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# Racial Segregation in the Rise and Fall of 22nd Street South: The Unfolding Story of the Historic Black Business Recreational District in St. Petersburg, Florida

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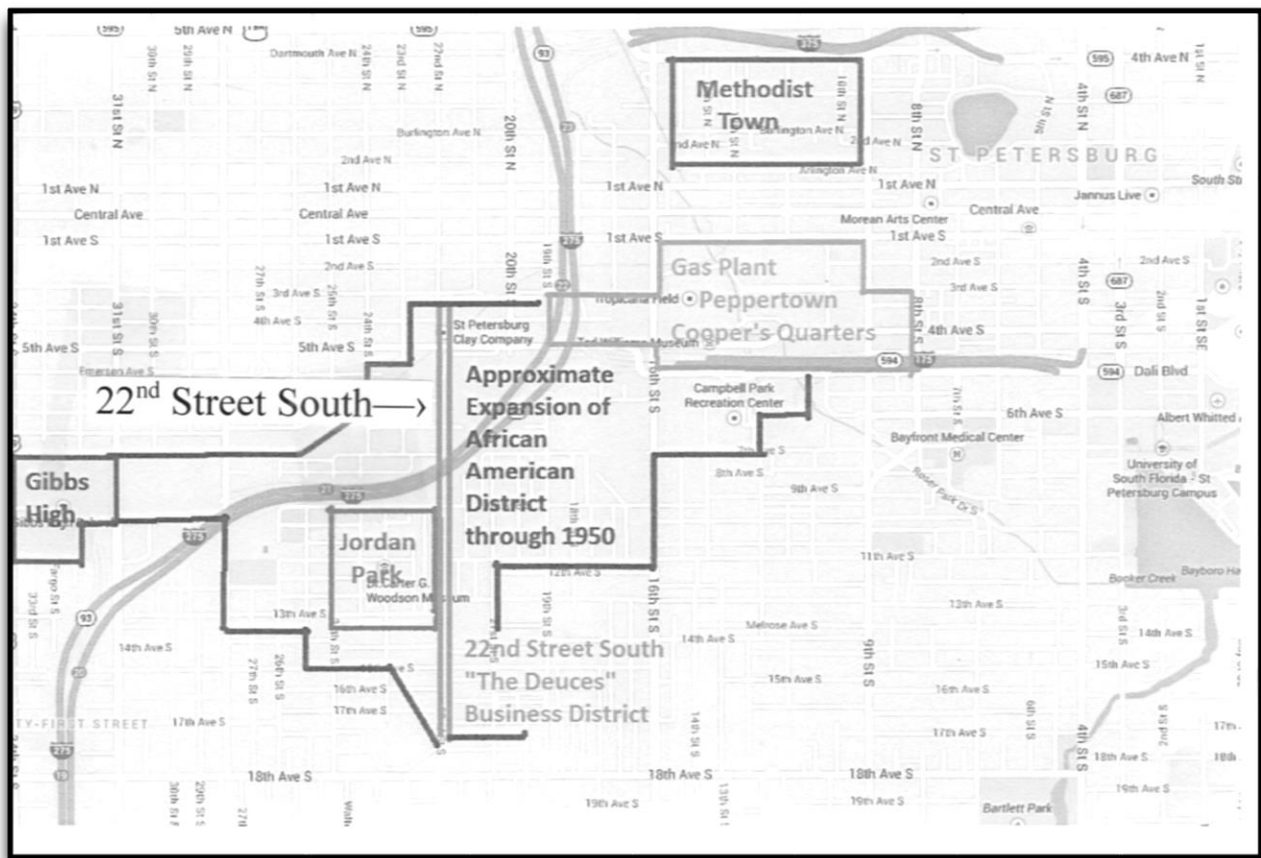
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# Racial Segregation in the Rise and Fall of 22<sup>nd</sup> Street South

The Unfolding Story of the Historic Black Business/Recreational  
District in St. Petersburg, Florida



Marvin L. Simner

**Cover:** An undated map of the historic black areas in St. Petersburg known as Methodist Town, the Gas Plant District, Pepper Town, Cooper's Quarters, and Jordan Park along with their relationship to the 22<sup>nd</sup> Street South business district. The map was provided courtesy of the St. Petersburg Urban Planning and Historic Preservation Department.

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This report is the second of two prepared for the St. Petersburg Museum of History to mark the anniversaries of the United States Supreme Court and the Congressional rulings that banned racial segregation in American. The first report was entitled "Growing up Black in the Jordan Park District: The St. Petersburg African American experience during the Civil Rights era of the 1950s/1970s." Correspondence concerning either report should be sent to Marvin L. Simner, Ph.D., Professor Emeritus, Department of Psychology, Western University, Social Science Centre, Rm 7334, London, Ontario, Canada N6A 5C2 (email: [msimner@uwo.ca](mailto:msimner@uwo.ca)).

## **Abstract**

A clause entitled “Segregation of Races” was inserted in the St. Petersburg City Charter in 1931. It wasn’t until 1936, however, that the clause gave rise to the first segregated housing zone within the city. In this report we provide evidence to suggest that it was the Federal Government and not the St. Petersburg city council, as has been claimed, that was responsible for the implementation of this clause and the segregated commercial district that developed along 22<sup>nd</sup> Street South. We then document the rise of this commercial district and present further evidence that city council showed little interest in preventing white store owners from operating businesses in the district long past the time when the segregation clause should have prevented them from doing so. Finally, we examine the reasons for the demise of the district in light of federal legislation that banned segregation in the 1960s, and the suggestion that highway I-275 may also have played a role in contributing to this demise.

# Introduction

*During the hip 1960s, 22<sup>nd</sup> Street's double digits gave it a nickname, "the Deuces." Its ten-block-long core of black-operated businesses, professional services, entertainment hot spots and churches offered most everything a person required in a segregated society. You could be born in Mercy Hospital, buy groceries, clothing and furniture in any number of small stores, go on an after school date to Henderson's soda fountain, choose a favorite beer garden, see a movie at the Royal Theater, consult physicians, dentists and lawyers, and, when life was over, be served by one of two funeral homes...As the heart and soul of St. Petersburg's segregation-era African American community... 22<sup>nd</sup> Street South would (also) become the nerve center of the city's civil rights movement, which began to grow in the 1950s...in those days, the story of 22<sup>nd</sup> Street is universal in the history of the United States. One way or the other, every city had its own version of 22<sup>nd</sup> Street...*

With these words on the opening pages of their monograph, Rosalie Peck and Jon Wilson<sup>1</sup> painted a compelling picture of one of the most important streets to emerge in the history of the Jordan Park black community of St. Petersburg, Florida. During the period of its initial growth, however, there were other black communities in the city known as Methodist Town, Pepper Town, and the Gas Plant district, each of which had its own business and/or recreational district. Why did 22<sup>nd</sup> Street, which is well outside of these areas (see the cover map), achieve such fame? Furthermore, why did the area surrounding 22<sup>nd</sup> Street become the only legally segregated neighborhood in the city? And finally, what role did the civil rights movement as well as the construction of Highway I- 275 have in the eventual demise of this street? In the first two parts of this report we will focus on when 22<sup>nd</sup> Street was settled, how a change in the demography of the black community may have led to its emergence, and the role of the Federal Government as well as racial segregation in furthering the growth and significance of this street. In the third part we will document the rise of the commercial district along 22<sup>nd</sup> Street while in the fourth part we will evaluate several of the reasons given for the fall of this district in light of the available evidence.

