LIVING on the Color Line:

2800 Cass in a Period and Place of Transition

BY LUCAS DELORT

"Why, might it be asked, do Negroes continue migrating to Chicago in the face of a color-line? The answer is simple: 'That line is far less rigid than in the South.' It will be seen too that although Midwest Metropolis has a color-line, the Negro masses are not deprived of an education and are actually encouraged to vote. The color-line is not static; it bends and buckles and sometimes breaks. This process results in tension; but the very existence of the tension—and even of the violence that sometimes results—is the evidence of democracy at work."[1]

When one thinks about urban geography, this is in terms of boundaries: some streets or other physical markers act as strict distinctions and psychological barriers between neighborhoods.[2] In St. Louis, Delmar is often considered one of those boundaries: to the south, relatively wealthier, safer, whiter; to the north, relatively poorer, more dangerous, and blacker. The common perception is that city policies strictly dictated human movement to a point of stark separation. This sentiment is repeated in international media: a recent BBC report refers to Delmar as a dividing line, with gated communities to the south and poverty plaguing the north.[3] These repeated reports of stark barriers confirm and replicate cognitive barriers within the community, with little questioning of the validity of that view. These conclusions rely on top-down statistical and mapping techniques that necessarily obscure the decisions and interactions made by individuals on the ground. Close analysis of human movement along these boundaries at a household level can reveal the more nuanced residential patterns that exist at city- and neighborhood-determined boundaries, and that the micro-level economic and cultural interactions at the household level can be better predictors of residential patterns than the city's macro-level boundary distinctions.[4]

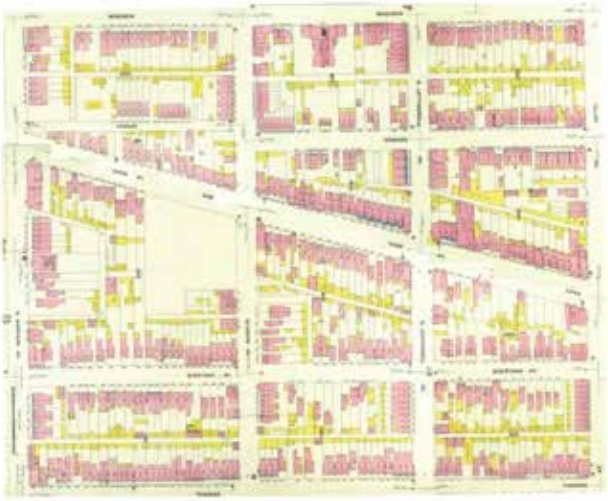
To demonstrate the micro-level view of the phenomenon of the boundary, the 2800 block of Cass Avenue will be used as the location for this analysis. This location lies on a number of physical and legal boundaries. For example, a streetcar line cut the neighborhood in half along Cass. Beginning in the 1920s, Cass was also on the edge of a number of restrictive real estate boundaries. To the south was a region recommended for sale and rental to blacks, and later deemed "obsolete" by the city. To the north was a restricted region, part of which was affected by restrictive covenants. During this same period, the region experienced ethnic and racial change. The region consisted largely of first-generation Western and Central European immigrants from 1900 to 1910, shifting with Eastern European Jewish immigration in 1920. By 1930, African-American in-migrants from the southern states had nearly become the majority of the area's household inhabitants.

While Cass Avenue in this period had the physical and legal ingredients to make it a boundary in the same way Delmar is described today, the resulting residential patterns did not follow what would have been predicted. Instead of blacks being confined to the unrestricted area and being completely shut off from the restricted areas, they moved to the north and south of Cass Avenue in ways not explainable by covenants, realtor agreements, or city distinctions. Instead, Cass Avenue itself served as a better deterrent to African-American residence, resisting the shift to a majority black block for a decade longer than restricted areas. Instead of legal restrictions dictating movement of individuals, the commercial nature of Cass Avenue, the block-by-block ethnic composition, and varied housing stock of the region continued to direct the movement of African-Americans throughout the region. This demonstrates that household-level decision-making, based on economic and cultural considerations, took precedence to, and in this case was a better predictor than, legal distinctions in determining actual neighborhood-level racial presence.

Constructing 2800 Cass

The block of 2800 Cass is located within the Yeatman neighborhood of St. Louis, now known as JeffVanderLou. The buildings on the block of 2800 Cass were constructed in the 1880s, all two stories and of brick construction. Most were free-standing structures, with only a few row

Map 1. 1909 Sanborn Fire Insurance Map, covering entire study area.



Source: Sanborn Map Company. Sanborn Map Company. February 1909, St. Louis, Missouri, nos. 77 and 79; October 1909, St. Louis, Missouri, volume 3, nos. 4 and 6.

