides being unjust showed an absolute lack of appreciation on the part of the Negro leaders of the country for the efforts he had expended on the organizing and equipping of the [rapidly expanding] station"—an assertion which could have applied to Hazard as well.[37]

Noel Parrish, who replaced Kimble as base commander in December of 1942, thought that these attacks upon the base, which continued through much of the war regardless of who was in command, may have been intentional in order to advance ulterior motives. Claude A. Barnett of the Associated Negro Press was of a similar opinion.[38] Regardless, there was probably some merit in these accusations. Parrish noted that Kimball, who had once been an aide to both Douglas MacArthur and George Van Horn Moseley, had an elitist streak observed especially in Moseley.[39] President Patterson seemed to echo this sentiment; in a letter to the chairman of a committee of the

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[36] *History of 2143 AAF Base Unit (Pilot School, Basic-Advanced) and TAAF, 1 January 1945 to 28 February 1945*, 289.28–8 v.1, IRIS 00179165, AFHRA, 17–18; Jack Day, Inside Tuskegee, "Combat Pilots Returned from Overseas Get Minor Assignments while White Ruling Clique Holds Best Positions," *Pittsburgh Courier*, September 23, 1944, Box 20, Folder 16, Parrish Papers, LOC.

[37] *History of TAAF, Tuskegee, Alabama, 7 December 1941–31 December 1942*, 289.28–2, IRIS 00179149, AFHRA, 31–32.

[38] *History of 2143 AAF Base Unit (Pilot School, Basic-Advanced) and TAAF, 1 January 1945 to 28 February 1945*, 289.28–8 v.1, IRIS 00179165, AFHRA, 17–18; Noel Parrish to W. R. McCarthy, December 27, 1944, Box 19, Folder 9, Parrish Papers, LOC Claude Barnett to Noel Parrish, November 1, 1944, Box 19, Folder 9, Parrish Papers, LOC, *Hawk's Cry*, "Lt. Col. Parrish Takes Over," August 7, 1943, Box 22, Folder 3, Parrish Papers, LOC; *History of TAAF, 7 December 1941–31 December 1942*, 289.28–2, IRIS 00179149, AFHRA, 51.

[39] Noel Parrish, interview by B. G. Coffman, October 11, 1974, 43, Colorado Springs, Colorado, Box 5, Folder 6, Parrish Papers, LOC.

Washington Federation of Churches, he stated that with Parrish as the base commander at TAAF, "the situation is vastly improved over what it was under Colonel Kimble and in general the relationship in the community as a whole."[40]

Although race issues are frequently the primary focus when discussing the history of the Tuskegee Airmen, it is likely Kimble had more important issues on his mind when he arrived to take command—most importantly the adjustment of the base to a wartime footing. This would include all aspects of its operation to include: completion of the original layout as proposed in 1940, expansion of the training program and base facilities to wartime needs, and normalizing all aspects of daily operations. Interrupting this normal train of thinking were the sudden and unexpected appearance of military personnel assigned to the base by other military units. This, as discussed earlier, made effective planning extremely difficult.

To give one an idea of the enormity of the task facing Kimble, the original base plan as proposed in December 1940 estimated a need for thirty-four buildings.[41] By March 1942 this figure had increased, as mentioned previously, to at least fifty-five buildings completed, with additional buildings assumed to be under construction. A reference dated December 1943 indicates that the number of buildings constructed, excluding civilian war housing, had risen to 155—a 356 percent increase over the

[40] Wilbur LaRoe, Jr. to Frederick D. Patterson, March 24, 1943, Patterson Papers, 003.143, Folder La–Le, TUA; Frederick D. Patterson to Wilbur LaRoe, Jr., March 30, 1943, Patterson Papers, 003.143, Folder La–Le, TUA.
[41] Brig. Gen. Walter Weaver to Chief of the Air Corps, Washington, DC, 1st Indorsement, December 6, 1940, *History of TAAF, Conception–6 December 1941*, 289.28–1 v.1, IRIS 00179144, AFHRA, exhibit A.

original estimate.[42] As the majority of construction was completed by the end of 1942, this occurred almost entirely under Kimble's command.

To further illustrate the scope of the base's expansion while primarily under Kimble's command, the original construction cost of the base in December 1940 was estimated at slightly less than $1.1 million. By 1943, at the end of construction, the actual cost involving participation by the Corps of Engineers, exclusive of land cost and capital improvements, was $7,197,851.[43] As mentioned previously in chapter 8, the 1940 estimate was based on a similar airbase recently constructed at Selma, Alabama, and "the reader is cautioned against too arbitrary a comparison was it must be remember that the original estimate was made without knowledge of the terrain on which the station was to be built and one year before the Japanese Attack on Pearl Harbor." [44] And yet, the approximate cost of construction by the end of 1943 details that $1,120,607 was spent on military barracks construction alone—slightly more than the original 1940 estimate for the entire airbase.[45]

With this perspective in mind, the official history of Tuskegee Army Air Field, written and assembled by base historian Edward C. Ambler, Jr. and almost certainly approved by base commander Noel Parrish, details how fortunate it was that Kimble was assigned to command Tuskegee Army Air Field during 1942.[46]

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[42] *History of TAAF, 1 January 1943–29 February 1944*, 289.28–3 v.1, IRIS 00179150, AFHRA, 18; Captain S. C. Pugh to Commanding Officer , TAAF, 1st Indorsement, February 2, 1944, *History of TAAF, 1 January 1943–29 February 1944*, 289.28–3 v.1, IRIS 00179150, AFHRA.
[43] *History of TAAF, 1 January 1943–29 February 1944*, 289.28–3 v.1, IRIS 00179150, AFHRA, 18–19.
[44] Brig. Gen. Walter Weaver to Chief of the Air Corps, Washington, DC, 1st Indorsement, December 6, 1940, *History of TAAF, Conception–6 December 1941*, 289.28–1 v.1, IRIS 00179144, AFHRA; *History of TAAF, 1 January 1943–29 February 1944*, 289.28–3 v.1, IRIS 00179150, AFHRA, 18–19.
[45] Captain S. C. Pugh to Commanding Officer, Tuskegee Army Air Field, 1st Indorsement, February 2, 1944, *History of TAAF, 1 January 1943–29 February 1944*, 289.28–3 v.1, IRIS 00179150, AFHRA.
[46] Noel Parrish, interview by James C. Hasdorff, June 10–14, 1974, 97, San Antonio, Texas, no. 744, United States Oral History Program, Box 56, Folder 9, Parrish Papers, LOC.

> The Tuskegee Army Air Field was fortunate in one respect which good fortune was probably not enjoyed by other stations. Col. Frederick V. H. Kimble, the Post Commander during the growing pains period, had formerly been on duty with the Division of Buildings and Grounds of the Army Air Forces. This materially reduced the delay in securing essential housing as Col. Kimble knew who to get in touch with direct when additional buildings were needed. It must be borne in mind that though this was a station under the jurisdiction of the Flying Training Command, the Technical Training Command, Air Service Command and Third Air Force all had units located at this station and left it more or less up to the Post Commander to take care of them. Without this personal touch the writer is unable to see how the housing of the men would have been accomplished as expeditiously as it was for even with it, it was necessary at times to sleep large groups of men under canvas. (*History of Tuskegee Army Air Field, Tuskegee, Alabama, 7 December 1941–31 December 1942*, 289.28–2, IRIS 00179149, AFHRA, 14–15)

Besides his organizational skills, Kimble's primary contribution to the building program was the successful requisitioning of additional materials and supplies from the appropriate agencies. In this effort, he was competing against all other military entities that were trying to acquire the same resources for the same reasons, and "had to use all of his ingenuity and knowledge as a soldier and all of his contacts in Washington to obtain sufficient housing for this expansion is putting it mildly."[47]

Kimble's responsibility as base commander concerned the overall function of the base. In this respect, military protocol assumes that the role of a commanding officer is to make decisions regarding the organization which he leads. His executive officer then carries them out. Thus the day to day operation of the base, to include the myriad of

[47] *History of TAAF, 7 December 1941–31 December 1942*, 289.28–2, IRIS 00179149, AFHRA, 30.

details regarding the building program, was more the responsibility of the base's executive officer, John T. Hazard.

Hazard, a Mississippian originally from near Vicksburg, arrived in Tuskegee on July 29, 1941, during the earliest phases of the building program.[48] In many ways, considering the enormity of the task at hand, he was ideally suited for the job. Beginning employment with the Civilian Conservation Corps in 1934, he remained with that organization until his assignment at Tuskegee. As a result, he was already well acclimated to both military organization and construction upon his arrival. Additionally, "besides having tremendous energy, [he] has the ability to think quickly and accurately which combination was invaluable at this station where it had been found necessary for those in authority to do a great deal of the detailed thinking for their subordinates."[49]

His high energy apparently led him to possess a strong and direct personality which did not endear him to many African-Americans, and may have been the reason for Benjamin O. Davis Jr.'s wife Agatha possibly alluded to Hazard in her scathing poem entitled "Dear Mom, This Is a Hell of a Hole." In that poem, she described Hazard as "the Hatchet Man…who swears and rants and rants and swears 'til he is clammy cold. A cracker from Mississippi is he, who bears no love."[50] Because of attacks such as these, Hazard's achievements—as with Kimble's—appear to have been later reduced to issues revolving around race at the expense of his broader accomplishments.

[48] *Hawk's Cry,* "Col. Hazzard Leaves!" September 23, 1944, Box 22, Folder 7, Parrish Papers, LOC.
[49] *History of TAAF, Conception–6 December 1941*, 289.28–1 v.1, IRIS 00179144, AFHRA, 38.
[50] Benjamin O. Davis, Jr., *American: An Autobiography* (Smithsonian Institution Press, 1991), 77–81.

Yet the official base history presents his contribution in exacting terms, while commenting on his forceful personality as well. This forceful personality translated into a can-do attitude and, considering the "herculean task of organization" at TAAF, was much appreciated.[51]

> The Executive Officer, Lt. Col. Hazard is largely, in the opinion of the writer, responsible for the fact that Tuskegee Army Air Field is a going concern….it must be said that Col. Kimble appeared to recognize his abilities soon after taking command of the station and let them develop to their full extent. Col. Hazard is outspoken when he needs to be and Col. Kimble frequently spoke of him as his 'reticent' Executive Officer…Col. Hazard was also handled a bit roughly due to his inclination to call a spade a spade, but it is not felt that any object would be accomplished by detailing the matter here. (*History of Tuskegee Army Air Field, Tuskegee, Alabama, 7 December 1941–31 December 1942*, 289.28–2, IRIS 00179149, AFHRA, 32)

Thus it appears that Hazard's direct manner was not received well by members of a race who had been subjected to decades of rejection, hence the opinions referenced previously in the black press. And yet, an interesting contrast is provided by Parrish as to other incidents at the base. In a 1945 letter to General William E. Hall concerning the employment of African-Americans in the armed forces, he noted that

> often [white] officers of unquestioned courage will show the most amazing lack of moral conviction and the most surprising evasiveness when they are forced to commit themselves to any definite action or statement regarding negroes. As a case in point, an example is cited of a negro soldier who was recently tried and convicted at Tuskegee Army Air Field for failure to salute an officer. The evidence indicated that this soldier had deliberately avoided saluting for a number of months; that many officers had stopped him and questioned him; that he had always argued that his failure to salute was justified by the army's lack of

[51] *History of TAAF, 1 January 1943–29 February 1944*, 289.28–3 v.1, IRIS 00179150, AFHRA, 21.

> fairness in the treatment of negroes and that no officers, white or colored, had previously taken any action against him. He had even been examined at a nearby General Hospital and had been returned to Tuskegee for full duty, after refusing to salute the Hospital Board and was provided a staff car when he refused to take the train. This is an extreme case. Long experience at Tuskegee has provided countless examples somewhat similar to the above in regard to a general reluctance on the part of army authorities to become involved in any problem regarding negroes whenever such a problem can be referred to some one else. (Col. Noel F. Parrish to Brigadier General William E. Hall, August 5, 1945, Box 19, Folder 11, Parrish Papers, LOC)

Thus it would seem that the negative comments concerning Hazard's performance should perhaps be taken in a different light. Not only should he be evaluated with respect to the task placed before him upon his arrival at TAAF, but also, despite any personal shortcomings which he may have possessed, his directness and lack of timidity with regards to dealing with subordinates when necessary.

Hazard continued to improve the quality of services at the base throughout the years. For example, a much needed and appreciated Service Club was constructed largely due to his efforts. Opening in 1943, it was officially an unauthorized structure, and only through the efforts of Hazard did it become a reality.[52] The base newspaper, commenting upon his transfer in late 1944, noted that he had done "a commendable job in his many responsible duties as the commanding officer's 'right hand man' aide." The quote is taken from an article on the front page of the base newspaper in which his last name appears to have been intentionally misspelled.[53]

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[52] *History of TAAF, 1 January 1943–29 February 1944*, 289.28–3 v.1, IRIS 00179150, AFHRA, 96; *Hawk's Cry,* "Service Club to Open" July 9, 1943, Box 22, Folder 3, Parrish Papers, LOC.
[53] *Hawk's Cry,* "Col. Hazzard Leaves!" September 23, 1944; Box 22, Folder 7, Parrish Papers, LOC.

11.8. Off-base Housing Overview

The large influx of personnel placed additional strain on the local housing situation. Besides incoming African-American construction and civilian workers, who necessarily required housing in Tuskegee or in the nearby environs, married African-American military personnel also required off-base housing. All whites also required off-base housing. As this was largely unanticipated during the planning stages of the base, this additional demand placed a significant strain on the local housing situation. An additional factor was included in that a relatively small number of in-migrants, both military and civilian, were also stationed at Tuskegee Institute's Moton Field.

A rough numerical estimate of the in-migrant demand of housing—white and black, military and civilian—and the potential availability of housing is possible using various sources.[54] Primary in this regard are data from various documents from the official history of Tuskegee Army Air Field and data from the 1940 Housing Census. Additional data, pertaining to the Greenwood area in figure 4.1 of chapter 4, was obtained from the U.S. Department of Agriculture soil map of Macon County, Alabama, series 1937. Lastly, some input pertaining to personnel figures at Moton Field was gained from the George L. Washington files at Tuskegee University.

The available data presents a picture that is often incomplete, inconsistent, and contradictory. To remedy this problem, various assumptions were incorporated into the analysis, leading to a measure of conjecture regarding the results. The goal was to allow the results to be realistic with what was generally known, yet let the data show forth as much as possible.

[54] To reiterate, the sources and estimation of these figures is contained in Appendix 1.

Although some of the assumptions are topic-specific, others are more general and will be presented here. There are two overarching assumptions with regards to demand and one regarding supply.

On the demand side, the estimation of persons requiring off-base housing were assumed to be singular in demand. That is, although demand was estimated to include a certain percentage of married couples having a working spouse, no consideration was taken for couples or singles living in the same dwelling or sharing a room in the same dwelling. In other words, there was no consideration of combining demand into the available housing supply since there was no supporting documentation from which to establish some sort of benchmark. This necessarily overstated the impact of demand on the available supply of housing. Also not considered were those in-migrants living outside of the areas of Tuskegee, Greenwood and Green Forks. As this in fact did exist in some cases, estimated demand as presented would tend to be overstated. A compensating balance to remedy this defect would be that no consideration was given for in-migrants unrelated to military activities; for example, newly-employed teachers at local schools, or new hires at Tuskegee Institute or the Veteran's Hospital.[55]

On the supply side, and outside those discussed in chapter 4 relating to Greenwood, few considerations were assumed with regards to housing characteristics unless calculated from census data.

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[55] "Civie" of the Week, *Hawk's Cry,* August 25, 1945, Box 23, Folder 3, Parrish Papers, LOC; "Civie" of the Week, *Hawk's Cry,* March 17, 1943, Box 23, Folder 1, Parrish Papers, LOC; The House Committee, Purity Palace to Guests, flyer, undated, Box 19, Folder 5, Parrish Papers, LOC; 378th Eagle Eye, *Hawk's Cry,* July 16, 1943, Box 22, Folder 3, Parrish Papers, LOC; *Tuskegee News,* "Tuskegee Owners Approved for home Remodeling," April 30, 1942; Martha Johnston, Society and Personal Notes, *Tuskegee News,* May 4, 1944; *Tuskegee News,* "Tuskegee Hospital will be Enlarged," August 26, 1943; *Tuskegee News,* "Urgent Appeal is Sounded to Find Teachers Rooms," September 2, 1943; I. A. Derbigny, "Tuskegee Looks at Its Veterans," n.d., Local 1945, 131.063, I. A. Derbigny, TUA.

11.9. White Off-base Housing

Post-Pearl Harbor housing pertaining to white in-migrants, consisting of construction workers and military personnel, is the simplest to analyze and will be considered first. This is largely due to the fact that no government housing was considered for white military personnel—largely because of the initial decision that their assignment in Tuskegee would be temporary. As a result, even as the base expanded, white personnel were left to their own devices with regards to housing.

Although a handful of military personnel arrived at the beginning of construction, the majority of in-migrants during the earliest part of the war were construction workers. Based on the one reference noted previously, the total number of workers was assumed to be consistent at approximately 1500 during the bulk of the construction period, with a black-white ratio of 2:1.[56] Figure 11.2 illustrates the large number of construction workers—both black and white—present during mid- to late 1941 and into 1942 as construction continued.

In estimating the number of in-migrant construction workers, a conservative estimate of 25.0 percent in-migrants of both races was assumed. The reason for this conservative estimate is the references to ample local labor. Another reason is that no temporary housing was provided for them. Since 500 construction workers were estimated to be white during most of the construction time, this allows for a maximum in-migrant estimate of 125 persons. Twenty-five percent of these were estimated to be

[56] *Daily World,* "Race Crews, Contractors Speed Work," stamped November 3, 1941.

married—admittedly an estimate based solely on conjecture. Employment figures are assumed to be constant until August 1942, declining thereafter to zero by January 1943.[57]

Data illustrate that the total number of white military officers in Tuskegee increased from an estimated twelve officers in January 1942 to sixty officers by December 1942. This figure gradually increased to 101 officers by May 1944, remaining relatively steady thereafter for the remainder of the war. Based on a singular reference, described in Appendix 1, 26.5 of these officers were assumed to be married.

The number of white enlisted personnel based at TAAF was minimal. Beginning with an estimated seven persons in January 1942, their number peaked at nineteen in October 1943, then generally fluctuated between an estimated ten and fifteen men until August 1945.[58] The same percentage of married personnel was applied to them as to the officers.

In addition to those stationed at TAAF, an estimated contingent of seven white officers and eight white enlisted men were stationed at Moton Field. As these persons also lived off-base, they were also included in the estimates for off-base housing demand. Their numbers are assumed by necessity to be constant since sufficient data for more detailed analysis is lacking.[59]

Figure 11.3 illustrates the estimated number of white construction workers, and white military personnel stationed in Tuskegee from 1942 thru August 1945.

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[57] There is no data on the construction worker numbers towards the completion of the base in 1942. Total workers in the last half of the year were estimated to be as follows: July 1500, August 1000, September 700, October 500, November 200, and December 100. The supposition is that employment dropped dramatically into the acceptance of the barracks, then dropped again with the completion of the base. Allowing for one-third of the workers to be white with an in-migrant rate of 25 percent, the in-migrant figures were: July 125, August 83, September 58, October 42, November 17, and December 8.

[58] See Appendix 1 for a complete analysis and estimation of available data.

[59] See Appendix 1 for a complete analysis and estimation of available data for figure 11.3 onward.

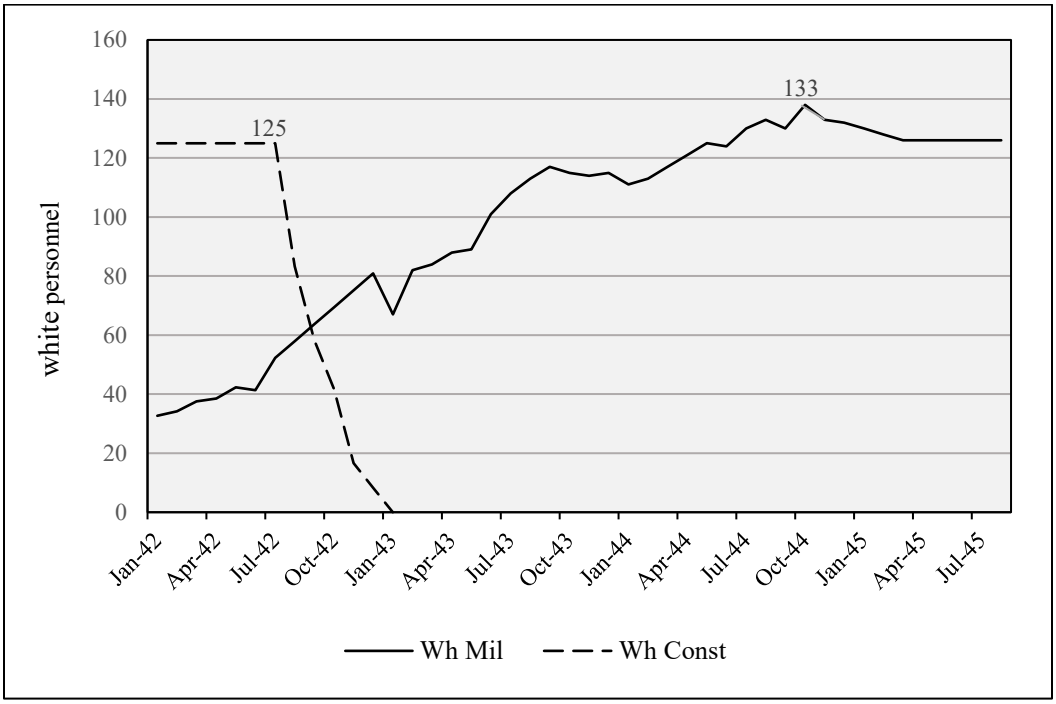

Figure 11.3. White military and construction in-migration (Source: Appendix 1)

It is fair to visualize from figure 11.3 that the large number of in-migrant construction workers arriving in late 1941 and early 1942 easily overwhelmed all available space in Tuskegee, leaving little remaining for arriving military personnel. The official base history expounds upon this idea:

> Facilities for housing of officers and enlisted personnel and their families were very limited even in the earliest days of construction. Tuskegee is a small city of approximately 4000 persons. As it is the center of an agricultural community and the county seat, with no industries, there is very little turnover in the residents so, as would be expected, there are very few housing facilities available for rent...This situation was also aggravated for military personnel as the station was still under construction when they began to arrive and practically all available space had already been taken by civilian employees of the Corps of Engineers and of the contractors. (*History of Tuskegee Army Air Field, Tuskegee, Alabama, Conception–6 December 1941*, 289.28–1 v.1, IRIS 00179144, AFHRA, 15–16)

Figure 11.4 illustrates the high number of in-migrant whites up to July 1942, thus helping to confirm the previous excerpt from the official base history. These high numbers of personnel continued until the gradual departure of the construction workers beginning in August 1942. The total number of in-migrants declined during this time as the number of arriving white military personnel was less than that of departing construction workers. Bottoming in January 1943, the total number of white military personnel gradually increased until stabilizing at approximately 130 officers and men in the fall of 1944.

