

Raleigh's Black Heritage and Historic Places: 1945-1975

*An Architectural Survey Update of African
American Heritage in Raleigh*

Fall 2023



HANBURY
PRESERVATION
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Introduction

The City of Raleigh received a 2021 federal Historic Preservation Fund (HPF) grant for Certified Local Governments from the National Park Service, administered through the North Carolina State Historic Preservation Office (HPO) of the North Carolina Office of Archives and History, and commissioned Hanbury Preservation Consulting to conduct an Architectural Survey Update of African American Heritage in Raleigh. The original scope was to identify and document properties that had not been surveyed previously. Special emphasis was placed on documenting churches and entertainment venues constructed between 1945 and 1975, properties associated with the Civil Rights Movement, and properties designed/constructed by African American architects and building professionals. The Biltmore Hills neighborhood was also documented during this project. Raleigh's 1975 municipal limits defined the study area, which comprises roughly 33,000 acres.

The deliverables included the creation or update of 450 survey files. Over the course of the project, the scope was adapted to address conditions documented during the field survey. The Biltmore Hills community was thought to have 376 resources, but Thelonious Drive and Coltrane Court, which total 28 resources, were found to be recent construction that would not be within a period of significance for a potential district and were excluded from the project. Entertainment venues were found to have been particularly ephemeral, most having been demolished.

Other resources found in historic sources have been the victims of urban renewal and redevelopment. Because of the dearth of resources, city staff agreed to extend the time frame for churches up to the 21st century, and to include resources within the current (larger) city limits. Resources that had been surveyed previously and for which the existing survey files contained minimal information were also included, allowing for additional research.

As a result, 441 resource types have been documented:

- Entertainment (1 survey update)
- Sites Associated with the Civil Rights Movement (11 survey updates, 1 new survey)
- African American Architects and Builders (8 survey updates, 29 new surveys)
- Churches (6 survey updates, 36 new surveys)
- Biltmore Hills (1 survey update, 348 new surveys)

The project included two public meetings. Attendance was high and participation spirited, indicating a strong interest in this research topic. Concerns about better notification and engagement with the African American community were expressed and duly noted. Up to 10 oral histories were authorized for this project. Six oral history interviews were completed at the time of this report. More candidates are being sought and are slated to continue as schedules permit.

This survey report is organized around the topics in the project scope, including potential National Register of Historic Places eligibility and recommendations for further study.

Methodology

The City of Raleigh received a federal Historic Preservation Fund grant to identify and document historic buildings and neighborhoods important to African American history and heritage in Raleigh. The project was designed as an architectural survey update of historic buildings, sites, and neighborhoods, focused on the identification and documentation of properties that had not been surveyed previously. Special emphasis was placed on documenting churches and entertainment venues constructed between 1945 and 1975, properties associated with the Civil Rights Movement, and properties designed/constructed by African American architects and building professionals. The Biltmore Hills neighborhood was also documented during this project. Raleigh's 1975 municipal limits defined the study area, which comprises roughly 33,000 acres.

The contract was executed in the first quarter of 2022 and the contractor, Hanbury Preservation Consulting, met with city staff in anticipation of the project kickoff meeting which was held on May 11 at the Biltmore Hills Community Center. The primary objective of the initial meeting was to introduce the project to interested members of the public, explain the scope of work and deliverables, and to receive feedback. The meeting was well attended, and the community was engaged with many questions about the project and additional concerns which staff and the consultant worked to allay.

Hanbury Preservation Consulting submitted a bibliography of potential research sources, a methodology, and a spreadsheet of potential survey addresses in May per the scope of work.

A field survey was divided between the Biltmore Hills neighborhood and resources representing the various categories outlined in the scope of work. Per the city's request, survey photographs were taken from the public right-of-way only unless the property owner granted express permission for more extensive documentation.

In Biltmore Hills, the consultant confirmed the boundaries of the community through review of historic plats, and a windshield survey. Houses in the neighborhood were assigned survey site numbers, photographed, and mapped. New entries with architectural descriptions were used to create records in the state survey database. Draft survey products were delivered to the HPO for review and revised as needed. A total of 349 records and survey files were created for Biltmore Hills. Research about the community and the developers was conducted consulting primary sources at the Wake County Register of Deeds, the Olivia Raney Library, newspapers including the *News & Observer* and *The Carolinian* and oral historic interviews. The comprehensive survey of the neighborhood can be used as the basis for a National Register nomination.

In determining the survey subjects for the remaining categories (churches and entertainment venues constructed between 1945 and 1975, properties associated with the Civil Rights Movement, and properties designed/constructed by African American architects and building professionals), Hanbury Preservation Consulting received shapefiles (a geospatial vector data format for geographic information system software) from the City of Raleigh to determine the physical scope of the study area. In conversations with the client, certain adjustments were made to the scope to reach target survey numbers including:

- Updating extant survey records for previously surveyed resources in these categories for which the state database record was a shell or otherwise incomplete.
- Updating survey database records and files for previously surveyed records to reflect additional areas of significance such as Civil Rights activity at retail establishments.
- Extending the chronological limits of the survey up to the 21st century for African American churches.

Research to identify survey candidates was a multi-pronged approach that included consulting historic maps including Sanborn Maps and plats recorded with county government, city directories, historic aerial photographs, newspapers, collections at the Olivia Raney Library, oral histories both conducted for this project and found in the book *Culture Town*. The City of Raleigh also hosted an online, internet-based tool to collect suggestions for survey candidates.

In Biltmore Hills, buildings newly surveyed were assigned survey site numbers which were all photographed and mapped. New entries with architectural descriptions were used to create records in the state survey database. Previously surveyed resources had extant printed descriptions added to the database as available and updates added. Draft survey products were delivered to the HPO for review and revised as needed. A total of 92 records were created or updated.

A second public meeting was held in September 2022 at Chavis Park Community Center to present preliminary survey results. This meeting was also well attended.

A draft survey report was produced to include an introduction, methodology, and overview of African American Communities and resources from 1945 to 1975, and a brief overview of findings for African American churches, entertainment venues, properties associated with the Civil Rights Movement, properties designed/constructed by African American architects and building professionals, and the Biltmore Hills community. The report also includes recommendations for further study, Study List recommendations, and a bibliography. Those properties recommended for the Study List¹ for which interior access may be gained, will be presented to the state's National Register Advisory Committee at a regularly scheduled meeting.

¹ The Study List or North Carolina Study List is a list of properties reviewed by staff of the North Carolina Historic Preservation Office which appear to be strong candidates for listing on the National Register of Historic Places. Being placed on the Study list is not a formal Determination of Eligibility of listing nor does it require a property to be listed.

At this time six of the up to 10 oral history interviews have been conducted. With the subject's permission, they were audio recorded and transcribed and those records remain with the City of Raleigh Planning and Development department. Additional interviews are anticipated.

African American Communities and Resources in Raleigh 1945-1975

In order to understand African American settlement patterns and resources in Raleigh from 1945 to 1975, it is necessary to examine the development patterns and dynamics that preceded them.

Richard Mattson's study *The Evolution of Raleigh's African-American Neighborhoods in the 19th and 20th Centuries* and Karl Larson's master's thesis *A Separate Reality: The Development of Racial Segregation In Raleigh, North Carolina, 1865-1915* are thoroughly researched analyses of patterns of commercial and residential growth as shaped by race. They provide a solid basis for understanding later developments.

According to both, with the exception of a handful of freedman's villages that were either destroyed or annexed into the city, the majority of the African American residential and later commercial development grew in the eastern and southern areas of the city.² Post-Civil War developments by both white and Black developers targeted to African American freedmen were carved out of extensive landholdings that ringed the historic city limits and were anchored by segregated institutions, such as churches and schools, that reinforced development patterns. One notable anomaly to this pattern was the Smoky Hollow neighborhood northwest of the downtown area, nestled into the railroad yards, which was a racially mixed, working-class area described by Larson as a "salt-and-pepper" phenomenon.³

African American commercial interests became concentrated along East Hargett Street, having been displaced from other commercial nodes such as South Wilmington Street after the city market moved to the Moore Square area.⁴ Larson notes that African Americans who were able to purchase land, given financial constraints, often purchased less desirable parcels with environmental challenges. Thus, into the twentieth century "the racial pattern of the new neighborhoods of the 1890s and later followed that established during the Reconstruction period: black residential areas to the east and south, and white residential areas to the north and west."⁵

These informal patterns were reinforced in the early twentieth century by the rise of residential subdivisions with racially exclusive covenants. Glenwood Brooklyn (WA4189), Boylan Heights (WA3996), and Cameron Park (WA0194)⁶ were among the first residential subdivisions in Raleigh that explicitly excluded African Americans from ownership and residence, with the occasional exception for a domestic worker. With the rise of these explicitly segregated neighborhoods, settlement patterns for African Americans were shaped by a process of elimination with the option of entire neighborhoods removed.

² The freedman's village of Oberlin was annexed into the city in 1920, and Method in 1960.

³ Karl Larson, "A Separate Reality: The Development of Racial Segregation in Raleigh, North Carolina, 1865-1915" (Unpublished M.A. thesis, University of North Carolina at Greensboro, 1983), 24.

⁴ Larson, "A Separate Reality," 84.

⁵ Larson, "A Separate Reality," 48.

⁶ Properties documented in the HPO survey files are given a survey site number consisting of a two-letter prefix indicating the county where a property is located followed by a four-digit number. "WA-" indicates Wake County.

In the late 1930s, two large federally-funded projects reinforced existing segregated residential and recreational patterns: John Chavis Memorial Park (505 Martin Luther King, Jr. Blvd., WA3867), an explicitly “separate but equal” alternative to Pullen Park (520 Ashe Ave., WA3966), and the neighboring Chavis Heights development (East Lenoir St. at Chavis Way, demolished, WA2875), built as an alternative to the white Halifax Court (bounded roughly by Halifax, Cedar, North Blount and East Franklin Streets, demolished, WA2592) project north of the downtown area.

Four major interrelated factors shaped African American resources and settlement patterns during the study period of 1945-1975: growth and development, large-scale public sector projects, displacement, and re-signifying. In the present day these factors are evidenced on the landscape by both the presence and the absence of African American resources.

The Growth of Raleigh 1945-1975 and the Project Study Area

The original boundaries for the City of Raleigh in 1792 encompassed roughly 390 acres laid out in a grid pattern arranged around five public squares in the eponymous Christmas plan. According to GIS data provided by the City of Raleigh, between 1792 and 1945, the city had eight annexations. One each in 1857, 1907, 1920, 1929, and four in 1941. These annexations added to the city roughly 454; 1,598; 2,101; 165; 45.8; 236; 346; and 1,584 acres, respectively. By 1941 the approximate size of the city was 6,920 acres. In 149 years since its founding, the city had expanded from the original plan eight times to a size of close to 18 times its original area.

There were no annexations between 1941 and 1949. In the twenty-six years from 1949 to 1975 the city grew from roughly 6,920 acres to roughly 33,192 acres through 144 annexations, an area over 137 times its size in 1941.

The population grew as well, some from in-migration and some through annexation. According to data provided by the City of Raleigh, the city had a population of 46,879 in 1940.⁷ The estimated 1947 population was 65,000, and the pace of growth was notable: “the City of Raleigh, which experienced its greatest percentage of growth in population during the decade of the 1920s, will likely far outstrip this record by the time the current decade closes in 1950, according to best estimates.”⁸ City population estimates for 1950 are 65,679.⁹

By the mid-1950s Raleigh was continuing its aggressive development. *The News & Observer* noted, “home building is continuing at a rapid rate and building developers apparently are selling as best as they build. Subdivisions are being opened in all directions from the city and are moving farther and farther out of the city.”¹⁰ This article begins to address the cost of growth in

⁷ “Population Statistics,” City of Raleigh, <https://cityofraleigh0drupal.blob.core.usgovcloudapi.net/drupal-prod/COR22/PopulationAndCitySize.pdf>.

⁸ “Raleigh’s Growth Setting Record,” *The News & Observer*, February 23, 1947.

⁹ City of Raleigh, “Population Statistics.”

¹⁰ “Group Cites Growth of Raleigh,” *The News & Observer*, August 18, 1955.

terms of infrastructure ranging from water and sewer plants to streets, schools, and recreation facilities, and offers taxes of municipal bonds as an avenue to address the increasing needs



Map of Raleigh annexations as printed in The News & Observer, January 1, 1950

brought about by rapid physical growth and expansion.

Public policy changes at the local and state levels fueled Raleigh's outward growth. The City of Raleigh changed its policy regarding extension of city services in the mid-1950s. By allowing the extension of water and sewer service to developed areas adjacent to the city limits, the city would be less likely to have to compensate developers and homeowners for wells and septic systems and would be more likely to avoid small regional service units that could create self-sufficient villages resistant to annexation that could strangle further growth.¹¹ The General Assembly passed a bill in 1959 that allowed annexation with the extension of municipal services

¹¹ "City Planners Urge Expansion," *The News & Observer*, September 14, 1955.

and a resolution passed by municipal governing bodies. The proposed annexation had previously been subject to an electoral vote by the population.¹²

Much of Raleigh's growth in the 1950s was in the suburban areas of the city or on the outskirts, which were primed to be annexed. The 1955 population was estimated at 72,500 and residential construction continued to explode. Raymond Lowery noted in *The News & Observer*:

"This city is in the midst of a home building boom which resulted in the construction of an estimated 1,000 houses in and around Raleigh in 1954 . . . The boom which began in earnest in 1953 is expected to taper off next year (partly because the government has tightened up its credit terms on both GI and FHA home buying as a hedge against inflation) and then level off in 1957. More than 200 residential subdivisions have opened here since 1945 according to the city planning division, dozens are building up now."¹³

What Lowery could not anticipate was the development of Research Triangle Park (RTP), beginning in 1959. In one of a series of articles predicting the impact of the RTP, David Cooper noted, "city planners have already estimated that Raleigh will climb to a population of 150,000 by 1975 . . . But these figures are based on normal growth, and don't take into account any bonuses from the research park."¹⁴

According to media reports, Raleigh officials were keen to hit a population milestone of 100,000 in time for the federal census of 1960, which spurred significant annexations in 1959 and 1960.¹⁵ Annexation continued into the 1960s and early 1970s. The earliest of these actions were characterized as haphazard by the *News & Observer*:

"In March 1960, Raleigh population increased by 15,000 overnight when the council took in five huge chunks of land ringing the city. Since then, haphazard annexation has brought in 24 separate areas, most of them residential subdivisions, annexed at the request of developers. Only two small areas, almost encircled by existing city limits, were taken in by unilateral action of the council."¹⁶

The article continues to predict that the most likely candidates for new annexation were developed neighborhoods arrayed in a crescent around the current city limits from the northwest to the east of the city.¹⁷ The city's estimate of population in 1960 was 93,931.¹⁸

¹² "Annexation Bill Clears House," *The News & Observer*, May 8, 1959, and "City Gets Plan to Annex 14,881 Residents," *The News & Observer*, October 13, 1959.

¹³ Raymond Lowery, "Flight to Suburbia," *The News & Observer*, September 25, 1955.

¹⁴ David Cooper, "Planning Sets Growth Pattern," *The News & Observer*, August 4, 1959.

¹⁵ "City Gets Plan to Annex 14,881 Residents," *The News & Observer*, October 13, 1959, and "Court Told 16,972 in Annexed Areas," *The News & Observer*, August 11, 1960.

¹⁶ Kinnon McLamb, "Census May Spur Major Annexation," *The News & Observer*, March 5, 1966.

¹⁷ McLamb, "Census May Spur Annexation."

¹⁸ City of Raleigh, "Population Statistics."

By 1970, the city had more frequent population estimates:

1970	122,830
1971	125,572
1972	128,314
1973	131,056
1974	133,798
1975	136,540 ¹⁹

The City of Raleigh's growth between 1945 and 1975 was explosive in both area and population, fueled by federal housing policies such as Federal Housing Administration (FHA) and Veterans Administration (VA) mortgages, changes in state enabling legislation for annexations and city policies regarding extension of infrastructure, the national post-war housing boom, and the development of Research Triangle Park.

This rapid, explosive growth happened largely in the north and west sides of the city, in areas that were largely occupied by whites. Though the 1948 U.S. Supreme Court decision in *Shelley v. Kraemer* held that racially restrictive covenants were not legally enforceable, an avenue for federal enforcement of anti-discrimination protections in housing was not available until the passage of the Civil Rights Act in 1968. Even after 1968, however, social customs prevailed in the development and transfer of residential real estate.

Several purposely developed African American neighborhoods were built between 1945 and 1975, including Rochester Heights (WA4581), Madonna Acres (WA4443), Cedarwoods Country Estates (WA1966), Battery Heights (WA4430), and Biltmore Hills (WA4548).²⁰

Government Policies, Urban Renewal, Highways and "Negro Removal"

The rapid growth of the city spurred growing pains in the development of infrastructure which was needed to keep pace with rapidly increasing demand. In many cases, African American communities were either underserved or borne the brunt of large space projects that benefited the city at an expense borne disproportionately by Black neighborhoods.

Federal housing policy in the 1930s established the Federal Housing Agency (FHA) and allowed federal subsidies for local housing authorities. Harry Truman campaigned heavily on the issue of housing and what would later be called urban renewal. One landmark piece of legislation enacted during his administration, the Housing Act of 1949, promoted slum acquisition and clearance with \$1 billion set aside in loans for municipalities. It required a one-for-one ratio between rental public housing units constructed and slum units demolished. Media reports from that year carried

¹⁹ City of Raleigh, "Population Statistics."

²⁰ For more information about Raleigh's historically Black neighborhoods, see Carmen Wimberley Cauthen, *Historic Black Neighborhoods of Raleigh*. Charleston: The History Press, 2023; see also Neighborhood Map in the appendix.

many articles about slums in Raleigh, notably the Smoky Hollow neighborhood, which was in relative proximity to state government buildings.²¹

According to an article in *The News & Observer*, by 1955 Raleigh had yet to build 300 of the 450 units that the federal government had allocated to the city under the 1949 legislation. That new legislation also seemed to extend the city's ability to access the funding for new low-income housing units.²² Having previously built the segregated public housing project of Halifax Court for whites (WA2952, 86 units, built 1939-1941, demolished) and Chavis Heights for Blacks (WA2875, 64 units, built 1939-1941, demolished), Raleigh had not used its entire federal allocation. This was largely because housing construction had been delayed by material shortages during the Korean War.

Walnut Terrace

In 1955 the city began to consider locations for a new public housing project for African Americans that would combine "slum clearance" with the construction of new affordable rental units.²³ A report by the Raleigh Housing Authority to the City Council in November of that year demonstrated need. The report noted that the 1950 census had counted nearly 3,000 African American families living in substandard housing with income that precluded their ability to afford better housing. Applications to live in Chavis Heights had a lengthy waiting list. Representatives of the Raleigh Citizens Association (an organization for black civic leaders), the Raleigh Denomination of Ministerial Alliance, and African American attorney Fred Carnage all spoke in support of new housing. Speakers in opposition, identified by local media as real estate interests, suggested the adoption of strict housing quality standards as an antidote to slum housing and expressed concern at the cost of federally subsidized units versus those built by the private sector.²⁴

Opposition to the Walnut Terrace project grew in 1956 when a site of roughly 25 acres was selected south of Memorial Auditorium. The site was described as having roughly 153 houses, of which 90 percent were considered substandard. All residents were African Americans, and an estimated 40 percent owned their own homes. When the site was selected, it was reported that displaced residents would have priority for the new rental units if they met income qualification standards.²⁵ Some property owners were concerned about the basis for the purchase price to be offered by the Housing Authority. Media reports suggested that a misinformation campaign had been started in the target community, and that African Americans were being manipulated by

²¹ George A. Penny, "'Show Window Slum' Keeps Raleigh Reminded of Housing Plight," *The News & Observer*, May 15, 1949.

²² Jack K. Russell, "300 Public Housing Units are Available," *The News & Observer*, August 21, 1955.

²³ "Councilmen Indicate Approval of Slum-Clearance Project," *The News & Observer*, November 18, 1955.

²⁴ George A. Penny, "Council Clears Way For Building New Housing Project For Negroes," *The News & Observer*, November 22, 1955.

²⁵ "Site Selected for Negro Housing Development in Raleigh," *The News & Observer*, January 18, 1956.

