

The Evolution of Raleigh's African-American
Neighborhoods in the 19th and 20th Centuries

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The black neighborhoods of Raleigh, North Carolina reveal in their geography and architecture the history of the African-American community in this Southern city. The locations of these neighborhoods, and their specific building types and institutions at once embody local and personal choices, tastes, and constraints, as well as much broader cultural and regional characteristics. The setting, of course, has been a tumultuous and controversial one, marked by slavery and Jim Crow, generations of sedulously defended legal and customary racial segregation, and an unprecedented "farm-to-factory" migration.

This study aims to define and interpret the formation of Raleigh's black districts from antebellum times to the post-World War II period. The examination represents the first phase of a three part project, funded by the City of Raleigh and the North Carolina Division of Archives and History to identify historic African-American neighborhoods. The other components of the project include a comprehensive architectural survey and a public education phase.¹

Antebellum Raleigh: Slaves and Free Blacks

In North Carolina as in the entire South, slaves and free blacks lived and labored in cities long before the great northern migration in the 20th century. In 1860, blacks comprised 20% to 40% of the population of the typical Southern city.² Usually, they worked in the most menial and low paying of jobs--"negro jobs" they came to be called--such as unskilled mill and railroad labor; domestic service; and road gang employment.³ However, through diligence, apprenticeships, and some luck, it was possi-

ble for slaves to earn enough money to buy their freedom, and for free blacks to gain economic security and, occasionally, even middle-class status as enterprising barbers, draymen, carpenters, brick masons, stone cutters, and harness makers.⁴ In Raleigh, Lunsford Lane, who would later write of his life as a slave, purchased his freedom as well as a house and town lot working as a tobacco merchant, janitor, and messenger. Yet, Lane's growing wealth and status also made him enemies, and he was effectively run out of Raleigh in 1841, before he was able to buy the freedom of his family and friends.⁵

Neither slave nor completely free, free blacks held a peculiar status in the antebellum South. They were "a caste within a caste," in the words of John Hope Franklin. During the early decade of the 19th century, as the fear of slave insurrections mounted among whites, Southern legislatures enacted laws that intruded upon virtually all aspects of free black life. In the 1820s, and especially following the Nat Turner uprising in 1831, the State of North Carolina passed legislation that, among other prohibitions, stripped free blacks of the right to vote, to preach, carry firearms, marry whites or slaves, or even to transact business with slaves. Moreover, a strong public sentiment arose opposing the formal education of free blacks.⁶

Against this backdrop of white distrust and discrimination, black residential areas developed in and around antebellum Raleigh. Founded in 1792 as the nation's first planned state capital, Raleigh contained a grid pattern of streets with a large Capitol Square near the center. While early on prominent while

families purchased spacious lots and erected homes commensurate to their wealth and status near the heart of the young city, slaves and free black people, too, soon lived throughout Raleigh. A census conducted in 1807 recorded 33 free blacks, 270 slaves, and 423 whites living in the city's three wards. The most populous East Ward contained the vast majority of free blacks (28), as well as 111 slaves and 197 whites. Three free blacks, 107 slaves, and 140 whites occupied the Middle Ward, while the Western Ward held 2 free blacks, 52 slaves, and 86 whites.⁷ To be sure, such ward data fail to show the distribution of the two races within each ward; and one can only speculate about the existence of black districts outside the city's bounds. However, the census suggests a residential pattern that would become more and more distinct over time; and one which was common to cities across the antebellum South. While blacks were interspersed among whites across the city, free blacks, in particular, also tended to live near one another (note the 28 living in the East Ward in 1807) reflecting segregation along racial, as well as economic lines.⁷

This spatial arrangement would become more fully developed as Raleigh's population grew. By 1860 4,780 people lived in the city, including 466 free blacks and 1,621 slaves (44% of the total population).⁸ These figures reflected the city's slow but steady commercial expansion, given impetus by the completion of the Raleigh and Gaston Railroad in 1840, the construction of a second rail line (the North Carolina Railroad) in 1854, and the rebuilding of the state capitol between 1833 and 1840. Small

foundries, railroad repair shops, and other assorted industries and warehouses appeared around the tracks skirting the fringe of the city, and the fledgling central business area assumed a more sophisticated air.¹⁰ Raleigh's antebellum expansion was capped by the annexation of 1857, which extended the original grid of streets by one quarter mile in each direction. The capital city was now a neat square mile in size.

Enslaved blacks, according to contemporary accounts of both blacks and whites, lived throughout this landscape. On the eve of the Civil War, 152 white Raleigh families owned slaves, who resided in the main house--in separate wings, basements, and upper stories--as well as in detached dwellings at the back of the lot.¹¹ For example, Charles N. Hunter, a former slave of Raleigh's William Dallas Haywood, wrote of living with fellow slaves on the Haywood family lot.¹² Bertha Lane, as a slave and domestic worker for North Carolina Governor Charles Manly, occupied a two-story, three-room, frame house on his South Street property.¹³ Reflecting upon his childhood in antebellum Raleigh, John H. Winder (who was white) described slave quarters behind the J. H. Bryan home on Blount Street. And, in his 1937 memoir, Judge Robert Watson Winston wrote in a patronizing way of ex-slaves who were so content with their pre-war accommodations in the masters' residences, that they "never left the premises and scarcely knew that they had been set free."¹⁴

No clear evidence exists that slaves in Raleigh ever lived beyond the slave owner's house lot. Indeed, historian Richard C. Wade asserts that slaveholders, desiring to exercise maximum

control, kept their slaves living close at hand.¹⁵ However, in numerous Southern cities, such as Richmond, Virginia, Charleston, South Carolina, and Lexington, Kentucky, slaves occupied dwellings and factory barracks located away from the master's eye and close to workplaces and free blacks.¹⁶ Thus, in Raleigh, where slaves were regularly hired out as railroad laborers and servants, and where slaves from surrounding plantations contributed to the erection of the capitol, it is quite conceivable that a number of them "lived out," sharing areas of the city with families of free blacks, as well as white laborers.¹⁷

By the Civil War, Raleigh's burgeoning free black population underlined the residential pattern that had been only faintly drawn by the 1807 census (Figure 1). Households of free blacks were both scattered from one end of the city to the other, as well as clustered together. Small groups of black families occupied the cheaper tracts of land beyond the city limits, the less desirable bottomland closer to downtown, and especially the narrow streets that bordered the railroad-related industries. Working-class white families frequently lived nearby.

This historical pattern reveals itself through an examination of the 1855 Raleigh tax list and the 1860 federal census.¹⁸ Although only a small fraction of free blacks possessed taxable real estate, the town plats that belonged to free blacks were often located among lots owned by white residents.¹⁹ Several blacks even owned parcels right in the heart of Raleigh.²⁰ Barber Alfred Mitchell, for example, possessed \$800 in real estate and a home near the corner of Cabarrus and Person

streets (several blocks south of the capitol), while John Malone, a free black brick mason, resided behind the white graded school north of the capitol, and owned part of a lot in the center of the commercial district.

An analysis of the 1860 census reveals an urban landscape that was at once racially mixed and economically and racially segregated. Although the census does not indicate addresses of households, it is assumed that census takers followed a reasonably methodical house-by-house route through the city. Thus, if the addresses of selected residents can be determined (using tax lists and other historical data), then it is possible to approximate the locations of other households that were listed nearby.²¹ The census, therefore, records free blacks, as servants and laborers, boarding with 55 white households. And, though segregated areas of white middle- and upper-class families existed (the first 90 households in the census are all white), integrated blocks of skilled workers and laborers were commonplace. For example, in southeast Raleigh, near Lenoir and Person streets, the census taker recorded free black painter William Jones, bricklayer Sidney Dunston, and grocer Ben Mansley, maintaining households beside a pair of white families headed by a blacksmith and conductor.²²

Free blacks also lived in small enclaves, especially in the southern periphery, where the railroad tracks crossed Fayetteville Street, and in northwest Raleigh, in low-lying terrain near the railroad repair shops.²³ Here, families headed by car builders, train hands, laborers, and domestics made their

homes. Most likely it was in reference to some of these racially segregated areas--"the suburbs" they were sometimes called before the 1857 annexation--that the city commissioners decried the moral climate of outlying black districts. Reflecting trepidation and a profound disdain for the race, the commissioners inveighed against those "indolent and worthless [free blacks] living not by labor but by depredation. . . and by midnight robberies."²⁴ After the Civil War, in an article for the Atlantic Monthly that concerned Raleigh's antebellum settlements of free blacks, O. W. Blackwell described clusters of "frail little huts" occupied by "barbers, fiddlers, and jacks-of-all-trades." ²⁵

No doubt, these were places marked by poverty, and where the path to salvation was most commonly found through religion, not economic advancement. But here the seeds of the postwar black community were planted. From these areas would come the black leaders and middle class of the late 19th century, and along these streets would appear churches, schools, and substantial homes. Even before the war the free black neighborhood northwest of the capitol (near Edenton and Harrington streets) boasted Raleigh's first African Methodist Episcopal Church (St. Paul), which was organized in 1849.²⁶ The "plain, white, wooden building," as described by a Chicago and Boston news correspondent, held 300 people on the main floor, and contained a gallery of 100 more.²⁷ St. Paul A.M.E. Church was among the first and most significant symbols of black community and cohesiveness prior to the war, and anticipated the major role that churches would play in the intense neighborhood building that would soon take place.

