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THE AFRICAN-AMERICAN COMMUNITY
OF OGDEN, UTAH: 1910-1950

by

Eric Stene

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree

of

MASTER OF ARTS

in

History

UTAH STATE UNIVERSITY
Logan, Utah

1994

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Eric A. Stene

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ABSTRACT

The African-American Community
of Ogden, Utah: 1910-1950

by

Eric A. Stene, Master of Arts
Utah State University, 1994

Major Professor: Dr. F. Ross Peterson
Department: History

The African-American community of Ogden, Utah started much of its growth in the early twentieth century. Prior to the early nineteenth hundreds less than one hundred African Americans lived in Ogden. The availability of jobs with the railroads brought many African Americans to Ogden in search of steady employment. Through the decades Ogden's African Americans branched out from railroad and service work into business ownership. As the African-American community grew, its members established new churches in the city.

Racism and indifference had their impact on the African Americans. They found themselves segregated into specific neighborhoods and African-American males were unable to hold the priesthood in the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. Racism was not confined to members of the Mormon Church as the Ku Klux Klan attempted to make inroads into Ogden in the early 1920s. The Klan's limited influence

lasted less than two years and soon disappeared due to efforts by the Ogden City Commission.

In the 1990s African Americans still comprised a small percentage of Ogden City and Weber County. The L.D.S. Church ended priesthood denial for African Americans in 1978. The study of Ogden's African-American community provides insight into a minority community in the western United States and contrasts the differences between race relations in the West and other geographic areas of the United States. (100 pages)

CHAPTER I
INTRODUCTION

At the time this study begins, society is legally segregated, but toward the end it is on the verge of change. In one community outside the South, an invisible minority struggles for identity. The city of Ogden, Utah has an identity as an ethnic city, but the African-American population is actually small.

The African-American community of Ogden is virtually an invisible entity in the city. The elements that cause the relative invisibility of the African Americans are many and varied. The situation is not confined to Ogden. African Americans in Utah go through their lives largely ignored by the majority of the state's population.

Utahns paid little attention to African Americans in the past. Perhaps this resulted because Utah had few African Americans to capture most people's attention, or because they did not fit into the religious community of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. When Utahns did take notice of African Americans, it usually stemmed from negative aspects, crime being the most prevalent.

Ogden fits this model. Mention a history of African Americans in Ogden and people ask half joking, "Were there any?", or "Both of them?" Though few in number, Ogden's African Americans do have a history. Like most histories it is not always uplifting, but not always depressing. Their history contains a struggle, more against indifference than

oppression, as though the oppression made itself conspicuous. The battle for respect and the right to move forward and live in harmony as part of the larger community was, and remains, their greatest struggle.

By studying the African-American community in Ogden it is possible to reveal the lives of an often ignored segment of Utah's population. Acknowledging this population exposes the fact that other minority populations exist in the state, largely ignored by the Anglo-American majority. This study attempts to examine the African-American community in Ogden between 1910 and 1950 when it was growing, but not yet realized by the larger population. It studies the racism and indifference toward African Americans by the city's European Americans. Finally, it explores African-Americans' efforts to find economic success, and the establishment of social organizations to cope with the rejection by a majority of Ogden's population.

African Americans make up less than one percent of Utah's population. For many years Ogden had the second largest African-American population after Salt Lake City. At the turn of the century fewer than one hundred African Americans lived in Ogden. Between 1910 and 1940 the population increased to between two and three hundred. A more dramatic increase came in the 1940s with the growth of the war industry and the increase of government jobs during World War II.

The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, or the Mormon Church, played, and continues to play, a pivotal role in the history of Utah. Consequently the L.D.S. Church and its beliefs helped form the perceptions held by many of Utah's Mormon population about minorities, both ethnic and religious. African Americans in particular faced difficult circumstances in their relations with the L.D.S. Church.

During its turbulent early history of persecution and forced removal, or perhaps later, after the move to Utah, the L.D.S. Church began denying priesthood to people of African-American descent. Priesthood denial had an impact on African Americans in two respects. First, the denial of the priesthood eliminated African Americans from a position open to all eligible Mormon males and prevented them from participating in church ceremonies deemed important for their spiritual advancement. Second, in attempting to justify priesthood denial for African Americans, the L.D.S. Church claimed the denial resulted from the sins of the African Americans' ancestors or their actions during the war in Heaven between God and those who rebelled against Him.¹

Priesthood denial affected the perception of African Americans in the eyes of many L.D.S. Church members. Conversely it affected how African Americans viewed the L.D.S. Church. The L.D.S. Church did not always deny the priesthood to African Americans. Early in the church's history Blacks entered the priesthood. The exact origin of

priesthood denial is not agreed upon even now.

The history of African Americans in Ogden differs from the history of those in Salt Lake City in much the same way the cities themselves developed differently. African Americans first entered Salt Lake City with the first Mormon settlers, some as slaves and some as free men. Salt Lake City grew as the capital of Utah and established itself as the center of the state and of the L.D.S. Church. Salt Lake City's identity grew from this position.

Ogden began life as settlers moved out from the Salt Lake area to extend the boundaries of Mormon Utah territory. People crossed the area and some settled, but the Mormons did not establish Ogden immediately upon arriving in Utah. Ogden's identity grew from its association with the railroad in the 1860s. It received the nickname "Junction City" because of the Union and Central Pacific's transcontinental railroad and the Utah Central Railroad and Utah and Northern Railroad branch lines that connected at Ogden. The railroads brought outsiders to Ogden, many of whom did not belong to the L.D.S. Church. For more than half of the twentieth century the railroad attracted African Americans to Ogden with the lure of available jobs.²

The influx of outsiders brought many vices to Ogden, or so some claim.³ The seat of iniquity and immorality changed from the small town of Corinne, north of Ogden, to Ogden itself, when the Utah Northern and Railroad bypassed Corinne

in 1873.⁴ Ogden's infamous Twenty-fifth Street gained notoriety because it contained many of the clubs and hotels that served as gambling houses, speakeasies, and brothels. Some establishments were located elsewhere, but remained near the Union Station. Twenty-fifth Street or Two Bit Street, as people called it, remained the center of Ogden's illicit entertainment trade.

Twenty-fifth Street provided Ogden residents with another negative stereotype of African Americans. Ironically, Ogden's citizens and the railroad hold much of the blame for advancing this negative image, for many African Americans spent time on Twenty-fifth Street because Ogden's population segregated them into the surrounding neighborhood.⁵ Many of the limited number of establishments open to African Americans were located on Twenty-fifth Street, especially the Railroad Porter's and Waiter's Club.

Crime arose among African Americans in Ogden as it did among all ethnic groups. These crimes proved no more or less heinous than any others committed in the city by any other racial groups, but for a time the newspapers seemed to exhibit crimes committed by African Americans, no matter how trivial. In time this changed as events of greater consequence secured the press's attention.

Segregation marked Ogden's religious community as well as its social community. Because the African Americans who entered Ogden did not belong to the L.D.S. Church, and

because of the Church's restrictions, Blacks chose not to convert to Mormonism. Jim Gillespie said religious segregation was somewhat by choice.⁶ African Americans organized their own churches, which helped keep Whites and Blacks thoroughly separated.

Segregation remained the norm in Ogden, much as it did in the rest of the United States. This did not deter African Americans who were eager for the work supplied by the railroads. Trading the hostile environment of the Deep South for the indifference of Ogden's population, they did not find more respect from Utah's Whites, but they did find more peace.

In spite of segregation and their small numbers, African Americans made progress in Ogden between 1910 and 1950. They opened businesses and worked in public service. The African-American community gained small toeholds here and there to achieve self-respect amidst the indifference of the majority of Ogden's populace. Though small in numbers, Ogden's African Americans and their history hold a place in the history of Utah.

Notes

1. Stephen G. Taggart, Mormonism's Negro Policy: Social and Historical Origins (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1970), 58-59, 68-69.

2. Brigham D. Madsen, Corinne: The Gentile Capital of Utah (Salt Lake City: Utah State Historical Society, 1980), 20, 47.

3. Lyle J. Barnes, "Ogden's Notorius Two Bit Street: 1870-1957" (M.S. thesis, Utah State University, 1969), 13-14.

4. Barnes, "Ogden's Notorius Two Bit Street," 12-14; Madsen, Corinne, 47.

5. James Gillespie, President, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, Ogden Chapter, interview by author, 15 March 1993, Washington Terrace, Utah.

6. Ibid.

CHAPTER II
THE AFRICAN AMERICAN COMMUNITY

The majority of Ogden's population ignored African Americans or concentrated on the less desirable segment of that population. Ogden's African-American population strived to move forward, and worked hard to better their lives. African Americans worked in inglorious jobs, such as blue collar employment as laborers, first for the railroad, and later for the federal government. The work paid decent wages and required little education to become skilled. In this respect many African Americans considered these jobs a Godsend.¹ Many African Americans entered or stayed in Ogden after their arrival because the city had readily available employment. Segregation forced African Americans to live in an area of the city six blocks long and two blocks wide, which stretched lengthwise north to south from Twenty-fourth Street to Thirtieth Street and between Grant and Wall Avenues.

Prior to World War II many African Americans travelled to Ogden to work for the railroads. The railroads limited African Americans to service positions. Many worked as porters, waiters, and cooks. Some held jobs in the shops and as boiler washers, or engine wipers.² African-American boiler washers often shared that duty with Hispanics.³ The waiters remained under the supervision of one steward who was always white.⁴

African Americans worked a variety of jobs with the railroads. William Brown held a position as a porter in 1917. James Crowley worked as a fireman for the Southern Pacific in 1924 and began duties as a hostler by 1925. Thomas White served as a helper with the Southern Pacific in 1925. In 1930 Leroy Bunnell performed as a fireman with the Southern Pacific, and Bert J. King worked as a brakeman.⁵ Melvin Kinsey worked as a chef on a private car for the Union Pacific, which was considered an honor.⁶

African-American railroad employees reached their peak numbers in the 1940s, and the variety of their employment continued. Allen Finch worked in the Union Pacific Dining Car and Hotel Department beginning in 1938. Bobbie and Henry Holston worked as boiler washers for the Southern Pacific beginning before 1944 and Henry continued into the late 1940s. Bobbie moved into a hostler position by 1946 and moved to Washington Terrace. William Edmond, Jr. cooked for the Union Pacific Dining Car and Hotel Department in 1946. Bertha Edmond, William Edmond's mother, served as a helper for the Ogden Union Railroad and Depot Company. Eugene Bowman held a position as a helper with the U.R. & D. Co. in 1948.⁷ At one point Ogden's Union Station had twenty redcaps, a substantial number.⁸

During and after World War II, many African Americans chose to stay in Ogden. For example, Herman Jones began working as a laborer for the federal government for fifty

cents an hour following his discharge from the Army Air Corps.⁹ Jones quit the government and began working as a chef for the Union Pacific when he discovered his bothers and uncle made more money working for the railroad. The Union Pacific paid Jones 94 dollars a month.¹⁰ Often railroad worked lured many members of one family to Ogden as it did Jones's brothers and uncle.

Dewitt Robinson was born in Mendon, Missouri in 1919. He originally arrived in Utah during World War II when he served in the Army Air Corps. He returned to Utah in 1946 to work for the railroad in Ogden. He held a position as a cook in a railroad dining car. According to Robinson, he went out on the rails for six days at a stretch and then returned to Ogden for a couple of days. His job took him to Chicago, St. Louis, Los Angeles, and more. "Everywhere there were railroad tracks, we went."¹¹

The porters and waiters worked as much for tips as they did for wages. Tips provided "fresh" money, readily available cash for the men.¹² Price increases often bit into this "fresh" money. Jim Gillespie recalled his father-in-law, who worked as a waiter in a lounge car, saying that when the railroad raised the price of a drink from fifty to seventy-five cents, they took a quarter from him. Patrons often paid for their drinks with a dollar and told the waiter to keep the change. This practice continued after the price increase, leaving the waiter twenty-five cents

less than he received before.¹³

African Americans worked other types of employment in Ogden besides the railroads, though some had direct ties to the railroad industry. Service jobs employed some African Americans. William Houston and Robert Stone worked as waiters in 1917. Florence Moody served as a waitress at the Depot Hotel, and Harry Bankhead held a chauffeur job in 1918.¹⁴ Thelma Woods served as a chambermaid, and Clarence Robinson cooked. William Martin cooked in 1925, and Addie Mason worked as a domestic servant in 1926.¹⁵ Laborer positions provided employment for other African Americans. William McConnell worked as a laborer for American Packing and Provision in 1924. Polk's Ogden City Directory listed Charles Wilson, Lee Chase, and Elias Sullen as laborers in the same year.¹⁶

In addition to working for private business, some African Americans engaged in ownership of small private businesses. Harold Gray earned a living as a junk dealer in private business in 1924.¹⁷ Temezia Gray owned a rooming house at 165 Twenty-sixth Street.¹⁸ Jesse Williams was a farmer in Farr West, and Sam Smith worked as a bricklayer.¹⁹ Elmer Hatton held a job as a butcher in 1935.²⁰

By the 1940s African-American blue collar workers began moving up in positions and responsibilities. In 1942 William Edmond, Sr. worked as a dispenser at the Railroad Porter's and Waiter's Club. By 1944 he tended bar, and in

1948 Polk's Ogden City Directory listed him as a supervisor.²¹

Another example of upward mobility is Jim Gillespie. He was born in Storyville, Mississippi, but stayed in Ogden following his discharge from the Army Air Corps because "... I got married and there were jobs here so I decided to stay. I got out of the service and was able to find a job." Gillespie worked as a laborer at Defense Depot Ogden, and moved up through the rank and file until his retirement.²²

Government work provided many jobs during and after World War II because of the increase in the defense industry. Lack of education and racial prejudice limited the types of government work African Americans could receive. African Americans worked laborer jobs and did not receive any immediate opportunities to move up through promotions.