## Part I: The Origin and Emergence of 22<sup>nd</sup> Street

The earliest reference to 22<sup>nd</sup> Street appeared in the 1924 issue of Polk's St. Petersburg City Directory. At that time the street contained only one resident and three commercial businesses all of which were located near the street's north end (McCormick-Hannah Lumber Company; Johnstone Brothers Wood and Coal Yard; Soft Water Laundry Plant). At the extreme south end of the street, and situated between Eleventh and Twelfth Ave, was Mercy Hospital, built in 1923.<sup>2</sup> The entire middle section of 22<sup>nd</sup> Street was vacant.

By the following year, however, the street had changed considerably. According to the 1925 city directory, 29 individuals and/or families were now living on the 700 through the 1000 block along with twelve others on the 1500 block. The street also housed a number of new businesses. There were now seven grocery stores, three restaurants, one drug store, one fish market, one clothes cleaner, one confectioner and one real estate agent.

Since all of these recent commercial arrivals required a fairly sizable consumer base in order to prosper, it is reasonable to assume that there must have been a sizable shift in the population away from the original black settlement areas toward 22<sup>nd</sup> Street roughly between 1922 and 1924. The shift also must have been quite substantial because Jordan Elementary School, situated about three blocks west of 22<sup>nd</sup> Street near the street's northern end, opened in September, 1925. Designed to accommodate a growing number of children, the school had 12 classrooms and an equal number of faculty whose duty it was to teach first through ninth grade. The school also had a long hall with benches, which could serve as classrooms for a projected "enrollment of eleven hundred students."<sup>3</sup>

Considering both structures together, it would certainly seem that neither Jordan Elementary School near the north end, nor Mercy Hospital at the south end, would have been built unless it was anticipated that the black community in this area would continue to grow, perhaps even logarithmically, over the next several years. As an example of at least one resident's faith in this anticipated growth, in 1925 Elder Jordan Jr. "built on 22<sup>nd</sup> Street's 600 block the fortress-like structure that became the Manhattan Casino" which was a major factor in elevating the future reputation of the street. Over the years, the Casino attracted such celebrities as Louis Armstrong, LaVerne Baker, Count Basie, Cab Calloway, Ray Charles, Duke Ellington, Ella Fitzgerald, Dizzy Gillespie, as well as the Ink Spots.<sup>4</sup> Indeed, by 1927 the number of residents on 22<sup>nd</sup> Street between 1<sup>st</sup> Ave. and Mercy Hospital had reached 50 and the street now contained eleven grocery stores, seven dry goods stores, three furniture stores, two drug stores, one department store, as well as two hotels (Hotel Clark and Hotel Reed), to mention just some of the 34 business and services that located here.

Although this level of growth continued for the next several years, unfortunately, because of a severe downturn in the economy coupled with the end of the land boom in St. Petersburg, between 1929 and 1935 the street began to deteriorate. By 1929 Hotel Reed was gone, by 1931 so too was Hotel Clark, and by 1935, 22<sup>nd</sup> Street housed only four grocery stores, two dry goods stores and one drug store among the remaining 26 businesses/services.

Strangely enough it took legalized or de jure segregation to begin the process of revitalization. Although de facto segregation is known to have occurred in St. Petersburg as early as the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the first attempt at de jure segregation took place during the 1913 election for city commissioner in the form of an "all-white primary" which was widely used throughout

much of the South at the time. To insure that only candidates with a strong white following would appear on the final ballot, the purpose of the all-white primary was to prevent African Americans from voting during the primary election thereby automatically eliminating candidates with a strong black following.<sup>5</sup> In St. Petersburg the rationale behind this decree was stated in the following words by the editor of the *St. Petersburg Independent* during the lead-up to the election: “The *Independent* doesn’t care a-rap who the city officials are—just so they are good and competent men and give the city a good administration. But it is interested in the white people controlling city affairs...”<sup>6</sup>

While the all-white primary was not used again in St. Petersburg until 1921,<sup>7</sup> apparently it was deemed sufficiently important because it was formally incorporated in the Laws of Florida in 1931 (see section 7, item b, p. 1663), as well as in the St. Petersburg City Charter in 1931 (see section f, p. 19) where it remained until the charter was revised in 1971 (see section i, p. 24). The reason it remained throughout these years, however, is unclear because the Supreme Court in 1944 invalidated the use of this provision throughout the South because it served to disenfranchise African Americans in clear violation of the Fifteenth Amendment.<sup>8</sup>

Whereas the all-white primary may have had some impact on the black community, the formal segregation law that undoubtedly had the greatest impact was the one that dealt with racial zoning, which also appeared in the City Charter in 1931 (see section ff), and remained in the charter in the following form until it, too, was removed in 1971.

*Segregation of Races. To establish and set apart in said City separate residential limits or districts for white and negro residents; to designate, establish and set apart the territorial limits or districts of said City within which white persons may reside, and separate territorial limits of districts of said City within which negroes may reside; to prohibit any white person from taking up or establishing a place of residence or business within the territorial limits of said City so set apart and established for the residence of negroes, and to prohibit any negro from taking up or establishing a place of residence or business within the territorial limits of said City so set apart and established for the residence of white persons.*

Needless to say, it was this paragraph that ultimately affected 22<sup>nd</sup> Street along with the surrounding area and also set the tone for race relations within the city that lasted until the civil rights movement began some 20 years later. Despite the unambiguous wording in the paragraph it is important to note that no action was taken to establish a segregated black business/housing zone until 1936.

To understand the factors that surrounded the five year delay in implementing this enabling paragraph, it is helpful, first, to review the history of zoning as it related to the city’s desire to foster tourism. In the early years of the 20<sup>th</sup> century the city undertook an aggressive marketing campaign to lure tourists to St. Petersburg. Flyers and newspaper ads promoting

tourism were circulated throughout the northern states that often featured St. Petersburg as “the Home of Perpetual summer...(and) the Riviera of the Sunny South.” In this material St. Petersburg was frequently said to be among the most appealing of the southern destinations for those who wished to escape the harsh northern winter weather. Even the city directories conveyed similar promotional messages such as the following which appeared on page 12 in the 1933 edition of the directory.

*St. Petersburg has honestly earned the title of “the Sunshine City,” a sobriquet which has been challenged by other resorts and successfully defended in every instance...Situated on the beautiful Pinellas Peninsula, which juts into the Gulf of Mexico like a miniature Florida, “The Sunshine City” has 33 miles of palm-fringed shore line, and is virtually surrounded by blue, temperate waters which serve as a natural air conditioner for an entire city....(the city is also) a paradise for children, especially during those long months when, in the North, they would be imprisoned in schoolhouses heavily barricaded against the cruel wintry winds. Here all winter long, the children study in school buildings constructed to admit all the air and sunshine possible...the most famous of the city’s “Sunshine Schools” is the one on the Gulf beach at Pass-a-Grille, where the children of residents and tourists attend classes in bathing suits and are taught by teachers similarly attired.*

With the goal of promoting tourism in mind, the city’s planning commission hired John Nolen, a widely known urban planner, who first introduced the need for zoning, principally to prevent unwanted and unsightly urban sprawl and, at the same time, to enhance the attractive nature of the city’s existing landscape. Nolen’s task was to devise a plan not only to beautify but to glorify the city’s image for the purpose of fostering tourism.

