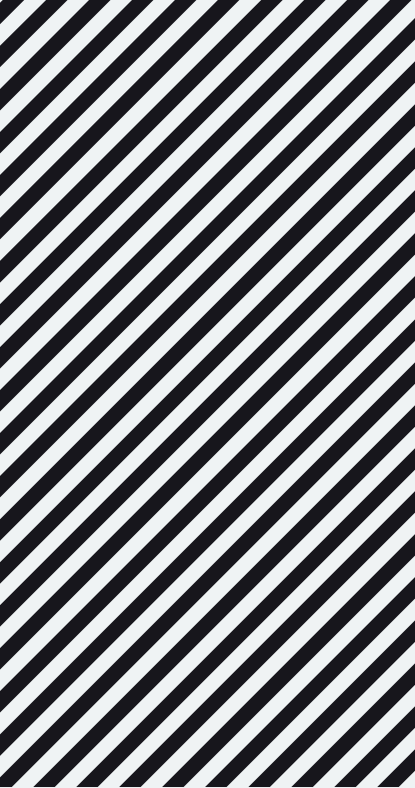
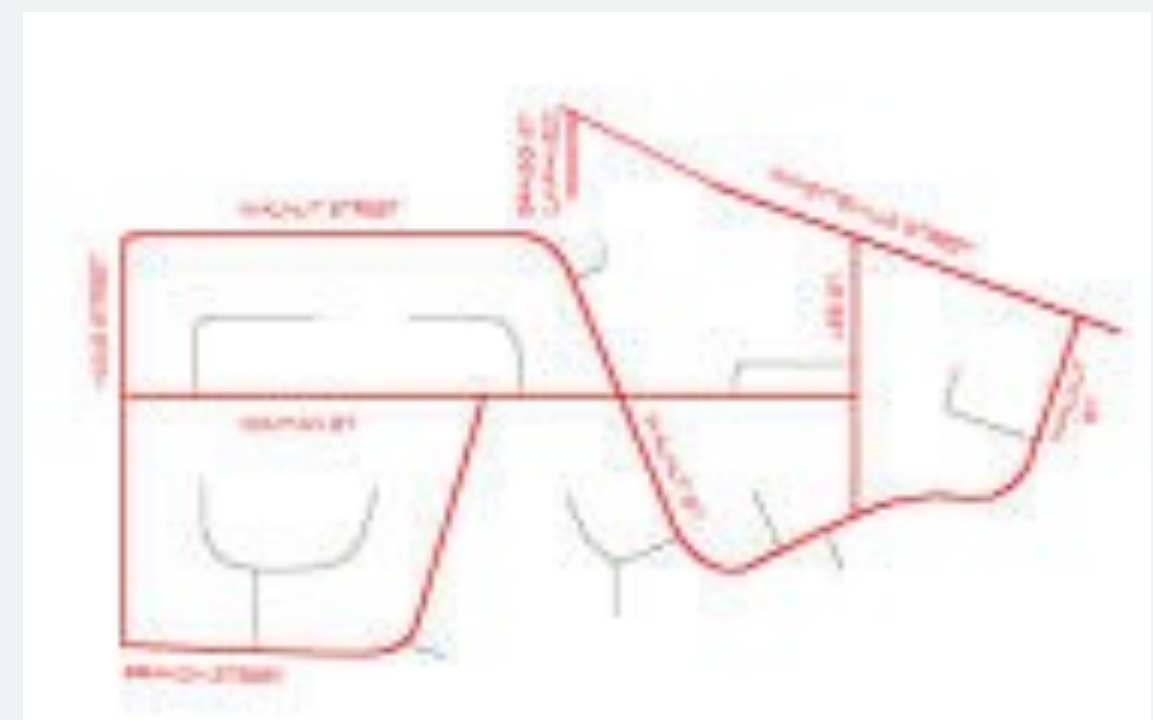
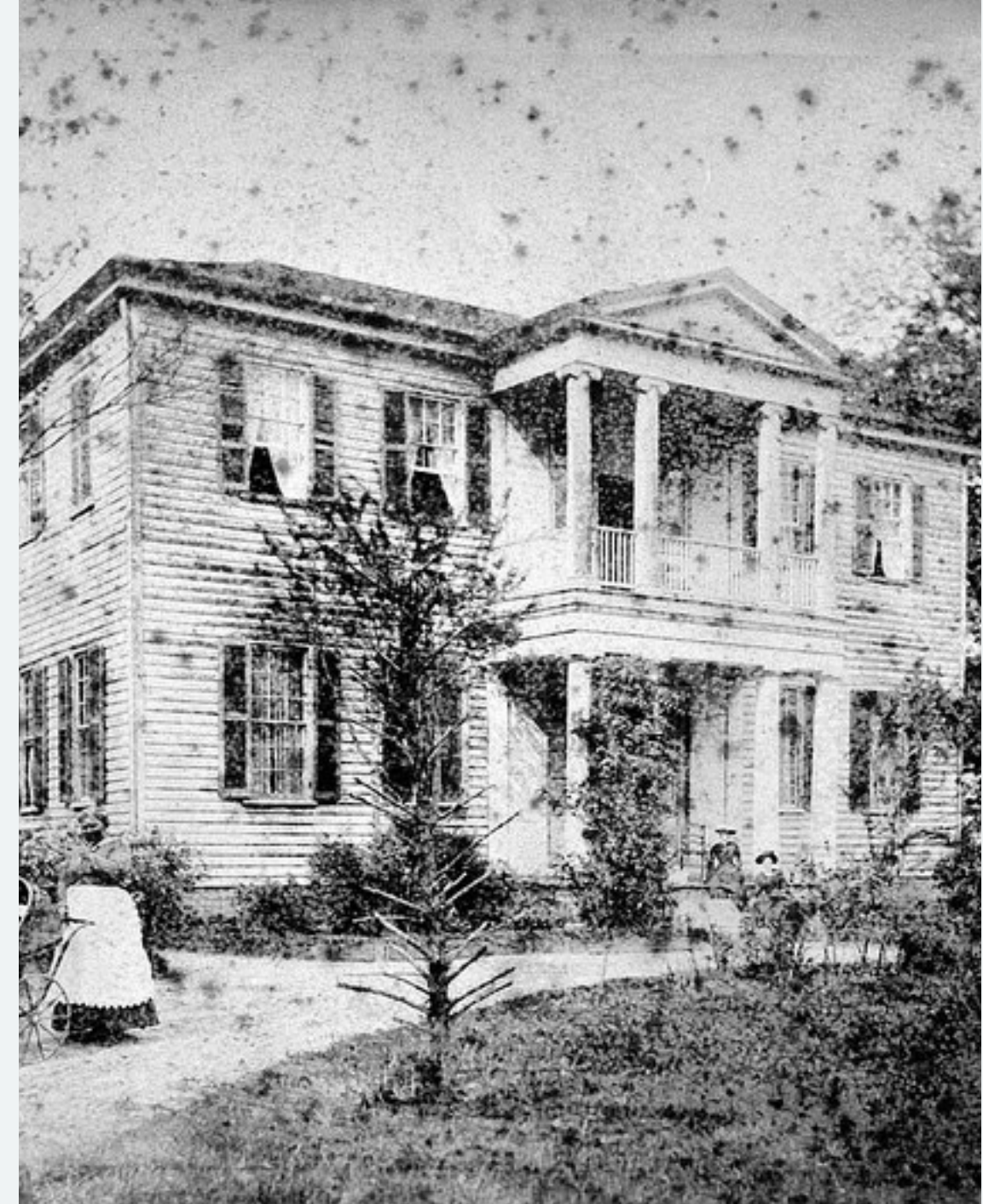