Postbellum Raleigh: The Growth of Black Neighborhoods

After the Civil War, Raleigh, like many other Southern cities, witnessed a sharp rise in its black population. From the surrounding countryside freedmen poured into the city, fleeing white hostility and seeking jobs and refugee assistance from the Freedman's Bureau and U. S. Army. Between 1860 and 1870, the number of Raleigh's blacks rose from 2,087 to 4,094, or 53% of the total population.²⁸ And even this figure may have been conservative, for the federal census in the 19th century regularly undercounted blacks living in cities.²⁹ By the 1890s, the influx of black people had totaled over 6,000 (50% of the population), contributing to mature and solidly segregated neighborhoods that nearly encircled the city.

The hostile reaction of many influential whites to the rapid flow of blacks into Raleigh reflected the social, economic, and, ultimately, political pressures blacks faced as their numbers mounted. One scholar has described this postwar white attitude as "racial claustrophobia," a feeling that Raleigh was virtually under siege by displaced black rural refugees.³⁰ Raleighites wrote bitterly of the city being "offense with the dirty negroes," who were lured by "delusions" of "easy employment and high wages."³¹ In the fall of 1867, the editor of the Raleigh Weekly Progress railed against "the great mass of unbleached Americans in the western and contiguous counties. . . overcrowding our beautiful city with a population capable of at times

being made a dangerous instrument in the hands of vicious men."³²

Regardless of how disruptive and potentially malevolent that whites may have perceived the new urban freedmen to be, black urban migration created unprecedented opportunities for educational and economic improvement, for cultural expression and political influence, and for self-identity. The array of black schools, churches, other institutions, and businesses that arose in the postwar decades both depended on the black community for their survival and strength, and, in turn, fostered racial solidarity and segregation. The distribution of black civic and religious institutions are thus solid clues to racial housing patterns (Figure 2). By the mid-1880s, nine black churches stood in black neighborhoods. A decade later, southern Raleigh, below Davie Street (the predominately black Second and Fourth Wards between 1875 and 1895), contained the city's two black graded schools, six black churches, one of the city's two black colleges, the Colored Masonic Hall, and the Institute for the Colored Deaf, Dumb, and Blind.³³ The black areas that developed most dramatically in the postwar era were, for a variety of reasons, those surrounding Raleigh's core. Set apart from the potentially hostile white environment, these areas could also expand more easily than enclaves closer to downtown. Here, too, large property owners subdivided their estates to meet the soaring demand for housing among blacks. Perhaps most importantly, outlying black neighborhoods promised lower property costs and the opportunity to purchase homes.

One of the major residential trends in the postwar period was the emergence of freedmen's villages around Raleigh's border.³⁴ As blacks migrated into the city in the late 1860s and 1870s, they created at least 13 such settlements.³⁵ It was in reference to these unprecedented all-black districts that the Raleigh Directory for 1880 carefully noted:

There is a growing taste for houses in the suburbs. Quite a town, composed almost entirely of colored people, has grown up a mile northwest of the city. The length is more than a mile and it has some 750 inhabitants. It has been given the name Oberlin. There is another suburb, called Brooklyn, in the same direction, with about 100 residents. The houses. . . are almost entirely of wood, but little stone or brick being used in the construction of dwellings. An ample space is given each dwelling, and this causes the city to cover much ground. . .36

Oberlin and Brooklyn, as well as Method and Lincolnville (both west of the city, near Hillsboro Road) were the principal freedmen's villages.³⁷ Whereas both Brooklyn and Lincolnville would lose their functions as black villages as they were absorbed by expanding white communities and institutions as the century drew to a close, Oberlin and Method grew steadily in size and influence.

Oberlin, which had been sparsely settled before the war, developed soon after farm land in the area went on sale in 1866. Occasionally known as "Save Rent" in tribute to the affordable land prices and the freedman's aspiration to own his house and lot, Oberlin proceeded to grow as a community of black homeowners.³⁸ The tax list for 1880 shows that residents of Oberlin, more than in any other section of Raleigh Township, possessed land. Ninety black landowners dwelled in the village in that

year, typically having between \$200 and \$500 worth of real estate.³⁹ By 1891, a decade after Oberlin was incorporated, it boasted stores, Baptist and Methodist churches, and two schools, including Latta University, a short-lived private academy. One- and two-story frame houses lined Oberlin Road and adjacent streets to the west. The 19th-century dwellings that survive today reveal an array of traditional and popular designs. Two-room cottages, many with central halls and center roof gables, dot Oberlin, while several spacious, two-story homes in the Queen Anne style illustrate the growing middle-class stature of Oberlin's residents. All of these house types and designs could have been readily seen in Raleigh's white neighborhoods of the day.⁴⁰

Located several miles southwest of Oberlin, and below Hillsboro Road, Method started growing in the early 1870s, when General William R. Cox sold tracts of his rural property to blacks. In her memoir of a childhood in Method, Bertha Maye Edwards recalled residents engaged in occupations typical of Raleigh's freedmen. They worked in an "assortment of odd-jobs," as workers in the railyards, small farmers, and washerwomen. However, the achievements of several people stood out, including C. H. Wood, who owned a two-story house and store in 1879, and especially Berry O'Kelly.⁴¹ Through the efforts of O'Kelly, Method acquired the first rural high school for blacks in the state, a post office, and a railroad spur line. Three churches eventually arose in the village, as well as social halls and a group of stores.⁴²

The rapid growth of these outlying settlements was paralleled by the emergence of black neighborhoods skirting Raleigh's borders. East Raleigh (beyond East Street), which had been a fashionable white residential area before the Civil War, in the Reconstruction period became a focus for black settlement. By the end of the war, freedmen were already settling around the state fairgrounds (relocated west across town in 1873), which was the site of a U.S. Army and Freedman's Bureau hospital. Within a decade, other Afro-American neighborhoods, known as St. Petersburg and Hungry Neck, were developed just east of the fairgrounds.⁴³ To the south, around Smith and Haywood streets, land was also platted and houses constructed for black residents.⁴⁴

North of the fairgrounds, in 1867, the Freeman's Bureau and Protestant Episcopal church helped fund and establish St. Augustine's College for the purpose of educating black teachers. By 1896, this Episcopal college contained St. Agnes Hospital for blacks, the first such health care facility in the South.⁴⁵ As St. Augustine's grew, so too did the black community around it. Between 1869 and the turn of the century, the Idelwild Plantation of John W. Cotton, situated south of the college, was subdivided into "Cotton Place" (south of New Bern Avenue) and "Idelwild" (to the north). Many of the black residents in this area worked as washerwomen, yardmen, and domestics for white families living in the fashionable Oakwood neighborhood immediately to the west. But they also reaped benefits from their proximity to the college. St. Augustine's was an integral part of the black communi-

ty, providing health care, a Sunday school and kindergarten, a clothing store and missionary guild, and a women's group that counseled on child care, nutrition, and related matters.⁴⁶

A black-owned real estate firm, the Raleigh Cooperative Land and Building Association, was the principal developer of this area, as well as St.. Petersburg (a division of the Governor Charles Manley estate), Hungry Neck, and Oberlin. The company devoted much of its efforts to selling lots to freedmen, and this objective was apparently quite successful. By 1872, the year that Raleigh's bird's-eye view map was drawn, East Raleigh was bristling with one-story frame houses.⁴⁷

The 1872 bird's-eye view, the plat map of Raleigh drawn by A. W. Shaffer in 1881, and an array of city directories beginning in the 1870s, all combine to provide a revealing portrait of East Raleigh in the postwar decades.⁴⁸ Cotton Place, which contained a scattering of 15 two-room, frame dwellings in 1882, had twice that number in 1881. The Smith-Haywood section had over 50 houses by the early 1880s, a figure matched by the Old Fairgrounds, which also featured the Garfield grade school for blacks and a Baptist church. St. Petersburg had several dozen houses, while Hungry Neck included a small mode of one-room cottages abutting stylish, white-owned residences to the west. Cox Memorial Church, with membership of 25 in 1887, also stood in Hungry Neck. These neighborhoods represented a melange of social groups and contained white residents as well as black. Whites, including merchants and skill craftsmen, built homes along portions of Martin, Haywood, Swain, and Hargett streets. Blacks, meanwhile,

included not only laborers and domestics, but also a host of skilled workers, such as stonemason Allen Lane (Smith-Haywood), shoemaker J. M. Jones (Hungry Neck), and blacksmith Henry Hatfield (St. Petersburg). The intermixing of races was clearly evident along Martin Street east of East Street, where, for example, Hatfield the blacksmith occupied a fashionable two-room, central-hall house beside white brickmason William Hunnicut, who resided in an identical house. In dwellings across the street lived a black huckster and a white machinist. East of this area, the Old Fairgrounds district housed mostly black and white laborers, many of them single males renting from white landlords.⁴⁹