*The plan allowed for a variety of lot sizes ranging from quarter-acre to ten-acre holdings. Nolen placed one-acre estates behind the shoreline preserves to enhance property values and provide a verdant buffer. In the territory outside the thirty square miles slated for development, the plan allowed for ten-acre farms to cultivate “subtropical delicacies such as oranges, guavas, lemons, mangos, and avocados.”<sup>9</sup>*

What the plan did not contain, however, were zoning restrictions based on race despite the fact that the “planning board had received strong direction from the city commission to restrict black homes... to the southern portion of town.”<sup>10</sup>

On March 7, 1923, Nolen informed the planning board that his plan for the city was finished. Shortly thereafter a public meeting was held for a discussion of the plan. According to press reports, “A very large and enthusiastic audience greeted John Nolen’s lecture on the planning to fulfill St. Petersburg’s natural mission to be the greatest tourist city of the South throughout all time.”<sup>11</sup> What was most revealing about the meeting was the public’s reaction since Nolen “concluded his presentation to thunderous applause.” Apparently, there was no reaction from the public to the absence of any mention of racial zoning.<sup>12</sup>



To ensure an adequate public appraisal of the plan the *St. Petersburg Times* even printed the entire plan in its April 1, 1923, Sunday edition and invited the public to comment. The *Times* received only one letter in response to this invitation, which was quite praiseworthy and only contained the following brief mention of the need to serve the African American community.

*...a large tract of land should be secured by a corporation of business men who are interested in the growth and welfare of our city, and build for them (the African Americans) a colored section with schools, churches, theaters, good roads, and easy transportation to the business section..*<sup>13</sup>

In essence, despite the absence of any mention of racial zoning, neither the audience that attended the public meeting nor the readers who reviewed the newspaper's plan seemed upset that Nolen's plan lacked provisions to segregate the black population.

It is also worth noting that William L. Straub, who was editor-in-chief of the *Times* as well as Chair of the City Planning Board, was opposed to any form of racial zoning. In a letter to Nolen he stated that "We do not want to zone the colored people by law, we are hoping by persuasion and suitable arrangement for them to bring about such correction in their locations as may be found possible." A relieved Nolen replied: "I am quite in agreement with your statement about racial zoning."<sup>14</sup> Although the reasons for the lengthy delay in implementing racial zoning are not entirely clear, the comments by Straub and Nolen coupled with the public's reaction to Nolen's plan, when considered together, certainly suggest that for the citizens of St. Petersburg, racial zoning was not a priority item and that there was little pressure for its implementation.

Finally, it is also worth mentioning that Nolen's plan was never actually implemented because of the defeat of a referendum on the more general Planning Law that was held in August, 1923. In commenting on the defeat, Stephenson, in his biography of Nolan, made the following point:

*Nolen's plan offered the means to deal with the problems (faced by the city and offered a way to) build a nonpareil resort city. His supporters, however, faced the unenviable task of trying to sell a system of land-use controls in a town where the lure of quick riches from land speculation ruled overall.*<sup>15</sup>

In other words, if Nolan's plan had been approved, the land boom of the early 1920s would have been over far earlier than 1929 because the likelihood of realtors making rapid profits through the unrestricted buying and selling of land would have been sharply curtailed. It is also interesting that Nolen had experienced similar problems before when he was hired to work for other cities: "the city's powerful lobby of realtors and sub-dividers would label the (zoning) plan impractical and harmful to business."<sup>16</sup>

## Part II: The Implementation of Racial Zoning

In view of what was often an acrimonious debate over city zoning in general, how was it possible for the racial zoning bylaw that was finally approved in 1936 to come into effect? To answer this question it is helpful to review the minutes of a series of meetings held by city council that led to the introduction of the zoning bylaw. The first of these meetings was held in January, 1935.

*Councilman Webster called attention to the unsanitary condition of houses in the negro district where there is no water supply, and stated that some method should be adopted to compel the owners of such houses to supply them with water...The City Manager stated that some work had been done through FERA (Federal Emergency Relief Administration) on rebuilding septic tanks in these districts and that a survey was being made in the hope that something could be done to eliminate this condition under the new housing program (City Council Minutes, January 7, 1935, page 7).*

The new housing program mentioned above was in reference to a funding application that had been submitted to the Federal Housing Administration (FHA). The goal of the application was to obtain sufficient financial backing to erect a subsidized housing project for the members of the black community who resided in the affected communities. A representative from the FHA subsequently visited St. Petersburg to discuss the nature of the proposed project as well as where and how the funds were to be spent.

*Mr. Eustis (the FHA representative) explained that the site north of 7<sup>th</sup> Avenue South, between 12<sup>th</sup> and 14<sup>th</sup> Streets had been selected by the Government because of its proximity to Campbell Park which it was felt would meet the recreational demand (of the black community) and which it was necessary for the city to purchase (City Council Minutes, August 31, 1935, page 296).*

The representative also “stressed the point that it would be necessary for the City to accept the site chosen (by the Government) as the time limit being set for September 15 would not allow consideration of another site.” In view of what must have appeared to many on council as an extremely dogmatic approach by the FHA, it is not surprising that there was considerable debate during the remainder of the meeting.

*Councilman Frazee questioned why St. Petersburg was required to provide a park since this had not been required in other cities. Mr. Eustis explained that the officials had felt that there would not be sufficient recreational space without the park. A communication was read from colored churchmen and school people urging approval of the site. Attorney Raney H. Martin vigorously argued against the location selected as did Mr. Fritter, who is now building a home in that location. Col. Hugh J.B. McElgin also protested against the location chosen. Councilman Frazee made a motion on a resolution that the City disapprove the proposition of Campbell Park, and stated that his reason for making such a motion was that the white people in that section were*

*dissatisfied and he thought an effort should be made to select another location. Councilman Byrom seconded the motion. Councilman Hopkins made an amendment to the motion that the project be approved but not the location. Councilman Frazee accepted the amendment stating that that had been his intention...Ex-Mayor Adams called attention to the unsanitary condition of the colored sections at the present time and urged approval of the project from a health standpoint...Councilman Maurer suggested that a clause be inserted in the resolution accepting the project but asking for time to consider other locations which would be more satisfactory to the white residents. The Chairman stated that that was exactly the thing he would like to have done (City Council Minutes, August 31, 1935, page 296-297).*

The motion was unanimously approved through a roll call vote. Then, five days following this meeting Councilman Hopkins, Chairman of the Committee on the Negro Housing Project, advised that:

*...the Committee had very good assurance that they would be able to contact higher officials and get an extension of time beyond September 12 which it had been stated was the final date for filing applications. Councilman Frazee stated that he could not understand why the Government had taken the attitude they had with regard to this project; that they had not come before the Council until the site had been chosen and it looked to him as though they were trying to high pressure it through. Councilman Frazee moved with the second of Councilman Bryom that the matter be approved in principle but not as to location (City Council Minutes, September 5, 1935, page 314).*

Although the city was granted an extension by the Government, and even given permission to use a site other than the Campbell Park area, another year was to pass before a new housing zone was approved. What is very clear from the city council minutes, however, is that any area selected for the housing project had to be large enough to encompass not only the housing project itself but also the recreational needs of the black community for whom the project was intended. The following borders were ratified by council on May 1, 1936. Presumably the need for recreational space might be why the borders given below enclosed an area that was substantially larger than the area actually needed for the project.