Pictured left — Scenes like these lined Cass Avenue around the 2800 block by the early twentieth century. *(Images: Western Historical Manuscripts Collection, St. Louis)*

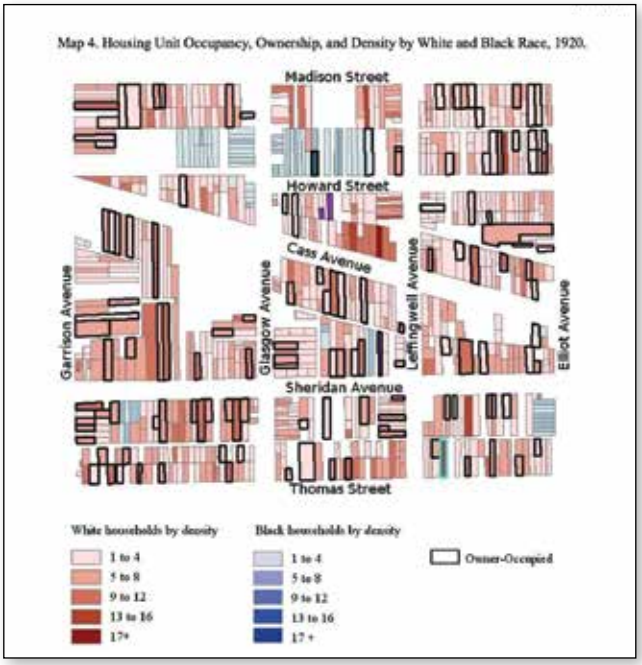
houses sharing walls. The block was majorly residential, but still contained important commercial structures. Of the nineteen lots, four buildings had storefronts. Twelve were exclusively single-unit dwellings, along with two two-flats and a duplex. Census documents indicate that the corner stores had no second-floor housing units, while the other two did. A streetcar line ran west along Cass, stopping at the corner of Cass and Glasgow Avenues before turning north.

Neighboring areas were similar in physical make-up, but not the same. The majority of the neighboring blocks had a subset of smaller housing units, with less than the standard 25' street frontage. Most blocks lacked the significant storefronts typical of Cass Avenue, with only one or two storefronts on a block, if any.

1900-1920: Setting the Stage

After the turn of the century, residents of 2800 Cass and the surrounding blocks were never exclusively white. In 1900, there were 28 black-occupied housing units, making up just over 5% of the households in the area.[5] Almost all these households resided in one specific area at the corner of Howard and Glasgow. This corner contained the smallest housing stock in the study area, with two houses per twenty-five foot lot. In general, whites lived in the larger housing stock, including the free-standing single-family homes along most streets, including Cass (see map 2). By 1910, the number of black households increased to 42. They were spread more freely throughout the area, no longer confined to the smaller housing stock at Howard and Glasgow. Cass Avenue still resisted this change, remaining entirely white.

By 1920, the number of black households in the area doubled, comprising just over 10% of area residnces. Almost all lived in regions of smaller housing stock, including a concentration at the corner of Howard and Glasgow as seen in 1900. Black residential density also doubled to almost nine blacks per housing unit, despite their concentration in smaller units. There are also two cases of blacks owning and occupying their buildings. During this time, Cass still remained entirely white.



Another demographic shift of note occurred south of Cass, along the Sheridan and Thomas corridors, in that the census reveals a significant influx of Eastern European Jews, largely from Romania and Russia. These immigrants created a homogenous community in the region. In 1920, Yiddish-speaking Russian and Romanian immigrants comprised over 80 percent of the households along both sides of Sheridan and the side of Thomas observed in this analysis. Some households contained lodgers who spoke other languages and came from different locations of origin, but the vast majority remained entirely of the same spoken language. Rates of ownership were slightly higher among Jews than other immigrant groups, and most units on these streets were subdivided into two-flats. The significance of this concentration and subdivision will be discussed in the following section.

1930: Resisting a Demographic Shift

Starting around 1910, residents began placing restrictive covenants on housing deeds with the purpose of restricting owners or tenants of color from purchasing or occupying those property. Largely a response to the inability of a city to zone based on race, these covenants were for the "mutual benefit and advantage of all parties" and intended to "preserve the character of said neighborhood as a desirable place of residence for persons of the Caucasian

race."[6] These covenants were often made in conjunction with the involvement of a more powerful party, such as a neighborhood improvement association and the St. Louis Real Estate Exchange, increasing its power as a legally binding document. Many were also positioned at a neighborhood level, and entire blocks were said to be covered by the covenant if signatories comprised 75 percent of the land area of that neighborhood.[7] In St. Louis, covenants were enacted during the period of 1910 to 1940, of which over 75 percent were signed between 1920 and 1930.[8] Eight city blocks north of Cass, bound by Glasgow on the west and Elliot on the east, were under restrictive covenants during this time period, up until at least 1942.[9]

Map 5. Restrictive Covenants

Red areas are those estimated to be affected by restrictive covenants, as predicted by Johnson and Lang (1947). The green rectangle is the area discussed in this paper, and Cass runs diagonally down the center and borders the restricted zone. Map adapted from "Restrictive Covenants, St. Louis, 1945." In: Colin Gordon, *Mapping Decline*, page 74.

