East Central Historic and Cultural Context

Spokane Historic Preservation Office

2022 - 2023

The GRANTEE shall produce a historic context report of the East Central Neighborhood searching out stories of the community that have directly impacted the City of Spokane. This underrepresented community has seen significant impacts to historic properties resulting in a general loss of integrity over time, however, the context study will include a photographic section with at least one photo of each property within the boundaries. Information included in the photograph section will include:

A. At least one photograph of the structure; address; date of construction; and any interesting historical data found during the research phase that is related to the previous residents of the property. It will not include a detailed architectural description of the property since that is not the purpose of this project.

B. An intensive context report of the neighborhood using a cultural landscape and sense of place method to survey and assess the potential for historic preservation actions in the area. This approach incorporates an overview of the history of the study area and identifies a dominant theme for that history. It presents different eras of the historical timeline and extant buildings associated with those eras. These buildings were the settings for life and despite their potential integrity issues they serve as the best vehicle to tell the stories of the important Spokanites who lived there. Outcomes of the project include:
   a. Produce a comprehensive history of the East Central Neighborhood using the cultural landscape and sense of place survey method.
   b. Identify resources that may warrant further research and/or listing on the Spokane Register of Historic Places. The register does not currently represent the diversity of Spokane and this project could lead to new nominations that would help increase representation.
   c. Develop a stockpile of research highlighting Spokane’s underrepresented communities for use in outreach projects including social media, a project web page, museum displays, or other future opportunities.
   d. Unearth and tell stories related to Black, Indigenous, and other people of color who have contributed to Spokane’s development.
   e. Provide additional context in regards to immigration, housing segregation, and urban renewal as they relate to this specific neighborhood and Spokane in general.
About this Survey

This survey is experimenting with an unconventional and, we hope, innovative model of survey and inventory that will focus less on architectural descriptions of a historically diverse neighborhood and more on the stories of those who have resided, run businesses and contributed to the greater history of the City of Spokane told through both a pictorial and research-based product. This uses a cultural landscape and sense of place method to survey and assess the potential for historic preservation actions in the area. The cultural landscape and sense of place approach incorporates an overview of the history of the study area and identifies a dominant theme for that history. It presents different eras of the historical timeline and extant buildings associated with those eras. These buildings were the settings for life and despite their potential integrity issues they serve as the best vehicle to tell the stories of the important Spokanites who lived there.

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East Central Historic Context & Overview

The East Central Neighborhood, or Union Park Addition, developed into a substantial residential district during Spokane's period of greatest growth from 1900-1910. The neighborhood is located southeast of downtown Spokane and was originally separated from the core by the substantial 21-acre Liberty Park. Located near downtown and the railroad, the area was largely inhabited by working class Spokanites who were employed at the nearby businesses. The neighborhood has historically been home to a socioeconomically and ethnically diverse population including a Black and Italian-American community, many of whom still call the neighborhood home today.

This survey is focused on the residential areas on and surrounding the 5th Avenue corridor in Spokane’s East Central Neighborhood [Figure 1]. The survey area is roughly bound by 4th Avenue on the north, Liberty Park on the west, Thor Street on the east, and Ben Burr Trail on the south. The full East Central neighborhood is much larger than the focus area. The area to the north of the focus area along the Sprague corridor was surveyed by the Spokane Historic Preservation Office in 2016, and there was a survey completed along the freeway corridor by Washington State Department of Transportation in 2004. The area to the west of this survey area should be surveyed in the future.

The survey area is substantial in size and includes 849 parcels of which 130 are vacant land or parks. The vast majority of parcels (643 out of 849) are classified by the Spokane County Assessor’s Office as a “single unit” and there are only five parcels classified as more than 4 units. It is interesting, especially considering the preponderance of single family houses, that almost the entire neighborhood is zoned residential three family (RTF), which presents
substantial housing development opportunities. The County Assessor has identified 490 buildings as being constructed between 1887 and 1973, and 213 buildings are listed as constructed between 1974 and 2020. This means that nearly 70% of the properties in the area are 50 years old or older.¹

This story of the neighborhood is one of resiliency. The residents of East Central, along with the businesses and organizations they built, have shown an incredible ability to overcome adversity. Additionally, the adverse situations faced by the neighborhood have often been the result of federal and local policy decisions. Four eras have been identified to highlight related groups of stories:

- 1880-1899: Neighborhood initial development
- 1900-1917: Period of greatest growth and Italian immigration
- 1938-1960: Housing segregation and growth of a Black community
- 1958-2020: Navigating the freeway and community empowerment

¹ Spokane County Assessor Data.
³ Warren Seyler, Ben Adkisson, Spokane Tribal Wars of 1858, directed by Trask McFarland (2017; Wellpinit, WA: VariusMedia), [https://youtu.be/-uN2juBAKlc](https://youtu.be/-uN2juBAKlc).
The powerful Spokane River and its large waterfalls made an ideal location for a mill and ultimately a townsite. As the city grew and technology developed, the city’s proximity to a waterfall allowed for easy access to hydroelectric power. The electricity produced from the river provided Spokane with a robust electrical system to homes, businesses, and the overhead power lines that crisscrossed the city powering a fleet of electric streetcars.

The City of Spokane grew quickly. In 1880, just a year before incorporation, there were only 350 white people living in the town of Spokan Falls. By the time of the next census in 1890, Spokane residents had dropped the “Falls” from their town’s name (and added an “e”) and the city’s population had increased to 19,922 people. This rapid influx amounted to growth of over 5,500% in just one decade. The city’s pace of exponential growth experienced a minor setback in August of 1889 when approximately thirty blocks of downtown Spokane were burned to the ground in a fast-moving fire. This left much of the city’s core a blank slate from which a freshly constructed downtown of primarily brick masonry buildings rose from the ashes.  

Not discouraged from the fire, Spokane’s rapid growth continued. The burgeoning mining, railroad, timber, and agriculture industries attracted tens of thousands of people who flocked to the Inland Northwest seeking new jobs and greater opportunities. By 1900, the number of Spokanites had grown to 36,848, most of which were working-class laborers, single women, and itinerant workers. That number continued to grow and when the 1910 census was taken, a decade after the turn of the century, 104,402 Spokane residents were counted. This influx of population brought the labor force and professionals necessary to grow regional business but it required quick construction of housing accommodations.

Population growth remained mostly stagnant in Spokane from 1910-1940, only adding approximately 18,000 residents. However, Spokane experience a boom in the build up to World War II due to important war-time industry that was based here. Americans from other regions of the country, many of whom were Black, flocked to Spokane to fill the new job opportunities, sparking another population boom, bringing some 30,000 new residents during the 1940s and increasing the total population to 161,721. This influx in residents demanded more housing, some of which was created in East Central.

**East Central initial development**

Residential housing development began slow in the project area, potentially due to its distance from the city core. As the crow flies, it is nearly 3 miles from the 5th Avenue Business District to Spokane City Hall. But, like most of Spokane’s periphery, the neighborhood rapidly densified from 1900 to 1910 when the city added nearly 70,000 new Spokanites in just one decade.

The majority of the project area was platted in 1888 as the Union Park and Altamont Additions. The plats were laid before the Great Fire in 1889, but initially they were only sparsely developed. The 1902 Sanborn Map paints a picture of a neighborhood in its infancy. Many of the blocks have no development at all, and only a handful of blocks are more than half developed. Many of the structures appear to be informal one story dwellings.

There are at least five smaller plats that are also within the project area and they are: Celesta Park Addition (1889), Bisbee’s Second Addition (1890), Ellis Addition (1901), Eureka Addition (1905), and Sunshine Addition (1907). This timeline of these plats shows the further development of the neighborhood as the original plats were developed and the investment opportunity became clear to real estate investors.

The Spokane County Assessor’s data for date of construction paints a similar picture showing only 20 extant buildings that were constructed before 1900, and only 9 of those were built before 1897. The Assessor data also shows that

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6 of those 20 are addressed on 5th Avenue which suggests that the earliest residential development was somewhat centered around the Fifth Avenue corridor.

The development of the neighborhood and the eastward expansion of the city can also be illustrated by a map of the city’s annexation history [Figure 3]. In 1891, the city moved its eastern boundary from Hatch Street to Regal Street and in 1907, amidst rapid population growth, the city expanded again from Regal Street to Havana Street, which remains the current municipal boundary today.

Union Park Addition

Union Park was platted by the Ellis, Kaufman, and Odell families. Altamont was platted by the Jamieson, Wetzel, and Thompson families. Many of these families were among the first white individuals to arrive in Spokane. Asbury English Ellis arrived in Spokane with his wife Ada in the late 1870s. He and his wife homesteaded the land that became the Union Park Addition. Edward Jamieson was a teacher, lawyer, and real estate developer who came to Spokane in the early 1880s. Daniel F. Wetzel was a jeweler who opened a jewelry store called Weisfield’s Jewelers in Spokane in 1887, which operated into the 1990s. Isaac S. Kaufman came to Spokane in the early 1880s and was a founder of the Ross Park Street Railway Company, one of Spokane’s first streetcar lines. These folks who platted the neighborhood do not appear to have resided in the neighborhood, but rather these early Spokanites, who were largely powerbrokers and influencers, saw their land as a potential investment opportunity, and eventually their bet paid off.6

In 1895, the Spokane Traction Company’s streetcar line reached the Union Park Addition. The arrival of the streetcar spurred residential development in the neighborhood, much as it did throughout Spokane from 1890-1910. Only nine properties remain from the eight years between initial platting and the arrival of the streetcar whereas thirty-four properties remain from the eight years following. This perfectly illustrates the impact that streetcar lines had on residential development. By 1906, both the Washington Water Power Company and the Spokane Traction Company had constructed streetcar lines into the neighborhood. The Spokane Traction Company line stretched from Magnolia Street to Regal Street down 5th Avenue. Figure 4 shows the streetcar lines in the neighborhood highlighted in yellow.7

The residents who first resided in East Central during the 1880s and 1890s were a small but diverse group. They were largely working-class and many were union households. They worked in a wide variety of physically exhausting labor positions including bricklaying, plumbing, and day labor many of which were located along the railroad corridor to the north of the neighborhood. Check the Representative Properties section of this report for stories about specific properties representative of this era.

Period of greatest growth and Italian immigration

Sanborn Maps suggest that the project area was substantially developed by 1910. The Assessor data also shows that nearly 150 properties, or one fifth of all properties in the project area, date to 1909 or earlier. Some of that growth was driven by Spokane’s burgeoning Italian community.

The immigrants who poured into Spokane during its period of greatest growth from 1900-1910 left their birth countries in pursuit of new opportunities in the United States. They successfully navigated anti-immigrant sentiment to open their own businesses and maintain their cultural heritage.

Italian immigration to the United States increased dramatically in the 1890s, so much so that by the end of the decade Italian immigrants were sending millions


of dollars in remittances back to the families they had left behind in Italy. In the 1880s there were about 300,000 Italians in the United States but that number grew to two million in the 1900s. According to the Library of Congress, “by 1920, when immigration began to taper off, more than 4 million Italians had come to the United States, and represented more than 10 percent of the nation’s foreign-born population.”

Italians were fleeing challenging conditions, particularly in southern Italy and Sicily. The Library of Congress explains that the catalyst for Italians to leave their home country were complex, but that “decades of internal strife had left a legacy of violence, social chaos, and widespread poverty. The peasants in the primarily poor, mostly rural south of Italy and on the island of Sicily had little hope of improving their lot.” For these reasons, a majority of Italian immigrants who arrived in the United States from 1890-1920 were from southern Italy and Sicily. That is true for the Italians who landed in East Central too, with many hailing from the southern provinces of Vibo Valentia (Fruci family), Cosenza (Scarpelli, Spinelli, D’Amico, and Sacco families), and Campobasso (Farrace family).

Why were there so many families from Cosenza? Well, the Scarpellis may have played a small role in that. They operated a macaroni factory at 2012 East Sprague Avenue (listed on the SRHP in 2019). The Scarpellis imported macaroni-making factory equipment from Italy and the available jobs in their factory were the catalyst for many Italian immigrants, likely often from Cosenza and nearby provinces, to come to Spokane. The company employed Italian-born macaroni makers making thousands of pounds of authentic macaroni per day in a small building in the East Sprague business district. The factory was in operation in east Spokane for 36 years from 1909 to 1945.