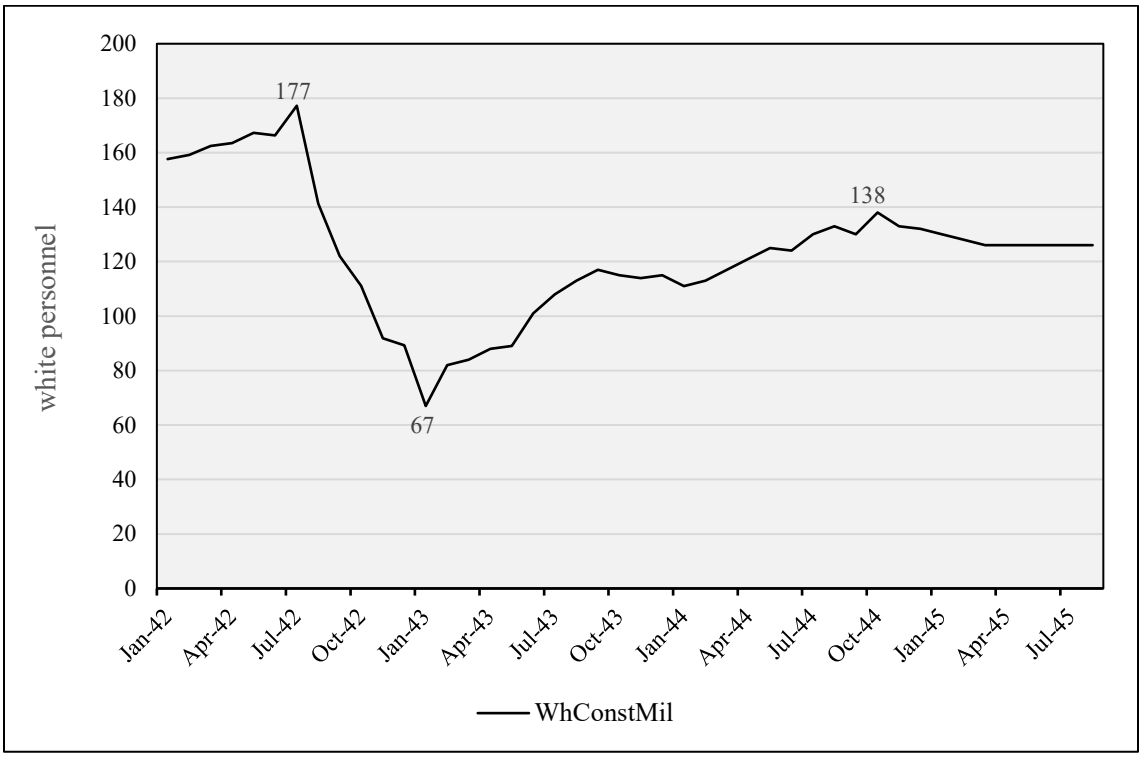

Figure 11.4. Total white in-migration, 1942-45 (Source: Appendix 1)

On the assumption that higher in-migrant numbers translate to a tighter housing market, figure 11.4 also helps to both confirm the previous quote above and elucidate a seemingly contradictory comment in the official base history. The commentary for the period covering March to June 1944 noted that "some of the [white] military personnel of

the Tuskegee Army Air Field have always resided in Auburn, Alabama, and a tendency has been noted of late for more and more personnel to gravitate in that direction."[60] From the demand side, figure 11.4 well suggests why a percentage of white military personnel had been forced to move to Auburn, Alabama—located twenty-six miles from the base—first in the earlier days of the war and again beginning in early 1944. Auburn was the home of Alabama Polytechnic Institute; as a white college town it was suitably equipped to handle any overflow from in-coming whites to Tuskegee.

The above figures and commentary, relating primarily to demand, can be amplified in relation to white housing supply. This is illustrated below in figure 11.5.

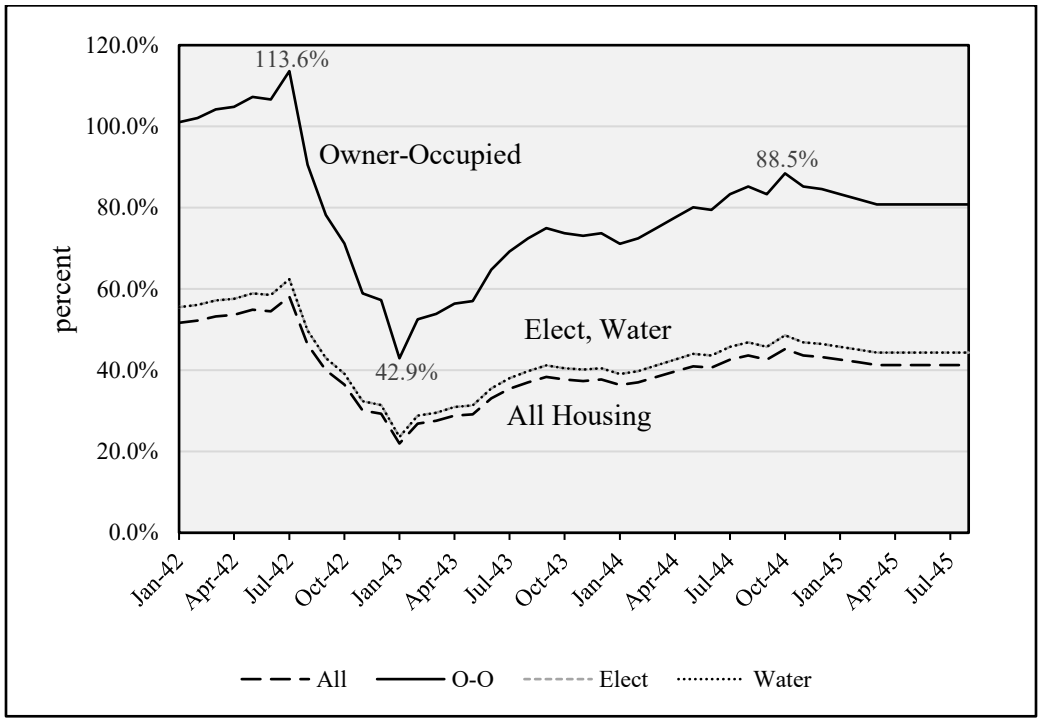

Figure 11.5. White demand versus housing and amenities (Source: Appendix 1)

Estimated housing demand was compared to the housing supply on a percentage basis with regards to four supply parameters: (1) all housing (All) to include both owner-

[60] *History of TAAF, 1 March 1944–30 June 1944*, 289.28–4 v.1, IRIS 00179154, AFHRA, 5–6.

occupied housing and rental housing, (2) owner-occupied housing (O-O) only, (3) housing with electricity (Elect), and (4) housing with running water (Water). Rental dwellings, though applicable, was assumed to be previously occupied and thus unavailable. Also, although conversions from houses to duplexes in white areas did occur, there are no records concerning the number of units created.[61] Effie Jean Lanman Corbitt stated that "everybody" either converted houses into apartments or created an apartment in their own home, but the number was evidently insufficient since a percentage of the military personnel moved to Auburn.[62]

Two simple examples with regards to interpreting figure 11.5 are as follows: If 45 persons lived off-base and 90 houses were available, then in-migrant housing demand was 50.0 percent of supply. If 60 persons lived off-base and 90 houses were available, then in-migrant housing demand was 66.7 percent of supply. Thus a higher percentage of demand in relation to supply suggest a tighter housing market with regards to the particular variable; in other words, a higher percentage of demand indicates a higher degree of scarcity.

Figure 11.5 illustrates that the pressure on white housing [ALL] logically mirrored the in-migrant number of whites illustrated in figure 11.4. Thus the highest percentage of estimated demand occurred during the construction phase. Due to the decline in construction workers in the latter half of 1942, housing demand first fell precipitously, then increased as the war progressed into 1944.

As discussed in chapter 3 concerning pre-war housing in Tuskegee, almost all houses occupied by whites possessed both electricity and running water. This fact can be

[61] *Tuskegee News,* "Old Home Purchase," March 9, 1944.
[62] Effie Jean Lanman Corbitt, interview by John T. Bryant, December 12, 2012, Tuskegee, Alabama.

readily observed in figure 11.5 in that percentage of demand of these two amenities in relation to supply were only slightly higher than the total housing stock for whites. Additionally, the percentage of demand in relation to supply for electricity and running water was above 50.0 percent at the beginning of 1942 but only exceeded 60.0 percent during July 1942—only one month before the decline in the number of construction workers began in earnest. Percentages in relation to total housing and the two amenities typically ranged between approximately 25.0.–45.0 percent for the remainder of the war.

With the discussion of these three variables completed, the graph then illustrates that the most constraining variable was that of owner-occupied housing. This distinction is important since most available rentals were either occupied by locals when construction began or soon occupied by construction workers. As the only remaining housing was owner-occupied housing, military personnel were forced to rent a room or rooms in these dwellings, assuming that these were not already renting to construction workers. The official history states that owners—presumably of both races—were cordial and welcoming.[63] Yet figure 11.5 well illustrates that white in-migrant demand in earliest months of 1942 exceeded 100 percent in all instances until workers began to depart in August 1942. It is unrealistic to assume that all owners wished to house either military personnel or construction workers, and it natural to assume that a certain percentage of families—perhaps a significant percentage—would rather forego the extra income by not offering assistance. Thus the previous comments concerning the initial drift towards Auburn carry significant weight.

[63] *History of TAAF, 1 March 1944 to 30 June 1944*, 289.28–4 v.1, IRIS 00179154, AFHRA, 6.

As demand fell in relation to supply beginning in August 1942, figure 11.5 also shows that demand in relation to owner-occupied housing was below 60 percent only during the period from November 1942 to May 1943. Owner-occupied housing—and presumably rental housing as well—was presumably easier to locate during this period, yet the official base history relates that "such splendid cooperation could neither alleviate" the over-crowding issue.[64] Thus it is not surprising, considering that the housing issue was never entirely satisfactory, that the *Tuskegee News* announced in September 1943 that "an urgent appeal to persons with spare bedrooms to make them available for [newly-hired] teachers."[65] Estimated demand on owner-occupied housing at that time was 74.4 percent.[66]

As demand in relation to owner-occupied housing increased after this date, it is easy to discern why more military personnel moved to Auburn in the later years of the war. One data point gives an idea of the percentage of white military personnel living in Auburn: "At this writing…approximately 55% of officers and 40% of the enlisted personnel are now living in Auburn, Alabama."[67] This historical report was presumably published in April 1945, when an estimated 125 white military personnel from both bases were stationed at Tuskegee. Concluding that approximately 65 white military personnel lived in Auburn at this time, the 60 military personnel remaining in Tuskegee, whether single or married, placed a burden of 38.5 percent on owner-occupied housing and 19.7

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[64] Ibid.
[65] *Tuskegee News,* "Urgent Appeal is Sounded to Find Teachers Rooms," September 2, 1943.
[66] Recall that monthly personnel numbers were calculated on the last day of the month; in this case, August 1943.
[67] *History of 2143 AAF Base Unit (Pilot School, Basic-Advanced) and TAAF, 1 January 1945 to 28 February 1945*, 289.28–8 v.1, IRIS 00179165, AFHRA, 7.

percent on all white housing.[68] Perhaps these figures provide the acceptable percentage of any expected occupancy under existing conditions when given alternatives in other locations.

11.10. White Off-base Dining

Housing was not only the item in Tuskegee in short supply. Being a small town whose economy was based largely on agriculture, Tuskegee, unlike nearby Auburn, did not possess a large number of outlets for either dining or entertainment to service a large mobile population. As stated in the official base history, "for the unmarried officer or enlisted man who does not possess an automobile, the town of Tuskegee has very little to offer. At times said individual is forced to go in search of the necessities of life, the pleasantries naturally being non-existent."[69]

As dining options for whites were few in Tuskegee, this especially affected those who rented a room or had no access to a kitchen.[70] Again the official base history expatiates upon this idea:

> There are three eating establishments in Tuskegee, the best of which is the dining room at the hotel; another place is a second class restaurant otherwise known as the 'Victory Tea Room' while the third is a filling station that has been converted into what is supposed to pass as a restaurant. In as much as the hotel serves no evening meals, the prospective diner has no choice but one of the last two above mentioned [establishments] while on Sunday evening he has no choice other than the converted gasoline station. Suffice it to say that these meals are in

[68] These figures include those also assigned to Moton Field, as it is assumed that the percentages of those living in Auburn would be identical.
[69] *History of 2143 AAF Base Unit (Pilot School, Basic-Advanced) and TAAF, 1 January 1945 to 28 February 1945*, 289.28–8 v.1, IRIS 00179165, AFHRA, 7.
[70] *History of 2143d AAF Base Unit and TAAF, 1 May 1945 to 30 June 1945*, 289.28–10 v.1, IRIS 00179170, AFHRA, 7. The official base history states "for reasons beyond their control."

> no wise appetizing and their nutrition value is questionable, too. (*History of 2143d AAF Base Unit and TAAF, 1 January 1945 to 28 February 1945*, 289.28–8 v.1, IRIS 00179165, AFHRA, 7–8)

Around the compact town center however, the restaurant at the Harris Hotel appeared to be the only choice for those wishing for something more appetizing than cafe food. This depended on if the hotel restaurant was open, which it frequently was not. The two main causes for these closures were due to either a turnover of owners or the inability to requisition the necessary food, the official reason for the latter being the lack of possessing the necessary food ration stamps.[71] The official base history relates that the establishment had "changed proprietors at least half a dozen times in the past year"—perhaps an exaggeration but confirmed in part by various articles and advertisements in the *Tuskegee News*.[72] Service remained irregular at best, and not only due to the change in proprietors or the lack of food ration stamps. To once again quote the official base history, the exasperated author noted that "the writer was perhaps prematurely optimistic…when he opined that the difficulty in obtaining sustenance in Tuskegee was possibly ended. Such is not the case. The [present] proprietors of the hotel dining room seem to be following the road trod by all of their predecessors, for once again the hotel is closed on Sunday and at various times during the week when to use the vernacular and the words of the owners, "The Cook Got Drunk Again."[73]

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[71] *Tuskegee News*, March 9, 1944, advertisement; *Tuskegee News*, "Rotarians Facing Need for Finding New Eating Place," July 1, 1943.
[72] *History of 2143d AAF Base Unit and TAAF, 1 March 1945–30 April 1945*, 289.28–9 v.1, IRIS 00179167, AFHRA, 7.
[73] *History of 2143d AAF Base Unit and TAAF, 1 May 1945 to 30 June 1945*, 289.28–10 v.1, IRIS 00179170, AFHRA, 7–8.

As the dining possibilities were naturally more plentiful in the college town of Auburn, this fact would also tend to increase the pull of living in that town in lieu of Tuskegee. Lastly, another destination for dining out was Opelika, Alabama. Located near Auburn, it also attracted those possessing both an automobile and the necessary gasoline ration stamps.[74]

11.11. Black Off-base Housing

The African-American housing situation was more complex than that for whites. Of first importance, only single military black personnel lived in barracks at TAAF. Married persons, both officers and enlisted, necessarily lived in off-base private accommodations before the advent of both government and government-sponsored private housing. All African-American civilians working at the base lived in town as well until government housing was built.

Second, it would be impossible to unravel the shifting kaleidoscope of the number of employed men, both military and civilian, whose wives also worked at TAAF. Naturally, this fact would reduce the need, and thus the number, of in-migrants necessary. Percentages were assigned to each group with little supporting evidence. See Appendix 1 for further details with

regards to all calculations; however, the primary highlights of all calculations, some of which are based on conjecture, are presented below:

- Black construction workers: 1000 workers; 25.0 percent in-migrant; 25.0 percent married; no spouses working at TAAF
- Black officers: 19.0 percent married; 10.0 percent with working spouse

[74] Ibid., 8; George Albright, interview by John T. Bryant, March 7, 2007.

- Black enlisted: 3.1 percent married; 10.0 percent with working spouse
- Black civilians: 70.0 percent in-migrant; 70.0 percent married, 20.0 percent with working spouse

With these estimates in mind, figure 11.6 illustrates the net number of in-migrant construction workers, and military and civilian households, single or married, seeking off-base housing from 1942 thru August 1945.

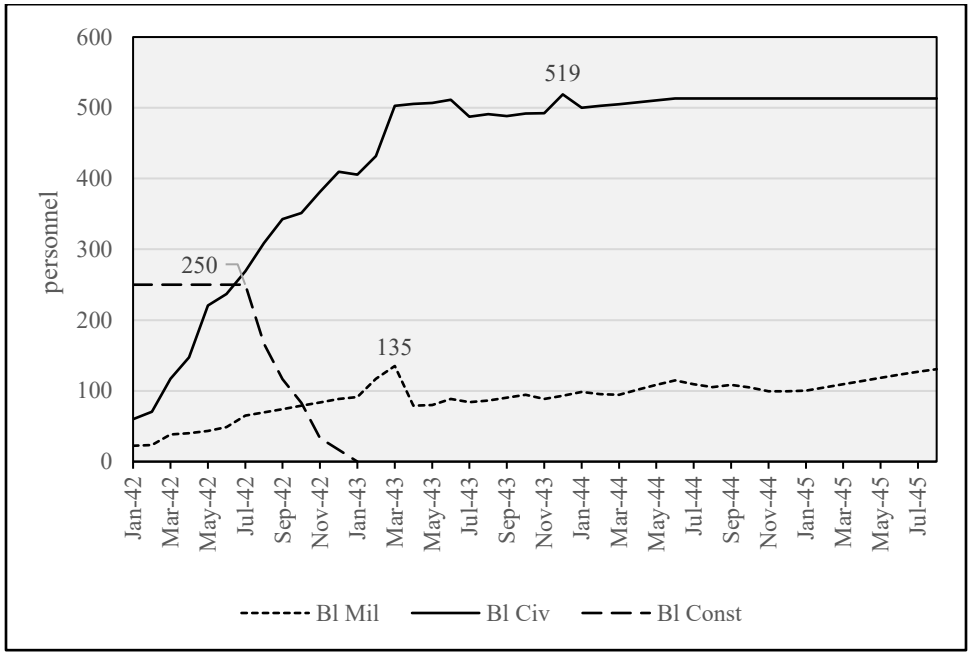

Figure 11.6. Black military, civilian and construction in-migration (Source: Appendix 1)

Similar to figure 11.3 for whites, figure 11.6 illustrates that the majority of black in-migrant households during the first half of 1942 was composed of construction workers. Black civilian employee households dominated thereafter, with the number of married military households assuming a minor role.

A picture of the total number of in-migrant households living in the environs of Tuskegee is illustrated in figure 11.7.

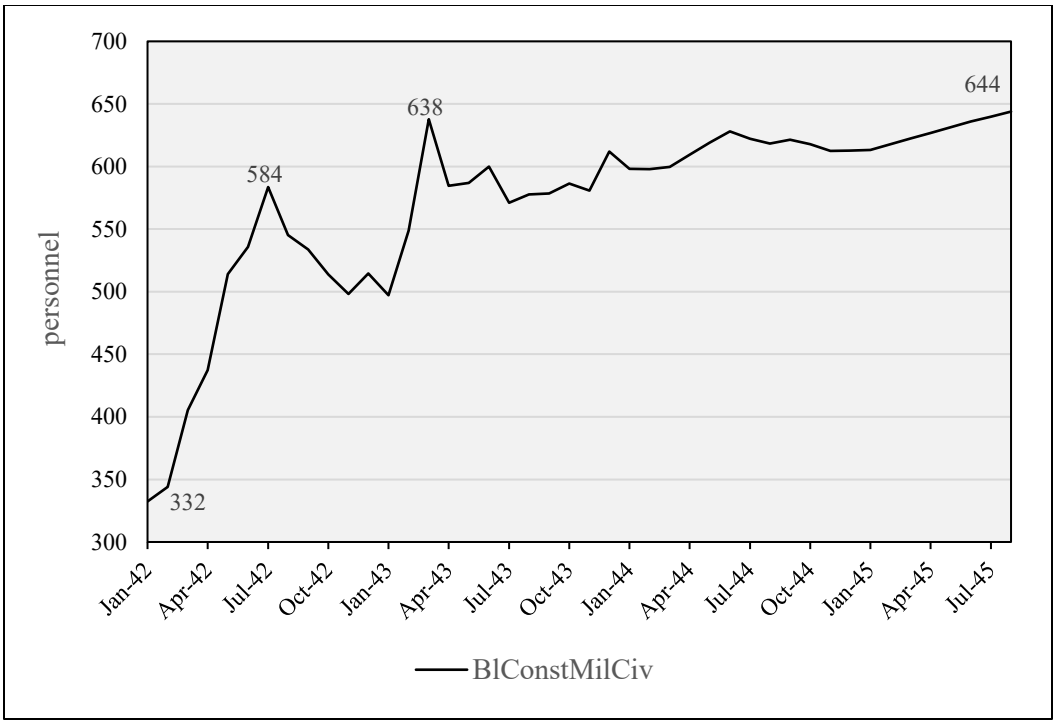

Figure 11.7. Total black in-migration, 1942-45 (Source: Appendix 1)

In figure 11.4 presented earlier, it was illustrated that the number of white in-migrants peaked in July of 1942 at 177 persons. Whereas white in-migrant numbers never exceeded 200 in number, figure 11.7 illustrates that African-American, in-migrant households were in excess of 300 persons as early as January 1942. This figure in January 1942 was the lowest number of in-migrant African-American households located in Tuskegee from 1942 until August 1945.