African Americans worked in the area of sports, often providing entertainment for the very people who segregated them out of white society. Baseball sprang up in Ogden at different times during the twentieth century, and African Americans played on one of Ogden's teams. The Ogden Occidentals, a team composed of African Americans, started playing baseball in 1910. The Standard did not give any details about the players. Al Langford and "Red" Toner pitched for the Occidentals. In 1910 the Occidentals won their league's championship.²³

African Americans participated in boxing during the 1940s as well as baseball. Buddy Washington boxed in the lightweight or welterweight category. Reportedly a good fighter, Washington's career ended with his conviction as a habitual criminal. The conviction resulted from a holdup of a Western Union bank.²⁴ Paul Perkins and Benny Flake also boxed while living in Ogden. Their boxing skills, though good, did not match Washington's.²⁵

The 1940s proved a decade of some advancements for African Americans in the field of public service. Marshall N. (Doc) White became the first African-American police officer in Ogden during the 1940s. White was born in Humboldt, Tennessee on 2 October 1909. During World War II he served in the Army Air Corps. White later worked as an investigator for the Ogden City Health Department before becoming a police officer. He joined the Ogden Police Department in 1946 or 1947, almost fifty years after the first African-American policeman in Salt Lake City.²⁶ He married Jessie Bell in 1947.²⁷

John Turner recalled an incident when someone stole some blankets from the laundry where he worked, and Marshall White arrived to take the case. Turner accompanied White to a nearby house, where they found the suspect in bed. White pulled back the covers to reveal the man fully dressed, whereupon White arrested the man.²⁸

Walter Epps worked as an usher for the Ogden Union

Railway and Depot Company in 1946 and later as a carman. Epps became the first African-American Weber County sheriff's deputy in 1948 or 1949.²⁹ Both White and Epps spoke to the Ogden Kiwanis Club in 1949. They discussed the major problems facing the African-American community, citing lack of adequate housing, crowded conditions, and a shortage of jobs as the most prevalent problems facing the community.³⁰ The Standard Examiner did not say how the Kiwanis received the men.

After the decade of 1910, African Americans began running businesses in Ogden. Some of these business had a high profile in the city. Most businesses proved fairly transient. In some cases a business remained at a location for several years, the building became vacant for a short period of time, and then a new business entered to take the first one's place. Other times one person bought out another and renamed the business.

Twenty-fifth Street provided one location for most African-American businesses because of its proximity to the neighborhood in which African Americans lived and to Ogden's Union Depot, where many of them worked. Many businesses began operation in the hands of Asians, Italians, Hispanics, or their descendants. Some Whites owned businesses on the south side of Twenty-fifth Street, between Lincoln and Wall Avenues during segregation, but they apparently were few.

Eugene Howard opened his barber shop at 109 Twenty-

fifth by 1932, the first African American to own such a business. It replaced the Peoples Barber Shop that first appeared in 1928. Howard maintained his shop through the 1940s.³¹ Other businesses that opened in the 1930s did not prove as fortunate. One hundred fifteen Twenty-fifth Street housed many businesses in the 1920s and 1930s. The White Front Cafe occupied the space in 1942, before it became the White Front Bar and Cafe, managed by African Americans Joe and Dora Williams.³²

The 1930s provided a whirlwind of hotels, restaurants, and pool halls on the south side of Twenty-fifth Street. Few African Americans probably owned any of these businesses. Ogden only had one Black hotel during this time period, so African Americans owned no Twenty-fifth Street hotels. George Smith owned the Silver Dollar Pool Hall at 169 Twenty-fifth. By 1942 Samuel Alvarado owned the Silver Dollar, now a tavern.³³ It provided one of the meeting places for Post No. 66 of the American Legion.³⁴

Velma McHenry and Helen Walker, two African-American women, ran the Wonder Coffee Shop at 131 Twenty-fifth in the late 1930s. During the 1940s McHenry took over all control of the operation. The Wonder advertised, "Steaks and Southern Style Fried Chicken. You Will Like Our Home Cooked Meals." The Wonder Coffee Shop exhibited more success than some other businesses by lasting throughout the 1940s.³⁵

African-American business people established themselves

more in the 1940s, but longevity did not always come in the decade. The Silver Dollar Tavern disappeared by 1948, replaced by Jerome Brawley Billiards, named after the Black owner.³⁶ Later it became Jerome's Breakfast Club.³⁷ In the 1944 Ogden directory, the Shadow Land Club, a nightclub, cafe, and bar owned by African-American Leon King, replaced the Full Gospel Mission at 165 Twenty-fifth. Leon King also opened the One Eleven Cafe at 111 Twenty-fifth. By 1948 King had disposed of the two businesses. Kazuo Nishikawa owned the One Eleven and George and Melva Hines ran the Shadow Land.³⁸ Ralph Price, another African American, ran a filling station on the southwest corner of Twenty-fifth and Lincoln. It closed shortly after World War II. Homer and Essie Reed ran Tiffany's Barbecue after the War.³⁹

African-American businesses did not limit themselves to operating on Twenty-fifth, even though many located there. Sloppy Joe's number two appeared in the 1940 directory at 2700, later 2702, Wall Avenue.⁴⁰ Sloppy Joe's was a nightclub that catered to African Americans.⁴¹ The Cotton Club, located in Alonzo and Leager Davis' Davis Hotel, also served African Americans.⁴² The Colonial Record Shop operated at 2522 Wall Avenue in the Royal Hotel building after Leager Davis acquired the Royal and sold the Davis Hotel. African-American Helen Benton managed the shop.⁴³

African Americans owned or managed a variety of businesses during the 1940s. Tillie Jones owned and

operated Tillie's Cottage Beauty Shop at 133 Twenty-seventh Street. McDaniel's beauty shop became the first beauty shop for African Americans when it opened in the 1940s. Scott Stewart Jr. organized a model airplane club and a contest in the early 1940s. He opened a model airplane store in 1948, the first African American to own a business on Washington Boulevard. Dewey's Record Store opened in the south lobby of the Davis Hotel.⁴⁴

These businesses were some of the smaller ones in Ogden. Two businesses owned by African Americans proved very successful. In 1936 Alonzo Davis worked as a cook for the Union Pacific, and lived at 2548 Wall Avenue. By 1938 Davis and his wife, Leager, owned the Davis Hotel at 2548 Wall. The hotel housed the Turf Bar as well. Alonzo Davis died on 7 September 1939 at the age of 49. Leager Davis continued to run the Davis Hotel into the 1940s. Leon King ran the Cotton Club, which replaced the Turf Bar.⁴⁵

In 1942 or 1943 Leager Davis acquired the Royal Hotel from Sam Maruri when the federal government turned the Davis Hotel into a housing project. Davis was the first African American to own the Royal. The Royal Hotel was located at 2522 Wall Avenue. Prior to its purchase by Leager Davis, several owners, none of them African Americans, owned the Royal Hotel. Polk's Ogden City Directory advertised the Royal as the "Headquarters for Livestock and Sheepmen."⁴⁶

The Davis Hotel proved the first to offer rooms to

African Americans in Ogden. The Porter's and Waiter's Club only offered rooms to railroad employees.⁴⁷ With Leager Davis' acquisition of the Royal Hotel, it became the only hotel for African Americans in Ogden. Often the overflow from the Porter's and Waiter's Club would stay at the Royal.⁴⁸ The Royal served as the hotel for the Harlem Globetrotters when they played in Ogden. After integration they continued to stay at the Royal out of loyalty. At various times the Royal Hotel housed other Black-owned businesses, including the Colonial Record Shop and the Colonial Grill.⁴⁹ Under the management of Fletcher D. Cottrell, the Colonial Grill advertised, "Sizzling Steaks and Chops, Meals and Short Orders."⁵⁰

The Railroad Porter's and Waiter's Club proved the most popular, the most familiar, and one of the longest running African-American businesses in Ogden. The Porter's and Waiter's Club originally opened at 151 Twenty-fifth around 1916. Three men, Frank Turner, William Weakley, and Cap Kyle, possibly started the Porter's and Waiter's.⁵¹ Kyle's name never appeared in the directory and he was mentioned very little. William Weakley eventually became the sole owner of the Porter's and Waiter's, buying out the other two men.⁵²

Polk's Ogden City Directory listed Frank K. Turner as the manager in the Porter's and Waiter's first appearance.⁵³ By 1921 the Porter's and Waiter's moved to 127 Twenty-fifth

where it stayed for the rest of its existence. William Weakley, the man who became most associated with the Club, acted as the secretary.⁵⁴ Frank Turner became the president of the Club in the 1920s. Turner held this position well into the 1940s. Thomas W. Richmond succeeded Turner sometime before 1948.⁵⁵ The Club continued operating into the 1950s.⁵⁶

The Porter's and Waiter's Club thrived because of its location close to Ogden's Union Station, and because it catered to African-American railroad employees. Many employees stayed at the Porter's and Waiter's during layovers.⁵⁷ During the 1920s the Club provided the only night spot in Ogden for African Americans. Later, in the 1930s and 1940s, The Porter's and Waiter's became a club along the lines of Harlem's famous Cotton Club. Whites frequented the place "...to see how the other half lived."⁵⁸ For a time the Porter's and Waiter's denied access to Whites and sent them across the street to The Club, owned by the Papasses of Ogden. The Club likewise sent African Americans who ventured into their establishment to the Porter's and Waiter's.⁵⁹ For a while during World War II, the Porter's and Waiter's provided the only place for Blacks to cash a check outside of a bank. They cashed payroll checks for a ten cent fee.⁶⁰

Though originally listed as the secretary, William Weakley became the man most associated with the Porter's and

Waiter's Club. He managed of the club during the 1930s.⁶¹ Men such as Frank Turner and William Weakley stood out prominently in the African-American community during the 1920s, 1930s, and 1940s. This does not prove surprising in light of certain facts. The Porter's and Waiter's Club provided one of the prime entertainment and social spots for African Americans for close to four decades. At some point most of Ogden's African Americans, especially the males, frequented the club. Weakley's prominence in the community resulted from his position in the club, and his activities in social organizations outside the Porter's and Waiter's.

The study of employment and business in Ogden's African-American community reveals the increasing assimilation of Blacks into Ogden's society over the decades. Though assimilation has never become total, African Americans did make important inroads into society. African Americans began as blue collar laborers and service workers in Ogden. As the years passed, some acquired businesses and were successful operating them. In the 1940s African Americans entered the public service field. Ogden City and Weber County most likely hired Marshall White and Walter Epps as law enforcement officers to deal with the increasing number of African Americans in the area. This indicates the realization by city and county officials that the African-American community was a viable segment of the population.

Ogden's African Americans did not tend to join the L.D.S. Church. In the twentieth century, most African-American Mormons lived in Salt Lake City.⁶² African Americans formed their own churches of the same religions they had at their homes before migrating to Ogden. This created the segregation of Ogden's religious community.⁶³ The Black churches grew over the decades, but the number of members remained small. Membership in the churches contained a small percentage of Ogden's African-American population. Female members always outnumbered the males.

In 1906 Utah had one African Methodist Episcopal Church in Salt Lake City. Its roles counted thirty members: twenty three females and seven males.⁶⁴ By 1916 Utah had three Black churches. The two A.M.E. churches had a total of 69 members: 49 females and 20 males. The A.M.E. Zion Church of Salt Lake City claimed four male and 13 female members.⁶⁵ Ogden had the Embry Chapel of the A.M.E. Church. It numbered 52 members based on the census of religious bodies: 36 females and 16 males.⁶⁶

Utah had four Black churches in 1926. The 1926 Census showed a total membership of 269 for the four churches in Utah. In 1936 Utah held nine Black churches and nine church buildings. These had a total membership of 485: 93 males, 216 females, and 176 whose sex was not reported.⁶⁷ If the trend of the previous years continued, the females

Table I. The Pastors of the Embry Chapel from 1908-50.
 Source: O'Neils "African Church History Traced" and Polk's
 Ogden City Directory.

<u>Pastors of the Embry Chapel:</u>		
<u>A.M.E. Church.</u>		
J.C. Owens		1908-10
B.F. McCully	1910-12, 1922-24, 1933	
J.H. Brown		1913-14
H.L. Marque	1915-16, 1933	
J.W.A. Morris		1917
J.C. Carter		1925-26
E.C.W. Cox		1927
R.N. Wisner		1928-30
H.W. Bletsom		1931
R.C. Brown		1934-35
H.H. Hooks		1935-40
L.W. Glasgow		1941-42
G.R. Woods		1943-45?
H.J. White		1946-48
L.K. Williams		1948-50?

constituted the majority of those not reported. In spite of the increased number of Black churches in Utah, Ogden still only retained the Embry Chapel and the Wall Avenue Baptist Church.