The factory on East Sprague was not far from the project area which was where Giuseppe Scarpelli, the longtime president of the factory and nephew of the founder, and his family resided for over forty years. Learn more about the Scarpellis on page 30 of the Representative Properties section of this report.

The Italian population in Spokane grew as Italians came to the United States by the millions. A small number of Italians, including notable families like the Scarpellis, arrived in Spokane in the 1880s and 1890s. By the early 1900s, the Spokane Press reported that over 500 Italians were living in Spokane, amounting for nearly 2% of the population. In June of 1902, the first local Italian society was formed with the name Fratellanza Marconi. They soon changed their name to the Marconi Colombo Society and they celebrated their 20-year anniversary in 1923. The society was replaced by a new Sons of Italy club in 1928.

The local Italian community had an Italian-language newspaper, The Columbus Record, which was published and edited by Italian immigrant Frank Yuse. The newspaper was published from the late 1910s until Yuse’s death in 1945. Yuse was educated in Italy and first immigrated to Walla Walla when he came to Washington State. He moved to Spokane in 1918 and he became active in Spokane’s Italian community, described by some as their defacto leader. He was an attorney, the publisher of the newspaper, and he was appointed Justice of the Peace in 1935. He did not live in East Central, but first lived downtown and later moved to the east side of the South Hill on East 32nd Avenue.

Italian Spokanites attended Catholic churches with other Italians and Irish Catholics. They operated grocery stores, pasta factories, and produce stands to offer the ingredients and products that Italians needed to continue practicing their culinary traditions. They formed Italian organizations and held annual gatherings and

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9 “To Make Macaroni,” Spokane Chronicle, 1/7/1913, page 8; Linda Yeomans, SRHP Nomination for the Ripoli-Scarpeli Building.


celebrations to maintain familial connections.

Spokane’s Italians did not forget about their home country either. Many of them sent remittances back to family and they organized, at least on one occasion, a charitable fundraiser to support a region many of them originated from, Cosenza. Three days after Christmas in 1908, a massive 7.1 magnitude earthquake shook southern Italy. The epicenter was between the Italian peninsula and the island of Sicily. Between 75,000 and 100,000 Italians were killed in the aftermath of the quake and full Italian cities were leveled to the ground. Spokane’s Italian community feared that their relatives had been impacted by the event and promptly began raising funds. They raised nearly $500 in just five days. Fortunately, the local community heard from relatives by January 3rd and learned that the Cosenza Province, which was the home of many of Spokane and East Central’s Italian community, was mostly unscathed by the quake [Figure 7].

The rise in Spokane’s Italian population directly correlates with the period of greatest residential development and growth in the project area. Many of the Italian families who moved into the neighborhood from 1905-1925 had arrived in Spokane a decade earlier and had earned enough money to purchase or rent a house. By 1938, foreign-born Italian families accounted for upwards of 10% of the residents in East Central.

**Discrimination Against Italians**

Although Spokane had a strong Italian community, they were not free from anti-immigrant, anti-Catholic, and explicitly anti-Italian sentiments. In 1914 during an election campaign, a group of “small but bitter anti-Catholics” orchestrated an effort to place stickers on campaign signs for certain candidates. The stickers read “read the menace and get the dope, go to polls and defeat the Pope.” The *Spokane Chronicle* reported that the stickers were placed on signs of multiple candidates including those who were not Catholic. Even if the candidates were not actually Catholic, the stickers could impact their campaign. That illustrates the impact of anti-Catholic sentiment at the time.

Italian Spokanites faced discrimination in the workplace too. In the 1930s, an Italian college student, who lived in the project area, named Roger Fruci won a contest where the prize for winning was an internship at one of the city’s largest law firms. Fruci made repeated attempts to arrange a start date for his internship, but he kept getting ignored or was given the run around. Eventually Roger was able to get a conversation with one of the firm’s managing partners who told him “our clients just wouldn’t understand if we had an Italian working here.” Roger was unable to claim his prize due to anti-Italian sentiment that was strong in the United States from 1900-1940.

Anti-Catholic sentiment in the United States was ironically espoused by another religious group, the Methodists. In 1915, at the annual conference of the Methodist Church, the membership adopted a memorial without opposition to oppose Catholics. In the memorial, Methodists scolded Catholics for their “peculiar practices” and “false dogmas,” hostility to public schools, and political activity. The first part of the statement concluded by labeling Catholics as “a menace to the well-being of our public.” The resolution encouraged the Methodist community to take steps to “fortify and prepare them for successful resistance of the further aggression of papacy.” A local Catholic priest from Sacred Heart responded by calling the resolution a false and malicious statement that amounts to a “venomous screed.”

One group formed in Spokane who directed and organized hate toward Catholics and Italians, the Orangemen. They were an anti-Catholic group who organized to “defend the Protestant religion … against all encroachments.” The Spokane chapter held their first meeting at the Knights of Pythias Hall across the street from Our Lady of Lourdes Catholic Church and school in 1923 where

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13 HOLC Redlining Maps, Spokane.
14 “‘Menace’ Sticker Used in Campaign,” *Spokane Chronicle*, 9/1/1914, page 8;
the first fifty members were initiated by a delegation from Walla Walla. The group chose a former Exalted Cyclops of the Ku Klux Klan as their Deputy Councilor, or second in command. In their organization’s rules, the Orangemen disqualified any “person who is a Roman Catholic” or any person who educates his children “in any Roman Catholic school.” In 1924 it was estimated that there were more than 30,000 Orangemen in the United States spread across 356 chapters. The legislation was largely targeted at Asians and southern and eastern Europeans, which was often code for Italians and Jews. The Johnson-Reed Act, or the Immigration Act of 1924, and subsequent quota adjustments limited the number of Italian immigrants to around 5,000 per year. That amounted to an 80% decrease to the number that was allowed per year in the 1910s. According to a study on immigration policy, “the provisions of the act were so restrictive that in 1924 more Italians … left the United States than arrived as immigrants.” It is important to note that although immigration from Europe was limited through quotas, the law completely prohibited immigration from Asia. The law also authorized the formation of the United States Border Patrol. According to a 2012 report from the Department of State’s Office of the Historian, “in all of its parts, the most basic purpose of the 1924 Immigration Act was to preserve the ideal of U.S. homogeneity.” The law was not revised until after World War II in the 1950s.

In the 1920s, the Orangemen and the Klan sponsored an anti-private school bill in Washington State. The bill, known as Initiative No. 49, proposed to ban all private and parochial schools in Washington State for children between seven and sixteen years old. It proposed to make public school education compulsory for all children. The bill, which primarily targeted Catholics who often sent their children to Catholic schools, was modeled after an Oregon law that banned private schools in the state in 1923. The architect of the Oregon law moved to Washington to help organize the Initiative No. 49 effort in 1924.

The bill was controversial, earning the nickname “KKK anti-school bill,” but it was still surprisingly popular. It garnered support from many prominent local organizations like the Methodist Church and seated politicians like a Spokane City Commissioner and Spokane School Board Member. Some candidates tied their campaign to the bill in an effort to solidify themselves as Klan friendly candidates. This could be beneficial for a candidate in the mid-1920s as the Klan was experiencing recent electoral success across the country and because local and regional chapters published lists of candidates that they supported, basically a Klan voter guide, and distributed the lists to their membership and beyond.

Initiative 49 was hotly debated in public forums with prominent supporters advocating on both sides. However, most of the regional newspapers published editorials advocating against Initiative No. 49. A Spokane Attorney, Adolph Munter, explained the intent of the initiative from his perspective: “the Klan is trying to get hold of the schools. And they are trying to convey the impression that no Roman Catholic is as good a citizen as those who are of another faith, and that no foreign born American can be as good a citizen as one who is native born.” Washington voters (and Spokane voters) rejected Initiative No. 49 by a substantial margin of 58% to 42%, but ten of Washington’s counties voted in favor of the initiative, including nearby Whitman, Adams, and Stevens Counties [Figure 8].

Anti-immigration legislation passed at the federal level that same year, in 1924, bringing an end to an era of massive Italian immigration to the United States. According to a study on immigration policy, “the provisions of the act were so restrictive that in 1924 more Italians … left the United States than arrived as immigrants.” It is important to note that although immigration from Europe was limited through quotas, the law completely prohibited immigration from Asia. The law also authorized the formation of the United States Border Patrol. According to a 2012 report from the Department of State’s Office of the Historian, “in all of its parts, the most basic purpose of the 1924 Immigration Act was to preserve the ideal of U.S. homogeneity.” The law was not revised until after World War II in the 1950s.

The passing of the Immigration Act of 1924 and the rapid decline in new immigrants from Italy seems to have tampered anti-Italian sentiment in the United States and by the end of the Great Depression Italians had largely escaped anti-immigrant sentiment. Their children, many of whom were first generation Americans, could more easily access upward mobility than their parents could two decades earlier. In particular, World War II and the G.I. Bill offered many Italian-American veterans a leg up as they returned from the war and sought to improve their lives. In East Central, that meant that many Italian families moved out of the neighborhood and into other residential districts that they deemed more desirable. In 1938, upwards of 10% of the neighborhood was Italian, but by 1950 that number was down to just 1%.

Italian Spokanites overcame great adversity as immigrants to the United States. They left their home country for the unknown to face language, transportation, housing, and cultural challenges in hopes of improving their lives. When they arrived in America, they were often met with anti-immigrant and anti-Catholic sentiment. And yet, they were resilient in their efforts to maintain their culture, to build wealth for their families in the United States and back in Italy, and to participate in the American Dream.

Two East Central Italian families that represent this upward mobility are the Fruci family and the Scarpelli family. Paolo Fruci worked as a laborer and asphalt worker and his son went on to own and operate one of the city’s largest asphalt companies. The first fifty members were initiated by a delegation from Walla Walla. The group chose a former Exalted Cyclops of the Ku Klux Klan as their Deputy Councilor, or second in command. In their organization’s rules, the Orangemen disqualified any “person who is a Roman Catholic” or any person who educates his children “in any Roman Catholic school.” In 1924 it was estimated that there were more than 30,000 Orangemen in the United States spread across 356 chapters. Anti-immigration legislation passed at the federal level that same year, in 1924, bringing an end to an era of massive Italian immigration to the United States. The legislation was largely targeted at Asians and southern and eastern Europeans, which was often code for Italians and Jews. The Johnson-Reed Act, or the Immigration Act of 1924, and subsequent quota adjustments limited the number of Italian immigrants to around 5,000 per year. That amounted to an 80% decrease to the number that was allowed per year in the 1910s. According to a study on immigration policy, “the provisions of the act were so restrictive that in 1924 more Italians … left the United States than arrived as immigrants.” It is important to note that although immigration from Europe was limited through quotas, the law completely prohibited immigration from Asia. The law also authorized the formation of the United States Border Patrol. According to a 2012 report from the Department of State’s Office of the Historian, “in all of its parts, the most basic purpose of the 1924 Immigration Act was to preserve the ideal of U.S. homogeneity.” The law was not revised until after World War II in the 1950s.

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accounting firms. Antonio Scarpelli worked as a railroad contractor until he and his family acquired a macaroni factory that provided for their family and many other Italian families. Learn more about their stories in the Representative Properties section of this report.

Housing segregation and growth of a Black community in East Central

As some Italian families moved out of East Central in the midcentury, many Black families began to fill their place. The Black Spokanites who were increasingly steered into East Central starting in the 1940s became proud residents of and advocates for their neighborhood despite federal policies that made it nearly impossible to leverage the equity in their properties to borrow money for improvements or investment opportunities.

Spokane’s earliest non-Native settlers included small numbers of Black residents. People like Reverend Perter Barrow and Spokane Police Officer Walter Lawson who were influential in early Spokane. What residential segregation existed in those early days was economic rather than racial, and Spokane’s Black residents could live where they could afford. A Seattle Republican newspaper article from 1902 subtitled “Spokane and its Afro-American Colony” highlighted the excellent employment situation for Black Spokanites. And a 1908 article from the same paper featured the stately houses of three Black Spokanites, describing Charles A. Neville’s place as “one of the neatest in the city.” Notably, the houses were located throughout Spokane: one in West Central, one near Corbin Park, and one in Chief Garry Neighborhood.

