

# Freedom House Enterprise Ambulance Service:

A Forgotten Turning Point in America's EMS

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Historical Paper

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## Process Paper

I first heard about Freedom House Enterprise Ambulance Service (FHE) while listening to the podcast *Criminal* by Phoebe Judge. Fascinated by FHE's unique story and surprised by how recently paramedic ambulance services were created, I immediately thought of FHE when I saw the 2024 National History Day theme, *Turning Points in History*. Considering how FHE utterly reformed emergency medical services (EMS) and provided future Americans with effective ambulance care, FHE fit the theme well.

I gained an excellent foundation for my research by reading *American Sirens: The Incredible Story of the Black Men Who Became America's First Paramedics* by Kevin Hazzard, one of the only books that tells the story of FHE. The most important resources throughout my research were newspaper articles and the world-famous anesthesiologist Peter Safar's memoir, *Careers in Anesthesiology*. I also interviewed Gene Starzenski, a former paramedic (not part of FHE), who grew up in Pittsburgh during the 1950s. Hearing about his first-hand encounters with the police-run ambulances helped me to understand the personal experiences of the people involved.

After researching, I formed my thesis around the primary things that made FHE a turning point in history: serving as America's first paramedics, hiring "unemployable" Black men and women, and setting the standard of EMS for decades to come. I then set the scene for the creation of FHE by explaining the EMS crisis of the mid-1900s and urban renewal. Next, I told how FHE was born and argued the first point of my thesis. I described how the paramedics became a source of pride to their communities in a time when racial minorities rarely worked in medicine, thus supporting my thesis' second point. Finally, I demonstrated that although FHE

closed, their work set the standard of emergency medical care for decades to come. Suggestions from teachers and judges were incredibly helpful in editing my work.

Alarmed by the state of EMS, especially in Black communities, a biracial group of innovators created Freedom House Enterprise Ambulance Service, predominantly made up of African Americans from the Hill District of Pittsburgh and the first paramedic service in the United States. Despite their differences, the founders of FHE worked together to find a solution that would solve all of their individual concerns. When faced with troubling modern-day issues, the story of FHE should show us how we should unite to solve our problems, despite our differences, while also preserving our unique identities. Instead of seeing their differences as barriers that separated them from other doctors, the paramedics of FHE used their personal connection to the Hill District to empower the community and work towards social justice, a change no other group of people would have been able to accomplish. In the process, FHE became a turning point in history by defying the stereotypes of the 1960s and revolutionizing the ineffective prehospital care of post-World War II. Although Freedom House Enterprise Ambulance Service remains largely forgotten, their work set the foundation for the life-saving paramedic systems that provide care for people today.

## Introduction

Across the nation, mid-20th century Americans faced a now largely forgotten medical crisis. Since the start of World War II in 1939, when hospitals could no longer afford to run ambulance systems, untrained police officers, firefighters, or morticians were usually responsible for the transportation of an injured or sick person to the hospital.<sup>1</sup> Rather than beginning to treat patients as they drove, ambulance drivers used a "scoop and run" method and simply hurried them to the hospital as quickly as possible without providing any care, losing valuable time in transit.<sup>2</sup> The situation proved so serious that in 1966, the National Academy of Sciences published a report stating, "Expert consultants returning from both Korea and Vietnam have publicly asserted that, if seriously wounded, their chances of survival would be better in the zone of combat than on the average city street," due to the fact that those countries had effective emergency medical services (EMS).<sup>3</sup> These warnings notwithstanding, ambulance care still retrogressed, especially in Black communities where tension between the police and residents

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<sup>1</sup> Kevin Hazzard, *American Sirens: The Incredible Story of the Black Men Who Became America's First Paramedics*, (New York: Hachette Books, 2022), p. 54.

<sup>2</sup> Peter Safar, *Careers in Anesthesiology: An Autobiographical Memoir*, vol. 5: *From Pittsburgh to Vienna* (Schaumburg, IL: Wood Library-Museum of Anesthesiology, 2000), pp. 205, 210, [https://www.woodlibrarymuseum.org/wp-content/uploads/e-books/s\\_aakv\\_w.pdf](https://www.woodlibrarymuseum.org/wp-content/uploads/e-books/s_aakv_w.pdf); Gene Starzenski, Phone Interview, August 30, 2023.

<sup>3</sup> National Academy of Sciences (US) and National Research Council (US) Committee on Trauma; National Academy of Sciences (US) and National Research Council (US) Committee on Shock, *Accidental Death and Disability: The Neglected Disease of Modern Society*, (Washington (DC): National Academies Press (US), 1966), <https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/books/NBK222964/>

ran high.<sup>4</sup> The U.S. desperately needed an EMS reform, but with no minimum standards, regulation, or required training, the standard of care continued to fall.

### **Thesis**

Recognizing both the need for improved EMS and the high percentage of unemployed African Americans living in underserved areas of Pittsburgh, a biracial group of innovators worked together to create Freedom House Enterprise Ambulance Service (FHE). Their collaboration formed the first paramedic service in the U.S., composed almost entirely of African Americans from the Hill District of Pittsburgh. Despite racial discrimination, the formation of FHE became a turning point in history by serving as America's first paramedics, hiring "unemployable" Black men and women, and setting the standard of emergency medical care for decades to come.

### **The History of EMS**

Over the centuries, several short-lived ambulance systems have emerged in concentrated areas during moments of dire need. One of the first examples of an organized ambulance system appeared during the Napoleonic Wars, created by Jean Dominique Larrey to quickly transport soldiers to the hospital rather than leaving them to die on the battlefield.<sup>5</sup> The Napoleonic ambulances were an improvement compared to no ambulances at all, but remained rudimentary in simply transporting patients to a hospital, rather than providing medical care on site and in

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<sup>4</sup> Matthew L. Edwards, "Race, Policing, and History — Remembering the Freedom House Ambulance Service," *New England Journal of Medicine* (2021), doi: 10.1056/NEJMp2035467; Mike Moyle, "Two Northside Men Allege Mistreatment by Police," *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette*, August 6, 1974, p. 1, [https://books.google.com/books?id=7QIOAAAIBAJ&pg=PA1&dq=2+northside+men+allege+mistreatment&article\\_id=2545,616500&hl=en&sa=X&ved=2ahUKEwjOisqS-P2AAxVnEVkFHVZFAw0Q6AF6BAGFEAI#v=onepage&q=2%20northside%20men%20allege%20mistreatment&f=false](https://books.google.com/books?id=7QIOAAAIBAJ&pg=PA1&dq=2+northside+men+allege+mistreatment&article_id=2545,616500&hl=en&sa=X&ved=2ahUKEwjOisqS-P2AAxVnEVkFHVZFAw0Q6AF6BAGFEAI#v=onepage&q=2%20northside%20men%20allege%20mistreatment&f=false)

<sup>5</sup> Manish N. Shah, "The Formation of the Emergency Medical Services System," *American Journal of Public Health*, (March 2006), doi: 10.2105/AJPH.2004.048793

transit.<sup>6</sup> Although the mode of transportation changed as years went by, ambulances did not significantly improve until the mid-19th century.<sup>7</sup> In 1869, New Yorker Edward Dalton created a system at Bellevue Hospital, which staffed each ambulance with a driver, medical intern, and some minor first aid equipment.<sup>8</sup> Inspired by Bellevue's successful ambulances, which served all of Manhattan and the Bronx, Brooklyn created its own ambulance service in 1869.<sup>9</sup> The Bellevue ambulances radically changed prehospital care for the better, leading to the creation and improvement of EMS throughout the country.<sup>10</sup>

EMS continued to improve through World War I and up until World War II, when, burdened with both the rise in hospital admissions beginning in 1934, and the start of World War II in 1939, hospitals could no longer afford to run their ambulance services.<sup>11</sup> Police departments, fire squads, and funeral homes across the U.S. were forced to operate ambulances in addition to their other duties.<sup>12</sup> Ambulances once again became a mode of transportation rather than a means of medical care. Furthermore, the people who worked on these ambulances had minimal first aid training and the little equipment they carried could not be easily used in the back of an ambulance.<sup>13</sup> Across the country, thousands of people were dying from ineffective EMS, and until 1967, nobody seemed prepared to face the crisis.