Like East Raleigh, the broad south end of the city below South Street attracted hundreds of freedmen. Here, too, the expanding housing market enticed the heirs of large antebellum estates to break up their lands for house lots. In southeast Raleigh, the heirs of the John W. B. Watson farm divided the land into hundreds of narrow lots for rental housing. Referred to this day by local residents as "Watson's Field," this subdivision was among the city's major black districts at the turn of the century. Underlining this assertion, in 1897 the Crosby Colored Graded School was established in this area, occupying the former Watson residence.⁵⁰

In southwest Raleigh, west of the North Carolina Railroad tracks, the Robert Cannon estate was also subdivided into small parcels. These were then sold primarily to white speculators who erected housing for blacks. The 50 or so one-story wooden houses

that appeared in the area by the early 1870s typified black housing across the city in this period.⁵¹

Directly southeast of the Cannon tract, along the west side of the North Carolina Railroad tracks, the freedmen neighborhood of Hayti also materialized quickly following the Civil War. The name appears in the 1870 Raleigh tax list, which records both blacks and whites owning property here. Hayti may have been one of Raleigh's rougher neighborhoods, for the white press was quick to brand it as crime-ridden. But this area also included 36 married couples headed by an assortment of craftsmen and small merchants, and by 1900 contained the Washington Graded School (for blacks) and four churches.⁵²

The 1896 Sanborn Map of Raleigh depicted the houses in this newly built southwest tract.⁵³ They included the traditional one- and two-room, gable-roofed cottages shown in the 1872 bird's-eye view lining the narrow streets of south and southeast Raleigh. However, the inherently greater detail of the Sanborn Map disclosed other vernacular house types as well. The houses here at the turn of the century epitomized those built for working-class blacks in cities across the South. They included two-room duplexes, or "saddlebag" houses. The saddlebag house, as defined by students of vernacular architecture, has a central chimney and two front entries, each leading into a separate room. Many of the examples of this form in the district had rear shed extensions used for sleeping rooms and kitchens.⁵⁴ Also in southwest Raleigh, set in small, tightly arranged rows, were "shotgun" houses. The shotgun house is a long, narrow, gable-end

form, typically one room wide and three rooms deep (15 by 30 feet) with a front porch.⁵⁵ Ideally suited for tight fitting, urban lots, shotgun dwellings rapidly appeared along Manly Street and Hayti Alley.

With the burgeoning of Hayti, the Cannon lands, and adjoining tracts, southwest Raleigh--the city's Fourth Ward--emerged as a dominant black district. In 1896, 66% of its 3,200 residents were black, signifying the greatest percentage of blacks among any of Raleigh's four wards. Politically, the southwest sector was a local force for a quarter of a century. Between 1875 (when there were five gerrymandered wards) and 1900, the Fourth Ward consistently elected black aldermen. No other ward could claim such black political influence.⁵⁶

Whereas southwest Raleigh comprised the greatest percentage of blacks, southeast Raleigh (the Third Ward by 1896) actually had the highest black population, 2,238. Furthermore, the area bounded roughly by Fayetteville, Bloodworth, and Smithfield streets, developed as a cultural and intellectual hub of the city. It was here in 1870 that the Raleigh Institute, a black college and preparatory school founded by yankee Baptist missionary Henry M. Tupper, took possession of the Daniel M. Barringer estate. By 1875, Shaw University, as the school was then named, was a magnet for intensive residential growth. Shaw's development and influence was characteristic of black colleges throughout the South. It was founded through northern philanthropy--"northern friends' money"--constructed in part by the hands of its students (who also sold the brick they made), and acquired

adjacent property for the express purpose of housing blacks.⁵⁷ Josephus Daniel, who was the editor of the News and Observer in Raleigh and, in fact, lived across the street from Shaw, once described the institution as commanding "the heart of the negro district."⁵⁸

The impact of Shaw University in south Raleigh was enormous. By the 1890s, the 10-acre campus held six structures, including a stylish Victorian seminary and dormitory (Estey Hall), a spacious classroom building, and a Baptist chapel. Leonard Medical College, operated by Shaw, stood across the street to the west. The nation's first medical school for blacks, Leonard also offered limited hospital care to the community.⁵⁹ Across the street to the east, one- and two-story frame houses were occupied by both whites and blacks. However, by the 1890s, these dwellings were beginning to evolve into a "faculty row" for black teachers at Shaw.⁶⁰ Facing the campus to the north, across South Street, stood the house of successful black entrepreneur Charles Hoover. Two prominent whites, Josephus Daniels and the widow of W. H. Bagley, the former clerk of the North Carolina Supreme Court, occupied homes on this block as well. The Daniels residence, a two-story, Greek Revival design erected before the Civil War, had been the homeplace of the Bagley family. By the 1880s it was one of the rare antebellum houses in south Raleigh occupied by a member of the white elite. By the early 20th century, this house, too, would be owned by an influential black resident, the Dean of Shaw's Theological School, A. W. Pegues.⁶¹

In addition to the expanding neighborhoods around and beyond Raleigh's borders, the black presence also remained strong near the city's core. The nascent black district that had existed north and west of the capitol before the war grew and matured in the 1870s and 1880s. This area was known by blacks and whites alike as "Smoky Hollow." The appellation referred to the train smoke (emanating from the Raleigh and Gaston Railroad roundhouse) that hung over the bottomland here.⁶² Smoky Hollow was at the heart of Raleigh's small industrial district, where railroad machine shops, two planing mills, a phosphate company, and a foundry provided jobs for both black and white workers. However, it was also a neighborhood in the fullest sense, in which families prayed and played, made a living, and raised children. The 1872 bird's-eye view illustrates three "black" churches here, the First Baptist, St. Augustine's Episcopal, and St. Paul A.M.E. Each of these churches helped support a graded school for black children, the largest being the publicly assisted Johnson School located beside St. Paul A.M.E. Church.⁶³

As with other black areas around downtown, Smoky Hollow's expansion was checked by surrounding white neighborhoods. A middle-class white subdivision began forming to the west in the 1880s, and by the turn of the century mill housing for whites employed at two new cotton mills dotted streets to the north. Raleigh's white establishment also appeared to take deliberate steps to hinder Smoky Hollow's population growth. Although voters in northwest Raleigh (constituting the Fifth Ward between 1875 and 1895, and the First Ward between 1895 and 1913) consis-

tently elected white aldermen, the conservative Democratic Party perceived the district as a potential black (i.e. Republican) stronghold. It included a solid bloc of black voters and was a major area of black employment. Moreover, in 1875, Democrats accused blacks of flooding the ward in an unsuccessful attempt to swing the city election to the Republicans. Consequently, the conservative press wrote in praise of white landlords and property owners restricting black occupancy in the Fifth Ward; and in 1884 the city's school committee shut down the Johnson School. The latter act, though not explicitly done to erode the Smoky Hollow neighborhood, has been suspected by historians of being so.⁶⁴

Elsewhere near the city's center, blacks continued to live in smaller working-class neighborhoods, in the homes of their white employers, or in dwellings "on the lot." Raleigh's late 19th-century city directories and Sanborn maps document such residential patterns.⁶⁵ That many blacks lived where they worked, of course, reflected the fact that low-paying jobs in the direct service of white families were blacks' main source of employment.⁶⁶

The 1891 city directory recorded 205 black workers living in the homes of white families. The great majority were classified as "cooks" (91), and others listed themselves as servants (60), nurses (23), drivers, gardeners, and housekeepers.⁶⁷ These people could claim some of the most prestigious addresses in the capital city: they lived in the residences of doctors and lawyers on Halifax Street; of merchants and planters around Burke

Square in Northeast Raleigh; and of businessmen and industrialists in Oakwood and near Peace Institute north of the capital.