How Development and Public Policies Have Impacted Raleigh's Historically Black Neighborhoods

***Community History
and Planning***



My History

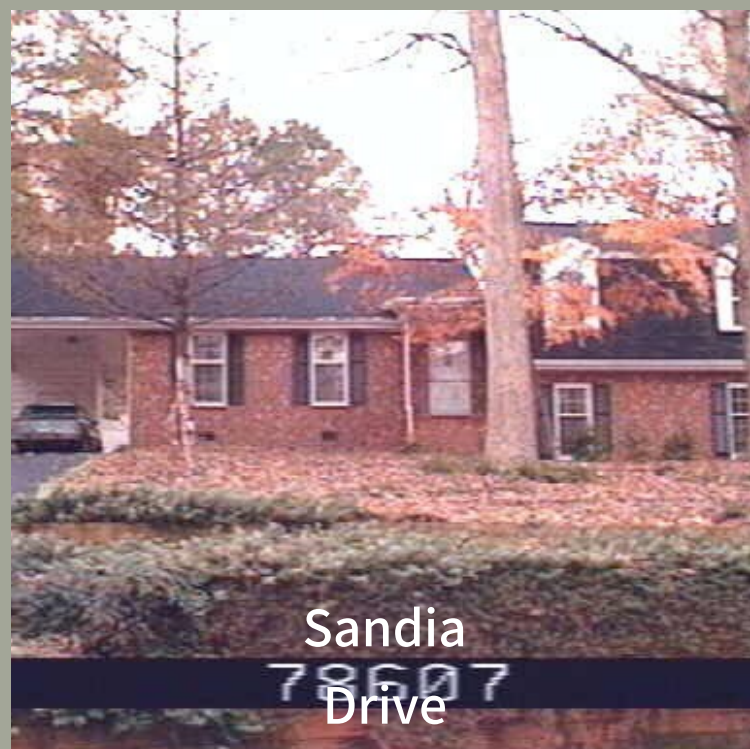
Bill and Cliff Wimberley got married in November 1958. They rented a room in a house on Oberlin Road, and had use of the owner's kitchen. From there they moved:

Washington Terrace - 1959

S. East Street to Durham, then back to Raleigh

Idlewild Avenue - 1965

Sandia Drive - 1969



My History

PRESENT

My parents retired to the Oaks at Bentley Ridge.