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<sup>6</sup> Shah, "The Formation of the Emergency Medical Services System."; Hazzard, *American Sirens*, pp. 52-54.

<sup>7</sup> Shah, "The Formation of the Emergency Medical Services System."

<sup>8</sup> Mark Peck, James Martin, and Brian J Maguire, "A Short History of New York's Emergency Ambulance Services," *Journal of Emergency Medical Services*, (December 2022), <https://www.jems.com/operations/a-short-history-of-new-york-citys-emergency-ambulance-services/>

<sup>9</sup> Ibid.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid.; Hazzard, *American Sirens*, pp. 52-54.

<sup>11</sup> Hazzard, *American Sirens*, p. 54.

<sup>12</sup> Ibid.

<sup>13</sup> Safar, *Careers in Anesthesiology*, p. 205.

## Urban Renewal and the Demolition of Culture

In addition to the state of EMS, urban renewal also set the stage for the creation of America's first paramedic service in the slums of Pittsburgh. Post-World War II, the migration of white families out of cities and into the suburbs left urban areas with a significant decrease in money as businesses lost employees and customers.<sup>14</sup> Vanishing businesses, deteriorating buildings, and increased crime caused by white flight led the U.S. government to pass the American Housing Act of 1949, a federal program that financed the demolition of urban neighborhoods where housing was considered unsatisfactory.<sup>15</sup> The American Housing Act promised to provide "a decent home and a suitable living environment for every American family," but cities often failed to build new houses for displaced minorities.<sup>16</sup> Rather than create futuristic cities, urban renewal destroyed hundreds of historic buildings, displaced thousands of people, and forced communities apart.

Underserved minority communities such as the Hill District of Pittsburgh were marked as slums and fated for urban renewal, with little consideration to the people who lived there.<sup>17</sup> In the 1940s, the Hill had 7.5% of Pittsburgh's population but 13.4% of its crime.<sup>18</sup> Substandard or nonexistent plumbing, overcrowding, and air pollution were just a few more of the Hill's

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<sup>14</sup> Hazzard, *American Sirens*, p. 15.

<sup>15</sup> Russ P. Lopez, "Public Health, the APHA, and Urban Renewal," *American Journal of Public Health*, (September 2009), doi:10.2105/AJPH.2008.150136.

<sup>16</sup> "Statement by the President Upon Signing the Housing Act of 1949," *Harry S. Truman Library and Museum*, (July 1949),

<https://www.trumanlibrary.gov/library/public-papers/157/statement-president-upon-signing-housing-act-1949>; "Weaver Sees End of Negro Housing Ills," *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette*, October 21, 1961, p. 10,

[https://books.google.com/books?id=K58oAAAAIIBAJ&pg=PA6&dq=urban+renewal+Pittsburgh&article\\_id=5867,5093110&hl=en&sa=X&ved=2ahUKEwjT2via7ueDAxVWElkFHZWuAnIQ6AF6BAgNEAI#v=onepage&q=urban%20renewal%20Pittsburgh&f=false](https://books.google.com/books?id=K58oAAAAIIBAJ&pg=PA6&dq=urban+renewal+Pittsburgh&article_id=5867,5093110&hl=en&sa=X&ved=2ahUKEwjT2via7ueDAxVWElkFHZWuAnIQ6AF6BAgNEAI#v=onepage&q=urban%20renewal%20Pittsburgh&f=false)

<sup>17</sup> Hazzard, *American Sirens*, p. 17.

<sup>18</sup> David Anderson et al., "The Hill District Community Collaborative: An Oral History," *Carnegie Mellon University*, (2001),

<https://www.cmu.edu/dietrich/ehpp/documents/2001-The-Hill-District.pdf>

problems.<sup>19</sup> Pittsburgh planned to replace the Hill's decrepit buildings with modern homes and an ambitious Civic Arena, encouraging middle and upper class whites to remain in the city rather than abandon it for the suburbs.<sup>20</sup> Yet the Hill, once called "The Crossroads of the World," had also hosted jazz stars such as Ella Fitzgerald and Louis Armstrong, and published one of the nation's most famous Black newspapers, the *Pittsburgh Courier*.<sup>21</sup> Urban renewal, or "the Renaissance" as it was called in Pittsburgh, evicted around 8,000 residents in the Hill District alone, leaving it worse off than before.<sup>22</sup> Along with rows of dilapidated houses, urban renewal demolished a community's deep culture.

### **An Unprecedented Collaboration: The Creation of FHE**

It was through the biracial collaboration of three innovators, James McCoy Jr., Philip Hallen, and Peter Safar, that FHE was born. In 1967, McCoy founded Freedom House Enterprise Corporation, a non-profit organization primarily intended to expand Black business in Pittsburgh.<sup>23</sup> A leading Black civil rights activist, McCoy had worked with the local NAACP and founded the United Negro Protest Committee before starting Freedom House.<sup>24</sup> "He is one of the most persuasive and most important of the protest and civil rights leaders we have locally," said House Majority Leader K. Leroy Irvis.<sup>25</sup>

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<sup>19</sup> Anderson et al., "Hill District Community Collaborative."

<sup>20</sup> Acharya, "Mecca for the Colored People," *Duquesne Scholarship Collection*, pp. 3, 10.

<sup>21</sup> Hazzard, *American Sirens*, pp. 32-33.

<sup>22</sup> Avishek Acharya, "Mecca for the Colored People": Reexamining the Demolition of Pittsburgh's Lower Hill District," *Duquesne Scholarship Collection*, April 20, 2022, <https://dsc.duq.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1070&context=urss>

<sup>23</sup> Safar, *Careers in Anesthesiology*, p. 234.

<sup>24</sup> Hazzard, *American Sirens*, p. 93.

<sup>25</sup> Roger Stuart, "The Life and Thoughts of James McCoy, Jr.," *The Pittsburgh Press*, March 30, 1969, p. 11, [https://books.google.com/books?id=cg0fAAAAIBAJ&pg=PA73&dq=the+life+and+thoughts+of+james+mccoy&article\\_id=4666,7291544&hl=en&sa=X&ved=2ahUKEwjKoamYxICBAxXtF1kFHVL1CIEQ6AF6BAgHEAI#v=snippet&q=he%20is%20one%20of%20the%20most%20persuasive&f=false](https://books.google.com/books?id=cg0fAAAAIBAJ&pg=PA73&dq=the+life+and+thoughts+of+james+mccoy&article_id=4666,7291544&hl=en&sa=X&ved=2ahUKEwjKoamYxICBAxXtF1kFHVL1CIEQ6AF6BAgHEAI#v=snippet&q=he%20is%20one%20of%20the%20most%20persuasive&f=false)