In 1923, the St. Louis Real Estate Exchange adopted the distinction of three unrestricted zones. The purpose of this change was to keep black residents within these boundaries, which were historically black and contained 80% of the city's African-American population, by forcing realtors by threat of loss of license to not sell or rent to black residents outside of this area.[10] The largest of these zones lay south of Cass Avenue, from Grand Avenue all the way east to the riverfront. The effect of this line, in theory, would be to create a sharp divide across Cass, with black residents residing only south of the line in the unrestricted area.

During this period, there was a significant racial transition throughout the U.S. National movements of African-Americans northwards during the Great Migration, along with the limited housing stock available to blacks as well as white residents slowly moving westward, created both the demand for and increased supply of housing in areas like Yeatman. The number of black housing units more than tripled to 274 between 1920 and 1930, nearing 50% of the housing units in the area.

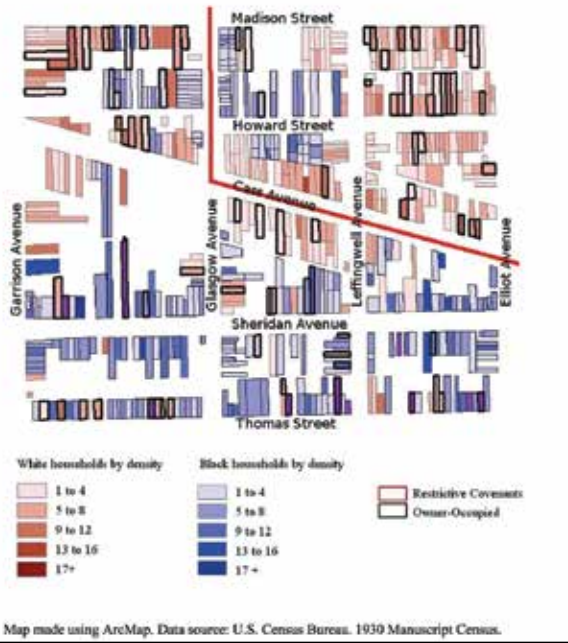
Map 6. Real Estate Exchange Restricted Zones, City Plan Commission (1923 & 1941)

The green rectangle is the area discussed in this paper, and Cass runs diagonally down the center and borders the unrestricted zone and the realtors' referendum. Map adapted from "Real Estate Exchange restricted zones, 1923 and 1941." In: Colin Gordon, *Mapping Decline*, page 85.

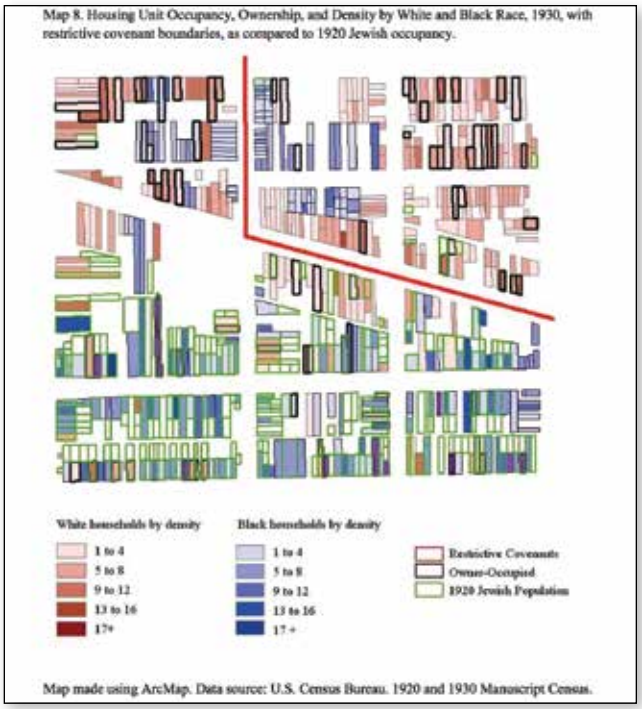
The number of blacks owning their units also increased to eleven, spread throughout the area. One of these cases of black ownership is within what Gordon marks as having been affected by restrictive real estate practices.

The 1930 example demonstrates that the lines separating blacks from whites cannot be viewed as strict lines of residential segregation. The distribution of blacks throughout the area can be better described as a gradient across boundaries, and this can be compared to the pattern of Jewish occupancy in 1920. Jewish immigrants self-segregated, tightly packing themselves into the few city blocks along Thomas and Sheridan. There were no legal

Map 7. Housing Unit Occupancy, Ownership, and Density by White and Black Race, 1930, with restrictive covenant boundaries.