I lived on Daniels Street in college.

E. Lenoir Street, college through 1990.

Carver Street 1990–1991

Latta Street 1991 to 2021

Battery Drive at present



“

If you don't know history,
then you don't know anything.

Michael Crichton

ALWAYS REMEMBER

HOW NEIGHBORHOODS FORMED

PATTERNS & MORE PATTERNS

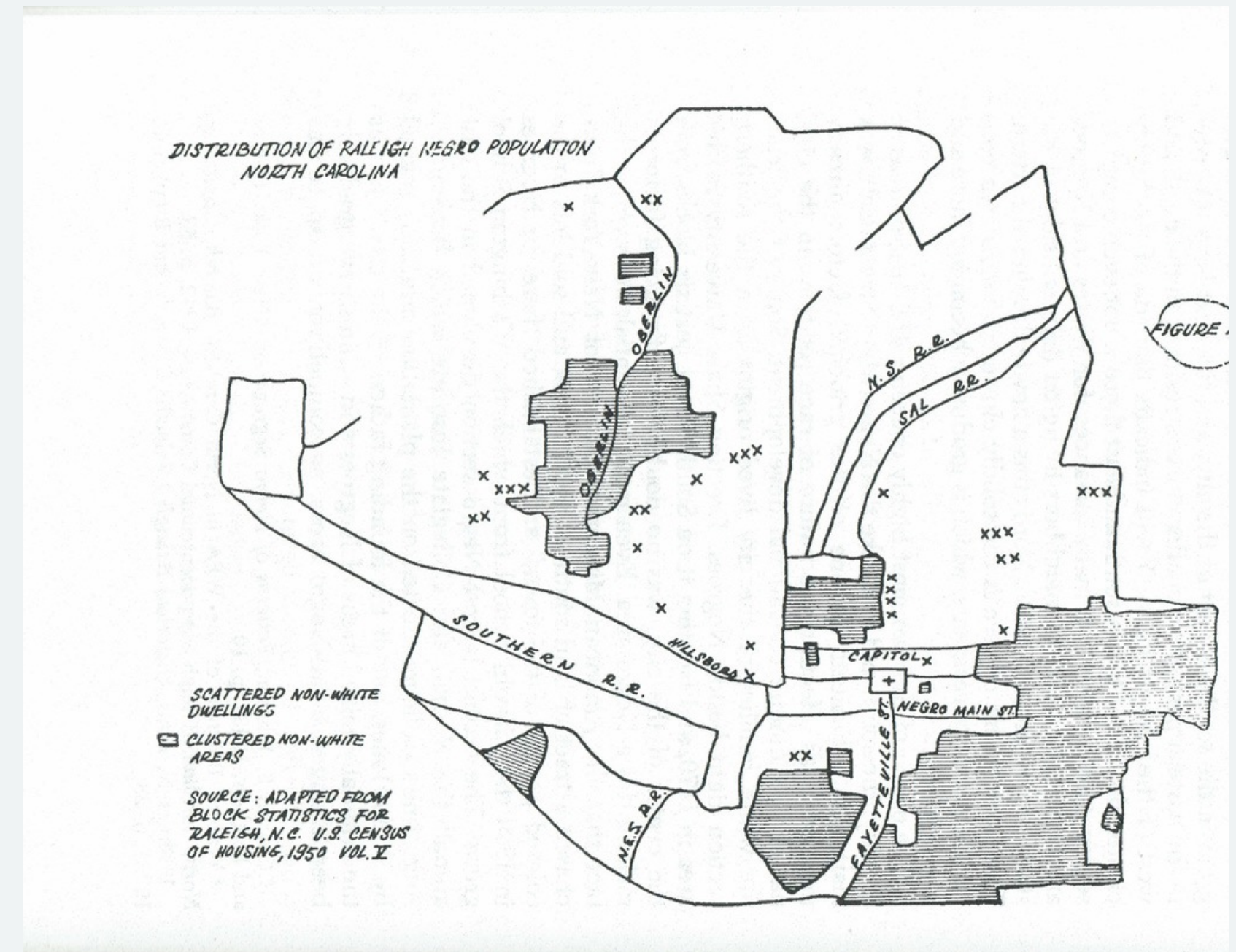
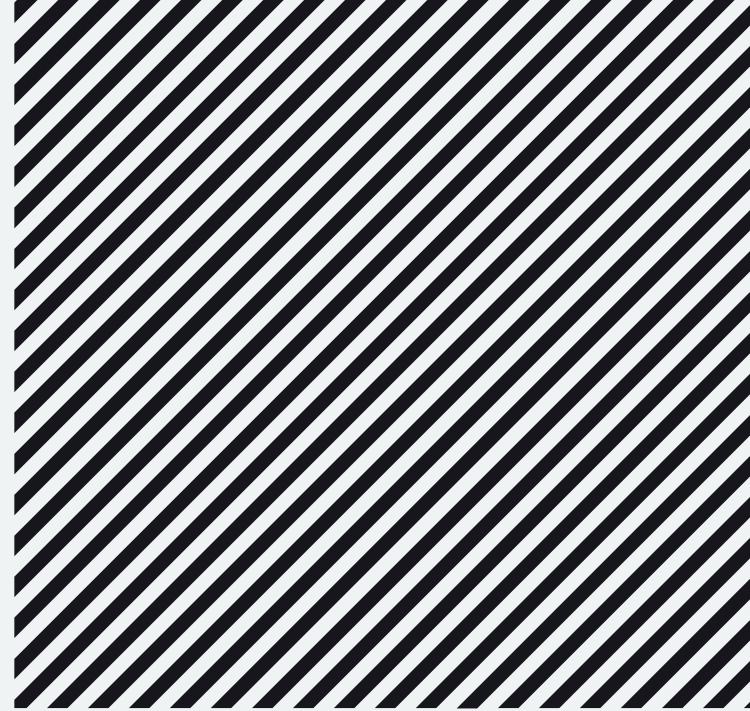
1792 – City boundaries established in 1 mile radius with streets named North, South, East, and West