The Embry Chapel of the African Methodist Episcopal Church emerged as the first Black church in Ogden. J.C. Owens organized the A.M.E. Church in Ogden on 20 May 1908. Like the Wall Avenue Baptist Church, the Embry Chapel had several ministers over the decades (see Tables I & II). The first meetings took place over a store located on Washington Boulevard. The Episcopalians built the first Embry Chapel at 2817 Pingree Avenue in 1913, and dedicated the building on 25 July 1913. The Chapel was a one-story brick, shingle-roofed building with a basement. It had an auditorium that

Table II. The Pastors of the Wall Avenue Baptist Church from 1915-50. Source: O'Neil's "Wall Avenue Church" and Polk's Ogden City Directory.

<u>Pastors of the Wall Avenue Baptist Church.</u>	
A.J. Billingsley	1915-19
H.L. Marque	1919-20
J.W. Morris	1920-21
M.A. Eilonth	1921-23
T.L. Washington	1923-25
J.Z. Moore	1925-27
D.D. Banks	1927-28
L.A. Platt	1933-36
Israel Craft	Dec. 1937
J.L. Conner	1941?-50?

seated 100 people.⁶⁸ During the early and middle decades the Embry Chapel had the highest membership of Ogden's Black churches.⁶⁹

Ogden's second Black church, the Wall Avenue Baptist Church, started as a Baptist Mission, and was organized with the assistance of the First Baptist Church and Professor J.A. Smith, proprietor of the Smithsonian Business College.⁷⁰ The Wall Avenue Baptist Church was organized by 1915 with A.J. Billingsley serving as pastor.⁷¹ The African-American Baptists built a "red brick, bungalow style" church building at 2701 Wall Avenue in 1918, which gave the church its name. They dedicated the building in 1919. The building seated 100 people. At a church meeting on 23 December 1925, the Wall Baptists decided to incorporate the church for 100 years.⁷² According to Hugh O'Neil's information, apparently H.L. Marque worked double duty as

the pastor for both the Embry Chapel and the Wall Baptist Church in 1919-20.

For many years only these two churches served the African-American community in Ogden. In considering the small number of members, it is no surprise that no others surfaced until 1939. In that year Reverend Donald Mosher organized a Pentecostal Church located at 165 Twenty-fifth Street.⁷³ Later renamed the Full Gospel Mission, the Pentecostal Church disappeared by 1944.⁷⁴ By 1946 the Reverend Brealy B. Mike organized the Church of God in Christ. He remained pastor of the church for the rest of the 1940s.⁷⁵

The Ogden press paid little attention to the Black churches in the early years. In the 1930s the Standard Examiner gave the churches more acknowledgment, sporadically announcing church services at the Embry Chapel and the Wall Baptist Church.⁷⁶ The Embry Chapel hosted a "Dedication of Loyalty" program on 14 March 1943.⁷⁷ In July of the same year the paper ran a picture of the Embry Chapel Queen and her Attendants. The picture accompanied an announcement of a social on 2 July at the Embry Chapel. The Reverend General R. Woods invited the public to attend.⁷⁸

If the later membership of the churches mirrored the early numbers, female church members far outnumbered male members. The large blocks of time railroad workers spent away from Ogden could account for the disparity between male

and female membership. Workers often spent six days on the road, which eliminated many Sundays that workers could spend in church.⁷⁹ This explains why such a small percentage of Ogden's African Americans attended church as regular members. The Black churches grew out of the spiritual needs of Ogden's African Americans, and the nature of the L.D.S. Church. The churches also served as gathering places for social interaction as both church buildings hosted social functions. From 1908 to 1939 The Embury Chapel and from 1912 the Wall Avenue Baptist church served Ogden's African Americans in this capacity. In the 1940s the Pentecostal churches organized and increased the African-American religious community in Ogden.

The male church members in the censuses probably consisted of the business people or resident workers whose schedule allowed them to go to church. Another reason may have been one African Americans had in common with other races; the men simply did not choose to attend church on a regular basis.

Social clubs served the African-American community's need for social interaction as well as religion. The limits placed on African Americans extended from their working lives into their social lives. Segregation forced African Americans to establish their own social organizations in Ogden. The Colored Benevolent Protective Order of Elks of the World formed because segregation prevented African

Americans from joining the Ogden Elks Lodge. Frank K. Turner and William Weakley, president and secretary/manager of the Porter's and Waiter's Club, respectively, participated in the Black Elks Club. An announcement of a memorial and thanksgiving service, in April 1924, by the Black Elks scheduled both Turner and Weakley to give speeches. Turner held the duties of a Past Exalted Ruler. The Elks held their services at the Wall Avenue Baptist Church.⁸⁰

The Esquire Club, the Calendar Club, and the Beau Brummel Club provided African American men with social interaction.⁸¹ The Assembly Club preceded the Esquire and Beau Brummel Clubs in the 1910s.⁸² The Beau Brummel Club organized in 1943 and met at the Key Club at 2520 Wall Avenue.⁸³ Women participated in the Gardenia Girls Club, the Anytimers Club, the Elite Club, and the Ladies Inspirational Club.⁸⁴ The Gardenia Girls Club organized in 1937.⁸⁵ All the organizations held formal dances every year. The owners of the Berthana ballroom would sometimes close its doors and allow the social organizations to rent it for their dances.⁸⁶ They also held dances at the Old Mill Club, owned by Harman Peery, mayor of Ogden in the 1930s and 1940s.⁸⁷ The groups held picnics and other informal activities throughout the year.⁸⁸

As a major social organization for military veterans in the United States, the American Legion did not segregate its

membership, but the Utah posts held activities in locations where African Americans were not allowed. As a result, African-American veterans formed a separate American Legion Post because segregation in many clubs and hotels limited locations where African Americans could attend. In 1943 Herman Jones and twenty other World War I and World War II veterans formed the American Legion Pioneer Post No. 66. Post No. 66 originally met at the Porter's and Waiter's Club, and later met at the Silver Dollar to conduct their meetings. Post No. 66 bought the Wall Avenue Baptist Church building in 1958.⁸⁹

The African-American community learned to take care of itself to face the much larger population around it. In 1944, following the shooting of Clifford Worley, discussed in detail later, Louise Finch organized the Ogden Chapter of the N.A.A.C.P. The wife of Allen Finch, a cook for the Union Pacific Dining Car and Hotel Department, Louise Finch also became the first president of the chapter.⁹⁰

Education provided a path for progress for the community. Children in Ogden's African-American community received education in spite of their relatively small numbers and persistent discrimination. School-age children constituted a small percentage of Ogden's African-American population. In 1910 school-age African Americans, six to twenty years old in Weber County, numbered eighteen, 8.8 percent, of a total Black population of 204.⁹¹ By 1920 the

African-American school-age population, five to twenty years, only numbered nineteen, 7 percent, out of 270.⁹² The number of school-age African Americans in Weber County increased 132 percent to 44 of 233 African Americans (18.8 percent) in 1930.⁹³ In 1940 the number rose to 45 school-age African Americans, ages five to twenty-four, in a total population of 351 African Americans, but the percentage dropped to 12.8.⁹⁴

With such small numbers, segregation of schools was not feasible for the city and county school districts. The Census Bureau did not publish school attendance statistics after the 1910 Census. In the 1910 Census, sixteen of eighteen school-age African Americans attended school. If these statistics held for the next four decades, at least 80 percent of the school-age African Americans attended school.

School attendance did not place African Americans in a comfortable position. At school they had few classmates from their own community. At one point in the 1930s, Ogden High School had only one African-American female student.⁹⁵ Furthermore, Ogden had no African-American teachers prior to the 1950s.⁹⁶ This placed students in classrooms with teachers who had difficulty relating to them.

Higher education remained very rare between 1910 and 1950. Most African Americans only held a public school education, although this remained common for many groups during the early twentieth century. A college education did

not remain unattainable for African Americans. In 1941 Ethelda Kinsey received a degree in science from Weber Junior College.⁹⁷

Ogden's African-American population grew as a close-knit community in its early years because segregation forced African Americans together. Economic distinctions became irrelevant as all economic classes found themselves forced together by discriminatory real estate practices and a largely indifferent city. Ogden did not recognize differences in economic classes among African Americans, and the African Americans ceased differentiating between economic classes as time wore on. Before World War II the city forced most African Americans into a six by two block area, regardless of how financially well off they might be. The small numbers of African Americans, conspicuous in a predominantly white society, limited the number of social outlets for African Americans.

It took several years, but Ogden's African Americans created a community out of the limitations placed on them by the majority of the population. The evolution of Ogden's African-American community followed a pattern toward its establishment. African Americans entered Ogden to find employment. Within a few years they established Black churches in the city. Finally, Black social organizations arose because Ogden had few social outlets for African Americans. Some African Americans opened businesses that

catered to the Black community. These were steps toward permanent status by African Americans in the city.

The road to a permanent community did not include a road to acceptance. African Americans continued to face a life complicated by racism and indifference. Ogden's African Americans could not always defeat the stereotypes place on them, but they continually proved them false. The African-American community grew and established itself as part of Ogden City.

Notes

1. James Gillespie, President, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, Ogden Chapter, interview by author, 15 March 1993, Washington Terrace, Utah. Hereafter cited as Gillespie interview.

2. C. John Turner, resident of Ogden area since 1945, interview by author, 15 April 1993, Sunset, Utah. Hereafter cited as C.J. Turner interview; Gillespie interview.

3. C.J. Turner interview.

4. Ibid.

5. Polk's Ogden City Directory (Salt Lake City: R.L. Polk and Co.) 1917, 1924, 1925, 1930. Hereafter cited Polk's Ogden City Directory with corresponding year.

6. Ira Horton, resident of Ogden since 1942, studied African Americans in Ogden, interview by author, 24 May 1993, South Ogden, Utah. Hereafter cited as Horton interview.

7. Polk's Ogden City Directory, 1939, 1944, 1946, 1948.

8. Gillespie interview.

9. Loretta Park, "American Legion Post Celebrates Fiftieth Birthday," The Ogden (Utah) Standard Examiner, 6

April 1993, 1(A).

10. Ibid.

11. Dewitt Robinson, retired cook for Union Pacific Railroad, resident of Ogden since 1944, interview by author, 9 February 1993, Ogden, Utah. Hereafter cited as Robinson interview.

12. Gillespie interview.

13. Ibid.

14. Polk's Ogden City Directory, 1917, 1918.

15. The Ogden (Utah) Standard Examiner, 20 May 1924. Hereafter cited as Standard Examiner. In the first two decades of the twentieth century Ogden had one newspaper that was named The Ogden Standard, prior to 28 February 1910 and between March 16, 1914 and March 31, 1920, and named The Evening Standard from March 1, 1910 to March 14, 1914, and one named The Ogden Examiner from April 1, 1912 to April 4, 1920, and The Morning Examiner and Ogden Standard prior to December 31, 1911. In 1920 these two newspapers merged, forming the Standard Examiner; Polk's Ogden City Directory, 1925, 1926.

16. Polk's Ogden City Directory, 1924.

17. Standard Examiner, 14 June 1924.

18. Ibid., 9 July 1924.

19. Polk's Ogden City Directory, 1924.

20. Ibid., 1935.

21. Ibid., 1942, 1944, 1946, 1948.

22. Gillespie interview.

23. "'Red' Toner Gave Few Hits," The Evening Standard, 22 August 1910, 2. Hereafter cited as Standard; "Negroes are Now the Champions," Standard, 10 October 1910, 4.

24. C.J. Turner interview.

25. Ibid.

26. Polk's Ogden City Directory, 1946, 1948; The Salt Lake (City, Utah) Tribune, 19 October 1963. Hereafter cited

as Tribune; Gillespie interview.

27. Standard Examiner, 19 October 1963.
28. C.J. Turner interview.
29. Polk's Ogden City Directory, 1946, 1948; Gillespie interview.
30. Standard Examiner, 24 May 1949.
31. Polk's Ogden City Directory, 1928, 1932, 1948.
32. Polk's Ogden City Directory, 1935, 1942; Horton interview.
33. Polk's Ogden City Directory, 1936-37, 1942.
34. Park, "American Legion Post Celebrates Fiftieth Birthday," 1-2(A).
35. Polk's Ogden City Directory, 1939, 1942, 1948.
36. Ibid., 1948.
37. Horton interview.
38. Polk's Ogden City Directory, 1944, 1948.
39. Horton interview.
40. Polk's Ogden City Directory, 1940.
41. C.J. Turner.
42. Polk's Ogden City Directory, 1940.
43. Horton interview.
44. Horton interview; "Model Planes to Fly August 29th," Standard Examiner, 6 August 1943, 2(A).
45. Polk's Ogden City Directory, 1936-37, 1938, 1939, 1940.
46. Polk's Ogden City Directory, 1944, 1927; "Colored Problem is Aired at Lively Commission Meet," Standard Examiner, 17 June 1943, 8(B).
47. Gillespie interview.
48. Ibid.