“slum lords” to protest the development to protect their investments.²⁶ At a City Council meeting, residents disputed the percentage of homeowners cited by the Housing Authority and expressed concern that the purchase price for their homes would not allow them to relocate to a comparable residence in Raleigh and that their current homes represented their life savings.²⁷

Subsequent meetings showed rifts between the leadership of City Council and the Housing Authority, with the Housing Authority progressing forward in the interest of securing federal assistance on a strict time frame and citing their authority to proceed on certain issues without City Council support. Despite an organized opposition represented by legal counsel and an intimidation campaign, by March of 1957 the first parcels were being acquired. Condemnation notices appeared in the local paper by August that year.²⁸

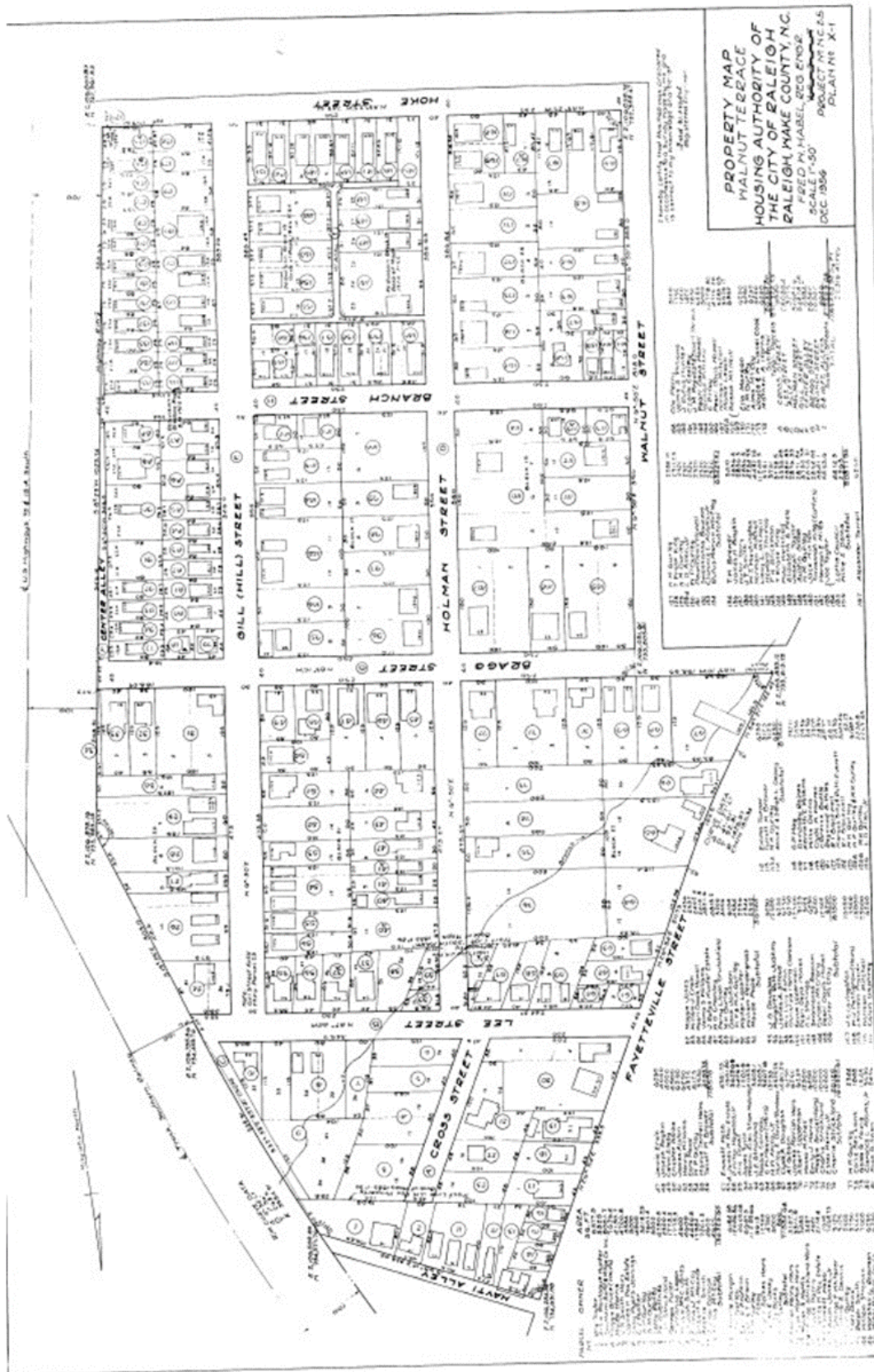
Walnut Terrace public housing (WA4236, demolished) opened in 1959. The project was arguably mismanaged, resulting in the carbon monoxide poisoning death of residents in 1992. By 2012, when the complex was demolished and redeveloped with a HOPE VI grant from the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development, it was described as crumbling and crime ridden. Even so, many residents had built a community there and expressed sadness at their dispersal with the demolition, not unlike the concerns expressed 50 years prior.

The Walnut Terrace project involved the purchase and condemnation of private property, roughly 40 percent owner-occupied, in a community of entirely African American residents for wholesale demolition and conversion to affordable rental units. An all-white City Council and board of the Housing Authority considered the benefits of the elimination of substandard housing to outweigh the displacement of an all-Black community for a project entirely owned by the Raleigh Housing Authority, a quasi-governmental agency with board members appointed by Council but with an independent budget, largely drawn from public funds. After 50 years, the largely Black community that was created in the rental units was dispersed again. Although outside the time frame of this study, the demolition of Walnut Terrace is an example of the absencing of Black spaces.

²⁶ “Who is Startling?” *The News & Observer*, February 9, 1956.

²⁷ “Housing Board Urges ‘Go Ahead’ on Local Project,” *The News & Observer*, February 10, 1956.

²⁸ “Raleigh Housing Officials Will Proceed with Project,” *The News & Observer*, February 21, 1956, and “Get Threatening Letters,” *The News & Observer*, February 28, 1956.



Walnut Terrace Condemnation Map, Raleigh Housing Authority, 1956

Smoky Hollow

On the heels of Walnut Terrace, the city began to eye additional redevelopment projects. In 1958 the city created an Urban Redevelopment Commission²⁹ tasked specifically to manage federally-funded slum clearance programs.³⁰ Provisions of the state's 1951 Urban Redevelopment Law allowed for the creation of local redevelopment commissions with broad powers including the ability to purchase, condemn, and resell real estate within certain provisos.³¹ The Urban Redevelopment Commission targeted Smoky Hollow.³² Smoky Hollow had long been decried as a slum. A 1949 page-and-a-half article in *The News & Observer* headlined "'Show Window Slum' Keeps Raleigh Reminded of Housing Plight," profiles Smoky Hollow and notes its proximity to Devereux Meadows ballpark and visibility to travelers on US 70 and the Seaboard rail station.³³

An editorial in *The News & Observer* in June 1958 lauded the new commission's choice to target Smoky Hollow, where buildings, including an estimated 170 homes on roughly 51 acres, were to be demolished and the land resold for industrial uses. It predicted, "the city will receive far more taxes on the 51 acres than it does now and the owners of the present substandard homes, which cover 83 percent of the area, will get enough from their property to enable them to erect respectable houses on cheaper land. And the project will be a great stimulus to the construction industry."³⁴ Project supporters began to create a narrative about the project, citing substandard buildings and high crime rates. Media reports that "after removal [of] all the residential and many of the commercial buildings, land use will reflect the desires and needs of the community."³⁵ The newspaper did not define those desires and needs, nor report on the methodology of how those would be determined and translated into future development. The City of Raleigh would need to adopt the state building code in order to access federal funds for the project.³⁶ They would also need to match a portion of the project cost, which could include infrastructure investment in the project area.

In 1960 there were several mandatory public hearings and public meetings concerning the project where opposition was expressed. Palmer Edwards, executive director of the Raleigh Redevelopment Commission, attempted to assuage concerns about displacement by mentioning the residents' eligibility to apply for FHA loans with a 40-year amortization and no down payment. This program may have bolstered development in Biltmore Hills, as it was one

²⁹ The Raleigh Redevelopment Commission, sometimes referred to as the Raleigh Urban Redevelopment Commission or the Raleigh Redevelopment Authority.

³⁰ "Council Picks Redevelopment Body," *The News & Observer*, April 24, 1958.

³¹ North Carolina General Statutes, Urban Redevelopment Law, 1951.

https://www.ncleg.net/enactedlegislation/statutes/html/byarticle/chapter_160a/article_22.html.

³² "Urban Group is Briefed," *The News & Observer*, May 8, 1958.

³³ George A. Penny, "'Show Window Slum' Keeps Raleigh Reminded of Housing Plight," *The News & Observer*, May 15, 1949.

³⁴ "A Fine Start on Urban Renewal," *The News & Observer*, June 20, 1958.

³⁵ "Smoky Hollow Talk Topic," *The News & Observer*, June 16, 1959.

³⁶ "Councilmen Reject Pleas To Cut Annexation Plans," *The News & Observer*, March 24, 1960.

neighborhood specifically cited as eligible for the program.³⁷ Others cited the difficulty of finding affordable housing.³⁸ *The News & Observer*'s editorial board asserted that the public interest outweighed the opposition's concerns: "Unfortunately, some people are bound to be hurt or inconvenienced but the public interest demands that something be done about blighted Smokey Hollow in downtown Raleigh."³⁹

One of the most vocal detractors of the plan, and the only member of the City Council to vote against it, was Jesse Helms. Helms noted, "A person would have to be a near-idiot to fail to see the desirability of redeveloping the area (Smoky Hollow). Yet, I cannot lend my support to a program that uses government force to require one private citizen to sell his property to another private citizen. The city of Raleigh is lending itself to a program which will put the federal government as well as the city of Raleigh into even deeper debt."⁴⁰ Despite Helms's opposition, the plan cleared the City Council and met all federal requirements. Land purchases and demolitions began in 1961 and subsequently parcels were resold in the rebranded "Capital Redevelopment Area."

The final parcel was resold in February of 1968. A newspaper report summarized the program:

"After nine years of work the slums have been cleared and the area has been revitalized by the introduction of new land uses. A total of 47 parcels of land have been sold for a total price of \$1,406,073. The gross cost of the project was about \$2,825,500 leaving a net cost of some \$1,419,427 . . . this is more than the city's one third share, so the remainder will go to the cost of the Southside Redevelopment Project which is now in the planning stage . . . 188 families and individuals—106 whites and 82 Negroes—were relocated from the area into better housing. The first resident of the area was relocated on April 11th 1961 and the last was moved more than three years later on June 16th 1964. Site improvements in the area began in August of 1963 when a drainage system was constructed along Pigeon House Branch. In October of the same year the first parcel of land was sold to Pine State Creamery. Before the redevelopment, the area was yielding about \$10,000 a year from city and county ad valorem tax sources. Since the improvements he said the land is now yielding about \$44,000 per year."⁴¹

Smoky Hollow was perhaps the only community within the midcentury city limits of Raleigh that had developed with significantly integrated housing that was not predicated on a scenario of Black domestic laborers living in proximity to their employers, as was noted in older residential neighborhoods as a holdover from antebellum customs. While Smoky Hollow was arguably mixed in terms of racial demographics, the Urban Redevelopment Commission's next target

³⁷ "100 Housing Loans OK'd for Raleigh," *The News & Observer*, June 2, 1961.

³⁸ "Smoky Hollow Slum Clearance Opposed," *The News & Observer*, September 8, 1960.

³⁹ "Some Must Suffer," *The News & Observer*, September 9, 1960.

⁴⁰ "Improvements Key to Slum Clearance Plan," *The News & Observer*, March 31, 1960.

⁴¹ Louis Payne, "Final Tract in Renewal Area Sold," *The News & Observer*, February 29, 1968.

area, “Southside,” reinforced James Baldwin’s adage that urban renewal was tantamount to Negro removal.⁴²

Southside

Starting as early as 1961, the City of Raleigh was considering an area south of downtown, roughly 200 acres between Boylan Heights and Shaw University, as a redevelopment area.⁴³ In 1963 it was one of four areas, all largely Black residential areas, studied as potential redevelopment areas by the city’s Planning department.⁴⁴ By 1965 the rationale for targeting the area for renewal that encompassed the initial 200-acre Southside area was being developed. The larger area, described as roughly 2,454 acres bounded by Rocky Branch Creek and Cabarrus, Lenoir, Florence, and East Streets, reportedly contained roughly 17 percent of the city’s population but a disproportionate share of infant deaths, fire calls, venereal disease cases, illegitimate births, juvenile arrests, and welfare cases. Additionally, of the roughly 1,207 structures there, 92 were rated as substandard. A redevelopment designation would not only remove blight, but reserve land for anticipated road projects and open the area south of downtown for development.⁴⁵

As in Smoky Hollow, land in targeted areas would be purchased or condemned, cleared, and resold. While more residents would be displaced—hundreds of families, according to early estimates—planners noted new tools to mitigate upheaval included in the federal Housing and Urban Development Act of 1956. Tools included rent subsidies to affected people and federal loans to developers. However, one developer cited restrictions tied to federal programs combined high land costs as obstacles to providing housing for the displaced.⁴⁶ The rent subsidy program was ultimately not applicable, as it was approved but unfunded.⁴⁷

Federal regulators reviewed redevelopment plans that would use federal financial incentives. They scrutinized the required relocation plans for the Southside project more carefully than they had for Smoky Hollow, and in the fall of 1965, the media reported the issue in greater specificity than it had previously. An estimated 1,391 families would be displaced, most if not all, African American. The Redevelopment Commission optimistically projected that 700 families would relocate to new housing built with federal loans, 250 families could move to Walnut Terrace and Chavis Heights, and the 320 families in owner-occupied units could take the sales price and easily find other housing options in the city.⁴⁸ Later that fall, the estimated acreage was reported as roughly 264, a sizable increase over earlier reports, and the project was considered to be phased.⁴⁹ By the end of the year a new application was made by the city to the federal

⁴² WGBH Boston, “A Conversation with James Baldwin,” from “Perspectives: Negro and the American Promise,” 1963. https://americanarchive.org/catalog/cpb-aacip_15-0v89g5gf5r.

⁴³ Al Ballard, “Urban Renewal Study Set in South Raleigh,” *The News & Observer*, October 5, 1961.

⁴⁴ Jonathan Friendly, “4 Projects Urged to Ease Blight,” *The News & Observer*, August 30, 1963.

⁴⁵ Graydon Hambrick, “Worst City Slum Area Designated,” *The News & Observer*, January 14, 1965.

⁴⁶ Perry Young, “Renewal Needed in Most of Area,” *The News & Observer*, September 9, 1965.

⁴⁷ Perry Young, “City to Tackle Southside Project in Several Stages,” *The News & Observer*, November 12, 1965.

⁴⁸ “City Plans Discussion of Urban Relocations,” *The News & Observer*, November 5, 1965.

⁴⁹ Perry Young, “City’s Urban Renewal May be Done in Stages,” *The News & Observer*, November 10, 1965.

government for a smaller renewal/redevelopment project of 160 acres and 2,416 residents. While awaiting federal approval, media reports described the area: 454 of 558 housing units were “slums,” the area had inadequate infrastructure, 22 percent of the units were owner-occupied, and residents were predominantly low-income and Black.⁵⁰ Relocation required careful coordination with the Raleigh Housing Authority. Over the course of this project, that coordination was not effective, and ultimately the Raleigh Housing Authority and the Raleigh Redevelopment Commission were merged in the fall of 1971.

By 1967 *The News & Observer* began to report on the critical lack of affordable housing, particularly that available to African Americans. At the time the waiting lists for Walnut Terrace and Chavis Heights were estimated to include between 500 and 600 families.

“At the heart of the problem lies a critical shortage of public housing—the only form of housing the Negroes who most need it can afford. While legally nonexistent segregational boundaries in Raleigh hardened to close out adequate housing to the few Negroes who can afford it, the average Raleigh Negro—unable to pay for anything but substandard housing—is joining the list of those outside the doors of the Raleigh Public Housing Authority.”⁵¹

Concerns about housing, displacement, and race continued to be reported throughout 1967 and for the duration of the Southside project. Concerned African Americans met in churches and organized through groups such as the Raleigh Citizens Association. There was a sense that those displaced would be funneled exclusively into southeast Raleigh, reinforcing the neighborhood segregation that had evolved over time. African American attorney Samuel Mitchell predicted that given the urban renewal plans and lack of affordable housing generally, Raleigh would become “the most segregated city in the south.”⁵² He said that the 20 percent of Southside residents who were owner-occupants would get “fair value” for their homes, but no support for rebuilding a community as residents and owners are dispersed. Given the lack of options available to Southside residents, there was a great fear that they would end up in a neighborhood that could be the next candidate for large-scale urban renewal, leaving them searching again for housing.

Unlike Smoky Hollow, some housing would be rebuilt in Southside. Land was also reserved for highway right-of-way and for commercial uses. Plans for new affordable housing shifted toward a scattered site model.⁵³ As planning and negotiations dragged into 1969, the Redevelopment Authority tried to assuage housing concerns, specifically noting new subdivisions developed for African Americans, including Biltmore Hills.⁵⁴ Members of the African American community continued to organize, to develop their own plans for the Southside area, and to articulate

⁵⁰ Kinnon McLamb, “What City is Planning for Southside—When Federal Funds Come Through,” *The News & Observer*, July 23, 1966.

⁵¹ Gene Marlowe, “Housing Shortages May Send Raleigh Negroes into Streets,” *The News & Observer*, June 18, 1967.

⁵² Gene Marlowe, “Southside Project Focal Point for Unrest Here,” *The News & Observer*, July 26, 1967.

⁵³ June Orr and Wade Jones, “Southside Asks: Where Will We Move?” *The News & Observer*, December 1, 1968.

⁵⁴ “Displaced Southsiders Promised Good Housing,” *The News & Observer*, July 16, 1969.

concerns. Former local NAACP president Ralph Campbell expressed frustration at how large-scale projects disproportionately affected African Americans, as quoted in *The News & Observer*:

“Urban renewal hits blacks. They bypass north of Raleigh without touching a single white home. But they're planning to go right through Biltmore Hills and Rochester Heights . . . Let's face it, when the Southside project is finished the next urban renewal area will be in East Raleigh.”⁵⁵

Campbell was prescient, as a General Neighborhood Renewal Program (GNRP) supported by federal monies was announced the following January (1970) for East Raleigh that could include urban renewal and/or code enforcement activities.⁵⁶

Concerns were voiced not only at “official” meetings, but at community meetings organized within the Black community. Advocates continued to express concerns about displacement, affordable housing, and the impact on the Black community, as well as frustration with agencies and public policies that allowed housing conditions to devolve and the inadequate capacity to address them. The U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development rejected initial plans to give displaced Southsiders priority on public housing lists. In a bond referendum, voters rejected the city’s funding formula in November 1969.⁵⁷

Despite the bond defeat, the city and Redevelopment Authority did not abandon the Southside plan; they revised it. The city appointed a large multiracial steering committee to advise on the project and unveiled new plans that for the first time graphically incorporated related road projects. A redesigned interchange did leave more land for other uses, but still drew residents’ ire. However, incorporating aspects of road projects into the urban renewal project made the proposed interchange less expensive and a new bond referendum was scheduled for March 1970.⁵⁸