*Commence at the intersection of 6<sup>th</sup> Ave. South and 17<sup>th</sup> St., follow 6<sup>th</sup> Ave. West to S.A.L. Railroad, follow right of way of railroad to 34<sup>th</sup> St. and South on 34<sup>th</sup> St. to 15<sup>th</sup> Avenue; East on 15<sup>th</sup> Avenue to 31<sup>st</sup> St., and on 31<sup>st</sup> St. N. to 12<sup>th</sup> Ave., East on 12<sup>th</sup> Ave. to 25<sup>th</sup> St. South on 25<sup>th</sup> St. to 13<sup>th</sup> Ave. S., E on 13<sup>th</sup> Ave to 22<sup>nd</sup> St. South on 22<sup>nd</sup> St. to 15<sup>th</sup> Ave. East on 15<sup>th</sup> Ave to 17<sup>th</sup> St., and North on 17<sup>th</sup> St. to intersection of 6<sup>th</sup> Ave., and 17<sup>th</sup> St. to place of beginning (City Council Minutes, May 1, 1936, page 175).*

On July 14, following a public hearing, the borders were made even more specific. A report presented to council, once again from the Committee on Negro Segregation, contained detailed information on the beginning and end points for all of the blocks that constituted the

boundaries for the Eastern, Western, Southern, and Northern components of the segregated zone. The following material illustrates how precisely the points were designated within the Eastern boundary and the nature of a racial divide that had been agreed upon for this area.

*Beginning at the center line of Sixth Avenue South and a point approximately 166 feet east of the center line of Nineteenth Street south (the projection of the center line of the alley between 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> Streets where such alley exists) and running thence following nearest conforming alley and lot lines to a point in the alley east of 19<sup>th</sup> Street and approximately one hundred twenty four feet north of Fifteenth Avenue south. This provided that both sides of Nineteenth Street south shall be in the Colored zone and both sides of Eighteenth Street as it now exists and may develop shall be wholly without it (City Council Minutes, July 14, 1936, page 239).*

Why did the city consider it necessary to address the issue of a racial divide? To answer this question it is important to consider the guidelines established by the FHA for awarding funds. In the 1936 FHA Manual, under the heading “Rating of Location,” FHA evaluators were told to assess each submission according to the following rules.

*The Valuator should investigate areas surrounding the location to determine whether or not incompatible racial and social groups are present, to the end that an intelligent predication may be made regarding the possibility or probability of the location being invaded by such groups. If a neighborhood is to retain stability it is necessary that (all of the) properties shall continue to be occupied by the same social and racial classes. A change in social or racial occupancy generally leads to instability and a reduction in values. The protection offered against adverse changes should be found adequate before a high rating is given to this feature. Once the character of a neighborhood has been established it is usually impossible to induce a higher social class than those already in the neighborhood to purchase and occupy properties in its various locations.<sup>17</sup>*

Thus, according to the Manual, occupancy within the boundaries established by city council needed to be restricted to the “race for which they were intended (FHA Manual, 1936, Part II, section 284 (3g)).” Because the application that had been submitted to the FHA by city council was designed to benefit only the needs of the black community, this meant that the segregated zoning criteria in the 1931 St. Petersburg City Charter would now need to come into effect. Hence, as of July 14, 1936, this entire region would be legally controlled through a city ordinance such that only blacks would be permitted to live, work, enjoy recreational activities, etc. within the boundaries of the segregated zone given above.

In short, it would seem that it was the Federal Government operating through the FHA, and not city council as it has been assumed,<sup>18</sup> that was responsible for the implementation of the legally sanctioned segregated housing zone that emerged in St. Petersburg. We mentioned this point because it raises an interesting question: would the city have gone to such lengths by itself if it were not forced to do so by the FHA regulations? If the city had opted to enclose only the small parcel of land that was truly needed for the project alone (see the cover map for the

approximate size of Jordan Park, which was the subsidized project), and if funds could have been secured without FHA help, the project might have been established with more flexible boundaries. That is to say, the city might have been able to operate the Jordan Park Housing Project by itself within the de facto segregation guidelines that had already existed elsewhere in St. Petersburg (i.e. Methodist Town, Pepper Town, and the Gas Plant District). This, of course, would have meant that both black and white tenants would have been allowed to reside within the project had they chosen to do so. Given the highly restrictive guidelines established by the FHA, however, the project was now only available to black tenants. This difference between de facto and de jure segregation becomes quite important since 78% of the city's black residents were living in extremely low rent housing, which presumably meant substandard housing, but so too were 8% of the city's white residents (see below).

Parenthetically, during the city council meeting referred to above, which was held on August 31, 1935, the FHA representative also "called attention to the fact that St. Petersburg was the smallest city in the United States that had been considered by the Federal Housing Administration (for funding), this being warranted by the winter tourist population"(see City Council Minutes, August 31, 1935, page 296, second paragraph). Aside from the fact that these remarks not only offer further insight into the operation of the FHA by mentioning the importance of the size of the city, they also suggest that funding for the housing project itself might not have been available unless the city was likely to benefit from the "winter tourist population." This last point, of course, raises another interesting question, namely, how did the city justify the need for subsidized housing for members of the black community on the basis of winter tourism? Although we cannot be certain of the answer to this question without access to the original FHA application, the following words from an August, 1939, issue of the *Times* provide a possible answer.

Over a period of years we have heard of utter squalor and have seen abject misery in the negro areas, which, after all are only a few blocks from many of the fine attractions which we advertise nationally.<sup>19</sup>

What these words refer to is the fact that the substandard housing in Methodist Town and Pepper Town were close to the downtown areas of St. Petersburg featured in many of the city's promotional ads. Thus, even though the major aim of the application was to provide better housing for the black community, recall that the long term aim of city council was to beautify the city in order to encourage the growth of tourism. In keeping with this long term aim, it is equally important to recall that the city had developed an overall beautification plan. Moreover, this plan included both Methodist Town and Pepper Town as suggested by the following strategy reported in the *Times*<sup>20</sup> and summarized below.

First provide the residents of Methodist Town and Pepper Town with proper housing elsewhere in the city, second, purchase and clear the land on which the residents of these two areas had lived, third redevelop this land to make it more attractive to winter tourists.

Considered in this light, there was always a close relationship in the minds of council members between the humanitarian need to address the poor housing in Methodist Town and Pepper Town and the commercial need to promote winter tourism.

Finally, to fully appreciate the need for the Jordan Park Subsidized Housing Project it is useful to have a more complete picture of the housing that existed in the black communities around the time the project was initiated. A Low Income Housing Area Survey was undertaken in October 1940.<sup>21</sup> On August 22, 1941, the Slum Elimination Committee submitted a report to the Housing Authority of St. Petersburg which contained the following information.