49. Horton interview.
50. Polk's Ogden City Directory, 1946.
51. Horton interview.
52. Ibid.
53. Polk's Ogden City Directory, 1917.
54. Ibid., 1921.
55. Ibid., 1928, 1946, 1948.
56. Ibid., 1951.
57. Standard Examiner, 7 April 1948.
58. C.J. Turner interview.
59. Gillespie interview.
60. Horton interview.
61. Polk's Ogden City Directory, 1935.
62. Gillespie interview.
63. Ibid.
64. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Census of Religious Bodies: 1906, vol. 1, Summary and Detailed Tables (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1910), 560-61.
65. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Census of Religious Bodies: 1916, vol. 1 Summary and Detailed Tables (Washington: GPO, 1919), 347, 566-67.
66. Ibid.
67. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Negroes in the United States, 1926-32 (Washington: GPO, 1935), 536-37; Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Census of Religious Bodies: 1936, vol. 1, Summary and Detailed Tables (Washington: GPO, 1941), 722-23.
68. Hugh F. O'Neil, "African Church History Traced," Standard Examiner, 2 January 1939, 3.
69. Gillespie interview.

70. R. Maud Ditmars, "A History of Baptist Missions in Utah, 1871-1931" (M.A. thesis, University of Colorado, 1931), 65; Hugh F. O'Neil, "Writer Traces Wall Avenue Church Annals," Standard Examiner, 10 July 1938, 12(A); Polk's Ogden City Directory, 1915.

71. Polk's Ogden City Directory, 1915.
72. O'Neil, "Writer Traces Wall Avenue Church Annals."
73. Polk's Ogden City Directory, 1939.
74. Ibid., 1942, 1944.
75. Ibid., 1946, 1948.
76. Standard Examiner, 13 July 1935.
77. "Embry Chapel Sets Program," Standard Examiner, 12 March 1943, 12(A).
78. Standard Examiner, 1 July 1943.
79. Robinson interview.
80. Standard Examiner, 12 April 1924.
81. Gillespie interview; Horton interview.
82. Standard, 12 January 1918.
83. Horton interview; Polk's Ogden City Directory, 1946.
84. Gillespie interview; Horton interview.
85. Horton interview.
86. Gillespie interview.
87. Gillespie interview; C.J. Turner interview.
88. Gillespie interview.
89. Park, "American Legion Post Celebrates Fiftieth Birthday," 1-2(A).
90. Gillespie interview.
91. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Thirteenth Census of the United States: 1910: Abstract of

the Census with Supplement from Utah (Washington: GPO, 1914), 590, 592.

92. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Fourteenth Census of the United States: 1920, vol. 3: Population Characteristics (Washington: GPO, 1923), 1037-38.

93. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Fifteenth Census of the United States: 1930, vol. 3, pt. 2: Population (Washington: GPO, 1932), 1098.

94. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Sixteenth Census of the United States: 1940, vol. 2, pt 7: Population Characteristics (Washington: GPO, 1943), 45.

95. Lucille Turner, resident of Ogden area since birth, interview by author, 15 April 1993, Sunset, Utah.

96. Gillespie interview.

97. Horton interview.

CHAPTER III
POPULATION

At the beginning of the twentieth century, African Americans made up a very small percentage of the population of Weber County and Ogden City, and the African-American population in the Ogden area remained small compared to Weber County's white population over the decades. The African-American population of Ogden increased from 51 to 1106 between 1900 and 1950 with a slight drop before 1930. The United States Census recorded two dramatic increases in Ogden's African-American population in 1910 with a 300 percent increase, and 1950, with a 220 percent increase.

Logic dictates employment opportunities caused the largest population increases. The census records show that employment rates among African Americans in Ogden remained high. Historians often cite the railroad as the major draw for African Americans to Ogden. The census backs up this theory. Most African Americans apparently worked for the railroads or for railroad-related businesses.

Looking at the population figures for Utah gives an idea how much of a minority Ogden's African Americans represented. The figures and percentages are important in illustrating the problems facing Ogden's African Americans. As such a small minority they had no way of exerting substantial pressure on the surrounding community for fair treatment. Between 1900 and 1950 African Americans

constituted less than 1 percent of Utah's total population. From 1900 through 1930 Weber County accounted for less than 25 percent of Utah's African-American population, although it increased from 7.6 percent, in 1900, to 21 percent in 1930. In the 1940 census, Weber County had 28 percent of the state's African-American population. By 1950 this increased to 40.5 percent.¹

From 1900 to 1950 the majority of Weber County's African Americans lived in Ogden. In 1900 84 percent of the county's Blacks lived in Ogden. In the next four census years over 95 percent of Weber County African Americans lived in Ogden. As African Americans increasingly moved into Ogden's suburbs in the 1940s, this dropped back to 84 percent. After 1900 Weber County's African-American population remained largely urbanized.²

Within Weber County, Ogden held a population of 16,313 in 1900. Whites comprised 16,180 of this total and African Americans constituted 43. In 1910 Ogden's population showed a 57 percent increase to 25,580. The white population increased 54 percent to 24,929. The African-American population increased 372 percent to 203 with 145 Blacks and 58 Mulattos.³

White males constituted 12,803, or 50 percent, of Ogden's population, and white females made up 12,126, or 47 percent. Ogden's population had 125 African-American males and 78 females. In 1900 Ogden had 4,082 voting-age males,

of which twenty-three (.56 percent) were African Americans. The number of voting-age males increased to 7,680 in 1910, with 110 African Americans (1.4 percent).⁴

School attendance by African Americans in Ogden proved fairly consistent. The number of African Americans of school age for both Weber County and Ogden totaled eighteen with sixteen (89 percent) of the African-American school-age population attending school. This compares favorably to the 11,178 total of school-age people in Weber County of whom 7,890 (70.5 percent) attended school. In Ogden the total population of school-age people numbered 7,735 with 5,422 (70 percent) attending school.⁵

Though African Americans made up a considerably smaller portion of Ogden and Weber County's school-age population, the percentage of school-age African Americans attending school proved much greater than the population as a whole. The racial divisiveness of Ogden and the lack of black schools and African-American teachers could have caused African Americans concern about sending their children to predominantly white schools. The predominantly urban nature of Ogden and Weber County's African-American population doubtless had some effect on schooling. In 1940 only five African Americans, three male and two female, lived in rural settings. Living in urban surroundings made school more accessible to African Americans.

The total 1920 population for Ogden increased 28

percent to 32,804. Males numbered 16,491, and females constituted 16,313 (49.7 percent) of the population. Ogden had 265 African Americans: 153 males and 112 females.⁶ This decreased 15 percent to 224 in 1930. Meanwhile, Ogden grew 23 percent to 40,272: 20,015 males and 20,257 females. Ogden recorded a 1940 population of 43,688: 21,409 males and 22,279 females.⁷ Ogden and Weber County bucked Utah's trend in 1940 when their African-American population increased beyond the 1920 level. Ogden's African-American population increased to 346: 193 males and 153 females.⁸

By 1950 the total population of Ogden grew to 57,112 including 28,290 males and 28,822 females. The African-American population totaled 928 with 511 males and 417 females. With these numbers the African Americans in Ogden City alone nearly equaled the total number of other minorities in Weber County, which included 58 Native Americans, 800 Japanese, and 50 Chinese.⁹

The housing census provides a different picture about the disparity between African Americans and Whites other than population numbers. Ogden held major differences in property ownership between Blacks and Whites. Unfortunately, the censuses prior to 1930 did not address property ownership, but subsequent census years provide a partial picture of the situation.

In 1930 the census recorded 115,936 families in Utah. Of these, 331 families were African American. In the state,

69,583 families (60 percent) owned their residences while 44,610 rented. Only 114 African-American families (36.6 percent) owned their residences, and 210 rented. In Weber County the census reported 12,459 families with 69 African-American families. Of the total number of families, 58.2 percent owned their residences. African Americans owned twenty-five residences (36 percent). In Ogden the number of families totaled 9,951 with 66 of them African Americans. Of the total families in Ogden, 54.3 percent owned their residences. Only twenty-three African-American families (34.8 percent) owned residences.¹⁰

Weber County had a total of 15,103 families in 1940. African-American families constituted 106 families. Owner families in Weber County comprised 57.5 percent of the total, but African-American families only comprised 25.4 percent of the total number of African-American families. Ogden reported 11,963 families, with 53.2 percent owners. The African-American population consisted of 104 families, with only 25 percent of the African-American community owning their residences.¹¹

The 1950 census showed an increase in home ownership by African Americans in the Ogden/Weber County area. The sharp contrast between African-American ownership and ownership by the rest of the city's and county's population continued. Weber County had 24,696 occupied residences in 1950. Of these, 56 percent owned their residences. African Americans

occupied 313 residences, with 36.4 percent owners. Ogden City held 16,980 residences; 60 percent of the families owned residences. Ownership among African Americans in Ogden was 39.3 percent, still below the 56.4 percent ownership among the rest of Ogden's and Weber County's population.¹²

Throughout the reported years most African Americans lived in a relatively small section of Ogden. The primary area of African-American residences existed west of Grant Avenue, north of Thirtieth Street, and south of Twenty-fourth Street. By 1950 some African Americans lived outside of this section, with eighty-three living in Washington Terrace, which was organized as a housing area for war workers during World War II. Most of the population still resided in Ogden's segregated area.¹³

The disparity between the number of African-American families that owned their residences and the total number of owner families may lie with the newness of the African Americans to Ogden and Weber County and the possible property distribution by long-term residents among their family members. Low wages--ninety-four dollars a month with the railroads, and fifty cents an hour with the federal government--contributed to the lack of home ownership by African Americans.¹⁴ Few African Americans probably considered such wages adequate to buy houses.

The decrease in home ownership among African Americans

between 1930 and 1940 undoubtedly resulted from the continuance of the Great Depression of 1929. Employment losses during the Depression may have caused African Americans to move in search of work. The resulting population decline probably resulted in a loss of property by African Americans along with economic burdens that forced the sale of property. By 1950 the revival of the economy and the increase in government and railroad work brought more prosperity to African Americans. The percentage of African-American owners probably did not achieve the level of 1930 because the new African Americans did not immediately settle down. The nature of their work, being on the road for long periods of time, did not encourage railroad workers to settle and buy property right away.

The railroads provided the major source of employment for African Americans between 1910 and 1942.¹⁵ In 1920 125 African American males and twenty-eight females in Ogden maintained what the census called "gainful occupations."¹⁶ By 1930 this number decreased to ninety-six males and twenty-two females who held jobs. Most African Americans worked in service positions related to the railroads: porters, waiters, redcaps, and lounge car attendants. Apparently most African-American females worked in domestic service, probably with private employers.¹⁷ Some of these worked in agriculture, manufactures and mechanics, transportation and communications, railroad labor, and

domestic service.¹⁸

In 1940 Utah had 558 African Americans in the work force. Salt Lake City contained 318 of those. Because the census did not give specific figures for Ogden, it is impossible to know the exact work force numbers for Ogden's African Americans. By subtracting Salt Lake City's African-American work force and the total population of African Americans in other counties, it is possible to achieve a ballpark figure. In Ogden this equals around 200 African Americans in the work force. Ogden's labor force had approximately 160 African-American males and forty females in the labor force. About twenty-nine males and two females sought work. One hundred fifty African-American males and thirty-five females in Ogden had employment by 1940.¹⁹ The Census Bureau in 1940 differentiated between service work and domestic service. With this difference, 109 males and fifteen females worked service employment by 1940. Fifteen females and no males worked in domestic service.²⁰

Throughout the years, working-age African Americans constituted the majority of Ogden's African American community. In 1910 179 African Americans were fifteen years of age or older; 113 males and 66 females.²¹ By 1920 209 African Americans placed in the twenty-years-plus age group; 125 males and 84 females. Of these, eighty-eight males and sixty-eight females occupied the twenty to forty-four age group.²² The population decrease by 1930 caused a drop in

the twenty plus age group to 186; 113 males and 73 females. Only sixty-six males and fifty-five females occupied the twenty to forty-four age group.²³

The population increase of 1940 saw an increase in the older age groups. By 1940 Weber County had 168 males twenty years and older with 121 in the twenty to forty-four age group. Females twenty years and older numbered 121, with ninety-two in the twenty to forty-four age group.²⁴ The amalgamation of all non-Whites into one category in the 1950 census defeats any attempt to determine the age groups of African Americans.

The African-American community in Ogden remained small in comparison with the rest of the population. It increased between 1910 and 1950 except for the population decrease in the 1930 census. The decrease of Ogden's and Utah's African-American population by 1930 likely resulted from the Great Depression and a decrease in employment opportunities caused by the Depression.

The increase in the 1940 census numbers came in conjunction with the revival of the United States' economy. Most of the population influx probably came in 1938 or 1939 with the increase in federal defense expenditures. The explosive increase in the 1950 census directly resulted from the military-based industry during and after World War II. The continued growth of the defense industry provided government jobs for African Americans stationed in the Ogden

area following the war. The age groups predominant in Ogden's African-American community support the argument that Ogden's African-American population grew from the influx of outsiders and not from an internal birthrate.