Map made using ArcMap. Data source: U.S. Census Bureau. 1930 Manuscript Census.

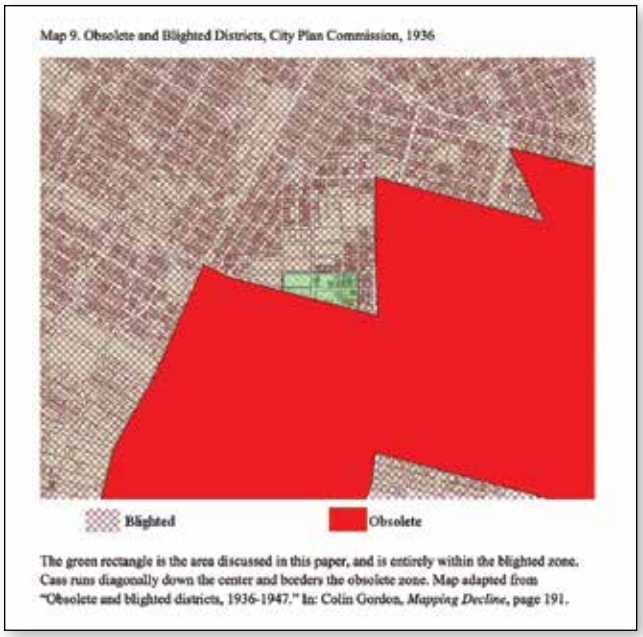


restrictions against Jewish residents in St. Louis, as the restricted areas and deed restrictions only acted against persons of color. Discrimination against and segregation of Jewish immigrants appears to have been minimal, if this occurred at all, as no major complaints have been found concerning Eastern European or Jewish immigrants in St. Louis.[11] James Neal Primm observes this phenomenon as well, noting that Eastern Jews stayed in "fake ghettoes," remaining together despite lack of legal mandate.[12] The fact that the line separating Jewish and non-Jewish residents was harsher than that separating blacks and non-blacks reveals that culturally determined, household-level movement choice directed occupancy more than the city's distinctions of areas' restrictions.

The 1930 map also raises the question of why the 2800 block of Cass remained entirely white. There are three possible reasons for this resistance to change. First, the largely commercial nature of this block likely acted against black residence. A streetcar line ran along Cass, and there was a highly-trafficked stop at Cass and Glasgow. The corner stores on the block were largely successful, such as the Pauly Hardware Store that occupied 2840 Cass for decades, expanding along Glasgow every few years. The Mound City Mattress Company occupied 2800 Cass for decades as well. Across the street, occupying four buildings from 2801-2807 Cass, was Portman Storage, ranked as one of the most important companies of North St. Louis in the 1910s.[13] This commercial success likely increased the perceived traffic and "status" of the block.

Next, the houses on Cass were not subdivided as extensively as the rest of the area. By 1930, most housing units on surrounding blocks were subdivided into two-flats, while over half of the units on Cass remained single-family homes. The rent was higher in these single-family units than in a two-flat or rear unit. The higher prices served as a deterrent to African-Americans who earned less than whites. The lower rents in smaller units nearby were thus more attractive to African-American families of more limited means.

Also, blacks tended to move into areas that had high rates of Eastern European Jewish tenants and property owners. The blocks of Sheridan and Thomas had a high concentration of Eastern European Jewish residence (see map 8). One reason for this relationship is that Eastern European Jews subdivided their housing units much more extensively than Western European immigrant groups, as described in the previous paragraph, resulting in high rates of subdivision on Sheridan and Thomas. However, there are many other reasons why this relationship is more direct as well. First, there is evidence in other cities that Jews were seen as "less desirable" than other white immigrants. St. Clair Drake and Horace Cayton, in *Black Metropolis*, state that in Chicago, the presence of Jews lowered property values.[14] If this was the case in St. Louis, lower property values in the immediate area would be more likely to attract black residents than areas of higher values along Cass. Second, tensions between blacks and Jews were much lower than those between blacks and non-Jewish immigrant groups. Drake and Cayton state that, in Chicago, Eastern Europeans and Italians were less likely to discriminate against blacks than Western European immigrants.[15] Thomas Sugrue notes that in Detroit, blacks moving into predominantly Jewish areas faced "minimal overt racial tension," especially when compared to the racism-fueled property damage faced in some Catholic neighborhoods. Instead of voicing their protests, many Jewish households just silently moved.[16] The result was a quick turnover from a predominantly Jewish neighborhood to a predominantly black neighborhood, as seen on Thomas and Sheridan Avenues between 1920 and 1930. Jews in St. Louis were also openly opposed to segregation against blacks, fearing that it would lead to the segregation of all minority groups.[17] Third, some evidence points to the higher likelihood of Jews renting to blacks. Anecdotal evidence from New York suggests that some Jews were very friendly to renting to blacks because of their shared history of discrimination.[18] Not all evidence points to the "friendliness" of Jewish landlords, though. Some Jewish homeowners left neighborhoods that were becoming more populated by blacks to rent to them. The demand for housing for blacks was high, thus pushing up rents for blacks. Jewish homeowners took advantage of this fact and rented to blacks while residing in other parts of the city.[19] Since Cass did not have the same concentration of Jewish residents in 1920 as seen on Sheridan and Thomas, consisting instead of descendants of Western European immigrants, this occupancy transition could not have occurred. By 1930, however, a few of the white residents were Jews and Italians, setting the stage for the transition by 1940.