*We have made a personal tour of investigation and inspection of the dwellings in the negro areas of the City. We find that a large percentage of the negro dwellings are in sub-standard condition. Of these dwellings, we have selected approximately 60 which we believe are in such sub-standard condition from a structural and/or sanitary condition as to constitute a violation of the building code and/or the sanitary code of the City of St. Petersburg and, therefore, are subject to demolition or rehabilitation order by the City. In submitting this list of negro dwellings, we wish to make it understood that these are not all of the negro dwellings that are subject to such demolition or rehabilitation orders but are merely the first block of such dwellings which we recommend to be submitted for consideration. We also wish to make it clear that these dwellings have been selected without any knowledge of their ownership and have also been selected with a view to picking dwellings from all of the negro sections in the city.<sup>22</sup>*

The following examples are typical of the ones given in the sample.

*Number 250 Jackson Street North: one story frame house, poor repair, needs painting inside and out, no sink, single faucet on back porch shared by two families, no bath or electricity, needs major repairs.*

*Number 255 10<sup>th</sup> Street North: one story unit, dilapidated, rotted in parts, dirty, outside toilets in bad shape.*

*Number 2541 Irving Ave, South: Poor repair, roof bad, doors sag, need to get water from neighbors, no plumbing and house not fit for use.*

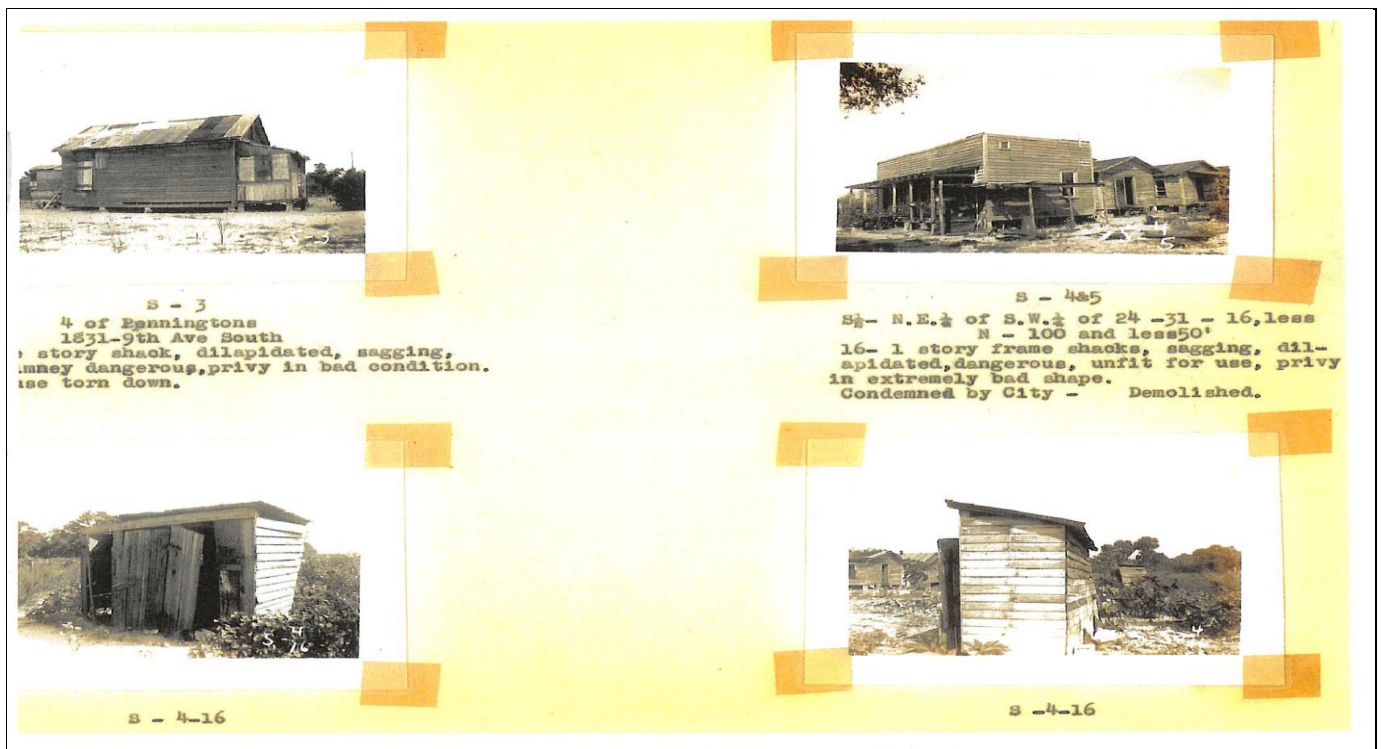
*Number 2348 8<sup>th</sup> Ave. South: one unit two story frame, dilapidated almost unfit for use, city water piped to rear of house, no plumbing inside house, foundations need fixing, windows out.*

Of the many other findings reported in the overall survey, perhaps the most telling (as shown at the bottom of Table 10) was the fact that 78% of the black occupants paid monthly rents of \$10 to \$15 or less whereas the median monthly rent of the white occupants as a whole was \$30 to

\$40 and only 8% of the white occupants paid the same monthly rents as the majority of black occupants. The message the committee wished to make clear is that a sizable number of homes throughout the black communities were truly unfit for human habitation.

Much of the land on which the project was to be erected was privately owned and often contained rental homes, many of which resembled the housing described above. The land was acquired by the city either through Eminent Domain or as a result of foreclosure due to failure to pay city taxes. When acquired through Eminent Domain the owner was awarded compensation by a jury.<sup>23</sup> In the case of rental properties, the renters received cash payments to assist them in finding new living quarters.<sup>24</sup>

The attached illustrations show what many of the homes and outside toilets (privies) looked like before the Jordan Park housing project was completed. From these illustrations coupled with the examples it is certainly the case that, for humanitarian purposes, subsidized housing was clearly in order.



The first phase in the construction of Jordan Park was completed in 1940 while the second phase was completed in 1941. Considered together, both phases could accommodate a total of 446 families.<sup>25</sup> According to Gismer (1948) the housing authority declared in its seventh annual report that:

*Jordan Park has become a garden spot in an otherwise drab section; it has become a tradition in the city. The dwellings in it are known for their cleanliness; the well-kept lawns and shrubbery advertise the pride the tenants take in their new homes; the orderliness and community spirit of the people are evidences of better citizens...Jordan Park has established a standard which has been reflected in improved conditions in privately owned housing in other Negro communities in the city. We believe Jordan Park is a social success.<sup>26</sup>*

### **Part III: The Rise of 22<sup>nd</sup> Street**

The following table, derived from information in the available city directories, shows how the numbers of businesses and services on 22<sup>nd</sup> Street changed between 1935 and 1962, which was the year 22<sup>nd</sup> Street reached its peak as the commercial hub of the black community.