Raleigh was "crisscrossed by creeks and watersheds".

"As a result, high hills, long ridges and dank bottoms characterized Raleigh's terrain. Antebellum residents, for reasons of health and aesthetics, chose the higher sites for their homes. The low lying areas were for industrial development or lay vacant."

AFTER RECONSTRUCTION

After the Civil War, the Freedmen who came into Raleigh settled in the areas east of East Street and south of South Street. Because of their poverty, there were only able to purchase the less expensive land usually in the creek bottoms or other less desirable locations, and if they couldn't purchase, they rented in those same area. White property owners would divide their land into smaller lots to sell, creating black majorities there and those segregated trends still remain today.



THE BEGINNING OF SYSTEMIC RACISM

Where White people generally chose to live along ridges and on top of hills. This meant that the land that Blacks occupied was land that was considered unfit for whites. These low-lying areas were near contaminated streams, slaughterhouses, flour mills, industrial sites or close to cemeteries (with drainage and offensive odors).

Often these areas were in alleys (i.e., Stronach's Alley). They could be behind businesses, leading hotels. or in former slave quarters behind fashionable residences that needed staff available at all times. **They were considered filthy, narrow places with open sewers; breeding ground of disease/crime; areas only fit for cattle.**

These areas were cause for high mortality rates; long waits for streetcar service; lacked street lights and fire protection. For the vast majority of Blacks, it was substandard living. However, Blacks took what housing they could get and sometimes it was a room for a family instead of a house.

One of the ways to control the Black populations was to annex the areas because of "unsanitary conditions or lawlessness". The annexation brought in a segregated community, where more institutions were built, just continuing the pattern of segregation. This is part of what happened with Oberlin Village in the early 1900's.