Black Spokanites made up about one percent of the city’s total population from 1890-1920, growing from 190 to 727 residents. In an era before the rise of the Ku Klux Klan in the 1920s and the proliferation of housing segregation policies and tools, Black Spokanites could live mostly anywhere in Spokane. According to Carl Maxey, Spokane’s famous civil rights attorney and championship boxer, “the original 300” Black Spokaneites “lived all over Spokane. The dominant number lived in the East Side, but, by far, it couldn’t be said that there was just one area.” Maxey also remarked that the geographic diversity of Spokane’s Black population from 1890-1920 was different than other cities that had clearly defined Black neighborhoods.

Early Black Spokanites had a thriving community. In 1890, the first Black church was founded in Spokane and a second was founded in 1901. The churches, Calvary Baptist and Bethel A.M.E., continue to operate today. In 1908 Charles Parker partnered with Charles Barrow, the son of Spokane pioneer and former slave Peter B. Barrow Sr., to found Spokane’s first Black-owned newspaper, The Citizen. Charles Parker served as the paper’s editor from 1908 to 1913 when the paper ceased printing. After the newspaper stopped publishing, the business continued as X-Ray printing, a black-owned print shop in the early 1910s. In 1909, the leaders of Spokane’s Black community planned a centennial celebration for President Abraham Lincoln’s 100th Birthday. That same year, Black Spokanites founded the Nonpartisan Colored Improvement Club, which was likely the first non-religious and non-partisan organization in Spokane dedicated to advocating for the rights of Black Spokanites. In 1916, Black Spokanites celebrated the anniversary of the Emancipation Proclamation with a parade of over 400 Black residents who were led by Spokane’s only Black police officer, Walter Lawson. Early Black Spokanites were police officers, architects, patent holders, botanists, newspaper publishers, pastors, investors, farmers, barbers, and community organizers. And, they lived all over town.

The relative freedom in housing experienced by early Black Spokanites did not last into the mid-century. The release of the film Birth of a Nation which first screened in Spokane in 1915, and the subsequent rise of the Ku Klux Klan in Spokane in the early 1920s, had an impact on how many white Spokaneites perceived their Black neighbors. The Spokane Chapter of the Ku Klux Klan was organized in 1921 with elected officers, membership dues, and over 100

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members. One year later, in 1922, the Washington State Ku Klux Klan was founded. The upstart Klan in Washington State mostly relied on political influence more than overt violence to achieve their goals. But, the local Klan participated in many of the same tactics as the national Klan. They hosted cross burnings on prominent hills on the outskirts of town including on Five Mile Prairie and Little Baldy. They held large initiation ceremonies in downtown fraternal halls, and their members were elected to public office.

Black Spokanites protested the premier of the original Clansman play in 1908 and again protested the screening of the film adaptation, Birth of a Nation, in 1915, 1921 and 1925. When the film premiered at the Clemmer Theater (today’s Bing Crosby Theater) in Spokane in August of 1915, a group of Black Spokanites led by the pastor of Bethel A.M.E. Church petitioned the city to require that the theater modify the original version to remove objectionable scenes. One of the other petitioners was Adolph Munter, the Catholic attorney who would later be an adamant foe of the Spokane Ku Klux Klan in the 1920s. Munter showed solidarity with Black Spokanites, possibly as he realized Italians may be targeted next. Two Black men were also arrested in 1915 for attacking a man on a horse in a Ku Klux Klan outfit (possibly a Klan member) who was advertising the film in front of the Clemmer Theater.

Although little is known about their activities, Black Spokanites formed a group called the Organization of the Three Brothers in an effort to limit the Klan’s political influence. Ku Klux Klan membership declined precipitously between 1925 and 1930. At their peak in the mid-1920s they had over eight million members nationwide but by 1930 they had dwindled to approximately 35,000. Similarly in Spokane, the Klan had largely disappeared by the early 1930s.

Walter Lawson’s story and the hiring practices of the Spokane Police Department are reflective of this shift in white Spokanite’s perception of their Black neighbors. Lawson was a Black U.S. Army veteran who was employed as a Spokane Police Officer for 18 years from 1899 to 1917. He served in various roles and in 1905 he was lauded for locating a wanted murder suspect. He did not live within the project area, but just north of the area on East First Avenue. Lawson died in 1917 while still working for the police force. Newspapers across the country exclaimed that the Pacific Coast was now without a single Black police officer. It is not clear how accurate that statement was, but it does suggest that a shift is particularly clear in Spokane. After Lawson’s death, the City of Spokane did not hire another Black police officer until 1971! Let that sink in, for over 50 years there was not a single individual from Spokane’s Black community represented on Spokane’s police force.

Despite the virulent and racist rhetoric of 1920s Spokane, Black Spokanites continued to build a community. The local chapter of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) was founded in Spokane in 1919. In 1925, Black women in Spokane founded the African-American Order of the Eastern Star, a women’s auxiliary of the Black Masons. The organization was a charitable organization that also supported the civil rights struggle. And in 1937, Rosa D. Malone, a graduate of the Tuskegee Institute, opened the Booker T. Washington Community Center in Spokane. The center was located at 959 East Hartson, a half mile southwest of the project area, in a converted house. It served as a community gathering space for dances and celebrations but it also supported Black Spokanites looking for employment and helped acclimate Blacks who had recently arrived in Spokane, even providing sleeping accommodations for those who were still getting on their feet. According to Dwayne Mack in Black Spokane, “by the end of the Great Depression, Spokane’s African American community, despite its lack of political clout, had succeeded in carving out its own social niche.

Midcentury Changes for Black Spokanites

According to Mack, “in 1945, Spokane contained the smallest percentage of Blacks of any similar-sized American city, but racial discrimination remained a daily reality.” Maxey suggested that segregation in Spokane became much more pronounced in the 1940s as Spokane turned into a wartime city during the Second World War. As you can see on Figure 13, Spokane’s Black population doubled from 1940 to 1950, and gained an additional 50% from 1950 to 1960, eclipsing one percent of the city’s total population for the first time. This rapid growth in the number of Black Spokanites intensified segregation, particularly in housing.

According to sociologist Tolbert Kennedy, before World War II, racial prejudice and discrimination existed in the city, but its smaller Black population had general adapted to it,” explains Mack. Kennedy, like Maxey, also observed that “racial tensions increased” and “discriminatory practices intensified” with the doubling of Spokane’s Black population during the 1940s.

Catalyzed by World War II, Spokane’s Black population quadrupled between 1940 and 1960. A racist backlash ensued. Spokane property owners filed quadruple the number of racist property documents with the Spokane County

Auditor between 1940-1955, compared with the fifteen years prior 1925-1940. In two decades, Spokane shifted from a city where Black residents had relative freedom in housing choices to a city with a clearly defined Black neighborhood with vast swaths of residential land off-limits to Black residents.

Another Black Spokanite, J.W. Strong, recognized the organized nature of this effort when speaking to a meeting of the NAACP in 1951. Strong was the president of the Spokane Unit of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters and he was speaking to the group about difficulties with housing. He explained to the group that it has “only been the last 10 years that there has been an organized attempt to keep the Negro within the confines of a particular district.” He continued in explaining his personal situation, “I have lived for many years in what is now referred to as the Negro district, but when I came here [to Spokane] there were not more than 12 or 14 Negro families in the entire area. The rest of our Negro population was scattered all over the city.” Strong resided just outside of downtown on South Pine Street.

Black individuals who arrived in Spokane in the midcentury were not granted the same freedom to live throughout the city as their predecessors who arrived at the turn of the century. By the midcentury, housing segregation had hardened in Spokane as the result of changing ideas of race and hysteria over Black migration and white flight.

But, housing segregation in Spokane was not just something that happened organically, it was the result of de jure policies and laws. In January of 1938, surveyor from the Federal Government’s Home Owners Loan Corporation (HOLC) arrived in Spokane for a survey project to classify residential districts into four classes based on the supposed creditworthiness of prospective buyers and borrowers [Figure 11]. The Spokane survey was led by Theodore S. Bowden, who met with a local mortgage group, the Spokane

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29 De jure policies refer to actual laws, policies, and regulations that perpetrated segregation in contract with de facto segregation which is segregation that just happens by default.
Mortgage Men’s Association, while he was in Spokane working on the project.

According to the HOLC Map for Spokane from 1938, the East Central Neighborhood was colored yellow on the map and classified as "definitely declining." Although prospective buyers in yellow zones had an easier time securing loans than buyers in redlined neighborhoods, it was still much more difficult to secure a loan in this area. According to the remarks on the map, this area was "on the verge of being 4th grade and is assigned a very ‘low yellow’ grade. Both improvements and population are extremely heterogeneous in character and the Northeastern part of the area will undoubtedly become 'hazardous' in the course of time." The HOLC was forecasting the future of the project area by setting the conditions that would almost guarantee that result.

The HOLC’s red and yellow designations had long-lasting impacts on the ability of residents to improve their living conditions and to accumulate generational wealth. Prospective buyers of their properties were unable to secure loans preventing them from using the capital to purchase a larger home or a home in a different neighborhood. These designations also made it much harder for property owners to secure home equity lines of credit that could be used to improve or maintain properties within the area.

Redlining maps were one tool to enforce segregation but Spokanites had also been using racially restrictive covenants to create all-white neighborhoods since the 1920s. By 1955, there were more than 70 additions and subdivisions (plus hundreds of individual lots) that had covenants with explicit clauses prohibiting non-whites from living in those areas. The covenant language most frequently used in Spokane was not a dog whistle either, it was specific: “no race other that the white race may live or occupy any lot except that this clause shall not prevent occupancy by a domestic servant of another race who is employed by a resident.”

The mechanics of racial property restrictions are evident in at least one newspaper real estate advertisement for the house at 1914 East Fourth Avenue in East Central [Figure 14]. In the 1957 advertisement (nearly a decade after the Supreme Court ruled against racially restrictive covenants), the seller included in the first line of the ad that there would be “no racial discrimination” in the sale of the property. This advertisement helps to illustrate the difficulty of finding suitable housing for non-white Spokanites. If a seller was willing and able to sell to non-white buyers, it was a selling point worth listing front and center.

Not only would it be difficult for a Black resident in East Central to sell their property since most buyers could not get a loan to purchase it, even if they could find a buyer the options for other neighborhoods that allowed Black residents were limited. Even if it was possible to sell, it was hard to find a place

31 HOLC Redlining Maps, Spokane.
32 Comstock Park Second Addition Covenants, Spokane County Auditor, 8/14/1953.
to move. Unlike Italians who had found upward mobility and moved out of East Central, that process (a step in the American Dream) was less accessible to Black Spokanites who were restricted to specific neighborhoods due to the color of their skin.

The tools to enforce housing segregation and to steer Black Spokanites into East Central were effective. In 1950, about the time J.W. Strong said housing segregation became more pronounced in Spokane, only 58 Black residents lived in Census Tract 30/31, which surrounded the 5th Avenue Business District and mostly matches up with the project area. There were three census tracts on the north side with the same or greater number of Black residents than in Tract 30/31. The city was not yet as segregated either, with 42% of the city’s Black population living in three census tracts.

By 1960, there were 586 Black residents in Census Tract 30/31, an increase of 910% in just ten years! Likewise, the city at large became more segregated in those ten years and by 1960 71.6% of the city’s Black residents were living in just 3 census tracts. The area around the 5th Avenue Business District became a residential center of Spokane’s Black community in just one decade.

This was also the period of the greatest “white flight” from the project area. Between 1950 and 1970 the white population in Census Tract 30/31 was cut in half, and the percentage of white residents in the Tract decreased from 98% to 76%. This tells the story of the upward mobility of white immigrant families and it also shows that white families fled the neighborhood once the federal government had deemed it less desirable in their redlining maps, and once nonwhite residents started increasing in number.