Notes.

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2. Thirteenth Census: Abstract with Supplement for Utah, 592; Fourteenth Census: Population: Characteristics, 1037-38; Fifteenth Census: Population, 1100; Sixteenth Census: Population Characteristics, 68; Seventeenth Census: Utah, 38.
3. Thirteenth Census: Abstract with Supplement for Utah, 592.
4. Ibid.
5. Ibid.
6. Fourteenth Census: Population: Characteristics, 1037-38.
7. Fifteenth Census: Population, 1100.
8. Sixteenth Census: Population Characteristics, 39,

68.

9. Seventeenth Census: Utah, 38.

10. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Fifteenth Census of the United States: 1930, vol. 2: Families (Washington: GPO, 1932), 1344, 1347.

11. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Sixteenth Census of the United States: 1940, vol. 2: Housing: General Statistics (Washington: GPO, 1943), 572.

12. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Seventeenth Census of the United States: 1950, vol. 1 pt. 6: Housing (Washington: GPO, 1952), 44-16.

13. James Gillespie, President, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, Ogden Chapter, interview by author, 15 March 1993, Washington Terrace, Utah.

14. Loretta Park, "American Legion Post Celebrates Fiftieth Birthday," The Ogden (Utah) Standard Examiner, 6 April 1993, 1(A).

15. Ibid.

16. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Fourteenth Census of the United States: 1920, vol. 4: Population: Occupations (Washington: GPO, 1923), 1038.

17. Gillespie interview.

18. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Fifteenth Census of the United States: 1930, vol. 4: Occupations (Washington: GPO, 1932), 1618-24.

19. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Sixteenth Census of the United States: 1940, vol. 3: The Labor Force (Washington: GPO, 1943), 659-61.

20. Ibid.

21. Thirteenth Census: Abstract with Supplement for Utah, 590, 592.

22. Fourteenth Census: Population: Characteristics, 1037-38.

23. Fifteenth Census: Population, 1098.

24. Sixteenth Census: Population Characteristics, 45.

CHAPTER IV
RACISM AND SEGREGATION

Racism throughout the United States encouraged the acceptance of segregation, even after the end of the American Civil War. European-Americans did not confine their racism and the practice of segregation to African Americans. Asians, Native Americans, Hispanics, and other ethnic groups suffered through the racism of, and segregation, by the white majority. Plessy vs. Ferguson (1896) established the legitimacy of the separate, but equal, doctrine. As a result, Whites tended to separate all non-white ethnic groups from mainstream white society. The racism toward African Americans and their segregation remains one of the most prominent features of twentieth century United States history.

The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints has been the predominant religion in Utah since the Mormons first arrived in the area in 1847. The dominance of the Mormon populace affected and continues to affect African Americans in Utah. The greatest effect of the L.D.S. Church on the African-American population prior to 1978 was the practice of priesthood denial for African-American males. The priesthood is open to any eligible male member of the L.D.S. Church, but before June 1978, the Church denied African Americans priesthood ordination. Add to this the prohibition of African Americans in Mormon temples and

temple ceremonies, which deprived them of aspects of the L.D.S. religion essential for their spiritual salvation.

The exact origin of priesthood denial remains uncertain. The practice did not begin with the formation of the L.D.S. Church. In 1832 Ezekiel Roberts baptized an African-American convert to the Mormon Church named Elijah Abel, who eventually received the priesthood. According to Stephen Taggart, the policy of priesthood denial emerged following conflict between Mormons and southern slave owners in Jackson County, Missouri. The Evening and Morning Star, a Mormon newspaper, published an article that contained "...cautious antislavery sentiment." The article served to stir up anti-Mormon feelings in Missouri.¹

Missourians misconstrued another Evening and Morning Star article, warning Mormons about Missouri's prohibition of free Blacks, as an invitation to those free Blacks to go to Missouri. Faced with the resentment that resulted from the misunderstanding, the Mormon press in Missouri adopted an anti-Black posture. The effort proved futile as Missourians drove the Mormons from Jackson County in November 1833. Taggart asserted that Joseph Smith, Jr., the founder and President of the L.D.S. Church, began denying the priesthood to African Americans in order to protect Mormons in slaveholding states, because of the episodes in Missouri.²

Lester Bush placed the origin of priesthood denial on

Joseph Smith's successor as President of the Church, Brigham Young. In a speech given on 16 January 1852, Young stated, "Any man having one drop of the seed of [Cain]... in him cannot hold the priesthood and if no other Prophet ever spake it before I will say it now in the name of Jesus Christ I know it is true and others know it."³ Bush asserted, "Young appeared both to confirm himself as the instigator of the priesthood policy, and to bear testimony to its inspired origin."⁴ Whatever the source of priesthood denial, it influenced many Mormons' perceptions of African Americans. The L.D.S. Church's policy toward African Americans did little to diffuse racism in the state and probably helped foster it. Priesthood denial for African Americans and the justifications for it conjured a negative image about Blacks for Mormons.

Racism in Utah, and especially Ogden, cannot be blamed totally on Mormon beliefs and practices. Many people immigrated to Ogden from other sections of the United States to take advantage of the burgeoning railroad industry. This influx increased the number of non-Mormons in Ogden, and brought racism from abroad. Early in the twentieth century Ogden claimed 81 percent of its population as L.D.S. Non-Mormons constituted 16.8 percent of the population. By 1926 non-Mormons made up a full 17 percent of the city's population while Mormons comprised 82 percent. The non-Mormon religions' population of Ogden dropped to 11.4

percent by 1936, but the L.D.S. Church only claimed 60 percent of Ogden's population. The other 28 percent of the population was not affiliated with any religion.⁵ With the steady drop in the L.D.S. population it would be an inaccurate generalization to place too much blame for racism in Ogden solely on members of the L.D.S. Church.

The brief rise of the Ku Klux Klan in Utah is attributable to influences from outside Utah. Following the American Civil War, the Ku Klux Klan became the embodiment of racism toward African Americans in the United States. In the 1920s, during the second rise of the Klan, the group promised "to make 100 percent Americans of all citizens," but mention of the organization conjured images of violence toward African Americans, primarily in the Deep South. The Ku Klux Klan peaked in Utah in 1923-24, but did not exert great influence anywhere in the state, including Ogden.⁶

The Klan first grabbed Utah's attention in 1920. Salt Lake City's Deseret News published an editorial in December 1920 denouncing the Klan and its activities. On 7 June 1921 the Deseret News announced the Klan would organize a branch in Utah. The Ku Klux Klan spread slowly in Utah, but established a Klavern in Salt Lake City by early 1922. The Klan made its first public appearance in Utah during a cemetery service for Salt Lake County Deputy Sheriff Gordon Stuart, who had been killed in the line of duty.⁷

Prior to the Klan's arrival in Ogden, some residents

formed the Citizens' League to combat public immorality, and liquor and gambling violations. Other Ogden residents considered it the forerunner of the Klan. The Ku Klux Klan first appeared in Ogden in 1923. A group of twelve Klansmen interrupted a service at the First Baptist Church on the night of 15 April 1923 to voice their support for the Reverend L.A. Garrison, minister of the church. Garrison became an ardent supporter of the Klan in 1923. Garrison espoused a belief in the supremacy of the white race, that "there is something about the Anglo Saxon race that warrants it for leadership." When questioned about his involvement with the group, Garrison denied allegations he came to Ogden in order to organize the Klan in the city.⁸

The Ogden chapter of the Klan seemed less concerned with racial prejudice than with religious prejudice. During the 15 April 1923 visit to the First Baptist Church, the leader of the Klan group said they opposed "the domination of public officials by any church, creed, or sect."⁹ Garrison claimed he was not anti-Catholic, but his statements and accusations indicated otherwise. Garrison accused the Knights of Columbus of committing the crimes attributed to the Klan. The anti-Catholic nature of the Ogden Klavern was revealed when the Klan burned two crosses, one red and one white, on a mountainside during dedication ceremonies of St. Joseph's parochial school in Ogden. Garrison's support of the Klan left him and his church in

disgrace by 1924.¹⁰

The only mention of African Americans by the Klan in Ogden came in a speech at a Klan meeting in 1924. The Ogden Standard Examiner reported that the main speaker, Dr. J.C. Rolly of Salt Lake City, said, "I want to make it clear now that the Invisible Empire is not anti-Catholic, anti-Jew, or anti-negro. We are working for them as well as any other American ..., but they cannot become members of this empire owing to our regulations."¹¹ The Ogden Klan never took any overt action against African Americans in the area during the Klan's revival.

The low number of African Americans and subtle racism diffused any malevolent racism in Utah. The white population in the South viewed African Americans as a threat, so their racism took on violent aspects. Utah seemed to have a live and let live, but live separately, attitude. Most Utah Whites appeared content to simply ignore the African Americans in their communities. In addition, the L.D.S. Church's hierarchy admonished Mormons to avoid secret societies.¹² Jim Gillespie said about Black-White relations in Utah, "In Mississippi [Gillespie's birthplace] they'll kill you, in Utah they just starve you to death."¹³ Gillespie maintains because many white Utahns had no contact with African Americans, and continue to have little or no contact with the African-American community, they believe Utah does not have a race problem.¹⁴

Ogden's African Americans were not alone in the battle against racism as they found allies in white Ogden citizens. The Standard Examiner and Reverend Charles C. Wilson of the First Congregational Church of Ogden attacked the Ogden Klan and urged the banishment of the chapter. The Standard Examiner published anti-Klan editorials with the following titles: "When the Mob Spirit Prevails," "Keeping Out the Foreigner," and "Doing Away with the Ku Klux Klan."¹⁵ Later the newspaper concentrated on Klan activities in other states and ignored the Ogden chapter. Reverend Wilson attacked the Klan by using information and urging compassion. Wilson sermonized in "The Truth About the Jew" and addressed the racial problems in "Klan versus the Christ."¹⁶ In the second sermon Wilson asserted, "The Klan was formed for one main purpose, . . . , and that is to paralyze with fear the negro population in the United States."¹⁷ Wilson insisted the Klan sought to disenfranchise African Americans after gaining control of the government. Wilson stated,

The white man owes a debt of moral obligation to his African brother which he will never be able to fully pay. And if we intend to tax any claim whatever to being Christians we shall have to repent of our racial and class sins of hate and exploitation and begin to treat every human being as a brother.¹⁸

Wilson's comments stand in marked contrast to Reverend L.A. Garrison's epithets of white supremacy.

Some Whites in the city supported African Americans in

their efforts to help their community. In 1915 John R. Lemme, an Ogden tailor, circulated a petition opposing D.W. Griffith's motion picture, Birth of a Nation, from showing in Ogden. Lemme secured the signatures of some prominent Ogden citizens, including Reverend H.L. Marque of the Embry Chapel A.M.E. Church, Reverend Alex J. Billingsley of the Wall Avenue Baptist Church, and Horace Ferguson of the Weber Club. Encouraged by letters and documents from the N.A.A.C.P. which showed ordinances from other cities banning Birth of a Nation, Lemme went to the Ogden City Council and requested the film be banned. In spite of promises from Mayor Alpheus G. Fell that the Council would take care of it, nothing came of the meeting. Birth of a Nation played in Ogden without restrictions.¹⁹ Even though the City Council did nothing in the situation, the signature of Horace Ferguson showed some support for the African-American community from a prominent white citizen.

Racism in Ogden took many forms between 1910 and 1950. The Standard Examiner exhibited the community's racism in many different ways, from mentioning race in articles about African Americans--especially those dealing with crime--to outright racist names for African Americans. The treatment of African Americans by the Standard Examiner revealed the attitudes of Whites toward African Americans and crime, especially in the early decades of the twentieth century. The newspapers continually drew attention to the racial

background of African-American criminals, either by mention in article titles or in the articles themselves.

The Standard Examiner sometimes perpetuated racism by using racially derogatory names for African Americans. During the trial of Arthur DePew, an article in the paper focused on a witness in the trial named Elanor [sic] Bright. In talking about Mrs. Bright's baby, the article stated, "Mrs. Brights [sic] baby, a curly headed pickaninny, caused much amusement to the spectators during the trial by crawling and laughing about the courtroom."²⁰ A 1933 picture of African-American track stars Ralph Metcalf, James Johnson, and Jesse Owens was captioned, "Three Aces of Spades Star in A.A.U. Games."²¹

The growth of Ogden's African-American community during World War II led to increased antipathy by Ogden's citizens toward Blacks. In 1943 Leon King, later the owner of a cafe and a bar on Twenty-fifth Street, tried to transfer his tavern's business license from the Davis Hotel on Wall Avenue to 245 Twenty-fifth Street. In June King withdrew his request in the face of staunch opposition from property owners, civic leaders, clergymen, and police. Captain William Aitken of the Salvation Army opposed the move because the new address was next door to the Salvation Army building. Aitken claimed women and girls were unwilling to walk to the church because of problems with African Americans in the area. Fred A. Kuhlman claimed King knew

when he wished to open the tavern he was "destroying property values and church values."²² Kuhlman went on to say, "Twenty-fifth Street doesn't have to remain Twenty-fifth Street; it can be improved."²³ Ogden Minister John Edward Carver told city officials the establishment would require additional police control.²⁴

King said the government forced African Americans out of the Davis Hotel tavern when the government turned the hotel into a housing project. King asserted his new place would keep Blacks off the streets and out of other bars. Provost Marshal Captain Joseph P. Filkas said he was not partisan in the dispute, but felt concern for the soldiers in the area. Filkas said, "The colored soldiers are not here of their own free will and they must have a place to seek amusement and proper relaxation."²⁵ The withdrawn request kept the status quo in Ogden as King's establishment remained west of Lincoln Avenue.