BLACK AND WHITE HOUSING PATTERN MAP, 1886

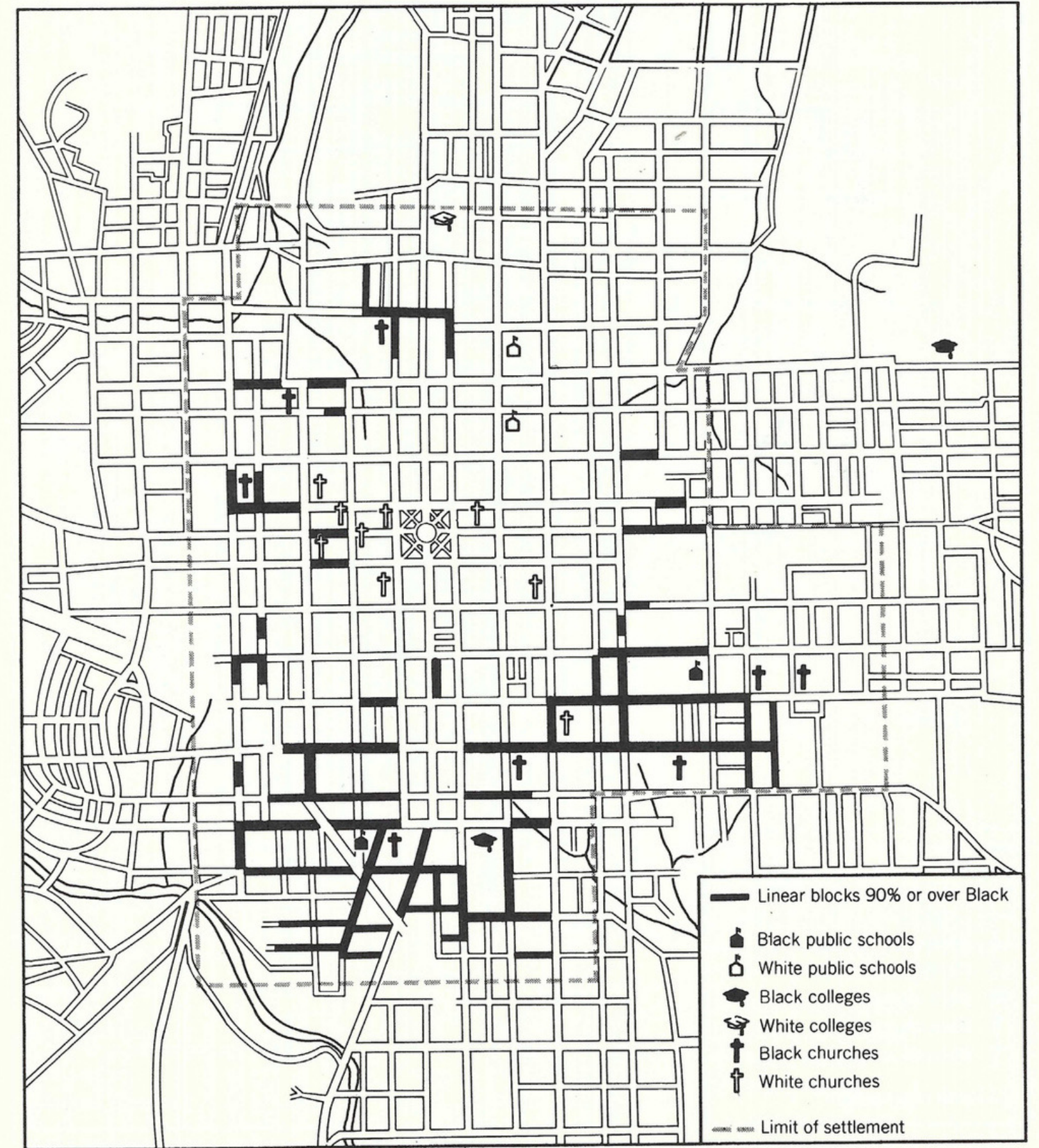
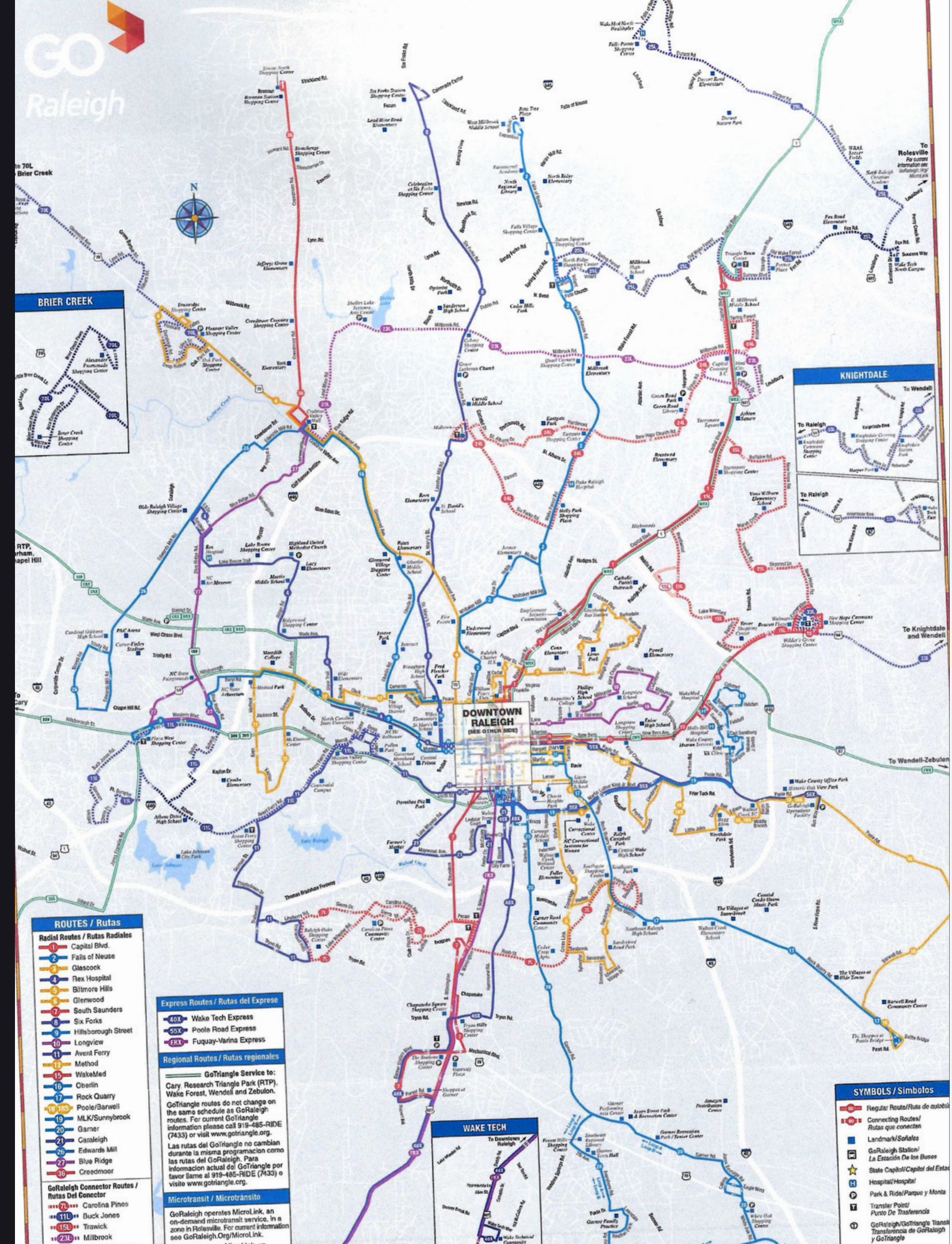