1940: Failed Covenants

In 1936, the City Plan Commission drew their blighted and obsolete map, with Cass as the dividing line. A blighted distinction simply meant that the area was an economic liability, demanding more than it produced in revenues, while an obsolete distinction pinpointed areas to be considered for urban renewal projects. While both distinctions were negative, an obsolete distinction suggested a lack of any ability to change conditions.[20] This distinction was drawn in confirmation of the 1923 Realtor's Agreement lines, and followed very broad census-tract distinctions in racial makeup, with south of Cass being over 75 percent black and the north less than 75 percent black.[21] This, in effect, accelerated the shift from a predominantly white area to a black area and made that shift irreversible. While demographic shifts likely informed these distinctions, much demographic change follows a blighting. As Drake and Cayton, writing about Chicago, point out,

> The superficial observer believes that these areas are "blighted" because a large number of Negroes and Jews, Italians and Mexicans, homeless men and "vice" gravitate there. But real-estate boards, city planners, and ecologists know that the Negro, the foreign-born, the transients, pimps, and prostitutes are located there because the area has already been written off as blighted. The city's outcasts of every type have no choice but to huddle together where nobody else wants to live and where rents are relatively low.[22]

This is an example of exactly what is observed in this analysis. By 1940, black residency jumped again, to over 80 percent of the housing units (see map 10). The block of 2800 Cass was almost entirely black. The housing units that were still white comprised two households that had lived in the area for decades, resistant or not able to move, and one Jewish immigrant household. This also reveals some stark differences in owner-occupancy rates: almost all of the owner-occupants were confined to the white blocks to the northeast. Housing values also plummeted, with self-reported values of owner-occupied units dropping from an average of $3,600 to $1,400. City officials also bookended this shift by changing two white schools in the area to colored schools: the Glasgow School at 1415 Garrison Avenue became Curtis School in 1936, and the Penrose School at 2824 Madison became the Dunbar School in 1943, the latter of which was within the area of restrictive covenants.

In other parts of the city, there were fairly successful community-supported restriction groups that placed pressure on African-Americans who tried to move in, forcing them out.[23] For example, some groups raised money to purchase homes threatened with black ownership. However, these efforts are not seen in this area. The failing of the restrictive covenants north of 2800 Cass reveals important community dynamics in the area.

Primarily, this neighborhood was much more transitional. Most rented their properties, making them more susceptible to both voluntary and involuntary movement year by year. Directory data supports this: Between 1918 and 1940, the average residency of a head of household was two years, with about 60 percent moving out after just a year of residency, and just three households staying longer than a decade. The rate of turnover increased during the 1930s. The area was also fairly high in vacancies, especially by the 1930s, with vacancy reaching over 25 percent on Cass in the mid-'30s.[24] The high rate of turnover reveals that the area was a much more transitional neighborhood, with less community capital with which individuals could unify against what was seen as a "negro invasion" in other neighborhoods.[25] Gordon cites another example of a "restricted but transitional neighborhood" in St. Louis with a failed restriction. The transitional nature led landlords to claim that "their lot was 'worthless and without value as rental property unless it could be rented to negroes.'"[26]

Secondarily, the neighborhood was of low socioeconomic class, especially by the 1920s. Most residents worked in low-skill jobs, or survived as peddlers, leaving no excess financial resources to follow the trend of organizations purchasing houses out from under black owners.[27] Additionally, the area saw a sharp decline in housing values between 1930 and 1940, with the average value of an owner-occupied unit dropping from $3,600 to $1,400. Ownership decreased in this time as well, with owner-occupied units dropping from 134 to 83 from 1920 to 1930, then to 49 by 1940. This low housing value, combined with the fact that it was some of the oldest housing in the city, pushed away the whites who could

afford to live elsewhere, leaving vacancies available for the more desperate African-American households. By this point, landlords had no choice but to rent to blacks or risk leaving a unit vacant, as discussed above, even in the restricted areas.