Just down the street, Philip Hallen worked as president of Maurice Falk Medical Fund. While driving a hearse-style ambulance for several years before moving to Pittsburgh, Hallen "saw how desperately untrained everybody was."<sup>26</sup> In addition to the lack of medical equipment and the absence of first aid training, Hallen also understood the EMS crisis to be a racial issue. The police ran the ambulance systems in the Hill District, and, due to the discrimination in law enforcement that African Americans faced, tension between the police and Black residents ran high.<sup>27</sup> Naturally, many people did not feel comfortable being transported to the hospital by the same people who arrested them.<sup>28</sup> With the Hill's poor reputation, police sometimes even refused to transport a sick patient to the hospital.<sup>29</sup> "If they are well-dressed, they are thought to have a heart attack. If they are unshaven, they are thought to be drunk," said Pittsburgh County Coroner Dr. Cyril Wecht.<sup>30</sup> In February, 1967, Hallen met with McCoy to combine Hallen's idea of an effective ambulance service that people could trust to provide care, and McCoy's mission to improve the lives of the Hill District residents.<sup>31</sup>

After meeting, Hallen and McCoy approached Dr. Peter Safar, the chief of anesthesiology at the Presbyterian University Hospital.<sup>32</sup> Before moving to Pittsburgh, Safar had

<sup>26</sup> EMS1 & NEMSMA, "How Pittsburgh's 'Freedom House' Shaped Modern EMS Systems," *EMS1*, September 2, 2014, <https://www.ems1.com/ems-education/articles/how-pittsburghs-freedom-house-shaped-modern-emergency-medical-services-luEDCMzLZL8XfbzU/>

<sup>27</sup> Edwards, "Race, Policing, and History."

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>29</sup> Hazzard, *American Sirens*, p. 92.

<sup>30</sup> Dolores Frederick, "Lives Hinge on Better Emergency Care, Wecht Says," *The Pittsburgh Press*, May 15, 1973, p. 21,

[https://books.google.com/books?id=U1wcAAAIBAJ&pg=PA11&dq=If+they+are+well-dressed,+they+are+thought+to+have+a+heart+attack.+If+they+are+unshaven,+they+are+thought+to+be+drunk&article\\_id=7051,6367935&hl=en&sa=X&ved=2ahUKEwiDjdKd1OCDaxUoj4kEHQQoAPIQ6AF6BAgJEAI#v=onepage&q=If%20they%20are%20well-dressed%2C%20they%20are%20thought%20to%20have%20a%20heart%20attack.%20If%20they%20are%20unshaven%2C%20they%20are%20thought%20to%20be%20drunk&f=false](https://books.google.com/books?id=U1wcAAAIBAJ&pg=PA11&dq=If+they+are+well-dressed,+they+are+thought+to+have+a+heart+attack.+If+they+are+unshaven,+they+are+thought+to+be+drunk&article_id=7051,6367935&hl=en&sa=X&ved=2ahUKEwiDjdKd1OCDaxUoj4kEHQQoAPIQ6AF6BAgJEAI#v=onepage&q=If%20they%20are%20well-dressed%2C%20they%20are%20thought%20to%20have%20a%20heart%20attack.%20If%20they%20are%20unshaven%2C%20they%20are%20thought%20to%20be%20drunk&f=false)

<sup>31</sup> Hazzard, *American Sirens*, pp. 92, 94-95.

<sup>32</sup> Safar, *Careers in Anesthesiology*, p. 186.

conducted a series of experiments on sedated volunteers, thus proving that the prevailing method of resuscitation in the 1960s was ineffective, and that even a child was capable of sustaining human life through mouth-to-mouth resuscitation.<sup>33</sup> He would one day be known as the Father of CPR, although he never accepted the title.<sup>34</sup> Safar had, like Hallen and McCoy, attempted to create an ambulance service in Pittsburgh, but was met with opposition from other doctors.<sup>35</sup> Safar believed that in order to have effective EMS, ambulances needed special doctors—paramedics—who were trained to care for the patient on the way to the hospital.<sup>36</sup> These ambulance systems also had to be affordably copied throughout the country. Safar agreed to help McCoy and Hallen find and equip ambulances if, in return, he could train uneducated, "unemployable" Blacks from the Hill District to become America's first paramedics.<sup>37</sup> By training uneducated people to become professionals, rather than doctors who had to spend several years in medical school, Safar would ensure that paramedic ambulances could economically flourish.<sup>38</sup>

FHE defied the archetype of doctors as wealthy, educated, white men by hiring working-class African Americans to perform world-class EMS. The first training group consisted of forty-four Black men, twelve without a high school diploma, several struggling with addiction, and others accused of violent crimes.<sup>39</sup> After completing Safar's rigorous nine month training program, twenty-four remaining paramedics, four female secretaries, and fourteen

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<sup>33</sup> Safar, *Careers in Anesthesiology*, pp. 134-136.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 345.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 206.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 204.

<sup>37</sup> Safar, *Careers in Anesthesiology*, p. 211; "'Unemployable' Provide Service," *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette*, April 9, 1969, p. 21, [https://books.google.com/books?id=HcdaAAAIBAJ&pg=PA11&dq=Unemployable%27+provide+service&article\\_id=3280,1336682&hl=en&sa=X&ved=2ahUKEwiLm8ztpcuDaxWvAHkGHc3pCzsQ6AF6BAgIEAI#v=onepage&q=Unemployable'%20provide%20service&f=false](https://books.google.com/books?id=HcdaAAAIBAJ&pg=PA11&dq=Unemployable%27+provide+service&article_id=3280,1336682&hl=en&sa=X&ved=2ahUKEwiLm8ztpcuDaxWvAHkGHc3pCzsQ6AF6BAgIEAI#v=onepage&q=Unemployable'%20provide%20service&f=false)

<sup>38</sup> Hazzard, *American Sirens*, p. 99.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 105-106.

dispatchers began work in June, 1968.<sup>40</sup> Unlike the police-run ambulances who performed little to no first aid on the way to the hospital, Safar's training program included nursing, advanced first aid, and the newly discovered CPR.<sup>41</sup> Instead of hearses or station wagons, FHE used fully equipped ambulances designed specifically for prehospital care.<sup>42</sup> Furthermore, the program became the first to administer naloxone outside of a hospital, use telemetry to transfer electrocardiograms on their ambulances to doctors at the hospital, and test equipment such as the stair chair and air cast.<sup>43</sup> FHE reinvented the way people think about ambulances. Rather than simply being vehicles to transport patients to medical care facilities, ambulances carried paramedics who could begin treating patients from the moment they arrived, and continue until the patients were delivered to a hospital.

### **Race, Money, and "The Ambulance Fuss"**

The paramedics of FHE dared to stand up against racism to serve their own community in the way it most needed. Unlike the police-run ambulance system, Black residents of the Hill District felt safe around FHE paramedics, many of whom they knew personally.<sup>44</sup> On the other hand, white patients often felt uncomfortable around the Black paramedics, or even refused care from them.<sup>45</sup> Even worse, FHE faced racist police officers keen to stay in control over ambulances and unwilling to receive help from African Americans, in spite of FHE paramedics' extensive training.<sup>46</sup> Ironically, men and women once called "unemployables" now delivered

<sup>40</sup> Hazzard, *American Sirens*, pp. 107-108, 112, 275-277.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 106-107.

<sup>42</sup> Safar, *Careers in Anesthesiology*, pp. 147-148; Hazzard, *American Sirens*, pp. 99, 128.

<sup>43</sup> Hazzard, *American Sirens*, pp. 129-130.