The map of Spokane’s Black population in 1960 (Figure 12) shows the density Spokane’s Black population. The detail pop out on the map shows the densest concentration of Black residents in downtown and East Central. When the 1938 Redlining Maps were created, East Central’s Black population made up about 1% of the total which was similar to the city as a whole. But by 1960 it’s evident that the Black population in East Central was larger than anywhere in the city except for downtown. According to former Mayor Jim Chase, Spokane’s first and only Black Mayor, “Black Spokane, by geographic location, is defined as roughly Third to Ninth, between Division and the 4000 block east.” The census data shows that Chase was accurate.

Black families like the Carpenters and the Montgomerys moved into East Central in the 1950s and 1960s. Their stories are reflective of the Black families who were steered into the neighborhood and proceeded to make it their own. Likewise, Black Spokanites opened businesses along the 5th Avenue Business Corridor. One Black business is emblematic of the transition to a Black neighborhood, Larry’s Afro Barber Shop. Larry apprenticed with the original owner, a white man, in the 1960s whom he ultimately purchased the building and shop from in 1978. He still operates his barber shop at the same location in 2022. Learn more about these stories in the Representative Properties section of this report.

The uncertainty and instability created by federal policies likely also had negative impact on the integrity on many of the resources in the project area. The financial means that white property owners used to maintain and improve their real property assets were often not available to Black property owners exclusively based on where they lived. Nonetheless, these buildings, regardless of how intact, are our best opportunity to tell the important stories embodied within the East Central neighborhood.

**Neighborhood revitalization and community empowerment**

Interstate construction marks another symbolic turning point for the project area. By 1950, planning for the route of Interstate 90 was well underway and officials were working to determine the best route through Spokane. In downtown, property owners and business owners advocated for an elevated

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34 Census Tract 30/31 refers to the same tract that was renamed before 1970 census. Census Tract 31 was bounded by 1st on the north, Perry on the west, Regal on the east, and the Ben Burr Trail on the south. In 1970, the census tracts were slightly reconfigured (likely due to the interstate) and the new Census Tract that included East Central was renumbered as 30 and reconfigured to the interstate on the north, Perry on the west, Thor on the east, and Ben Burr trail on the south. Although the tract has changed slightly, it is largely similar allowing for meaningful comparison across decades.

freeway viaduct that would limit the impact on connectivity between downtown and the South Hill. Unfortunately, advocates in East Central did not have the same success in pushing for an elevated freeway or alternate route; and instead their neighborhood was divided by a surface level freeway between 2nd and 3rd Avenues.

Groups like the East Side Taxpayer Club advocated for a route that tracked beside the South Hill bluff on 7th or 8th Avenues in the project area or along the city’s existing railroad corridor so that the neighborhood would not be divided in two. They hosted multiple workshops and public meetings with attendance from 50-300 people. Some of the meetings were held at Libby Junior High School within the greater East Central neighborhood. The topic was so controversial that it became a premier issue in the late 1950s local election cycles. Despite the club’s advocacy and making public statements in opposition to the proposed route (and even some candidates for office promising alternate routes), the 2nd - 3rd Avenue corridor was selected by the Washington State Department of Highways.36

In 1953, the state worked to take ownership of the freeway right-of-way for the section between Helena Street and the Spokane Valley (this section of the freeway was known as the Spokane Valley Freeway before all sections on Interstate 90 were connected). The state acquired the lots that were needed and they auctioned off the buildings on the sites. Buyers had five days to pay for the structures they won and a “reasonable amount of time” to remove them from the site. The State Highway Division explained that most of the structures that would be auctioned were houses - houses that had previously been people’s homes. Some families were willing to sell their homes for the state’s offer price, but other’s homes were taken through eminent domain.37

In 1954 the Spokane Valley Freeway project went to bid in phases and the plan was to construct the freeway in a piecemeal fashion where sections would be completed as it was most feasible, not necessarily in an east to west geographically linear fashion. Even though they had lost the routing battle, the East Side Taxpayer Club continued to advocate for freeway crossings, appropriate access roads, and traffic noise reductions for their neighborhood.

By 1958, the footprint of the Spokane Valley Freeway stretched from the eastern city limits to Helena Street. Aerial imagery from that year [Figure 15] shows that freeway was not yet completed, but that all the houses had been cleared and site work was progressing.

According to longtime community member Jim Hanley, the demolition of all those houses was “was very disruptive to the community since those people had lived there for many many years.” He also points to the impact of losing so many residents causing a reduction of the tax base in the neighborhood. With frustration in his voice he explains that East Central “was just a nice little community, and then the freeway came through and bisected the thing so we ended up with two East Central neighborhoods.” The state’s choice to route the freeway through the neighborhood left the residents scrambling to “stitch the

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neighborhood back together.” A process that Hanley said was ongoing in 2014.38

Another East Central community member, Ivan Bush, said that the construction of the freeway “created a mental and a physical division” in the neighborhood. Bush founded the Martin Luther King Jr. Community Center and he served as director of the East Central Community Center in the 1980s. His house was located just outside the project area on 8th Avenue. Bush, like Hanley, mourned the loss of the hundreds of houses that once stood in the freeways path, “ya know, people have been displaced.”39

The East Central neighborhood was divided and devastated by the construction of the Spokane Valley Freeway, but the residents were supposed to reap the benefit of eased access to other parts of the region and speedy commutes to downtown. The first sections of the freeway opened in 1956, but additional sections were opened in phases as they were completed. The western most section through the project area was the last to open in September of 1958. But, the freeway only went eastbound, it had not yet connected to provide access to downtown or to the west. It took until August of 1971 for the freeway to finally connect and provide a through route from the western city limits to the eastern city limits. The residents of the project area waited for over 15 years from the time houses were removed from the right of way until the freeway was completed.40

Nonetheless, some residents like Theogony Adams, who lived on South Laura and South Ray Streets, thought the benefits of the interstate outweighed the costs. She acknowledged that many houses were lost, but she explained that many of the houses were in bad shape and the improved freeway accessibility for commuters has “really helped the working man.”41

East Central residents and community members continued to advocate for their neighborhood despite the slow-paced destruction and division caused by the interstate. In 1963, the Liberty Park Improvement Club was founded with the purpose of improving and advocating for Liberty Park. In the 1980s, Clarence Freeman was the president of the group [Figure 16]. Freeman was a Lewis and Clark High School graduate who attended Gonzaga and went on to operate a construction company. He was not a resident of East Central, but he and his wife had a childhood connection to Liberty Park and they were passionate about guaranteeing the park’s future. Liberty Park was an important amenity to East Central, but it was also an important amenity for the rest of the city core. Under Freeman’s leadership, the club raised money to install a Japanese garden and new wading pools. The newspaper did a feature story on the group in which they said “for the entire city, Clarence T. Freeman and his associates in the Liberty Park Improvement Group are a shot in the civic arm.” Despite these additional investments and a community group caring for it, Liberty Park still had a target on its back.42

Making the final connection of Interstate 90 came at an additional significant cost to the neighborhood. Liberty Park, the premier amenity in East Central at that time, was directly in the line of the proposed route. Residents advocated for

the park and again proposed alternate routes. They were unable to secure an alternate route, but they were able to extract a promise from the State Highway Department that the amount of park land that was taken and any park amenities would be replaced. Ultimately, the entire 18 acres that was taken was not allocated at the replacement Liberty Park site, but a combination of acreage that comprise the current Liberty Park and the Grant Playfield up the hill were given as replacement.

So, in 1971 the freeway proceeded to consume much of the original footprint of Liberty Park in order to construct what was originally called the Liberty Park Interchange and today is called the Hamilton Street exit [Figure 17]. The interchange was originally intended to be the interchange for the North-South Freeway but the plan was scrapped for a route further to the east. Figure 19 shows an aerial image from 2022 of the interchange and the former park. The current park is situated in the foreground. The new footprint of Liberty Park is similar in size to the original park, but it has been shifted to the southeast and many of the amenities that made it a fabulous park were lost. The basalt ruins that were once part of a covered pergola walkway at Third Avenue and Arthur Street are a reminder of the grandeur of the original Liberty Park. “That was devastating” according to community member Jerry Numbers in summarizing the impact of losing the original Liberty Park.44

As was the case with freeway placement nationwide, the route of the freeway had a disproportionate impact on Spokanites of a lower socioeconomic status. One way to illustrate that is to overlay the redlining map produced by the HOLC in 1938 with a map of the freeway route [Figure 18]. The route passes almost exclusively (with one exception) through areas that were graded as red or yellow by the HOLC. This was not an accident, these residents were targeted for urban renewal projects and freeways in part because of their classification by the HOLC and the impact the HOLC classifications had in the intervening years.45

By the early 1970s, Interstate 90 had torn through downtown leaving demolished buildings and an altered landscape in its wake. The impacts of an interstate highway that divides a previously connected neighborhood are hard to quantify and the impact is ongoing. In 2020, a historic structure in the neighborhood (the Rose-Kly-Cecil Apartments) was carefully moved from the freeway right-of-way to 4th Avenue to make way for a wider freeway sometime in the future. And as this survey project is being prepared in 2022, East Central residents are advocating for what the future will look like along the highway corridor in their neighborhood. The state acquired and cleared much more right-of-way than will be necessary to build the connection with the future north/south freeway. East Central residents want to have some say in how that

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extra property will be used and residents have been advocating that the land should be returned to the neighborhood.46

Community Organizations

The advocacy of the East Side Taxpayer Club in an attempt to modify the freeway route is emblematic of the grassroots community organization that has occurred in the years since the freeway was constructed. A handful of particular organizations and people articulate that well: the League of Women for Community Action, the East Central Community Organization, Planning Commissioner Lee Wade, the Liberty Park Improvement Club, and the Eastside Reunion Association.

In May of 1969, Betty Jean Richey, Charline Marie Hopkins, and Nellie Lay filed an application with the Washington Secretary of State to incorporate the League of Women for Community Action. The group’s stated purposes were “charitable, benevolent, educational, civic, social, and particularly for the purpose of setting up a day care center.” The application identified the original board of directors which included five members: Carol Richey, Rosa Anna Coats, Jimmie Lee Kinard, Mae Belle Hawkins, and Lula Mae Montgomery.

When the group was formed, three of the five directors resided within the project area and one (Rosa Anna Coats) resided in a house that was ultimately demolished for the Liberty Park Interchange. Check out the Representative Properties section of this report to learn more about Lula Mae Montgomery.47

The League’s original membership was comprised of 23 Black women, all of whom were mothers and who had felt that a day care center was desperately needed in east Spokane. They held true to their mission and saw results quickly. In 1970, only a year after incorporation, they opened a day care center, officially known as the Southeast Community Day Care Center. The center was originally located at 2430 East Pacific in a church, but the size of the space was instantly an issue and the League was almost immediately looking for a more suitable space.48

The center was partially funded by the Spokane City Council, the Head Start program, and by community development funds. Their relationship with City Council appears to have been strong, because in 1978, they broke ground on a building that would house the day care center on the old Edison School site and in 1980 the city offered to lease the land near the former Edison School on South Stone Street to the League on favorable terms of $1.00 rent per year. The organization also had financial support from the Washington Commission for the Humanities who helped fund their outreach and educational activities.49

Providing a resource for day care was critical to Spokane’s working class. Much as the situation is today, it was impossible for parents (especially single parents) of children under 5 to go to work during the day and earn a paycheck to provide for their family if they did not have any access to affordable childcare. Additionally, the Southeast Community Day Care Center endeavored to provide services to children including medical, dental and education. The center also employed social workers who could connect with parents and try to meet their individual needs as well.