According to Jim Gillespie, another incident led to the formation of the Ogden chapter of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. In 1944 a seventeen-year-old African-American man from Oklahoma, named Clifford Worley, Jr., received his draft notice along with instructions to return to Oklahoma to enter the service. Worley lived in Washington Terrace with his mother. His friends threw a party for him that included some drinking.

He got ready to get on the bus, and the bus driver said he had too much to drink and he called the

police. He [Worley] did not want to get arrested, and he started running and was shot in the back. Right after that the N.A.A.C.P. was organized [in Ogden]. Of course when the board was called it was justifiable homicide.²⁶

The Standard Examiner reported police were called to the Union Pacific bus depot on 17 February 1944, because of a man causing a disturbance. They took Worley into custody and one officer, T. Clark Olson, put him in the squad car while the other officer, John Pinnock, was arguing with a group of soldiers. Worley escaped from the car when Olson went back to Pinnock and the soldiers. Both policemen chased Worley. Olson fired his revolver, striking Worley in the back. Worley was pronounced dead on arrival at Dee Hospital. The newspaper reported Worley was leaving for Oklahoma, but the bus driver twice ejected him from the bus. The Standard Examiner did not mention alcohol nor any reason for the refusal to let Worley on the bus.²⁷

During the inquest into the shooting, witnesses claimed police had reason to believe Worley participated in a robbery on the night of 15-16 February 1944. The three-man coroner's jury acquitted Olson of wrongdoing after 33 minutes of deliberation. Worley's shooting only rated a report on the eighth page of the Standard Examiner's second section.²⁸

Many Ogden citizens expressed their racism through racial slurs or through their indignance at a transgression of segregation. Jim Gillespie served as a Military

Policeman in the Army Air Corps during World War II. At the time Ogden's Twenty-fifth Street was segregated; Whites stuck to the north side of the street, and Blacks stayed on the south side, along with Italians, Asians, and Hispanics through the decades.²⁹ The segregation of Twenty-fifth Street only existed between Wall and Lincoln Avenues.³⁰ Twenty-fifth constituted part of Gillespie's patrol beat. Once, while he and another African American M.P. patrolled the north side of Twenty-fifth Street, two Whites approached them. "... We had guns and billy clubs, and these guys just walked up to us and said, 'What are you niggers doing on this side of the street?' Well we played snare drums on their heads."³¹

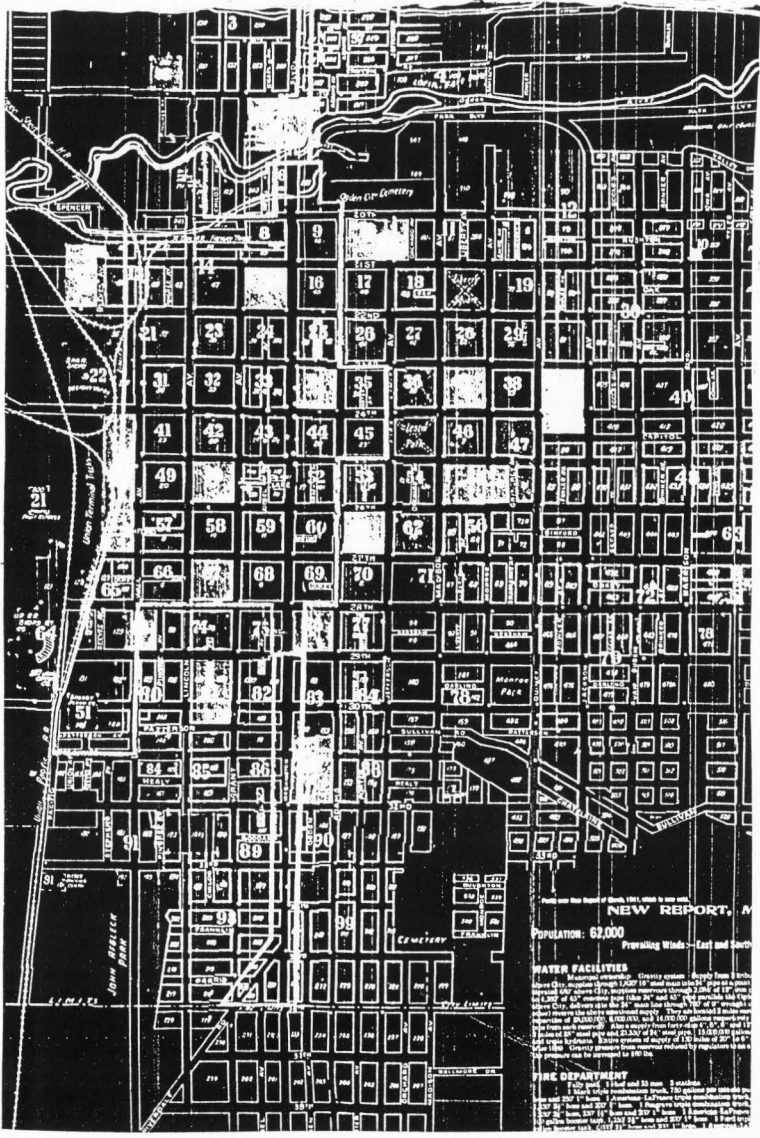
The segregation of movie theaters brought forth derogatory racial nicknames. In most movie theaters African Americans had to sit at the back of the theaters.³² The Orpheum Theater limited them to the balcony, which the local Whites nicknamed "Nigger Heaven."³³ Movie theaters were the only entertainment businesses in Ogden that catered to both the white and African-American communities, but separated the races.

Ogden contained no movies theaters for African Americans, but it had clubs, restaurants, hotels, and brothels that only served African Americans or Whites. Twenty-fifth Street provided much of the entertainment for Ogden's African Americans and for train passengers passing

through the city. Twenty-fifth Street's proximity to Ogden's Union Station, straight across Wall Avenue, provided easy access for passengers. This may explain why the segregation of Twenty-fifth Street evolved, to prevent white railroad passengers and Ogden's African Americans from mixing.

Real estate proved a powerful weapon in segregating African Americans from white Ogden. Segregation limited African Americans to an area north of Thirtieth Street, south of Twenty-fourth Street, and west of Grant Avenue (see Figure I).³⁴ Such a situation provided many of Ogden's white residents with opportunities at financial gain. Most houses obtainable by African Americans were old. Many people who sold these houses charged high prices for them. The older homes in downtown Ogden brought up to fifteen thousand dollars, which in turn could purchase a new house in an area like Washington Terrace.³⁵ Thus more African Americans probably rented homes than owned because renting proved more affordable. According to Gillespie, newspapers advertised homes for which African Americans were eligible.³⁶ Advertisements in the Standard Examiner sometimes read, "Non-Caucasian! For just \$1,000 you can buy this home."³⁷ Restricted contracts prevented sellers from showing any home outside the designated area. This kept the African American and white residential communities thoroughly separated.

Figure I. Map of Ogden, Utah: Area Near Union Station.
Source: Sanborn Map Company, New York, 1944.



NEW REPORT, MO.

Population: 62,000
 Prevailing Winds: East and South

WATER FACILITIES
 The city's water supply is derived from the
 Spencer Reservoir, which is situated on the
 Missouri River. The water is treated at the
 Spencer Water Treatment Plant, which is
 equipped with a capacity of 100,000
 gallons per day. The water is then
 distributed throughout the city through
 a network of pipes and mains.

FIRE DEPARTMENT
 The fire department is organized into
 three companies, each of which is
 equipped with a modern fire engine and
 hose. The department also maintains
 a fire station and a fire house.

Utah law officially enforced segregation. The Utah Code prohibited interracial relationships between men and women. The law considered interracial marriages invalid until 1963.³⁸ In 1924 police arrested Mrs. C. Flinnigan for running an "immoral resort" where black men visited white girls.³⁹ Police arrested Maude Ensign, a twenty-four-year-old white woman, and Charles Hackley, a forty-year-old Mulatto man, for having relations.⁴⁰

Segregation infringed on the African-Americans' social activities. They had to make special arrangements for their social functions. The Berthana Ballroom on Twenty-fourth Street remained segregated, but would sometimes close so the African-American social clubs could rent the hall for their dances.⁴¹ They also held dances at The Old Mill Club, owned by Harman W. Peery, mayor of Ogden in various years.⁴² During the 1940s many big bands played in Ogden, but exclusively for Whites.⁴³

For the most part the racism and segregation seemed the product of indifference rather than outright hostility and hatred. Hostility did seem to increase in the 1940s as evidenced by Gillespie's story about the emergence of Ogden's N.A.A.C.P. chapter and an incident in 1949. In May 1949 several African Americans reported four cars filled with white people threw beer bottles at them on Twenty-fifth.⁴⁴ Such hostility at that time poses the question, why? The sharp increase in the African-American population

of Ogden may have triggered such an action. The seeds of integration began to grow the year before with the desegregation of the military. Perhaps the indifference of some Whites toward African Americans evolved into a perception of Blacks as a threat to them with the increasing changes. In spite of these episodes, Ogden, and Utah, remained less violent toward African Americans. The Standard Examiner frequently reported lynchings in the Deep South.⁴⁵

Racism in Ogden merely reflected the general attitude toward African Americans in the United States. Ogden's racism generally reflected the indifference many of the city's population felt toward Ogden's African Americans. How much racism affected the attitudes of Whites and their perceptions of African Americans provides a subject for intense debate. Some criminal cases showed elements of racism involved. Racism probably increased the awareness of crimes committed by African Americans because of increased vigilance by authorities and publicity by the press.

Notes

1. Stephen G. Taggart, Mormonism's Negro Policy: Social and Historical Origins (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1970), 20, 25, 27.

2. *Ibid.*, 2, 22-23, 26, 30, 32, 34-36.

3. Lester E. Bush Jr., "Mormonism's Negro Doctrine," in Neither White nor Black: Mormon Scholars Confront the Race in a Universal Church, ed. Lester E. Bush Jr. and Armand L. Mauss (Midvale, Utah: Signature, 1984), 70.

4. Ibid.

5. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Census of Religious Bodies: 1916, vol. 1 Summary and Detailed Tables (Washington: GPO, 1919), 460. Hereafter cited as Census of Religious Bodies: 1916; Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Census of Religious Bodies: 1926, vol. 1, Summary and Detailed Tables (Washington: GPO, 1930), 498; Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Census of Religious Bodies: 1936, vol. 1, Summary and Detailed Tables (Washington: GPO, 1941), 619; Hereafter cited as Census of Religious Bodies: 1936.

6. The Ogden (Utah) Standard Examiner, 16 April 1923. Hereafter cited as Standard Examiner. In the first two decades of the twentieth century Ogden had one newspaper that was named The Ogden Standard, prior to 28 February 1910 and between March 16, 1914 and March 31, 1920, and named The Evening Standard from March 1, 1910 to March 14, 1914, and one named The Ogden Examiner from April 1, 1912 to April 4, 1920, and The Morning Examiner and Ogden Standard prior to December 31, 1911. In 1920 these two newspapers merged, forming the Standard Examiner.

7. Larry Gerlach, Blazing Crosses in Zion: The Ku Klux Klan in Utah (Logan, Utah: Utah State University Press, 1982), 23, 24.

8. Standard Examiner, 16 April 1923, 8 October 1923.

9. Gerlach, 42.

10. Ibid., 44-47, 69.

11. Standard Examiner, 25 October 1924.

12. Gerlach, 37.

13. James Gillespie, President, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, Ogden Chapter, interview by author, 15 March 1993, Washington Terrace, Utah. Hereafter cited as Gillespie interview.

14. Ibid.

15. Standard Examiner, 2 May 1923, 31 March 1924, 12 November 1923.

16. Ibid., 7 April 1924, 14 April 1924.

17. Ibid., 14 April 1924.

18. Ibid.
19. Gerlach, 12-13.
20. Standard Examiner, 21 April 1925.
21. Ibid., 7 July 1933.
22. "Colored Problem is Aired at Lively Commission Meet," Standard Examiner, 17 June 1943, 8(B).
23. Standard Examiner, 21 April 1925.
24. Ibid.
25. Ibid.
26. Gillespie interview.
27. "Investigation Begun After Death of Negro Youth From Policeman's Bullet," Standard Examiner 18 February 1944, 8(B).
28. "Investigation Begun," Standard Examiner 18 February 1944; "Jury Says Police Officer Innocent in Death of Youth," Standard Examiner 26 February 1944, 8.
29. Gillespie interview; Polk's Ogden City Directory (Salt Lake City: R.L. Polk & Co.), 1915-1941, 1942, 1944, 1946, 1948. Hereafter cited as Polk's Ogden City Directory with corresponding year.
30. C. John Turner, resident of Ogden area since 1945, interview by author, 15 April 1993, Sunset, Utah. Hereafter cited as C.J. Turner interview.
31. Gillespie interview.
32. Dewitt Robinson, retired cook for Union Pacific Railroad, resident of Ogden since 1944, interview by author, 9 February 1993, Ogden Utah. Hereafter cited as Robinson interview.
33. C.J. Turner interview.
34. Gillespie interview.
35. Ibid.
36. Ibid.
37. Standard Examiner, 7 April 1946, 14(B).