**Change in the numbers of businesses/services on 22<sup>nd</sup> Street between 1935 and 1962**

	numbers of business/services		numbers of business/services
1935	26	1948	68
1936	30	1949	71
1937	31	1951	76
1938	32	1952	74
1939	41	1954	85
1940	43	1957	99
1941	52	1958	86
1942	51	1959	101
1944	45	1960	103
1945	56	1961	100
1947	55	1962	104

To gauge the impact of Jordan Park on the early growth of 22<sup>nd</sup> Street, we compared the numbers of business/services present during the four years prior to 1939-1941, which was when Jordan Park was constructed, against the numbers present during the four years following its construction. As shown in the table nearly 60% more businesses were available after construction in comparison to the numbers available before construction. For example, among the 56 businesses available in 1945 the street had seven grocery stores, three furniture stores and three drug stores, along with five restaurants, three barber shops, five beauty



salons, five beer stores, two liquor stores, three shoe shine shops, and two billiard halls. Yet in 1935, 22<sup>nd</sup> Street only had four grocery stores, two furniture stores, one drug store along with one restaurant, one barber shop, and no beauty salons, beer stores, liquor stores, shoe shine shops, or billiard halls. Thus, over this 10 year period the street had not only become far more capable of satisfying the community's basic shopping requirements but also the community's entertainment and social needs.

In short, during the early years in the development of 22<sup>nd</sup> Street, Jordan Park with its 446 families, probably had a considerable impact on the growth of the businesses, services, and entertainment facilities that subsequently became the hallmark of this street. But was the initial growth in these numbers the result of forced segregation as stipulated in the 1931 City Charter? The reason for raising this question is that the 1931 charter prohibited "any white person from taking up or establishing a place of...business within the territorial limits...set apart and established for the residence of negroes..." If this racial provision was truly enforced, starting around the late 1930s, early 1940s, all of the commercial establishments on 22<sup>nd</sup> Street should have been owned or operated only by African Americans. Because the city directories, published between 1927 and 1951, recorded the race of every individual living in St. Petersburg at the time, it was possible to determine whether this stipulation in the charter was indeed implemented. The accompanying table shows the outcome of this assessment.

**Racial mix of commercial establishment owners/operators on 22<sup>nd</sup> Street between 1927 and 1951**

	Black	White		Black	White
1927	6	33	1939	24	17
1928	7	28	1940	25	18
1929	8	24	1941	31	21
1930	9	21	1942	31	20
1931	5	20	1944	28	17
1933	9	19	1945	36	20
1935	11	15	1947	33	22
1936	14	16	1948	46	22
1937	14	17	1949	47	24
1938	15	17	1951	49	27

While the findings in the table show that the numbers of black owners/operators increased steadily over time, the numbers of white owners/operators decreased but only through 1937-1940. Beginning in 1941, which was when Jordan Park became fully operational, the numbers of white owners remained relatively steady through 1948 and then gradually increased to a level in 1951 that was essentially the same as the level that had been present in 1928. Clearly, if the city had adhered to the racial stipulation in the 1931 charter, there should have been no white merchants left within this zone by 1951.

It is equally important to note that seven of the white merchants listed on 22<sup>nd</sup> Street in the 1951 city directory, appeared in the directory for the first time only two years prior to this date (MacBeth Plumbing at #18, Lucas Groceries at #631, Pinellas Liquor Store and the Hi Stepper Bar at #652-656, Kay Groceries at #845, Wm McKenzie Shoe Store at #847, Liberty Loans at #861, and the Abbott Furniture Store at #924). This means, of course, that these businesses had opened long after the 1931 ruling should have prevented them from doing so. In essence, it would seem that although the city had endorsed the need for a racially segregated zone at the urging of the FHA, apparently the city did not endorse the idea of enforcing the ruling that led to the existence of this zone.

If the segregation ruling coupled with the presence of Jordan Park was not responsible for the rise in the numbers of businesses on 22<sup>nd</sup> Street through 1951, what could have led not only to this rise but also to the further increases that took place through 1962 when the street housed as many as 104 establishments? Although it is impossible to answer this question with certainty, it is reasonable to assume that 22<sup>nd</sup> Street would not have attained this level of continuous growth without an appropriate and corresponding growth in the necessary consumer base. In other words, for this overall growth on 22<sup>nd</sup> Street to have taken place, there must have also been a substantial increase during the same period in the number of people who moved to streets outside of Jordan Park.

The question thus becomes, what led African Americans with higher incomes, and therefore were the ones who did not qualify to reside in the subsidized housing in Jordan Park, to move to this area? In 1931 for example there were 42 black residents living on 22<sup>nd</sup> Street, yet by 1951 the number had grown to 55 which represented a 31% increase in the population of African Americans on this street alone. While it is possible that this shift among the higher income black population may have resulted from the city's enforcement of the zoning regulation in the city charter, this would seem unlikely. Given that the city had failed to enforce the same regulation as it applied to the operation of white businesses on 22<sup>nd</sup> Street, why would the city now force individuals from the black community to move within the segregated zone if they did not wish to do so on their own?

There is, however, another explanation that might prove feasible. It could be that black people freely elected to move here largely because the stores on 22<sup>nd</sup> Street were open to all members of the black community whereas shopping elsewhere in the city was governed by de facto segregation and therefore was largely restricted to white clientele. In short, it could be that as the black population in the area around Jordan Park gradually increased, this increase by itself may have led to even further growth in the number of shops, services, and entertainment facilities that opened on 22<sup>nd</sup> Street. Thus, it would seem that the steady rise over the years in the numbers of businesses along 22<sup>nd</sup> Street may have been caused by the nature and the availability of the businesses themselves.

By the late 1990s, however, it had become increasingly evident to the members of the black community that the commercial district along 22<sup>nd</sup> Street was no longer able to meet the daily needs of the African American population. The following table, which is a supplement to the one on page 15, illustrates the gradual decline in the numbers of businesses and services on this street between 1963 and 1999. The cause of this decline is discussed in the next section.

	Numbers of business/services		Numbers of business/services
1963	95	1977	57
1964	92	1978	53
1966	92	1979	48
1967	86	1980	47
1968	76	1981	42
1969	74	1982	38
1970	72	1984	36
1971	74	1987	35
1972	66	1990	31
1973	67	1996	17
1974	66	1997	13
1975	62	1998	26
1976	59	1999	14

## Part IV: The Demise of 22<sup>nd</sup> Street

Peck and Wilson (2006) explained the collapse of 22<sup>nd</sup> Street in several ways. First, there was the civil rights movement.

*Integration, for all its undeniable good, shifted the center of gravity away from places like 22<sup>nd</sup> toward white-majority shopping centers and entertainment venues. Without that critical mass, 22<sup>nd</sup> Street was bound to die.<sup>27</sup>*

To understand the reason the “critical mass” shifted its buying habits away from 22<sup>nd</sup> Street, it is helpful to recount two of the key elements in the civil rights movement that unfolded in the 1960s. The first of these took place in July, 1964, when the Federal Government passed Title II of Public Law 88-352 which held that:

*All persons shall be entitled to the full and equal enjoyment of the goods, services, facilities, privileges, advantages, and accommodations of any place of public accommodation, as defined in this section, without discrimination or segregation on the ground of race, color, religion or national origin. Each of the following establishments which serves the public is a place of public accommodation within the meaning of this title if its operations affect commerce, or if discrimination or segregation by it is supported by State action:*

- 1) any inn, hotel, motel, or other establishment which provides lodging to transient guests...*
- 2) any restaurant, cafeteria, lunchroom, lunch counter, soda fountain, or other facility principally engaged in selling food for consumption on the premises...*
- 3) any motion picture house, theater, concert hall, sports arena stadium or other place of exhibition or entertainment*
- 4) and any establishment which is physically located within the premises of any establishment otherwise covered by this subsection...*

The second key element happened in April, 1968, when the Federal Government passed the Fair Housing Act which prohibited the following forms of discrimination.