Additional to the day care, the center provided a space in the neighborhood for important community meetings. The NAACP met there regularly. The meetings hosted at the center included: community workshops, lectures on Black history in Spokane, programming for Black teens, lectures that featured Carl Maxey, their 76th birthday celebration, and their general membership meetings. The location would have been especially convenient for the members who lived in

the project area, including John K. Carpenter (2103 East Hartson) who held a leadership position with the group serving as a committee chairperson.\textsuperscript{50}

The League of Women for Community Action was officially dissolved as a corporation in 1986, however the organization continues to exist today in some form. A day care and community center continues to operate in the building the League constructed. And, importantly, the League and their center inspired other neighborhoods to pursue community and day care centers throughout Spokane. The \textit{Spokesman-Review} remarked that East Central’s “determined hard-working residents could be considered inspiring pathfinders for those in other parts of the city.” In 1980, West Central followed suit, and in 1982 Northeast Spokane opened a center too. Check out the Representative Properties section of this report to learn more about the community center building on South Stone Street.\textsuperscript{51}

Lee Wade did not live in the project area but she had an outsized influence on its trajectory. She was involved in so many East Central neighborhood groups and organizations that a newspaper reporter in 1990s summarized Wade’s involvement in the community: “well, if it’s East Central, she’s on it.” Wade was a founding member of the League of Women for Community Action and the East Central Community Organization, she served on the East Central Steering Committee and the East Central Advisory Board, and she was involved with the first neighborhood council in East Central. Wade was appointed to the City Plan Commission where she seems to have served as a conduit between East Central and the city to share with other parts of the city the grassroots community advocacy strategies that had benefited East Central. She was also involved with community development funds and their distribution in East Central. In 1979, she participated in a city advertising campaign to encourage folks to participate in the community development process at the grassroots level because “that’s where the nitty gritty action starts.” [Figure 20]\textsuperscript{52}

The East Central Community Organization, of which Wade was a member, is another successful example of the grassroots organizing that has originated in East Central. The nonprofit organization, which still exists today, was founded in the 1980s and for many years contracted with the City of Spokane to operate the East Central Community Center on South Stone Street. A 1987 letter to the editor from the president of the organization, Pam Behring, illustrates the “call it how you see it” nature of grassroots organizing. In defending East Central against accusations that it was decaying, she wrote:

> “But surely this is not what constitutes decay. This is what the people of this country want – guns, not butter; people off welfare onto the streets; liars for leaders; and poppycock visions of the future while the present rots in its immediate problems.

> Or maybe it’s just plain old racism.

> Here we have the perfect neighborhood, but schools that reflect color garner little support from the upper echelon.

> Blacks seeking jobs for youth find no jobs available, and in the past, developers have seen our neighborhood as the ideal location for public housing and freeways.”

Behring’s letter to the editor captures the frustration that East Central advocates felt as they tirelessly fought for their neighborhood yet were continually denied the resources and support they deserved while shouldering the brunt of the impact of federal policies like redlining and urban renewal.\textsuperscript{53}

\textit{Fifth Avenue Business District Revitalization}

However, the tide might be shifting in East Central. The City of Spokane may be training its focus on East Central into the future while looking through a lens intent on righting the planning wrongs of the past. The city and the Washington Department of Transportation recently provided some assistance to the East


Central Community Organization to relocate the Rose-Kly-Cecil Apartments which still remained in the freeway right-of-way in 2020. The apartments are affordable housing operated by the organization. More holistically, the city has completed one planning effort and is embarking on another: the 5th Avenue Initiative and a full quarter-million dollar sub-area plan for the area surrounding the 5th Avenue business district.

Regardless of the city’s planning initiatives, grassroots community empowerment will continue in the neighborhood. In addition to the older organizations that continue their missions, in the past decade two new groups have formed in East Central to further that work - the Eastside Reunion Association and the Carl Maxey Center.

Michael C. Brown, a Lewis & Clark High School graduate, formed the Eastside Reunion Association in approximately 2013. The group has sponsored basketball camps, tutoring services, and job training focused on serving youth who live in East Central and especially those who live around the 5th Avenue Business District. One of the Eastside Reunion Association’s biggest projects to date was the rehabilitation of a building in the 5th Avenue Business District to open a soul food restaurant called Fresh Soul which serves as a job training facility of sorts for youth in the neighborhood to learn the ins and outs of working in the restaurant business. Check out the Representative Properties section of this report to learn more about Fresh Soul.54

Sandy Williams, a Cheney High School graduate, founded the Carl Maxey Center in 2019. With support from donors, the organization acquired a building on 5th Avenue, just across from Fresh Soul. The organization has turned the building into “a neighborhood cultural center and gathering place.” Williams, when explaining the need for a place like this in East Central said: “We needed to create a space that's specifically safe for Black people. It’s not that other people can't come, but the intention of it is to be a safe space for Black people.” Tragically, Williams died in a plane accident in 2022 but the center is committed to extending her legacy into the future. Check out the Representative Properties section of this report to learn more about the Carl Maxey Center and Sandy Williams.55

Additional to the core survey area, the Representative Properties section of this report will identify a handful of important amenities, businesses, or community hubs that were regularly used by the residents of this area but that were located in an adjacent neighborhood. For example, there is an important historic community center, the Booker T. Washington Center, and one of the city's Black churches, Bethel AME, that are outside the survey boundary but are included to produce a holistic and comprehensive history of this neighborhood.

Conclusion

The project area has long been one of the places where recent migrants and immigrants to Spokane made their homes. In the early 20th century, Italian immigrants moved into the project area upon immigration to the United States and their arrival in Spokane. In the midcentury, Black individuals who arrived in Spokane to work in war industries were steered into the neighborhood through mechanisms of housing segregation. From 2000-2020 as Spokane has become further diversified, the population of other people of color who are not Black has doubled in the project area. Many of these residents are also new arrivers to Spokane who were attracted to the project area due to the community in the neighborhood and potentially the affordable housing stock.

Each of these groups had to overcome adversity in the United States, but many Italian Spokanites and other white immigrants were able to move out of the project area to avoid the impacts of segregationist and urban renewal policies. Those policies most significantly impacted the residents of the project area who were unable to leave or who were steered into that neighborhood once it was deemed undesirable due to how it had been impacted by the aforementioned policies.

In the wake of “white flight,” those who remained in East Central made it their own, and they made it work. They founded a myriad of organizations to advocate for improvement of present conditions and for a better future. And

54 Carrie Scozzaro, “Fresh Soul serves up more than Southern-inspired food,” Inlander, 4/7/1921.
they did such an excellent job of that, East Central was a model for other neighborhoods in the city faced with similar challenges.

The future is bright for East Central. The residents have overcome extreme adversity through conditions that were often brought on by their own government’s initiatives. Nonetheless, they persisted and built a strong community through a myriad of community organizations and individual leadership. Now the government has taken notice of East Central and is looking to plan for the future of their neighborhood. This time it is critical that those who do the planning reflect on the history of the past and the impacts bad planning has had while also consulting early and often with the organizations and individuals who have built and advocated for East Central.
Historic Timeline

1880-1899
- Neighborhood initial development

1900-1909
- Decade of greatest growth in Spokane and East Central

1900-1950
- An Italian neighborhood forms in East Central

1938-1970
- Redlining and Restrictive Covenants steered people of color into East Central

1950-1970
- A Black community forms in East Central

1954-1968
- Civil Rights, Fair Housing

1954-1972
- Interstate 90 construction divides neighborhood
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Figure 20: Newspaper Clipping Including Photo of Lee Wade, “How Do I Get in on the Action?,” Spokane Chronicle, 9/20/1979, page 32
Figure 21: Drone photo showing the 5th Avenue Business
School District Boundaries in the district, which show how divided the students are amongst different schools
Representative Properties from

1880-1900: Neighborhood initial development
Leonard Funk built this house in 1889 soon after arriving in Spokane. He was born on a farm near Portage, Wisconsin in 1868. Funk began working as a carpenter’s apprentice when he was fifteen years old. He married Odelia Spiegler on his twenty-first birthday in February of 1889 and the couple moved to Spokane Falls in March of that year. A month after arriving in Spokane, Funk purchased a lot in the Union Park Addition at 2307 East Fifth Avenue where he constructed a small house for himself and his family. He resided in the house until his death in 1935.

Funk became associated with the local carpenter’s union in November of 1889. He was elected president of the local union chapter many times and he was representative to the central body where he also served as president for a period. In 1900, he traveled to Atlanta, Georgia to serve as a delegate of the local union at the national convention. While there, he was appointed as national representative to the building trades department of the American Federation of Labor. Funk served in that role for ten years, including a period as national vice president.

Funk was also engaged in local politics and civic leadership. In 1901, Funk ran for city council and was elected. He won four consecutive terms up until 1911 when a new form of city government was adopted. He lost his bid for election as a city commissioner under the new system and lost again in a subsequent campaign in 1913. Undeterred, Funk threw his hat in the ring in 1915 and finally gathered enough votes to resume a position in city leadership. He was reelected again in 1919, 1925, 1929, and 1933. In 1929, the other commissioners elected him as mayor, and he was serving in that role at the time of his death in 1935. He was a respectful and well-liked politician who was described by his peers as a “man of the people.” At the same time, he was a fierce campaigner who did not mince words, once describing his opponent as a “gelatin-spined shrimp.”

Funk served as the Commissioner of Public Works for most of his time on the commission. In that role, he led Spokane in one of its greatest bridge building campaigns. He was adamant about modernizing Spokane’s network of bridges and his name remains emblazoned on the side of many of Spokane’s extant historic bridges including: Monroe Street Bridge, the Marne Bridge, Greene Street Bridge, Mission Avenue Bridge, Post Street Bridge, Eleventh Avenue Bridge, and Chestnut Street Bridge.

Leonard and Odelia had seven children and 10 grandchildren, some of whom became engaged in politics themselves.56

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2330 East Fourth Avenue
Frank and Carrie Stanley Residence

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Significant Dates:</th>
<th>Built in 1897</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Architect/Builder:</td>
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<td>Property Type:</td>
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<td>Neighborhood Initial Development</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Communities:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Potentially Eligible?</td>
<td>Yes: under SRHP category A</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The house at 2330 East Fourth Avenue appears to have been constructed in approximately 1897. The first owners of the house appear to have been Frank Dennis Stanley and his wife Carrie. Newspaper records suggest that they were living at that address no later than 1897.57

Frank was born in 1854 in Sherbrooke, Quebec, Canada. He moved to Vermont as a child with his family and on to New Hampshire as a teenager. He attended Dartmouth University in New Hampshire during the 1870s where he was trained as an engineer. He graduated in 1879 and began his career working in mining and utilities but he was also active in Populist politics in Spokane.

Carrie Stanley was born in in 1866 as Caroline Eliza Adams in England and she immigrated to the United States in 1878. The couple married in September of 1887 in Bond County, Illinois. Frank was widowed the year before and left as a single father of three children. Carrie became the mother for those three children and the couple had at least six more children together. The family relocated to Spokane between 1888 and 1890 where their youngest three children were born.

Carrie was sick multiple times in the late 1890s and she ultimately passed away in 1901 in her mid-30s when her youngest child was only three years old. Frank remarried in 1907, he relocated to Hermiston, Oregon, and passed away in July of 1929 in Georgia. He was 75 years old.58

The Mangan family and Coulton family were subsequent residents of the house.59

57 “Thirty-Seven Quarantine,” Spokesman-Review, 12/22/1897.
Representative Properties from

1900-1909: Period of greatest growth and Italian immigration
1902 East Fourth Avenue

Marian & Roger Fruci Sr. Residence

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Significant Dates:</th>
<th>Built in 1921, Frucis lived here from 1946-1956</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Architect/Builder:</td>
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<tr>
<td>Property Type:</td>
<td>House</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Historic Timeline:</td>
<td>Period of greatest growth and Italian immigration</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Communities:</td>
<td>Italian Spokanites</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Potentially Eligible?</td>
<td>Yes: under SRHP category A, B, and E</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Roger Fruci, Sr. was born in October of 1912 and he grew up in the East Central Neighborhood on the 3900 block of East Fifth Avenue. Roger’s father, Paolo, immigrated to the United States in 1902 from Filodelfia, Italy in the southern part of the country. Paolo had a third-grade education and when he was fifty-seven years old he worked as a laborer in an asphalt manufacturing plant in Spokane. At the time the census was taken in April of 1940, he had been unemployed for three weeks and he was looking for a new job.