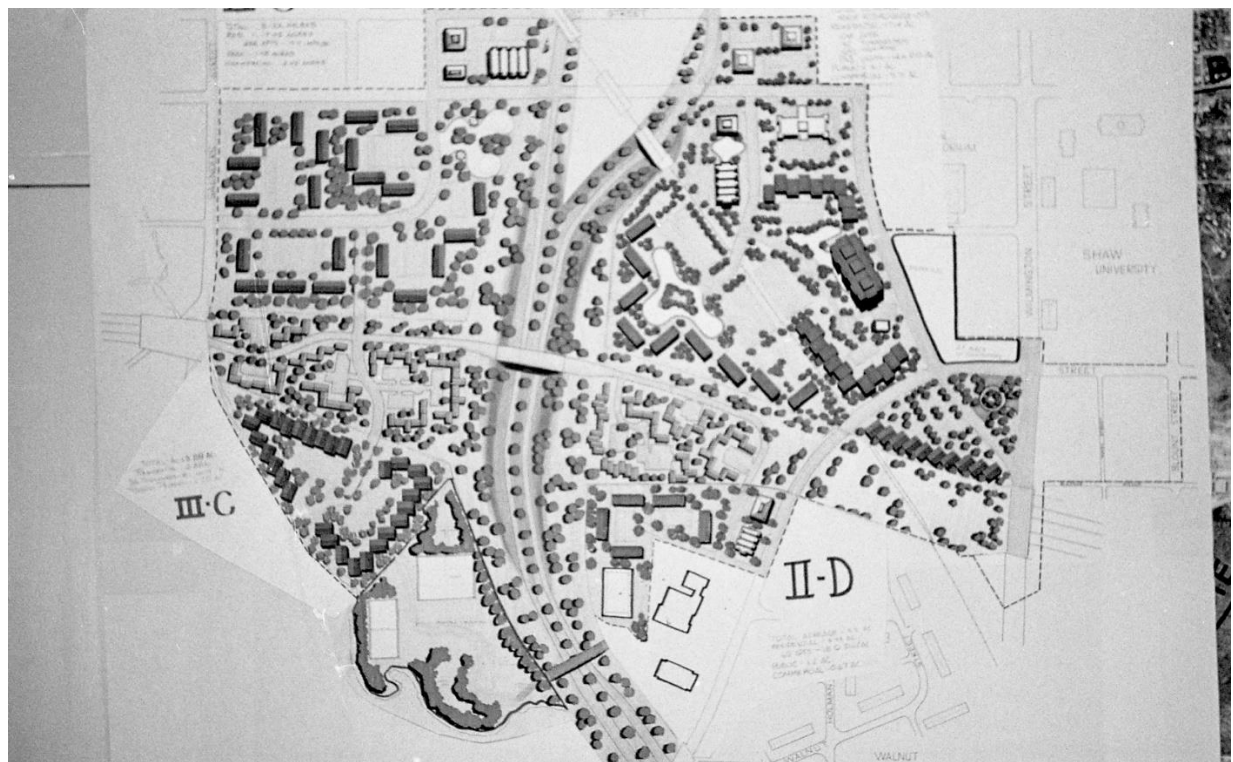
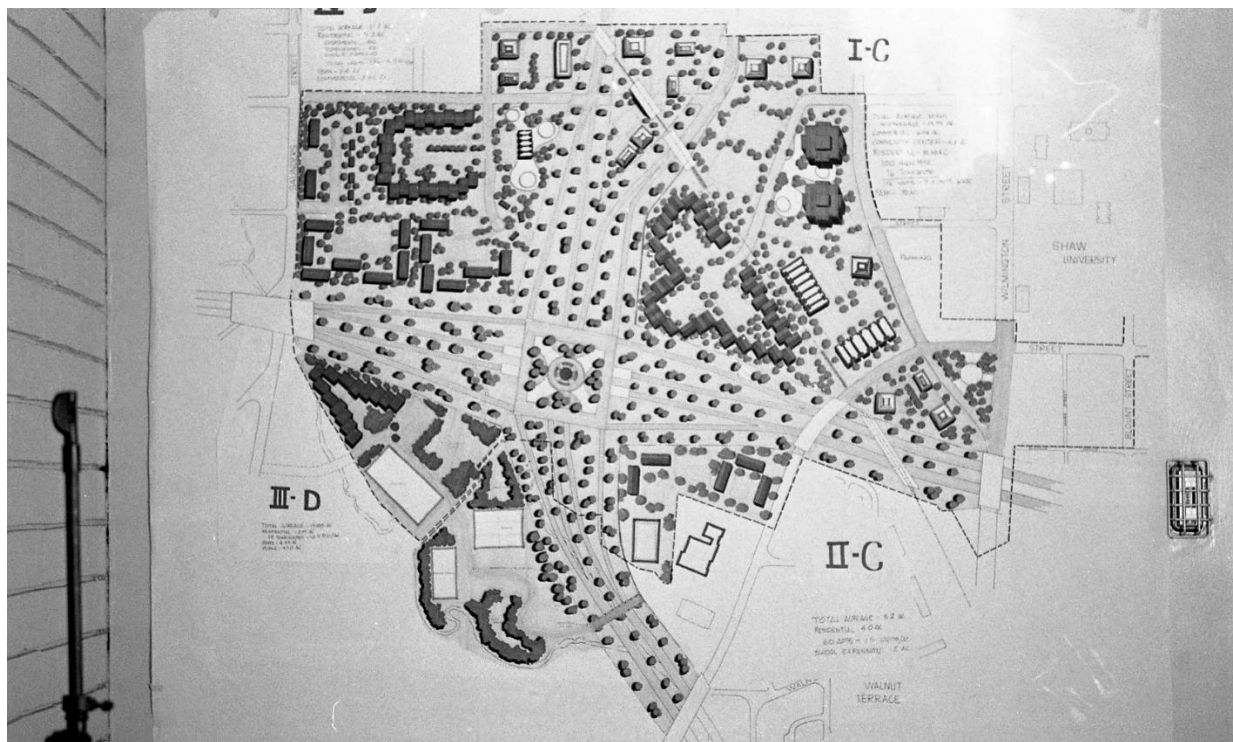
The second referendum passed and soon thereafter plans were revised yet again, ostensibly to address rising project costs. All revisions went through the same multistep approval and adoption process. Relocation began in December 1970 and demolition of housing stock began in February 1971. Throughout the early 1970s, the project continued to be plagued with problems. Concerns about noise pollution from road projects, federal funding formulas, staff turnover at the various agencies implementing the plan, illegal demolitions, cost overruns, federal policies on subsidized housing, and pollution regulations all delayed redevelopment, and new housing was built at a glacial pace.

⁵⁵ “Negroes Seek Voice on Urban Renewal,” *The News & Observer*, July 21, 1969.

⁵⁶ June Orr, “Southeast Sector Renewal Expected to be Financed,” *The News & Observer*, January 16, 1971.

⁵⁷ Charles Wheeler, “Eight Years Later, Southside Renewal is on the Ballot,” *The News & Observer*, September 21, 1969.

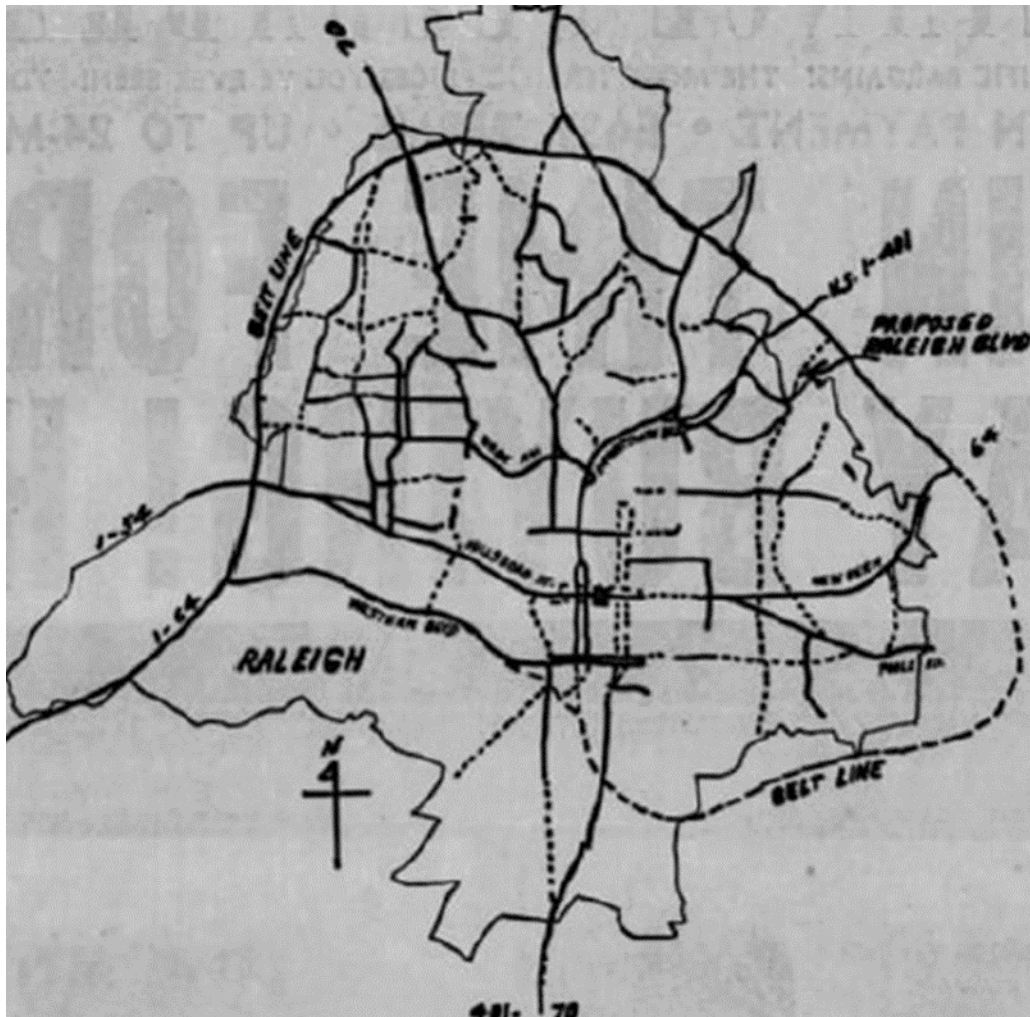
⁵⁸ Rod Cockshut, “Roads to Come Anyway,” *The News & Observer*, March 8, 1970.



Maps of Southside project February 1970, The News & Observer Collection, North Carolina State Archives

Highways

Compounding the impacts of urban renewal were the aggressive roadbuilding plans to address Raleigh's rapid growth. In 1952 *The News & Observer* reported that surveys had begun for the proposed ring road surrounding the city, known as the Beltline.⁵⁹ Early plans had the southern route connect with and incorporate the existing Western Boulevard.⁶⁰

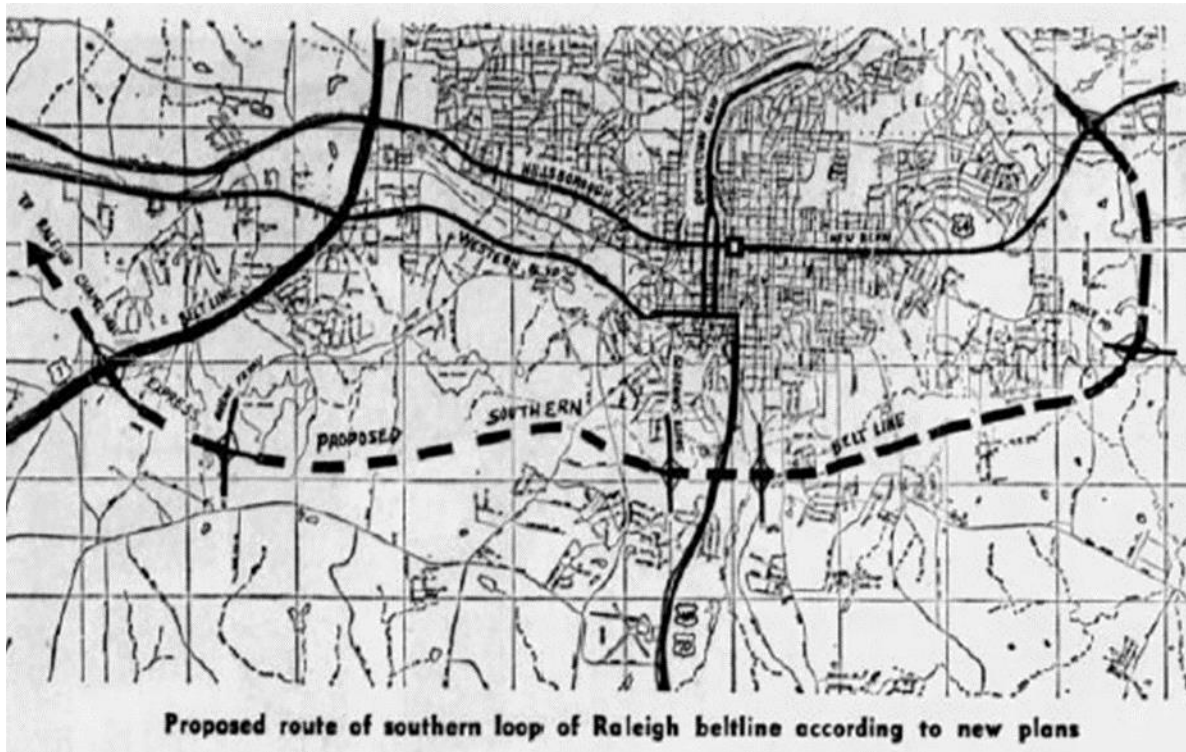


1963 Beltline alignment, courtesy of The News & Observer

⁵⁹ "Beltline Surveys Begun," *The News & Observer*, July 22, 1952.

⁶⁰ Jonathan Friendly, "Raleigh's Major Arteries Inadequate for Jet Age," *The News & Observer*, November 24, 1963.

In 1967 the southern section of the Beltline was redesigned and proposed to cut between Biltmore Hills and Rochester Heights.⁶¹ Preliminary designs for the extension of Western Boulevard east were also unveiled during this year as part of the city's thoroughfare plan, developed in part to insure the city's access to federal road funds.⁶² The street plan called for two projects that were ultimately scrapped, in part by historic preservation concerns in largely white neighborhoods: a north-south freeway in the Oakwood neighborhood between Bloodworth and East Streets and the extension of Oberlin Road to Western Boulevard.⁶³



1967 beltline alignment, courtesy of The News & Observer

In 1968 the interchange associated with the southward expansion of Dawson and McDowell Streets, a city priority, was unveiled. The interchange was redesigned in 1970. An integral part of the Southside Redevelopment Project, the interchange benefited from federal Urban Renewal funds. Ironically, because the interchange was using federal funds that were not part of the

⁶¹ Irving Long, "Route of Southern Beltline Loop is Changed Again in New Plan," *The News & Observer*, April 30, 1967.

⁶² Irving Long, "Beltline-Wade Ave. Tie-in Causes City-State Dispute," *The News & Observer*, May 10, 1967.

⁶³ Rob Christensen, "Raleigh Officials Propose New Tack on Road Plans," *The News & Observer*, September 14, 1973.

transportation program, a 1970 order that stopped federal aid to road construction through residential areas until those displaced were housed had no impact on this specific project.⁶⁴

As with urban renewal projects, road projects in Raleigh were plagued with delays through the 1970s. Reporter Rob Christiansen, who covered transportation issues for *The News & Observer*, noted in the spring of 1974 that 1964 predictions had suggested that Raleigh's traffic would double in 20 years when in fact it had doubled in 10, and that none of the roads planned in 1967 to tackle the increase had yet been built, laying the blame on citizen protests.⁶⁵



Staff photo by Steve Murray

Raleigh's Great Wall

This is part of the 2,730-foot-long, 15-foot-high precast concrete wall that's been built through part of Raleigh's Rochester Heights and Biltmore Hills subdivisions in an effort to block noise from the Beltline extension under construction there. The wall, which cost \$116,863, has drawn a mixed reaction from adjoining property owners. Some call it an eyesore, while others say it is accomplishing its purpose of reducing noise.

Beltline Construction Coverage in The News & Observer

⁶⁴ "Order Held Unlikely to Affect N. C. Needs," *The News & Observer*, February 17, 1970.

⁶⁵ Rob Christensen, "Traffic Congestion Is Increasing in Raleigh," *The News & Observer*, April 7, 1975.

While the north-south freeway and the extension of overland roads were ultimately defeated, the southern leg of the Beltline was eventually constructed. Concerns about noise were mitigated by walls, but bitterness remained as the route was adjusted to protect a floodplain, but no adjustments were made to move the path away from middle-class Black neighborhoods. At a public hearing of the State Highway Commission, a citizen noted that the northern portion of the Beltline was constructed in more rural areas away from established neighborhoods, while the southern leg continued to cut between Biltmore Hills and Rochester Heights.⁶⁶

Specific landmark buildings were destroyed as a result of large-scale urban renewal and roadway projects, including First Congregational Church and Fayetteville Street Baptist Church. Both congregations relocated to new church buildings. Less easily documented are commercial buildings or entertainment venues. Entire swaths of the city were wiped out. Residents were dispersed and forced to seek housing in other parts of the city. Businesses relocated or shut down entirely. These projects effectively destroyed entire communities made of not only bricks and mortar but also families and neighbors.

Subdivisions and developments such as Biltmore Hills benefited from incentives for relocation, and others such as Dandridge Downs, a complex built adjacent to Biltmore Hills and later demolished, were built explicitly to house those displaced by urban renewal.

The African American landscape has been shaped by urban renewal and large-scale projects. The indiscriminate demolition of resources has destroyed the continuity of the built environment by removing large swaths of Black buildings in specific areas, making those that remain from that neighborhood or that era more significant for their scarcity. It also has resulted in the juxtaposition of large new projects in proximity to established urban fabric often smaller in scale.

Civil Rights-related Resources

Another phenomenon found in specifically examining Civil Rights sites for the study period is re-signifying. This is when an existing historic place is updated with another layer of history and importance. For example, most of buildings in the city's Fayetteville Street historic district contribute to the district's significance through their architecture or through their original intended use, as the district is significant under the areas of Architecture and Commerce. Several buildings in that district, however, were sites of protest during the Civil Rights era. As such, we can consider those buildings to have an overlay of significance as sites of conscience dating from the 1960s. This significance is less obvious visually than a building's design or its historic function, and in many cases adds a significant date or dates far removed from earlier dates associated with other areas of significance.

Documenting this layered history creates an implicit acknowledgement of the earlier exclusion of Black people from places and/or services that may have gone unsaid and perhaps in some cases unrealized. It also communicates an added relevance to African Americans and other groups that

⁶⁶ Rob Christiansen, "Black Leaders Fear Effects of Beltline," *The News & Observer*, October 31, 1974.

have faced discrimination. Documentation of places is to not only remember past injustice but to celebrate those who challenged the status quo and to serve as a testament for continued efforts for equality. In this study, many of the Civil Rights sites that were built for, by, and within the African American community require further documentation or have been demolished. Those that have remained and have been documented in this study are previously segregated and exclusive places that have been transformed by events and people during the Civil Rights period into protest sites. These are places where actions led to changed laws and policies. For this study, the additional layer of history was added, and the sites were re-signified as places where significant social change was sparked.

The sites noted in this study fall within the period *The Modern Civil Rights Movement, 1954-1964* as defined by the National Park Service's *Civil Rights in America: A Framework for Identifying Significant Sites* and fit the theme of Public Accommodation.

Entertainment

As noted in the introduction, entertainment venues proved to be the most ephemeral resource type. In seeking out African American entertainment venues, both ownership and audience were considered. Among sites mentioned in public meetings and found in the city directories (precursors of phonebooks with lists of businesses and residents organized alphabetically and sometimes by street) and the Green Book (a publication listing public accommodation open to African Americans during the Jim Crow era), the only specific African American entertainment venue still standing was the Lincoln Theater (WA2567). Though previously recorded, the survey file was updated and expanded as part of this project and new photographs and a property plan map, referred to as a site plan, prepared. Now a live music venue, the Lincoln Theater opened in 1939 as a movie theater for African American audiences during the Jim Crow era. It was owned by the Bijou Amusement Company, headquartered in Nashville, Tennessee. Bijou is known to have owned and/or operated theaters serving the Black community in Tennessee, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, and Texas.



Lincoln Theater, right



Amphitheater at Chavis Park

Several survey candidates such as John Chavis Memorial Park⁶⁷ (WA3867), home of the *Teenage Frolics*, a televised music and dance program, have been extensively documented. Other sites such as community centers are properly categorized under recreation and not included in this study.

Study List Recommendation

The Lincoln Theater will be recommended to the North Carolina Study List pending interior documentation.

⁶⁷ Also known simply as Chavis Park

Sites Associated with the Civil Rights Movement

The Civil Rights Movement is generally considered to be a movement to assure equal rights for African Americans during the 1950s and 60s. However, this movement rested on earlier efforts that provided leadership, a foundation, and organizational infrastructure for later actions. Raleigh citizens organized a chapter of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) in 1917 and the predecessor organization to the Raleigh Wake Citizens Association was started in 1932. In 1944 the first statewide meeting of NAACP chapters in North Carolina was held in Raleigh at First Congregational Church, which was located at South and Manley Streets in the Fourth Ward neighborhood and has since been demolished.

This study does not present an exhaustive list of Civil Rights sites but does attempt to create a framework for categorizing sites: developing an initial list of sites, documenting some of these sites, and noting significant places that have been demolished.

Many perspectives apply to Civil Rights sites. There is no consistent definition among historians for what constitutes such a site. For this study, Civil Rights sites include places where activists and leaders met and places associated with protests. Places where lectures were held, particularly three locations where Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. spoke (Reynolds Coliseum, Broughton High School, and Memorial Auditorium), were considered, but the nexus to the movement was not as demonstrably clear as the meeting and protest sites. This could be reconsidered in the future. Finally, places associated with people connected to the movement is a potential category for future study. Though not a part of this study, if this is pursued in the future, the list of people should be vetted through community meetings, and both homes and offices should be considered. Organizers, student leaders, clergy members, lawyers, and leaders in organizations are all potential candidates.