<sup>44</sup> Al Donalson, "Superambulance Plan Lacks Warmth, Empathy, City Told," *The Pittsburgh Press*, October 24, 1975, p. 3,

[https://books.google.com/books?id=YnAjAAAIBAJ&pg=PA2&dq=new+ambulances+lack+warmth&article\\_id=7400,3408156&hl=en&sa=X&ved=2ahUKEwi00e3F7f2AAxV\\_F2IAHUUvAXoQ6AF6BAGIEAI#v=onepage&q=antiblack&f=false](https://books.google.com/books?id=YnAjAAAIBAJ&pg=PA2&dq=new+ambulances+lack+warmth&article_id=7400,3408156&hl=en&sa=X&ved=2ahUKEwi00e3F7f2AAxV_F2IAHUUvAXoQ6AF6BAGIEAI#v=onepage&q=antiblack&f=false)

<sup>45</sup> Hazzard, *American Sirens*, pp. 164-165.

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid.*

world-class EMS to the poor, predominantly Black communities of Pittsburgh, while untrained police still controlled ambulances in the wealthier, white neighborhoods.<sup>47</sup> In a year when African Americans made up only 2% of medical school enrollment, the work done by FHE became a source of pride to the paramedics and the communities they served.<sup>48</sup>

The greatest challenge that FHE faced was opposition from leaders of Pittsburgh. Since the inauguration of Mayor Peter Flaherty, the city had cut the program's funding in half, failed to sign up for nearly \$2 million in federal money intended to improve EMS, and refused to allow FHE to expand to other parts of Pittsburgh.<sup>49</sup> As the city felt increasing pressure from doctors and residents to improve their ambulance systems, Safar tried to explain to Flaherty that allowing FHE to serve city-wide would mean better EMS for all citizens of Pittsburgh and a cheaper alternative than upgrading the police-run ambulances.<sup>50</sup> Flaherty, however, insisted that as a private organization, the city should not provide any financing, or remained undecided.<sup>51</sup> A public debate, documented through articles in the local newspapers and dubbed "The Ambulance Fuss," erupted amongst the residents of Pittsburgh.<sup>52</sup> One citizen reasoned in a letter to the *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette*, "Why should the police, burdened with law enforcement duties [sic], be

<sup>47</sup> Hazzard, *American Sirens*, p. 156.

<sup>48</sup> Kendall Campbell, "Projected Estimates of African American Medical Graduates of Closed Historically Black Medical Schools," *JAMA Network Open*, August 2020, doi:10.1001/jamanetworkopen.2020.15220; Donalson, "Superambulance Plan Lacks Warmth, Empathy, City Told."

<sup>49</sup> Dolores Frederick, "District Lets Medical Service Funds Slip Away," *The Pittsburgh Press*, July 27, 1972, p. 31, [https://books.google.com/books?id=B1UqAAAIBAJ&pg=PA16&dq=district+lets+medical+service+funds+slip+away&article\\_id=7071,4658957&hl=en&sa=X&ved=2ahUKEwia84uu7\\_-AAxUHMLkFHZbeBY0Q6AF6BAGMEAI#v=onepage&q=district%20lets%20medical%20service%20funds%20slip%20away&f=false](https://books.google.com/books?id=B1UqAAAIBAJ&pg=PA16&dq=district+lets+medical+service+funds+slip+away&article_id=7071,4658957&hl=en&sa=X&ved=2ahUKEwia84uu7_-AAxUHMLkFHZbeBY0Q6AF6BAGMEAI#v=onepage&q=district%20lets%20medical%20service%20funds%20slip%20away&f=false); Hazzard, *American Sirens*, pp. 149, 155, 157.

<sup>50</sup> Hazzard, *American Sirens*, pp. 151-152, 157.

<sup>51</sup> Ibid., pp. 148, 155, 157; Moyle, "Flaherty Unmoved on Future Aid for Freedom House."

<sup>52</sup> "The Ambulance Fuss," *The Pittsburgh Press*, May 4, 1973, p. 26, [https://books.google.com/books?id=SVwcAAAIBAJ&pg=PA14&dq=pittsburgh+press+Dr.+Safar&article\\_id=6706,1125840&hl=en&sa=X&ved=2ahUKEwj18Od8v-AAxUPM1kFHeOfCU8Q6AF6BAGNEAI#v=onepage&q=pittsburgh%20press%20Dr.%20Safar&f=false](https://books.google.com/books?id=SVwcAAAIBAJ&pg=PA14&dq=pittsburgh+press+Dr.+Safar&article_id=6706,1125840&hl=en&sa=X&ved=2ahUKEwj18Od8v-AAxUPM1kFHeOfCU8Q6AF6BAGNEAI#v=onepage&q=pittsburgh%20press%20Dr.%20Safar&f=false)

given the enormous task of upgrading emergency care when a competent agency geared to do that already exists?"<sup>53</sup> Another person commented, "No one can quarrel with upgrading police ambulance service. But to eliminate an established service which has consistently proved its excellence is unconscionable."<sup>54</sup> Yet Flaherty remained noncommittal about the future of Pittsburgh's EMS.<sup>55</sup>

Finally, in early 1975, Flaherty made up his mind on the ambulance issue. The city bought five new \$32,000 "superambulances," operated by 40 civilians and led by Glenn Cannon, a white former FHE paramedic.<sup>56</sup> With this new ambulance system operating across all of Pittsburgh, FHE would have to close.<sup>57</sup> While Flaherty justified his decision to close FHE with legal and financial concerns, the installation of a majority white and more expensive ambulance service challenged the validity of Flaherty's explanation.<sup>58</sup> Moreover, in 1977, when Flaherty ran for U.S. attorney general, a newspaper wrote that some called him "antiblack, antipoor, and

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<sup>53</sup> "The People Speak," *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette*, June 22, 1974, p. 6, [https://books.google.com/books?id=EU0NAAAAIIBAJ&pg=PA4&dq=let+freedom+house+serve+the+whole+city&article\\_id=5166,2860807&hl=en&sa=X&ved=2ahUKEwiau0O07f-AAxXZEFkFHQIPBK0Q6AF6BAgHEAI#v=onepage&q=let%20freedom%20house%20serve%20the%20whole%20city&f=false](https://books.google.com/books?id=EU0NAAAAIIBAJ&pg=PA4&dq=let+freedom+house+serve+the+whole+city&article_id=5166,2860807&hl=en&sa=X&ved=2ahUKEwiau0O07f-AAxXZEFkFHQIPBK0Q6AF6BAgHEAI#v=onepage&q=let%20freedom%20house%20serve%20the%20whole%20city&f=false)

<sup>54</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>55</sup> Mike Moyle, "Flaherty Unmoved on Future Aid for Freedom House," *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette*, June 22, 1974, p. 11, [https://books.google.com/books?id=EU0NAAAAIIBAJ&pg=PA7&dq=flaherty+unmoved+on+future+aid+for+freedom+house&article\\_id=7326,2900198&hl=en&sa=X&ved=2ahUKEwi56\\_H7\\_2AAxVhEVkFHUauDSAQ6AF6BAgEEAI#v=onepage&q=flaherty%20unmoved%20on%20future%20aid%20for%20freedom%20house&f=false](https://books.google.com/books?id=EU0NAAAAIIBAJ&pg=PA7&dq=flaherty+unmoved+on+future+aid+for+freedom+house&article_id=7326,2900198&hl=en&sa=X&ved=2ahUKEwi56_H7_2AAxVhEVkFHUauDSAQ6AF6BAgEEAI#v=onepage&q=flaherty%20unmoved%20on%20future%20aid%20for%20freedom%20house&f=false)

<sup>56</sup> Donalson, "Superambulance Plan Lacks Warmth, Empathy, City Told."; Hazzard, *American Sirens*, p. 238.