- 1)Refusal to sell or rent a dwelling to any person because of his/her race, color, religion or national origin*
- 2)Discrimination against a person in the terms, conditions or privilege of the sale or rental of a dwelling*
- 3)Advertising the sale or rental of a dwelling indicating preference or discrimination based on race, color, religion or national origin*

*4)Coercing, threatening, intimidating, or interfering with a person’s enjoyment or exercise of housing rights based on discriminatory reasons or retaliating against a person or organization that aids or encourages the exercise or enjoyment of fair housing rights.*

If we consider both of these federal rulings together, Peck and Wilson were quite correct since it is understandable that the businesses on 22<sup>nd</sup> Street would have been seriously affected because the population base needed to support these businesses would have begun to disappear. As the result of the 1968 ruling which prohibited discrimination in the sale, financing or rental of housing property, people began to move away from the Jordan Park region to areas such as Bartlett Park (shown on the cover map), Lakewood, and Childs Park. As one example of this departure, take 22<sup>nd</sup> Street itself. In 1963, there were 77 individuals living here, yet by 1973 the number had fallen to 59, and in 1983 there were 41 people on the street, while in 1999, only 23 people remained. In addition, and as the result of the 1964 ruling, it was no longer essential for members of the black community to frequent only the restaurants, shops, services, and entertainment outlets on 22<sup>nd</sup> Street.

The accompanying table illustrates the consequences of these combined effects by showing the decline that took place between 1963 and 1983 in the numbers of specific businesses on 22<sup>nd</sup> Street. Of equal importance, although both Mercy Hospital and the Manhattan Casino were listed in the city directories through 1963, neither appeared in the directories that were published after 1967.

	1963	1973	1983
Barber shops	10	8	4
Beauty salons	6	2	1
Beer/liquor stores	6	2	1
Pool rooms	3	2	1
Lawyers	3	0	0
Furniture stores	2	1	0
Fish markets	2	1	0
Hotels	2	1	0
Shoe stores	2	0	0
Physicians	1	1	0
Dentists	1	0	0

The second explanation offered by Peck and Wilson was the construction of Interstate 275.

*...when the interstate crossed 22<sup>nd</sup>, it shoved out longtime businesses, made it harder to get around the neighborhood and threw a noisy divide across the area. "I think it was intended to destroy 22<sup>nd</sup>," said Moses Holmes, a retired National Education Association lobbyist. Many old-timers share that belief.* <sup>28</sup>

The cover map, which shows the boundaries of the segregated zone that surrounded Jordan Park, also shows the path that I-275 follows. Although the highway did cross the entire zone, it only intersected 22<sup>nd</sup> Street at the 700 block, which is between 7<sup>th</sup> and 8<sup>th</sup> Ave. South. Thus, if this second statement by Peck and Wilson is correct, it would seem that this single crossing should have produced enough harm to the remaining businesses on 22<sup>nd</sup> Street to cause a further demise in the overall street itself. Because the phase of construction of I-275 that crossed 22<sup>nd</sup> Street began and ended in 1977, we compared the number of businesses on the five blocks adjacent to the 700 block during the three years before construction against the number present in the same area during the three years after construction.

	Before construction			After construction		
	1974	1975	1976	1978	1979	1980
200 block	0	0	0	0	0	0
300 block	0	0	0	0	1	1
400 block	1	1	1	3	2	2
500 block	2	3	2	2	2	2
600 block	22	18	16	16	13	12
700 block	2	3	3	-	-	-
800 block	4	5	5	3	3	3
900 block	20	21	17	16	16	14
1000 block	1	0	1	2	2	2
1100 block	3	2	2	3	3	3
1200 block	2	2	3	3	3	3

The table contains the outcome of this comparison and also includes the number on the 700 block itself prior to 1977. As shown in the table, before construction only three businesses were located on the 700 block (Esquire Barber Shop at #706, Central Life Insurance Co. of

Florida at #714, Robertson's High Fashion Coiffure at #773) whereas the largest number both before and after construction were on the 600 and 900 blocks, respectively. While the numbers on these two blocks did decline sharply over this seven year period, the decline in each case started well before I-275 crossed 22<sup>nd</sup> Street and, for the most part, there was no real change in the numbers on the other adjacent streets. Therefore, it would seem unlikely that the closure of these three businesses on the 700 block had any significant impact on the closure of remaining businesses on the rest of 22<sup>nd</sup> Street. It is perhaps also worth mentioning that the Esquire Barber Shop, which was one of the businesses on the 700 block that closed as the result of construction, reopened in 1978 on the 1100 block of 22<sup>nd</sup> Street and remained open at this address through 1980.

Although the crossing of 22<sup>nd</sup> Street by I-275 probably did not play a role by itself in the subsequent closure of the remaining stores on the street, it is possible that the construction of the highway through the zone prior to reaching 22<sup>nd</sup> Street, may have had at least some impact on the demise of the street. As shown on the cover map, as the result of I-275 a number of residents within the zone would have been forced to relocate. If many of these had previously shopped on 22<sup>nd</sup> Street but now relocated elsewhere, their absence as the result of I-275 could have further reduced the consumer base needed to support the operation of the stores.

Whether this result was intentional or not, as suggested in the quote by Moses Holmes is, of course, unknown. The only article we were able to locate in relation to this matter appeared on April 13, 1977, in the *Times* and contained the following quote from Watson Hayes, a black employment office supervisor and a member of the St. Petersburg Community Alliance. "The State Department of Transportation deliberately planned I-275's route with the intent of splitting the black community." The problem Hayes addressed, though, centered around the issue of the "planned permanent closing of 31<sup>st</sup> Street from Fifth Avenue to 13<sup>th</sup> Avenue South to accommodate the eventual construction of Interstate 275." In other words, his concern did not deal with the 22<sup>nd</sup> Street crossing nor did it address the bisection of the segregated zone. Instead, Haynes along with a number of others, including members of the white community, were concerned solely with traffic flow problems that would result from the closure of this major north/south route. Nevertheless, in view of the racial attitudes that existed within the city at the time, it is possible that there may have been some members of the black community who harbored a belief similar to that expressed by Moses Holmes.

## Epilogue

Although the implementation of de jure segregation in St. Petersburg arose as a result of the need to comply with the Federal Housing Authority regulations, it would be improper not to mention that de facto segregation clearly arose at the grass roots level and was rampant within the city from the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. The following examples from the city council minutes illustrate several ways in which this form of discrimination manifested itself within both the white and the black communities during the mid-1930s and early 1940s.