Roger Sr. went to elementary school at Sheridan Elementary (now Frances L.N. Scott Elementary) on East Fifth Avenue. He attended Lewis & Clark High School where he played football, did drama, and was a member of the science club. He graduated in 1931 and began attending school at the Kinman Business College in Spokane. He was proficient in math and he won a skills completion at the college. The prize for winning was an internship at one of the city’s largest law firms. Fruci made repeated attempts to arrange a start date for his internship, but he kept getting ignored or was otherwise given the run around. Eventually Roger was able to get a conversation with one of the firm’s managing partners who told him “our clients just wouldn’t understand if we had an Italian working here.” Roger was unable to claim his prize due to anti-Italian sentiment that was strong in the United States from 1900-1940.60

Roger Sr. joined the Army Air Corps in the mid-1930s and spent four years in the service before returning Spokane. In 1938, he put his math skills to work opening an accounting firm known as Fruci & Associates. World War II made Roger put his upstart business on hold. In October of 1942, less than a year after Japan bombed Pearl Harbor, Roger enlisted in the United States Army for the duration of the war. He served for four years in the Army Finance Department mostly working on contract management for the Army.61

Roger returned home in 1945. He got married in April of 1945 and announced that he would reopen his accounting firm in March of 1946. Over the subsequent decades, Fruci and his wife grew Fruci & Associates to be one of the largest accounting firms in the Inland Northwest. One of their primary sources of business were accounts with doctor’s offices.

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Roger’s wife, Marian (Sacco) Fruci was an Italian immigrant herself. She came to the United States with her mother, father, and sister in 1917. She attended North Central High School and she was active in the Allegro Club, a dancing and theater club whose members were largely young Italian Spokanites. She married Roger in 1945 when he returned home from World War II and they purchased the house at 1902 East Fourth Avenue in 1946. They had multiple children and by 1955 there were kids sleeping in two bunkbeds in a single bedroom. The Fruci-Sacco family began celebrating an Italian family Thanksgiving in the 1970s, a tradition that continued at least into the 2010s.62

Roger was also engaged with Italian organizations including the American-Italian Club of Spokane and an organization for Italian youth. He was also on the planning committee for the Lilac Festival in the 1950s. He was a member of the Licensed Public Accountancy professional organization, and he was appointed to the Washington State Board of Accountancy by Governor Rosellini, the first Italian-American and Roman Catholic governor elected west of the Mississippi River.63

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1902 East Fifth Avenue
Scarpelli Residence

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Significant Dates:</th>
<th>Built in 1902, Scarpellis lived here 1920s-1960s</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Architect/Builder:</td>
<td>Unknown / Unknown</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Property Type:</td>
<td>House</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Historic Timeline:</td>
<td>Period of greatest growth and Italian immigration</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Communities:</td>
<td>Italian Spokanites</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Potentially</td>
<td>Yes: under SRHP category A and E</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Giuseppe Scarpelli House was constructed in 1902 and the multi-generational Scarpelli family moved into the house in the 1920s.

Giuseppe (Joe) Edualdo Scarpelli was born in Rovito, Italy in 1888. In May of 1905, at age 16, he immigrated to the United States with his brother, Francesco. By 1910, he was working with his uncle and brothers at the Scarpelli Macaroni Factory. He submitted a Declaration of Intent to become a United States citizen in 1912. As his occupation he listed that he was the manager of a macaroni plant. In 1916 he married another Italian immigrant, Adeli Ambrosio, with whom he had three children: Anthony, Minot, and Louise.64

In 1916 a fire destroyed Scarpelli’s macaroni factory forcing them to purchase a new building on East Sprague Avenue (Ripoli-Scarpelli Building SRHP 2019). When the Scarpelli Brothers Macaroni Factory at East Sprague Avenue opened in 1917, Giuseppe was chosen to serve as president of the factory, a role he maintained until the business closed in 1945. The Scarpelli Brothers Macaroni Factory was founded and operated by Giuseppe’s uncle, Antonio Scarpelli, and his three brothers: Pasquale, Francesco, and Folicardo Scarpelli. The Scarpellis imported macaroni-making factory equipment from Italy and jobs in their factory were the catalyst for many Italian immigrants to come to Spokane. The factory was in operation in east Spokane for 36 years from 1909 to 1945.

Recent Italian immigrants in the early 1900s often lived in multi-generational households when they arrived in the United States. In 1920, there were seventeen Scarpellis, including Giuseppe and Adeli, living at the same address on Freya. In 1930, Giuseppe, Adeli and their kids lived at 1902 East Fifth Avenue, along with one of Giuseppe’s brothers and his mother. Giuseppe’s mother immigrated to the United States in 1908 after her sons had immigrated.65

Giuseppe died in 1954 at age 66 but Scarpellis continued to reside at 1902 East Fifth Avenue into the 1960s.

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64 Ripoli-Scarpelli Building Spokane Historic Register Nomination, Spokane Historic Preservation Office, historicspokane.org.
2314 East Hartson Avenue
Spinelli Residence

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Significant Dates:</th>
<th>Built in 1902, Spinellis lived here 1917-1956</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Architect/Builder:</td>
<td>Unknown / Unknown</td>
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<tr>
<td>Property Type:</td>
<td>House</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Historic Timeline:</td>
<td>Period of greatest growth and Italian immigration</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Communities:</td>
<td>Italian Spokanites</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Potentially Eligible?:</td>
<td>Yes: under SRHP category A and E</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Frank (Francesco) Spinelli was born in 1867 in Luzzi, Cosenza, Italy. He and his wife Mary (Mammie) had a son named Joseph (Giuseppe) who was born in Cosenza in 1889. Frank immigrated to the United States in 1893 and Mammie followed ten years later in 1904.

The Spinellis first immigrated to Pennsylvania, and then on to Spokane in 1909. They purchased the house at 2314 East Hartson in 1909. When they arrived in Spokane, Frank worked as a laborer and contractor for the railroads. In 1911, Joseph was working as a shoemaker.

In 1917, Frank and Joseph opened a fruit and grocery stand at the Spokane Public Market in downtown. Frank, Mary, and Joseph lived at 2314 E Hartson and all three worked together at the market.

In 1919, Frank got into trouble with local police for possession of illegal alcohol, which had been prohibited in Washington in 1914. Officers seized kegs containing 80 gallons of cherry wine with an alcohol percentage over nine percent alcohol by volume. They found 20 gallons at his fruit stand and an additional 60 gallons at his house on Hartson Avenue. He faced state and city charges that resulted in a fine of $200. He was represented in the case by Italian attorney and friend Joseph Albi.  

Joseph Spinelli married Anna D’Amico in November of 1920 at St. Ann’s Catholic Church in Spokane. Anna was also from Cosenza, Italy and she immigrated to the United States in October of 1920, just one month before she married Joseph.

In 1922, a member of the Italian Parliament and councilman on the City Council of Rome, Signor Guido Podrecca, visited Spokane. He gave an address

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and held a fundraiser with approximately 300 Italians at the Knights of Pythias Hall in downtown Spokane. After the address, the Spinellis hosted the dignitary for dinner at their house on East Hartson.

In 1937, the Spinellis moved their fruit stand into a new location at 119 North Washington in the Lang Building. They operated there from 1938 to 1955.

Joseph died in 1961 at 72 years old. His son, Frank M. Spinelli, earned a law degree and opened a practice in Spokane.68

68 Frank M. Spinelli - Lewis & Clark High School, 1939, Ancestry; passport photo of Frank (Francesco) from 1923, Ancestry
2324 East Hartson Avenue
Michael Farrace Residence

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Significant Dates:</th>
<th>Built in 1902, Farraces lived here 1936-2001</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Architect/Builder:</td>
<td>Unknown / Unknown</td>
</tr>
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<td>Property Type:</td>
<td>House</td>
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<tr>
<td>Historic Timeline:</td>
<td>Period of greatest growth and Italian immigration</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Communities:</td>
<td>Italian Spokanites</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Potentially Eligible?</td>
<td>Yes: under SRHP category A and E</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Michael Farrace was born in 1897 in Campobasso, Italy. He immigrated to the United States by himself sometime before 1921. He ended up in Missoula, Montana where he may have had some extended family. In July of 1921, he married Albina Prolo in Missoula. Albina also immigrated to the United States from Campobasso, Italy to be closer to her mother in Missoula. She arrived in May of 1921, just a couple months before she married Michael. The couple had two daughters Marckita and Lily Mary, both who were born in Montana.

The family moved to Spokane sometime between 1928 and 1936. When they arrived, they moved into a house in East Central next door to another Italian family, the Spinellis. Michael worked for the railroads in Montana and he continued that work in Spokane. On the 1940 census he reported that he was working as a railroad foreman.⁶⁹

Both of the Farrace daughters attended Libby Junior High School where they were engaged in extracurricular activities. Lily Mary was also interested in her Italian heritage which she expressed through Italian folk dancing that she performed, including one specific instance at Libby in May of 1937.⁷⁰

The Farraces lived at 2324 E Hartson Avenue for the long haul. Albina and Michael celebrated their 50th wedding anniversary in

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1971 and Michael passed away in 1985. Albina finally sold the house in 2001 shortly before her death at the age of 99 in 2002 in Stockton, California where she had moved to live with her daughter, Marckita. The Farrace family lived in the house for over 65 years.

(Pictured are Michael, Albina, and Lily Mary.)

Representative Properties from

1938-1970: Housing segregation and growth of a Black community in East Central
John Kenneth Carpenter, Jr. was born in 1923 in Billings, Montana to John and Priscilla Carpenter. John Sr. was born in Texas, and he relocated to Montana where he worked as a porter for the Pullman Service, one of the few mainstream occupations that employed a Black workforce. In the mid-1920s, when John Jr. was a child, the family relocated to Spokane. They lived in a house on Providence Avenue in northeast Spokane near Rogers High School where John Jr. attended.

After graduating from high school in 1941, John Jr. went to Washington D.C. where he attended the country’s most prestigious and famous Historically Black College or University (HBCU), Howard University, where he studied liberal arts.72

After university, John Jr. returned to Spokane where he took a position as a porter like his father. But, by the late 1940s he was working as a clerk for the post office, a job he excelled at. In 1957 he received an award and bonus for his innovative idea that was implemented at the local post office.73

When he arrived back in Spokane he also got engaged with community organizations including the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) Spokane Chapter. He was elected as a committee chairperson for the Press and Publicity Committee. John Jr. was not scared to express his opinions about race and segregation publicly. In 1960, the Spokesman-Review published his letter to the editor titled “Integration
Advocated” which refuted the segregationist views of a previously published letter.\textsuperscript{74}

John’s wife, Velma was a volunteer for the United Crusade for Freedom which was an organization that fundraised to push anti-communist propaganda in Europe. The organization was a large supporter of Radio Free Europe. In October of 1961, soon after John Sr. died, the Carpenters got divorced and it is difficult to track the couple after their separation. It appears that Velma remarried but John Jr.’s trail goes cold.\textsuperscript{75}

Three generation of Carpenters attended Spokane High Schools: John Senior at North Central in the 1920s, John Junior at Rogers in the 1940s, and John III in the 1960s.\textsuperscript{76}


\textsuperscript{76} Various High School Year Books from Rogers High School, North Central High School, and Gonzaga Prep High School, accessed via Ancestry.com.
2702 East Fourth Avenue
Tommy and Lula Mae Montgomery House

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Significant Dates:</th>
<th>Built 1923, Montgomerys lived here 1968-2000s</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
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<td>Unknown / Unknown</td>
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<td>Property Type:</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Historic Timeline:</td>
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<tr>
<td>Communities:</td>
<td>Black Spokanites, Veterans</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Potentially Eligible?</td>
<td>Yes: under SRHP category E</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Tommy and Lula Mae Montgomery purchased the house at 2702 East Fourth Avenue in 1968 after living in Spokane for over two decades. Lula Brundge was born in Nakatuck, Louisiana on March 14, 1920. She married Tommy Montgomery in 1937 and the couple moved to Spokane in 1944. Lula Mae worked as a cook. She was a founding board member of the League of Women for Community Action. She was a foster mother to multiple children, and she was a member of the Bethel A.M.E. Church and the Eastern Star Masons.77

Tommy was born in Tennessee in 1916 and he worked in the Civilian Conservation Corps in the 1930s. He enlisted in the United States Army in 1943 and served as a Private First Class. The couple were likely stationed in Spokane, prompting their move here in 1944. At the time of his discharge from the service in 1946, he had been awarded the American Theater Ribbon, Good Conduct Medal, and World War II Victory Medal.