Meeting Places

In addition to First Congregational Church mentioned above, two other notable meeting places have been demolished. The Bloodworth YMCA (WA2280) hosted many organizing meetings. This building, which had previously housed a segregated USO and prior to that the segregated school for the deaf and blind, was demolished between 1988 and 1999. Greenleaf Auditorium (WA4031) on the campus of Shaw University was the location for the organizing meetings that formed the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC). It was demolished after 1972. Chavis Park is said to have been a place for organizing and coordinating protests. Meetings were also held at churches, though the significance and content of those



*Greenleaf Auditorium, photo North Carolina
Historic Preservation Office files*

meetings are not entirely documented. The Bloodworth YMCA and Greenleaf Auditorium survey files were updated during this project.

Protest Sites

Raleigh has been the site of numerous Civil Rights protests. Perhaps the most notable were associated with the Sit-In or Sit-Down movement. Protests began elsewhere in North Carolina including this most well-known one in Greensboro. On February 1, 1960, four students from North Carolina Agricultural and Technical College went to the Woolworth's lunch counter in a carefully planned and peaceful protest of the store's discriminatory policies. The students sat at the lunch counter and despite the store's refusal to serve them, remained there until the store closed, returning the following day. The media attention garnered by the "Greensboro Four" spurred similar protests in NC and around the country.



Former Eckerd's

On February 10, 1960, 130 African American students entered eight Raleigh establishments requesting service. This was despite a reported meeting of church and city leaders to head off civil disobedience in the city. According to *The News & Observer*, students protested at Woolworth's (WA3798), McLellan's (WA2583), Hudson-Belk (WA4225), Kress (WA4563), Eckerd's Drug Store (WA9355), Walgreens Drug Store (WA2565), Cromley's Sir Walter Drug Store (WA0045), and the Woolworth's (now re-purposed) in Cameron Village Shopping Center (WA2672, now known as the Village District). Anticipating the action, lunch counters were closed, and some entire stores closed early. Reporting suggests the students came from Shaw University and Saint Augustine's College and were organized: "They came and went in shifts, with from 10 to 20 students always remaining in a store."⁶⁸ In the Cameron Village Woolworth's, between six and 30 protested over the course of the day.⁶⁹

Raleigh Mayor William G. Enloe issued a statement that read, in part: "It is regrettable that some of our young Negro students would risk endangering Raleigh's friendly and cooperative race relations by seeking to change a long-standing custom in a manner that is all but determined to fail." A student protesting at Woolworth's was quoted, "We've been organized all year . . . We decided to do this yesterday."⁷⁰

⁶⁸ Charles Craven and David Cooper, "Student Sitdown Strike Spreads to Stores Here," *The News & Observer*, February 11, 1960.

⁶⁹ Craven and Cooper, "Student Sitdown Strike Spreads."

⁷⁰ "Mayor's Statement," *The News & Observer*, February 11, 1960.

On February 10, 1960, North Carolina Attorney General Malcolm B. Sewell suggested three strategies to contain the student actions: stores could arrest students for trespassing, municipalities could outlaw demonstrations by ordinance, or colleges could take action to "prohibit any action by students which threatens or [is] prejudicial to the welfare of the community."⁷¹ Both the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) and Congress Of Racial Equality (CORE) objected to the use of the trespassing charge to deny service in response to Sewell's statement.⁷² CORE sent field representatives to North Carolina to assist with student efforts. Sewell reportedly said that the student movement "posed a serious threat to the peace and good order in the communities in which they take place," and noted that while segregation was not the law, the NC Supreme Court had recognized the right of business owners to refuse to serve individuals.⁷³

The administrations of Shaw and Saint Augustine's seemed to have been surprised by the action.⁷⁴ The protests, however, had been planned in advance by a group called the Intelligence Committee. The Rev. Aaron Johnson was a seminarian at Shaw and one of the committee members. On February 12, 1960, the committee targeted the Woolworth's at Cameron Village Shopping Center and Johnson was a driver transporting students from Shaw to the shopping center.⁷⁵ Students were reportedly milling about on the sidewalk in the vicinity of the Woolworth's store and had been asked to leave by the shopping center management. While dedicated streets in the center were public roads, the rest of the area, including sidewalks, was and is private property.

A passing patrol car stopped around 3 p.m. when flagged by a Cameron Village employee, and its officers began to arrest students for trespassing on private property. The students were given two minutes to vacate the property; when they did not, they were arrested. "The students offered no resistance and were very orderly,"⁷⁶ reported the *Raleigh Times*. "The Raleigh arrests were the first to be made in the widespread protest demonstrations by Negro students in North Carolina."⁷⁷ After being booked and photographed, the students were released on bond at \$50 per person, guaranteed by the Raleigh Wake Citizens Association, though local media initially suggested the bond was posted by sympathetic African American bail bondsmen.⁷⁸ Attorney George Greene, whose father was a professor at Shaw, represented most if not all of the students and was quoted by the media as calling the arrests "shameful."⁷⁹ Forty-one students were arrested

⁷¹ Malcolm Sewell as quoted in "N. C. 'Sit-Down' Protests Spread; Pupils Threatened with Arrest," *New Journal and Guide*, February 13, 1960.

⁷² Chester Hampton, "Moral, Human Right," *Afro-American*, February 20, 1960.

⁷³ "Student Sit-Down Strike Spreads to Sixth N.C. City," *Philadelphia Tribune*, February 13, 1960.

⁷⁴ Craven and Cooper, "Student Sitdown Strike Spreads."

⁷⁵ Aaron Johnson and Deb Cleveland, *Man from Macedonia: My Life of Service, Struggle, Faith, and Hope* (Bloomington, Indiana: West Bow Press, 2010), 67.

⁷⁶ A. C. Snow, "13 Arrested in Sitdown Move," *Raleigh Times*, February 12, 1960.

⁷⁷ Charles Craven, "Police Arrest 41 Students In Raleigh Demonstration," *The News & Observer*, February 13, 1960, 3.

⁷⁸ "Sitdown 'Trespass' Arrests Illegal," *Afro-American*, April 30, 1960, 1.

⁷⁹ Craven, "Police Arrest 41 Students."

that day at Cameron Village and two others were arrested downtown. By Monday, February 15, 1960, the students decided to discontinue protests at Cameron Village pending the resolution of the arrests made the previous week. A statement by the Intelligence Committee of the Shaw-St Augustine's Student Movement read in part, "The Student Movement will discontinue activities in Cameron Village, not through intimidation, but pending court action in the cases of the 43 students arrested."⁸⁰

On February 16, Martin Luther King, Jr. met with students from numerous North Carolina schools who assembled in Durham. That evening he spoke at White Rock Baptist church in Durham, encouraging the civil disobedience. "Let us not fear going to jail. We must say we are willing and prepared to fill up the jailhouses of the south," he is reported to have said. "Our ultimate aim is not to humiliate the white man but to win his understanding."⁸¹ He characterized the student sit-down strikes as "one of the most significant developments in the civil rights struggle."⁸²

On February 25, more than 700 people tried to attend the trial of the Raleigh students. The trial was delayed as the municipal building lacked the capacity to hold the crowd, which posed a fire hazard, prompting a suggestion the trial be held at Memorial Auditorium.⁸³

By February 27, The Committee of Human Relations of the North Carolina Council of Churches, a white religious group, "pledged their support to integration of lunch facilities, and commended the Negroes 'for their self-restraint under provocation.'"⁸⁴ By early March, "forty-six white and 13 colored ministers in Raleigh" had issued "a statement calling for equal opportunity and service in all community relationships, including worship, education, business and employment."⁸⁵

The students' trial continued on Monday, March 28, 1960. The Cameron Village protesters were found guilty and each fined \$10. The attorneys representing the students filed an appeal to the Wake County Superior Court. The lawyers cited in media reports included Samuel Mitchell, George Greene, Fred Carnage, George Brown, Herman Taylor, Richard Ball and Frank Brown of Raleigh and Jack Greenberg of the Legal Defense Fund of New York. Four students' cases were combined and argued as a test for the remainder. Their defense was based on a U.S. Supreme Court case from 1946 involving a proselytizing Jehovah's Witness in Alabama.

The students' case was not presented to the jury of 12 white men, as Wake County Superior Court Judge Jack Hooks agreed that the Supreme Court case was binding precedent and dismissed the case against the four students, at which point District Solicitor Lester Chalmers moved to nol-pros the cases against the remaining students, an action similar to an abandonment

⁸⁰ "Students Call Halt in Village Sitdown Drive," *The News & Observer*, February 15, 1960, 1.

⁸¹ as quoted in Gene Roberts, Jr, "Negro Leader Urges Students to Continue Segregation Protest," *The News & Observer*, February 17, 1960.

⁸² as quoted in Gene Roberts, Jr, "Negro Leader Urges Students to Continue."

⁸³ "Trial of 43 Negroes Postponed," *The Charlotte News*, February 26, 1960, 16.

⁸⁴ "N. C. Churchmen Recognize and Laud Student Sit-down Effort," *New Journal and Guide*, February 27, 1960.

⁸⁵ "Many Arrested, but Sit-Downs Roll on from Florida to N. Y. C.," *New Journal and Guide*, March 12, 1960.

of a case, which was granted. Counsel Samuel Mitchell said, "I believe that the dismissal of the trespassing cases against the 43 students here will have the effect of making all sit-down arrests invalid."⁸⁶ The dismissal was hailed as "the first major legal breakthrough in the student sit-down situation."⁸⁷

The sit-down movement across the South inspired a younger population to engage in non-violent protest. An article in the *New Journal and Guide* noted, "In just two weeks, colored college students in at least five southern states have done something three generations of their elders failed to do. They have brought into broad focus the matter of being given discriminatory treatment in places where they spend their money."⁸⁸ The strikes gave CORE leverage in negotiating agreements with chain stores. And it spurred the creation of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) in April 1960 at Shaw University.

Another spate of protests erupted in 1963. In late March of that year, demonstrators formed a series of picket lines protesting segregated seating at the Ambassador Theater (demolished), operated by then-mayor W. G. Enloe, and the State Theater (demolished). They also picketed the Sears Roebuck store in Cameron Village Shopping Center (WA2672) protesting discriminatory hiring practices.⁸⁹ The Ambassador protest nearly caused Mayor Enloe to resign.^{90, 91}

Protests grew in Raleigh through the spring and summer of 1963, mirroring those in other parts of the state and the nation. Further protests in Raleigh noted by the media included the S & W Cafeteria (demolished), Honakers Sandwich Shop (demolished), the Andrew Johnson Motel (demolished), *The News & Observer* offices (WA7521), the Sir Walter Hotel (WA0045), the Velvet Cloak Inn (WA4594, demolished), the Hillsborough Street YMCA (WA4596, demolished) and the Gateway Restaurant (demolished). Mass arrests resulted in overcrowded jail conditions, with more than 150 protesters arrested in the second week of May.⁹² Arrests continued through mid-May while community leaders met to negotiate solutions. By early June the protests and the negotiation



Sir Walter Hotel

⁸⁶ "Sitdown 'Trespass' Arrests Illegal," *Afro-American*, April 30, 1960.

⁸⁷ "Major Sit-Down Victory Won," *Michigan Chronicle*, April 30, 1960.

⁸⁸ "Students Upheld," *New Journal and Guide*, February 20, 1960.

⁸⁹ "Theaters Draw Pickets protecting Segregation," *The News & Observer*, March 26, 1963.

⁹⁰ Charles Craven, "Mayor Enloe Will Resign Post Today," *The News & Observer*, April 9, 1963.

⁹¹ "Mayor Keeps Post; Picketing Continues," *The News & Observer*, April 10, 1963.

⁹² Bob Lynch and David Cooper, "Negroes Refuse to Leave Jail; Protests Continuing," *The News & Observer*, May 10, 1963.

began to spur progress, with several businesses taking the initiative to integrate. Despite several reports of integrated businesses, effectively most were segregated until April 1964.⁹³

All of the existing protest sites noted above were surveyed previously, and their corresponding survey files were updated during this project. Only one site, the former Eckerd's, was newly surveyed.

Associations with People

Associations with people is an area for further study that should directly involve the African American community. Sites could include homes, offices, or places where Civil Rights progress was made. Consideration should include not only which people could merit this attention, but which extant buildings are most notably connected with their Civil Rights-era work.

Possible candidates include:

- The Holt and Campbell families, for their work to integrate public schools.
- Various clergy, Black and white, who were de facto community leaders and who made Civil Rights a priority for their activism and preaching.
- Attorneys and others involved in challenges to legal the system, including but not limited to attorneys Samuel Mitchell, Fred Carnage, George Greene, George Brown, Frank Brown, Herman Taylor, and Richard Ball, and bail bondsman James Cofield.

⁹³ Raleigh City Museum, *Let Us March On: Raleigh's Journey Toward Civil Rights*, 2000.

African American Architects and Builders

Part of the scope of this study was to research African American architects and builders in Raleigh. While some buildings have been positively identified as the work of African American architects and builders, the attribution is often missing in official survey documentation. This part of the project included updating survey files to identify these people as architects or builders of surveyed resources. Not only does this inclusion create a more complete record of those resources, but it also allows for searches of the statewide Architectural Survey Database to assemble information broadly across thousands of records, aiding in future research.

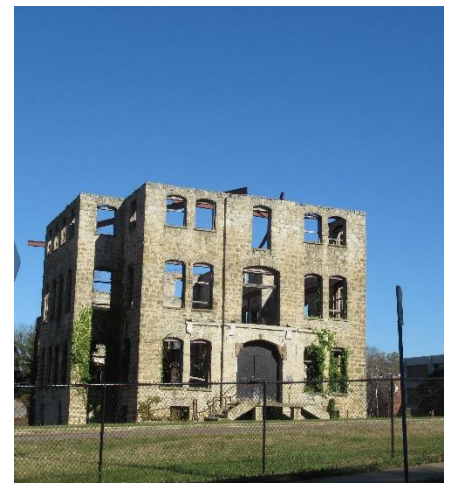
What follows are brief biographical sketches of the architects and builders identified as part of this project and earlier surveys. Also included is a list of known resources, references to previously surveyed resources updated as part of this project, and discussions of newly surveyed properties. For the purposes of this project, many buildings that had previously been surveyed in groups or as part of block face files have now been individually surveyed, meaning that each of the buildings in the group or block now has a unique Survey Site Number, is individually mapped in the HPO's GIS web service, and has a distinct individual survey file.

Henry Beard Delany (1858-1928)

A native of Georgia, Delany moved with his family to Florida after emancipation at the end of the Civil War. In Florida he learned masonry and carpentry skills. In 1881 he moved to Raleigh to attend what is now Saint Augustine's University. Upon his graduation, he joined the faculty and taught building trades, religion, and music through 1918. He is credited with supervising the construction of several buildings on Saint Augustine's campus, including the chapel (WA0147) and the library (WA0140). He was ordained an Episcopal deacon in 1889 and priest in 1892. In 1908 he received a diocesan position that required him to resign his position at the school. In 1918 he was ordained suffragan bishop in charge of Negro work in the Diocese of North Carolina.

John W. Holmes (1872-1945)

J. W. Holmes was a 1903 graduate of North Carolina A&M (now A&T State University). He worked as a builder in High Point and Greensboro before joining the faculty at Saint Augustine's School in Raleigh in 1904. He taught industrial trades and was later promoted to be the school's superintendent. He is credited with supervising the construction of St Agnes Hospital (WA0146, designed by Paul and Seymour Davis of Philadelphia) and "superintending" the construction of the Thomas Memorial Building, demolished). In addition to his work at Saint Augustine's, he was a vice president at the Raleigh branch of Mechanics and Farmers Bank, the chair of the North Carolina effort for African American relief under the National Recovery Act (NRA), a member of the Raleigh Better Housing Committee, and chair of Raleigh's Negro Citizens' Committee.



St. Agnes Hospital

Gaston Alonzo Edwards (1875-1943)

Born in Chatham County, North Carolina, Edwards graduated in 1910 from what is now North Carolina A&T State University with a degree in architecture. He later did graduate work at Cornell and the University of Chicago. His career spanned education and architecture. He taught at the Institute for the Deaf and Dumb and Shaw University, both in Raleigh, and was the president of Kittrell College in Vance County. He is credited with the following designs in Raleigh: Masonic Temple (WA0183), St. Paul AME Church (WA0218), and Tyler Hall (WA2400), part of Leonard Medical School at Shaw University. At least one other design in North Carolina, the Waters Institute in Winton, is attributed to Edwards. All three of the Raleigh buildings associated with Edwards had previously been surveyed as individual properties. As part of this project, the survey files were updated to reflect that Edwards was the architect.



Masonic Temple

Calvin Esau Lightner (1878–1960)

A native of South Carolina, C. E. Lightner moved to Raleigh to attend Shaw University, where he likely studied with Gaston Edwards. In 1906 he established C. E. Lightner and Brothers, contractors and architects. He continued his education with coursework at Hampton Institute and at embalming school in Nashville, Tennessee. Of the 15 Raleigh buildings credited to Lightner in Jason Harpe's 2022 study, only two are extant: The Capehart-Lightner House (WA2407) and Davie Street Presbyterian Church (WA2324).⁹⁴



Cornerstone Davie Street Presbyterian

Willie Edward Jenkins (1923-1988)

Jenkins was born in Wake County and graduated from Washington High School and North Carolina A&T State University, with intervening service in the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers. He was a registered architect and worked from 1949 to 1961 for the Greensboro firm of Loewenstein and Atkinson. In 1962 he opened his own firm, W. Edward Jenkins, AIA. While the majority of his work was in Greensboro, he had one commission in Raleigh, a 1973 apartment complex for the Shaw University Foundation. Located adjacent to Biltmore Hills, the complex later came into private ownership and was known as Dandridge Downs. It is no longer extant.

⁹⁴ Jason Harpe. *Lightner Brothers Study* prepared for the City of Raleigh, 2022.

John Wesley Winters, Sr. (1920-2004)

John Winters was born in Raleigh and was raised in the family home at 229 S. East Street (demolished). The home was built by his grandfather, Oscar Winters, a free man of color. His great-grandfather, a lawyer who was also a free man of color, moved to Raleigh in 1793. John Winters was a graduate of Washington High School and attended Virginia Union University and Long Island University. Living in New York City as a young man, he was briefly an amateur boxer. He returned to Raleigh in 1941. He worked as a skycap and a milkman before opening John W. Winters and Company at 507 E Martin Street around 1956. In 1961 he was the first African American elected to Raleigh City Council. An advocate for Civil Rights, he believed that the struggle extended beyond protests to building strong communities and economic opportunities for African Americans. In 1974 Winters was elected to the State Senate, becoming one of the first two African Americans to serve in the State Legislature since Reconstruction. In addition to his political and real estate accomplishments, Winters served on various boards and committees including those of GROW, Inc.; the Board of Trustees of Shaw University; the Board of Governors of the University of North Carolina; the Board of Directors of Mechanics and Farmers Bank; and the Board of Directors of the Home Builders Association of Raleigh-Wake County. He served on the State Utilities Commission and the board of the North Carolina Housing Corporation.

The scope of Winters' real estate development projects is obscured by the fact that he and his company played many roles including developer, builder, and sales agent. Additionally, Winters like many developers, often formed separate corporations to limit general liability. Madonna Acres Inc., which was involved in the development of the Madonna Acres subdivision, was also involved in the development of other neighborhoods. Winters likely created other corporate entities and partnerships for specific developments.



Cedarwoods Country Estates

Biltmore Hills (WA4548) was developed by Ed Richards in collaboration with John W. Winters, whose company was the sales agent.⁹⁵ Madonna Acres (WA4443) is a 13-acre subdivision platted in 1960 containing 40 single-family houses, comprised largely of ranch and split-level homes. The land was acquired from the Delany family. Winters was responsible for the development of the Madonna Acres, the design of many of the houses, and the construction of the houses. It is known that he sold some lots for development to the Wachovia Building Company, associated with Ed Richards. Madonna Acres was listed in the National Register of Historic Places in 2010.

⁹⁵ "Housing Project for Negroes Going Up on Old Garner Road," *The News & Observer*, November 8, 1959.

Winters was also involved in developing and building a small subdivision known as Cedarwoods Country Estates (WA9387) in 1966.⁹⁶ In 1971 it was reported that he was considering a development in north Raleigh to be called Willow End. It is unclear if the development was constructed, and if so, whether it remains.⁹⁷ In 1979 Winter built Wintershaven, a federally subsidized 60-unit, low-rise apartment complex that provided low- and moderate-income housing predominantly for seniors and people with disabilities (500 East Hargett Street-extant, but now market-rate housing).⁹⁸ Adjacent to Wintershaven is Winters Square, a retail commercial development at the corner of East and Martin Streets (extant). In 1985 he built the Brown Birch Apartments, slated to be redeveloped as Toulon Place.⁹⁹

The John W. Winters Company ran a series of advertisements in *The Carolinian* from the late 1950s to the mid-1960s advertising homes it was building and/or selling. While some ads showed both houses built by the company and those only sold by them, those only for sale were typographically separated from those built by the company. In later ads, Alexander Smith is noted with the title “designer.” This may be Alexander Webb Smith (1940-1989), a graduate of Ligon High School in Raleigh and Florida A&M University. Little else is known about Smith.