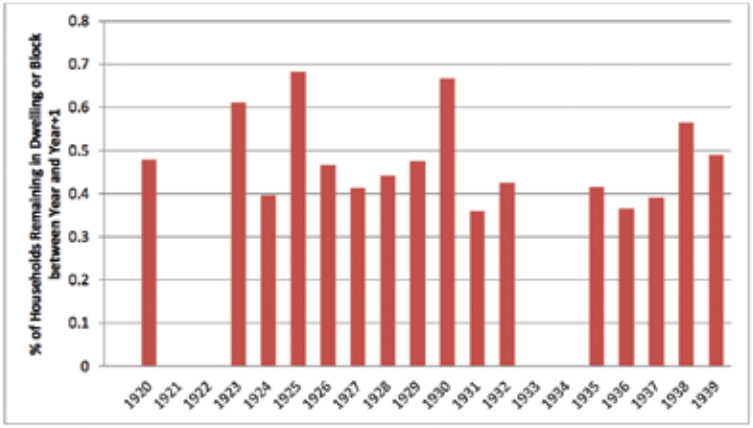
Additionally, the history of black occupancy in the area was an impediment to success from the start. It is much harder to uproot dozens of households and move them out than to prevent the movement of one. An additional reason for this impediment is in the nature of covenants as necessarily responsive in nature, rather than preventative. Colin Gordon states that covenants "pinpoint the location of contested neighborhoods but do not necessarily describe actual patterns of racial occupancy."[28] In this case, the point of contestation occurred far too late to really do much about actual black residency. The restrictive covenants can only be said to have been successful to the northeast, east of Leffingwell along the 2700 blocks of Howard and Madison avenues. These blocks were entirely white in 1900 and remained entirely white until 1940. The fact that these blocks were historically white would serve as a factor for sustaining their unique demographic through 1940. The 2800 blocks, however, saw black occupancy from 1900, making their ability to transition to a new demographic, a homogenous and white demographic, much less likely as a result of the covenant. Because of this, the white areas within the boundaries remained white more as a result of their historic racial makeup than the boundaries creating a demographic pattern. On the 2800 blocks, the covenants failed because they "could not be enforced where black occupancy had already eroded their legitimacy."[29] By this point, the St. Louis Real Estate Exchange decided to shift its energies away from the "failed" covenants to focus its resources on those areas more likely to be successful in restrictions, leaving the covenant north of Cass with no organized realtor support.[30]

Conclusion

The analysis of the 2800 block of Cass and the surrounding areas reveals that residential choices follow household-level cultural and economic interactions just as much, if not more than, following neighborhood or city distinctions of blight or restrictions. The failed restrictive covenants and city officials' recognition of this in the case of the all-black Dunbar School show that the desperation of landlords and the weakness of community ties direct movement. Additionally, the commercial nature of Cass worked as a better barrier to black occupancy than legal restrictions, and the demographic and housing stock on both sides of Cass influenced landlords' rental and tenants' movement decisions more than a consideration of restrictions. This analysis can be expanded to shed light on more micro-level movements of African Americans throughout St. Louis and other northern cities under restrictive real estate practices and among other immigrant groups.

This analysis forces the reconsideration of what is meant by thinking of a "boundary" or a moment of "transition." Abstract, macro-level distinctions never make their way to understanding completely direct human movement, even if theoretically intended to create hard boundaries between areas and people. Instead of viewing Cass, Delmar, or any other street or line as a boundary, these should be viewed as pinpointing the center of an important gradient,

Figure 1. Percent of Households Remaining in Dwelling between given year and the following year.*



Note: Data for 1922 and 1934 is not included; as a result, turnover rates for 1921 and 1933 could not be calculated.

a gradient that can hint at a difference across a line and reveal important decisions individuals and households make in negotiating that line, without ever completely defining it.

Using Directories to Derive Housing Turnover

Gould's Red-Blue Book and Gould's City Directory provide lists of individuals who lived at a specific dwelling in their reverse directories. Prior to 1918, Gould's Blue Book reverse directory did not provide detailed information for many residential areas, limiting their listings to wealthier residential units. Beginning in 1918, Gould's Red-Blue Book widened its coverage to working-class neighborhoods, which continued when the reverse directory was consolidated into the Gould's City Directory in 1930. Placing one year's directory next to an adjacent year can reveal who stayed at a given address, who moved to a different dwelling nearby, and who moved away completely. Combining this information for an entire block can reveal what level of housing turnover occurred in a specified region.