*The Chair read a memorandum from the City Manager to the standing committee of License, Franchises, and Claims and Interracial Subjects, stating that it had come to his attention that negroes at Central Avenue and 9<sup>th</sup> Street had been directed to leave that location and go to some other place to board street cars, and there would seem to be no particular objection to having them congregate there for that purpose (City Council Minutes, January 12, 1934, page 27).*

*A petition was read from the colored people stating that the existence of the Harlem Theatre, which caters to the colored race, was being threatened due to the fact that colored people are allowed to attend the Plaza Theatre, and requesting that an ordinance be passed restricting theatres catering to colored people, to the negro district (City Council Minutes, July 16, 1935, page 43).*

*A letter was read from the Building Trades Council calling attention to the practice of negroes soliciting employment in the way of mechanical work in the white sections of the City, to the detriment of white skilled labor. Councilman Fraze moved with the second of Councilman Maurer that a resolution be adopted that the matter be referred to the Committee on Matters not Otherwise Specified (City Council Minutes, August 8, 1935, page 255).*

*The matter of negroes bathing at the waterfront was discussed. Councilman Wever stated that he felt this practice, if allowed to continue, would cause trouble. Chairman Smith stated that he would like to have the matter referred to a committee to go into the advisability of furnishing some sort of cheap transportation to take the negroes to Jordan Beach (City Council Minutes, May 1, 1936, page 175).*

*It was the recommendation of the committee that Booker Creek be beautified from Roser Park to Central Avenue and that the tract of land between 4<sup>th</sup> and 5<sup>th</sup> Avenues South from 10<sup>th</sup> to 12<sup>th</sup> Streets be acquired as a location for a bathing pool for the colored population. He stated that this location... has been for several years used by the colored people and due to the location of the Gas Plant and Incinerator nearby would probably never be suitable for any other purpose...Mr. Dee stated that he had talked with several doctors including the City Physician who*



*had assured him that the use of chlorine would take care of the sanitary condition (City Council Minutes, August 11, 1937, page 46).*

*It was stated in the petition (read from property owners in the Fruitland Heights Area) that the section at 16<sup>th</sup> Street and 15<sup>th</sup> Avenue South was being encroached upon by colored people who are gradually moving east and south causing a decrease in property values and making this section less desirable as a place in which to live (City Council Minutes, July 16, 1940, page 416).*

Before leaving this topic it is also worth adding that one of the most blatant illustrations of de facto segregation at the grass roots level took place on a memorial to the citizens of St. Petersburg who lost their lives in defense of the country during World War I.

*The Great War took the lives of sixteen local soldiers, including two black men, and no doubt everyone in the city was touched in some way by this tragic loss of life. Yet, even in its grief, St. Petersburg remained a divided city. The names of the dead, both black and white, were engraved on a war memorial placed in Williams Park. But in an act of gratuitous, although perhaps unthinking, disrespect, the sponsoring committee made sure that the word "colored" was affixed to the names of the black dead...<sup>29</sup>*

It is encouraging to report that within the last few years this memorial at the corner of 1<sup>st</sup> Avenue North and 4<sup>th</sup> Street North has now been altered. Largely out of respect for the African American community, a new plaque with all 16 names still present was bolted on top of the original plaque but without any mention of race. Thus, one of the last vestiges of de facto segregation that had lingered from the city's past for so many years has finally been removed.



## End Notes

- <sup>1</sup>Peck, R. and Wilson, J. (2006). St. Petersburg's Historic 22<sup>nd</sup> Street South. Charleston, SC: History Press, p. 14, 26 and 42.
- <sup>2</sup>Peck, R. and Wilson, J. (2008). St. Petersburg's Historic African American Neighborhoods. Charleston, SC: History Press, p. 108.
- <sup>3</sup>McCoy, L. (1965). Jordan Elementary School Faculty Handbook. St. Petersburg, FL, p. 4.
- <sup>4</sup>Peck, R. and Wilson, J. (2006). St. Petersburg's Historic 22<sup>nd</sup> Street South. Charleston, SC: History Press, p. 45 & 109-113.
- <sup>5</sup>Grismer, K.H. (1924). History of St. Petersburg. St. Petersburg, FL., p. 85.
- <sup>6</sup>*St. Petersburg Independent*, June 20, 1913
- <sup>7</sup>Arsenault, R. St. (1966). Petersburg and the Florida Dream. Gainesville, FL., p. 128.
- <sup>8</sup>Zelden, C.L. (2002). Voting Rights on Trial. Indianapolis, IN: Hackett Publishing Co., p. 302.
- <sup>9</sup>Stephenson, R.B. (1997). Visions of Eden. Columbus, OH: Ohio State University Press. P. 62.
- <sup>10</sup>Stephenson, R.B. (1997). Visions of Eden. Columbus, OH: Ohio State University Press. P. 64.
- <sup>11</sup>Stephenson, R.B. (1997). Visions of Eden. Columbus, OH: Ohio State University Press. P. 66.
- <sup>12</sup>Stephenson, R.B. (1997). Visions of Eden. Columbus, OH: Ohio State University Press. P. 67.
- <sup>13</sup>*St. Petersburg Times*, April 3, 1923.
- <sup>14</sup>Stephenson, R.B. (1997). Visions of Eden. Columbus, OH: Ohio State University Press. P. 65.
- <sup>15</sup>Stephenson, R.B. (1997). Visions of Eden. Columbus, OH: Ohio State University Press. P. 69.
- <sup>16</sup>Stephenson, R.B. (1997). Visions of Eden. Columbus, OH: Ohio State University Press. P. 65.
- <sup>17</sup>Federal Housing Administration Underwriting Manual: Underwriting and Valuation Procedure Under Title II of the National Housing Act, 1936, Washington, D.C. (see Part II, Section 233)
- <sup>18</sup>Arsenault, R. (1996). St. Petersburg and the Florida Dream: 1888-1950. Gainesville, FL., University Press of Florida (page 265).
- <sup>19</sup>*St. Petersburg Times*, August 21, 1939.

<sup>20</sup> *St. Petersburg Times*, July 10, 1940 and July 26, 1940,

<sup>21</sup> Real Property Survey, Land Use Survey, Low Income Housing Area Survey (1940) Works Projects Administration (Project No. 65-1-35-85). Sponsored by City of St. Petersburg and Housing Authority of St. Petersburg.

<sup>22</sup> Letter from Slum Elimination Committee to the Chairman and Commissions of the Housing Authority of the City of St. Petersburg, August 22, 1941. (From Box #2, Urban Planning and Design Department, St. Petersburg, Florida)

<sup>23</sup> Letter from Bradley and Wehle to Emil A. Nordstrom, Executive Director, Housing Authority of the City of St. Petersburg, December 17, 1938. (From Box #2, Urban Planning and Design Department, St. Petersburg, Florida)

<sup>24</sup> Letter from C. W. Abbott to Mrs. Constance P. Rudd, Directory of Social Service, Department of Public Welfare, City of St. Petersburg, December 23, 1938. (From Box #2, Urban Planning and Design Department, St. Petersburg, Florida)

<sup>25</sup> Arsenault, R. (1996). St. Petersburg and the Florida Dream: 1888-1950. Gainesville, FL., University Press of Florida (page 292).

<sup>26</sup> Grismer, K.H. (1948). The Story of St. Petersburg. St. Petersburg, FL: P.K. Smith & Co. (p. 191).

<sup>27</sup> Peck, R. and Wilson, J. (2006). St. Petersburg's Historic 22<sup>nd</sup> Street South. Charleston, SC: History Press, p. 86.

<sup>28</sup> Peck, R. and Wilson, J. (2006). St. Petersburg's Historic 22<sup>nd</sup> Street South. Charleston, SC: History Press, p. 88.

<sup>29</sup> Arsenault, R. (1996). St. Petersburg and the Florida Dream: 1888-1950. Gainesville, FL., University Press of Florida (p. 148).