A review of advertisements resulted in a preliminary list of 78 construction projects associated with Winters. Of those, seven are in Cedarwoods Country Estates, one is in Madonna Acres, ten appear to have been demolished, three are outside Raleigh, 24 may have addresses that have changed and it is unclear if they are extant, and 28 others were surveyed as a part of this project. The advertisements were discovered

Watch The Progress of the Construction
OF A
BEAUTIFUL HOME
FOR
Mr. & Mrs. Perry Crutchfield
—AT—
623 Quarry Street
—BY—
JOHN W. WINTERS
Complete Drafting of Plans—Supervision of Construction
ASSISTANCE IN FINANCING
“For Homes That Are Different Let Me Build For You”
TE 3-3251 1309 E. HARGETT

Other Homes Under Construction

Mr. and Mrs. John Earnest Jones	963 Bragg St.
Mr. and Mrs. Sherman Williams	1302 S. Bloodworth St.
Mr. and Mrs. Willie Graves	Garner, N. C.

Other Completed Homes

Mrs. Mary Jones	2312 Bedford Avenue
Mr. and Mrs. John B. Blount	706 Tower St.
Mr. and Mrs. Johnny Jones	391 Smithfield St.
Mr. and Mrs. James Green, Jr.	29 Hill St.
Mr. and Mrs. Thomas Montague	1366 E. Edenton St.
Mr. and Mrs. Winsor Jones	917 S. State St.
Mr. and Mrs. Lenn Herndon	1316 S. Bloodworth St.
Mrs. Lara Thomas	1320 S. Bloodworth St.
Mr. and Mrs. Arthur Mintz	315 E. Hoke St.
Mr. and Mrs. Paul Vandergriff	1168 S. Coleman St.
Mr. and Mrs. H. E. Brown	833 S. State St.
Mr. and Mrs. John C. Washington	705 E. Edenton St.
Mr. and Mrs. Lawrence Clemens	1412 E. Lane Street
Mr. and Mrs. Charles LaSister	1620 Battery Drive
Mr. and Mrs. Sherman Williams	1304 S. Bloodworth St.

Advertisement from the *Carolinian* September 13, 1958



Gaston Pulley House with typical braced inset porch

⁹⁶ “Parade of Homes will Open Here Today,” *The News & Observer*, September 25, 1966.

⁹⁷ “Winters to Build Home Units,” *The News & Observer*, November 20, 1971.

⁹⁸ Henry Gargan, “Residents of another affordable housing complex will have to move,” *The News & Observer*, July 8, 2017.

⁹⁹ Caleb Harshbarger, “Why this affordable housing project in Raleigh is 15 years in the making,” *Triangle Business Journal*, February 6, 2020.

late in the project and the surveyed houses were/were not evaluated for National Register eligibility.

Survey Site Number	Name	Address
WA9389	Gaston Pulley House	714 Atwater Street
WA9390	Powell Peebles House	606 Latta Street
WA9391	Mary Jones House	2212 Bedford Avenue
WA9392	Sherwin Williams House	1302 S. Bloodworth Street
WA9393	Sherwin Williams House 2	1304 S. Bloodworth Street
WA9394	Lara Thomas House	1320 S. Bloodworth Street
WA9395	Arthur Mintz House	315 Hoke Street
WA9396	Thomas Chavis House	1311 S. East Street
WA9397	Minnie Freeman House	623 W. Lenoir Street
WA9398	Stephen Glenn House	911 S. Bloodworth Street
WA9399	Wilbert Leach House	549 Bragg Street
WA9400	John Earnest Jones House	903 Bragg Street
WA9402	Eugene Dunn House	626 Quarry Street
WA9403	James Melvin House	627 Quarry Street
WA9404	Perry Crutchfield House	623 Quarry Street
WA9405	Samuel Brower House	604 Quarry Street
WA9406	Eddie Cox House	500 Freeman Street
WA9407	H. E. Brown House	833 S. State Street
WA9408	Winsor Jones House	917 S. State Street
WA9409	Aulice Evans House	1109 E. Martin Street
WA9410	Paul Johnson House	1537 Battery Drive
WA9411	Model House	1309 E. Hargett Street
WA9412	Massalena Williams House	105 Star Street
WA9413	James Green House	20 Hill Street
WA9414	James A. Boyer House	1504 Oakwood Avenue
WA9415	Lawrence Clemmons House	1412 E. Lane Street
WA9416	Rivers Crudup House	111 N. State Street
WA9417	William E. Hunt House	115 N. State Street

While house styles and sophistication may have been contingent on clients and budgets, some observations can be made about the Winters houses surveyed. Most are single-family houses except for two duplexes, which may have been income-producing for owner-occupants. Of the

single-family houses, two are split-levels and of the rest, some archetypal ranch houses and others exhibit elements of modernism. Still other examples lack a clear association with nationally popular styles. Most have brick veneer. Inset porches on the facade are quite common, as is a porch support system that includes wooden diagonal bracing. Multi-part windows are also quite common, as are banks of awning windows.

Most of the houses are located in southeast Raleigh communities including Quarry Hills, Old Fourth Ward, Hungry Neck-Idlewild, College Park, East Raleigh-South Park, and Battery Heights. There is also one house in Method and two in Oberlin Village.



M/M Stephen Glenn House with typical inset porch and windows

Other Builders and Tradesmen

The North Carolina Architects and Builders website (<https://ncarchitects.lib.ncsu.edu/>) includes information compiled by Catherine Bishir about African American tradesmen who appear to have worked on Raleigh projects. These include:

- **Jack Dewey** (dates unknown), a New Bern carpenter who worked for the Cameron family and likely worked on the Cameron House (no longer extant).
- **James Boon** (1808-1850?), a carpenter and free man of color, may also have worked on the house.
- Two brothers, **Albert** and **Osborne** (last name unknown), masons and plasterers, are thought to have worked on the Devereux House (no longer extant).
- **Henry J. Peterson** (1805-1886), a free man of color and brick mason, is reported to have worked on the North Carolina State Capitol.
- **Stewart Ellison** (1834-1899) was a contractor who also served in the state legislature during Reconstruction. He worked as a contractor on the North Carolina Hospital for the Insane (Dix Hospital) and was the builder for the original Saint Paul's AME Church.
- **Millard Peebles**, a brick mason, is credited for many mid-twentieth century projects in Raleigh.

Study List Recommendations

Cedarwood Country Estates and Biltmore Hills will be recommended for the North Carolina Study List. The Capehart-Lightner House, and Davie Street Presbyterian Church will be recommended for the North Carolina Study List pending interior documentation.

Churches

In considering churches, the study included those that were built by traditionally Black congregations, as well as buildings built by white congregations that were later occupied by Black congregations. Two previously documented churches, Davie Street Presbyterian and St. Paul African Methodist Episcopal (AME), were also included because they represent the work of Black architects. Surveyed resources include buildings constructed before 1945, that housed Black congregations during 1945-1975, and that had not been previously or adequately documented. The 34 newly surveyed churches date from 1930 to 2006. The 2006 church, Trinity Free Will Baptist Church, has an older secondary building thought to have been previously used as the worship space.

Henry Louis Gates in his book, *The Black Church* notes that churches are among the oldest institutions “created and controlled by African Americans.”¹⁰⁰ He continues that the “the Black Church has stood as the foundation of Black religious, political, economic and social life.”¹⁰¹ As an institution, “The Black Church” is foundational in African American culture. However, Gates acknowledges that a focus on the seven historical African American denominations (African American Episcopal Church [AME], African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church [AME Zion], National Baptist Convention USA, National Baptist Convention of America, Progressive National Baptist Convention, Christian Methodist Episcopal Church [CME], and Church of God in Christ [COGIC]) excludes Black Episcopalians, Catholics, Jehovah's Witnesses, Muslims, Jews, Mormons, Seventh Day Adventists, and other African and Caribbean-based practices including Ifa, Santeria, and Vodou. All houses of worship identified within the parameters of the study happened to be Christian. Denominations of surveyed resources include AME, AME Zion, Baptist, Free Will Baptist, Missionary Baptist, Holiness, Congregational, Methodist, Pentecostal, and Seventh Day Adventist.

Architecture of “Black” Churches of 1945-1975

This survey report and context focuses primarily on church architecture given the diversity of religious traditions represented, and the fact that many surveyed church buildings housed multiple congregations, not all Black. National Register Criteria Consideration A, notes that religious properties are not considered for listing unless they derive primary significance from architectural or artistic distinction or historical importance, thus the focus on church architecture may support designation.¹⁰² Architectural styles include Romanesque, Gothic Revival, Classical Revival, Colonial Revival, and Modernist. Some buildings lack a strong tie to any nationally popular style.

Purpose-built African American church buildings are not only central to a community as a place of worship but also as a place of the community’s investment. Black architect Richard Dozier has noted “Church buildings, representing perhaps the single greatest investment by Afro-

¹⁰⁰ Henry Louis Gates *The Black Church*. New York: Penguin Press, 2021, p.1.

¹⁰¹ Gates, *The Black Church* p.1.

¹⁰² Part of the requirements and guidelines for listing on the National Register of Historic Places.

Americans in architecture, are often the most monumental structures in the Afro-American community."¹⁰³ Despite this, scholarship on Black churches is sparse. In a 1996 essay in the *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, Nicholas Adam remarks, "[W]hat is striking about the rural churches of the South as they relate to architectural history is how little we know about them. There is no book or article to consult, and no expert has stepped forward to talk about their architecture."¹⁰⁴

In addition to the sheer variety of architectural styles found in the Black churches surveyed, there are five patterns in Raleigh worth noting: 1) the preponderance of modernist churches with simplified presentation, 2) Black congregations in "white buildings," 3) building with known design sources, 4) churches associated with influential preacher and broadcaster "Sister Gary," and 4) the phenomenon of displaced congregations.

Ecclesiastical Styles in Simplified Presentation

Five churches documented in this study can be categorized as employing ecclesiastical styles or forms in a simplified presentation: Lily of the Valley Free Will Baptist Church, Union Baptist Church, United Full Gospel Tabernacle, Pentecostal Holiness Church, and Morning Star Missionary Baptist Church.

The, Lily of the Valley and Union Baptist churches were built ca.1935 in south Raleigh. Lily of the Valley Free Will Baptist Church is a gable-fronted church constructed of concrete block that incorporates buttresses, a corner tower entrance, a hooded secondary entrance, and a lancet-shaped window centered on the facade. A hand carved date stone includes carefully beveled letters. The utilitarian exterior materials and simplified form may reflect a limited budget, not surprising given the widespread impacts of Jim Crow practices in the larger society. Despite limitations, the builder was able to communicate the function and importance of the building by translating high style architectural features and forms through commonplace materials. Likewise, Union Baptist Church is a gable-fronted, concrete block church, with a central entrance. Lacking an entrance tower, its primary signifier as a house of worship is a hipped roof belfry.

Constructed slightly later, the ca. 1955 United Full Gospel Tabernacle is a front-gabled church, built of brick laid in running bond pattern with brick pilasters at the corners of the facade and a rowlock brick course at the water table. Pentagonal masonry openings for the stained-glass windows suggests the Gothic Revival style. Though paint obscures the brickwork, double courses of raking rowlock bricks form the diagonal apex of each window opening.

Pentecostal Holiness Church is built of frame construction with vinyl siding and rectangular stained glass-windows. It most resembles Union Baptist Church with a gable-fronted form and hipped belfry or monitor centered on the facade.

¹⁰³ Richard K. Dozier, "Caretakers of the Past: Blacks Preserve Their Architectural Heritage," *History News* 36, No. 2 (February 1981): 16.

¹⁰⁴ Nicholas Adam, "Churches on Fire," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 55, No. 3 (September 1996): 236.

Morning Star Missionary Baptist Church is a simple gable-fronted form with a gabled entrance portico. It follows an allied thread of Black churches constructed of simple materials and later rebuilt. Often, early African American churches were framed and built inexpensively to meet the immediate needs of new congregations that were not affluent and lacked the resources of churches with a long and established institutional history. The practice of reinventing the building as and when money allowed, particularly rebuilding in brick or adding a brick veneer, is a hallmark of many southern Black churches. It is not uncommon to have more than one church building for a congregation at a site.¹⁰⁵

Black Churches in “White Buildings”

Three church buildings dating from the 1960s, currently occupied by black congregations, were originally built by white congregations.

The Church of God of East Raleigh was purchased by the Maple Temple United Church of Christ, a Black congregation, in 1971. Like many of the churches in the survey from the 1960s and 1970s it has a flying gable roof. Unlike the side elevations clad in brick veneer, much of the facade is clad in a layer of breeze block applied over concrete block. This treatment impedes the ventilating qualities that breeze blocks were made for but creates a regular geometric pattern.

The Morning Star Baptist congregation purchased the Grace Baptist Church building in 1998, it similarly has a flying gable. Clad largely in red brick, the facade is divided in three parts, the central portion clad in contrasting white brick. The white brick creates the backdrop for a large cross. The building’s simplified modernist form allows for oversized signifying through the cross, embodying the aspects of a car-driven semiotic architecture as described by Robert Venturi, Denise Scott Brown, and Steven Izenour in *Learning from Las Vegas*.

The final “Black church in a white building” is the former Highland Baptist Church (WA9378). Designed by architect George Smart, it is a sophisticated example of Colonial Revival architecture, with its striking portico and entablature. In addition to its architectural significance, the church and its administrative wing housed the Shaw University Divinity School from 1988-1999. If the church were considered for National Register listing after 2038, its role as an education institution associated with an HBCU (Historically Black College or University) should also be considered.

Known Design Sources

There are known design sources for only a handful of the churches in this study. In addition to the former Highland Baptist Church by George Smart, architects are also known for Saint Paul AME Church (WA0218) by Gaston Alonzo Edwards and Davie Street Presbyterian Church (WA2324) by Calvin Esau Lightner. As such the buildings should be considered not only for their architectural merit but as part of the architect’s larger collected work. In the latter two churches the architects were African American. There is some evidence that John Lankford, another pioneering Black architect, may have influenced the design of First Baptist on

¹⁰⁵ Nicholas Adam, "Churches on Fire," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 55, No. 3 (September 1996): 236.

Wilmington Street (WA0057), though it is yet to be confirmed. The United House of Prayer for All People (WA9375) appears to have been designed by ODA Architects of Charlotte. Other churches may have benefitted from denominational design assistance or standard plans. Wallace Rayfield, a Black architect, designed churches of the AME Zion denomination and John Lankford for the AME church. There is no evidence that they designed any of the churches in this study (save for some scant evidence for First Baptist) but a thorough examination of their stock designs was beyond the scope of this project and merits further study.

Sister Gary

Two churches could possibly also be considered under Criterion B as for architecture because of their association with Sister Gary. Mabel Gary Philpott (1906-1978) or “Sister Gary” was ordained clergy in the AME Zion Church and served at Grace AME Zion Church. During her 25-year association with Grace, the congregation grew from nine to 567 members and the physical plant expanded accordingly. In the 1940s she hosted a gospel radio program on WRAL and in 1969 the program transitioned to television. In both mediums she attracted large ratings.¹⁰⁶ In 1961 when the AME Zion conference attempted to reassign her to a new parish, Sister Gary’s congregation withdrew from the conference.¹⁰⁷ It ultimately formed Wesleyan First Church of Deliverance¹⁰⁸ where Sister Gary ministered until her death in 1978. An editorial in *The News & Observer* upon her death eulogized her thus:

“There was a time in Wake County when late Sunday afternoon and Sister Gary were practically synonymous for many people. The evangelist’s powerful voice and her choir’s jubilant spirituals would roll in over the radio every Sabbath at 6 o’clock. And a lot of citizens who knew too little in those days about the lives of blacks gained joyous insight when Sister Gary was on the air.”¹⁰⁹

Additional research into this pioneering and influential pastor and religious broadcaster could support Criterion B eligibility for these church’s association with a significant person.

Displaced Congregations

Many of the church buildings surveyed have housed numerous congregations and fuller research into the “musical chairs” of church buildings and congregations was beyond the scope of this project. Two churches, however, were clearly built for displaced congregations: the former Fayetteville Street Baptist Church, now known as First Cosmopolitan Baptist Church and Piney Grove AME Church, both of which had earlier buildings demolished through Urban Renewal projects. Additional congregations may have been similarly forced to move. Lincolnville AME, which is just outside the city limits, is a good example and there may be others. Displaced congregations, those that were forced to relocated should be considered as a category separate from moved congregations, those that relocated not by force but by choice to find parcels with

¹⁰⁶ “Sister Gary.” <https://history.capitolbroadcasting.com/people/past-communicators/sister-gary/>.

¹⁰⁷ Tom Wood, “Bid to Oust Sister Gary Fails After Officers Help,” *The News & Observer*, November 13, 1961.

¹⁰⁸ Anonymous. “Sister Gary Builds Again.” *The News & Observer*, December 17, 1962.

¹⁰⁹ Anonymous. “An Inspiration named Sister Gary,” *The News & Observer*, July 17, 1978.

more parking or that were closer to suburban populations, patterns as noted by Gretchen Buggeln, in *The Suburban Church: Modernism and Community in Postwar America*.¹¹⁰

Architectural Variety

Church architecture as represented in the study ranges from traditional to modern. St. Matthew AME Church with its buttressed form and traceried window on the facade is one example that contains aspects of the Gothic Revival. The use of this style for a church draws upon original Gothic precedents for houses of worship.

The former Maple Temple Christian Church exhibits a simplified Gothic Revival and as with Saint Matthew's has a gable-fronted form with twin towers. "Versions of such twin-tower churches, varying greatly in scale and architectural execution, were popular choices among growing African American congregations throughout North Carolina in the early twentieth century."¹¹¹ Catherine Bishir notes the prevalence of unequal towers in earlier Gothic Revival style churches, "Combination of two unequal towers were familiar throughout nineteenth-century Gothic Revival church architecture, but the form was especially strong among black congregations, especially the A.M.E. and A.M.E. Zion churches."¹¹²

The Romanesque Revival is represented by the former Young Missionary Temple CME church with its brick exterior, heavier form, and rounded windows. The applied parapet wall on the gabled facade is a distinct and striking treatment not seen in any of the other churches surveyed. The Classical Revival is represented by Providence United Holy Church and First Church of God Ministries both featuring pedimented entrance porticos.

Beginning in the 1950s, more churches were rendered in modernist styles such as Calvary Apostolic Church and Martin Street Baptist Church. Many of these churches retain a traditional gabled form and brick exteriors but are often simplified in exterior features and ornaments, using broad fields of brick or other background material as the foil for large crosses. Gethsemane Seventh Day Adventist Church in its current location could be considered Google architecture that is typified by elements such as the swooping roofline and space age appearance.

What follows are brief descriptions of the newly surveyed church buildings, listed chronologically by construction date.¹¹³

¹¹⁰ Gretchen Buggeln, *The Suburban Church: Modernism and Community in Postwar America*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2015.

¹¹¹ Mattson, Alexander and Associates, Inc. "Mooresville Architectural Survey, Iredell County, 2015-2016." 41.

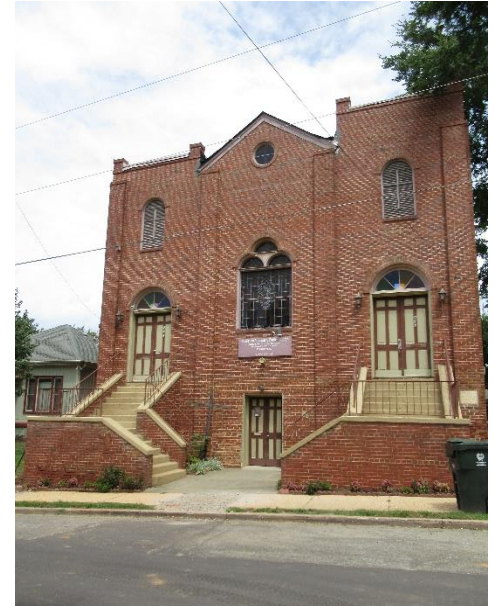
¹¹² Catherine Bishir, *North Carolina Architecture* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2005, p375.

¹¹³ State historic survey guidelines require church buildings to be recorded using their historic/original names. A chart of surveyed churches showing their current and original names as well addresses can be found in the appendix.