I analyzed data for the north half of Census Block 1845, which includes Cass Avenue property numbers 2800-2840, evens; North Leffingwell Avenue number 1425; and Glasgow Avenue numbers 1418, 1424, and 1432 for years 1920-1940. A dwelling was counted as turned over if the residents at that address, as listed in the reverse directory, did not appear anywhere in that block the following year or in a different dwelling, or if a resident occupying multiple dwellings vacated one or more but remained on the block, since this would introduce a net increase in residents on the block. Directories were missing for the years 1922 and 1934, so turnover rates for 1921, 1922, 1933, and 1944 are not included in this analysis.

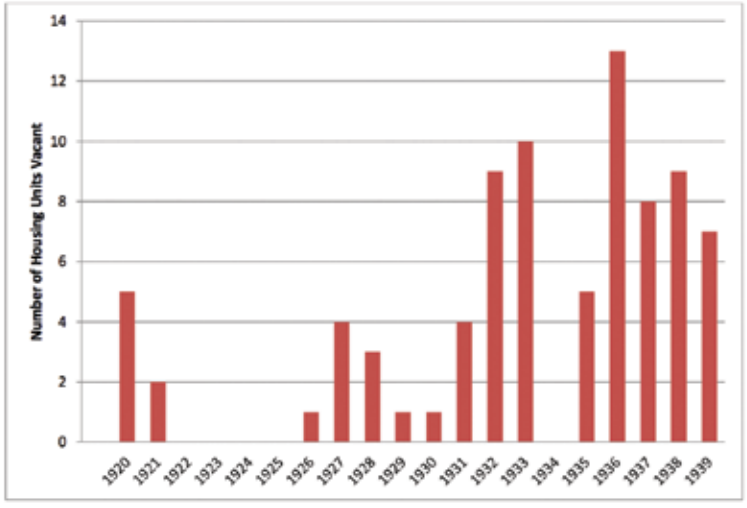
Between the years 1920 and 1940, year-to-year turnover averaged 53%, with 47% remaining in their dwelling from one year until the next. The number remaining in their dwelling reached a minimum of 36% from 1931-32 and peaked at 68% from 1925-26. There was no major trend of increasing or decreasing turnover over this twenty-year span.

High turnover does not imply lack of longevity in dwelling occupancy. Some residents remained in their dwellings for over a decade, and possibly more if time periods prior to 1920 or after 1940 were included. While no resident remained for the entire span from 1920-1940, John Kelleher remained at 2820 Cass Ave. from at least as early as 1920 until 1936, and Nicholas Polito moved into 2810 Cass Ave. in 1929 and remained at least until 1940. Additionally, Gerhard Pauly's Hardware Store remained at 2840 Cass Ave. for the entire twenty years, and Mound City Mattress Co. opened in 1926 and stayed open at least until 1940.

Rates of dwelling vacancy were also collected. Zero dwellings were vacant in 1923, 1924, and 1925. Peak vacancy was thirteen dwellings in 1936. Vacancies increased throughout the twenty-year span.

There are a few problems with using only the reverse directory to determine these turnover rates. First, some addresses do not include listings for every resident of the dwelling. Turnover rates do not include boarders not listed in the directory, occupants who may have a turnover rate of their own not accounted for in the directory. Comparing

Figure 2. Number of Housing Units Vacant



Note: Data for 1922 and 1934 are missing; 1923-1925 are true zeros.

1930 Directory data to 1930 Census data reveals that some addresses had multiple families, while directories only listed a single family. For example, the directory lists only the Scherer family living at 2814 Cass Ave, while the census lists three additional lodging families at that address. The turnover rates of these families are unknown. Additionally, these directories do not reveal if a building was vacant for any period of time between occupancy, obscuring mid-year vacancy rates.

Directories only provide an annual cross-section of dwelling residency. Comparing the 1930 Directory to the 1930 Census reveals that only 57 percent of the heads of household correspond, implying a turnover rate of 43 percent within the same year. Capturing year-to-year turnover with the directory obscures any turnover that occurs in the same year between directory enumeration.

Directories also obscure any reason for dwelling turnover. Some residents may have passed away, thus vacating the unit. Some may have moved away for employment reasons, which may have been to a new location, a housing upgrade due to a raise, or a housing downgrade due to unemployment. Moving could have been by choice or forced eviction. These reasons have important implications for the meaning of this block: its class status, its shifting ethnic makeup, its neighborhood coherence, all of which are important but lost in the directories' lists of names.

While this analysis reveals an average year-to-year housing turnover rate of 53 percent for this block of Cass and adjacent units on Glasgow and Leffingwell, it is likely underestimating the true rate of turnover. The directories do not capture two important sources of resident instability. Same-year comparison of the directory and the census reveal that, within a year, turnover rates are quite high, the implication being that individuals do not live in dwellings year-by-year, but in time units of months. Additionally, lodgers or other live-in residents may move in and out without being captured by the directories. The directories must then be combined with other sources to find more accurate turnover rates and, more importantly, the meaning and implication of housing turnover for this block.