After January 1942, the number of black in-migrant households quickly rose almost 75.0 percent by July of the same year. After a slight dip into early 1943, a new high was created in March 1943. The second high in March 1943, estimated at 638 households, was not surpassed until the last two months of the war.

11.12. Black Off-base Dining

The situation with black off-base dining was not much different than that for whites, the primary difference being one of location. As the dining options for whites was primarily in downtown Tuskegee, those for blacks were generally in the Greenwood area. An earlier reference in chapter 4 mentioned the presence of five cafés in Greenwood as of 1934, yet the most prominent café in Greenwood during the war appeared to be Carter's grocery and café in the area known as The Block.[75] But as Herbert Carter put it, the opportunities around the Institute were such that it was "a little oasis in itself. You could go [to school] for years here and never have to go downtown...I don't think there's anything needed that you couldn't find in Greenwood."[76]

Although African-Americans could go into any grocery store downtown that they wished, there was a black-owned grocery store on the square that had a short row of various black-owned establishments strung along behind it down the Montgomery Highway, one of which was Lockett's Cafe.[77] Of course, all employees of the base were allowed to buy groceries at the base commissary and presumably frequent the service club as well.[78]

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[75] Advertisement: Carter's Grocery, *The Campus Digest*, October 28, 1939; Heritage Publishing Consultants Company and The Macon County Heritage Book Committee, *The Heritage of Macon County, Alabama* (Clanton, Alabama: Heritage Publishing Consulting, 2003), 5–6, 9.
[76] Herbert E. Carter, interview by John T. Bryant, March 16, 2007, Tuskegee, Alabama.
[77] Carolyn Wolcott Ford, interview by John T. Bryant, March 15, 2007; Lanice Potts Middleton, interview by John T. Bryant, February 15, 2012; Statement of Private Benjamin K. Franklin, Box 25, Folder 5, Parrish Papers, LOC; Statement of Private Horace Alexander, Box 25, Folder 5, Parrish Papers, LOC.
[78] General News, *Hawk's Cry*, October 1, 1942, Box 22, Folder 2, Parrish Papers, LOC; *Hawk's Cry*, "Service Club to Open," July 9, 1943, Box 22, Folder 3, Parrish Papers, LOC.

11.13. Housing Pressure in Tuskegee and Greenwood

With the discussion of African-American, in-migrant housing demand complete, it is now time to turn to housing supply. In earlier chapters, the African-American Rural-nonfarm sector was analyzed in its entirety. As these houses were theoretically scattered throughout the county, it is impossible to determine their suitability with regards to housing in-migrant blacks, particularly with regards to transportation and amenities.

More determinate is the analysis of the Greenwood area as discussed in chapter 4. Its location insured that its amenities were supported in part by both Tuskegee Institute and the city of Tuskegee. Furthermore, it was more accessible to transportation and offered a more cosmopolitan atmosphere and services, and a modicum of empirical evidence gives us a picture of its appearance.

Because evidence suggests that the great majority of in-migrants lived in either Tuskegee or the Rural-nonfarm portions of Greenwood, these two areas will be used to analyze the pressure of housing demand in relation to supply. Is it too simplistic? Probably, but there is little recourse. Including additional areas, even relatively close to Tuskegee, would entail more assumptions with no supporting evidence.

In chapter 4, the Rural-nonfarm area of Greenwood was divided into two areas. These were area B, the formal part of Greenwood, and area D, the loosely unorganized area surrounding area B. Lacking formal boundaries, area B was subjectively defined. Both areas B and D consisted of an estimated 226 dwellings out of a total of 597 black dwellings in the Rural-nonfarm sector. Thus the Greenwood area represented 37.9 percent of the black Rural-nonfarm sector.

Evidence supports the idea that the Greenwood area possessed a greater percentage of amenities with regards to water and electricity than the remainder of the black Rural-nonfarm sector. With this in mind, and to further analyze supply conditions in this area, Greenwood was given priority with regards to available amenities before the remainder of the Rural-nonfarm sector. Formal Greenwood, area B, was given priority over area D because evidence suggests that it was the recipient of increased amenities. Any remaining amenities were assigned to the Rural-nonfarm sector.

Normally, the electrical portion of the analysis would be handled in the usual manner as done previously. That is, the non-reporting houses would be subtracted from the total, then a percentage would be derived from the number reporting electrical use in relation to the net number of those reporting. This percentage would then be applied to the total number of houses in order the estimate the number of houses having electricity. However, a problem exists in this method as it assigns the same percentage of houses having electricity in Greenwood as to those in the remainder of the county. This is opposed to the idea that Greenwood had a higher percentage of dwellings possessing either electricity and running water. As a result, it was decided to utilize the actual number of dwellings reporting electrical use, then first assign these to Greenwood areas B and D. Area B, the formal part of Greenwood, would have priority over area D, the unorganized portion of Greenwood. Any excess could then be assigned to the remainder of the African-American Rural-nonfarm sector.

In contrast to that of electrical use, a difficulty arose in that a very significant number of houses in the Black Rural-nonfarm sector did not report their state of repair. This meant that their availability of running water was unreported as well. Of 597 houses

in the black Rural-nonfarm sector, 232 or 38.9 percent failed to report either their state of repair or source of water. This is a figure which is suspiciously close to the estimate of houses in Greenwood, yet nothing can be further determined further from this coincidence. As a result of this high number of non-reporting dwellings, and using the same logic as that utilized for electrical use in Greenwood, the actual number of those reporting water was utilized in relation to the Greenwood area. Area B, the formal part of Greenwood, would have priority over area D. Any excess could then be assigned to the remainder of the African-American Rural-nonfarm sector.

Anecdotal evidence also supports the theory that the owner-occupied housing was higher in the formal area of Greenwood, or area B. However, this cannot be measured in relation to the remainder of the Rural-nonfarm sector, so the percentage of owner-occupied housing remained the same throughout the data, then applied to areas A, B and the remainder of the Rural-nonfarm sector.

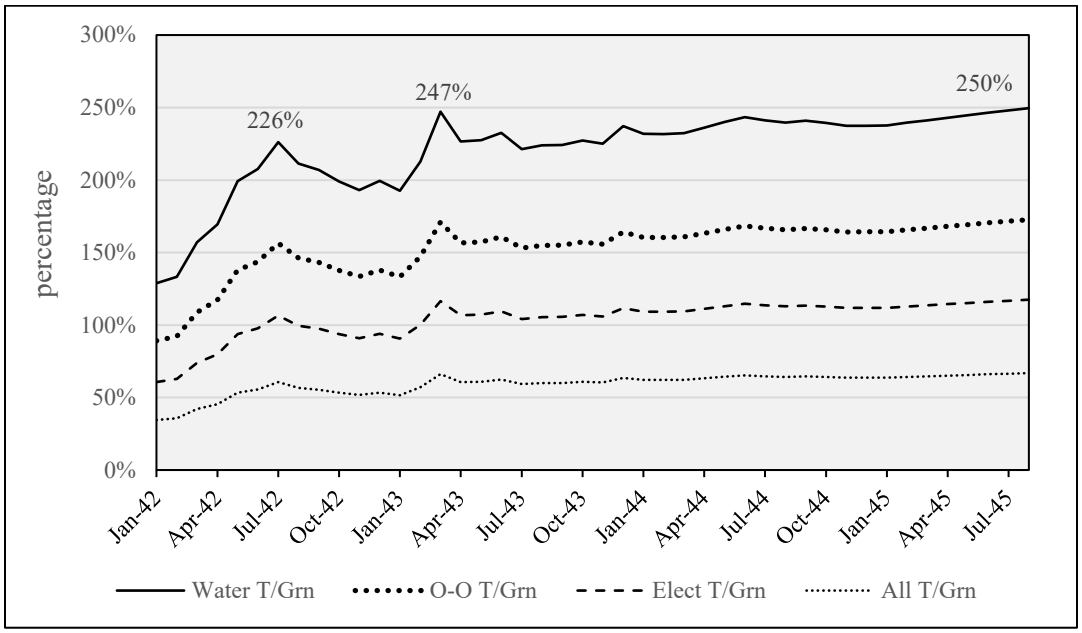

Figure 11.8. Black demand versus housing and amenities in Tuskegee and Greenwood (Source: Appendix 1)

Figure 11.8 combines housing supply for Tuskegee and Greenwood, illustrating the pressure on African-American housing as a result of the arrival of these in-migrants. While the lowest pressure, generally averaging between 60.0–65.0 percent after March 1943, is exerted on the total supply of housing in these areas, this is also not a complete indicator. A percentage of these houses were small rentals, some not amounting to little more than shacks, having little room to spare and very possibly having no amenities. As a result, space in these homes would be acceptable only as a last resort by the in-migrants. Refer to figure 3.2, which illustrated that African-American homes in Tuskegee were biased towards the lower end of home values. Figure 4.2, denoting the Greenwood area, illustrates the same concept to a lesser extent; however, it is important to remember that the more valuable homes in the Rural-nonfarm sector were likely located in formal Greenwood, or area B. As discussed in chapter 6, houses in these lower price ranges were more likely to have an increased lack of amenities as well.

Perhaps a truer picture of the availability of housing is provided by the owner-occupied data, which illustrates that housing pressure ranged between approximately 140.0 and 170.0 percent beginning as early as May 1942. Pressure increased towards the 170.0 percent range in the latter years of the war, never falling below 160.0 after December 1943.

Also suggested previously was that owner-occupied houses were more likely to include amenities such as electricity and running water. As can be seen in figure 11.8, in-migrant housing pressure with regards to electricity was lower than that of home ownership, suggesting the possibility that most or all owner-occupied housing, especially in the Greenwood area, had electricity. However, the availability of running water was

not nearly as widespread due to the high cost of installing water lines. Because the pressure on dwellings which included running water was higher than that of owner-occupied housing, figure 11.8 illustrates that not all owner-occupied housing had running water.

Thus the constraining factor with regards to African-American housing in these areas running water. Pressure in this regard exceeded 225.0 percent as early as July 1942, only lessening with the departure of the in-migrant construction workers during the latter half of the year before increasing again. The remainder of the war saw this pressure generally range between 225.0–250.0 percent for the remainder of the war, with pressure increasing during 1945.

Demand in excess of supply of 160.0 percent with regards to owner-occupied houses, assuming one in-migrant or in-migrant family per dwelling, meant that only 62.5 percent of persons seeking housing were successful. This assumes that the owners were willing to accept them. The situation was complicated by the lack of running water in many of the homes. Demand in excess of supply equal to 225.0 percent meant that only 44.4 percent of in-migrants were able to find suitable housing. Recall that many assumptions are contained in these results, thus they should be considered as guidelines only.

Little anecdotal evidence is available as to the actual extent of the housing shortage, along with the lack of the most basic amenities. However, two African-American residents neatly summed up the situation. Ethel Bulls Elsberry, whose father was involved in local real estate and rented rooms in his house to a few in-migrant girls,

said that "there was no [available] housing, I mean really no housing."[79] Carolyn Wolcott Ford's mother, Bess Wolcott of Tuskegee Institute and Acting Field Director of the local Red Cross chapter, helped people to find housing space wherever possible. She was assisted in this by the owners, who according to Carolyn Wolcott Ford "used every available inch of space…and if they had two inches of space, they made a room and rented it."[80]

In summary, the data reveal that dwellings having electricity was slightly less than in-migrant demand for the majority of the war, while those having running water generally ranged between 40.0 and 50.0 percent of estimated in-migrant demand—a far more serious picture than that for in-migrant whites. Additionally, since it is assumed that a significant percentage of the in-migrants of both races were forced to live in owner-occupied housing, this constraint had much more impact for in-migrant African-Americans than for that of whites. But a good percentage of the white in-migrants which chose to live in Auburn, even in the earliest part of the war. Possible reasons include: (1) a lesser preference for whites in Tuskegee to rent to in-migrants; in other words, they had a greater preference for privacy, (2) a greater number of white in-migrants had children as opposed to in-migrant African-Americans, thus requiring more space and (3) the possibility of whites moving to Auburn made Tuskegee the opportunity cost, driving in-migrant occupancy rates to their natural equilibrium. This third of option was not available to African-Americans, but interestingly they faced a similar situation as those whites which moved to Auburn. As Auburn was a white college town possessing an

[79] Ethel Bulls Elsberry, interview by John T. Bryant, April 16, 2007, Tuskegee, Alabama.
[80] Carolyn Wolcott Ford, interview by John T. Bryant, March 15, 2007, Tuskegee, Alabama; *Hawk's Cry*, September 16, 1942, Box 22, Folder 2, Parrish Papers, LOC.

institutional mindset of welcoming in-migrant whites, Tuskegee was as black college town having an institutional mindset of welcoming in-migrant blacks. Thus Tuskegee, even with the lack of available rentals before the war, presented the best available option for those African-Americans with little alternative. Naturally, this pressure in the African-American community, although ever-present, would decrease with the eventual construction of additional housing. The effects of this construction will be discussed in the next chapter.

Chapter 12: Development of Off-base Government Housing

12.1. Introduction

Chapters 10 and 11 detailed the events of 1941 and 1942 which led the enlargement of Tuskegee Army Air Field. As the population stationed at the airbase increased, this led to rising demand for off-base housing by in-migrants, both military and civilian. This housing pressure, to include those stationed at Moton Field, was analyzed using monthly data and estimations for the period 1942 through August 1945. Results indicate that there was a dramatic shortage of housing; numerically for both races and with regards to amenities for African-Americans. This created dissatisfaction especially among African-Americans, and from a morale standpoint it was imperative to acquire additional off-base housing. Tentative steps were taken in this regard even before the attack on Pearl Harbor; possibly due to the addition of the base sub-depot.

12.2. Married Housing: Thirty Units

Chapter 8 detailed the initial housing requirements for the Tuskegee airbase. This planning was necessarily vague and included obvious omissions, particularly with regards to housing civilians and married enlisted personnel. Off-base housing was eventually planned to rectify this; however, and it appears that this planning did not occur until just prior to construction.

As discussed in chapter 10, both the initial military board report and the tentative locality report contained little detail with regards to the actual housing situation in

Tuskegee. Despite the lack of detailed data, however, a memorandum from the War Department dated June 19, 1941—only a few weeks after approval of the Chehaw base site— mentioned the need for thirty demountable houses in the Tuskegee area for black civilian and enlisted personnel.[1] The tentative locality report issued on July 19, 1941 echoed this recommendation.[2]

The justification given for using demountable housing was to eventually move it to the rural areas of Macon County after the national emergency. This would help to alleviate the poor housing situation, which the letter's author described as "most deplorable."[3] The recommendation of moving housing to rural areas after the national emergency had passed was in line with overall policy as discussed in chapter 10.

In addition to the thirty units proposed for African-American civilians and enlisted personnel, it was also recommended that fifty-five housing units be constructed by a private concern for both white and African-American military officers. Both proposed housing developments would increase the local housing stock by a total of eight-five units. There was no off-base housing consideration for white personnel in the tentative locality report, most likely due to the fact that their assignment in Tuskegee was originally planned to be temporary.[4]

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[1] Office of the President, Office for Emergency Management, Division of Defense Housing Coordination, *Locality Program Report No. 1—Tuskegee, Alabama, Tentative for Comment,* p. 2, July 14, 1941, Records of the National Resources Planning Board, Federal Project Files, 1939–1943, Box 2, NRPB, RG 187, NACP.
[2] Office of the President, Office for Emergency Management, Division of Defense Housing Coordination, *Locality Program Report No. 1—Tuskegee, Alabama, Tentative for Comment,* July 14, 1941, Records of the National Resources Planning Board, Federal Project Files, 1939–1943, Box 2, NRPB, RG 187, NACP.
[3] A. J. Hawkins to Charles W. Eliot, August 1, 1941, Records of the National Resources Planning Board, Federal Project Files, 1939–1943, Box 2, NRPB, RG 187, NACP.
[4] Office of the President, Office for Emergency Management, Division of Defense Housing Coordination, *Locality Program Report No. 1—Tuskegee, Alabama, Tentative for Comment,* July 14, 1941, Records of the National Resources Planning Board, Federal Project Files, 1939–1943, Box 2, NRPB, RG 187, NACP.

Locality Program Report No. 1, prepared in early August, changed the demountable housing recommendation to that of permanent housing with no further explanation given.[5] Citing "an acute shortage of housing which would impede national defense activities," the recommendation for thirty units of public housing for Tuskegee was approved by President Franklin D. Roosevelt on August 16, 1941.[6]

In a letter explaining the change from demountable housing to permanent construction, an employee of the Defense Housing Coordination stated that "the reason that the units at Tuskegee were not programmed demountable as you suggest is that the number programmed is so small compared to the total number of family dwelling units in town, that these could very readily be absorbed into the community after the emergency."[7] Considering later developments, it appears that President Patterson had suggested the change in order to secure additional Institute housing after its use by the military.[8] Evidence of this suggestion occurred the day before President Roosevelt signed the executive order, when D. A. Riegel from the Division of Defense Housing met with President Patterson to discuss details concerning the thirty unit defense housing project.[9] Six days later, a telegram from Riegel's office notified Patterson that it had not received a

[5] Office of the President, Office for Emergency Management, Division of Defense Housing Coordination, *Locality Program Report No. 1—Tuskegee, Alabama,* August 12, 1941, Records of the National Resources Planning Board, Federal Project Files, 1939–1943, Box 2, NRPB, RG 187, NACP.
[6] Franklin D. Roosevelt to John M. Carmody, August 16, 1941, Records of the National Resources Planning Board, Federal Project Files, 1939–1943, Box 2, NRPB, RG 187, NACP; Franklin D. Roosevelt to C. F. Palmer, August 16, 1941, Records of the National Resources Planning Board, Federal Project Files, 1939–1943, Box 2, NRPB, RG 187, NACP.
[7] Jacob Crane to Charles W. Elliot, August 13, 1941, Records of the National Resources Planning Board, Federal Project Files, 1939–1943, Box 2, NRPB, RG 187, NACP.
[8] Charles H. Ramsdell to Major Radford, memorandum, June 9, 1941, Records of the National Resources Planning Board, Federal Project Files, 1939–1943, Box 2, NRPB, RG 187, NACP.
[9] Sherwood L. Reeder to F. D. Patterson, telegram, August 14, 1941, Patterson Papers, 003.133, U. S. Federal Works Agency—Defense Housing, TUA.

tentative lease and approval letter.[10] It is clear from this series of events that Tuskegee Institute was not only to have a vital role in deciding where the housing would be located, but also that the Institute itself had decided to provide land for the project.

President Patterson appeared to be thinking ahead to the post-war world, and planned to use the war housing project for the Institute's purposes after the present crisis had passed. On December 3, 1941, J. L. Anderson, in replying to a request from Patterson for possible post-war projects, mentioned the possibility of building new dorms and an apartment building. Anderson noted that this input was more of a wish list and that "it is altogether likely that some items on the list may be considered extravagant." [11] Patterson replied that "your suggestions are not at all too visionary and I hope we will be able to realize a large portion of them."[12] Patterson also expressed this sentiment to the Board of Trustees. In his annual report dated October 1941, Patterson wrote that "the after-war demands for education may well extend our enrollment beyond the number of two thousand. If this is true, some experimentation in even cheaper housing will be necessary if the demand is to be met." He also reinforced this statement by requesting five hundred thousand dollars "to construct and equip additional dormitories. There is an acute need for additional dormitory space for women students. The need will be even more acute after the war for both men and women."[13]

The issue was still on Patterson's mind in 1943, when he asked the Registrar's Office for enrollment figures pertaining to immediate years following World War 1. The

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[10] Sherwood L. Reeder to F. D. Patterson, telegram, August 14, 1941, Patterson Papers, 003.133, U. S. Federal Works Agency—Defense Housing, TUA.
[11] J. L. Anderson to F. D. Patterson, December 3, 1941, Local 1941, 131.044, J. L. Anderson, TUA.
[12] F. D. Patterson to J. L. Anderson, December 10, 1941, Local 1941, 131.044, J. L. Anderson, TUA.
[13] President's Annual Report for the year 1940–41, Tuskegee Institute, 38–39, Tuskegee University Archives. The Institute's Annual Catalog of 1947–1948 shows a fall quarter 1946 enrollment of 2654 students versus 1407 during 1940–1941.

Office replied that enrollment in 1920 was the largest that the Institute had experience in twenty years. Patterson thanked the Registrar, A. N. Cohen, for her response, noting that "I'm sure that this [information] will prove useful."[14]

The week after the initial meeting on August 15th, President Patterson wrote to Clark Foremen of the Division of Defense Housing, Federal Works Agency, mentioning that he and D. A. Riegal had discussed a site location for the thirty unit housing project. Patterson stated that the Institute was willing to rent the necessary land at seven dollars per acre per year for five years, with modifications should the need arise for a shorter timeframe. He also mentioned that the Institute would provide the necessary architectural and related services, provided that the federal government would assume the cost.[15]

This proposed site, located on Franklin Road, was immediately past the Greenwood community as described in chapter 4, the location of which being illustrated in figure 12.1.