St. Matthew AME Church (WA9339)

The Saint Matthew AME congregation was formed ca. 1867 and met in a former hospital building at New Bern and Seawell Avenues until 1910, when the congregation moved to E. Davie Street. A church building constructed in 1910 was demolished in 1929. The congregation built this surveyed church building and remained here until moving to temporary quarters in 1986, while building a new modern church on another site. Their former church building was passed to Ye Are the Temple Bible Fellowship, also known as Word of God Fellowship, in 1986. In 1993 the surveyed building was sold to Trinity Free Will Baptist Church, and in 2014 to Revelation Missionary Baptist Church.

The brick building has twin crenelated towers at the facade flanking a narrow central gable. A central double-leaf door at grade is flanked by twin entrances in the towers. These double-leaf doors with fanlights above are accessed by twin dogleg stairs. Above the tower entrances are arched masonry openings housing louvered vents. Above the central door is a rectangular stained-glass window topped by a trio of semicircular windows. Centered in the gable is a round, four-light window. The facade also has four brick pilasters that reach to the height of the gable ends of the central gable. The nave walls each have four bays divided by small brick buttresses. Each bay houses a round-headed stained-glass window.



St. Matthew AME Church

Lily of the Valley Free Will Baptist Church (WA9366)

Though tax records suggest this building was constructed in the 1960s, it could easily be earlier. The building is difficult to date given the use of traditional forms and mass-produced materials. This one-story, front-gabled church is built of concrete block. The facade has a single square tower at the north that has a double-leaf door. South of the tower is a pentagonal window with a cross affixed on it in a masonry opening with brick detailing. South of this large central window is what appears to have been a small door, now enclosed, with a wooden gabled hood. The side elevations appear to be divided into five bays by concrete block buttresses. The visible bays have masonry openings with brick sills and lintels now housing small sash windows and infill panels. A hand-carved cornerstone reads, "LILY OF THE/VALLIE-/ FREE.WILL. BAPTIES-/ORGANIZED/APRIL.10.19.29



Lily of the Valley Free Will Baptist Church

Union Baptist Church (WA9358)

City tax records do not show a corresponding deed reference for this site and estimate the construction date for the church building as 1935. The one-story, front-gabled concrete-block church with brick detailing is three bays wide and four bays deep. Its gables have vinyl siding. The roof has a small monitor that may have been a belfry, with a pyramidal hipped roof. The facade has a central, single-leaf entrance with sidelights flanked by fixed rectangular windows. The west elevation has two windows. The north and south walls have four windows, all of equal size save the easternmost on the south elevation, which is considerably smaller.



Union Baptist Church

Maple Temple Christian Church (WA9338)

As early as 1901, Maple Temple Christian Church is listed in city directories at the corner of Cotton (Camden) and E. Martin Streets. References to the church are found in local media into the late 1970s. In 2009 the building was sold by Together with You Gospel Crusade to the current occupant, Gethsemane True Vine. Tax records show the building was constructed in 1944.



Maple Temple Christian Church

The Gothic Revival-style building is laid in running-bond brick. It has twin crenelated towers flanking a gabled parapet on the facade that masks a gambrel roof. A short, cross-gabled addition extends across the rear elevation and extends past the west wall of the sanctuary.

The twin towers both have lancet-shaped openings that house double-leaf doors with triangular windows above. Centered on the

towers are lancet-shaped masonry openings with louvered vents. A third such vent is found in the parapet gable above a lancet-shaped stained-glass window. The east and west elevations are similar. The towers have lancet-shaped masonry openings with rowlock brickwork at the top housing stained-glass windows. Centered above the windows are lancet-shaped louvered vents, set high in the tower. The side walls of the nave also have three lancet-shaped masonry openings, all housing windows save for the north opening on the east elevation, which has been converted to a door with an exterior wooden access ramp.

Smith Temple Free Will Baptist Church (WA9340)

According to numerous cornerstones, Smith Temple Free Will Baptist Church was founded in 1938 by the Reverend J. C. Smith. The stones note that the sanctuary was built in 1944 and rebuilt in 1953, 1972, and 1986, all presumably on this parcel, which was purchased in 1940. The congregation has recently acquired a new parcel and is building a new church on Rock Quarry Road. The current church is roughly T-shaped in footprint, with a front-gabled sanctuary that extends to the east from the middle of a flat-roofed rear wing that runs north-south at the western portion of the parcel. The sanctuary and the rear wing are both clad in running-bond brick and have rectangular window openings with stone keystones. The facade is gable-fronted with vinyl siding in the gable. Below the gable, the central bay is recessed, with a double-leaf entrance door flanked by fluted pilasters that support a broken pediment with an urn. The recessed entrance is within a portico in antis (a portico recessed within a structure, not projecting from it) with squared columns supporting a signboard reading “Smith Temple FWB Church.” On either side of the recessed entrance, the facade houses flanking round-headed windows. On the gable roof is a slender pyramidal steeple topped by a cross, supported by a square base with louvered sides.



Smith Temple Free Will Baptist Church

Grace AME Zion Church (WA9362)

According to newspaper reports, this building replaced at least two earlier buildings: a small two-room building and a larger building constructed between 1936 and 1946. The congregation grew significantly in the 1940s under the leadership of its pastor, Sister Mabel B. Gary.¹¹⁴ The church's cornerstone indicates the congregation dates to 1918. Aerial photos in the city's GIS mapping suggest that additions were constructed and/or enlarged at the east and north sides of the building between 1981-1999.

The masonry building is clad in stucco. The facade of the sanctuary has twin towers with pyramidal roofs flanking a central gable. Each tower has a single-leaf entrance accessed by exterior masonry stairs that



Grace AME Zion Church

¹¹⁴ Jane Hall, “Negro Woman Draws Audience With Weekly Radio Sermons,” *The News & Observer*, August 11, 1946.

ascend to the north and south, respectively. Each set of stairs has a metal railing. Between the stairs, at grade, is a small masonry planter. Centered under the gable and between the towers is a triangular stained-glass window. The north elevation of the sanctuary has a shed-roofed frame addition, and the south side has older stucco exposed and six bays divided by buttresses.

Caraleigh Pentecostal Holiness Church (WA9385)

This parcel was purchased by the Matthew Chapel Full Deliverance Pentecostal Holiness Church from the North Carolina conference of the Pentecostal Holiness Church, Inc., which purchased the property in 1953. Tax records estimate the date of construction as 1970, but a church variously known as the Caraleigh Pentecostal Holiness Church has been on this site since at least 1955, according to newspaper reports.¹¹⁵ Indeed, the older side-gabled frame building had a large, cased entrance on one side that corresponds to an abandoned set of masonry steps at the south side of the current building's facade. By at least 1981, a projecting cross-gabled wing had been built at the east side of the church. Between 1981 and 1988 the church was expanded to the north and east, north of the projecting front wing. The building's footprint has been consistent since then. The church sits on a concrete block foundation and is clad largely in vinyl siding. The projecting front wing has a gabled porch with turned posts sheltering a double-leaf door. A small steeple sits on the east end of the front projecting wing.



Caraleigh Pentecostal Holiness Church

United Full Gospel Tabernacle (WA9382)



United Full Gospel Tabernacle

This parcel has been owned by at least four congregations since 1992, before which time the chain of title is broken. In 1992 the United Full Gospel Tabernacle sold the building to the Upper Room Church of God in Christ, which in the following year sold the building to the Abundant Life Church of God in Christ, which sold the building in 1998 to the Miracle Temple House of Prayer Holiness Church. Tax records estimate the date of construction to be 1955. This front-gabled brick church is laid in running bond and has brick pilasters at the corners of the facade and a rowlock water table. Masonry steps ascend to the east. The gabled front porch is supported

by columns and narrow wood pilasters on a large masonry deck. The stairs are flanked by brick

¹¹⁵ Anonymous. "New Church Here." The News & Observer, July 21, 1955.

planters. Above the planter at the north is a section of brickwork that has been reworked and appears to be rectangular. This could have been where a date stone was later removed. The porch shelters a double-leaf door with a rectangular transom above it. Flanking the porch are pentagonal stained-glass windows, framed in rowlock brickwork with rowlock sills. The north and south elevations have five such windows on the main level, aligned over masonry openings in the basement.

Young Missionary Temple CME Church (WA9337)

In 1921 this parcel was sold to the trustees of the Colored Methodist Episcopal Church (CME) in America, one of whom was a C. Young. City directories noted this address as the location of Young's Chapel AME Church, but the deed transferring the parcel and building to its current owner in 1998 describes the grantors as Young Missionary Temple CME. The predecessor congregation, sometimes known as the Cotton Street Church, was formed in 1916 and worshipped in a one-room building facing Cotton Street. An annex was added in 1954, and in 1956 the sanctuary was rebuilt and reoriented toward State Street. Trinity United Faith Center was organized in 1997 and purchased the building the following year, when Young Missionary Temple moved to Sanderford Road.



Young Missionary Temple CME Church

The existing structure is L-shaped in footprint, with the Sunday school wing extending to the south at the far west end of the sanctuary. The sanctuary extends to the east and has a telescoping gabled vestibule. The exterior walls are laid in common bond. Centered on the vestibule is an applied parapet wall with graduated depictions of a steeple rendered in brick rising from the peak of the gable. Within that gable are three arched stained-glass windows of the same size, arranged with the central window set above the flanking two. Below them is a second applied wall surface, gabled with stone coping that underscores the windows above. It houses an arched opening with stone springers and a keystone, within which are double-glazed doors with a demilune stained-glass window above. Flanking these applied surfaces are arched stained-glass windows like those centered in the facade, also with stone springers and keystones. The fenestration continues on either side of the vestibule with one window on each side, and along the north and south walls of the sanctuary. The north elevation has at the next-to-the-last bay at the west a lower, smaller arched opening that, given the description of the church's evolution, may have been the principal entrance prior to renovation.

Calvary Apostolic Church (WA9380)



Calvary Apostolic Church (1989 addition)

This parcel was purchased in 1977 by the trustees of the Faith Missionary Baptist Church from First United Pentecostal Church, formerly known as Calvary Apostolic Church in a deed that references buildings. First United Pentecostal Church purchased the property in 1964. The Faith Missionary Baptist congregation was organized in 1976 by a group of worshippers that had previously been meeting at the Raleigh Safety Club Building on Branch Street. Aerial photos show that in 1981 the parcel included a small gable-roofed church, a cross-gabled dwelling, and a flat-roofed auxiliary building. The dwelling

was demolished by the year 2000. In 1989 a large addition was built south of the earlier church building. The original portion of the church building is constructed of concrete block and has what appears to have been a large masonry opening at the north. Some metal casement windows survive on the west elevation. The southern, newer portion of the building, with a running-bond masonry veneer, is separated from the earlier core by a brick parapet firewall. The new section has a large gable-roofed sanctuary at the east and a low, shed-roofed wing on the west that extends south to almost the full depth of the sanctuary. The wing's south elevation is an unornamented brick wall in running bond. The gable end of the sanctuary (south wall) is divided into three sections. The east and west sections are blank running bond brick. The central section, delineated by short full-height brick walls that extend to the south, is recessed, and clad in stucco with a stained-glass window at the top over which is affixed a large cross. The primary entrance is at the juncture of the original wing and 1989 addition through an inset porch. The porch is framed on the north by an extension of the firewall and on the south by a square tower that has near its top a trio of blind brick panels, before culminating in a two-tiered frame base for a steeple. The recessed entrance is protected by a flat-roofed awning, and the firewall extension serves to support signage saying, "Welcome to Faith." There is another recessed entrance on the west elevation opposite the main entrance, implying that the connection between the two buildings includes a transverse hall.

Providence United Holy Church (WA9367)

According to a cornerstone, the Providence United Holy Church was organized in 1882. A news article in 1957 states that the congregation was worshipping in their new annex, anticipating the construction of a new sanctuary at Bledsoe Avenue and Bloodworth Street.¹¹⁶ The current church building was completed in 1957. The attached Haywood-Baker Building was dedicated in 1984 per a datestone. In 2001, the church building was sold to Fulfilled Promise Tabernacle.

¹¹⁶ Anonymous. "Providence Church Sets Rally Series." *The News & Observer*, March 7, 1957.

The sanctuary is a gable-fronted building on a high basement clad in six-course American-bond brick veneer. It has a monumental gabled porch on the facade supported by square columns. The porch shelters a double-leaf door with a stained-glass transom, all contained within a fluted surround. The entrance is flanked by rectangular stained-glass windows, and there are four square stained-glass windows above them on an attic level. Each of these masonry openings has a soldier-course lintel between stone square decorative corner blocks. The porch is accessed by a flight of masonry steps that ascend to the south as well as a ramp that wraps the northwest corner of the building. The side elevations are roughly symmetrical, having in their northern bays fenestration patterns that continue from the facade with rectangular windows at the lower level and square windows above. Beyond that are five round-headed openings with stained-glass windows, each with a double rowlock arch with a stone keystone and stone springers.



Providence United Holy Church

Pentecostal Holiness Church (WA9347)

This parcel was purchased in 1959 by the Pentecostal Holiness Church, though it is currently owned by a denomination that was organized in 1985. There does not appear to be any change in legal ownership, suggesting that the congregation perhaps converted from one denomination to another. Tax records state that the building was built in 1960. It is a modest one-story, front-gabled frame building clad in vinyl siding. The facade has a single-leaf door sheltered by a one-bay gabled porch with turned posts and metal railings. The porch is flanked by rectangular slag-glass windows. The south elevation has a single jalousie window at the east and then three rectangular slag-glass windows to the west, followed by a single-leaf door. The north elevation similarly has a single jalousie window followed by two slag-glass windows and then two cased openings that have been boarded up. The roof has a small monitor louvered on four sides with a pyramidal top.



Pentecostal Holiness Church

Pleasant Ridge Missionary Baptist Church (WA9381)

This parcel has been in the ownership of four different congregations since 1972, starting with the Pleasant Ridge Missionary Baptist Church. Southwest Raleigh Baptist Church acquired the property in 1994 and sold it to Philadelphia Missionary Baptist Church in 2000. Word of Truth church purchased the parcel in 2013. Tax records indicate the church was built in 1960. The front-gabled church is constructed of concrete block. It has a telescoping gabled entry porch supported by square wooden posts and pilasters sheltering a double-leaf door. Near the west end of the church, a square base on the roof supports a narrow steeple topped by a cross. There are five windows along the south elevation, two of which are one-over-one sash. The other three appear to be single-light, fixed windows. A wooden cross is affixed to the south elevation at the west end.



Pleasant Ridge Missionary Baptist Church

First Church of God Ministries (WA9359)

This congregation was organized in 1928 and met in members' homes and in a tent until the lot was purchased and the church building constructed in 1929. A new sanctuary was built onsite in 1961 adjacent to the earlier construction. The complex has had the same footprint since 1981 per aerials. The one-story, front-gabled sanctuary with later additions has exterior walls laid in running bond. The facade has a gabled entrance portico supported by four Doric columns and two pilasters, accessed by masonry steps that ascend on three sides. Double doors with a transom above are set within a rectangular masonry opening. The entrance is flanked by tall rectangular windows with multiple square panes of colored glass. A round stained-glass window in the portico depicts a dove descending. The sanctuary has a tall, slender pyramidal steeple resting on a two-tiered square base. Sanctuary windows are rectangular with horizontal panes of colored glass.



First Church of God Ministries

Jehovah's Witness Kingdom Hall (WA9349)

This parcel was purchased in 1961 by a congregation of Jehovah's Witnesses and sold in 1974 to the current owner, First Congregational Holiness Church. City tax records estimate the building's construction at around 1960, but it could easily be 1961 after the Jehovah's Witnesses purchased the parcel. The building is L-shaped in footprint and has a front-gabled roof. In the western half

of the building, the gable sides are relatively equal in length, but in the eastern half of the building the southern slope is considerably shorter, reflecting the building's irregular footprint. The north and west elevations of the building are clad in running-bond brick veneer, as is the eastern portion of the southern elevation. Other visible elevations are clad in plywood. The facade has a double-leaf entrance door accessed by masonry steps to a landing. There is vinyl siding in the front gable. The south elevation has two-over-two, horizontal-pane sash windows and the north has sliding-glass windows.



Jehovah's Witness Kingdom Hall

Church of God of East Raleigh (WA9364)

The Church of God of East Raleigh, which appears to have been a predominantly white congregation, purchased this parcel in 1960. In 1971 it was transferred to the Maple Temple United Church of Christ, a Black congregation, which was incorporated in 1968. It is not clear whether this congregation had any connection to the Maple Temple Christian Church, that was located on East Martin Street. The building and attached flat-roofed fellowship/administrative wing at the southeast appears to be little changed. The front-gabled church has a roof that extends slightly forward at the peak of the gable, like the prow of a ship. The facade is divided into three parts. The central part is clad in vertical wooden siding and houses a double-leaf door, above which is a fixed six-light window. The flanking sections are concrete block, over which breeze blocks have been applied.



Church of God of East Raleigh

Church of Christ (WA9361)

This lot was originally two parcels purchased from Phillips Building Corporation by the Church of Christ in the early 1960s. The church building and property has passed through several ecclesiastical owners: Circle of Faith Baptist Church (1980), Church of Christ of Rochester Heights (1984), Jesus Christ Apostolic Church (2000), and Deliverance Evangelistic Tabernacle



Church of Christ

of God (2008). The building is rectangular in footprint, clad in running-bond brick masonry veneer. It has front-gabled roof with vinyl siding in the gables. The building is six bays deep, each bay punctuated by a one-over-one sash window. The windows are topped by soldier-course lintels. The corners of the facade have patterns of repeated indented bricks simulating quoins. Fluted pilasters flank a recessed entrance with double glazed doors that have a transom above. Extending west from the facade are low, curving brick walls that define a small entry plaza and support light fixtures.

Martin Street Baptist Church (WA9336)

The congregation began in 1869 and met in members' homes and in businesses. Visiting clergy led services until the congregation called its first pastor in 1907. In 1909 the congregation purchased the land on which the church now stands and finished the building in 1919. Over the years it has been renovated, most recently in 1965.¹¹⁷ The multipurpose building was added in 1997 and the Family Life Center in 2007.

The sprawling complex is anchored at the southwest by the sanctuary, a front-gabled building clad in brick. The facade is divided into seven sections. The central section features a large masonry opening filled with vertical rectangular lights, upon which is superimposed a large cross that rests on a cast-stone base. Flanking this cross/window are two large sections of running-bond brick veneer. Flanking those are dual entrance portals composed of recessed entrances. Each recessed entrance has double-leaf doors, with cast stone panels above and is flanked by lantern fixtures. The narrow exterior edges of the facade are clad in running-bond brick veneer. The sanctuary's west elevation has a series of recessed rectangular bays housing rectangular stained-glass windows, and a secondary entrance at its north end. The north wall of the sanctuary forms a parapet at the roof.

A two-story, cross-gabled wing with a parapet end wall extends east from the sanctuary. Its exterior walls are laid in six-course American bond. The wing has a single-leaf entrance door with a fixed metal awning, and it features dual metal casement windows on the first and second floors. A brick addition of unknown vintage is located north of the cross-gabled wing and east of the sanctuary. It has a flat roof. The multipurpose building mimics the sanctuary somewhat in form, being a front-gabled, brick-veneered building with a central entrance. Its recessed entrance porch is flanked by full-height brick walls that extend west from the predominant wall face, creating a recessed entrance for the double-leaf door. Above the door is an inset cast-stone panel, pentagonal in form, with a metal cross affixed upon it.



Martin Street Baptist Church

¹¹⁷ Anonymous. "Church Dedication." *The News & Observer*, October 30, 1965.

Grace Baptist Church (WA9363)

This church was constructed in 1965 by Grace Baptist Church, which appears to have been a predominantly white congregation.¹¹⁸ The building plans were phased, but anticipated additions were not built.¹¹⁹ The congregation sold the property in 1998 to the current congregation, Morning Star. Built on a sloping lot, the church has basement-level administrative offices in the lower level accessed at grade on the north elevation. The east elevation, facing Sunnybrook Road, is divided into three parts with flanking sections of running-bond brick veneer, and a slightly projecting section of beige Roman brick at the center upon which is affixed a large cross. A steeple with a square base and octagonal drum is set on the east side of the building. Primary access to the sanctuary level is via a cross-gabled wing at the west side of the south elevation. The wing has a flat-roofed porch on a masonry deck sheltering glazed double doors. Windows are rectangular and fixed; protective smoked glass obscures the pattern from the exterior.



Grace Baptist Church

Piney Grove AME Church (WA9376)

The documentary record for this church is sparse. Road construction impacted the church in the late 1990s, and a few articles in *The News & Observer* state that the congregation worshipped in the 1800s in an area near Crabtree Valley Mall and Blue Ridge Road.¹²⁰ The members moved to this location around 1908. At one point the site housed a school. In 1976 two bathrooms and two classrooms were added, and in 1992 a kitchen.