NOTES

[1] St. Clair Drake and Horace R. Clayton, *Black Metropolis: A Study of Negro Life in a Northern City* (New York: Harcourt, Brace, and Company, 1945), 101.

[2] Kevin Lynch, *Image of the City* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press, 1960).

[3] "Crossing a St Louis street that divides communities," *BBC News Magazine*, 13 March 2012 (video). Accessed March 14, 2012, from http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/magazine-17361995.

[4] For another discussion on the nuances of boundary distinctions, see Bill Rankin's *Radical Cartography*, available at http://www.radicalcartography.net/. He states that using a smaller unit analysis allows us to see stark boundaries, gradients, and gaps more carefully, forcing "more nuance in the way we talk about urban geography," and concluding that "a cartography without boundaries can also make simplistic policy or urban design more difficult — in a good way."

[5] A housing unit is here defined as a unit marked in the manuscript census as having a separate address; for example, 2800 and 2800A would be two different housing units, and all the households within 2800 would be in the same housing unit. A black housing unit is one in which every household and lodger within a given address is black. See Table 1 for all the data presented in this section.

[6] Qtd. in Colin Gordon, *Mapping Decline: St. Louis and the Fate of the American City* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008), 71.

[7] Herman H. Long and Charles S. Johnson, *People vs. Property? Race Restrictive Covenants in Housing* (Nashville: Fisk University Press, 1947), 10-11, 19-20.

[8] Research for this analysis did not reveal exactly when the covenants within the study area were signed. Since over 75% were signed between 1920-1930, I use that as the time frame of signing. Since black residents lived within the restricted area during the entire time period from 1900-1940, and no covenants were signed after 1940, the later discussion of these covenants would still be valid if this assumption proves to be false.

[9] Long and Johnson, *People vs. Property?* 12-15.

[10] Gordon, *Mapping Decline*, 84.

[11] Extensive searches of digitized *Post-Dispatch* issues brought forward no cases of anti-Jewish discrimination in St. Louis. Issues of unsanitary conditions or sub-standard housing stocks seemed to affect "immigrants" equally, with Italians experiencing the worst conditions. See: *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, "Brands City's Ghetto Worst He Ever Saw," 10 Jan. 1910.

[12] James Neal Primm, *Lion of the Valley: St. Louis, Missouri* (Boulder: Pruett Publishing Co., 1990/1981, 2d ed.), 441.

[13] "Three Large Industries of North St. Louis: F. H. Portmann Storage Co," *North St. Louis*, (no publisher, 1906), 56; "F. H. Portmann Storage Company, Inc." In: North St. Louis Business Men's Association, *Who's Who in North St. Louis*, (St. Louis, Missouri: A. S. Werremeyer, 1925), 65.

[14] Drake and Cayton, *Black Metropolis,* 175.

[15] Ibid., 180.

[16] Thomas J. Sugrue, *The Origins of the Urban Crisis: Race and Inequality in Postwar Detroit* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996), 242-43.

[17] Primm, *Lion of the Valley*, 438*; St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, "No Threat of Jewish Segregation," 27 Feb. 1916.

[18] *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, "Refriending the Negro," 30 Jan. 1910.

[19] Drake and Cayton, *Black Metropolis*, 197-98.

[20] Gordon, *Mapping Decline*, 190

[21] Ibid., 95.

[22] Drake and Cayton, *Black Metropolis*, 206.

[23] Gordon discusses a number of powerful organizations, including the Marcus Avenue Improvement Association and the West End Protective Association, in "'The Steel Ring': Race and Realty in Greater St. Louis," in *Mapping Decline*.

[24] This comes from a statistical analysis of the changes in heads of households, as derived from the St. Louis Red-Blue Book Reverse Directories from 1918-1940. See page 45 for a fuller discussion of this analysis.

[25] One case of possible use of intimidation can be found near my study area, on the 3000 block of Sheridan. In 1918, a black family was reported to have moved in, and a community meeting was immediately organized. Two days later, it was reported to be a "mistake" and the "house would be vacated at once." This is the closest case of community organizing against black residents found in Yeatman. See "Negroes move into house opposite Glasgow School," 30 July 1918; "Miscellaneous: A committee of residents…" 1 Aug. 1918.

[26] Qtd. in Gordon, *Mapping Decline*, 78.

[27] Cases of communities purchasing homes to prevent black occupancy in South City and Northwest City can be found in the *Post-Dispatch*: "Home is offered to negroes after dooryard spats," 21 July 1913; "Negro's invasion rouses Cote Brilliante residents," 10 March 1910.

[28] Colin Gordon, Personal communication via email, April 27, 2012.

[29] Gordon, *Mapping Decline*, 78.

[30] Gordon, Personal communication, April 27, 2012.