After the war, Tommy first worked as a fireman at Fairchild Air Force Base and later as a janitor in various buildings. Tommy was also active in his community, advocating that community development funds be used to pave streets in the project area. He pointed to the health complications that can come from living on a frequently traveled dirt road. He was successful on 4th Avenue in 1976, but many streets in the area remain unpaved today.78

The couple lived at the Victory Heights Public War Housing complex formerly located south of the interchange of Highway 195 and Interstate 90. The couple lived there until the housing project was closed in the early 1950s. By 1954, the Montgomerys had moved to 1801 E 4th Avenue, which is also in the project area but has been demolished. They were among the 500+ Black Spokanites who moved into the project area from 1950-1960. The couple purchased the house at 2702 E 4th and remained there until the 2000s when they relocated to Richard Allen Court.79

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79 1960 Polk Directory, page 426 (571); 1950 Polk Directory, 364 (721)
Lula Mae died in 2008 and Tommy died shortly after in 2010. The couple was married for over 70 years.

**Pleased Pair**

Neighbors Thomas C. Gregg, E2703 Fourth, and Tommy Montgomery, E2702 Fourth, chat about new paving near their homes. They suffered for 10 years next to a dust bin of a road until partial funding through community development made paving possible this year.
# 2614 East Fourth Avenue

**Luther and Lillie Byrd House**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Significant Dates:</th>
<th>Built in 1923</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Architect/Builder:</td>
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<td>Property Type:</td>
<td>Neighborhood Retail</td>
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<tr>
<td>Historic Timeline:</td>
<td>Housing segregation and growth of a Black community</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Communities:</td>
<td>Black Spokanites, Veterans</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Potentially Eligible?:</td>
<td>Yes: under SRHP category E</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Luther and Lillie Byrd moved into the house at 2614 soon after the couple arrived in Spokane in the mid-1940s. Luther’s brother Fred Byrd also lived in East Central at 2114 East 5th Avenue.

Luther was a shoeshine for nearly seventy years. He was born in April of 1905 in Oklahoma. He began an apprenticeship to learn the trade when he was just twelve years old in Kansas City, Kansas. By 1925, he had his own shoeshine stand and multiple employees working for him. Luther came to Spokane in 1944. He said that when he arrived in Spokane there were shoeshine stands on nearly every corner in downtown Spokane.80

Luther had a shoeshine parlor in the basement of the Davenport Hotel from the late 1970s until the hotel closed its doors in the mid-1980s. Spokane shoeshine Alex Baker, one of the last remaining shoeshines in town, glows about Luther when asked about his fellow shoeshine. He talks about his kindness, his experience, but mostly he swoons about Luther’s shoeshine stand in the Davenport. It was beautiful.81

It is likely that World War II brought Luther to Spokane, like many Black Spokanites during the 1940s. He enlisted in June of 1942 and was discharged in June of 1943. He was a lifelong member of the American Legion Post 9. Luther did other work as well. He was a bricklayer and steelworker and he worked as a janitor at the Spokane County Courthouse.

Luther was married to Lillie Burgess in 1946 in Spokane. Lillie was originally from Laurel, Mississippi and she came to the Inland Northwest in the 1940s to work at the Hanford Project. She and Luther raised 14 children as foster parents from the 1940s through the 1970s, many of whom considered Luther and Lillie to be their parents. After Luther passed away in 1985, Lillie began working as a cook at the East Central Day Care Center on South Stone Street where she worked from the time she was 85 years old almost until her death at 91 years old.82

Luther himself had been a big advocate for community centers like the one where Lillie worked in her later years. He advocated in open forums for federal community development funds to be used for that

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purpose in the mid-1970s. Ultimately the community got a new community center at the end of the decade and Lillie ended up working there after his death. Luther died at 80 years old in 1985, and Lillie died at 91 years old in 1992.\textsuperscript{83}

3017-3019 East Fifth Avenue

Larry’s Afro Barber Shop

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Significant Dates:</th>
<th>Built in 1953 (3017), and added 3019 onto the east in mid-1980s</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Architect/Builder:</td>
<td>Unknown / Elmer Vogel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Property Type:</td>
<td>Neighborhood Retail</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Historic Timeline:</td>
<td>Housing segregation and growth of a Black community</td>
</tr>
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<td>Communities:</td>
<td>Black Spokanites</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Potentially Eligible?</td>
<td>Yes: under SRHP category E</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Elmer Vogel constructed a barber shop for his own barbering business at 3017 East Fifth Avenue in 1953. In Vogel’s October 1940 WWII draft registration card, he notes an address of 3022 E 5th. The 1940 Census lists Elmer and his wife Hazel with their three young children residing in what appears to be a one-story commercial building with “living rooms” according to a 1933 newspaper ad across the street from 3017. One year after building the shop at 3017, he expanded the building to add a second store front.

In the early 1970s, Larry Roseman began apprenticing with Vogel. He worked with him for years before purchasing the barber shop and taking it over in 1978. Larry was born in Memphis, Tennessee and he landed in Spokane after spending time in the United States Air Force, a typical path for many Black Spokanites who came to city in the mid-century. Larry attended barbering school at Moler Barber College, but he had been cutting hair as a side business since he was a child.

For much of its existence, Larry’s Afro Barber Shop has been the only barber shop in Spokane owned by a Black man. It was, and still is, a gathering place for Spokane’s Black community. It is a place to connect, a place to gossip, and a place to laugh. The barber shop and Larry have an even deeper importance to many, including former Spokesman-Review reporter Isamu Jordan who wrote a profile on Larry in 1996. According to Jordan, “for many young Black men, Larry is like an uncle or even a second father. For those like myself, who grew up without dads, Larry might be their first male role model, aside from Michael...
Jordan.” Larry continues to operate the barber shop in 2022, approaching forty-five years in business in the same location.84

In the mid-1980s, the retail space to the east of the barber shop (3019 E 5th Ave) was the home of the Rainbow Gallery. The manager Jeri Williamson said that the art gallery was a place where diverse artists could display and sell their artwork.85

The transition of the barber shop from white ownership to Black ownership is emblematic of the transition in the neighborhood to a Black community. Both Elmer Vogel and Larry Roseman provided for the grooming needs of the East Central Neighborhood and beyond for nearly 50 years each.86

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86 “North Central High School Boys Learn About Army Life,” Spokane Chronicle, 6/27/1929
Representative Properties from

1970-2020: Neighborhood revitalization and community empowerment
2618 & 2627 East Fifth Avenue

John L. and Willie Vaughns & the Salvation Inn for All Nations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Significant Dates:</th>
<th>House built in 1895 and church in 1906; Associated with Vaughns from 1967-2000</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Architect/Builder:</td>
<td>Unknown / Unknown</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Property Type:</td>
<td>Religious/Residential</td>
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<tr>
<td>Historic Timeline:</td>
<td>Navigating the freeway and community empowerment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Communities:</td>
<td>Black Spokanites, Religious</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Potentially Eligible?</td>
<td>Yes: under SRHP category E</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Reverend John L. Vaughns and his wife Willie lived in the house at 2618 East Fifth Avenue from the 1970s into the 1980s. Rev. Vaughns moved to Spokane from Texas in 1944 after serving in World War II. He worked as a shoe polisher and auto detailer until he landed a crane operator job at the Kaiser Aluminum Plant in Mead, Washington in 1955.

Kaiser had employed an all-white workforce since beginning operations at their Mead plant, and Vaughns was among the first Black workers at the site. Soon after he was hired, a white foreman fired him due to the color of his skin. Attorney Carl Maxey used the legal system to help Rev. Vaughns get his job back which he maintained for twenty years.87

Vaughns found a mid-life calling to become a pastor. In 1960 he took over a congregation and renamed his church The Salvation Inn for All Nations. The Church was originally closer to downtown, but he relocated in 1968 to a house

adapted into a church at 2627 East Fifth Avenue, just across the street from his home at 2618 East 5th Avenue. He bought that house around the same time in 1967 and he resided there with his wife for the rest of his life.\textsuperscript{88}

Rev. Vaughns cared for the needy, he advocated to city leaders for Black employment opportunities and other issues, and he brought well-known evangelical speakers from around the country to speak at the church. Vaughn’s church operated there until he passed away in 2000.\textsuperscript{89}

Rev. John L. Vaughns was a member of the Full Gospel Pentecostal Association, the Spokane Ministers Association, and the Interdenominational Ministers Fellowship Union.\textsuperscript{90}

\textsuperscript{90} “‘Minister that Loved People’ is remembered.”
3016-3020 East Fifth Avenue

Omaha Market, Don’s Surplus, Bill’s Bakery

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Significant Dates:</th>
<th>Built circa 1908</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Architect/Builder:</td>
<td>Unknown / Unknown</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Property Type:</td>
<td>Neighborhood Retail</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Historic Timeline:</td>
<td>Housing segregation and growth of a Black community</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Communities:</td>
<td>Black Spokanites</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Potentially Eligible?</td>
<td>Yes: under SRHP category E</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The building at 3016-3020 East Fifth Avenue was originally constructed as two separate buildings that have effectively been combined into one. The west building was addressed at 3016 and the east addressed at 3020. Sometimes 3018 or half addresses were used for the upstairs residential units. An overhead view of the site and Sanborn Maps make it easy to discern the footprint of the originally separate buildings. The building, constructed out of concrete block, was completed by 1910, with the earliest permits dating to 1908. The block was entirely vacant in 1902 and still outside of the city limits.  

In 1910, Bishop’s Market was operating at 3020 East Fifth and Knudson’s Hardware Store was at 3016 East Fifth. From 1910 to the present, the building has had many different tenants. Here is a sampling of the tenants from 1920 to 2010:

- 1920: 3016 E. 5th, John Winkles Butcher Shop (maybe Omaha Market)
- 1927: 3020 E 5th, G.D. Purves Dry Goods and Shoe Store
- 1928: 3020 E. 5th, Marr’s No. 21 Grocery
- 1947: 3020 E. 5th, R.L. Sutherland Paint Co. (moved to 3025 in 1960s)
- 1949: 3016 E. 5th, Omaha Market
- 1954: 3018 E. 5th, Don’s Surplus/Supply
- 1955: 3020 E 5th, The Family Shop
- 1961: 3020 E 5th, Bill’s Bakery No. 1
- 1968: 3016 E 5th, Veteran’s Second Hand Store
- 1970: 3016 E 5th, E&E Discount Store and Manufacturing
- 1973: 3016 E 5th, Harper’s Ceramics
- 2009: 3016 E 5th, Jacob’s Well Church

Don’s Surplus (and later Don’s Supply) is particularly interesting because he was forced to move his store in 1954 due to the construction of the interstate highway. His old store was on Sprague Avenue near the Appleway exit from Interstate 90. The freeway uprooted businesses and forced them to close or relocate like Don’s Surplus. Additionally, the freeway separated the project area from the Sprague Avenue business district which may have increased the need for a business district along Fifth Avenue. Unfortunately, Don did not last long, ultimately closing his business in 1956.

Another interesting business is the Veteran’s Second Hand Store. It was opened in 1968 by Martin Griffith and Jerry Hauntz, both disabled veterans who had fought in the Korean War and Vietnam War respectively. The store sold items...

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91 Historic Building Permits for 3016 East 5th Avenue and 3018-3020 East 5th Avenue, Spokane Permit Archive.
on credit with no interest and reasonable payments. Their goal was to serve as “an information center for veterans and the poor” while also providing affordable “clothes, dishes, books, appliances, and miscellaneous merchandise.”

The building has also provided some of the limited apartment housing in the project area. The building may have had apartments on the top floor since original construction, but by 1921 it is clear that there were apartments on the second floor. In 1943, building permits suggest that the store (a portion or the entirety) was converted to apartments as part of the Out-Migration government lease program. This program encouraged the construction of housing for war workers by encouraging residents to move out of the city core in exchange for covering the costs of converting their old residence into apartments. The owner retained their property and benefited from the new rental income.