Many other blacks lived in crude apartment housing and what the Sanborn maps labelled "negro shanties." On Morgan Street, only one block off the capitol square, was a two-story, wooden tenement called "Buttermilk Castle." Attached to the Wynne Livery Company, it housed black renters, some of whom worked in the livery.⁶⁸ The origin of the name Buttermilk Castle is unknown. But it carries an unmistakable irony when applied to such a utilitarian structure adjoining to a stable. Other buildings identified on the Sanborn maps as "negro tenements" were scattered around the edges of the central business area, usually close to small factories and workshops. By the 1880s, an assortment of tenements, "negro cabins," and "shanties" packed the area where West Cabarrus Street crosses South Dawson Street. These were small, porchless shelters--the kinds of "cheerless boxes" that W. E. B. Dubois would come to describe in the black districts of Atlanta.⁶⁹ Concurrently, in the midst of downtown businesses and along surrounding residential avenues, two-room "servant's quarters" and one-room "shanties" occupied the backs of lots. Sometimes these dwellings lined small alleyways, but more often they stood alone, usually accompanied by a woodshed.⁷⁰

The black presence in downtown Raleigh was commercial, as well as residential. Although few blacks operated businesses in the postwar city, they actually dominated selected ones. All but two of the 22 barbers in 1891 were black, and blacks enjoyed a

long-time monopoly in running "eating houses" and huckster stalls. Their businesses also included boarding houses, meat and fish markets, and a variety of skilled trades, such as shoemaking, blacksmithing, and upholstering. These businesses served a clientele that was both black and white, and consequently were located throughout the business district. In 1886, for example, as the number of downtown black enterprises peaked before the turn of the century, 19 were situated along Wilmington Street, nine on Hargett Street, and 20 others were dispersed along other streets that crisscrossed the commercial cove.⁷¹

As the 19th century drew to a close, Raleigh's black community reflected both antebellum and new, postwar characteristics. On the one hand, numerous blacks continued to live throughout the city, often on the property of former masters. As before the war, many continued to hold traditional "negro jobs" as manual laborers and servants. In 1896, barely 2% of working blacks were professionals.⁷² Most blacks remained illiterate and victims of proportionately high death and crime rates.⁷³ Furthermore, as the conservative Democrats came to dominate municipal government after 1898, and white supremacy reigned in statewide politics, blacks once again faced disfranchisement (which effectively began in 1901) and de jure segregation.⁷⁴ On the other hand, the postwar decades saw the development of substantial black neighborhoods, nourished by schools and churches. Moreover, though the architectural character of these districts was still being defined, the appearance of traditional saddlebag dwellings

and especially shotgun houses would anticipate the proliferation of these two domestic forms in the early 20th century.

Early 20th-Century Raleigh: The Maturing of the Black Community

During the early years of the 20th century, the black community created a major new urban district devoted to commerce. It was Raleigh's version of the "Negro Main Street," a place where black-oriented businesses prevail, and which emerged as a distinctive and integral part of American urban economic life in the first part of this century.⁷⁵ In Raleigh, the commercial focus of the black community rapidly became East Hargett Street, west of Moore Square (Figure 3). Between 1900 and the mid-1920s, the number of black operated businesses on this street soared from nine to 50 (more than twice the number of white establishments). Only two businesses run by blacks remained on other downtown streets.⁷⁶

Black businessmen were "pushed", as well as "pulled" onto East Hargett Street. They were pushed by segregationist, Jim Crow attitudes that asserted themselves through laws and social expectations into all facets of Southern life in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Although Jim Crow laws did not legally restrict blacks from operating businesses elsewhere in the commercial district, white property owners stopped leasing space to black entrepreneurs, and a growing number of whites ceased patronizing black establishments.⁷⁷ Instead, whites began seeking out white-operated enterprises, many of which had formerly been

virtually monopolized by blacks. Black barbershops, for example, closed along Fayetteville and Wilmington streets as they lost their trade to white competitors. Between 1900 and 1915, the proportion of Raleigh's black-operated barbershops fell from 82% to 67%, and by 1925, only half of the barbershops were run by blacks.⁷⁸ While blacks were being forced away from many downtown locations, they were also "pulled" to East Hargett Street for a many reasons. First, historically blacks had run businesses and institutions on this street. The Colored Odd Fellows Hall, for example, had been located here since 1881. Second, though East Hargett was not one of the city's premier thoroughfares, always the first choice of white merchants and businessmen, it was readily accessible to these streets, and was itself a main artery through the city. Third, black enterprises in the Moore Square area of East Hargett Street provided a commercial link between black neighborhoods directly to the east and south, and to major white-owned establishments to the west. Finally, and perhaps most importantly, as influential black entrepreneurs and professionals began occupying spaces on the street, others followed suit.

In 1911, black businessman C. E. Lightner opened a funeral parlor and real estate office at 125 East Hargett Street. Soon other black entrepreneurs, such as saloon operator and restaurateur Charles Hoover, opened businesses nearby. Within little more than a decade, the 100 block of East Hargett Street was the center of black commerce and entertainment, symbolized by Lightner's new, three-story brick "Arcade" that commanded the

middle of the block. Lightner himself would later sum up the commercial importance and cultural vitality of the area this way: "Every Negro who wanted to go into business in Raleigh wanted to on East Hargett Street because we had built it up," he stated. ". . . everybody who came to Raleigh felt he hadn't been to the city until he had been to East Hargett Street."⁷⁹

Raleigh's black commercial district was supported by a growing Afro-American population. By 1920 there were over 8,500 blacks in Raleigh, which had grown to more than 24,000. The total population had risen from 13,643 at the turn of the century, and reflected the city's emergence as a regional trade center with an expanding industrial base. Raleigh was the hub of four railways, and had six cotton mills, a trio of iron foundries, four bottling plants, and 30 other factories.⁸⁰ The population increase also resulted from the annexation of new, segregated black and white subdivisions.⁸¹ The predominately black south end of the city was expanding at an unprecedented rate. The area called Watson's Field, in southeast Raleigh, was thick with shotgun houses by the early 1900s.⁸² To the west, the Raleigh Real Estate and Trust Company (a white firm) platted South Park, a "resident suburb" bounded by Bledsoe, Hoke, East, and Wilmington streets. In 1907, the company published advertisements urging speculators and potential homeowners to "Buy a lot in South Park," which people enthusiastically did. In that year 122 house lots were sold in the 15-block subdivision. By 1910 its streets were lined with owner-occupied shotgun cottages and two-room

dwellings with center gables, many of them built for black workers at the nearby American Veneer and Box Company.⁸³

North of Watson's Field, beyond Tarboro Road, and farther north, around St. Augustine's College, other black "residential suburbs" began in the 1910s. Known as Battery Heights and College Park, respectively, both of these outlying areas developed slowly until the 1920s. By then, the extension of streetcar service, and to some degree the increased use of automobiles, attracted black homebuyers to these subdivisions.⁸⁴

Expanded streetcar lines and the greater use of motorcars also contributed to the establishment of fashionable white suburbs on Raleigh's west side. Glenwood (1906), Boylan Heights (1909), and Cameron Park (1910) all developed under the legal guidelines of restrictive deed covenants. The covenants explicitly prohibited the occupance of land "by Negroes or persons of mixed blood" (excepting servants).⁸⁵ Thus, for the first time in post-Civil War Raleigh, black exclusion from housing was codified by law, as well as by custom.

Inside this ring of new subdivisions, established black neighborhoods were filling out and taking on a more substantial appearance. By 1920, the major streets had been paved and water and sewage lines laid through black areas within the city limits. Streetcars rumbled down Blount Street to South Park, and crossed the south and east sides of the city along Martin, Hargett, and Cabarrus streets.⁸⁶

The pre-1900 neighborhoods comprised a mix of house types and styles that reflected a variety of social classes living

close together. Unlike many other Southern cities with sizeable black communities, Raleigh did not have a specific street or neighborhood where black professionals and leading merchants and builders resided.⁸⁷ Rather, in the early 20th century, the Afro-American middle-class occupied residences throughout the black community.⁸⁸ If patterns existed, they were that the black elite tended to live on streets near the black colleges, public schools, and churches where black professionals taught and preached. However, no exclusive black neighborhood emerged near businesses on East Hargett Street, as the residential streets closest to downtown were the domain of whites (and black servants). Indeed, the leading black businessmen and lawyers, who worked on East Hargett Street, lived throughout south and east Raleigh. Valentine Hamlin, for example, owner of a major drug company, lived at the very south end of Fayetteville Street. C.E. Lightner lived on South East Street. Merchant Britton Pearce resided on East Lenoir Street, and attorney Roger O'Kelly occupied a house on the 400 block of South Blount Street.⁸⁹ Black physicians, whose numbers rose from one in 1900 to nine by the middle of the 1920s, resided on seven different streets at the south end of the city, and on two different streets near St. Agnes Hospital.⁹⁰

Small clusters of black middle-class homes, however, did occasionally appear in the early decades of the century. South Street across from Shaw University has already been mentioned as one. Others were along Tarboro Road south of St. Augustine's College; on East Lenoir Street east of Wilmington Street; and on

the 400 block of Oberlin Road. Each of these areas by the 1920s included a host of residences owned by black professionals (lawyers, doctors, teachers, and preachers), merchants, porters, butlers, and builders. In the case of East Lenoir Street, blacks in the 1910s took over dwellings previously occupied by members of the white middle-class, who were leaving enclaves in South Raleigh for predominately white neighborhoods.⁹¹