[14] Antoinette N. Cohen to F. D. Patterson, September 23, 1943, Local 1943, 151.053, A. N. Cohen, TUA; F. D. Patterson to Antoinette N. Cohen, October 1, 1943, Local 1943, 151.053, A. N. Cohen, TUA.
[15] F. D. Patterson to Clark Foreman, August 22, 1941, Patterson Papers, 003.133, U. S. Federal Works Agency—Defense Housing, TUA.

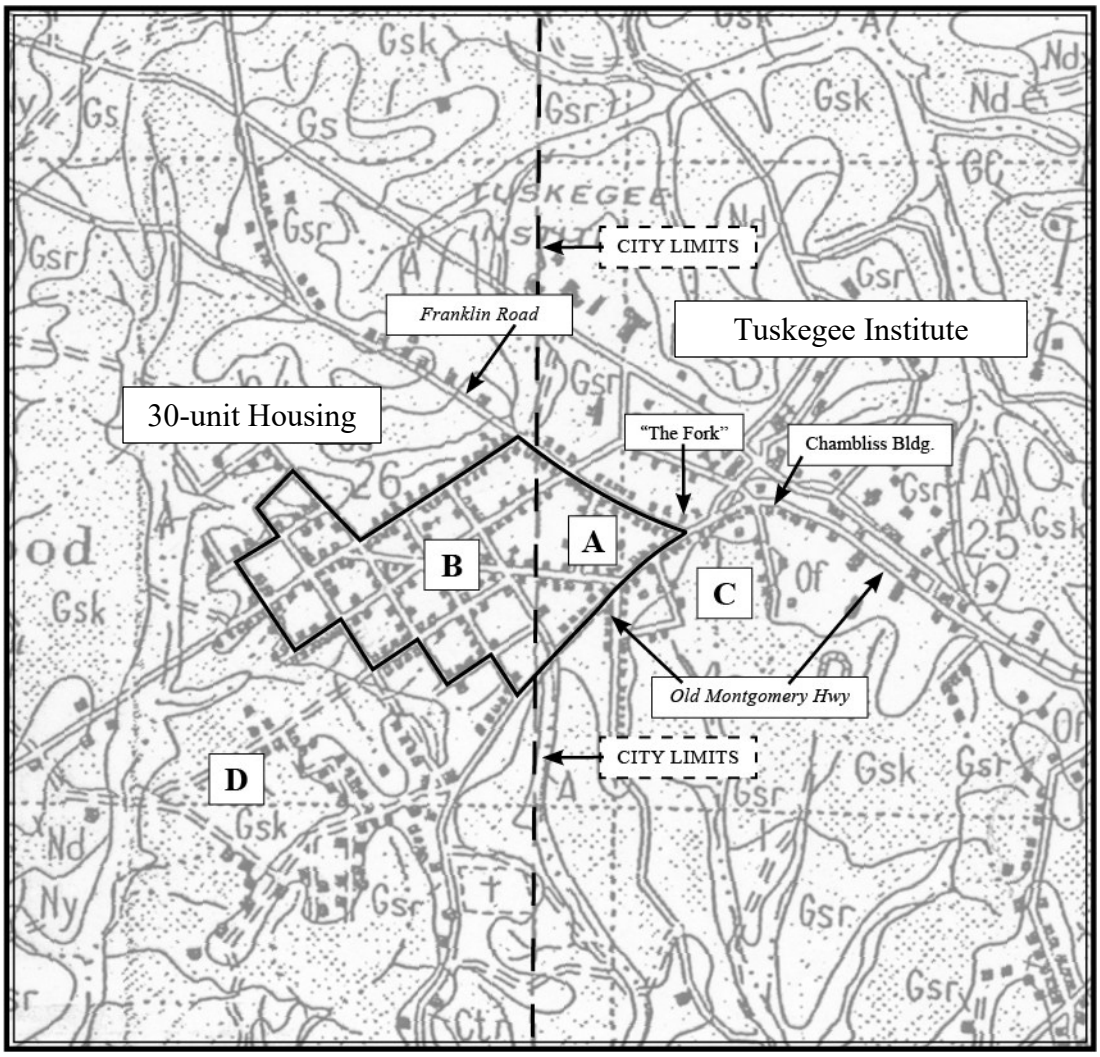

Figure 12.1. Location of 30-unit housing complex in Greenwood (Source: U.S. Department of Agriculture, *Soil Map, Macon County, Alabama*, series 1937)

As can be seen in figure 12.1, this location, just west of the formal Greenwood area, was to be located on suitable land outside the city limits. Thus it was convenient to both the Institute and the shopping areas of Greenwood. In sum, it was an ideal location for additional Institute housing although not located on the Institute proper.

An argument could be made, with some justification, that the project could have been located elsewhere in the Tuskegee vicinity. As discussed in chapters 3 and 4, much of the black housing in Tuskegee and environs was also most deplorable, and the infusion of proper housing to include electricity, gas, and running water would have been

welcome to those living in lesser quarters. Yet this may have presumably involved more cost, as electric and water lines had still not been extended to many areas in Tuskegee, and the rental rate may have been too high for many African-Americans. And yet, it seems that the federal housing agencies and Tuskegee Institute were working together from the outset.

Interestingly, D. A. Riegel appears to have met with F. D. Patterson in lieu of Mayor Edwards, who may have better represented the needs of the entire town. Dr. Eugene Dibble of the Veterans Hospital may have provided input as well since many of employees could also afford this type of housing. As for Mayor Edwards, it is likely that F. D. Patterson had already relayed his desires him, thus allowing Edwards to remain gracefully on the sidelines. In any case, since white citizens in Tuskegee were already in the minority, there is a strong possibility is that Mayor Edwards did not desire nor seek to have an African-American housing project built within the city limits.

After these discussions in mid-August, it was months before construction could commence. Of first importance, Congress had yet to appropriate the necessary funds as of September 1941, meaning that contractors could not yet bid for the project.[16] Initial planning had begun a few weeks earlier, however, by the Institute staff after approval of government officials.[17] As stated earlier, this group was composed of Tuskegee Institute faculty and as initially suggested by Patterson.

[16] W. J. Trent, Jr. to F. D. Patterson, September 23, 1941, Patterson Papers, 003.133, U. S. Federal Works Agency—Defense Housing, TUA.
[17] Clark Foreman to F. D. Patterson, September 5, 1941, Patterson Papers, 003.133, U. S. Federal Works Agency—Defense Housing, TUA.

In late September 1941, a contract for the architectural work was sent from the government to Tuskegee for perusal.[18] With architectural drafts underway, it was only necessary to sign a contract for construction to begin. But much time passed before any action was taken. A land contract was not sent for signature until March 1942, although the lease terms at that time were to begin two months earlier, in January 1942.[19] Several changes were requested to that contract, which may have necessitated further delays.[20]

The year 1942 saw America at war by the time of these events. The full complement of initial personnel were already present and additional personnel were arriving daily. Besides construction workers, there were approximately sixty-six officers and 1053 enlisted men present at TAAF in March 1942—already double the 1941 estimate.[21] An estimated 189 civilians were also present at both airfields, with an estimated 133 of these being in-migrant workers.[22]

Negotiations between the Institute and the government concerning details such as the sewerage hookup rates continued; however, these appear to have been resolved by March 1942.[23] The following month, with the military airbase in operation and

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[18] G. L. Washington to F. D. Patterson, September 23, 1941, Patterson Papers, 003.084, U. S. War Department (2): August–December 1941, TUA.
[19] Paul Emmert to F. D. Patterson, lease, March 9, 1942, Patterson Papers, 003.136, U. S. Federal Works Agency—Defense Housing, TUA.
[20] JHS, memorandum, March 16, 1942, Patterson Papers, 003.136, U. S. Federal Works Agency—Defense Housing, TUA.
[21] *History of TAAF,* table, "Strength: Tuskegee Army Air Field, January 1942 to February 1944," *Alabama, 1 January 1943–29 February 1944*, 289.28–3 v.1, IRIS 00179150, AFHRA. Personnel figures are approximate as accurate records for military personnel were not kept until March 1943.
[22] Donald L. Layman to Historical Officer, TAAF, February 9, 1944, *History of TAAF, 1 January 1943–29 February 1944*, 289.28–3 v.1, IRIS 00179150, AFHRA, appendix III: Statistics on Civilian Personnel. This latter figure represents the number of estimated in-migrant persons. Using prior assumptions, this equates to 117 households seeking shelter in the Tuskegee vicinity.
[23] Clark Foreman to F. D. Patterson, November 28, 1941, Patterson Papers, 003.133. U. S. Federal Works Agency—Defense Housing, TUA; F. D. Patterson to Clark Foreman, December 13, 1941, Patterson Papers, 003.133. U. S. Federal Works Agency—Defense Housing, TUA; William K. Divers to F. D. Patterson, March 19, 1942, Patterson Papers, 003.136. U. S. Federal Works Agency—Federal Housing, TUA.

construction of the thirty unit housing project not yet begun, Colonel Kimble requested to the National Housing Agency that the location of the entire complex be moved to within walking distance of the airbase. However, that request came too late as the site planning in Greenwood had progressed too far. Another letter of a similar nature followed in July 1942, perhaps pertaining to the same site.[24] This conflict of interest, with Patterson wanting government housing to be placed near the Institute and Kimble desiring that it be placed near the base, would continue as additional projects ensued.

And yet the months passed with little progress being made on this 30-unit project, with the necessary materials finally being delivered to Tuskegee beginning in July 1942. According to the base official history, construction had not begun even at this late date due to an issue concerning the land.[25] This may have been in reference to the possibly unsigned land lease. On May 29, 1942, a letter from the National Housing Agency to Tuskegee Institute referred to the proposed lease of March 1942, stating that it appeared to have never been signed. It was requested that Tuskegee Institute resubmit a signed lease, so that contractors could enter the site and construction could proceed.[26] Another letter followed on July 17, 1942 requesting title information to the same property.[27] The TAAF historical officer relates his frustration with the lack of progress on this project as the base itself was being developed: "The writer passed by the location of this development frequently through the winter of 1942 and can state that it was many

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[24] Robert R. Taylor to F. D. Patterson, April 25, 1942, Patterson Papers, 003.136. U. S. Federal Works Agency—Federal Housing, TUA; W. J. Trent, Jr., to F. D. Patterson, July 20, 1942, Patterson Papers, 003.136. U. S. Federal Works Agency—Federal Housing, TUA.
[25] *History of TAAF, 7 December 1941–31 December 1942*, 289.28–2, IRIS 00179149, AFHRA, 7.
[26] John P. Broome to F. D. Patterson, July 17, 1942, Patterson Papers, 003.136. U. S. Federal Works Agency—Federal Housing, TUA.
[27] William K. Divers to F. D. Patterson, March 19, 1942, Patterson Papers, 003.136. U. S. Federal Works Agency—Federal Housing, TUA.

months…before ground was broken…It is felt unnecessary to note all of the correspondence between Headquarters Air Corps Advanced Flying School, higher Headquarters and various other Federal Agencies involved in this pitiful little 30 unit project and attempts to get it enlarged as this in itself would be a very good history of Government red tape."[28]

The project, designated as Project Number ALA.-1081-X, was finally ready for initial occupancy on November 30, 1942—well over a year after its initial approval.[29] However, its actual occupancy may have been delayed since the base historical officer noted elsewhere that it did not open until February of 1943.[30] These thirty units were contained in nineteen one-story buildings. Eight of these units were detached dwellings with the remainder being semi-detached, or duplexes. Included were six one-bedroom units, eighteen two-bedroom units and six three bedroom units. Besides electricity, utilities included coal heating and gas for both the water heaters cooking ranges. Finally, recalling the earlier discussion concerning demountable versus permanent housing, this housing project was officially recorded as consisting of demountable units. The most likely explanation is that it was later decided to construct this project as demountable units, but perhaps not move them to rural locations as originally planned. The switch may have been due to the ready availability of demountable units in lieu of the materials necessary for more permanent construction.[31] Support for this view comes from the official base history, which stated that the original conception of the thirty units was that

[28] *History of TAAF, 7 December 1941–31 December 1942*, 289.28–2, IRIS 00179149, AFHRA, 7–8.
[29] Ibid., 9.
[30] *History of TAAF, 1 January 1943–29 February 1944*, 289.28–3 v.1, IRIS 00179150, AFHRA, 1.
[31] Project Summary Records, 1943–1945, Regions 1 and 2, Federal Project Files, Reports of Occupancy, Housing Assistance Administration 1938–1960, Box 1, Entry 44, microfilm Region 4, Part 1, July 1945, Records of the Public Housing Administration, RG 196, NACP.

they would be prefabricated.[32] If indeed this was the case, the holdup with regards to their construction was, as discussed above, due primarily to delays attributable to land legalities and access.

12.3. Singles Housing: 144 Units

The personnel figures from February 1943, at the time of the initial occupation of the thirty-unit housing project, illustrate that base strength was greatly in excess of pre-war estimates. At that time, there were an estimated 2955 African-American military personnel stationed at both bases in Tuskegee, along with 698 civilians.[33] This increase in military and especially civilian personnel was anticipated as early as the spring of 1942, and as illustrated earlier, personnel figures from March of 1942 showed that the base population at that time was already double the 1941 estimate. With the growth of the base and particularly the manning of the Sub-Depot, civilian numbers could only increase as the year progressed.[34]

Thus it is not surprising that, concurrent with the wrangling over the thirty-unit housing complex, requests for additional defense housing began in earnest. This impetus originated with the Inspector-General (IG) visit to the base during April 10–11, 1942—almost a year before the completion of the 30-unit housing project.[35] The Inspector-General informed Washington that only thirty units of government housing were authorized for Tuskegee, although expansion plans called for an eventual base population

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[32] *History of TAAF, 7 December 1941–31 December 1942*, 289.28–2, IRIS 00179149, AFHRA, 7.
[33] *History of TAAF,* table, "Strength: Tuskegee Army Air Field, January 1942 to February 1944," *Alabama, 1 January 1943–29 February 1944*, 289.28–3 v.1, IRIS 00179150, AFHRA; Donald L. Layman to Historical Officer, TAAF, February 9, 1944, table, *History of TAAF, 1 January 1943–29 February 1944*, 289.28–3 v.1, IRIS 00179150, AFHRA.
[34] *History of TAAF, Conception–6 December 1941*, 289.28–1 v.1, IRIS 00179144, AFHRA, 43.
[35] L. D. McIntosh to Inspector General, D.C., April 18, 1942, Army Air Forces Training Command, 220.740–2 to 220.765–3, IRIS 146003, microfilm A2284, AFHRA, 1381.

of 2800 military personnel and 300-400 civilians. Interestingly, it also stated that a prior request for "eighty-five (85) sets in dormitory units" had been already been rejected.[36]

To counteract this previous refusal, it was again recommended that additional housing be constructed at Tuskegee. Besides the argument pertaining to the personnel numbers, additional support was given that Tuskegee "should be regarded as a special case, as regards planning for Defense Housing. Factors of morale; relations between town people and colored population of the station; and ability of a small community to rapidly assimilate a large additional colored population, seems to indicate that every effort should be made to prevent a serious housing problem at Tuskegee due to the rapid expansion of this station."[37] The reference to relations between the town people and the colored population was primarily in reference to an incident which occurred a few days earlier in downtown Tuskegee, resulting from an altercation between enlisted personnel from the base, the Tuskegee police, a member of the State Highway Patrol, the base Military Police, and a small number of white civilian carrying firearms. Violence was largely avoided however, and only one soldier was injured seriously enough to be taken to the Veteran's Hospital for treatment. As a result, the entire affair was fairly minor in nature when compared to other racial incidents which occurred during the war, and most likely it would have drifted into obscurity had it occurred at a less politically visible military base.[38]

A first endorsement to the Inspector-General's letter was signed by Colonel Kimble on April 23, 1942. In his endorsement, Kimble stated that if any additional

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[36] Ibid.
[37] Ibid.
[38] *History of TAAF, 7 December 1941–31 December 1942*, 289.28–2, IRIS 00179149, AFHRA, 3, 39–40; Turner Catledge, "Detroit Watchful in 'Mop Up' of Riots," *New York Times,* June 28, 1943.

housing was approved, he had already acquired a ninety-day free option on eighty acres of land adjacent to the base upon which to build it.[39] This action was apparently a furtherance of his desire, as referenced earlier, to build defense housing near the base instead of in Tuskegee.

Maxwell Field followed with an additional endorsement, further highlighting the necessity of additional defense housing. In that endorsement, it was revealed that the number of planned civilian workers had been increased to five hundred, and that "for various good reasons, some of which are quoted in Paragraph 1, c, of the basic communication, it is considered necessary that this personnel be housed adjacent to the Reservation." After requesting a need for two hundred family units, 215 dormitory units for women, and one hundred dormitory units for men, it again reiterated the earlier contention that Tuskegee "be considered a special case, in view of the grave and potentially dangerous racial problems involved." When comparing the total civilian numbers with the number of requested units, it appears that the total number of workers was quoted, and not number of in-migrant workers, in order to increase the perceived urgency of the situation. [40]

Various machinations of paperwork followed this endorsement, but approximately one month later, on May 26, 1942, further information was requested from the War Department in Washington for a revised estimate of civilian housing needs at Tuskegee in accordance with current government guidelines—in particular, estimates

[39] Frederick V. H. Kimble to C.G. SEACTC, Maxwell Field, April 23, 1942, 1st Indorsement, Army Air Forces Training Command, 220.740–2 to 220.765–3, IRIS 146003, microfilm A2284, AFHRA, 1382.
[40] Headquarters, SEACTC, Maxwell Field to Commanding General, 4th Corps Area, Atlanta, Georgia, April 29, 1942, 2nd Indorsement, Army Air Forces Training Command, 220.740–2 to 220.765–3, IRIS 146003, microfilm A2284, AFHRA, 1382.

relating to the number of in-migrants and local workers.[41] The Southeast Army Air Forces Training Center at Maxwell Field replied to this request a few days later. The revised estimate, which estimated the number of in-migrants to "not less than three hundred sixteen (316)" from an estimated 548 civilian personnel, increased the number of family units requested from 200 to 212, and decreased the number of dormitory spaces from 315 units to 93 units.[42] Although these numbers were based on estimates of the total number of civilians expected to work in Tuskegee, the document itself is misleading as it not only understated the number of African-Americans living in Tuskegee, but also failed to mention the many Tuskegee Institute personnel, trained in various occupations from clerical work to plumbing, that would be available for potential employment: "The above percentages are considered to be very conservative, in that Tuskegee is a small town of less than four thousand (4,000) inhabitants, with a total negro population of probably fifteen hundred (1500), experienced only in farm work or other manual labor, very few of whom can qualify for clerical or administrative positions, or for such specialized works as aircraft engine mechanics…and the other highly specialized positions required in a sub-depot and flying school." This statement was given in opposition to the fact that their own estimates included a majority of workers being acquired locally for the many clerical positions in the lower pay grades.[43]

[41] J. C. Shively to Commanding General, Air Forces Flying Training Command, Washington DC, April 26, 1942, 7th Indorsement, Army Air Forces Training Command, 220.740–2 to 220.765–3, IRIS 146003, microfilm A2284, AFHRA, 1386.
[42] Philip Doddridge to Commanding General, Army Air Forces Flying Training Command, Washington DC, June 6, 1942, 9th Indorsement, Army Air Forces Training Command, 220.740–2 to 220.765–3, IRIS 146003, microfilm A2284, AFHRA, 1387–1388.
[43] Ibid.

The estimated number of total in-migrants was also confusing; various and inconsistent figures were calculated although they all centered on a number just above three hundred personnel. Table 12.1 illustrates figures based on the final estimation.

Table 12.1. Revised estimate of civilian housing needs

	Number civilians	% of total	Units requested	% housing needs
Total civilians	548	—	—	—
In-migrant	305	55.7%	—	—
Single	93	17.0%	93	100%
Married	212	38.7%	212	100%

Source: Philip Doddridge to Commanding General, Army Air Forces Flying Training Command, Washington DC, June 6, 1942, 9th Indorsement, Army Air Forces Training Command, 220.740–2 to 220.765–3, IRIS 146003, microfilm A2284, AFHRA, 1387–1388.

Table 12.1 illustrates that just over half of civilian workers were estimated to be in-migrant. Of these, married personnel outnumbered single personnel by a ratio in excess of 2:1. Lastly, the number of defense housing units requested covered all estimated in-migrant workers. This in itself, in addition to the previous correspondence which tended to maximize the number of defense housing units necessary, should well-illustrate the sense of urgency with regards to black housing in Tuskegee during this time.