38. Laws of the State of Utah: Passed at the Seventh Regular Session of the Legislature of the State of Utah, Which Convened January 14, 1907 at Salt Lake City, the State Capital, and Adjourned March 14, 1907 (Salt Lake City: Skelton, 1907), 32.

39. Standard Examiner, 2 October 1924.

40. The Ogden (Utah) Standard, 7 February 1918.

41. Gillespie interview.

42. Gillespie interview; C.J. Turner interview.

43. Gillespie interview.

44. Standard Examiner, 25 May 1949.

45. Ibid., 2 January 1930, 16 September 1932, 12 July 1935.

CHAPTER V

CRIME

Crime among African Americans in Ogden did not constitute as large a problem as the number of newspaper reports might suggest. Not only did many crimes reported seem meaningless, but many Whites committed many of the same types of crimes without the news coverage. Undoubtedly the press reported these crimes simply because of the involvement of African Americans. The majority of the crimes committed by African Americans remained relatively harmless to the city's population.

So-called moral crimes constituted many of the crimes committed by African Americans that the Ogden newspapers chose to print. Utah passed a law prohibiting the manufacture and sale of liquor in February 1917.¹ Nonetheless, Ogden was considered the "rumrunning capital of northern Utah" in spite of the law.² Bootleggers from Kemmerer and Evanston, Wyoming frequently transported liquor to Ogden for local consumption and distribution to other areas.³ As such, offenses involving alcohol proved constant irritants to the Ogden Police Department.

Police sometimes arrested African Americans on charges of trafficking in or possession of alcohol. Some of those arrested included railroad employees. The railroads may have provided one avenue for bootlegging. Police arrested Link Wheat for liquor traffic in 1918.⁴ The court acquitted

Fred Colter, a Southern Pacific waiter, on liquor charges.⁵ Officials arrested Edward Moody for possession of alcohol. Moody received a 100 dollar fine for the infraction.⁶ Alcohol flowed freely in Ogden in spite of the dry laws.

Gambling proved another favorite pastime around the Twenty-fifth Street area. On 7 May 1917 the Standard reported that police broke up a crap game at the Cook's [Porter's] and Waiter's Club on lower Twenty-fifth Street.⁷ In 1918 the Court acquitted Joe Cummings and six other members of the Assembly Club, a social club located on lower Twenty-fifth Street, on gambling charges.⁸ A police raid nabbed Mrs. A.M. Day and Walter Simmons involved in running a gambling house. Police found an unspecified quantity of alcohol on the premises in the same raid.⁹

The Ogden Police had their own opinion of African Americans and freely expressed it. In May 1917, police arrested an African-American man for assaulting a white girl. They released him when she could not give them a positive identification, but the police warned him to "...watch his step."¹⁰ Authorities found an opium pipe on Robert Stone, of Pocatello, Idaho, when they arrested him for burglary. The Examiner quoted one official as saying, "The negro is an inveterate dope fiend."¹¹ Police jailed Stone on the drug charge.¹²

Racism appeared in official form at times. Robert Jackson and Dorsey Yokum, both African Americans, received

sentences for burglary. In the same case, Judge James N. Kimball waited on executing the sentence on Lee Gustaveson, a white man charged in the same crime, until 20 September 1924. Kimball waited because an Ogden man offered to pay Gustaveson's way home to California. The Standard Examiner said the sentence might be suspended.¹³ The newspaper did not follow up on the story.

Early in the twentieth century the newspapers reported criminal arrests for offenses that appear inconsequential and hardly newsworthy by present standards. In September 1910, Charles Graham, a waiter for one of the railroads, found a lost wallet. Graham asked for a tip upon returning it. He received his answer when police arrested him. Graham had to pay five dollars for bail. The Evening Standard did not specify the charge brought on Graham.¹⁴

In June of 1917 police arrested Frank Lacount, a former soldier, for vagrancy. Lacount escaped prosecution by promising to leave town.¹⁵ Police charged Ed Jackson with speeding on the dugway while test driving a repaired car.¹⁶ An inebriated Pearl Houston insisted a taxi take her to Ogden Police headquarters. On her arrival she asked the desk sergeant for a dollar room. According to the Ogden Standard, Sergeant B.B. Wilson "... refused to take her dollar, but placed a charge of disorderly conduct on the 'Hotel registry'." Police did credit Pearl with turning herself in.¹⁷

The Courts fined Harry Bankhead five dollars for passing a streetcar.¹⁸ Sam Smith received a five-day suspended sentence for reckless driving. Smith claimed his steering wheel locked, causing him to crash into a barber pole.¹⁹ A. Thomas pleaded guilty to speeding. The Standard Examiner reported that Thomas said of his car, "If you do even thirty miles an hour you have to get out and push." He added, "Anyone who could drive it that fast could have it."²⁰

These crimes drew the police's attention, but for the press to feel the need to report some of these infractions seems extreme. The Standard obviously reported the Pearl Houston incident for the entertainment of its readers. Most of the other cases seem too unimportant to rate newspaper coverage. The press may have reported some infractions for the humor, but the news coverage probably reinforced the stereotype of African Americans as trouble makers.

The newspapers reported some incidents considered humorous even though elements of the incidents contained little to laugh about. Reportedly members of the court considered a quarrel and domestic fight between Mamie Stellar and William Brown humorous in spite of the fact it involved a firearm.²¹ At other times the press enjoyed re-creating the African Americans' speech in their reports. In September, 1924 Henry Sherridan attempted to grab Detective P.J. Naylin's gun in court, but found the detective's

holster empty. Sherridan grabbed Naylin's hat and "...threw it across the room."²² The Court ordered a psychiatric evaluation of Sherridan. The evaluation found Sherridan sane, but "fresh."²³ Sherridan reportedly told Dr. Wilson, the psychiatrist, "... that he wouldn't try any of 'that stuff' in a big court. 'It's only in these little towns that Ah 'pulls it on 'em."²⁴ The newspapers seemed to report the African American's lesser offenses for the entertainment of their readers up through the 1920s. After 1930 the more minor infractions largely disappeared from newspaper coverage.

Outsiders and drifters became involved in nondomestic violence more than resident African Americans. James A. Williams of Salt Lake City, also known as "Black Stripe," stole an Ogden Police officer's gun because the hardware stores were closed. Williams received ten days for vagrancy.²⁵ Herman Smith admitted to beating Ralph Preston to death with a club in the woods west of Ogden. At his arraignment Smith plead not guilty, claiming that Preston borrowed money from him and refused to pay all of it back. According to the Standard Examiner, Preston, also known as Ralph Plummer, was really Albert Lopez, an ex-convict who served time at Folsom and San Quentin prisons.²⁶

Police arrested African-American D.O. Simpson for refusing to pay for a meal at the eating house of Mrs. D.H. Gibbon's, another African American, at 162 Twenty-sixth

Street. Simpson's arrest only started the excitement. Jailers confined the six-foot three-inch, 250-pound Simpson to a padded cell after he backed 20 prisoners into a corridor and acted "mentally deranged." It took five men to bind Simpson, whom the paper quoted as saying, "Let's play rough." The paper described him as "insane."²⁷

Jake Bird, a transient African American, proved a more dangerous inmate, and he probably was more dangerous than anyone in Ogden realized at the time. Police charged Bird with burglary in July, 1924; the Standard Examiner said authorities believed he arrived with the carnival.²⁸ A week later Bird and a white man named H.H. (Coyote) Holt escaped from the jail by beating the night jailer unconscious. Bird had a piece of iron wrapped in a sock. During the escape, Frank Williams, an African-American inmate elected "Sheriff" of the "tank," kept the other prisoners from escaping.²⁹ Authorities caught Bird in Brigham City and he plead guilty to the burglary charge. He received a sentence of one to twenty years for burglary, but the Court did not sentence him for the jail break.³⁰ Jake Bird reappeared in the Standard Examiner in May 1949. The paper reported Bird received a 30-day reprieve from hanging in Walla Walla, Washington. The article said Bird participated or had knowledge of twenty-four murders, including one in Ogden. The report gave no specifics to any of the alleged crimes³¹

After the 1920s crimes committed by African Americans

appeared less frequently. The ones that did appear usually had more severity than many reported in the press in the 1910s and 1920s. The Court found Leslie Carter guilty of larceny for stealing clothes from a car parked at Twenty-fifth and Lincoln Avenue. Julia Edwards shot Roy Taylor in the leg because he refused to pay his rent and shoved her out of the room when she confronted him.³²

Another change in the press coverage of crime that came with the 1930s was the less frequent mention of race in the reports. In the 1910s and 1920s the reports about African-Americans' crimes was easily ascertained because the newspapers reported their ethnic group. This habit largely disappeared in the 1930s, though it did materialize on occasion.

Another probable cause for the less frequent arrests for lesser crimes is attributed to Harman Peery, the mayor of Ogden from 1934 to 1938. Peery remained notoriously lax in his enforcement of moral crimes. Lyle Barnes said, "It was his [Peery's] philosophy that the best way to control the evils and problems of gambling and prostitution was to allow it to operate openly and thereby control the health problems of prostitution and keep a finger of law on all activities."³³ Peery continued to operate with this philosophy while mayor in the 1940s, but less openly. He faced criminal charges for licensing prostitution and gambling in the late 1940s.³⁴

The crime rate among African Americans in Ogden did not appear significantly different from the crime rate of white Ogdenites. Exact statistics are difficult to obtain because Ogden destroyed court records after nine years, and the Federal Bureau of Investigation's Uniform Crime Report only separated crimes based on race, nationally, and not for individual cities. In addition, local newspapers rarely followed up on criminal prosecution, preferring to concentrate on more sensational events.

Using 1943 as a model, it was possible to illustrate a partial picture of crime and crimes statistics in Ogden, for European Americans as well as African Americans. The Uniform Crime Report only listed six crimes in statistics for individual cities. Of these crimes known to the police in 1943, Ogden had nine cases of murder/negligent manslaughter, forty-two cases of robbery, seven aggravated assaults, 238 burglary/breaking and entering, 113 larceny/theft of 50 dollars or more, 960 larceny/theft of 50 dollars or less, and 216 of auto theft.³⁵

With the continuation of World War II, the Standard Examiner did not closely follow crime, except the more serious examples. Austin Cox Jr., a white Ogdenite, accounted for five of the nine murder/manslaughter cases on the night of 23-24 July 1943. He was convicted and sentenced to death. In August 1943 Paul Erz, white, shot Robert Savich to death in the Grill Tavern on Twenty-fifth

Street. Evidence pointed toward self-defense. The only murder/manslaughter committed by an African American in 1943 was the stabbing death of Joseph Narcis, a chef with the Union Pacific Dining Car and Hotel Department, by his wife, Cleo, in November. She claimed self-defense. The Standard Examiner did not follow up the story, but Polk's Ogden City Directory of 1944 still listed Cleo residing at 101 West Binford.³⁶

The Standard Examiner reported five cases of aggravated assault by African Americans in 1943. Many of the Blacks involved in these offenses apparently were not permanent residents of Ogden, because the city directory had no listing for them. Police arrested Willie Lowe, an African American from St. Louis, Missouri, for aggravated assault with a knife in a questionable case. Lowe insisted he was handing an open pocketknife to his cousin. The court took the arresting officers' testimony that Lowe assaulted the other man. The paper did not mention any testimony from the alleged victim. The court sentenced Lowe to 180 days in the city jail with 165 days suspended.³⁷

Most of the aggravated assaults by African Americans in Ogden were domestic disputes. Police searched for a Black woman named Bertha Johnson following the stabbing of another African American, Harold Harrison. Police arrested African-American Ruffel Haney for shooting his wife, Magnolia, during a scuffle for a gun he carried for protection. The

Standard Examiner did not follow up either case.³⁸

Some of the perpetrators of aggravated assault did not receive particularly harsh sentences. In December 1943 Mottriel Dixon pleaded guilty to stabbing Willie Griffith; neither was listed in the city directory. The court sentenced Dixon to 90 days in jail for the crime. Not harsh considering present sentences for the same crime.³⁹

The crime rate in 1943 Ogden resulted from the growing pains of the city amidst the constant influx of newcomers to the area. The establishment of Hill Field and Defense Depot Ogden drew many military men to Weber County during World War II. The case of Thomas Harris, an African-American soldier in the Ogden area, illustrates one of the problems rising from this immigration in World War II. In 1943 the Army agreed to release Harris to Weber County for prosecution on charges of rape and robbery committed on June 17 of that year. The publicity of Harris' actions further aggravated the perceptions of African Americans by the rest of Ogden's population.⁴⁰

The defense industry brought more people seeking employment to the area. The continued arrival of new people to the area did not generate the level of racial conflict evident elsewhere. Most violent crimes by African Americans involved domestic disputes and did not cross racial lines. This contrasted with the racially charged "Zoot Suit" riots in Los Angeles during 1943 when white military men clashed

violently with minority gangs.