Whether once inhabited by whites or built for blacks, the homes of the rising black middle-class represented both traditional and stylishly, new designs. Neatly epitomizing this variety of domestic architecture were houses built along Tarboro Road between 1900 and 1920. Here, at the west end of College Park, skilled craftsmen and mechanics owned time-tested two-room, central-hall cottages dressed up with Queen Anne-inspired patterned wood shingles in the gables and turned porch posts. A two-story version of this house type, labelled by students of vernacular architecture as the "central-hall I-house," appeared before 1910 at the north end of Tarboro Road.⁹² The I-house form, decorated in a variety of styles, widely symbolized high social standing in the rural South from the late 18th century until the early 20th. However, in urban areas, like Raleigh, style conscious elites were regularly choosing more complex, picturesque house forms by late 19th century. The presence of I-houses on Tarboro Road, therefore, represented a conservative choice by socially aspiring black residents. However, not all of the inhabitants on Tarboro Road were that conservative in their architectural predilections. Physician L. E. McCauley at the turn of the century

selected an up-to-date, consciously asymmetrical, Queen Anne residence. And, a decade later, brickmason Jacob Hayes would occupy a prominent two-story house in the new Colonial Revival style. This cubic dwelling with its deep, airy verandah and bold hip roof would have fit comfortably in any of the new white subdivisions of the period.⁹³

Like their wealthier neighbors, the black laborers and domestic workers of the early 20th century occupied both traditional and popular forms of houses. Unquestionably, the most significant worker cottage was the shotgun house. Between 1900 and World War I, white and black speculators alike erected hundreds of these narrow, wooden forms. In a four-block area in southeast Raleigh, for example, 75 of the 110 houses were shotguns ("negro tenements" in the 1909 Sanborn Map).⁹⁴ Although whites occasionally lived in these houses, and the dwellings were sometimes owner occupied, shotgun houses in Raleigh primarily represented rental housing for the working-class black family. More emphatically than a ream of statistics, a row of tightly packed gable-end cottages signalled the predominance of laborers and tenants in local black society, and the powerful role of speculators and absentee landlords in shaping the working-class landscape.

Two of South Raleigh's major developers and landlords in the early 20th century were E. A. Johnson and Milford Gurley. Johnson, a black attorney, probably built over 100 rental units in the south end, best represented by a row of 14 shotgun cottages on a single block of South Bloodworth Street. Gurley, who was white, owned nearly that many houses, mostly in the Fourth Ward

(the southwest side). A number of Gurley's properties were "double shotguns," accommodating two families, which his company built throughout the 1920s.⁹⁵ The landscape created by Johnson, Gurley, and others was one that maximized housing density. Lots that were only 25 feet wide were commonplace, and streets were often not much broader than that. With increasing regularity in the 1910s and 1920s, the city directories listed black workers living on "alleys," "lanes," and "rows" that consumed previously open space.⁹⁶

In addition to the marked increase in both working and middle-class dwellings, the black community was changing in other ways. Population growth coupled with the Jim Crow mentality resulted in a multiplicity of small businesses appearing throughout black neighborhoods. Grocery stores, which had previously been concentrated around the Wilmington Street marketplace in downtown, started appearing on a host of street corners. By the middle 1920s, of the 50 black-operated markets in the city, only two were downtown, and these were on East Hargett Street. Barber-shops, too, became neighborhood enterprises. Whereas at the turn of the century all 14 barbershops run by blacks were along downtown streets, by 1928, nine of the 13 shops were located outside Raleigh's business district.⁹⁷

Although the distribution of religious and civic institutions did not change nearly as much as businesses, many of them were rebuilt or remodeled in more sophisticated styles. In 1907, members of the segregated black order of the Masons built a spacious, three-story, brick lodge hall in the Third Ward. About

the same time, black churches, most notably St. Paul A.M.E. Church in Smoky Hollow and the First Baptist Church near Capitol Square, ambitiously replaced their simple wooden, gable-end structures with steepled brick edifices in the Gothic Revival style. Moreover, in the 1920s, two large brick grade schools were built in southeast Raleigh, while Washington School was rebuilt using handsome red brick and cream terra cotta, and was reorganized as a black high school. Commanding a rise of land overlooking Fayetteville Crossing and the Fourth Ward, Washington High School proudly announced the premier role of education in the blacks' strategy for social and economic advancement.⁹⁸

Thus by the end of the 1920s, Raleigh's black community contained many tangible symbols of its growing maturity and self-identity. They were symbols borne of an entrenched racial segregation that made black neighborhoods, according to one historian, "prisons" as well as "fortresses" for their inhabitants.⁹⁹ On the one hand, many residents were confined to the bottom rungs of the occupational ladder, and lived in cramped quarters along narrow alleys that would not be paved until at least the following generation. On the other hand, a myriad of institutions flourished that were devoted exclusively to promoting the social, physical, spiritual, and economic welfare of blacks. As never before, the growing segregation of black-operated businesses, the increased architectural sophistication of churches, schools, and lodge halls, and the proliferation of distinctive worker housing, sometimes interrupted by pockets of middle-class homes, gave the

black community a look and feel that was decidedly Southern, urban, and black.

Black Raleigh in the Middle Decades of the 20th Century

While development in Raleigh continued to expand outward during the 1930s, 1940s, and subsequent decades, the black community largely consolidated itself into densely populated interior neighborhoods. After a major annexation of 3.5 square miles in 1941, Raleigh's total area stood at 10.8 square miles (compared to 1.7 at the turn of the century).¹⁰⁰ Yet much of this area would soon be filled with young, white households headed by returning GI's. Some African-American families did settle Battery Heights, College Park, and other outlying all-black subdivisions. But, for the most part, entrenched discrimination confined blacks to their long-held wards and neighborhoods, where the homes of remaining whites were increasingly being turned over to black families (Figure 4). In sharp contrast to the early 20th century, new construction in this period was greatly outweighed by remodelings and additions. Few members of the black middle-class erected new homes in the middle decades, and only one sizeable new church was established. By 1950, Raleigh's population had soared to over 65,000 with blacks comprising about 27%. They lived mostly in the south and east sides, where, in the words of one writer, "some of the Negro houses are overcrowded and substandard, but most are in good repair and stand in neat grounds."¹⁰¹

No studies exist concerning the northern migration of Raleigh's blacks in this period, though across the South African-Americans were heading north in search of better education and higher paying employment. To be sure, the presence of St. Augustine's College and Shaw University kept some ambitious young blacks at home, and induced others to move to the capital city; but Raleigh continued to afford them only limited and narrow avenues to financial and social advancement.¹⁰² Thus, while certain established black families such as the Lightners, the Winters family, and the Boyers would prosper as funeral home operators, realtors, and educators, respectively, the sons and daughters of numerous others eventually moved to Washington, D.C., Baltimore, and other points north, their names gradually disappearing from the city directories, and their homeplaces converted to apartments or razed for commercial uses.¹⁰³

Although the physical appearance of black Raleigh did not change a great deal in these years, one major construction project foreshadowed later urban renewal efforts that would alter the community's character. In 1940, on the site of Watson's Field in southeast Raleigh, the Chavis Heights public housing complex was completed. The city's first multi-family, federally-funded housing project, Chavis Heights was built to house 295 black families in 231 brick dwelling units. Parallel rows of attached two-story structures extended southward from Lenoir Street, which was lined with newly planted oak trees. Chavis Heights also featured a day nursery for residents, a community building, and an auditorium.¹⁰⁴

Following the completion of Chavis Heights, the patterns and processes of development in the black community significantly changed. By the late 1950s and early 1960s, an escalating national policy to fight poverty and improve substandard housing with federal funds and large-scale federally administered programs led to a number of urban renewal projects in the city. Several major black neighborhoods were completely transformed. First, city officials targeted Smoky Hollow for demolition and reconstruction. One-hundred sixty-five families were removed and 223 buildings demolished.¹⁰⁵ Subsequently, "Southside," a densely populated residential area in the Fourth Ward, was razed and replaced by public housing. Highway construction projects across both the south and north sides, as well as through Oberlin, also razed blocks of frame houses that had been occupied by blacks. Public projects to improve African-American housing conditions, as well as to speed automobiles along their way through the city, have thus wrought direct and major changes on the geography of black Raleigh.¹⁰⁶

African-American Raleigh: A Conclusion

Typical of other Southern cities, segregated black residential areas have existed in Raleigh since antebellum times. Free blacks--and perhaps slaves, too--lived in small enclaves around the city's borders, as well as in bottomland (such as Smoky Hollow) closer to the center. Blacks also lived interspersed among the white population. They shared streets along the railroad tracks with white families of similar economic status, and resided throughout white Raleigh working in an assortment of "negro jobs." After the war, as freedmen poured into Raleigh, larger and more clearly defined African-American districts were formed. Again reflecting a pattern found in other cities in the South, these neighborhoods were usually located around the periphery. Here, where land was less expensive than near the heart of Raleigh, landowners were subdividing antebellum estates to profit from the soaring demand by blacks for urban housing. To an extent not known before the war, a geography of racial segregation was clearly taking shape. Yet blacks continued to live and work across the city, sharing selected residential blocks with white laborers, craftsmen, and clerks, and, occasionally, even white professionals.