F. T. Norcross of the Corps of Engineers replied in connection to this request on July 28, 1942. While noting that site selection for the thirty-unit housing complex was nearly completed, it again requested that a new housing survey be conducted. Explaining further, he said that no family housing was to be built at that time due to a lack of funds, although it may be possible to build some at a later date if Congress passed additional funding. As the War Department stood ready to build dormitory units, additional recommendations "should contemplate the utilization of dormitory accommodations

wherever possible" in lieu of the more expensive family housing.[44] This view was endorsed by Headquarters, Army Air Forces, which suggested that "requests for family type housing be kept to an absolute minimum and dormitory housing be utilized to the fullest extent possible. Future family type housing will be curtailed to a large extent due to the shortage of funds, and particularly the shortage of critical materials."[45] Headquarters, Air Forces Flying Training Command in Texas then requested a revised estimate of required dormitory housing, and a "separate request for absolute minimum family type housing required which might be obtained if new legislation …is passed." [46] The requested information pertained to the number of employees currently present, the estimated number to be employed within the next three and six months, and the estimated percentage of employees at those two dates which could be employed locally. Guidance was given in that an estimated seventy percent of civilian employees nationwide were married and arrived with their families.[47]

The request for yet another survey, after many months of back and forth correspondence, seemed to have prompted the outspoken Executive Officer John T. Hazard to take a more forceful tone in his reply. Over the months and numerous endorsements which followed the original letter from the Inspector General, the number of civilians working at TAAF had increased from an estimated three hundred or four hundred on April 18, 1942 to 585 civilians by the time of Hazard's reply on September 7th. This figure of 585 civilians was, for all practical purposes, double the lower of the

[44] F. T. Norcross to Commanding General, Army Air Forces, July 28, 1942, 12th Indorsement, Army Air Forces Training Command, 220.740–2 to 220.765–3, IRIS 146003, microfilm A2284, AFHRA, 1391.
[45] (Illegible) to Commanding Officer, Tuskegee Air Base, August 1, 1942, 13th Indorsement, Army Air Forces Training Command, 220.740–2 to 220.765–3, IRIS 146003, microfilm A2284, AFHRA, 1392.
[46] Ibid., 1393.
[47] Ibid.

original estimate. To add to the urgency, Hazard expected that an additional ninety-one and 168 civilians to be employed in the next three and six months respectively. The latter figure would bring the total number of civilians working at TAAF to an estimated 753 employees—a figure which was almost attained by March of 1943.[48] To emphasize his frustration, Hazard wrote that

> for over a year, this station has been attempting to obtain defense housing and it is thought that the breakdown of the situation as given in the 9th indorsement fully explained the housing conditions at the time it was written. Since that time, however, the total number of employees to be hired at this station has been materially increased…Tuskegee is a small town and its housing situation is critical. Many employees of this station are now living in quarters which are inadequate, unsanitary, and do not provide even the minimum requirements commonly associated with housing. (John T. Hazard to Commanding General, Southeast Air Force Training Center, September 7, 1942, 16th Indorsement, Army Air Forces Training Command, 220.740–2 to 220.765–3, IRIS 146003, microfilm A2284, AFHRA, 1394)

Considering the analysis contained in figure 11.8 shown previously, there can be little doubt that Hazard's description of housing in conditions in Tuskegee was more than accurate. Hazard continued that "many of the civilians employed by the Sub-Depot at this station have indicated that they will seek employment elsewhere unless the housing situation is remedied within a short time, and this station can not expand nor can it

[48] John T. Hazard to Commanding General, Southeast Air Force Training Center, September 7, 1942, 16th Indorsement, Army Air Forces Training Command, 220.740–2 to 220.765–3, IRIS 146003, microfilm A2284, AFHRA, 1394; Donald L. Layman to Historical Officer, TAAF, February 9, 1944, *History of TAAF, 1 January 1943–29 February 1944*, 289.28–3 v.1, IRIS 00179150, AFHRA, appendix III: Statistics on Civilian Personnel.

continue at its present capacity unless something definite is done to obtain housing for the Civil Service employees."[49]

The emphasis on substandard housing appears to be in reference to government's adoption of adequate housing standards as first mentioned in chapter 10, and this was detailed further in reference to Tuskegee in the same chapter. But Tuskegee was not an isolated situation in this regard. The potential for a high incidence of civilian turnover due to inadequate housing was a widespread issue, initially created by the pre-war defense buildup. One of the earliest documents analyzing its effects was contained in a report of the Tidewater area of Virginia in 1940. Planning for housing in that area occurred well over a year before the entrance of America into World War II, thus the topic was not a new one and likely pertained to many other military bases and defense areas as well.[50] Indeed the problem was ongoing, and a Joint Army and Navy Committee report on the same subject was probably conducted a month after Hazard's letter was written.[51]

On September 14, 1942, the Southeast Air Forces Training Center in Montgomery endorsed Hazard's letter with a recommendation that two hundred dormitory units be authorized for TAAF and that married housing be planned for the base if and when

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[49] John T. Hazard to Commanding General, Southeast Air Force Training Center, September 7, 1942, 16th Indorsement, 220.740–2 to 220.765–3, IRIS 146003, microfilm A2284, AFHRA, 1394.
[50] The Advisory Commission to the Council of National Defense, *Summary of the Weekly Progress Reports of the Advisory Commission to the Council of National Defense, Defense Housing in the Hampton Roads Area,* Supplement 1, August 14, 1940, July–October 1940, National Defense Advisory Council, Weekly Progress Reports, Executive Offices, Box 1, OPA, RG 188, NACP, 144.
[51] Special Committee of the Joint Army and Navy Committee, *Preliminary Report of the Special Committee of the Joint Army and Navy Committee on Visits to Army Posts and Naval Stations in Virginia and North Carolina*, October 20–27, p. 1, Alabama Governor (1939–1943: Dixon), Administrative Files, Fiscal Year 1943, Box SG12275, Folder 5, ADAH, Montgomery, Alabama.

additional funding was authorized.[52] This request was more than double the "eighty-five (85) sets in dormitory units" as rejected earlier, yet was less than the 315 units requested in enclosure 1 on April 29th. Most likely, the figure of two hundred units was derived by estimating the approximate number of single civilians, which by the National Housing Agency estimation was thirty percent of the total civilian workforce estimated to be employed within six months. This figure, derived from the estimate of 735 civilians to be employed within six months, equated to 235 persons. The Commanding General, Army Air Forces Flying Training Command approved this request for two hundred dormitory units to be constructed, and emphasized that the work should not be delayed since the request had been initiated five months earlier. The War Department in Washington subsequently approved the request.[53]

Interestingly, the National Housing Agency itself then rejected this two hundred unit request although it was seemingly derived from its own guidelines, approving a lower figure of only 145 dormitory units.[54] With both funds and materials in short supply, this reduction may have been caused by a decision to ration materials so that all units could receive at least a majority of the requested housing. As if to lessen the reduction's impact, the War Department and the Corps of Engineers mentioned in further endorsements that they noted the need for family housing, and would consider it further if and when construction was possible.[55]

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[52] Phillip Doddridge to Commanding General, Army Air Forces Flying Training Command, September 14, 1942, 17th Indorsement, 220.740–2 to 220.765–3, IRIS 146003, microfilm A2284, AFHRA, 1396.
[53] J. H. Hills to Chief of Engineers, September 18, 1942, 18th Indorsement, 220.740–2 to 220.765–3, IRIS 146003, microfilm A2284, AFHRA, 1397; J. C. Shively to Chief of Engineers, September 26, 1942, 19th Indorsement, 220.740–2 to 220.765–3, IRIS 146003, microfilm A2284, AFHRA, 1398.
[54] William A. Davis to Commanding General, Army Air Forces, October 2, 1942, 20th Indorsement, 220.740–2 to 220.765–3, IRIS 146003, microfilm A2284, AFHRA, 1398.
[55] Ibid.

The Corps of Engineers was then authorized in early October 1942 to immediately begin construction, with the requirement that the dormitories were to be located "on or adjacent to the reservation." [56] This was in keeping with Kimble's earlier request to have off-base housing located adjacent to the base instead of in Tuskegee, and was most likely built upon a portion of the eighty acres of land which Kimble had obtained a ninety-day free option earlier in the year.

This housing area, designated as Ala.-1082 by the National Housing Agency, consisted of dormitories, mess and recreational facilities and included building numbers T-701 to T-708 inclusive.[57] Upon the assumption that the messing and recreational facilities consisted of one building each, the remaining six buildings held twenty-four single units each. As a result and for reasons of symmetry, 144 units were built instead of the 145 originally programmed. In line with the original request that these be apportioned to male workers at a ratio of 2:1, ninety-six units were to be allocated to in-migrant males and forty-eight assigned to females.[58] The buildings, which were most likely white with green accents, were separated by sex, thus four buildings were likely assigned to men and two buildings to women.[59]

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[56] *History of TAAF, 7 December 1941–31 December 1942,* 289.28–2, IRIS 00179149, AFHRA, 9.
[57] Charles W. Eliot to Henry T. McIntosh, March 1, 1943, Enclosure: War Housing Programs, Alabama, Tuskegee, Records of the National Resources Planning Board, Federal Project Files, 1939–1943, Box 2, NRPB, RG 187, NACP; *History of TAAF, 7 December 1941–31 December 1942*, 289.28–2, IRIS 00179149, AFHRA, 9.
[58] Charles W. Eliot to Henry T. McIntosh, March 1, 1943, Enclosure: War Housing Programs, Alabama, Tuskegee, Records of the National Resources Planning Board, Federal Project Files, 1939–1943, Box 2, NRPB, RG 187, NACP; Headquarters, SEACTC, Maxwell Field to Commanding General, 4th Corps Area, Atlanta, Georgia, April 29, 1942, 2nd Indorsement, 220.740–2 to 220.765–3, IRIS 146003, microfilm A2284, AFHRA, 1382.
[59] *History of 2143d AAF Base Unit and TAAF, 1 March 1945–30 April 1945*, 289.28–9 v.1, IRIS 00179167, AFHRA, 19; *Hawk's Cry*, "Girls Invade!" May 21, 1943, Box 22, Folder 3, Parrish Papers, LOC.

The timeline of this project from initial construction to actual occupancy is not completely known. The base historian wrote that the project was assigned to the Corps of Engineers on November 4, 1942. Construction began on November 12, 1942 and completed on February 25, 1943.[60] In keeping with this timeline, the National Housing Agency wrote that the initial occupancy date was March 1, 1943; however, the letter accompanying that particular information was dated the same day and so that may have been the official date of occupancy and not the actual date.[61] Support for this assertion comes from a *Hawk's Cry* article from late May 1943. In that article, it states that "the first invasion" of in-migrant civilian women began moving into these quarters on May 15, 1943.[62] It is possible that men may have already occupied their assigned quarters at an earlier date; however, the article also mentions that an Army officer was "handling all applications for male and female housing at this station."[63] As a result, it would seem that the assignment process for both sexes was perhaps ongoing at that time.

Lastly, it should be noted how quickly the dormitory units were built in comparison to their cousins approved earlier for construction in Tuskegee. The base historian related that

> it is interesting to note the difference in time between that necessary to complete the jobs under the civilian agencies and this one under the Corps of Engineers…Granted that these houses are much cruder than those in the 30 unit project…and also that it was built on the reservation in three and one half (3 1/2)

[60] *History of TAAF, 7 December 1941–31 December 1942*, 289.28–2, IRIS 00179149, AFHRA, 9–10.
[61] Charles W. Eliot to Henry T. McIntosh, March 1, 1943, Enclosure: War Housing Programs, Alabama, Tuskegee, Records of the National Resources Planning Board, Federal Project Files, 1939–1943, Box 2, NRPB, RG 187, NACP.
[62] *Hawk's Cry*, "Girls Invade!" May 21, 1943, Box 22, Folder 3, Parrish Papers, LOC.
[63] Ibid.

> months certainly compares favorably to the more than a year required to complete the 30 unit project. (*History of TAAF, 7 December 1941–31 December 1942*, 289.28–2, IRIS 00179149, AFHRA, 10)

According to which references noted previously are accurate, it is possible that both the 30-unit housing complex unit in Greenwood and the 144-unit dormitories adjacent to the base were occupied in February 1943. Both complexes were occupied by civilian war workers, with married enlisted and officers "still forced to find dwellings wherever possible" in town.[64]

12.4. Married Housing: 100 Units and 40 Units

The first two housing projects had just been opened, or were in the process of being opened, when additional housing was contemplated for the Tuskegee area. This was in no doubt to due to the prior correspondence, detailed previously, pertaining to both the acute housing situation in Tuskegee and the lack of defense housing for married personnel.

The base historical record noted that the impetus for this third proposed project was a report by Major Shelton, Division Engineer in Atlanta. Dated March 5, 1943, the report recommended that one hundred family units be authorized for the Tuskegee base. Citing a lack of documents relating to its approval, the base historical record nonetheless documents that "plans were on the drafting board by the middle of April 1943."[65]

[64] *History of TAAF, 1 January 1943–29 February 1944*, 289.28–3 v.1, IRIS 00179150, AFHRA, 1.
[65] Ibid., 2.

As with the 30-unit project, this project was designed by Edward C. Miller, with the firm of McKissack and McKissack as associate engineers.[66] Considering the speed at which this third project progressed from recommendation to architectural plans, the approval for such housing was timelier than the two previous projects—most likely because the lack of married housing had already been discussed.

Another impetus leading to this quick approval was that war construction had peaked in August 1942, meaning that a greater availability of building materials and labor was now possible. [67] With regards to labor, the *Tuskegee News* reported that "a million men who have been building Army camps and war plants will be released for other jobs before the end of 1943."[68] While the approval for this construction in Tuskegee was certainly many months prior to the end of 1943, it was nonetheless seven months after the peak in construction. As a result, any future construction plans could be made with a greater availability of capital and labor in view.

At approximately the same time the one hundred-unit family complex was being planned, a forty-unit family housing complex was planned for construction adjacent to the existing thirty-unit complex just completed near Tuskegee Institute.[69] The larger complex was to be located at Tuskegee Army Air Field for military and civilian personnel, but the one planned for Greenwood was allocated for employees of the Veterans Hospital and civilian personnel at the Primary Field operated by Tuskegee Institute.[70]

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[66] Ibid.
[67] The Home Front, *Tuskegee News,* "Construction Dwindles," December 31, 1942.
[68] Ibid.
[69] *History of TAAF, 7 December 1941–31 December 1942*, 289.28–2, IRIS 00179149, AFHRA, 9.
[70] *Hawk's Cry*, "New Project Homes Open," March 11, 1944, Box 22, Folder 5, Parrish Papers, LOC; F. D. Patterson to Luther H. Foster, May 21, 1943, Local 1943, 131.054, Luther H. Foster, TUA; *History of*

President Patterson was informed on May 20, 1943 that both developments had been approved.[71] However, architectural plans for the forty-unit development were perhaps already under development by the Institute's architect, Edward C. Miller.[72] Echoing a sentiment expressed previously with regards to post-war planning, it seems that President Patterson indeed hoped that additional housing would be built in the Franklin Road area. As a result, the sewer and "utility connections already provided anticipated the increase."[73]

Although little detail remains concerning the construction of the forty-unit complex, what is known is that the dwellings—unlike the 30-unit complex which were apparently built as demountable units—were built as temporary units. The complex consisted of four studio apartments, twelve one-bedroom apartments, sixteen two-bedroom apartments, and eight three-bedroom apartments.[74] Availability was granted to all employees at government installations in Tuskegee to include the Veterans Hospital; however, in-migrant workers who had been in Tuskegee since the inception of the airbase were given priority. This policy caused some confusion for both civilians and military personnel wishing to occupy government housing, and an article was published in the

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Tuskegee Army Air Field, Tuskegee, Alabama, 7 December 1941–31 December 1942, 289.28–2, IRIS 00179149, AFHRA, 9.

[71] F. D. Patterson to Luther H. Foster, May 21, 1943, Local 1943, 131.054, Luther H. Foster, TUA; Eugene H. Dibble, Jr. to John Broome, May 20, 1943, Patterson Papers, 003.050, Veterans Administration, TUA.

[72] *History of Tuskegee Army Air Field, Tuskegee, Alabama, 1 January 1943–29 February 1944*, 289.28–3 v.1, IRIS 00179150, AFHRA, 2.

[73] F. D. Patterson to John P. Broome, May 21, 1943, Patterson Papers, 003.050, U. S. Federal Works Agency, TUA.

[74] Federal Public Housing Authority, Project Summary Record, Ala. 1209, Washington Homes, n.d., Records of the Public Housing Administration, Reports on Occupancy, Housing Assistance Administration, Project Summary Records, 1943–45, Box 1, Entry 44 (Microfilm Reel Region IV, part 1, July 1945), RG 196, NACP.

Hawk's Cry to further clarity the issue.[75] The project was not completed for occupancy until the last quarter of 1944.[76]

A construction contract for the one hundred unit development at the airbase was awarded on August 23, 1943.[77] The project, officially designated as Ala-1208 by the National Housing Agency, was named Mitchell Village after Lt. Paul G. Mitchell of Hampton Institute, the first 99th Fighter Group pilot to be killed in action in Europe.[78]

The official naming of Mitchell Village was undoubtedly the cause of some confusion for most men stationed at TAAF. Concurrent with the announcement of the construction contract, the base special services office had held a contest to choose a name for the proposed housing project. Lt. James J. Johns had submitted the name of Robert O. Dawson, the first aviation cadet to be killed while in training at the base. Thus the name of Dawson Village was unanimously agreed upon by "a capable committee of enlisted, civilian and officer personnel" stationed at the base and announced in the *Hawk's Cry* on August 27, 1943.[79] Yet the issue was ultimately decided at a higher level on September 17th, when at the request of the director of Region Four, Federal Public Housing

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[75] John P. Broome to Eugene H. Dibble, Jr., stamped October 9, 1943, Patterson Papers, 003.050, Veterans Administration, TUA; *Hawk's Cry*, "FPHA Explains Housing Shortage," November 25, 1944, Box 22, Folder 8, Parrish Papers, LOC.

[76] Federal Public Housing Authority, Project Summary Record, Ala. 1209, Washington Homes, n.d., Records of the Public Housing Administration, Reports on Occupancy, Housing Assistance Administration, Project Summary Records, 1943–45, Box 1, Entry 44 (Microfilm Reel Region IV, part 1, July 1945), Record Group 196, NACP; John P. Broome to Eugene H. Dibble, Jr., stamped October 9, 1943, Patterson Papers, 003.050, Veterans Administration, TUA.

[77] *History of Tuskegee Army Air Field, Tuskegee, Alabama, 1 January 1943–29 February 1944*, 289.28–3 v.1, IRIS 00179150, AFHRA, 2.

[78] Public War Housing—New Program, National Housing Agency, Records of the National Resources Planning Board, Federal Project Files, 1939–1943, Entry 10, Box 2, NRPB, RG 187, NACP; *History of TAAF, 1 January 1943–29 February 1944*, 289.28–3 v.1, IRIS 00179150, AFHRA, 2; "Lt. Paul Graham Mitchell was One of 838 Hamptonians at War," press release, Hampton Institute, Virginia, n.d., Tuskegee Airmen Files, Negro in National Defense, Aviation 1943, 178.005, Box 5, TUA.

[79] *Hawk's Cry*, "Lt. Johns Names New U. S. Housing Project," August 27, 1943, Box 22, Folder 3, Parrish Papers, LOC.

Authority, the commanding officer of the base submitted the name of Lt. Paul G. Mitchell.[80]

Considering the expansive size of Mitchell Village, construction progressed quickly and was completed in six months—perhaps due to the increased availability of materials and labor. The project was accepted by the base as completed on February 15, 1944 and opened on March 1, 1944.[81] The one hundred units were housed in eighteen buildings and consisted of ten studio apartments, thirty single bedroom apartments, forty-two bedroom apartments and twenty-three bedroom apartments. All were equipped with "gas for cooking, heating water and refrigeration; shower bath, large windows shades, book shelf, space heaters and cabinet sinks."[82] The site was to be occupied by officers and enlisted of the first three grades respectively. Twelve sets of quarters were allotted to officers and thirty apartments were set aside for enlisted men, with the remainder set aside for civilians.[83] Occupancy figures were stated in the official record but may have fluctuated depending on need; the base newspaper stated that soon after the opening that there were fourteen officers, thirty-two enlisted and forty-five civilians living at Mitchell Village thus far.[84]

An issue soon developed which concerned the management and ultimate ownership of Mitchell Village. When the 144 dorm units were built in 1943, the *Hawk's Cry* noted their location as being on the "main road far down near the gate."[85] This description infers a location on the northern area of the military reservation, and further

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[80] *History of TAAF, Tuskegee, Alabama, 1 January 1943–29 February 1944*, 289.28–3 v.1, IRIS 00179150, AFHRA, 2.
[81] Ibid., 3.
[82] *History of TAAF, 1 March 1944–30 June 1944*, 289.28–4 v.1, IRIS 00179154, AFHRA, 7.
[83] Ibid., 8.
[84] *Hawk's Cry*, "New Project Homes Open!" March 11, 1944, Box 22, Folder 5, Parrish Papers, LOC.
[85] *Hawk's Cry*, "Girls Invade!" May 21, 1943, Box 22, Folder 3, Parrish Papers, LOC.

investigation pinpoints it as on the northern side of the main road to the east of the water tank. Thus it was near the front gate, but being located on the northern side of the main road instead of the southern side, it was separate from the remainder of the base. [86] Mitchell Village was built along the main road a few hundred feet further to the east of these dormitories.[87] Because there was insufficient land remaining in this area to encompass all eighteen buildings, additional land was purchased adjacent to it by the Federal Public Housing Authority (FPHA). Thus Mitchell Village was built on two parcels of land owned by two separate entities; 21.1 acres of the 30.184 total acreage being purchased by the FPHA, with the remainder being owned by the military. It was believed from the outset that ultimate control of this project would pass to the War Department upon completion—a perception reinforced and perhaps instigated by a telegram from the Commanding General of the Army Air Forces months prior to completion to the project.[88]

12.5. Fifty-five Houses at Green Forks

With four government housing projects now constructed after the Japanese attack at Pearl Harbor, it is helpful to remember that the initial housing recommendation in 1941 not only included the thirty-unit housing complex on Franklin Road, but also called for fifty-five houses to be built by private construction for both white and African-American officers.[89] The requirement at that time for housing pertaining to both races may not

[86] 2143 AAF-BU-8 May 1944-4, *TAAF Runways*, May 8, 1944, *History of TAAF, 1 March 1944–30 June 1944*, 289.28–4 v.1, IRIS 00179154, AFHRA, photograph II-2.
[87] 318 AB-3M334-1-2 *Civilian Housing Project No. 8, 12-18*, *History of TAAF, 1 March 1944–30 June 1944*, 289.28–4 v.1, IRIS 00179154, AFHRA, photograph I-2.
[88] *History of TAAF, 1 March 1944–30 June 1944*, 289.28–4 v.1, IRIS 00179154, AFHRA, 9.
[89] Office of the President, Office for Emergency Management, Division of Defense Housing Coordination, *Locality Program Report No. 1—Tuskegee, Alabama, Tentative for Comment,* p. 1, July 14, 1941, Records

have been well thought out as the use of white officers was initially deemed to be temporary.