<sup>57</sup> Donalson, "Superambulance Plan Lacks Warmth, Empathy, City Told."

<sup>58</sup> Edwards, "Race, Policing, and History."

antiwoman."<sup>59</sup> Regardless of the reasons, FHE was forced to close on October 15, 1975.<sup>60</sup> Dr. Nancy Caroline, the leader of FHE from 1973 until its discontinuation, sent the city a list of conditions to make the transition from FHE to the new ambulance service as smooth as possible for the paramedics, concluding with the insistence that the city organize a ceremony in recognition of FHE's work.<sup>61</sup> All of Caroline's requests were granted, except the last.<sup>62</sup> Despite becoming one of the most important turning points of the 20th century, FHE would be left largely forgotten.

Though no longer running, the work done by FHE continues to impact the lives of people across the nation. In addition to providing jobs and healthcare for the Black communities of Pittsburgh, FHE became a turning point in history by setting the standard of EMS for future paramedics. The increasing acceptance of paramedic ambulance services, even after FHE's disbandment, was almost entirely due to Nancy Caroline.<sup>63</sup> After FHE closed, Safar requested that Caroline write the national EMS training curriculum.<sup>64</sup> Her books, based on her experience with FHE, "became the most widely read EMS and paramedics' texts in the world during the first decades of the EMS movement," and are still used by paramedics-in-training today.<sup>65</sup>

## Conclusion

Alarmed by the state of EMS, especially in Black communities, a biracial group of pioneers in medicine and civil rights collaborated to form Freedom House Enterprise Ambulance

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<sup>59</sup> Cheryl Avidson, "Metzenbaum Firm Against Flaherty's Nomination as Deputy Atty. General," *The Daily Sentinel*, April 5, 1977, p. 2, [https://books.google.com/books?id=pYISAAAIBAJ&pg=PA2&dq=flaherty+antiblack,+1975&article\\_id=2186,286100&hl=en&sa=X&ved=2ahUKEwilq6Cw6\\_-AAxUYMlkFHdSYBLoQ6AF6BAGLEAI#v=onepage&q=flaherty%20antiblack%2C%201975&f=false](https://books.google.com/books?id=pYISAAAIBAJ&pg=PA2&dq=flaherty+antiblack,+1975&article_id=2186,286100&hl=en&sa=X&ved=2ahUKEwilq6Cw6_-AAxUYMlkFHdSYBLoQ6AF6BAGLEAI#v=onepage&q=flaherty%20antiblack%2C%201975&f=false)

<sup>60</sup> Hazzard, *American Sirens*, p. 250.

<sup>61</sup> Hazzard, *American Sirens*, p. 247.

<sup>62</sup> *Ibid.*

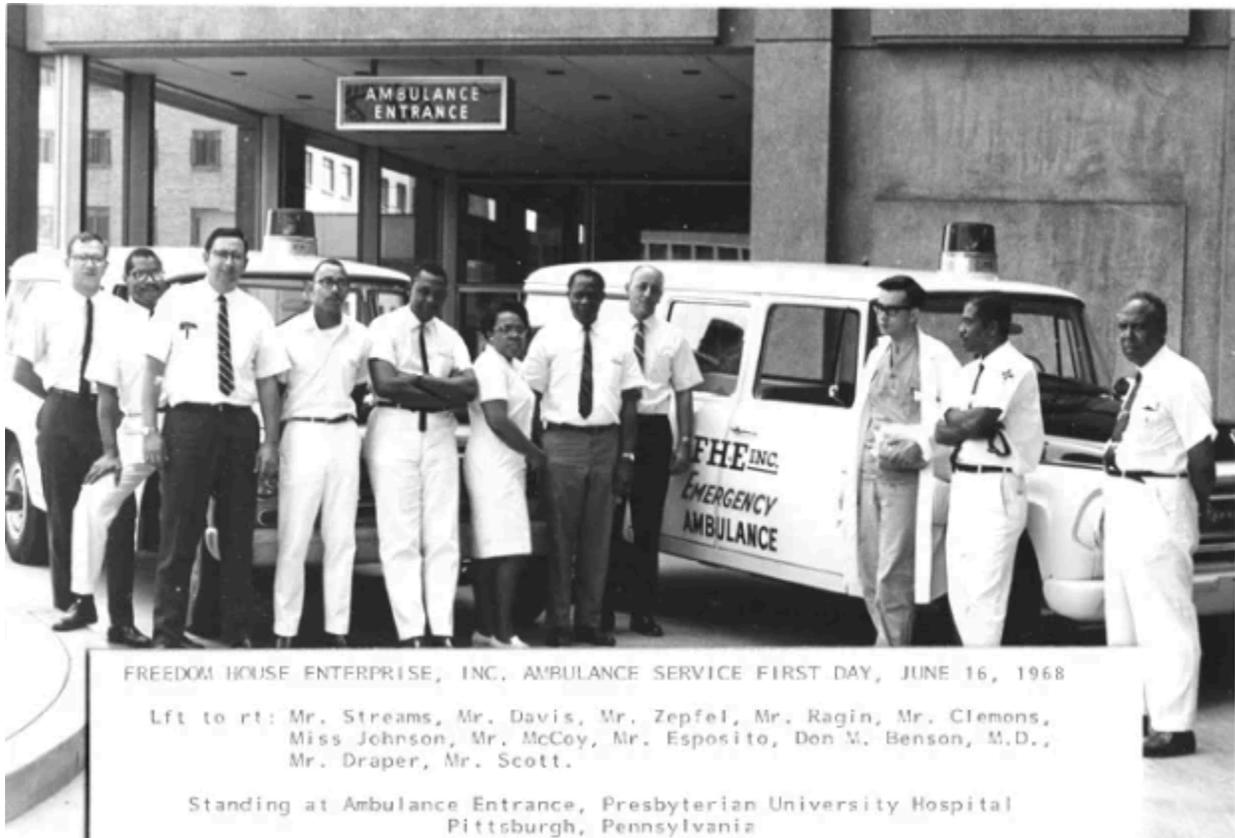
<sup>63</sup> Gene Starzenski, Phone Interview, August 30, 2023.

<sup>64</sup> Safar, *Careers in Anesthesiology*, p. 233.

<sup>65</sup> *Ibid.*

Service, run by the first paramedics in the United States. Though they had different social statuses, abilities, cultural identities, and even different objectives, the founders of FHE worked together to find a solution that would solve all of their individual concerns. In an ever-globalizing world that faces critical issues including climate change, poverty, and inequality, the story of FHE shows us how we should unite to solve such issues, despite our differences, while at the same time preserving our unique identities. Instead of seeing their differences as barriers that separated them from other doctors in the wealthy, white-dominated field of advanced medicine, the paramedics of FHE used their personal and cultural connection to the Hill District to empower the community and work towards social justice, a change no other group of people would have been able to accomplish. In the process, FHE became a turning point in history by defying the stereotypes of the mid-1900s and revolutionizing the ineffective prehospital care of post-World War II. Although Freedom House Enterprise Ambulance Service remains largely forgotten, their work set the foundation for the life-saving paramedic systems that provide care for people today.

## Appendix A



Several early FHE employees pose for a picture in front of their ambulances in 1968.

*Freedom House Enterprise, Inc. Ambulance Service First Day. June 1968. Freedom House Street Savors Documentary, <https://freedomhousedoc.com/gallery.html>*

## Appendix B



Dr. Nancy Caroline in an FHE ambulance with paramedic Walt Brown in 1975.