In the late 1940s the Standard Examiner appeared more sympathetic toward African Americans than in earlier decades. On the night of 6 April 1948 at 10:15 P.M. William Edmond, a manager at the Porter's and Waiter's Club, fired two shots, allegedly intending to break up an argument between Eugene Bowman and another man. One shot struck William Weakley, the club owner, in the wrist and ricocheted, hitting railroad waiter Theotis Wood in the chest, killing him. The second shot struck Eugene Bowman in the shoulder or the chest, wounding him. Bowman was one of the men engaged in the argument. Wood had walked into the room to see what was happening and became an unintended victim. Police booked Edmond into jail. In reporting the shooting of Theotis Wood, the Standard Examiner's article had a genuine tone of remorse for the death of the young man.⁴¹

Unfortunately, many of these cases' resolutions cannot be found because the Ogden courts destroyed their records. The study of crime reveals the attitudes of Ogden's white community toward African Americans and crime. In the 1910s and 1920s police arrested African Americans for a large variety of lesser infractions. The coverage given to such minor offenses by the press reveals a negative attitude toward African Americans. Throwing the spotlight on their race in the headlines supported the negative view of African

Americans.

In contrast, the 1930s and 1940s saw a change in such treatment. The articles sometimes mentioned race, but the article titles rarely did. This showed a definite change from the emulation of African Americans' speech during the 1910s and 1920s, and the supposed humor in not-so-humorous incidents.

Anglo-Americans often associated minorities with crime, obviously with the help of the local press, and feared becoming victims of African American criminals.⁴² Information in available records indicates such fears were unjustified for the most part. In most violent crimes involving the African-American community, reported in the papers, both the perpetrator and victim were African Americans. Sometimes robberies and thefts by African Americans involved Ogden's Whites, but the city had plenty of other criminals to fear. When the F.B.I. began issuing the Uniform Crime Reports, Ogden had only 224 African Americans in its population. In August and September 1930 the Ogden Police Department reported 276 major crimes.⁴³ With an average of over 100 major crimes a month, Ogden would have had a significant crime rate without any African Americans in its population.

Notes

1. Laws of the State of Utah: Passed at the Twelfth Regular Session of the Legislature of the State of Utah, Which Convened January 8, 1917 at the State Capitol, Salt Lake City and Adjourned March 8, 1917 (Salt Lake City: Century Printing Co., 1917), 2.
2. Larry Gerlach, Blazing Crosses in Zion: The Ku Klux Klan in Utah (Logan, Utah: Utah State University Press, 1982), 42.
3. Ibid.
4. The Ogden (Utah) Standard, 7 March 1918. Hereafter cited as Standard. In the first two decades of the twentieth century Ogden had one newspaper that was named The Ogden Standard, prior to February 28, 1910 and between March 16, 1914 and March 31, 1920, and named The Evening Standard from March 1, 1910 to March 14, 1914, and one named The Ogden Examiner from April 1, 1912 to April 4, 1920, and The Morning Examiner and Ogden Standard prior to December 31, 1911. In 1920 these two newspapers merged, forming the Standard Examiner.
5. Ibid., 12 April 1918.
6. Ibid., 15-16 April 1918.
7. Ibid., 7 May 1917. The establishment was probably the Porter's and Waiter's Club misnamed by the paper.
8. Ibid., 12 January 1918.
9. The Ogden (Utah) Standard Examiner, 21 October 1924. Hereafter cited as Standard Examiner.
10. Standard, 24 May 1917.
11. The Ogden (Utah) Examiner, 21 October 1917, 25 October 1917. Hereafter cited as Examiner.
12. Ibid.
13. Standard Examiner, 11 September 1924.
14. The Evening Standard, 9 September 1910. Name changed from The Ogden Standard in March 1910. Re-named The Ogden Standard in March 1914.
15. Standard, 18 June 1917.

16. Ibid., 5 July 1917.
17. Ibid., 16 April 1917.
18. Ibid., 18 May 1918.
19. Standard Examiner, 7 November 1924.
20. Ibid., 26 September 1927.
21. Standard, 18 October 1917.
22. Standard Examiner, 15-16 September 1924.
23. Ibid., 16 September 1924.
24. Ibid.
25. Ibid., 5 May 1925.
26. Ibid., 3 August 1924, 5 September 1924, 5 August 1924.
27. Ibid., 6 March 1924, 9-10 March 1924.
28. Ibid., 18 July 1924.
29. Ibid., 26 July 1924.
30. Ibid., 28 July 1924, 30-31 July 1924.
31. Ibid., 27 May 1949.
32. Ibid., 2 January 1930, 8 July 1933.
33. Lyle J. Barnes, "Ogden's Notorius Two Bit Street: 1870-1957" (M.S. thesis, Utah State University, 1969), 30.
34. Ibid.
35. Department of Justice, Federal Bureau of Investigation, Uniform Crime Reports: For the United States and Its Possessions: 1943, vol. 14, no. 1 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1943), 76.
36. Lucille L. Wright, "Bodies of Slain and Wounded Mark Killer Trail," Standard Examiner, 24 July 1943, 1-2; "Condemned Killer Leaves for Prison," Standard Examiner, 10 September 1943, 8(B); "Inquest Begun in Death of Robert William Savich, 31," Standard Examiner, 23 August 1943, 1-2; "Wounds Take Life of Negro: Widow Held in City Jail," Standard Examiner, 16 November 1943, 12; Polk's Ogden City

Directory (Salt Lake City: R.L. Polk & Co.), 1944. Hereafter cited as Polk's Ogden City Directory with corresponding year.

37. "Handing Open Knife isn't Etiquet [sic], Court Finds," Standard Examiner, 9 July 1943, 1(B).

38. "Negro Suffers Knife Wounds," Standard Examiner, 26 January 1943, 10; "Officer Probing Shooting Case; Husband in Jail: Charges Pending Outcome of Victim's Injuries," Standard Examiner, 6 October 1943, 10.

39. "Negress Sentenced in Stabbing Case," Standard Examiner, 2 December 1943, 1(B).

40. Standard Examiner, 1 July 1943.

41. The Salt Lake (City, Utah) Tribune, 7 April 1948. Hereafter cited as Tribune; Standard Examiner, 7 April 1948.

42. "Colored Problem is Aired at Lively Commission Meet," Standard Examiner, 17 June 1943, 8(B).

43. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Fifteenth Census of the United States: 1930, vol. 3, pt. 2: Population (Washington: GPO, 1932), 1100; Department of Justice, Federal Bureau of Investigation, Uniform Crime Reports: For the United States and Its Possessions: August 1930 vol. 1 no. 1 (Washington: GPO, 1930), 18; Department of Justice, Federal Bureau of Investigation, Uniform Crime Reports: For the United States and Its Possessions: September 1930, vol. 1 no. 2 (Washington: GPO, 1930), 30.

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSION

The evolution of the African Americans in Ogden highlights the necessity of a national civil rights movement to make the larger community aware of the minorities in their midst. The decades following 1950 brought change to Ogden and Weber County. In the 1950s the advent of air travel and the increased number of private automobiles began the downfall of the railroad passenger service. As Ogden lived by the fortunes of the railroad industry, it began to die with the railroad. Ogden reached its peak population in the 1960 census with a total of 70,000 people. Weber County grew to 110,744, and continued to grow until in 1990 the county had a population of 158,330. During the same time Ogden's population declined. In 1990 Ogden's population totaled 63,909.¹

The African-American population grew, but not as rapidly as in the earlier years. In 1990 Ogden's African-American population totaled 1,741, 2.7 percent of the total population. Weber County's African-American population was 2,446, 1.5 percent of the county's population.²

Change struck the African-American community along with the rest of Ogden. In October 1963 tragedy struck with the death of Marshall White. During a raid on a house, a sixteen-year-old boy with a rifle shot White, severely wounding him. He died of his wounds on the night of 18

October 1963.³ In the 1970s Ogden City built a recreation center in downtown Ogden and named it after Marshall White.

The 1970s brought further advancements for African Americans in Ogden. In 1976 Reverend Robert Harris, a Pentecostal Minister who arrived in Ogden in 1956, was elected to the Utah State Legislature. Between 1976 and 1978 Harris served Ogden as Utah's first black legislator.⁴ In June 1978 the L.D.S. Church announced the end of priesthood denial for Blacks, ending a century-old practice.

The changes to Ogden became apparent to the naked eye as Ogden sought to change the tarnished image of Twenty-fifth Street. Many of the south side buildings no longer exist. In an effort to cosmetically change Twenty-fifth Street over the years, the city razed the buildings housing the Porter's and Waiter's Club and other smaller businesses. Now a dirt parking lot occupies the space. Ogden managed to change everything about the street except its reputation.

The Embry Chapel of the A.M.E. Church moved to Thirtieth Street and the original chapel on Pingree was torn down. The Wall Avenue Baptist Church moved to Lincoln Avenue, and was renamed the New Zion Baptist Church. American Legion Post No. 66 now occupies the old Wall Avenue building.

The lives of African Americans in Ogden between 1910 and 1950 remain something of a mystery. It is especially difficult to get a feel for the years between 1910 and 1940,

for documentation on African Americans during that period is virtually nonexistent. Finding African Americans who lived in Ogden prior to 1940 is as difficult as finding records. Most of Ogden's African-American community arrived during or after World War II.

Even acquiring information about the 1940s proves difficult. Residents in the African-American community from the World War II years provide valuable information about the time period and add a human perspective to it that records cannot provide. These older residents are unfortunately becoming fewer as time goes on.

The lack of documents about Ogden's African-American community between 1910 and 1950 is in some ways as informative as existing documents. The low number of records reveals the attitudes of the people in the surrounding community towards the African Americans in their midst. This, along with available information, paints a picture, however incomplete, of the lives of Ogden's African Americans between 1910 and 1950.

For many years Ogden's African Americans remained relatively ignored by the majority of the city's population. Once in a while a segment of the African-American community would come to the forefront and be recognized in a local newspaper article. Often the criminal element received the most attention from the press. Meanwhile, the African-American community went on somewhat anonymously with little

acknowledgment from Ogden's citizenship.

In the first half of the twentieth century Ogden's African Americans found themselves restricted in the city. Ogden segregated African-Americans' residences to an area six blocks long and two blocks wide. Movie theaters were segregated, forcing Blacks to sit in the balconies. Many private businesses were totally segregated, especially clubs and restaurants. Such segregation in Ogden merely reflected the United States as a whole. Ogden was simply a microcosm of the entire country.

African Americans faced racism in Ogden, though many had been confronted with it their entire lives. Racism in Ogden proved more subtle and less violent than in other parts of the country, primarily the Deep South. Confronted with this subtle racism, African Americans had few reasons to fear for their safety. However, such racism challenged their attempts to remove the obstacles confronting their acceptance in the community and their lives.

On the positive side Ogden offered employment, most often with railroad companies, to African Americans during times when employment remained scarce. Such employment was blue collar work that paid less than 100 dollars a month even in the 1940s. Nevertheless, the jobs offered by the railroads drew hundreds to the Ogden area in search of work. African Americans mostly occupied positions as porters, cooks, waiters, and engine wipers with the railroads.

Though African Americans primarily worked blue collar jobs, some started making progress in establishing businesses in the late 1910s and 1920s as they opened boarding houses, and small restaurants, and William Weakley, Frank Turner, and Cap Kyle started the Railroad Porter's and Waiter's Club. Progress continued with other types of businesses in the 1930s when Alonzo and Leager Davis opened the Davis Hotel and Eugene Howard opened the first barber shop owned by an African American.

The 1940s opened some more doors for African Americans in the Ogden area as the defense industry grew and Blacks secured employment with the federal government in increasingly better jobs. Ogden City's and Weber County's governments accepted African Americans in public service positions. Marshall White started working as an investigator with the Ogden Health Department and later became the city's first African-American police officer. Walter Epps became Weber County's first black sheriff's deputy.

The influx of African Americans to Ogden brought new religious bodies to the area. African Americans organized the Embury Chapel of the African Methodist Episcopal Church and the Wall Avenue Baptist Church in the 1910s. The establishment of the two churches is symbolic of the African-Americans' recognition that they had created a community in Ogden.

Though the surrounding population did not readily acknowledge the existence of the African-American community in Ogden, the actions of African Americans indicated their acceptance of community status. Organization of social clubs gave further confirmation to the validity of the African-American community. Social organizations in conjunction with the religious bodies signified African-Americans' feelings of permanence in the area. Members of Ogden's African-American community intended to stay.

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3. The Ogden (Utah) Standard Examiner, 16 October 1963, 19 October 1963.

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