In the spring of 1942, a private housing project of approximately forty single-family houses was tentatively planned for construction behind Tuskegee Institute's athletic field. However, this project was not on Institute land, but on the white-owned Alexander-Varner property located in the general area behind "The Bottom" as described in chapters 2 and 4. As there is no documentation relating to this development as being approved by the government, it appears that this may have been the first proposed location for at least a portion—perhaps the African-American portion—of the fifty-five houses already proposed. The area was chosen due to both its favorable site characteristics and nearness to the required utilities. The Institute would be required to provide right-of-way for road access. Permission for the access road was approved by the Institute's Board of Trustees, but eventually nothing became of the project.[90] It is possible that sale terms could not be made regarding the land, or that subtle pressure was placed to abandon the project; being located within city limits, it would potentially increase the number of African-American voters in the city.

Apparently there was little action towards the construction of the fifty-five unit housing project for over a year after its initial recommendation; however, a letter written by Kimble in late October 1942 stated that construction work would soon be underway. As building materials were rationed at this time, the purpose of the letter was to

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of the National Resources Planning Board, Federal Project Files, 1939–1943, Box 2, NRPB, RG 187, NACP.

[90] J. T. Martin to F. D. Patterson, April 8, 1942, Patterson Papers, 003.134, Folder Ma–Mc, TUA; F. D. Patterson to J. T. Martin, April 23, 1942, Patterson Papers, 003.134, Folder Ma–Mc, TUA; Tuskegee Institute Board of Trustees, *Minutes of the Spring Meeting of the Board of Trustees of Tuskegee Institute*, April 11, 1942, 29, TUA.

ultimately prompt the National Housing Agency in Washington to provide a higher priority rating for the necessary building materials. [91] Thus it seems that the planned construction date may have been more wishful thinking than fact.

By the date of Kimble's letter, the development had possibly been redesignated as solely African-American due to the shortage of black housing. The most convincing evidence pertains to its eventual location, which was to be at Green Forks outside of the city limits—a decision which, similar to that of the thirty- and forty-unit developments, would not further alter the demographic status quo of the town.[92] Additionally, Kimble asserted that the growth of the Sub-Depot was being hindered due to a lack or suitable housing options for incoming war workers.[93] Thus the emphasis of occupants by this time seems to have been in favor of civilians in lieu of military personnel. The high number of estimated civilian in-migrants versus married military personnel was illustrated previously in figure 11.6.

Green Forks was located at the intersection of U.S. Highway 80 and the Old Montgomery Highway, approximate two miles southwest of Tuskegee's town square.[94] It was at this intersection that the new portion of the highway was begun in the early 1930s, running directly from Green Forks to Zion Hill onward to the square in downtown Tuskegee as described in chapters 2 and 3. Previous to this construction, U.S. Highway 80 turned north towards Tuskegee Institute and Tuskegee itself—thus its later designation as the Old Montgomery Highway.

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[91] *History of TAAF, 7 December 1941–31 December 1942*, 289.28–2, IRIS 00179149, AFHRA, 8.
[92] Ibid., 9.
[93] Ibid., 8.
[94] *History of TAAF, 7 December 1941–31 December 1942*, 289.28–2, IRIS 00179149, AFHRA, 9; U.S. Department of Agriculture, *Soil Map, Macon County, Alabama*, series 1937; Mildred Hemmons Carter, interview by John T. Bryant, April 11, 2007, Tuskegee, Alabama.

Plans for the fifty-five unit housing project were more formalized by November 1942, with the designated developer to be H. J. Tillia of the Tuskegee Homes Company, Birmingham, Alabama. [95] The development was to be located on land owned by A. C. Bulls of Tuskegee, a forward-thinking entrepreneur and a graduate of Tuskegee Institute. A native of Florence, Alabama, Bulls served in World War I before returning to Tuskegee. His love of the area was well known: "He loved Tuskegee until the day he died…I mean, there was no place like Tuskegee."[96] After his return from World War I, Bulls was the first proprietor of the Chambliss Hotel upon its opening in 1922 and later operated the commissary at the VA Hospital for twenty-three years.[97] A. C. Bulls, ever the entrepreneur, was also involved in various land purchases in Macon County. He most likely bought the Green Forks land from H. A. Vaughan of Tuskegee, although he may have already owned some land in the area, auctioning off 240 acres of his Green Forks holdings in 1939. Although H. J. Tillia of Birmingham, Alabama was the project developer, this connection of A. C. Bulls with the Green Forks project caused the entire development to be sometimes be referred to as the Bull's sub-division.[98]

Apparently the initial plan called for the city of Tuskegee to provide many of the necessary utilities such as electricity and water. Supplying electrical power should have been relatively easy since power lines probably extended along U.S. Highway 80, but supplying water to the housing complex would prove to be more difficult.

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[95] *History of TAAF, 7 December 1941–31 December 1942*, 289.28–2, IRIS 00179149, AFHRA, 9.
[96] Ethel Bulls Elsberry, interview by John T. Bryant, April 16, 2007, Tuskegee, Alabama.
[97] Tuskegee Institute, *Tuskegee Alumni Bulletin* 4, no. 12 (December 1922), front cover, TUA; Ethel Bulls Elsberry, interview by John T. Bryant, April 16, 2007, Tuskegee, Alabama.
[98] Ethel Bulls Elsberry, interview by John T. Bryant, April 16, 2007, Tuskegee, Alabama; John Thomas Vaughan, interview by John T. Bryant, June 12, 2007, Auburn, Alabama; *Tuskegee News,* "Notice of Land Sale," October 12, 1939; "Big Auction Sale of A. C. Bull Property," *Tuskegee News*, October 19, 1939, advertisement; Tuskegee City Council, *City of Tuskegee, Minute Book Two*, 236, February 23, 1943.

On February 23, 1943, Mayor Frank Carr informed the City Council that H. J. Tillia could not get approval from the War Production Board for a six-inch water pipe to be installed from Tuskegee to Green Forks, but that they would approve the installation of four-inch pipe within the housing complex itself. Additionally, the Federal Housing Administration had recommended that a water well and storage tank be installed at the site in lieu of a water line from Tuskegee. [99] This suggestion seemed to initiate the understanding that construction would soon begin; in fact, a discussion which took place in mid-March between Major Falco of Maxwell Field and William B. Nolen, State Director of the Federal Housing Authority, revealing that construction should begin within six weeks. This same report also mentioned the recommendation for an additional one hundred family units to be built—a reference to the previously discussed Mitchell Village housing complex.[100]

In June 1943, Mayor Carr asked the Council to review a contract between the city and Mr. Tillia concerning the water and sewer systems that Tuskegee would provide to the project.[101] Details included the requirement that Tillia would begin construction on the houses to completion within two weeks of the city initiating construction of the water system.[102] Electric power was also to be provided by the City although the details were not provided in this contract.[103]

Although additional information lapsed during the following months, an article in the *Hawk's Cry* during December 1943 stated that construction of the project—known as

[99] Tuskegee City Council, *City of Tuskegee, Minute Book Two*, 236, February 23, 1943.
[100] *History of TAAF, 1 January 1943–29 February 1944*, 289.28–3 v.1, IRIS 00179150, AFHRA, 1–2.
[101] Tuskegee City Council, *City of Tuskegee, Minute Book Two*, 242, June 3, 1943.
[102] Tuskegee City Council, *City of Tuskegee, Minute Book Two*, 243, June 3, 1943.
[103] "55 Beautiful Homes for Negroes in Carver Court," *Tuskegee News*, April 13, 1944, advertisement.

Carver Court by this time—was now underway.[104] Carver Court was named after George Washington Carver, who had died in January 1943.[105] The delay in construction may have ultimately contributed to the name, as it is not as likely that the development would have been named as such had it been built earlier. In fact, it was still referred to as the Bull's subdivision only the month following Carver's death.[106]

Construction had progressed nicely by mid-April 1944; a full-page advertisement in the *Tuskegee News* boasted that half of the fifty-five houses at Carver Court were already assigned and fifteen of the houses would be ready for occupancy by the middle of May. Another portion of the advertisement detailed that "the water supply will come from a six inch well, 300 feet deep with a capacity three times greater than needed to supply the subdivision."[107]

Apparently, problems soon developed concerning the water situation, as the well system which was recommended by the FHA was not performing as expected. As a result, "the Carver Court section was added to the city system when a water plant built to supply water to the sub-division proved inadequate." This action did not occur until the fall of 1944.[108] The City Council had reached an agreement with H. J. Tillia in early October to extend its water lines to Carver Court for five thousand dollars, providing that the city could obtain government priorities to buy the necessary pipe.[109] Two pipes were extended from the existing water mains in two separate parts of the city; one from

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[104] *Hawk's Cry*, "Carver Court to Open Here Soon," December 10, 1943, Box 22, Folder 4, Parrish Papers, LOC.
[105] *Tuskegee News,* "Carver Rites to be Held at 2:30 on Friday Afternoon," January 7, 1943.
[106] Tuskegee City Council, *City of Tuskegee, Minute Book Two*, 236, February 23, 1943.
[107] "55 Beautiful Homes for Negroes in Carver Court," *Tuskegee News*, April 13, 1944, advertisement.
[108] *Tuskegee News,* "More Than Four Miles of Water Mains Laid Here," April 26, 1945.
[109] Tuskegee City Council, *City of Tuskegee, Minute Book Two*, 273–274, October 2, 1944.

downtown Tuskegee and another from Greenwood.[110] It appears that the lines were extended concurrently from both directions, but it is not certain when this project was completed. In mid-November 1944, approval was requested from the city council to extend the lines westward from the center of Tuskegee to Church Street. While this action initiated the laying of water lines towards Carver Court, it was still more than a mile from Church Street to the development.[111] The Greenwood portion of the project, involving a shorter distance, was completed by late November 1944; the city council minutes recording that "the project of laying a 6" water main from Greenwood to Carver Court is completed."[112]

Thus the Carver Court development was instrumental in extending the city's water lines to the outreaches of Tuskegee. This fact, along with increased income in the black community, meant that many households could obtain city water and electricity for the first time. Additional utility customers were added when the water lines were also extended to Rockefeller Hill, and two additional extensions were approved for construction as well. [113]

Overall, growth in Tuskegee had increased the demand for utilities, and an article from August 1944 noted that there were "almost 400 new customers of the light department and about 200 to the city water system."[114] This would include both government housing projects in Greenwood and Carver Court; however, Carver Court at this time was still lacking city water.

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[110] *Tuskegee News,* "More Than Four Miles of Water Mains Laid Here," April 26, 1945.
[111] Tuskegee City Council, *City of Tuskegee, Minute Book Two*, 276, November 14, 1944; Personal knowledge of the author.
[112] Tuskegee City Council, *City of Tuskegee, Minute Book Two*, 277, November 14, 1944.
[113] *Tuskegee News,* "More Than Four Miles of Water Mains Laid Here," April 26, 1945.
[114] *Tuskegee News,* "Members of City Council See Re-Election on Their Record," August 17, 1944.

By April 1945, twenty-six thousand feet of new water lines had been laid, with most of the labor was provided by Nazi prisoners of war who were trucked in from the nearby prison-of-war camp in Opelika.[115] German prisoners were used throughout the area for various tasks—an essential service due to the national labor shortage—and were paid eighty cents per day.[116] Other projects in which they were utilized locally were agriculture, forestry, cotton mill labor and even grounds maintenance at TAAF.[117] Emmett Mote recalled that they worked at the larger farms around Shorter, with two busloads of prisoners performing tasks such as jobbing cotton or pulling corn.[118] Perhaps the forestry aspect of this work is the most interesting in that it led to an escape and recapture incident which offered temporary excitement to the county. In April 1945, the *Tuskegee News* recorded that three German prisoners were apprehended near the Chehaw train station by the station agent and an African-American porter. This recapture occurred after the three men were spotted walking down the road.[119] While the story has merit, one station master who served at Chehaw after the war laughed off the incident, stating that the prisoners probably fell asleep in the woods during a work detail and were simply lost.[120]

Carver Court was first approached through an impressive entrance of Italian cypress and eleven-foot tall brick pillars designed by D. A. Williston of Tuskegee Institute. The streets in the development were named after Tuskegee Institute presidents

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[115] *Tuskegee News,* "More Than Four Miles of Water Mains Laid Here," April 26, 1945.
[116] *Tuskegee News,* "Prisoners of War Bring Big Profit," February 15, 1945.
[117] D. H. Richards, Better Farms through Conservation, *Tuskegee News*, November 2, 1944; D. H. Richards, Better Farms through Conservation, *Tuskegee News*, 31 August 1944; Houston Smith, interview by John T. Bryant, April 25, 2007, Tuskegee, Alabama; *History of TAAF, 1 November 1944–31 December 1944*, 289.28–7, IRIS 00179163, AFHRA, 15.
[118] Emmette V. Mote, interview by John T. Bryant, February 27, 2007, Hardaway, Alabama.
[119] *Tuskegee News,* "Three Prisoners of War Captured by Local Deputy," April 5, 1945.
[120] Personal knowledge of the author.

Booker T. Washington, Robert R. Moton and Frederick D. Patterson. Originally the streets were curbed with cement and graded with chert.[121] A sidewalk was built on one side of the street, with a cement walk leading to the front porch of each house. Lot sizes were large—sixty-five to seventy-five feet wide and one hundred fifty-five feet deep—being spacious enough for "pretty lawns, gardens, flowers and chickens." Two shade trees planted in each front yard.[122]

Twenty-five houses were planned as two-bedroom dwellings, twenty-six were planned as three bedroom houses and four were three bedroom houses with a sunroom. Each house included a dining room and a large living room with a fireplace, and the kitchen had all the modern conveniences to include an electric stove and refrigerator, a hot water heater, a double sink and linoleum flooring. Each bathroom contained a built-in bathtub, a linen closet and a mirrored medicine cabinet.[123]

The Carver Court houses were impressive for their quality and modernity, and potential buyers were warned "not to let any slick-tongued wise guy alarm you about the material being used in the construction of these homes. The government has excellent inspectors who will not allow defective materials."[124] Many materials had been purchased with a priority rating that was more liberal than allowed by current restrictions. Additionally, H. J. Tillia included some features which were higher than minimum acceptable standards, boasting that each house would include two porches and a floored attic for storage. The houses were staggered somewhat to avoid the repetition "of a

[121] "55 Beautiful Homes for Negroes in Carver Court," *Tuskegee News*, April 13, 1944, advertisement; Mildred Hemmons Carter, interview by John T. Bryant, April 11, 2007, Tuskegee, Alabama.
[122] "55 Beautiful Homes for Negroes in Carver Court," *Tuskegee News*, April 13, 1944, advertisement.
[123] Ibid.
[124] Ibid.

tenement row."[125] The overall plan allowed for nine different house designs at Carver Court, with no two houses of identical design built adjacent to each other.[126]

In sum, these features made the houses in Carver Court comparable to some of the best houses in Tuskegee and Greenwood—perhaps not in size but certainly in features. And when compared to many of the houses in which many other African-Americans lived, these were planned to be far superior. As the developer put it, "Carver Court will raise your standard of living, the environment will be of the best. The very fact that you live in Carver Court will signify to you, your friends and to the entire community your place in a Higher Social Standing, Respect, and Dignity."[127]

Homes in Carver Court were planned to be either rented or purchased outright. The sales price of these homes ranged from $4,850 to $5,500, with twenty-five year FHA loans available at an interest rate of 4 ½ percent. Down payments were as low as one hundred dollars. Those houses not sold or rented to defense workers after being advertised for sixty days were available to the general public.[128] These homes were still being advertised in September 1944, and according to the advertisement only a few houses remained.[129] The fact that the houses were still being advertised in September indicates that sales and rentals may have slowed after the water issues were discovered. But as discussed previously, approval for water pipes to be extended from Tuskegee.

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[125] Ibid.
[126] Ibid.; *Tuskegee News,* "New Subdivision, Carver Court, will Provide 55 Modern Homes for Negroes," April 13, 1944.
[127] "55 Beautiful Homes for Negroes in Carver Court," *Tuskegee News*, April 13, 1944, advertisement.
[128] Ibid.
[129] "New Homes for Negroes," *Tuskegee News*, September 28, 1944, advertisement.

12.6. Effect of Additional Housing on Demand

The addition of these five housing projects—four being government-owned and one of private construction—greatly altered the availability of housing in the Tuskegee area. However, as a practical result, it may not have completely eliminated the effects of the housing shortage as described previously.

Recall from figure 11.7 that African-American, in-migrant housing pressure in Tuskegee accelerated greatly during the first half of 1942, peaking at an estimated 583 households in July, then declined slightly before increasing again in 1943. Recall also from figure 11.8 the extreme demands placed on local housing during 1942. With regards to running water, this demand soon in excess of 200.0 percent of the local housing supply. The unavailability of local housing, combined with a general lack of suitable amenities, meant that additional housing would be necessary. More specifically, it meant that the two housing projects as first proposed in 1941, composed of eighty-five units in total, would be completely inadequate to accommodate the increased demand.

These two facts alone readily explain the multitude of official correspondence, described earlier in this chapter, begging for additional government housing. The bulk of this correspondence occurred during 1942 and early 1943.

With these ideas in mind, figure 12.2 presents a timeline which illustrates both the approval and completion dates of the five housing developments.

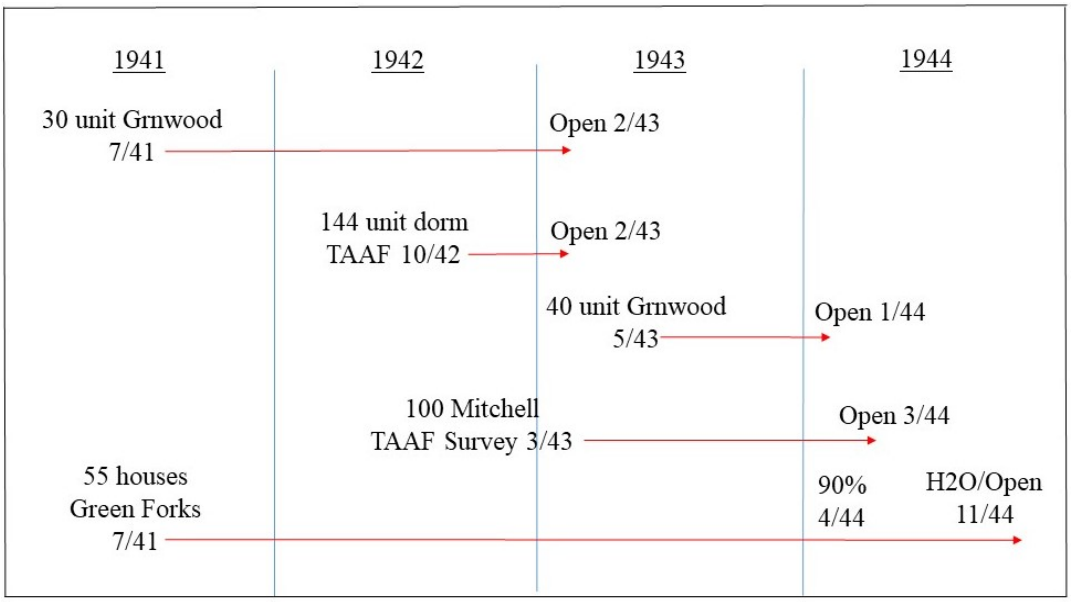

Figure 12.2. Timeline of additional housing in the Tuskegee area

Of first importance, notice in figure 12.2 that although the thirty-unit and the fifty-five unit developments were first proposed for construction in 1941, they were not completed until early 1943 and late 1944 respectively. Second, as TAAF officials spent the bulk of 1942 trying to obtain approval for additional housing, this meant that no government housing was available for the entire year. As 1942 was a difficult housing year due to the high number of African-American in-migrants, the delay in providing additional housing made the situation worse than necessary. In this regard, blame can certainly be placed on delays due to the multitude of correspondence and approval issues, but not the overall war situation. As mentioned previously, 1942 was a year of high war-related construction nationwide, mostly likely with all military installations being faced with similar problems.