*Freedom House Ambulance Service (Pittsburg, PA). N.d. National EMS Museum Subject Files, NEMSM-0001, <https://emsmuseum.org/collections/archives/service/freedomhousepa/>*

## Appendix C



Group photograph of FHE staff, taken ca. 1970s.

Spiegel, Jim. *Group shot of employees of the Freedom House Ambulance Service. ca. 1970s.*  
*Heinz History Center, February 6, 2023,*  
<https://www.heinzhistorycenter.org/blog/damar-hamlin-and-the-freedom-house-ambulance-service/>

## Annotated Bibliography

### Primary Resources

"The Ambulance Fuss." *The Pittsburgh Press*, May 4, 1973,

[https://books.google.com/books?id=SVwcAAAIBAJ&pg=PA14&dq=pittsburgh+press+Dr.+Safar&article\\_id=6706,1125840&hl=en&sa=X&ved=2ahUKEwj18Od8v-AAxUPM1kFHeOfCU8Q6AF6BAGNEAI#v=onepage&q=pittsburgh%20press%20Dr.%20Safar&f=false](https://books.google.com/books?id=SVwcAAAIBAJ&pg=PA14&dq=pittsburgh+press+Dr.+Safar&article_id=6706,1125840&hl=en&sa=X&ved=2ahUKEwj18Od8v-AAxUPM1kFHeOfCU8Q6AF6BAGNEAI#v=onepage&q=pittsburgh%20press%20Dr.%20Safar&f=false)

Unlike most of the newspaper articles that discussed Pittsburgh's public ambulance debate, which usually gave only a few details about the issue rather than the whole story in one fell swoop, this article clearly explained the controversy over ambulance care and helped me to see the events in chronological order. It also put other articles into context, such as "The People Speak" which contained two letters from Pittsburgh residents arguing to expand FHE rather than close it. I used the title of this article, which excellently describes Pittsburgh's EMS controversy, in my paper.

Avidson, Cheryl. "Metzenbaum Firm Against Flaherty's Nomination as Deputy Atty. General."

*The Daily Sentinel*, April 5, 1977,

[https://books.google.com/books?id=pYISAAAIBAJ&pg=PA2&dq=flaherty+antiblack,+1975&article\\_id=2186,286100&hl=en&sa=X&ved=2ahUKEwilq6Cw6\\_-AAxUYMlkFHdSYBLoQ6AF6BAGLEAI#v=onepage&q=flaherty%20antiblack%201975&f=false](https://books.google.com/books?id=pYISAAAIBAJ&pg=PA2&dq=flaherty+antiblack,+1975&article_id=2186,286100&hl=en&sa=X&ved=2ahUKEwilq6Cw6_-AAxUYMlkFHdSYBLoQ6AF6BAGLEAI#v=onepage&q=flaherty%20antiblack%201975&f=false)

This newspaper article explains why Senator Metzenbaum planned not to vote in favor of Peter Flaherty's nomination as Deputy Attorney General, and mentioned that a number of fellow opposers had characterized him as "antiblack, antipoor, and antiwoman." I quoted the article in my paper to demonstrate why some people thought that Flaherty may have closed FHE for reasons other than finances and legal issues, namely racism.

Donalson, Al. "Superambulance Plan Lacks Warmth, Empathy, City Told." *The Pittsburgh Press*, October 24, 1975,

[https://books.google.com/books?id=YnAjAAAIBAJ&pg=PA2&dq=new+ambulances+lack+warmth&article\\_id=7400,3408156&hl=en&sa=X&ved=2ahUKEwi00e3F7f2AAxV\\_F2IAHUUVAXoQ6AF6BAGIEAI#v=onepage&q=antiblack&f=false](https://books.google.com/books?id=YnAjAAAIBAJ&pg=PA2&dq=new+ambulances+lack+warmth&article_id=7400,3408156&hl=en&sa=X&ved=2ahUKEwi00e3F7f2AAxV_F2IAHUUVAXoQ6AF6BAGIEAI#v=onepage&q=antiblack&f=false)

This newspaper article describes how Black and white patients felt about being cared for by FHE, how the city's new ambulances that would replace FHE worked, and how FHE became a source of pride for the paramedics and their communities.

Frederick, Dolores. "District Lets Medical Service Funds Slip Away." *The Pittsburgh Press*, July 27, 1972,  
[https://books.google.com/books?id=B1UqAAAIAIBAJ&pg=PA16&dq=district+lets+medical+service+funds+slip+away&article\\_id=7071,4658957&hl=en&sa=X&ved=2ahUKEwia84uu7\\_-AAxUHMIkFHZbeBY0Q6AF6BAgMEAI#v=onepage&q=district%20lets%20medical%20service%20funds%20slip%20away&f=false](https://books.google.com/books?id=B1UqAAAIAIBAJ&pg=PA16&dq=district+lets+medical+service+funds+slip+away&article_id=7071,4658957&hl=en&sa=X&ved=2ahUKEwia84uu7_-AAxUHMIkFHZbeBY0Q6AF6BAgMEAI#v=onepage&q=district%20lets%20medical%20service%20funds%20slip%20away&f=false).

I learned from this newspaper article that Allegheny County failed to sign up for nearly \$2 million in federal money for EMS, at the same time that they were telling FHE that continuing to support them would cost too much money. The article also explains the arguments between multiple groups, especially hospitals, counties, and Pittsburgh city, all of whom pushed the responsibility of EMS onto the others.

Frederick, Dolores. "Lives Hinge on Better Emergency Care, Wecht Says." *The Pittsburgh Press*, May 15, 1973,  
[https://books.google.com/books?id=UlwAAAAIAIBAJ&pg=PA11&dq=If+they+are+well-dressed,+they+are+thought+to+have+a+heart+attack.+If+they+are+unshaven,+they+are+thought+to+be+drunk&article\\_id=7051,6367935&hl=en&sa=X&ved=2ahUKEwiDjdKd1OCDAxUoj4kEHQqoAPIQ6AF6BAgJEAI#v=onepage&q=If%20they%20are%20well-dressed%2C%20they%20are%20thought%20to%20have%20a%20heart%20attack.%20If%20they%20are%20unshaven%2C%20they%20are%20thought%20to%20be%20drunk&f=false](https://books.google.com/books?id=UlwAAAAIAIBAJ&pg=PA11&dq=If+they+are+well-dressed,+they+are+thought+to+have+a+heart+attack.+If+they+are+unshaven,+they+are+thought+to+be+drunk&article_id=7051,6367935&hl=en&sa=X&ved=2ahUKEwiDjdKd1OCDAxUoj4kEHQqoAPIQ6AF6BAgJEAI#v=onepage&q=If%20they%20are%20well-dressed%2C%20they%20are%20thought%20to%20have%20a%20heart%20attack.%20If%20they%20are%20unshaven%2C%20they%20are%20thought%20to%20be%20drunk&f=false)

In this article, Pittsburgh's county coroner Cyril Wecht explains that if Pittsburgh upgraded its ambulances to the areas of Pittsburgh that FHE did not serve, significantly more lives could be saved. I quoted Wecht in my paper on how the police would often refuse to transport patients who they believed were drunk, whether because of their clothes, skin color, or economic condition.