In the early decades of the 20th century, African-American Raleigh matured as well as assumed new patterns of development. The strict enforcement of racial segregation at this time led to the formation of the "Negro Main Street" on East Hargett Street. Furthermore, black-operated businesses, especially barbershops

and eating houses, began appearing across black neighborhoods. Also in this period, the burgeoning black population--including an expanding middle-class--contributed to an era of new construction, which to this day gives the black community a distinctively early 20th-century appearance. New brick schools and churches arose, and black businessmen and professionals announced their social status with up-to-date new homes. Meanwhile, working-class black families were moving into traditional shotgun houses, whose numbers in the south end soared between 1900 and 1910.

As the century progressed and the city grew outward, the black community solidified within established neighborhoods. The numbers of white families in these areas diminished (though white households would persist on the south side until the 1960s). The city's two black colleges, St. Augustine's College and Shaw University, proved powerful magnets, and influenced young, aspiring blacks to stay in Raleigh, or to move here for their schooling and subsequent careers. As the 1940s drew to a close, African-Americans in and around the city had created a cultural landscape that was sharply drawn and largely self-sustaining.

To some degree it remains so; but in Raleigh, as in urban places across the country, a new era of demolition, reconstruction, and growing disinvestment began in the late 1950s and peaked in the mid-1970s.¹⁰⁷ Some of the goals that led to this transformation have been noble ones: to eliminate substandard housing; attack the proportionately high crime rates; and improve the overall quality of life. City planners and an army of civic leaders and new urban reformers are still looking for the best

solutions to these vexing problems. Today, as Raleigh continues to expand and as the central commercial area grows outward into historically black neighborhoods, city leaders, developers, and the community as a whole must confront the importance of preserving and revitalizing portions of these established residential areas.

As noted, this study has represented the initial phase of a larger project that addresses the historical and architectural significance of the city's African-American community. An architectural inventory ensues. That survey will identify individual structures and entire districts that best illustrate the development of black neighborhoods. It will help establish some clear guidelines for the preservation of parts of the city whose cultural value has been too long overlooked by decision makers and many inhabitants alike.

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END NOTES

1. Entitled "In Search of the African-American Communities in Raleigh," this project is being conducted under the auspices of the Raleigh Historic Properties and Districts Commissions, Dan Becker, Executive Director, and the Survey and Planning Branch of the North Carolina Division of Archives and History, where Survey Specialist Davyd Foard Hood is coordinating the study. In tandem with this project is an oral history component funded in part by a grant from the National Trust for Historic Preservation, and headed by Terri Myers.
2. Quoted in John Kellogg, "Negro Urban Clusters in the Postbellum South," The Geographical Review 67 (July, 1977): 310. However, Southern free blacks and slaves were far more populous in rural areas than in cities, and perhaps only 5% of slaves and 35% of free blacks were city dwellers on the eve of the Civil War. See Richard C. Wade, Slavery in the Cities: The South 1820-1860 (New York: Oxford University Press, 1964); Ira Berlin, Slaves Without Masters: The Free Negro in the Antebellum South (New York: Pantheon Books, 1974); and Howard N. Rabinowitz, Race Relations in the Urban South, 1865-1890 (New York: Oxford University Press, 1978), pp. 61-62.
3. Frenise A. Logan, "The Economic Status of the Town Negro," The North Carolina Historical Review, 35 (October, 1958): 448-460.
4. John Hope Franklin, The Free Negro in North Carolina, 1790-1860 (New York: W. W. Norton and Company, 1971), pp. 121-162; Rabinowitz, pp. 61-63; Elizabeth Reid Murray, Wake: Capitol County of North Carolina, I (Raleigh: Capital County Publishing Company, 1983), pp. 274-276; 549-551; Leonard P. Curry, The Free Black in Urban America, 1800-1850 (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1981), pp. 15-36.
5. Lunsford Lane, The Narrative of Lunsford Lane . . . (Boston: printed for the author by T. G. Torrey, 1842).
6. Franklin, pp. 58-120, 188.
7. Map of the City of Raleigh, 1819. Map Collections, North Carolina State Archives, Raleigh, North Carolina. This map includes the 1807 census data.
8. See, for example, James Borchert, Alley Life In Washington (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1980), pp. 5-14; Curry, pp. 49-80; Berlin, pp. 252-253; Rabinowitz, pp. 97-98; and Kellogg, "Lexington, Kentucky," pp. 28-29.

9. Eighth Census of the United States, 1860: Wake County, North Carolina, Population and Slave Schedules. A special census taken in 1857 revealed similar figures: 2,518 whites, 1,426 slaves, 408 free blacks. See the North Carolina Standard (Raleigh), November 13, 1858; Franklin, p. 18; Murray, pp. 412-413. Statewide in 1860, there were 30,463 free blacks and 331,059 slaves. This population was decidedly rural, and less than 10% resided in urban areas. See Franklin, pp. 15-18. Some question lingers on the part of the author as to whether the Slave Schedule for Raleigh includes only slaves living in the city limits, or also lists those residing on the outlying plantations of Raleigh residents. Thus, the figure may represent an inflated account of slaves actually residing for extended periods in Raleigh.
10. Murray, pp. 245-299.
11. Eighth Census (1860): Wake, Population Schedule. On rare occasions free blacks, such as Raleigh's Joshua Allen, also owned slaves. See Wake County Tax List, 1809, City of Raleigh, State Archives, Raleigh; see, too, Wade, pp. 55-79; and Paul A. Groves and Edward K. Muller, "The Evolution of Black Residential Areas in Late Nineteenth-Century Cities," Journal of Cultural Geography, 1 (April, 1975): 173-174.
12. Charles N. Hunter, "Recollections," undated manuscript [ca. 1914], in possession of Marshall DeLancey Haywood, Jr., Raleigh. See Murray, p. 547.
13. U.S. Works Progress Administration (Federal Writers' Project), Slave Narratives, 14 (St. Clair Shores, Michigan: Scholarly Press, Inc., 1941, republished 1976), pp. 178-181; Murray, p. 549.
14. News and Observer, December 26, 1935; and Judge Robert Watson Winston, It's A Far Cry (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1937), p. 262.
15. Wade, pp. 273-275.
16. For discussions of slaves living in factory barracks and along back streets, see Kellogg, p. 29; Wade, pp. 64, 71; John P. Radford, "Race, Residence and Ideology: Charleston, South Carolina in the Mid-Nineteenth Century," Journal of Historical Geography, 2 (October, 1976): 334, 336; Wade, pp. 275, 281.
17. In 1854, slaves in North Carolina were hired out as railroad laborers for about \$250 yearly; as servants in 1860, they earned slaveholders \$60-80 per year; see Franklin, pp. 121-162. For documentation and correspondence regarding the

role of slaves in the building of the state capitol, see the Treasurer's and Comptroller's Papers, Capitol Construction, slave labor file, North Carolina State Archives, Raleigh; interview with Ray Beck, Historian/Researcher for the capitol, July 6, 1988, Raleigh.

18. Wake County Tax List, Raleigh, 1855; Eighth Census (1860): Wake, Population Schedule. The 1860 Tax List is unavailable.
19. Franklin discovered that no North Carolina free black ever owned greater than \$2,500 in taxable property, and less than 10% of free blacks in 1860 owned property, real or personal; see Franklin, pp. 134-136.
20. Berlin has found that free black homeowners occasionally lived in the finer parts of Southern cities; see Berlin, p. 254.
21. Borchert also makes this assumption regarding census data in his discussion of antebellum black residential patterns in Washington, D.C.; see Borchert, p. 6.
22. Eighth Census (1860): Wake, Population Schedule.
23. Kellogg defines an "enclave" of free blacks as including at least five adjacent households. Of course, he admits that this designation is "somewhat arbitrary." In the present study, an enclave or cluster refers to at least four households, of which 70% or more were free black; see Kellogg, "Lexington, Kentucky," pp. 28-29.
24. North Carolina General Assembly, Session Records for November, 1842 to January, 1843. Letter from the Raleigh city commissioners, November 8, 1842. North Carolina State Archives, Raleigh.
25. "David Dodge" (O. W. Blackwell), "The Free Negro in North Carolina," Atlantic Monthly, 57 (January, 1886): 20.
26. Murray, pp. 275, 379-380; Curry, pp. 180-184. Curry chronicles the widespread formation of black Methodist and Baptist churches during the second quarter of the 19th century.
27. Quoted in Murray, p. 380; Sidney Andrews, The South Since the War: As Shown by Fourteen Weeks of Travel and Observation in Georgia and the Carolinas (Boston: Tichnor and Fields, 1866), pp. 120-121.
28. Rabinowitz, pp. 18-30. In Richmond, Virginia, for example, the black population soared from 14,275 in 1860, to 23,110 in 1870, while the white population rose from 23,635 to 27,982. Ninth Census of the United States, 1870: Wake County, North Carolina, Population Schedule.