This frame, gable-roofed, one-story church is L-shaped in footprint. It has a telescoping front-gabled entrance vestibule with double-leaf doors and a five-light transom in a Colonial Revival-style surround. Windows are six-over-six wooden sash. There are four windows on the east elevation (one of which is in the vestibule) and three on the west, the southernmost having been absorbed into the classroom wing. The classroom wing has a single-leaf door in a recessed entrance bay accessed by a wooden ramp.



Piney Grove AME Church

¹¹⁸ Anonymous. "A Week of Dedication." *The News & Observer*, June 19, 1965.

¹¹⁹ Anonymous. "New Church Facilities Are Begun." *The News & Observer*, December 20, 1964.

¹²⁰ Wotapka, Dawn. "Road expansion disrupts sanctuary." *The News & Observer* October 1, 1999.

St. James Holiness Church (WA9369)

It appears that the current congregation acquired this property in 1985 as St. James Holiness Church. In 1999 the church changed its name to St. James Apostolic Church. Tax records estimate the construction date of the building as 1966. Photos on file at the Wake County tax assessor's office show that in 1996 the front-gabled, concrete-block building had a small metal porch and a monitor with a steeple of sorts. By 2019 the supports to the front porch had either been replaced with masonry or wrapped in synthetic stucco or other material. In 2019 a large area to the south of the existing building was excavated and a new concrete-block lower foundation wall erected and by 2020 the building had been substantially expanded to be a front-gabled building incorporating the new space to the south. Around this time the exterior material was also replaced with what appears to be Hardie plank siding. An inset porch with an angled ceiling that appears to follow the slope of the preexisting roof was added at the northwest corner of the building. Remaining from the earlier building is a series of square stained-glass windows on the side elevations in the sanctuary. The exposed basement level at the south is clad in stone veneer.

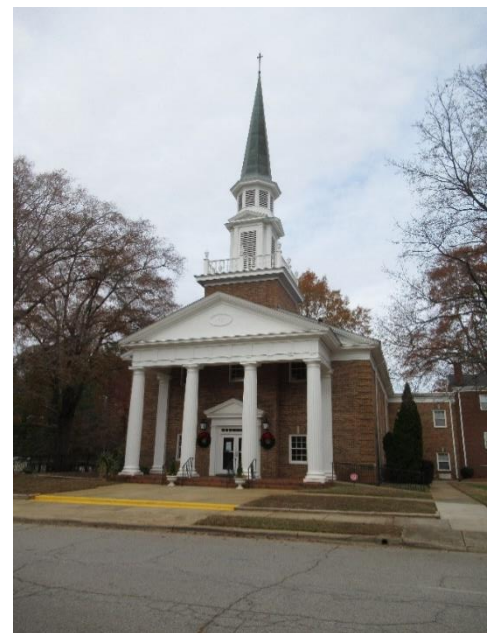


St. James Holiness Church

Highland Baptist Church (WA9378)

The church building was designed by architect George Smart for the Highland Baptist Church in 1968. Jack O. Farrell, Inc. of Sanford was the contractor.¹²¹ In the late 1980s, that predominantly white congregation moved to a new location and sold the property to Shaw Divinity School via a proxy that leased the property to the school for a period before transfer.

Shaw Divinity School evolved from Shaw University. Its theological offerings expanded from degree programs to a school of religion in 1933 and Shaw Divinity School in 1961. The divinity school offered undergraduate degrees until 1969, when the school was independently chartered and offered advanced degrees. The school moved to the Hilltop campus in 1988. In 1998, the school reunited with the University. In 1999, it returned physically to the main campus.



Highland Baptist Church

There seems to be some overlap between the divinity school and Christian Faith Baptist Church, which was founded in 1990 and operated at this site beginning in 1990, purchasing it from Shaw in 1993.

¹²¹ Anonymous. "Church Building." *The News & Observer*, July 9, 1968.

The campus may have evolved over time but has had its existing footprint since at least 1981. The church is a fine example of a Colonial Revival-style building with a three-part facade comprising a pedimented gable front with a central steeple tower. A four-bay, pedimented porch including a frieze with triglyphs and metopes supported by fluted columns and pilasters extends from the facade. Brick quoins are found at the corners. The porch shelters a double-leaf door with a multi-light transom and classical surround composed of pilasters supporting a pediment. Sash windows flank the entrance, and there are three sash windows on an upper level, aligned above the windows and door below. The steeple has a brick base with a balustrade on top supporting a smaller squared frame base with louvers on four sides in pedimented surrounds, that in turn supports a frame, louvered, octagonal drum, and finally a metal spire topped by a cross. The east and west elevations of the sanctuary have triple-hung twelve-over-twelve-over-twelve sash windows with jack arches and stone keystones.

A gabled wing extends east from the north end of the church. It has been expanded considerably to the east with an addition of redder brick, containing sash windows and two double-leaf doors accessed by exterior steps.

Fayetteville Street Baptist Church (WA9372)

This parcel was sold in 1967 to its current owners, the trustees of Fayetteville Street Baptist Church. This congregation has its origins in 1895, when a group of African Americans purchased what was known as “The Little Mission Church” at 751 Fayetteville Street and renamed the church the Fayetteville Street Little Mission.

Cornerstones for the congregation at this location suggest that the church building was built in 1969 and the adjacent activity building in 2002. The church has a front-gabled sanctuary with a cross-gabled rear wing at the west. At the north junction of the sanctuary and rear wing is a bell tower with a steeple atop it. The front gable of the church extends at an angle like the prow of a ship. The facade is divided into four bays. The exterior bays, as with the rest of the church, are clad in running-bond brick veneer. The central two bays are recessed and divided by a projecting brick wall. Each of these recessed bays contains a double-leaf door that is flanked by stained-glass windows. A flat-roofed awning projects from the recessed wall plane beyond the flanking wall planes to create a covered entrance. Above this awning roof, each entry bay has a rectangular wooden panel above which is fenestration arranged in rectangular panes of colored glass, those at the top being angled to accommodate the shape of the gable. The north and south elevations of the sanctuary have alternating sections of brick veneer and vertical panels of wood and stained-glass windows. The two-story cross-gabled classroom and administration wing likewise has alternating panels of



Fayetteville Street Baptist Church

brick veneer and fenestration, the fenestration panels including wood panels and louvered windows. The tower at the juncture of the sanctuary and rear wing is square in footprint and clad largely in running-bond brick save on the east elevation, which has a series of rectangular panels composed of breeze blocks. Atop the tower is a cross-gabled roof with a tall pyramidal spire topped by a cross.

Mt. Calvary Holy Church (WA9368)

Deeds show that this parcel was sold to the congregation in 1985, but tax records state that the church building dates to 1973. A congregation of the same name was found in the city's Fourth Ward at Grape and Battle Streets in the 1960s and until at least 1972. The church is built on a high basement, that likely houses offices and classrooms. The building has a gable roof and is clad in running-bond brick veneer. The principal entrance is by a double-leaf door on the south end of the east elevation, accessed by masonry steps that ascend to the west and a wooden ramp that wraps the southeast corner of the building. The south elevation is divided into three parts- brick panels flanking a central stuccoed panel on which is affixed a large cross. A secondary single-leaf entrance at the north side of the east elevation is accessed by masonry steps that ascend to the north along the exterior wall. Windows on the main and basement levels are two-over-two, horizontal-pane sash windows. The north elevation has a partial-width gabled wing at the east side.



Mt Calvary Holy Church

Wesleyan First Church of Deliverance (WA9365)

This parcel was sold to the Wesleyan First Church of Deliverance in 1962. The church was organized in 1960 by the Rev. Mabel Gary Philpott ("Sister Gary"). Previously she had been clergy at Grace AME Zion, also on Boyer Street, for 36 years. When the denomination directed her to move to a new charge, she refused and began this new church, which included many of her former parishioners.¹²² Sister Gary was a well-known local host of religious radio and television programs as well.



Wesleyan First Church of Deliverance

This building was constructed in 1972.¹²³ Front-gabled and clad in brick veneer, it has a prominent roof and low side walls. At the facade, the peak of the gable extends at an angle like the prow of a ship. The facade has four brick pilasters that divide it into three bays. The central

¹²² Anonymous. "Sister Gary Builds Again." *The News & Observer*, December 17, 1962.

¹²³ Anonymous. "Church Planned." *The News & Observer*, May 28, 1966.

entrance bay has double-glazed doors flanked on each side by three rectangular stained-glass windows. Above the entrance is a large rectangular stained-glass window divided into smaller sections and upon which is overlaid a large cross. A tall, slender, octagonal steeple topped by a cross sits on a two-tiered base near the south end of the roof. The north elevation has a shed-roofed addition at the apse. The west elevation has four rectangular stained-glassed windows, and a single-leaf door at the far north. The east elevation has four similar windows. At its north end is a cross-gabled, two-story fellowship and administrative wing. The wing has on its facade a double-leaf door adjacent to the sanctuary and windows are generally three-light windows.

Morning Star Missionary Baptist Church (WA9401)

Morning Star Missionary Baptist Church trustees purchased this site in 1947. The congregation initially worshipped in a frame building. A photo in *The Carolinian* shows a side-gabled, one-story building constructed on piers. In 1956 a new building was planned and expected to be finished within a year. Why the building was not completed then is unknown, but a 1970 photo in *The Carolinian* shows a partially completed building in process.¹²⁴ The cornerstone of



Morning Star Missionary Baptist Church

the current building states that the congregation was organized in 1933, the frame church built in 1934, and the current brick building in 1974, confirmed by media sources.¹²⁵

The current building is a one-story, front-gabled building with exterior walls clad in running bond brick. A telescoping front-gabled porch supported by paired posts shelters a double-leaf door. Brick steps ascend to the west to a masonry porch deck. A wooden ramp that ascends to the west has been added. Currently main-level masonry openings for windows on the north and south elevations are bricked, but the rowlock sills remain exposed. Given the slope of the lot there is a basement entrance at grade on the south elevation, and on this lower level a few six-over-six windows remain.

¹²⁴ Anonymous. "A View of Morning Star Baptist Church," *The Carolinian* January 17, 1970.

¹²⁵ Anonymous. "Crowd gathered at Church." *The Carolinian*, November 20, 1975.

Bible Way Temple (WA9360)

Built ca. 1977, the Bible Way Temple has a large, front-gabled mass at the north that incorporates a smaller front-gabled mass at the south, which appears to be the sanctuary. The large mass has on its facade twin doors sheltered by a single-pent roof, and a one-over-one window. The smaller mass' facade is divided into three parts. North and south bays are canted forward and house a single rectangular window each; the central bay houses a recessed entrance with a double door. The roofline above extends to a point like the prow of a ship. The smaller gable hosts a slender pyramidal steeple on a two-tiered base. The sanctuary has a series of rectangular windows along its south elevation. The larger mass has four one-over-one windows along its north elevation.



Bible Way Temple

First Congregational Church (WA9386)

First Congregational Church has its roots in an 1867 cabin that was located near South and Manley Streets. Here, the American Missionary Association supported what is thought to be the first graded school for African Americans in Raleigh, as well as the congregation. The church had its first African American pastor in 1877. A new church building was constructed on the site ca. 1914. The church was socially active. Under the leadership of Pastor Perfect R. DeBerry, it sponsored the first African American Boy Scout troop in North Carolina and led the charge for the first nursery school and an early trade school for African Americans in Raleigh.¹²⁶ In the mid-twentieth century the congregation became First Congregational Church of the United Church of Christ.



First Congregational Church

The congregation was relocated during Urban Renewal in the 1970s, temporarily worshipping at the Gethsemane Seventh Day Adventist Church at Person and Cabarrus Streets. Stained-glass

¹²⁶ "First Congregational Church History," <https://www.fccraleigh.org/church-history-2>.

windows and other fixtures from the earlier building were incorporated into their new/current building, which opened in 1977. The historic church bell was removed from the steeple and moved to the new church property on Creech Road.

In 1981 the church was a front-gabled sanctuary with a small administrative wing at its west. Between 1981 and 1988 the sanctuary was expanded to the south and the administrative wing to the west. From 1988 to the current day the facility has maintained a consistent footprint.

The facade of the front-gabled sanctuary is divided into three bays. The east and west flanking bays, which extend into shed-roofed side wings, are brick-veneered and laid in running bond. The central bay has a recessed entrance housing a double-leaf door. Above the entrance is a framed section with a stained-glass window that appears to have been original to the earlier building and reinstalled here. The east and west elevations are clad in running-bond brick veneer. The wall planes are serrated with stained-glass windows set parallel to the facade and alternating brick sections angled in toward the centerline of the building. The administrative wing extends to the west with a cross-gabled attachment to the sanctuary and a central cross-gabled section. Windows appear to be generally two-part windows with hopper windows below a fixed pane. There are two stained-glass windows on the south elevation of the administrative wing in the cross-gabled portion that extends to the south, that appear to be original to the earlier building.

Eastern Star Holiness Church (WA9377)

The property is the recombination of four parcels acquired by the church in two transactions in 1977 and 1979. Although tax records estimate the construction date of the church as 1984, a 1981 aerial photograph shows a building with the same footprint on site.



Eastern Star Holiness Church

The east and west elevations are laid in running-bond brick. The roof structure is divided with a gable roof at the south and a shed-roofed portion at the north. The shed roofed portion appears to be early if not original, given the continuity of the brick side walls. The north elevation, facing the street, is clad in stucco. The portion of the gable that rises above the shed roof and the portion of the shed roof side walls that rise above the eaves are all clad in wooden shingles. The west elevation has a single-leaf door near the south accessed by exterior steps that ascend to the south to a small deck. Earlier windows on this

elevation have been infilled. The east elevation has a double-leaf door near the north end, accessed by a concrete deck. South of the entrance are two, two-over-two windows and a third masonry opening housing an air conditioning unit. To the north is a small window housing an air conditioning unit and what appears to have been a narrow window or door, now blocked and painted over.

Church of God of Prophecy (WA9371)

This parcel was acquired by the NC State Highway & Public Works Commission in 1952 and sold in 1976 to the Church of God of Prophecy, its current owner. Tax records suggest the church was built in 1980 and the adjoining fellowship hall in 2003. Aerial photographs show that the church building has maintained the same footprint since at least 1981, and that the steeple was added between 1981 and 1988. A hyphen between the two buildings was added in 2009. The front-gabled, brick-veneered church has a projecting central section on the facade, divided into three bays. The central entrance bay is defined by slightly projecting brick walls that extend to the east of the predominant wall face. Within the bay is a glazed door surround for double-leaf doors below a stone-veneered panel. The four bays flanking the entrance bay, both those recessed and projecting, are clad in running-bond brick veneer with a pattern of projecting stretcher bricks aligned in vertical columns. The front-gabled roof has a slender pyramidal steeple with a cross on top, sitting on a two-tiered base. The bottom tier has a series of arched openings with green glass insets. The north and south elevations of the sanctuary have rectangular windows of solid colored glass. The fellowship wing is a front-gabled brick-veneered building with a front-gabled projecting entrance vestibule. The exterior walls are an exuberant example of structural polychrome, with red and buff-colored bricks laid in a variety of patterns.



Church of God of Prophecy

Gethsemane Seventh Day Adventist Church (WA9374)

This parcel was purchased in 1973 and tax records state the building dates to 1981. The church building has a gable-roofed office wing at the east. At the west is the sanctuary, hexagonal in footprint with a hipped roof that curves and converges to a central spire topped by a cross. Walls are clad in brick and stone veneers and have a series of rectangular clerestory windows at the eaves. A shed-roofed addition at the west may serve as a sacristy. The primary entrance, consisting of a double-leaf door, is on the south elevation. Four fixed rectangular windows are arrayed flanking the entrance. The administrative wing at the east is a fragment of what had been a larger addition. It is



Gethsemane Seventh Day Adventist Church

clad in brick veneer on its north and south sides and stucco on the east. There are double-leaf doors on the east and south elevations.

Lincoln Park Holiness Church (WA9335)

Lincoln Park Holiness Church purchased the parcel on which this church sits in 1947. The current building is the fourth on this site. In 1974 the congregation began to rebuild an earlier church building. In 1983 they were nearing completion on a building constructed without a mortgage or insurance when the church burned to the ground. The current building was completed in 1986. Media reports indicate that civic groups helped to raise funds for the new building, and other churches donated pews and an organ. The current church is a large front-gabled church clad in running-bond brick veneer. The facade faces west and features a projecting central bay with a buff-colored brick panel housing a glass-block cross, centered over a double-leaf entrance door. The entrance is accessed by a switchback, brick-veneered ramp at the west, built ca. 2014. The south elevation has no masonry openings. The north has two square masonry openings housing multi-pane windows in a geometric pattern. There is a shed-roofed addition at the west side of this elevation and a single-leaf entrance with a fixed metal awning at the east.



Lincoln Park Holiness Church

Holy Church on the Rock (WA9370)

Deed research shows that as early as 1961 this parcel was owned by a church called Holy Church ON the Rock (emphasis added) that was dissolved at some point after 1963. That church transferred the parcel to the Holy Church OF the Rock in 1966 (emphasis added). In 1986 this congregation passed the property to the Mount Pleasant Holy Church of God Incorporated. The 1966 deed references the parcel and the church building on which it stands. A 1981 aerial photograph shows a small front-gabled building on site. Between 1981 and 1988 the building received a large wing at the west. Between 1988 and 1999 the church was substantially enlarged, if not demolished and replaced, by a front-gabled church with a wing at its southwest. This would correspond to an estimated date of 1993 in the tax records.



Holy Church on the Rock

The sanctuary is a front-gabled building clad in running-bond brick veneer. The facade has a projecting central bay with brick side walls. The top half of this bay is infilled with wooden siding upon which a cross is affixed, and the lower section of this bay is a recessed entrance with a double-leaf door. The flanking bays each have round windows with a stone keystone at the top. The north elevation has three round-headed windows, with keystones toward the east and at the west, a single-leaf door. The south elevation similarly has three round-headed windows toward the east, and at the west a connection with a cross-gabled wing. The wing has a double door on its east elevation adjacent to the sanctuary, and two round-headed windows south of the door.

United House of Prayer for All People (WA9375)

This parcel has been owned by the current denomination since 1946. The current church building dates to 1996, but aerial photos suggest that a smaller church existed on the parcel as early as 1981. Like many of the churches of this denomination, the building is meant to attract attention through its exuberant use of form and structural polychrome. Frequently used forms and iconography include three crosses on the facade, the central cross representing the Bishop and the flanking crosses representing his congregation. Similarly, the facade has three entrances, the central reserved for the Bishop and the sides for the congregants. The lion statues at the entrance represent the biblical Lion of Judah. Many of the denomination's churches of this period were designed by ODA Architects of Charlotte, but this has not been confirmed for the Raleigh building. The denomination was founded in the early 20th century by Bishop Charles Manuel "Sweet Daddy" Grace, a Cape Verdean transplant to the United States.



United House of Prayer for All People

The church is L-shaped in footprint, with the sanctuary at the east and the administrative wing stretching west at the north side. The gable-fronted facade is divided in three bays. The central bay has a monumental entrance within a scalloped ornament with blue and white tile stripes. The side entrances in recessed bays have above them brick half-chevroning with three colors of brick. In the peak of the gable are three crosses, the central cross set higher than the flanking two. Lion sculptures flank the masonry steps that ascend to the north to the entrance. The east and west elevations have three central wall dormers with structural striped surrounds housing windows with the same graduated cross motif found on the facade.

Trinity Free Will Baptist Church (WA9373)

This parcel was purchased in 1977 by trustees for Trinity Free Will Baptist Church. It is unclear if this is the same Trinity Free Will Baptist Church that previously owned property on E. Davie Street. The parcel contains two buildings. The eastern building may have served as a worship space until 2006, when a “Butler building” was erected south of the earlier building. This front-gabled building has metal walls and a metal gable roof and rectangular windows. On the facade is a double-leaf door sheltered by a projecting gabled metal awning. Flanking the double-leaf door are rectangular windows and applied metal crosses.



Trinity Free Will Baptist Church

Future Study List Recommendations

The following churches will be recommended for the North Carolina Study List pending interior documentation: Saint Matthew AME Church, Lily of the Valley Free Will Baptist Church, Union Baptist Church, Maple Temple Christian Church, Grace AME Zion Church, United Full Gospel Tabernacle, Young Missionary Temple CME Church, Calvary Apostolic Church, Providence United Holy Church, Pentecostal Holiness Church, First Church of God Ministries, Church of God of East Raleigh, Martin Street Baptist Church, Grace Baptist Church, Piney Grove AME Church, Highland Baptist Church, Fayetteville Street Baptist Church, Wesleyan First Church of Deliverance, Morning Star Missionary Baptist Church.