Moyle, Mike. "Flaherty Unmoved on Future Aid for Freedom House." *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette*, June 22, 1974,  
[https://books.google.com/books?id=EU0NAAAAIAIBAJ&pg=PA7&dq=flaherty+unmoved+on+future+aid+for+freedom+house&article\\_id=7326,2900198&hl=en&sa=X&ved=2ahUKEwi56\\_\\_H7\\_2AAxVhEVkFHUauDSAQ6AF6BAgEEAI#v=onepage&q=flaherty%20Unmoved%20on%20future%20aid%20for%20freedom%20house&f=false](https://books.google.com/books?id=EU0NAAAAIAIBAJ&pg=PA7&dq=flaherty+unmoved+on+future+aid+for+freedom+house&article_id=7326,2900198&hl=en&sa=X&ved=2ahUKEwi56__H7_2AAxVhEVkFHUauDSAQ6AF6BAgEEAI#v=onepage&q=flaherty%20Unmoved%20on%20future%20aid%20for%20freedom%20house&f=false)

Despite pestering from both people who supported FHE and those who did not, this article describes Flaherty's reluctance to make any decision regarding ambulance care in Pittsburgh.

Moyle, Mike. "Two Northside Men Allege Mistreatment by Police." *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette*, August 7, 1974,

[https://books.google.com/books?id=7QIOAAAAIIBAJ&pg=PA1&dq=2+northside+men+allege+mistreatment&article\\_id=2545,616500&hl=en&sa=X&ved=2ahUKEwjOisqS-P2AAxVnEVkFHVZFAw0Q6AF6BAgFEAI#v=onepage&q=2%20northside%20men%20allege%20mistreatment&f=false](https://books.google.com/books?id=7QIOAAAAIIBAJ&pg=PA1&dq=2+northside+men+allege+mistreatment&article_id=2545,616500&hl=en&sa=X&ved=2ahUKEwjOisqS-P2AAxVnEVkFHVZFAw0Q6AF6BAgFEAI#v=onepage&q=2%20northside%20men%20allege%20mistreatment&f=false)

This newspaper article demonstrated the tension between police and Black residents of Pittsburgh, which was important to explain in my paper because it resulted in many African Americans feeling uncomfortable being transported to the hospital by the same officers who arrested and often mistreated them or people they knew.

National Academy of Sciences (US) and National Research Council (US) Committee on Trauma; National Academy of Sciences (US) and National Research Council (US) Committee on Shock. *Accidental Death and Disability: The Neglected Disease of Modern Society*, (Washington (DC): National Academies Press (US), 1966), <https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/books/NBK222964/>

*Accidental Death and Disability*, better known today as the "White Paper," recognized the largely ignored EMS crisis of the mid-1960s. The paper ironically states that soldiers, who were expected to risk their lives in combat to protect citizens at home, were more likely to survive a serious injury on the battlefield in Vietnam or Korea than on American streets, simply because those countries had emergency medical care. I quoted and paraphrased the paper in my introduction to explain the gravity of the EMS crisis.

"The People Speak." *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette*, June 22, 1974, [https://books.google.com/books?id=EU0NAAAIAIBAJ&pg=PA4&dq=let+freedom+house+serve+the+whole+city&article\\_id=5166,2860807&hl=en&sa=X&ved=2ahUKEwiauO07f-AAxXZEFkFHQIPBK0Q6AF6BAgHEAI#v=onepage&q=let%20freedom%20house%20serve%20the%20whole%20city&f=false](https://books.google.com/books?id=EU0NAAAIAIBAJ&pg=PA4&dq=let+freedom+house+serve+the+whole+city&article_id=5166,2860807&hl=en&sa=X&ved=2ahUKEwiauO07f-AAxXZEFkFHQIPBK0Q6AF6BAgHEAI#v=onepage&q=let%20freedom%20house%20serve%20the%20whole%20city&f=false)

This newspaper article contained two letters from residents of Pittsburgh who advocated for the city to allow FHE to remain working and to expand to other areas of Pittsburgh, not just predominantly Black neighborhoods. Both letters gave reasons as to why Flaherty's excuses for closing FHE made little sense, and I quoted them in my paper to explain the ambulance debate in Pittsburgh.

"Pete's Program: Civilians to Man New Ambulances." *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette*, May 2, 1975, [https://books.google.com/books?id=1spRAAAAIAIBAJ&pg=PA4&dq=Pete%27s+Program:+Civilians+to+Man+New+Ambulances&article\\_id=4947,168535&hl=en&sa=X&ved=2ahUKEwium-\\_wnvGDaxVhm4kEHcdmANMQ6AF6BAgEEAI#v=onepage&q=Pete's%20Program%3A%20Civilians%20to%20Man%20New%20Ambulances&f=false](https://books.google.com/books?id=1spRAAAAIAIBAJ&pg=PA4&dq=Pete%27s+Program:+Civilians+to+Man+New+Ambulances&article_id=4947,168535&hl=en&sa=X&ved=2ahUKEwium-_wnvGDaxVhm4kEHcdmANMQ6AF6BAgEEAI#v=onepage&q=Pete's%20Program%3A%20Civilians%20to%20Man%20New%20Ambulances&f=false)

This article explains in detail how Pittsburgh's new ambulances would be run, the system's finances and costs, and who would be in charge of the service.

Safar, Peter. *Careers in Anesthesiology: An Autobiographical Memoir*, vol. 5: *From Pittsburgh to Vienna* (Schaumburg, IL: Wood Library-Museum of Anesthesiology, 2000).

Probably the most valuable resource in my research, Dr. Peter Safar's autobiography gave me important details about the conception and closing of FHE, as well as how the police-run ambulances worked from a person who had actually experienced it. Safar's memoir told me what EMS looked like in the 1950s and 60s, how he helped in the creation of FHE, and how Dr. Caroline contributed to FHE, both through her leadership and later through her writing. I used his detailed accounts throughout my paper.

Starzenski, Gene. Phone Interview. August 30, 2023.

Pittsburgh-raised Gene Starzenski contacted FHE for a position in the 1970s, but since the program did not need any new paramedics at the time, he worked as a paramedic across the country before becoming a movie producer, when he created a documentary about the work of FHE. Although we discussed a wide variety of topics relating to Mr. Starzenski's life, his descriptions of growing up in Pittsburgh before the demolition and his two personal experiences of police-run EMS were especially important to my paper. In addition, our conversation gave me a better understanding of the emotions and direct experiences of the people behind this historical turning point.

"Statement by the President Upon Signing the Housing Act of 1949." *Harry S. Truman Library and Museum*, July 15, 1949,  
<https://www.trumanlibrary.gov/library/public-papers/157/statement-president-upon-signing-housing-act-1949>

This statement by the president showed me the expectations for urban renewal, and having seen the results through other sources, it also showed me urban renewal's failure to accomplish its goals. I quoted this source in my paper to explain the desired outcome for urban renewal.

Stuart, Roger. "The Life and Thoughts of James McCoy Jr." *The Pittsburgh Press*, March, 30 1969,  
[https://books.google.com/books?id=cg0fAAAIBAJ&pg=PA73&dq=the+life+and+thoughts+of+james+mccoy&article\\_id=4666,7291544&hl=en&sa=X&ved=2ahUKEwjKoamYxICBAxXtF1kFHVL1CIEQ6AF6BAGHEAI#v=snippet&q=he%20is%20one%20of%20the%20most%20persuasive&f=false](https://books.google.com/books?id=cg0fAAAIBAJ&pg=PA73&dq=the+life+and+thoughts+of+james+mccoy&article_id=4666,7291544&hl=en&sa=X&ved=2ahUKEwjKoamYxICBAxXtF1kFHVL1CIEQ6AF6BAGHEAI#v=snippet&q=he%20is%20one%20of%20the%20most%20persuasive&f=false)

This newspaper article details the life of James McCoy Jr., a founder of FHE. I used information from it in my paper to give some background on who Mr. McCoy was, before explaining how he was involved in the creation of FHE.