29. Bureau of the Census, Negro Population 1790-1915 (Washington, D.C. 1918), pp. 26-27; Rabinowitz, p. 19. Rabinowitz explains that the census tended to miss great numbers of poor residents, especially poor blacks, who were suspicious of inquisitive census takers.
30. Robert Miller Delmer, Of Freedom and Freedman: Racial Attitudes of White Elites in North Carolina During Reconstruction, 1865-1877. Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, 1976, pp. 102-103.
31. Mary B. Pettigrew Correspondence, Pettigrew Family Papers, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina Library, Chapel Hill; William Alexander Graham Correspondence, Graham Family Papers, Southern Historical Collection, U.N.C. Library, Chapel Hill; Delmer, pp. 78-79, 102-103.
32. Raleigh Weekly Progress, September 26, 1867; Rabinowitz, pp. 21-22. For other local newspaper accounts that were highly critical of the black immigration, see Murray, p. 350.
33. Rabinowitz, p. 231; Raleigh City Director, 1886, (Raleigh: Turner, McLean, and Losee Directory Company and Edwards, Broughton and Company, 1886).
34. A similar postwar residential trend was visible in other Southern cities. See, for example, Rabinowitz, pp. 97-124; Kellogg, "Postbellum South," pp. 313-314.
35. The development of freedmen's villages around Raleigh is concisely discussed in Karl Edward Larson, A Separate Reality: The Development of Racial Segregation in Raleigh, North Carolina, 1865-1915. Unpublished Masters Thesis, University of North Carolina, Greensboro, 1983, pp. 24-28; see, too, Murray, p. 642.
36. Emerson and Company Raleigh Directory for 1880-81 (Raleigh: Edwards, Broughton and Company, 1879).
37. "Nazareth" an all-black settlement west of Raleigh and south of Hillsboro Street may have also been formed during Reconstruction, but little documentary evidence has been found; Dr. Carl Devane interview, Raleigh, June 25, 1988.
38. Larson, p. 27; Murray, pp. 643-645; Willis G. Briggs, "Oberlin Village Emerged During Reconstruction," News and Observer, August 8, 1948.
39. Wake County Tax List, Raleigh, 1880. The major black landowner in Oberlin was John Turner, who, in 1880, owned six parcels valued at \$2,850.

40. Although architectural studies of African-American communities are rare, it appears from available evidence that Oberlin's 19th-century houses, examples of which appeared across black Raleigh, were common in other black communities in North Carolina. That blacks and whites of similar status occupied similar house types also appears to be typical. For a comprehensive architectural survey of a black neighborhood in North Carolina, see Richard Mattson, "National Register Nomination for East Wilson, North Carolina," (Raleigh: North Carolina Division of Archives and History, 1987).
41. Wake Deed Book 33, pp. 755-756; Murray, pp. 645-647; Bertha Maye Edwards, The Little Place, and the Little Girl(New York: Carlton Press, Inc., 1975).
42. Edwards, pp. 17-18, 41.
43. These names appear in the Raleigh tax lists after 1870.
44. For a discussion of east Raleigh's development, see Larson, pp. 28-36.
45. Interview with Dr. James E. Boyer, former president of St. Augustine's College, Raleigh, July 5, 1988; Cecil D. Halliburton, A History of St. Augustine's College, 1867-1937(Raleigh: St. Augustine's College, 1937); Arthur Ben Chitty, A Brief History of St. Augustine's College(Raleigh, St. Augustine's College, ca. 1980); Larson, pp. 31-32.
46. Ibid.
47. C. N. Drie, Bird's Eye View of the City of Raleigh (Drawn and Published by C. N. Drie, 1872).
48. A. W. Shaffer, Map of the City of Raleigh, 1881 (Published by A. W. Shaffer, 1881). The earliest available city directory for Raleigh is the Raleigh City Directory, 1875-76 (Raleigh: J. H. Chataigne, 1875-76); and directories appear almost annually after 1880. A street directory first appears in Maloney's Raleigh, N.C. City Directory, 1899-1900(Atlanta: The Maloney Directory Co., 1899-1900). City directories, like census data, have been criticized by historians for their underrepresentation of blacks and members of the working class. The author understands that those blacks listed represent only a portion of the black heads of households in Raleigh. See Peter Knights, "City Directories as Aids to Antebellum Urban Studies: A Research Note," Historical Methods Newsletter, 2 (September, 1969): 1-10.
49. Raleigh City Directory, 1875-1876; Raleigh City Directory, 1886; fieldwork by author, June, 1988.

50. For a detailed description of South Raleigh's development, see Larson, pp. 36-42; interview with Maye Ligon, lifetime South Raleigh resident, Raleigh, June 21, 1988.
51. See, for example, Wake Deed Book 32, p. 799; Wake Deed Book 34, p. 737; Drie, Birds Eye View, 1872.
52. Wake County Tax List, Raleigh, 1870; Raleigh Daily Sentinel, May 19, 1887; Maloney's Raleigh N.C. City Directory, 1899, 1900, in which 36 out of 65 people listed in the Hayti district were married. Twenty-five of those recorded were white.
53. Sanborn Map of Raleigh, N.C. (New York: Sanborn Map and Publishing Company, 1896).
54. For a discussion of the saddlebag house and other common Southern house types, see Doug Swaim, "North Carolina Folk Housing," in Carolina Dwelling, ed. Doug Swaim (Raleigh: North Carolina State University, School of Design, 1978), pp. 28-45; Mattson, Section 7, p. 4.
55. John M. Vlach, "The Shotgun House: An African Architectural Legacy," Pioneer America, 8 (January-July, 1976): 47-70; Mattson, Section 7, p. 4. As in East Wilson, North Carolina, the present residents of Raleigh's black district often call shotgun cottages "end-way houses."
56. The author is indebted to Elizabeth Reid Murray for providing Raleigh election returns, compiled per ward and by race, for the period 1857-1901. Mrs. Murray also offered suggestions as to who to contact in the black community for historical information.
57. Wilmoth A. Carter, Shaw's Universe: A Monument to Educational Innovation (Raleigh: Shaw University, 1973); The City of Raleigh (Raleigh: Edwards and Broughton, 1887), p. 117; Rabinowitz, p. 102; Elijah Shaw, the school's namesake, was a Wales, Massachusetts native. He donated \$8,000 to the institution.
58. Josephus Daniels, Tar Heel Editor (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1939), p. 304
59. Noted in Larson, p.41.
60. Interview with Wilmoth Carter, Raleigh, July 5, 1988; Sanborn Map of Raleigh, N.C., 1896 (New York: Sanborn Maps and Publishing Company, 1896); and Maloney's Raleigh, N.C. City Directory, 1899-1900. The directory records both blacks and whites living across from Shaw University on Blount Street. They are primarily craftsmen and laborers,

but one black teacher, A. B. Vincent, lived on the block as well. As the century progressed, more black faculty members would live in detached dwellings along Blount Street.

61. Emerson, Charles and Company's Raleigh Directory, 1880-1881 (Raleigh: Edwards, Broughton, and Company, 1879); Maloney's Raleigh N.C. City Directory, 1899-1900.
62. Interviews with many lifetime Raleigh residents.
63. Drie, Bird's Eye View, 1872; Larson, pp. 42-44.
64. See Rabinowitz, pp. 105, 271; Larson, p. 61.
65. Sanborn Map of Raleigh, N.C. (New York: Sanborn Map and Publishing Company, 1884, 1888, 1896, 1903, and 1914).
66. Dorothy A. Gay, "Crisis of Identity: The Negro Community in Raleigh, 1890-1900," The North Carolina Historical Review, 50 (Spring, 1973): 128. Analyzing city directories, Gay discovered that 63% of Raleigh's black workers were domestics in 1896-1897.
67. Branson's Alphabetical Directory of Raleigh, 1891 (Raleigh: Levi Branson, 1891).
68. Sanborn Map of Raleigh, 1884; "Buttermilk Castle" also may be visible in the 1872 bird's-eye view, though no evidence exists that it stood before the Civil War. Maloney City Directory, 1899-1900.
69. William E. B. Dubois (ed.), Efforts for the Social Betterment Among Negro Americans. In Atlanta University Publications, 14 (New York: Arno Press, 1968), p. 58. Originally published in 1909.
70. Sanborn Map of Raleigh, 1888.
71. Raleigh City Directory, 1886.
72. Gay, p. 128; Charles A. Separk (comp.), Directory of the City of Raleigh, N.C., 1896-97 (Raleigh: Raleigh Stationary Company, 1897).
73. Gay, pp. 127-128; Journal of the Fourth Annual Meeting of the North Carolina Teachers' Educational Association, November 10th and 11th, 1885 (Raleigh: A. Williams and Company, 1886), p. 25.
74. For a thorough discussion of the political climate under which North Carolina's black and white communities developed, see Eric Anderson, Race and Politics in North Carolina, 1872-1901: The Black Second (Baton Rouge: Louisiana