Fig. 4 Raleigh Housing Patterns, Churches, and Schools, 1886

WHY THIS MATTERS TODAY

- “Growth near frequent transit routes”
- “History shows these corridors have displaced Black communities”
- “This plan can protect—or repeat harm”



POLICY TOOLS

- **Zoning**
- **Roads/highways**
- **Urban renewal**
- **Institutional expansion**
- **Code enforcement**
- **Restrictive covenants**

FRAMEWORK

PUSHED

out

Segregation

PULLED

in

Institutions/Safety

ERASED

by

Renewal/Highways

Evolution of Black Neighborhoods

**A SEPARATE REALITY: THE DEVELOPMENT OF RACIAL SEGREGATION IN
RALEIGH, NC 1865-1915 (KARL LARSON)**

13 BLACK SETTLEMENTS TOTAL

4 BEFORE RECONSTRUCTION – NOT PICTURED ON MAP

Lincolntown – West Raleigh close to Carter Finley Stadium

Brooklyn – near Devereaux Farm and St. Augustine's

Masonville – became Method

Oberlin (1858)

9 DURING RECONSTRUCTION

Hungry Neck – down the hill from the Capital

St. Petersburg

Cotton Place/Idlewild – divided by New Bern Avenue

Old Fairground –

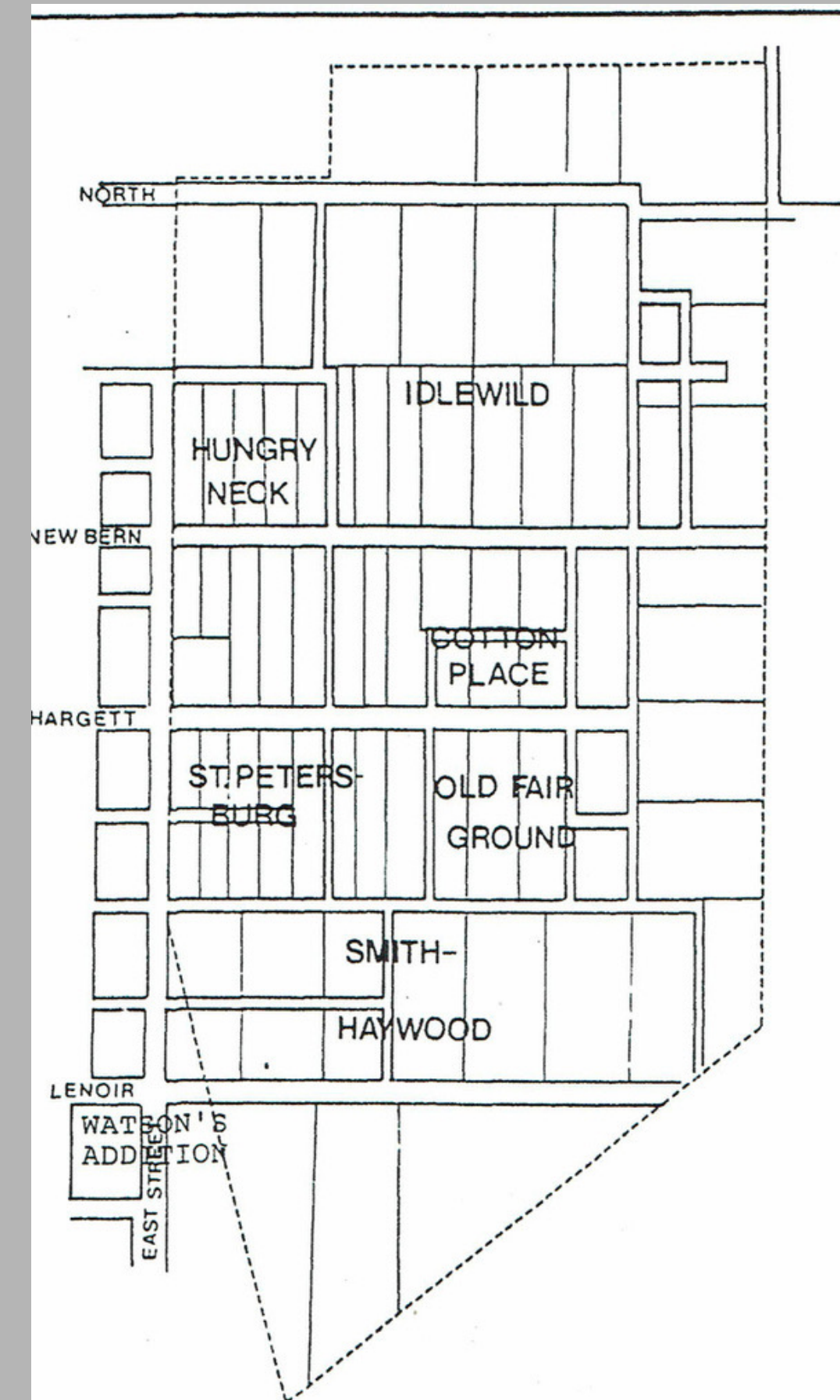
Hayti – near Washington School (Not pictured on map)