"'Unemployable' Provide Service." *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette*, April 9, 1969,  
[https://books.google.com/books?id=HcdaAAAIBAJ&pg=PA11&dq=Unemployable%27+provide+service&article\\_id=3280,1336682&hl=en&sa=X&ved=2ahUKEwiLm8ztpcuDAXWvAHkGHc3pCzsQ6AF6BAgIEAI#v=onepage&q=Unemployable%20provide%20service&f=false](https://books.google.com/books?id=HcdaAAAIBAJ&pg=PA11&dq=Unemployable%27+provide+service&article_id=3280,1336682&hl=en&sa=X&ved=2ahUKEwiLm8ztpcuDAXWvAHkGHc3pCzsQ6AF6BAgIEAI#v=onepage&q=Unemployable%20provide%20service&f=false)

I paraphrased this newspaper article in my paper to show how the FHE paramedics, who were once considered unemployable due to their economic status, neighborhood, and race, now provided Pittsburgh with the best ambulance care in the United States.

"Weaver Sees End of Negro Housing Ills." *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette*, October 21, 1961,  
[https://books.google.com/books?id=K58oAAAIBAJ&pg=PA6&dq=urban+renewal+Pittsburgh&article\\_id=5867,5093110&hl=en&sa=X&ved=2ahUKEwjT2via7ueDAXVWEIkFHZWuAnIQ6AF6BAgNEAI#v=onepage&q=urban%20renewal%20Pittsburgh&f=false](https://books.google.com/books?id=K58oAAAIBAJ&pg=PA6&dq=urban+renewal+Pittsburgh&article_id=5867,5093110&hl=en&sa=X&ved=2ahUKEwjT2via7ueDAXVWEIkFHZWuAnIQ6AF6BAgNEAI#v=onepage&q=urban%20renewal%20Pittsburgh&f=false)

Demonstrating the failure of urban renewal, this newspaper article mentions that the city of Pittsburgh had demolished 1,500 houses formerly occupied by African American families and rebuilt only 250.

## Secondary Resources

Acharya, Avishek. "'Mecca for the Colored People.': Reexamining the Demolition of Pittsburgh's Lower Hill District." *Duquesne Scholarship Collection*, April 20, 2022,  
<https://dsc.duq.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1070&context=urss>

This paper gave me details about Pittsburgh before the Renaissance, the city's plans for urban renewal, and the number of displaced residents. It contrasted people's dreams for urban renewal with the reality of what demolition caused, and described the protests of many Black citizens in the Hill District against redevelopment.

Anderson, David, Esther Bradley, Luis Carvajal, Michael Fontaine, Rashad Gray, Chad Harper, Polina Kats, Elizabeth Majewski, Caroline Jean Acker, and Shera Moxley. "The Hill District Community Collaborative: An Oral History." *Carnegie Mellon University*, 2001,  
<https://www.cmu.edu/dietrich/ehpp/documents/2001-The-Hill-District.pdf>

This paper gave me two important percentages that I used in my paper: that the Hill contained 7.5% of Pittsburgh's population and 13.4% of its crime in 1940. It also described the poor living conditions in the Hill District during the mid-1900s and the severity of overcrowding.

Campbell, Kendall M, Irma Corral, Jhojana L. Infante Linares, and Dmitry Tumin. "Projected Estimates of African American Medical Graduates of Closed Historically Black Medical Schools." *JAMA Network Open*, August 2020, doi:10.1001/jamanetworkopen.2020.15220

I learned from this article that Black students made up only 2% of medical school enrollment in 1968, the year FHE started serving the Hill District. I used this information in my paper to show how distinctive FHE was by being made up almost entirely of African Americans.

Edwards, Mathew L. "Race, Policing, and History — Remembering the Freedom House Ambulance Service." *New England Journal of Medicine*, 2021, doi:10.1056/NEJMp2035467

This article helped me to understand the tension between the police and residents of the Hill District, as well as information on why some people believed Flaherty was closing FHE due to racism rather than just financial and legal concerns as he said.

EMS1 & NEMSMA. "How Pittsburgh's 'Freedom House' Shaped Modern EMS Systems." *EMS1*, September 2, 2014, <https://www.ems1.com/ems-education/articles/how-pittsburghs-freedom-house-shaped-modern-ems-systems-luEDCMzLZL8XfbzU/>

This article was written almost entirely from interviews with former FHE paramedics. From it, I learned about Philip Hallen's life experiences which led him to found FHE, and quoted some of what he told the authors in my paper.

Unknown. *Freedom House Ambulance Service (Pittsburg, PA)*. N.d. *National EMS Museum Subject Files, NEMS-0001*, <https://emsmuseum.org/collections/archives/service/freedomhousepa/>

This photograph shows two FHE members, Dr. Nancy Caroline and Walt Brown, working on an ordinary day in one of the program's ambulances. The image of a well-equipped FHE ambulance helps give contrast to the inadequately furnished police-run ambulances, which I described in my paper.

Unknown. *Freedom House Enterprise, Inc. Ambulance Service First Day*. June 1968. *Freedom House Street Saviors Documentary*, <https://freedomhousedoc.com/gallery.html>

This photograph, which was taken on the FHE's first day of work, features FHE staff standing in front of two ambulances at the Presbyterian University Hospital. I included the photograph in my paper to convey the level of medical professionalism that distinguished FHE from the police-run ambulance services.

Hazzard, Kevin. *American Sirens: The Incredible Story of the Black Men Who Became America's First Paramedics*. Hachette Book Group, Inc., 2022.

*American Sirens*, one of the few books that tells the story of the U.S.'s first paramedics, was incredibly helpful to me in understanding most aspects of FHE's creation and work. I used the book as a foundation for my research and built off of what I had learned from it by using primary resources and other writing to further understand my topic. Not only did the book give me valuable knowledge, but it also made me passionate about my topic and gave me a desire to celebrate the work of these forgotten heroes through my writing.

Lopez, Russ P. "Public Health, the APHA, and Urban Renewal." *American Journal of Public Health*, September 2009, doi:10.2105/AJPH.2008.150136.

This is one of the papers that helped me come to the conclusion that the cycle of white flight led to the deterioration of cities as they lost businesses, and therefore money, which led more white families to leave the cities for the suburbs. Urban renewal was imposed partially to end this cycle, yet ultimately backfired because of its failure to rebuild homes for displaced citizens or consider the effects of demolition on culture.

Peck, Mark, James Martin, and Brian J Maguire. "A Short History of New York's Emergency Ambulance Services." *Journal of Emergency Medical Services*, December 1, 2022, <https://www.jems.com/operations/a-short-history-of-new-york-citys-emergency-ambulance-services/>

This article told me about how the Bellevue ambulance system in New York worked and why it was important. I paraphrased the information I learned from the article to set the stage in EMS history for FHE.

Shah, Manish N. "The Formation of the Emergency Medical Services System." *American Journal of Public Health*, March 2006, doi: 10.2105/AJPH.2004.048793

From this article, I learned about ambulances during the Napoleonic Wars and the Civil War. The article also verified my growing thought from reading other articles that although the mode of transportation changed as years passed, ambulance care itself did not significantly improve between the Napoleonic Wars to around the time of the Bellevue ambulances.

Spiegel, Jim. *Group shot of employees of the Freedom House Ambulance Service*. c. 1970s. *Heinz History Center*, February 6, 2023, <https://www.heinzhistorycenter.org/blog/damar-hamlin-and-the-freedom-house-ambulance-service/>

This group photograph of FHE members, taken around the 1970s, was useful to my paper because it showed FHE as a group of diverse individuals who worked together for a common cause.