- State University Press, 1981); for specific discussions of the political battles in Raleigh, see Larson, pp. 135-190; and Gay, pp. 121-140.
75. For the definitive study of the "Negro Main Street" in the South, and especially in Raleigh, see Wilmoth Carter, The Urban Negro in the South (New York: Vantage Press, 1961).
 76. Maloney's Raleigh City Directory, 1899-1900; Raleigh City Directory, 1921 (Richmond, Virginia: Hill Directory Company, 1925). See, too, Carter, p. 59.
 77. Carter, p. 53.
 78. Raleigh City Directory, 1925. By 1925, 19 of the city's 38 barbershops were black operated. See, too, Larson, pp. 187-188.
 79. Quoted in Carter, pp. 60-61.
 80. Raleigh, North Carolina, Directory, 1920 (Richmond, Virginia: Hill Directory Company, 1920); Fred A. Olds, "Raleigh, the Capitol City of North Carolina," Raleigh Evening Times, April, 1907.
 81. United States Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Negroes in the United States, 1920-1935 (Washington, D.C.: 1935), p. 55. The annexation, which occurred in 1907, encompassed 1,452 acres, increasing Raleigh's total acreage to 2,576 or 2.27 square miles. See "Annexation Information," Raleigh Planning Department, Files of the Historic Properties Commission, August, 1979.
 82. Sanborn Map of Raleigh, 1914; Larson, p. 49. South Park was platted in 1906, see Wake County Register of Deeds, Map Book 1924, p. 65.
 83. News and Observer, June 6, 1907; Larson, p.50; fieldwork by author, June, 1988.
 84. Map of Raleigh, 1922, "Transportation Facilities," (Raleigh: Raleigh Planning Commission, 1922); fieldwork by author, June, 1988; Wake County Register of Deeds, Map Book 1911, Vol. 1, p. 23.
 85. Charlotte V. Brown, "Three Raleigh Suburbs: Glenwood, Boylan Heights, Cameron Park," in Early Twentieth Century Suburbs in North Carolina, edited by Catherine W. Bishir and Lawrence S. Early (Raleigh: North Carolina Department of Cultural Resources, 1985): 31-38.

86. Interviews with numerous lifetime black residents concerning the availability of public utilities; notably Maye Ligon, June 25, 1988; Sanborn Map of Raleigh, 1944 illustrates water lines on major streets in south and southeast Raleigh; Map of Raleigh, 1922.
87. An excellent nearby example of a street devoted to the black middle-class in the early 20th century is Green Street in East Wilson, North Carolina. See Mattson.
88. Evidence of the rise of the black middle-class in early 20th-century Raleigh is recorded in the city directories of the period. Between 1900 and the mid-1920s, the number of black lawyers rose from two to 13; merchant tailors increased from one to five. Other middle-class occupational categories that showed increases were: contractors, druggists, grocers, insurance agents, eating house operators, shoe dealers, and cleaners. See the Raleigh City Directory, 1928 (Richmond, Virginia: Hill Directory Company, 1928).
89. Raleigh City Directory, 1928.
90. Ibid.
91. Ibid.; interviews with Dr. James Boyer and Wilmoth Carter, Raleigh, July 5, 1988; interview with Madelyn Watson, Raleigh, June 15, 1988. Britton Pearce, for example, occupied 225 East Lenoir, which had been owned by Reverend A. W. Curtis, a white. Next to Pearce's house, at 223 East Lenoir, black physician Dr. Peter Williams acquired the home of M. Bowes, the superintendent of the Raleigh Gas Company.
92. Geographer Fred B. Kniffen labeled the two-story, one-room deep house type the "I-House" because he first discovered the form in Iowa, Illinois, and Indiana. See Kniffen, "Folk Housing-Key to Diffusion," Annals of the Association of American Geographers, 55 (1965): 549-577.
93. Author's fieldwork, July, 1988. The McCauley House, at 8 Tarboro Road, was razed for a Hardee's Restaurant in the late 1970s.
94. Sanborn Map of Raleigh, 1909; author's fieldwork, June 1988.
95. Sanborn Map of Raleigh, 1909; Johnson's real estate transactions, from the Cannon tract to the Old Fairgrounds and beyond, are clearly evident in the Grantor-Grantee indexes for Wake County, 1899-1905; see, for example, Wake County Deed Book 163, p. 49, Deed Book 157, p. 270; Deed Book 153, p. 524; and Deed Book 177, p. 389. Interviews with W. P. Gurley, son of Milford Gurley and present owner of Gurley Real Estate, Raleigh, July 10, 1988.
96. An analysis of the Raleigh, N.C. Directory, 1909-1910 reveals 18 "alleys" and "lanes" compared to only five in the 1880-81 city directory.

97. Raleigh City Directory, 1928.
98. For a discussion of the growing emphasis on education rather than political action in the Raleigh black community, see Gay.
99. George W. McDaniel describes Southern black communities playing both of these roles. See McDaniel, Black Historical Resources in Upper Western Montgomery County, Maryland, (Montgomery County: Sugarloaf Regional Trails, 1979), pp. 13-47.
100. Raleigh Historic Properties Commission Files, "Annexation Information."
101. Federal Writers' Project, p. 3.
102. James Boyer interview.
103. For example, both the C. W. Hoover House on the 100 block of East South Street, and the L. E. McCauley House on the 100 block of North Tarboro Road were razed in the 1970s for fast-food restaurants. By that date the owners of both of these distinguished homes had moved to the North.
104. Chittaranjan Pathak, Growth Patterns of Raleigh, North Carolina. Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, 1964, p. 135.
105. News and Observer, September 7, 1966.
106. Newspaper articles have effectively chronicled the history of urban renewal in Raleigh. The Raleigh News and Observer file at the North Carolina State Archives is filled with articles on the subject. For Smoky Hollow, see, for example, News and Observer, February 2, 1965. For "Southside," see, for example, Charles Craven, "Southside Turns on Despair," News and Observer, June 2, 1968. Many articles graphically depict living conditions in the black areas targeted for renewal. Of course, one cannot make conclusions about the livability or restoration potential of a neighborhood based solely on descriptions made by visiting journalists. See, for example, "Capitol City has 95 Privies," News and Observer, February 9, 1965; Glenn Roberts, "This is My Place," Raleigh Times, June 23, 1970. That "outsiders" bring their own cultural biases into the black community is eloquently described in Borchert's study of alley life in Washington, D.C., pp. 50-75.

107. For an excellent and moving case study concerning the physical and social transformation of one black community in the urban South (the Fulton neighborhood in Richmond, Virginia), see Scott C. Davis, The World of Patience Gromes: Making and Unmaking a Black Community(Lexington, Kentucky: University of Kentucky Press, 1988).

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University, this black newspaper includes valuable advertisements of black businesses, as well as local news items.

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MAPS

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Plan of Raleigh, N. C., 1882. Drawn by O. W. Gray and Son, Philadelphia. In map collection of N. C. Department of Archives, Raleigh, N.C. Illustrates wards, property ownership; when used with city directories, this map effectively shows black ownership of lots; black institutions are noted.

Plan of Raleigh, N. C., 1891. Drawn by T. C. Harris. In map collection, N.C. Department of Archives, Raleigh, N.C. Includes a list of institutions, and, notably, shows locations of black churches, schools, and asylums.

Shaffer's Map of Raleigh, North Carolina, 1881. Drawn by A. W. Shaffer, C.E. In map collection of N. C. Department of Archives, Raleigh, N.C. Illustrates lot ownership and ward boundaries. Shows black institutions; this map and O. W. Gray's 1882 map together will be useful for deliniating black areas for late 19th century.

UNPUBLISHED THESIS

Larson, Karl. A Separate Reality: The Development of Racial Segregation in Raleigh, 1865-1915. Unpublished Masters Thesis, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, 1983. Excellent survey of the physical and political segregation of races in Raleigh; thorough inspection of city maps, directories, and census records.

INDIVIDUALS

Angelou, Maya. Writer in residence at Wake Forest University, Winston-Salem, North Carolina. A black writer sensitive to North Carolina's black communities, and a potential source for contacts with black literary figures, artists, photographers.

McDaniel, George, Atlanta Historical Society, 301 Andrews Drive, NW, Atlanta Ga, 30305. One of leading scholars of Southern black material culture; particularly knowledgeable regarding oral history techniques and community involvement in local history.

Nathans, Sydney. Professor of History, Duke University. 101 E. Duke Building (684-6179). General information on history of blacks in the state and the South; no specific research interests in Raleigh, however.

Wood, Peter. Professor of History, Duke University. 205 E. Duke Building (684-3694). Useful source of information concerning black history in North Carolina and South; no specific interest in Raleigh, however.

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