Locations of newly surveyed church buildings:

Historic Name	Survey Site Number	Current Name (if different)	Address
St. Matthew AME Church	WA9339	Revelation Missionary Baptist Church	805 East Davie Street
Lily of the Valley Free Will Baptist Church	WA9366		1113 South Bloodworth Street
Union Baptist Church	WA9358		600 South Saunders Street
Maple Temple Christian Church	WA9338	Gethsemane True Vine Church	725 East Martin Street
Smith Temple Free Will Baptist Church	WA9340		322 South East Street
Grace AME Zion Church	WA9362		1401 Boyer Street
Caraleigh Pentecostal Holiness Church	WA9385	Matthew Chapel Full Deliverance Pentecostal Holiness Church	1516 Montrose Street
United Full Gospel Tabernacle	WA9382	Miracle Temple House of Prayer Holiness Church	2421 Lake Wheeler Road
Young Missionary Temple CME Church	WA9337	Trinity United Faith Center	110 South State Street
Calvary Apostolic Church	WA9380	Faith Missionary Baptist Church	908 Suffolk Boulevard
Providence United Holy Church	WA9367	Fulfilled Promise Tabernacle	320 Bledsoe Avenue
Pentecostal Holiness Church	WA9347	Church of Jesus Holy Tabernacle	708 South State Street
Pleasant Ridge Missionary Baptist Church	WA9381	Word of Truth Church	1428 Carolina Pines Avenue
First Church of God Ministries	WA9359		1219 Boyer Street
Jehovah's Witness Kingdom Hall	WA9349	First Congregational Holiness Church	1113 South State Street
Church of God of East Raleigh	WA9364	Maple Temple United Church of Christ	304 Dacian Road
Church of Christ	WA9361	Deliverance Evangelistic Tabernacle of God	1805 Waller Place
Martin Street Baptist Church	WA9336		10001 East Martin Street
Grace Baptist Church	WA9363	Morning Star World Harvest Church	524 Sunnybrook Road
Piney Grove AME Church	WA9376		3813 Pleasant Valley Road

St. James Holiness Church	WA9369	St. James Apostolic Church	701 Bart Street
Highland Baptist Church	WA9378	Christian Faith Baptist Church	509 Hilltop Drive
Fayetteville Street Baptist Church	WA9372	First Cosmopolitan Baptist Church	1515 Cross Link Road
Mt. Calvary Holy Church	WA9368		1014 Garner Road
Wesleyan First Church of Deliverance	WA9365		1201 Boyer Street
Morning Star Missionary Baptist Church	WA9401		628 Quarry Street
Bible Way Temple	WA9360		1110 Holmes Street
First Congregational Church	WA9386		2401 Creech Road
Eastern Star Holiness Church	WA9377		1412 Poole Road
Church of God of Prophecy	WA9371	State Street Community Church	1200 State Street
Gethsemane Seventh Day Adventist Church	WA9374		2525 Sanderford Road
Lincoln Park Holiness Church	WA9335		13 Heath Street
Holy Church on the Rock	WA9370	Mount Pleasant Holy Church of God	1424 Sawyer Road
United House of Prayer for All People	WA9375		409 East South Street
Trinity Free Will Baptist Church	WA9373		2141 Rock Quarry Road

Biltmore Hills

Biltmore Hills is an approximately 105-acre, single-family, residential subdivision located just south of I-440 (the Raleigh “beltline”) between Garner and Cross Link Roads. Two subsequent developments mark the northern and southern boundaries: Biltmore Hills Park (ca.1965) and The Raleigh “beltline” that severed Biltmore Hills’ connection with Rochester Heights (WA4581), a development for African Americans platted in 1956.



Campanella Lane

Like neighboring Rochester Heights, the streets are named for notable African Americans, including Don Newcombe, pitcher for the Brooklyn Dodgers; Ralph Bunche, U.N. undersecretary and Nobel Peace Prize winner; Ella Fitzgerald, jazz vocalist; Roy Campanella, catcher for the Brooklyn Dodgers; Dorothy Dandridge, actress; Eartha Kitt, actress and singer; Jesse Owens, Olympic track and field athlete; Ethel Waters, singer; and Jim “Junior” Gilliam, a Brooklyn Dodgers infielder.¹²⁷

Curving roads service lots of generally 0.2 to 0.3 acres. Setbacks are relatively uniform and houses on corner lots are sometimes canted on a diagonal axis. Most lots have paved driveways. The majority of the houses are one-story, side-gabled ranch-style houses of just under 1,000 square feet, clad in brick veneer. Some of the later houses are split-levels. Among the 348 houses built between 1959 and 1970, 21 identified models are repeated throughout the community.

Plats for the neighborhood were drawn in 1959 and registered with Wake County in 1960. The land was purchased in 1959 by prolific local developer Ed Richards, who then worked to complete the development through myriad affiliated corporations, including Wachovia Building Company, Biltmore Hills Building Company, Edgewater Building Company, Estates Building Company, Walnut Building Company, and Lincoln Building Company. While Richards is listed as a director in all these ventures, the stockholders are unknown. All worked within covenants that delineated design standards.

The media began to note the development as early as August 1959, but the biggest media blitz came in November of that year with articles in *The Carolinian* and *The News & Observer*. *The Carolinian* described the design and amenities in great detail:

“Wachovia’s architects and Land Planning Engineers have mapped out in the wooded East Raleigh, setting a complete ‘village’ community. All streets will be curved and paved, all home sites fully landscaped with decorative shrubs and lawns, and all city

¹²⁷ “A stroll along these streets is a trip through time,” *The News & Observer*, March 1, 1990.

facilities, including garbage pickup and regular bus service will be available . . . All lots in the community will be over one fifth acre in size, allowing for ‘outdoor’ family living.”¹²⁸

According to the article, houses were designed by a “nationally known team of architects and contractors.” Buyers were allowed to choose interior paint colors and vinyl flooring for the kitchen and bathrooms. Each house had three bedrooms, a living room, a dining room, a bathroom, and a kitchen. And each had thermostats, aluminum screens, clotheslines, Venetian blinds, flush doors and windows, insulation, weatherstripping, ceramic tiles at the bath/shower, birch-finish cabinets, Formica counters, and ample closet and storage space.

Coverage in *The News & Observer* focused less on the design and amenities and more on the financing. Funds provided under Section 221 of the Federal Housing Act allowed qualified buyers to purchase the homes for \$9,000 with no down payment save a \$250 fee for legal work. Priority was given to those who had been displaced by highway and Urban Renewal projects, those moving from substandard housing, and those who met income requirements that excluded them from subsidized public housing.¹²⁹



Bunche Drive

Early media coverage emphasized Ed

Richards’s role, though some reports noted John Winters as the sales agent for the project. Winters’ role has gained more attention. A 1999 article states, “Biltmore Hills was the brainchild of developer Ed Richards and realtor John Winters. Largely financed with federal funding, the neighborhood was born out of a rural wooded area off Garner Rd. and grew to 300 homes. The developers hoped to provide a market for Black teachers and blue-collar workers who didn’t have many housing options during segregation.”¹³⁰ Similarly, the credit for the neighborhood was more diffuse in a 1995 article:

“Conceived at the start of the civil rights movement, Biltmore Hills was the creation of city and state officials, bankers and developers who sought ways to reduce racial strife. The 1,000-square foot ranch style homes built south of the beltline were designed for working class blacks . . . a grant from the US Department of Housing and Urban Development help[ed] pay for the construction. The first 100 of the neighborhood’s 356 homes cost \$9,000.”¹³¹

¹²⁸ “Biltmore Hills Development Boasts, New Modern Homes” *The Carolinian* November 7, 1959.

¹²⁹ “Housing Project for Negroes Going Up on Old Garner Road,” *The News & Observer* Nov 8, 1959.

¹³⁰ Williams, Alicia B. “Biltmore Hills casts off albatross,” *The News & Observer* January 15, 1999.

¹³¹ Shimron, Yonat “Hulk on the Hill,” *The News & Observer* May 8, 1995.

When Winters died in 2004, numerous articles credited him with the vision for Biltmore Hills. It is entirely conceivable that Ed Richards, who was white, took a more visible role at the onset of the development, as he likely had the political capital and access to financing denied to Winters in the pre-Civil Rights era. With the passage of time, however, it has become clear that Winters' role was more than merely a sales agent, and that he was an equal intellectual partner in the creation of the community. Given the opacity of the myriad development subsidiaries, he may have been a substantial financial beneficiary as well. Richards and Winters then collaborated on Madonna Acres (WA4443), which was platted in 1960.

Recommendations for Further Research

A project this broad leads to many avenues for further research. Many of these research topics are suggested in anticipation and in support of future designation efforts.

Real Estate Development Projects of John Winters - Given the late discovery of listed projects in advertisements, there are still houses to document. A more comprehensive survey of Winters-related works and a specific context would provide tools to evaluate individual works. Research on Alexander Smith could be a component of this study.

African American Architects and Builders through Education - While numerous architects and designers may have been self-taught, into the 20th century there are opportunities to trace these professionals through their education. North Carolina A&T, Shaw, Hampton University, and other Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCUs) that offered coursework and degrees in design and building trades, could be rich sources of research on the lives and careers of their graduates.

The impact of mid-to-late-20th century infrastructure and renewal projects - An underlying theme throughout this project was the scarcity of many types of historic African American resources in Raleigh. Before the piecemeal displacement of gentrification there were larger-scale government funded programs that displaced Black people and disrupted their communities. Three examples are the Walnut Terrace Redevelopment, Raleigh Beltline construction, and the Southside Redevelopment Project. These projects disproportionately impacted African Americans. Raleigh has an entire subset of late-20th century Black church buildings constructed for congregations that were displaced by government programs. While this report provides a general context, additional study is merited.

People of the Civil Rights Movement - Working closely with the community, a context about people involved in the Civil Rights Movement would provide background data for the identification and designation of additional sites.

Raleigh Black Churches - While several churches will be proposed for the North Carolina Study List as a result of this study, there may be a sufficient number and variety of churches to merit a Multiple Property Documentation Form, which would facilitate later individual listings.

Updating designation reports to include civil rights significance - Designation reports for places associated with civil rights events (local landmark reports, National Register nominations) should be reviewed. If the civil rights events are not noted, amendments to the reports should be prepared and appropriately processed.

Study List Recommendations

The following chart lists the properties considered to be good candidates for the North Carolina Study List, a list of properties potentially eligible for listing on the National Register of Historic Places. While districts may be considered based on the study and survey as completed, interior access and documentation will be required to place individual buildings on the Study List.

Survey Site Number	Name	Eligibility Criteria	Area of Significance
WA9387	Cedarwood Country Estates	A, C	Community Planning & Development, Ethnic Heritage
WA4548	Biltmore Hills	A, C	Community Planning & Development, Ethnic Heritage
WA2567	Lincoln Theater	A	Entertainment/Recreation, Ethnic Heritage
WA2324	Davie Street Presbyterian Church	A, C	Architecture, Ethnic Heritage
WA2407	Capehart-Lightner House	A, C	Architecture, Ethnic Heritage
WA9339	St. Matthew AME Church	A, C	Architecture, Ethnic Heritage
WA9366	Lily of the Valley Free Will Baptist Church	A, C	Architecture, Ethnic Heritage
WA9358	Union Baptist Church	A, C	Architecture, Ethnic Heritage
WA9338	Maple Temple Christian Church	A, C	Architecture, Ethnic Heritage
WA9362	Grace AME Zion Church	A, C	Architecture, Ethnic Heritage
WA9382	United Full Gospel Tabernacle	A, C	Architecture, Ethnic Heritage
WA9337	Young Missionary Temple CME Church	A, C	Architecture, Ethnic Heritage
WA9380	Calvary Apostolic Church	A, C	Architecture, Ethnic Heritage
WA9367	Providence United Holy Church	A, C	Architecture, Ethnic Heritage
WA9347	Pentecostal Holiness Church	A, C	Architecture, Ethnic Heritage
WA9359	First Church of God Ministries	A, C	Architecture, Ethnic Heritage
WA9364	Church of God of East Raleigh	A, C	Architecture, Ethnic Heritage
WA9336	Martin Street Baptist Church	A, C	Architecture, Ethnic Heritage
WA9363	Grace Baptist Church	A, C	Architecture, Ethnic Heritage
WA9376	Piney Grove AME Church	A, C	Architecture, Ethnic Heritage
WA9378	Highland Baptist Church	A, C	Architecture, Ethnic Heritage, Education
WA9372	Fayetteville Street Baptist Church	A, C	Architecture, Ethnic Heritage
WA9365	Wesleyan First Church of Deliverance	A, C	Architecture, Ethnic Heritage

WA9401	Morning Star Missionary Baptist Church	A, C	Architecture, Ethnic Heritage
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Appendix

Glossary

American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) an American nonprofit. It was organized in 1920 with a mission to defend and preserve the individual rights and liberties guaranteed to every person in this country by the Constitution and laws of the United States.

Architect a person who designs buildings and may oversee their construction by a contractor or builders. In 1915 the North Carolina State legislature created the North Carolina Board of Architects which began a licensing procedure for architects and established requirements for professional practice.

Architectural Survey the process of documenting buildings, structures, objects, districts, and/or sites. Generally, this process focuses on resources over 50 years of age and includes photography, mapping, and written descriptions. Usually, projects are sponsored by a state or local government and are designed to meet applicable state and federal standards.

Architectural Survey Database (also State Survey Database) a computer database of buildings, structures, objects, sites, and districts that have been documented and recorded by or for the North Carolina HPO. It includes uniform data such as addresses as well as descriptive narrative text.

Carolinian a newspaper that is the successor publication to the *Carolina Tribune* which was established in Raleigh in 1927 for an African American audience. It was sold in 1940 to Paul Jervay who changed the paper's name to the *Carolinian* the following year.

Census data collected systematically and regularly recording information about a population but may also include housing, agriculture, and other topics. It generally refers to information collected by the U. S. Census Bureau, a federal agency.

Certified Local Government (CLG) a municipal government participating in a federal preservation program administered by state governments. CLGs are given a participating role in reviewing federal historic designations and may be eligible for grants. Local governments achieve the certification by establishing a local preservation program that meets specific requirements.

Church a house of worship for Christian denominations as opposed to a temple or synagogue for Judaism, or a Mosque for Islam.

Civil Rights Movement the struggle for social justice for African Americans in the 1950s and 1960s. Other social justice movements have addressed civil rights but are usually not referred to as The Civil Rights Movement.

Congress of Racial Equity (CORE) an African American civil rights organization established in 1942 and dedicated to nonviolent resistance. It was involved in various demonstrations and efforts across the country including The March on Washington in 1963.

Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) a federal agency that administers housing and urban development program. This agency was established in 1965 as a successor to the House and Home Financing Agency. Among other things it provides grants to develop housing and manages the Office of Fair Housing and Equal Opportunity.

Entertainment Venue a place housing entertainment activities such as a theater, auditorium, opera house, dance hall, etc.

Federal Housing Administration (FHA) a federal agency established as part of the 1934 National Housing Act. The agency provides insurance to private lenders to cover mortgage loans managing risk in order for the private sector to expand its lending capacity. Its programs are credited with the reduction of down payments and the increase of loan terms. Early practices of the programs were discriminatory against Black applicants and included the “redlining” (red areas marked on local maps) of African American neighborhoods as poor credit risks.

Field Survey the process of documenting resources on-site.

Freedmans Village a municipality or community established by emancipated African Americans and other free people of color after the Civil War. Also known as freedmen’s towns or freedom colonies. They do not necessarily have a connection to the federal Freedmen’s Bureau.

General Neighborhood Renewal Program (GNRP) a program introduced in the Federal Housing Act of 1959 providing federal funds for localities to plan phased urban renewal projects.

Geographical Information System (GIS) a computer-based mapping system.

Googie Architecture a style popular from the 1940s to the 1970s. This style was influenced by space age futurism. It includes upswept roofs, parabolic and atomic forms, and boomerang shapes. It is sometimes known as Doo Wop architecture.

Historic Preservation Fund a national fund established in 1977 to fund historic preservation activities by states. Funding now available through various programs to states, tribes, territories, local governments, and non-profits.

Housing Act of 1949 one of a series of federal actions regarding housing. The 1949 housing act greatly expanded the federal government’s role in public housing and mortgage insurance.

Hope VI a program of the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development to improve public housing projects. Established in 1992 it funds the redevelopment of extant public housing into mixed income developments based loosely on new urbanist principles.

Korean War an armed conflict between North and South Korea fought between 1950 and 1953. U. S. forces supported South Korea.

National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) civil rights organization founded in 1908 with a mission to ensure the political, educational, equality of minority group citizens of states and eliminate race prejudice.

National Park Service (NPS) Federal agency best known for managing National Parks. NPS also administers federal preservation programs such as the National Register of Historic Places and the Certified Local Government program.

News & Observer a Raleigh newspaper. First published as the *News & Observer* in 1880 it was a combination of earlier publishing efforts the *Raleigh News* and the *Raleigh Observer*.

North Carolina Study List a preliminary step in the review of properties that could be potentially nominated to the National Register of Historic Places in North Carolina.

Oral History the study of history through personal interviews. The interviews may be videotaped, audio taped, or transcribed.

Period of Significance According to the National Park Service a period of significance “is the length of time when a property was associated with important events, activities, or persons or attained the characteristics which qualify it for National Register listing.”¹³²

Racial Covenant a legal deed restriction that excludes ownership or occupancy of real property by African Americans or members of other ethnic or religious groups. Also, racially exclusive covenant, racially restrictive covenant.

Raleigh Housing Authority established in 1938, the second housing authority in North Carolina, with broad powers to condemn and redevelop affordable housing.

Raleigh Redevelopment Commission city commission established in 1958 to manage large scale redevelopment projects. Merged with Raleigh Housing Authority in the early 1970s. Also, Raleigh Urban Redevelopment Commission, Raleigh Redevelopment Authority.

Research Triangle Park (RTP) a research and development office park. Located within the triangle formed by Raleigh, Durham, and Chapel Hill, this 7,000-acre development housing hi-tech offices and research facilities was created in 1959 by local governments, universities and businesses. It is owned and managed by the Research Triangle Foundation and the land is unincorporated and is protected from annexation by surrounding municipalities.

¹³² National Park Service, *National Register Bulletin 16 A How to Complete the National Register Registration Form*, Washington DC nd, p 42.

Resource in historic preservation a resource is a building, structure, object, site or district to be identified, evaluated, and treated.

Shelly v. Kraemer U.S. Supreme Court case decided in 1948. This unanimous decision held that government enforcement of racial restrictive covenants violates the Equal Protection Clause of the Fourteenth Amendment.

Sister Gary Mabel Gary Philpot (1906-1978). A native of Virginia, “Sister Gary” moved to Raleigh where she was a pastor at Grace AME Zion Church and later the founder of Wesleyan First Church of deliverance in 1973. In the 1940s she hosted a gospel music radio program in Raleigh on WRAL-AM. The Sister Gary Spiritual Program made the transition to television in 1969.

Site Plan for purposes of historical architectural survey, a sketch map showing the approximate size, footprint, and location of surveyed resources.

Southside Redevelopment Project a project designed by the Raleigh Redevelopment Authority in 1966 to access federal funds for large scale urban renewal and redevelopment in south Raleigh.

State Historic Preservation Office (SHPO) (HPO) a state government agency charged with administering federal preservation programs on the state level, among other things. Federal programs include the National Register of Historic Places and the Certified Local Government Program. Most states have adopted the abbreviation SHPO. North Carolina uses HPO.

Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) organization formed in 1960 to direct and coordinate nonviolent resistance by students to achieve civil rights.

Study List see **North Carolina Study List**

Survey File a product of an architectural survey. In North Carolina a survey file is established for a single resource and includes photographs, maps, written descriptions, and other articles or clippings. In more recent years it has included printouts from the state’s survey database.

Survey Site Number the number assigned to a resource by the North Carolina HPO. Survey Site numbers for resources in Wake County begin with the prefix WA- followed by four digits.

Teenage Frolics music and dance television program which debuted in 1958 on WRAL with an African American host and studio audience.

United Service Organizations (USO) is an American nonprofit organization. Founded during World War II it is best known for providing live entertainment to armed forces to support

morale and welfare. It also operates facilities for support to members of the armed forces and their families.

Urban Renewal programs that purchase and/or condemn private property by a public entity, wherein buildings and structures are razed, and the area is redeveloped by the public entity or private developers.

VA loan a mortgage insured by the United States Veterans Administration (VA). Active-duty military, veterans and surviving spouses are eligible for these loans at favorable rates, however studies have shown that federal policies made these loans difficult if not impossible for many African American veterans to access.

WRAL a Raleigh television station. This station debuted in 1956 as a part of the Capitol Broadcasting Corporation.



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