It seems the building sat vacant for much of the 1980s and 1990s. In 1997, Glen Lanker applied for a permit to construct four additional units as part of a one- or two-story addition to the building. That proposal did not come to fruition.

Most recently, the property was converted into a church or place of worship. In the late 1990s it was occupied by Spokane Youth for Christ and the East Central Campus Life Center. And, since the late 2000s it has been Jacob’s Well.

94 Historic Building Permits for 3018-3020 East 5th Avenue, Spokane Permit Archive.
3029 East Fifth Avenue
Southerland Paint and Television Store / Fresh Soul Restaurant

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Significant Dates:</th>
<th>Built in 1954, Fresh Soul opened in 2018</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Architect/Builder:</td>
<td>Unknown / Ben Stern and Sons</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Property Type:</td>
<td>Neighborhood Retail</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Historic Timeline:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Communities:</td>
<td>Black</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Potentially Eligible?</td>
<td>Yes: under SRHP category E</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Robert Sutherland contracted with Ben Stern and Sons to build the Sutherland Paint and Television retail store at 3029 East Fifth Avenue in 1954. The store had previously been located across the street at 3020 East Fifth Avenue. He and his wife operated the store at 3029 East Fifth for seventeen years until they sold the building in 1971. The Sutherlands remained in Spokane but spent much of their time traveling. The only other two businesses that were located in the building were Light and Carpet Cleaning (1978) and Flippers Ice Cream (1987 opening, but it’s unknown when that business closed and the building remained vacant for many years).

In 2013, Michael Brown founded the Spokane Eastside Reunion Association. The organization sponsors a number of events and programs including a neighborhood festival, a basketball camp, and job training. In 2018, SERA opened Fresh Soul, a new soul food restaurant that would serve up delicious soul food and provide job training for young people in the process.

According to the organization’s website, their mission is “a collaborative effort that strives to restore and promote a revitalized sense of community in our city’s neighborhoods. Its organizers are grounded by their devout sense of faith and seek to further advance God’s mission in both word and in deed. “Together we recognize the despair that riddles so many of our world’s people, most specifically those who are marginalized, and thus it is together that we join hands and labor for change. It is our hope that through our authentic optimism and sincere sense of purpose, we will be successful in inspiring our people in believing that there is always something worth celebrating.”

Restaurant mentors teens

SOUL FOOD WITH A SIDE DISH OF LIFE SKILLS

During the grand opening Thursday of Fresh Soul, a new restaurant in Spokane’s East Central neighborhood, Edie Moran, 14, brings water to patrons. Moran is one of five teens ages 14 to 18 taking part in a 16-week long internship and tutor program at Fresh Soul.
500 South Stone Street
East Central Community Center

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Significant Dates:</th>
<th>Built in 1893, Mostly demolished in 1977, but small section retained and converted to ECCC in 1979</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Architect/Builder:</td>
<td>Unknown / Unknown</td>
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<tr>
<td>Property Type:</td>
<td>Community Center</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Historic Timeline:</td>
<td>Navigating the freeway and community empowerment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Communities:</td>
<td>Black Spokanites</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Potentially Eligible?:</td>
<td>Yes: under SRHP category E</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The building at 500 South Stone Street was originally constructed as the Union Park School in 1893. It was first built as a ten-room brick schoolhouse. The name of the school changed to Edison School within a handful of years of opening. Named after the famous inventor Thomas Edison, the school grew to be one of the largest in Spokane School District by the first decade of the 1900s. The school was expanded in 1903-04 and continued to grow until the school was reduced from K-8 to K-6 in 1919. The school attendance shrunk from over 800 students down to the 200s and by the 1940s, discussions about closing the school had begun. Through the mid-century period, the school had a significant Black student population and was socioeconomically disadvantaged. Black civil rights attorney Carl Maxey called the school one of the poorest in Washington State in 1966.\(^\text{96}\)

After decades of debate about the future of the school, a failed levy by Spokane voters in 1972 was the death knell for Edison School. It, along with eight other elementary schools in the district, were closed in the wake of the levy failure. Edison school was selected for closure versus other schools in the district (it would be interesting to map the locations of all the closed schools from that year).

After the school closed, the district leased the building to the city for a youth center, foreshadowing the site’s future long-term use. After years of advocacy from the community, especially the League of Women for Community Action (a community group of Black women in East Central), in 1977 Edison School was demolished except for a mid-century addition that was retained. With funding from community development grants and other sources, in its place the East Central Community Center was constructed with the mission to provide day care services, youth activities, education, and other community services that the League had provided in their previous locations. The center had a soft opening in June of 1979 and was fully completed by early 1980. In 1980 the city offered to lease the center on South Stone Street to the League on favorable terms of $1.00 rent per year.\(^\text{97}\)

Providing a resource for day care was critical to Spokane’s working class. Much as the situation is today, it was impossible for parents (especially single parents) of children under 5 to go to work during the day and earn a paycheck.

\(^{96}\) Spokane Public Schools, *First Class for 100 Years*, “Edison School,” page 26.

to provide for their family if they did not have any access to affordable childcare. Additionally, the Southeast Community Day Care Center endeavored to provide services to children including medical, dental and education. The center also employed social workers who could connect with parents and try to meet their individual needs as well.

A day care and community center continue to operate in the building the League constructed. And, importantly, the League and their center inspired other neighborhoods to pursue community and day care centers throughout Spokane. The Spokesman-Review remarked that East Central’s “determined hard-working residents could be considered inspiring pathfinders for those in other parts of the city.” In 1980, West Central followed suit, and in 1982 Northeast Spokane opened a center too.98

In addition to the day care, the center provided a space in the neighborhood for important community meetings. The NAACP met there regularly. The meetings hosted at the center included: community workshops, lectures on Black history in Spokane, programming for Black teens, lectures that featured Black civil rights attorney Carl Maxey, the NAACP 76th birthday celebration, and general membership meetings. The location would have been especially convenient for the NAACP members who lived in the project area, including John K. Carpenter (2103 East Hartson) who held a leadership position with the group serving as a committee chairperson.99

Community programming at the community center has been constant from the moment it opened to the present. There are over 6000 articles in the Spokane newspapers that have the phrase “East Central Community Center” between 1976 and the present. The vast majority advertisements for community events. This illustrates how much programming and how often events were held and advertised at the center. The grand opening of the center was held in September of 1979, but the NAACP had already been meeting there for months since the soft opening. In November 1979 the center screened a film called “A Brief History of Black Americans in Spokane County.” In the 1980s, the Citizens for Fair Power Rates met at the center. In the 1999, Governor Gary Locke visited the center in an effort to boost reading proficiencies amongst East Central youth. In the 2000s the center hosted breathing relaxation classes and a free youth baseball clinic. And the legacy as a community meeting space continues today with the Kiwanis Club hosting a pancake breakfast at the center in 2022.

In 2020, there was some debate over the name of the center as a new operator was selected to run it. City Council voted to allow the name change to the Martin Luther King Jr. Community Center after a recommendation against renaming from the Plan Commission. Then, in 2022 there was significant debate about the siting of a police substation on the site. Despite the occasional controversy and turnover in operators, the mission remains the same: to serve the East Central Community. Today the community center sits on a campus with many additional community centered buildings including: CHAS Dental Clinic, the Martin Luther King Junior Center, the East Central Senior Center, and others.

The Prince Hall Masonic Temple at 2702 East Fifth Avenue was originally constructed as a small drugstore sometime between 1902 and 1910, likely in 1909. By 1910 it was operating under the name Union Park Pharmacy and from 1911-1916 the proprietor was H. E. White. White abandoned the store in 1916 and went to Alaska without tending to the business at all before he departed. Over the next few decades, it would be known as Clark’s Union Park Pharmacy (1917-1919), Peyton Grocery (1919-1926), Wyard Grocery/Confectionary (1926-1935), and Hank’s Store/Grocery (1941-1952). The building sold in 1953 and the new owners sought to change the use from grocery to a church.

In December of 1953, the East Side Gospel Center requested permission from the City Plan Commission to use the former grocery as a place of worship. They needed special permission because the property was not zoned for assembly uses. The Plan Commission granted the special permission for the change of use but required the center to provide off-street parking on site to the south of the building. In August of 1956, a new parish named East Side House of Prayer took over the building but it appears they lasted for less than two years in the building.

In February of 1958, the Perfect Ashler [sic] Mason Lodge No. 40 (a Black Masonic group) applied to Spokane Plan Commission to use the building as a fraternal lodge, a relatively similar assembly use to its previous use as a church. Despite that, the Plan Commission denied the request for the change of use.

The Plan Commission cited the surrounding residential uses and the abandonment of the former business district area along this portion of Fifth Avenue as the reasons for denial. The Masons appealed the decision and an appeal was heard before the city council. Opponents of the lodge claimed that the proposed use would cause parking problems and that the site was not fit for assembly uses. H. L. Campbell (who did not live in the district himself but claimed to own property) said that his and other neighbor’s opposition was “not a racial issue at all,” he continued “we like you and hope you like us.” Another opponent, George Olson (a neighbor to the east of the property) said that the matter was not one of race and color, but rather that it “is not a fitting meeting place.” Some people were skeptical of the opponent’s motives.

Black civil rights attorney Carl Maxey represented the lodge and explained to city council that the property was in the proper zone for the proposed type of use, and that it was urgent to provide the Black community of Spokane with a “place to meet in fellowship.” He explained that the building was an abandoned eyesore and that the lodge intended to make significant investments in the property to convert it into a meeting place. They also intended to pave the

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100 Sanborn Maps for Spokane, 1902, 1910, 1952.
parking lot that was required for the church. Future Mayor of Spokane, Jim Chase, also spoke in support of the lodge and the change of use. City council was swayed by the arguments and they rejected the Plan Commissions recommendation and allowed for the change of use.103

In 1960, a 14-year-old boy painted a swastika on the side of the Mason Lodge at 2702 E Fifth Avenue. Two older Black boys in the neighborhood tracked him down and forced him to paint over the racist and anti-Semitic symbol. They then took him to a basement where they took turns beating him up. The newspaper article reporting on the incident uses a sympathetic tone that suggests the teens actions were understandable.104

In 1966, the Prince Hall Masons received an official charter. In the early 1970s, the Prince Hall Masons, another Black Masonic group, initiated renovations on the building to appoint it more properly for fraternal lodge use. The Masons worked collectively as a group of five different lodges to fundraise for the building. They hired Black general contractor and builder Clarence T. Freeman to do the work. The new building was unveiled with a ribbon cutting ceremony on January 15, 1972. The building featured a first-floor auditorium, kitchen, and lounge. The second floor had a meeting hall and conference room. The five groups that called the building home were: the Inland Empire Lodge, the Perfect Ashler Lodge, a consistory body, and two Eastern Star women’s groups: Spokane Lodge No. 3 and Sheila Lodge No. 8.105

The building was more than a secretive fraternal lodge, it was a community gathering space. The NAACP hosted events in the building, Carl Maxey and other prominent Black speakers gave lectures in the building, and the Coalition of 100 Black Women hosted fundraisers in the building. The Masons sponsored after school activities, Easter egg hunts at Underhill Park, Martin Luther King Jr. essay contests, dinners at the East Central Community Center, and educational events.106

In a 1991 interview with the newspaper, the president of the Masons, Billy Morris, explained that membership was dwindling much like other fraternal organization, although he said it was exacerbated the relatively small young Black population in Spokane. The Masons sold the building in 2009, possibly as a result of the financial crisis occurring all over the country. They only got $25,000 for the building. It has since sold twice in 2012 and 2019 for $129,000 and $232,000 respectively.107

Although the Masons have departed the building, the cornerstone from the 1972 renovation remains on the northwest corner and it is inscribed with the name of former Mayor Jim Chase from his time as Grandmaster of the Lodge. In the Spokesman-Review endorsement of Jim Chase for Mayor in 1981 they cited his leadership role with the Masons as significant experience for the job of Mayor. Chase was elected as mayor and remains Spokane’s only Black mayor.\textsuperscript{108}