Cannon Lands – Not pictured on Map

Manly Homestead – Not Pictured on Map

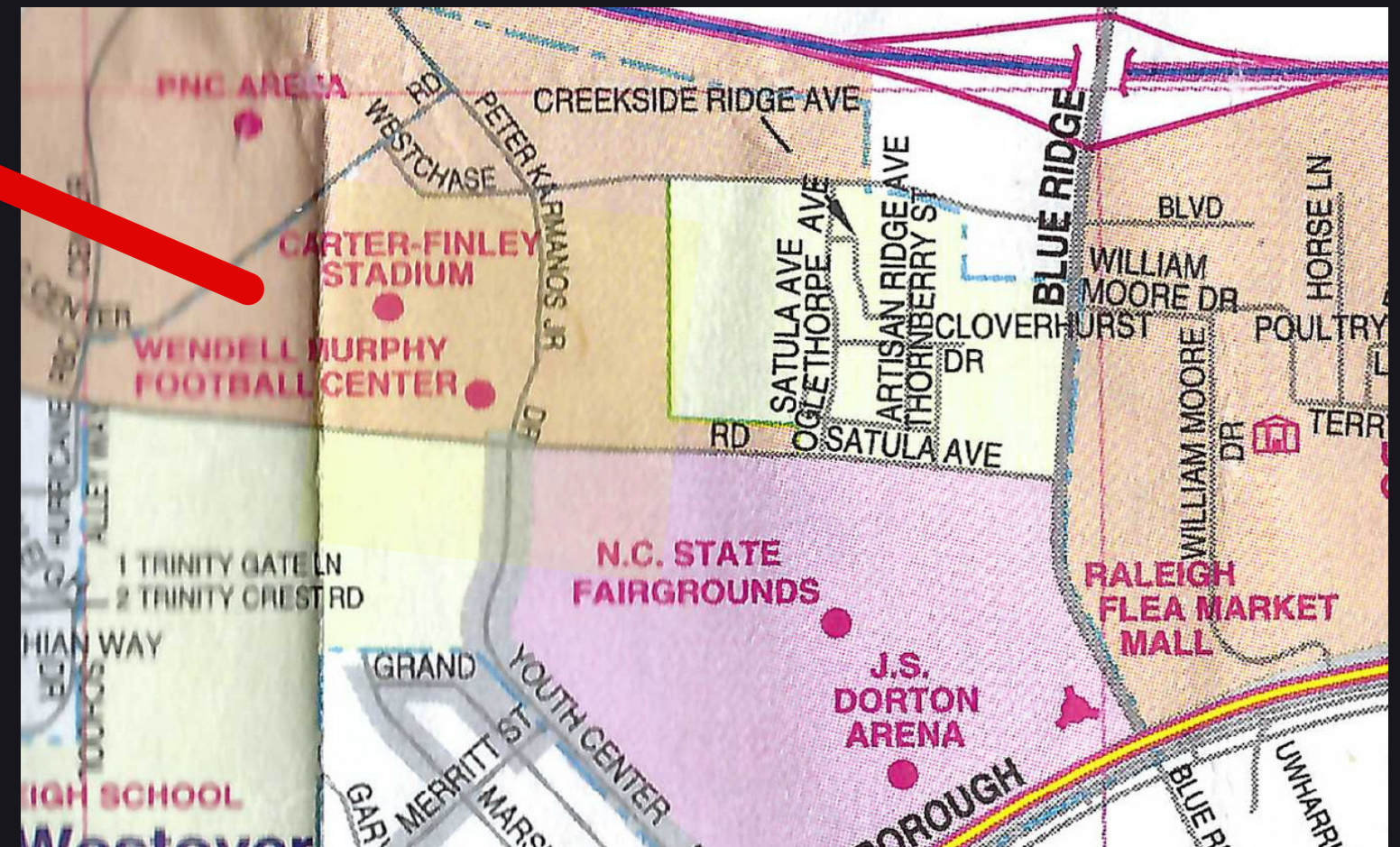
Smith-Haywood

Wilmington/Blount – Not Pictured on Map



Lincolnvile Neighborhood

Lincolnvile was established as one of the original Freedman's Villages. The land was taken to become part of NCSU. What was left was the original church. That was moved into the exhibit that was part of the Village of Yesteryear. The present church is located on Highway 54 heading towards Cary.