Further analysis of figure 12.2 illustrates that of the five housing projects which were eventually approved for Tuskegee, three housing projects were completed in 1943

and two in 1944. The net effect of these completions on those African-Americans requiring off-base housing in Tuskegee is shown in figure 12.3

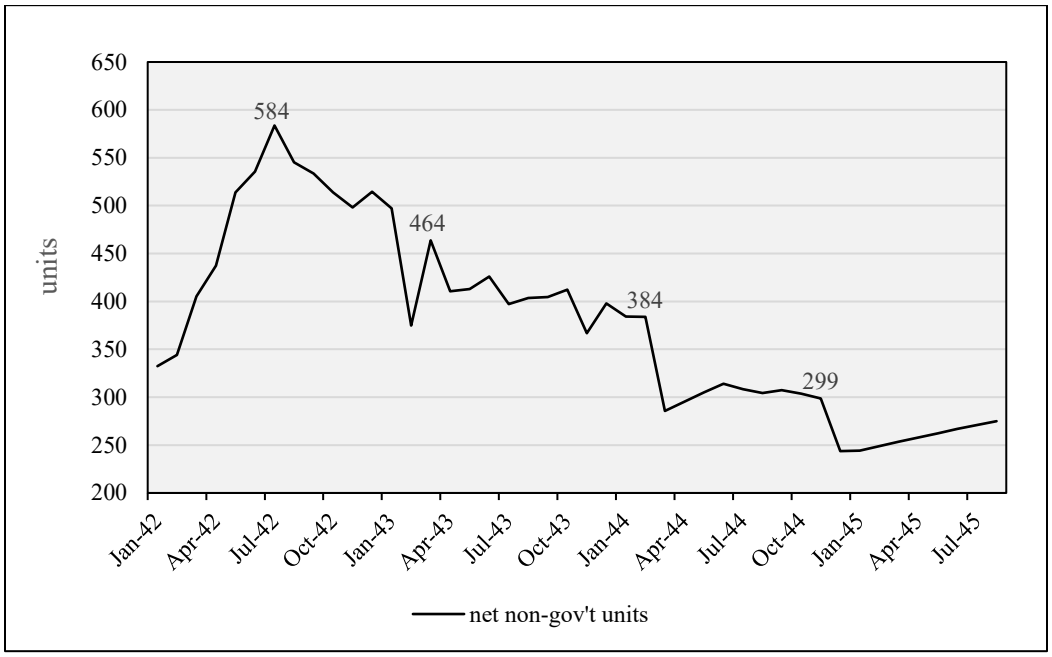

Figure 12.3. Off-base in-migrants net of government housing

Unlike that of gross black, in-migrant demand as illustrated in figure 11.4, figure 12.3 illustrates that net black, in-migrant demand peaked in July 1942. The decline in the latter half of 1942 was due to the gradual departure of the in-migrant construction workers. But beginning in February 1943, due to successive additions of government and privately-sponsored housing, net demand trended primarily downwards for the remainder of the war. Net black in-migrant demand was roughly cut by half, from approximately six hundred units at the peak to less than three hundred units by the end of the war.

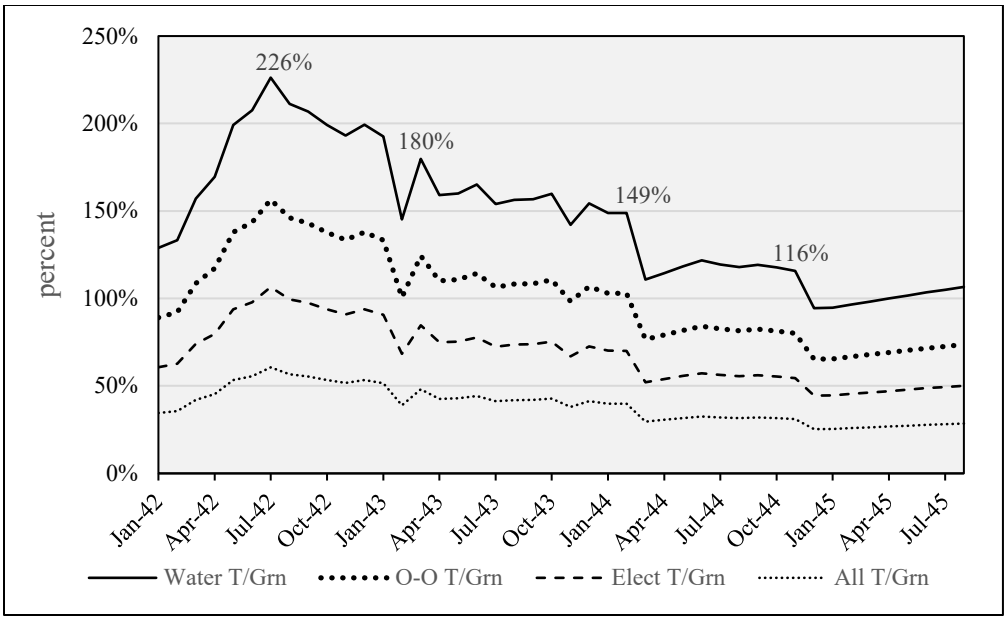

Figure 12.4. Black demand versus housing and amenities

The more specific effect of this demand on housing is illustrated in figure 12.4. Although a decline is registered in all categories, the most telling category is that of running water. As the availability of running water was the highest constraining category, figure 12.4 illustrates that demand in relation to supply fell from a peak of 226.2 percent in July 1942 to slightly above 100.0 percent by the end of the war. As a result, all in-migrants still living in private quarters by that time should have had access to running water.

Additionally, the most restrictive factor regarding the actual housing supply, that is, the owner-occupied category, fell from a peak of 156.5 percent in July 1942 to approximately 110.0 percent in 1943 and below 100.0 percent permanently in March of 1944. Declining from 102.9 percent to 76.4 percent that month, the decline coincided with the opening of the one-hundred unit Mitchell Estates development. Thus it is not surprising that the base historian noted although the housing additions of 1943 helped the housing situation significantly, and that the opening of Mitchell Village in 1944 “has

done a great deal to relieve the housing shortage."[130] This is especially true for military personnel since the three earlier projects—the seventy units constructed in Greenwood and the 144-unit dormitory built at TAAF— had been designated solely for civilian use. The later addition of the fifty-five unit Carver Court development could only help to further improve this situation.

At this point, it is interesting to compare the most restricting factors with regards to white in-migration and net black in-migration. Recall that in the case of white in-migrant housing, the most constraining factor was the owner-occupied housing category. In the case of black in-migrant housing, it was the availability of running water.

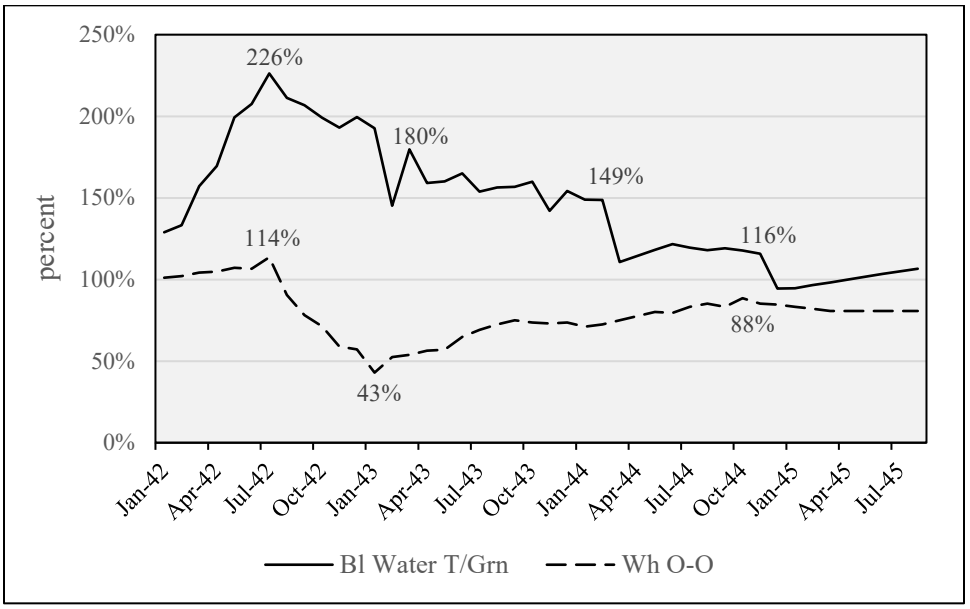

Figure 12.5. Comparison of primary constraints with regards to both races

Figure 12.5 illustrates that both groups began 1942 in a roughly similar situation. The white constraint was at parity with regards to in-migrant demand, while the demand of running water for black in-migrants was almost 30.0 percent in excess of supply. In-migrant demand by both groups increased into July 1942, but only slightly for whites.

[130] *History of TAAF, 1 January 1943–29 February 1944*, 289.28–3 v.1, IRIS 00179150, AFHRA, 1, 3.

White demand dropped thereafter to below fifty percent; it rose afterwards but never exceeded one hundred percent again. Doubtless the actual figures were lower than this due to white migration to Auburn.

In contrast, black in-migrant demand exceeded the running water supply by 126.2 percent by July 1942, only dropping briefly below one hundred percent at the end of 1944. Thus the African-American in-migrants were more disadvantaged than whites during the entire war, and more so since whites had the choice to move to Auburn. However, excluding the Auburn option for whites, the gap between the two constraints narrowed considerably by December 1944.

A slightly different picture emerges when comparing white owner-occupied housing to that of blacks. Figure 12.6 illustrates.

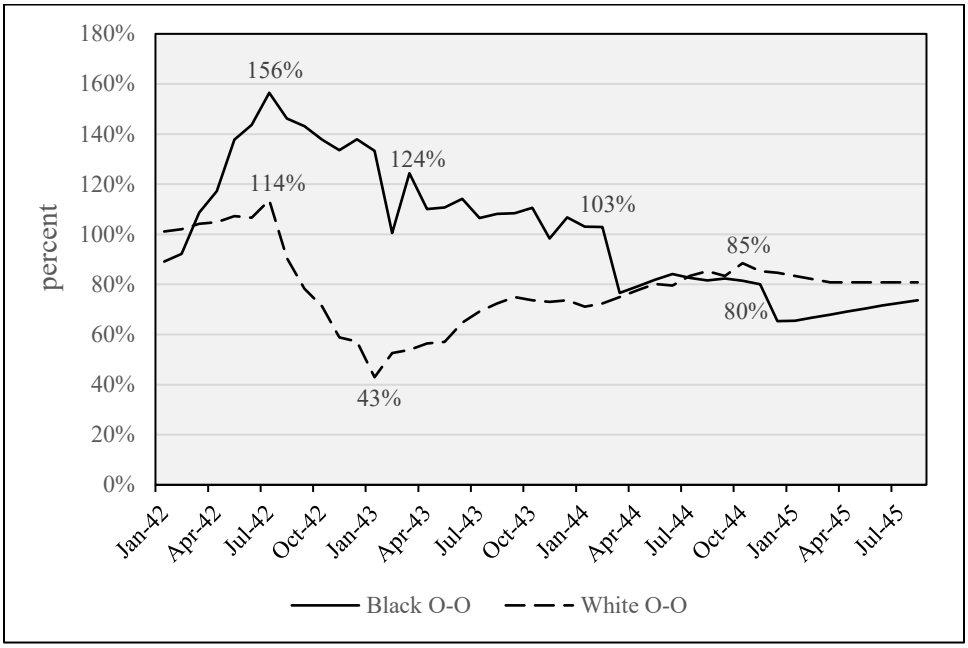

Figure 12.6. Comparison of the owner-occupied constraint with regards to both races

With regards to owner-occupied housing of both races, figure 12.6 shows that although black in-migrants were at disadvantage until March 1944 with the opening of

the Mitchell Village complex. Excluding the option of moving to Auburn, both groups faced a roughly similar situation thereafter, with black in-migrants having a slight advantage beginning in the fall of 1944.

In reality, many whites had moved to Auburn as discussed in chapter 11, thus the African-American in-migrants potentially faced a larger constraint versus whites. Thus it is no surprise that housing in the Tuskegee area was still an issue.

In January 1944, a new director of the local United Service Organization (USO) began a service known as the Travelers Aid Service to help relatives and guests of Tuskegee-based servicemen find accommodation.[131] Additional persons seeking shelter were welcome as well.[132] This service by the USO was apparently in addition to the guest quarters located on the base itself. Consisting of fourteen rooms, the base guest house was created in what originally planned as the white officers' quarters. Opening in September 1943, guests were charged seventy-five cents per night.[133] The director of the new service, Miss Mercedes Hopkins, addressed the congregation of Greenwood Baptist Church in February to both advertise the new service and hopefully recruit those willing to provide temporary housing.[134]

Apparently, and perhaps due in part to the influx of veterans in the latter part of the war, unfulfilled housing demand was still an issue in the latter half of 1944. In August 1944, Mercedes Hopkins was quoted in the *Tuskegee News* as saying that "we do not have enough rooms listed with us to fill all the requests. Many a room in town remains

[131] Reverend C.W. Kelly, News among the Colored People, *Tuskegee News,* January 20, 1944; Ibid., January 27, 1944.
[132] Reverend C.W. Kelly, News among the Colored People, *Tuskegee News,* January 27, 1944.
[133] *History of TAAF, 1 January 1943–29 February 1944,* 289.28–3, v.1, IRIS 00179150, AFHRA, 99.
[134] Reverend C.W. Kelly, News among the Colored People, *Tuskegee News,* February 3, 1944.

vacant which a serviceman's young wife could be using if only we knew about it."[135] The problem apparently persisted throughout the remainder of the war, as in mid-1945 a committee from TAAF was assigned to canvass the local area for available rooms. It is not known what happened, if anything, to the Travelers Aid Service at this time, as applications for housing were to be directed to the Personal Affairs Office at the base.

[135] Ibid., August 17, 1944.

Chapter 13: Conclusion

The experience at Tuskegee with regards to housing was in many ways similar to that of other air stations, in that additional housing was usually necessary concurrent with expansion. However, Tuskegee was different in that Tuskegee Army Air Field was primarily composed of African-Americans. As a result, off-base housing for these black personnel was more limited with regards to adequate repair, electricity and particularly running water.

Although many in Washington suspected that America would enter the war at some point, the Pearl Harbor attack in December of 1941 was largely unanticipated. The attack led to sudden increases of military construction, with the resulting competition for additional housing. Because additional housing was allocated not by price but by quantity under common ownership, various administrative machinations ensued; the end goal of each facility being to obtain first what was largely unobtainable for all.

It would seem that this process could have been streamlined at the Federal level through the use of basic statistical ratios applied in turn to each situation. This seems to have been accomplished in part; however, the human touch of common sense and efficiency seems to have been somewhat lacking. In the case of Tuskegee, this led to delays of over a year with regards to building adequate housing for in-migrant African-Americans.

Although rental records for the Tuskegee area have been destroyed, further research in this area would primarily relate to federal incomes in relation to rental rates at the various government housing projects. This in turn could be compared to pre-war conditions in Tuskegee.

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Appendix 1: Estimation of Military and Civilian Personnel, 1942-1945

A.1. Introduction: White Personnel

Data for white military personnel at TAAF were obtained from four sources: (1) A TAAF Strength Table including personnel figures from January 1942 to February 1944, (2) a table of officer personnel data from May–December 1944, (3) a small table of December 1942 data in the text of the official base history from the period 1 November–31 December 1944; and (4) a sentence containing numerical information estimated to date from April 1945.[1] These will be referred to hereafter as (1) "Strength," (2) "Table," (3) "Text-Table 1" and (4) "Sentence 1." This data was furnished on an end of month basis unless noted otherwise. Since World War II ended September 1, 1945, no data was either included or estimated after August 31, 1945.

Data pertaining to the February–June period of 1944 was also discovered for the military officers and men assigned to Moton Field, the primary field originally operating under the sole auspices of Tuskegee Institute. Even though the personnel numbers contained in this data were generally very insignificant relative to those at TAAF, and only pertained to the February–June period of 1944, and finally were not separated by race, it was felt that omission of this data was more deleterious than its inclusion. These

[1] *History of TAAF, 1 January 1943–29 February 1944*, 289.28–3 v.1, IRIS 00179150, AFHRA, table, "Strength: Tuskegee Army Air Field, January 1942 to February 1944"; *History of TAAF, 1 November 1944 to 31 December 1944*, 289.28–7 v.1, IRIS 00179163, AFHRA, appendix: "Officers;" *History of TAAF, 7 December 1941–31 December 1942*, 289.28–2, IRIS 00179149, AFHRA, 34; *History of TAAF, 1 January 1945–28 February 1945*, 289.28–8 v.1, IRIS 00179165, AFHRA, 7.

data will hereafter be known as "Moton Officers" and "Moton Enlisted."[2] As the figures are generally consistent over the five-month period, an estimated average of eleven officers and seventeen enlisted was easily computed, with further details discussed in the appropriate section.

A.2. White TAAF Officers

The "Strength" data for officers begins in January 1942; however, a footnote on the document states that the data should only be considered accurate from April 1943–February 1944. Additionally, data is missing from August–December 1942, and the entirety of the data does not delineate between white and black officers until January 1943.

The first issue of the missing data in August–December 1942 was solved by first estimating the gap of the total number of officers between July 1942 and January 1943, then adding officers to the missing months in equal increments. Thus 22.6 officers were added per month with rounding as appropriate.

The second issue of the combined data of black and white officers from January 1942 thru November 1942 was solved through the analysis of "Text-Table 1." This reference, consisting of a personnel count dated December 31, 1942, revealed that that 74.6 percent of the total officers were black and 25.4 percent of the total were white. The numerical count of officers in "Text-Table 1" was utilized for the month of December 1942, and the percentages by race were then used for the preceding January–November 1942 period to include the estimated data previously discussed. It should be noted that in

[2] *Station History, 2164th AAF Base Unit, CPS, P, Formerly 66th AAFFTD, Tuskegee Institute, Alabama,* February–December 1944, 289.28–4 v.2, IRIS 00179155, AFHRA, appendix 14: "Officer Strength" and appendix 15: "Enlisted Strength."

"Text-Table 1" there is a typographic error with regards to the number of black enlisted men. Surrounding data suggests that the actual number of enlisted men was most likely 2050 versus 3050 as stated in the table.

Another gap in the officer data occurred for March and April 1944; that is, between the end of "Strength" to the beginning of "Table." This gap was handled in the same manner as the previous example.

Finally, with regards to the white officer data, there was no data for white officers stationed at TAAF from the beginning of 1945 to the end of the war on September 1, 1945. A remedy was found in that "Sentence 1" of January–February 1945 identified that 97 officers were present "at this writing." Since at least two footnotes in the document are dated late March 1945, an assumed date of publication will be made to April 1945, and the figure of 97 officers was utilized for April 1945 and thereafter. The gap between December 1944 and April 1945 was then solved in the manner described previously.

An estimation of the percentage of married white officers was possible, utilizing a data point from a September 1944 article in the *Tuskegee News* and comparing it to total white officer figures contained in "Table" and the "Moton Officers" analysis described in the next section for the same month. The estimated percentage of married white officers was 26.5 percent.

A.3. White Moton Field Officers

Regarding the "Moton Officers" data, the figures are generally consistent over the five-month period during 1944 and an estimated average of eleven officers was easily assumed. However, the data was not delineated by race.

To solve this issue, a photograph contained in an official base yearbook, hereafter known as "Yearbook," included the personnel of Moton Field—likely dating to late 1942—illustrates that the composition of the officers included seven white officers and three African-American officers. As this figure is one less than that contained in "Moton Officers," either the missing officer is not pictured in "Yearbook" or perhaps not yet assigned. However, he was assumed to be African-American on the presupposition that additional assignments later in the war were filled by African-Americans when possible.[3] Thus using assumptions, an estimated eleven officers were stationed at Moton Field to include seven white officers and four African-American officers. These determinations was assumed to be constant from 1942 through the end of the war. As compared to the growth at TAAF, the 1942 figure is especially pertinent regarding Moton Field as operations began there roughly five months before those at TAAF. Additionally, due to the smaller nature of operations at Moton Field, it is possible that a consistent number of officers were required throughout the war.

The same percentage of white officers who were married was that applied to those at TAAF, described previously.

A.4. White TAAF Enlisted

The data for white enlisted personnel was obtained from "Strength," "Text-Table 1," and "Sentence 1." The data illustrate that number of enlisted personnel ranged between seven and nineteen persons. Issues were similar to that for white officers; however, the number of white enlisted personnel for the period January–November 1942

[3] *Tuskegee Army Air Field and AAF 66th FTD, Tuskegee, Alabama, Army Air Forces Southeast Training Center,* 66th AAFFTD Moton Field, Tuskegee, Alabama, Box 25, Folder 9, Parrish Papers, LOC, *Staff Officers,* personnel photographs, 104, 119.

in "Strength" was not calculated by percentages as were the officers, but was derived from the December 1942 data in "Text-Table 1." January 1943–February 1944 data was derived from "Strength." The February 1944 figure in "Strength" was utilized thereon for the remainder of 1944. An assumed gap existed between December 1944 and the April 1945 data point as discussed earlier in the "Sentence 1" discussion. This was handled in the manner described previously. Data afterwards was assumed to be the same as the last data point in April 1945.

The same percentages of married and single were applied to the white enlisted as calculated for the white officers.

A.5. White Moton Field Enlisted

"Moton Enlisted" counted an average of 17 enlisted personnel stationed at Moton Field. As with the officers of Moton Field, these also were not delineated by race, thus "Yearbook" as described previously was utilized in a likewise manner to solve this issue.

Photographs from "Yearbook" contain the photographs of eleven enlisted personnel—seven white enlisted and three black personnel. One additional enlisted is undetermined since the individual is named but his photograph is missing.[4] This total of eleven personnel falls short of that estimated seventeen in the 1944 "Moton Enlisted" data. However, it was a common occurrence that not all military personnel had their photograph included in yearbooks, thus the total number of enlisted personnel assigned at that time may have been underrepresented in "Yearbook."[5]

[4] *Tuskegee Army Air Field and AAF 66th FTD, Tuskegee, Alabama, Army Air Forces Southeast Training Center,* 66th AAFFTD Moton Field, Tuskegee, Alabama, *Enlisted Personnel, 66th AAFFTD*, Box 25, Folder 9, Parrish Papers, LOC, photograph, 118.
[5] John Fernandes, interview by John T. Bryant, April 13, 2007, Tuskegee, Alabama.

Another possibility is that these additional personnel were not yet assigned. Due to a lack of further information regarding the seventeen enlisted personnel from 1944, and the small number of individuals involved, it was assumed that the number of enlisted personnel was constant throughout the entire 1942–1945 period, with African-Americans providing the greater proportion. As a result, the seven white enlisted personnel shown in "Yearbook" was assumed to be constant, with the remaining ten enlisted being African-Americans. A further reason for not decreasing the number of enlisted personnel counted in "Moton Enlisted" is that there was necessarily a minimum number of military personnel necessary to operate Moton Field, and thus their numbers were probably not much lower than contained in the data. No white enlisted were assumed to be married, as no evidence was found to the contrary.

A.6. Introduction: Black Personnel

Data for black off-base housing demand was more complicated than that for whites. The reasons for this complication are various in nature. First, whereas all whites lived off-base, only a percentage of black military personnel did so. This was due to the fact that all whites, regardless of their marital status, lived off-base, whereas only married blacks did so. As the data is incomplete in this regard to marital status, some assumptions were necessary based on singular data.

Second, although all black civilian workers lived off-base at the beginning of the war, a percentage of them were able to obtain government housing or newly built private housing beginning in 1943. Data for black civilians was incomplete for the entire time period 1941-1945, necessitating a certain number of assumptions, although a reference

was available to estimate the number of married and single civilian personnel.[6] A small number of white civilians worked at the airbases; however, their number is minute and not included in the totals.[7]

Finally, an estimation was used to determine the number of two income families with regards to both black military and civilian personnel. That is, an estimation was utilized to determine what percentage of African-American married personnel, with the household head being either military or civilian, in which both spouses worked at one of the two military establishments at Tuskegee.

A.7. Black TAAF Officers

Data for black military officers was obtained from three of the four sources listed previously and in the same manner as that for white officers. These include: (1) "Strength," (2) "Text-Table 1," and (3) "Table." The source "Sentence 1" was omitted as it pertained only to white military personnel. As stated in the discussion for white officers, 74.6 percent of the officers in "Text-Table 1" were black; therefore, this percentage was used as an estimation for all 1942 data previous to the original December 1942 source.

Actual black numbers were utilized in "Strength" beginning January 1943 thru February 1944, but column 16 of "Strength"—that is, the cadets and aviation students, was omitted in all instances. Student officers, however, were included; the idea being that their more senior rank implied either a more advanced age and/or more time on station.

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[6] Manning T. Jeter to Commanding Officer, Tuskegee Army Flying School, August 25, 1942, 15th Indorsement, IRIS 146003, microfilm A2284, 1940–1945, 220.740– 2 to 220.765– 3, AFHRA, p. 1394.
[7] Neighborhood Notes and News, *Tuskegee News*, July 30, 1942; *Tuskegee News,* "Tuskegee Man Is Killed in Auto Crash Near Here," November 5, 1942.

Therefore they may have been more liable to have been married and would have had more time to arrange off-base housing.

After a gap of two months when the "Strength" data ended in February 1944, source "Table" then began in May 1944 and continued until December 1944. The gap between "Text-Table 1" and "Table" was filled in the usual manner.

As data contained in the three sources listed above ended at December 1944, additional data and estimations were necessary for the remainder of the war. This was solved through the use of two references that will be known as "Text-Table 2" and "Text-Table 3."[8]

"Text-Table 2" gives total figures of both total officer and enlisted personnel, not separated by race, for the months of January and February 1945. The January data is dated January 1, 1945 instead of the more typical end of month date. This January 1 data was assumed to be January data in case men were transferred from TAAF at the end of the year on December 31, 1944.

"Text-Table 3" provides the same data for July and August 1945, although the July data is dated July 1, 1945 instead of the more typical end of month date. Unlike the case of the January 1 data in "Text-Table 2," the July 1 data was utilized as end of month data for June 1945.

Using this data for the months of January, February, June and August 1945, estimates for the total number of officers, black and white combined, for the months missing between January and August 1945 were estimated using the usual procedure. The number of white officers as estimated previously for the white officer data was subtracted

[8] *History of TAAF, 1 January 1945 to 28 February 1945*, 289.28–8 v.1, IRIS 00179165, AFHRA, 4; *History of TAAF, 1 July–31 August 1945*, 289.28–11 v.1, IRIS 00179172, AFHRA, 4.

these total figures, leaving an estimated number of black officers. When these estimates were added to the 1942-1944 data discussed previously, the data set for black officers stationed at TAAF was complete.

With the monthly estimation of the total number of black officers complete, the next step was to ascertain the percentage of black officers who were married and living off-base. This was accomplished, albeit in a slender manner, by using two source documents dated September 1, 1945. The first source provided the total number of black officers, to include warrant officers, of 416 total officers.[9] This figure was then compared to data in the second source, which detailed the number of black officers living on the base as 337 officers.[10] Subtracting one from the other gave the total number of seventy-nine officers estimated to be living off-base. This figure was then converted to a percentage of 19.0 percent of black officers being married and living off-base. This estimate was then utilized as a multiplier for the entire data set from 1942–1945.

A.8. Black Moton Field Officers

As discussed in the section for white officers based at Moton Field, four black officers as derived from "Moton Officers" and "Yearbook" were added to the monthly totals for the entire 1942-1945 period. The same percentage of those being married and living off-base was applied as well and included in the totals.

[9] *History of TAAF, 1 September 1945 to 31 October 1945*, 289.28–11A, IRIS 00179175, AFHRA, app. 1.
[10] Theodore Randall, Officers' Mess Report, September 5, 1945, *Section Histories, TAAF, July–August 1945,* 289.28–11 v.3, IRIS 00179174, AFHRA. Officers were described as living either in the Bachelor Officer Quarters (BOQ) or in the cadet area. These two numbers were combined for the total number of officers living on-base.

A.9. Black TAAF Enlisted

There was little data with which to estimate the number of black enlisted living off-base. However, evidence supports the fact that this did occur.[11] As with the officers, married enlisted personnel were assumed to be older and typically populated the higher enlisted ranks.

With these thoughts in mind, and due to a lack of data, it was assumed that the great preponderance of married enlisted personnel were staff non-commissioned officers (SNCO's). Accelerated promotions during the war would only exacerbate this assertion.[12] As a result, an estimation was made of the black SNCO population at TAAF, then the same 19.0 percent married rate as per the black officers was applied to the data. Married enlisted personnel of ranks lower than SNCO's were assumed to be included in the married SNCO estimation.

The calculation of black enlisted data was similar to that of black officers described previously, using "Strength" and "Text-Table 1" in the same manner described previously. As this data ended with February 1944, an estimation of black enlisted personnel would be necessary for the remainder of the year since the source "Table" did not include any enlisted data from May to December 1944 as it did with officers. This missing data for the remainder of 1944 was filled by using the February 1944 data point of 1745 black enlisted persons. Data for 1945 was both used and estimated by using the

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[11] Reverend C.W. Kelly, News among the Colored People, *Tuskegee News*, July 8, 1943; Theodore Randall, Officers' Mess Report, September 5, 1945, *Section Histories, TAAF, July–August 1945,* 289.28–11 v.3, IRIS 00179174, AFHRA.

[12] John Fernandes, interview by John T. Bryant, April 13, 2007, Tuskegee, Alabama. Accelerated promotions were common during the war due to the great need for the adequate staffing of an expanding military. For example, John Fernandes of TAAF entered the Army in 1941 as a private. By the end of the war, he had risen to the rank of Technical Sergeant—five ranks higher than when he first enlisted.

two sources of "Text-Table 2" and "Text-Table 3" in the same manner as used previously.

With the black enlisted data completed, it was then necessary to estimate the black SNCO population at TAAF. Once this was estimated, and lacking any concrete data pertaining to enlisted marriages, the same 19.0 percent marriage rate used in the estimation of black married officers would be applied to the SNCO data.

The estimation of the black SNCO population was first accomplished thru a manning allotment table for TAAF dated June 1944.[13] A manning allotment table does not accurately reflect all military persons present at a particular base or organization; rather, its purpose was to define how many persons of the appropriate ranks and skills were to be assigned to a particular military organization in order for it to adequately fulfill its mission. Due to various reasons, actual personnel numbers typically varied from the fixed allotment—a fact readily seen in sources such as "Strength."[14] Also, operational or base attachments, or other organizations assigned to the base as described in chapter 11 will also affect the total number of persons on a particular base. Thus the manning allotment table it is considered only as a reasonable approximation of the actual personnel situation.

Analysis of the manning allotment table for TAAF from June 1944 illustrates that 16.1 percent of the total enlisted population at the base were assigned to SNCO's. With the number of SNCO's estimated as 16.1 percent of total enlisted personnel, the monthly black total enlisted data was multiplied by this percentage to estimate the number of

[13] *History of TAAF, 1 March 1944 to 30 June 1944*, 289.28–4 v.1, IRIS 00179154, AFHRA, appendix 3-6, 34–35.
[14] Personal knowledge of the author.

SNCO's at TAAF during the war. This estimation of SCNO's at TAAF was then multiplied by 19.0 percent in order to estimate the number of married SNCOs. The sum result was that an estimated 3.1 percent of all enlisted personnel were married and living off-base.

The low percentage of estimated married enlisted personnel as compared to the black married officers was partially offset by the much higher numbers of enlisted personnel present. For example, data for February 1944 illustrates that 1,745 black enlisted personnel were present at TAAF, as compared to only 264 black officers. While indicative of the greater proportion of black enlisted to officers, this ratio should not be considered constant.[15]

A.10. Black Moton Field Enlisted

Computations for the enlisted personnel was discussed in the white enlisted portion pertaining to Moton Field. After these computations were enumerated, ten black enlisted as derived from "Moton Officers" and "Yearbook" were added to the monthly totals for the entire 1942-1945 period. The same percentage of those being married and living off-base was applied as well and included in the totals.

A.11. Review of Additional Information and Further Adjustments

Some consternation surfaced with a post-analysis review of various individual strength reports, which had been disregarded previously for analytical purposes. These various reports dated to February, June, August, October and December 1944, and

[15] *History of TAAF, 7 December 1941–31 December 1942*, 289.28–2, IRIS 00179149, AFHRA, 34.

February 1945.[16] Cursory analysis revealed that these reports contained higher strength counts than what had been computed previously.

A more detailed examination was first made with regards to the February 1944 individual strength data to that contained in "Strength." Officer data in the individual strength report listed 365 officers of both races versus 354 as computed previously. The discrepancy was considered to be minor and thus the original analysis remained.

An examination of the enlisted data followed. The February 1944 strength data report listed 2258 enlisted personnel versus 1745 enlisted as contained in "Strength." The discrepancy, which was quite significant, could be explained in theory by the specific inclusion of 493 enlisted aviation cadets in the February 1944 report. Subtracting the enlisted cadets from the total estimate of 2258 enlisted persons netted a figure of 1765 enlisted personnel in the individual strength report—a number largely consistent with the previous method of analysis as utilized in "Strength." As a result of this analysis, the original estimation technique of both officers and enlisted personnel appeared to be viable.

A second comparison then ensued by comparing the December 1944 officer data in "Table" to a specific text reference in one of the official base histories (M229), hereafter known as "Sentence 2".[17] This comparison illustrated that "Table" contained a total of 395 officers of both races versus 369 officers in "Sentence 2." The data in "Table" was then compared to that contained in the individual December 1944 strength report, which listed a total of 415 officers. Since the December 1944 data in "Table" was

[16] *Tuskegee Army Air Field and AAF 66th FTD, Tuskegee, Alabama, Army Air Forces Southeast Training Center,* 66th AAFFTD Moton Field, Tuskegee, Alabama, *Staff Officers,* Box 25, Folder 9, Parrish Papers, LOC, photograph, 105.
[17] *History of TAAF, 1 November 1944–31 December 1944*, 289.28–7, IRIS 00179163, AFHRA, 9.

between those listed in the other two sources, it was felt that the number of officers in "Table" was reasonably accurate.

A comparison of the enlisted data for December 1944 followed. As there was no enlisted data in "Table," the only comparison was that of the individual December 1944 strength report and "Sentence 2." Both sources listed 1775 enlisted personnel for that month—a figure not significantly different than the original estimate of 1745 enlisted personnel, which was obtained by using the February 1944 data as described previously. The December 1944 individual strength report, to include the other reports with the exception of the February 1944 report, omitted the specific category of aviation cadets and officers. This may account for the similarity in numbers.

A third comparison was made, this time pertaining to figures relating to the February 1945 individual strength report and that contained in "Text-Table 2." The February 1945 individual strength report noted 418 officers on base versus 420 officers on based in "Text-Table 2." The February enlisted number from the individual strength report noted 1861 enlisted personnel on base versus 1810 enlisted personnel on based in "Text-Table 2." As with the December 1944 report, the February 1945 report did not specifically enumerate the number of aviation cadets, and the February 1945 data seemed to validate the relative consistency of previous comparisons.

After performing these comparisons, it was decided that riddles and gaps with regards to the discrepancies between the newly-reviewed individual strength reports and the data as computed previously were relatively minimal. Additionally, it was felt that that replacing old data with the new would not accurately resolve the discrepancies to any degree of satisfaction without a host of unverifiable assumptions.

As a result, the original sources were largely to remain as the sole source of data pertaining to the relevant months in the analysis. Previously derived data for February 1945 was considered to be viable as well.

On the other hand, it was decided to utilize the additional data sources to replace the 1944 estimated, black enlisted data. Recall that due to a previously-determined dearth of data, the black enlisted data point from February 1944 had been utilized for the remainder of the year. Since data from the new sources were deemed to be accurate, and further investigation revealed that the data was quite variable between the different months of availability, it was decided to replace the existing, estimated data with that which was available in the newly-reviewed sources. To reiterate, this would include the months of June, August, October and December 1944. The February 1945 data was considered to be superfluous as the original data source was not to be replaced. Gaps between the data were filled in the usual manner.

A.12. Black TAAF Civilians

Accurate data for black civilians working at TAAF, not including construction personnel, was available from August 1941 to December 1943.[18] Data for the remainder of the war was scanty and potentially subject to much interpretation based on various assumptions. No data was available for 1944 and only two data points were discovered for 1945—these being March–April 1945 and August 1945.

Based on this available data, of first note was that civilian personnel numbers were fairly constant during that period. For example, the average of the last three months

[18] Civilian Strength Report: August 1941–December 1943, *History of TAAF, 1 January 1943–29 February 1944,* 289.28–3, v.1, IRIS 00179150, AFHRA, appendix III: Statistics on Civilian Personnel.

of 1943 averaged 678 persons. December 1943 can be considered an outlier compared to October and November 1943, with the count being 668, 664, and 703 respectively. The one data point for March–April 1945 equaled 664 persons, and another for August 31, 1945 equaled 640 persons. As the civilian population was assumed to fluctuate and considering the wide gaps in the data, an average of these five data points was estimated and utilized for the entire 1944-1945 period. Two post-war data points were also on hand, but considered to be inferior since the cessation of the war would necessarily affect labor conditions. The calculated average derived a figure of 668 civilians employed monthly. Again, this average was utilized for the entire 1944–1945 period under consideration.[19]

Final calculations involved the number of in-migrants, and married personnel versus those who were single. Analysis of a reference from September 1942 revealed that an estimate of 69.7 percent of total civilian personnel at TAAF were in-migrants.[20] This figure was rounded to 70.0 percent for convenience. Another reference related to the same series of correspondence lists that 70.0 percent of in-coming personnel were married and brought their families.[21]

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[19] Letter from BGen. Charles T. Myers, Headquarters Army Air Forces Flying Training Command to Noel F. Parrish, Recommendation for the Award of the Distinguished Service Medal, n.d., 3, Box 20, Folder 4, Parrish Papers, LOC. The remaining data from AFHRA, Maxwell Air Force Base: *History of TAAF, 1 March 1945 to 30 April 1945*, 289.28–9 v.1, IRIS 00179167, AFHRA, 9; Report for Station History–Civilian Personnel Office, September 1945, *Section Histories, TAAF, September–October 1945, 289.28*–11B, IRIS 00179176, AFHRA, 1; Report for Station History–Civilian Personnel Office, October 1945, *Section Histories, TAAF, September–October 1945, 289.28*–11B, IRIS 00179176, AFHRA, 1; Report for Station History–Civilian Personnel Office, October 1945, *Section Histories, TAAF, September–October 1945, 289.28*–11B, IRIS 00179176, AFHRA, 1; *History of TAAF, 1 November 1945 to 31 December 1945 Inclusive*, 289.28–12 v.1, IRIS 00179177, AFHRA, 18; The 1944 civilian personnel average is estimated by averaging data from March 1943 (611 civilians), a number quoted during the period from March 1–April 31, 1945 (664 civilians), August 31, 1945 (640 civilians), September 30, 1945 (615 civilians), October 31, 1945 (616 civilians), and December 31, 1945 (671 civilians).

[20] John T. Hazard to Commanding General, Southeast Air Force Training Center, September 7, 1942, 16th Indorsement, IRIS 146003, microfilm A2284, 1940–1945, 220.740– 2 to 220.765– 3, AFHRA, p. 1394.

[21] Manning T. Jeter to Commanding Officer, Tuskegee Army Flying School, August 25, 1942, 15th Indorsement, IRIS 146003, microfilm A2284, 1940–1945, 220.740– 2 to 220.765– 3, AFHRA, p. 1394.

A.13. Black Moton Field Civilians

Two data points were found for the civilians working at Moton Field—one point noting 116 civilians on June 30, 1943 and another noting 167 civilians as of July 1, 1944.[22] As this number of civilians working at Moton Field was not insignificant, a more refined interpretation of the data was thought to be necessary and included in the TAAF civilian totals.

Data analysis revealed that the increase in civilians on these dates, spaced a year apart in 1943 and 1944, was generally similar to the increase in the overall number of cadets during those same years, being 44.0% and 50.5% respectively.[23] As a result, it was assumed that the two figures were useful for estimation purposes. A civilian estimation was derived for 1942 using the 1942 cadet figures, with a further assumption that this figure would correlate to June 30, 1942. The 1944 data point of July 1, 1944 was also assumed to identical to that of June 30, 1944. The reason for this change—that is, assuming a June date instead of July—was that the military personnel figures discussed previously were typically end-of-month dates. Using this civilian data in a similar manner would thus help to coincide the data.

With these three data points—two actual and one estimated, further refinement with assumptions was then possible after one adjustment. A photograph in the yearbook mentioned previously illustrated that a small number of white civilians—two white

[22] G. L. Washington to Contracting Officer, Army Air Forces, Wright Field, Dayton, Ohio, June 28, 1944, George L. Washington Files, Box 339.003, Correspondences, Folder 1944 (2), TUA.
[23] Lynn M. Holman and Thomas Reilly, *Black Knights: The Story of the Tuskegee Airmen* (Gretna, Louisiana: Pelican Publishing, 2001), appendix, 273–315. The appendix notes 158 entering cadets during 1942, 558 entering cadets for 1943, and 840 entering cadets for 1944.

women in this particular case—worked at Moton Field.[24] To compensate for this fact, an estimation of five whites were then deducted from these June monthly figures for 1942, 1943 and 1944.

These net figures of African-American civilians at Moton Field during the June timeframe of the various years was then expanded to monthly data so that a gradual increase in civilian numbers could be illustrated. Before doing so however, two further assumptions were made. First, the estimated civilian figures of June 1942 were assumed to be constant before that date to January 1942. The reasons for this assumption was that a necessary minimum of civilians were necessary in the operation of the base, and additional data was not sufficient to make further adjustments. Second, it was assumed that a relatively constant tempo of the base continued after June 1944 to the end of the war. This assumption thus necessitated a constant civilian workforce at Moton Field during the same period. Therefore the civilian data are unchanging from June 1944 onward.

With this small number of white employees deducted from the total number of employees, and the two bookends of constant data in the first half of 1942 and from June 1944 onward, the remaining monthly gaps in the data between June 1942 and June 1944 were filled in equal increments as per the usual procedure used in prior data estimations described earlier.

The same percentages of in-coming civilians, and married and single personnel was applied as those at TAAF described previously.

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[24] *Tuskegee Army Air Field and AAF 66th FTD, Tuskegee, Alabama, Army Air Forces Southeast Training Center,* 66th AAFFTD Moton Field, Tuskegee, Alabama, Box 25, Folder 9, Parrish Papers, LOC, photograph, 105.

A.14. Final Adjustment for Two Income Households

A final calculation was made to correct all African-American data for married households in which both spouses worked. This adjustment was necessary in that it would affect the total number of black households living off-base as determined previously. Two income couples could pertain to either civilian couples, or couples where the head of the household was military. An assumption of 20.0 percent of the civilian households had both partners employed at the military bases, with a further assumption that 10.0 percent of the black married military personnel, as previously calculated, had an employed spouse. The percentages involved in these assumptions were not based on any reference. However, it was documented that instances of both occurred.[25]

These calculations were not as straightforward as it might first appear. For example, to calculate an assumed 20.0 percent rate where both spouses worked, it was not accurate to simply multiply the original housing demand estimate by 0.8. If an estimated ten households were reduced to eight, this would imply that 20.0 percent of those eight resultant households contained two-income families. In this case, the percentage of two income families would actually be 25.0 percent (two households of eight), not 20.0 percent.

The accurate method of estimating the reduction in households is as follows: If, for the sake of an example, the same original ten houses are used as in the previous example, then a 20.0 percent rate of two-income households would mean that there were twelve workers in those ten houses, not ten as originally estimated. Under the previous method of one worker requires one unit of housing, this would mean that twelve houses

[25] *Hawk's Cry*, "1st 99th EM Here from Naples," June 24, 1944, Box 22, Folder 6, Parrish Papers, LOC; Civie of the Week, *Hawk's Cry*, August 25, 1945, Box 23, Folder 3, Parrish Papers, LOC.

were necessary. But a 20.0 percent rate of two-income houses would mean that only ten houses are necessary. Thus the reduction is from twelve to ten houses. On a percentage basis, the percentage decrease from twelve to ten is 16.7 percent, not 20.0 percent. The 10.0 percent rate as estimated for the military families thus equals a reduction in housing of 9.1 percent, not 10.0 percent.