WRAL Documentary - "Ghosts in the Stadium"

Cemeteries + Stadium Development

Wolfpack's Stadium Has Four Graveyards

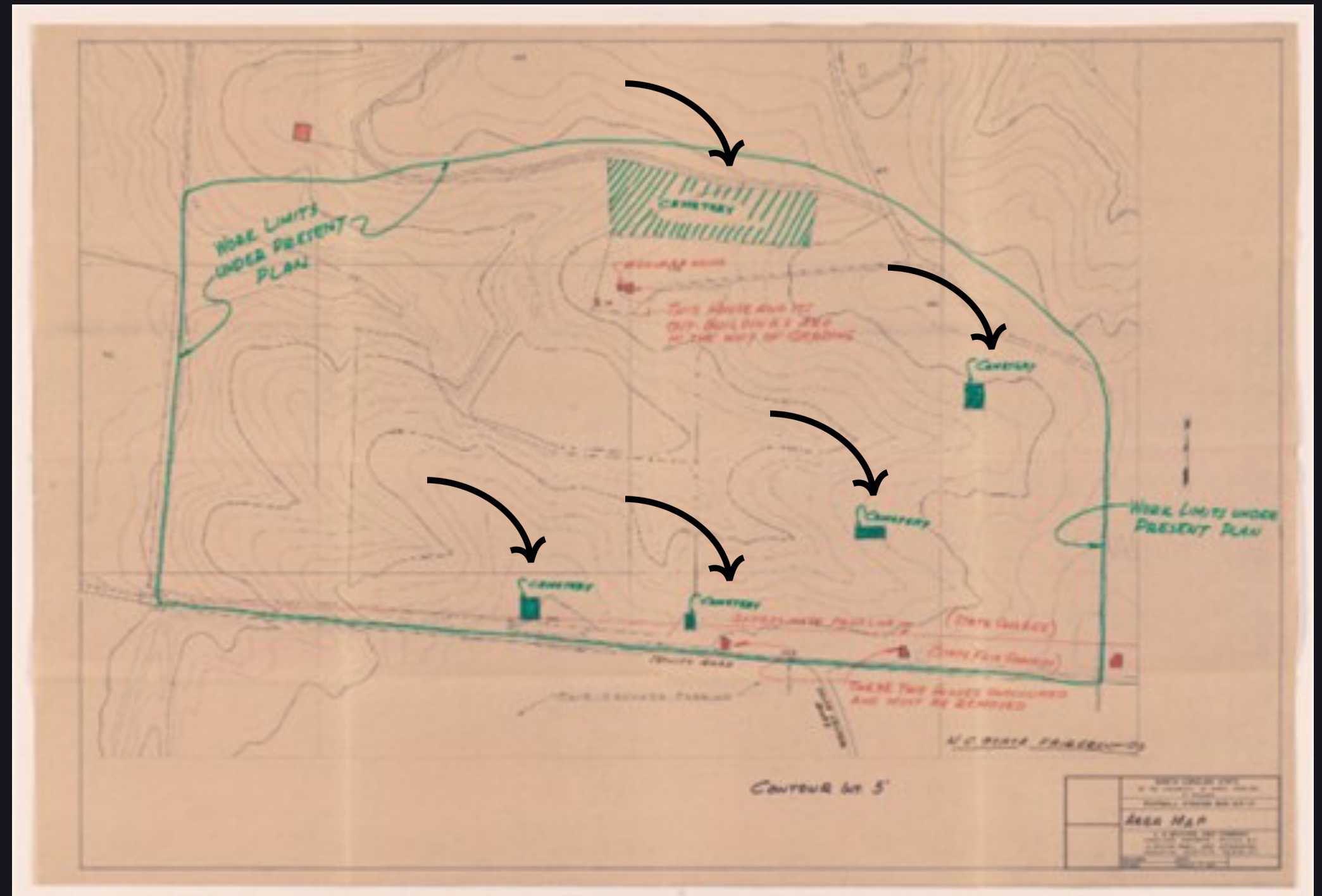
Carter Stadium, to be dedicated here Oct. 8, will have 40,000 seats, 85 acres of parking, and four cemeteries.

North Carolina State university officials discovered the tree shaded cemeteries when the stadium site was elected last year. They were carefully protected during construction, cleared, and landscaped.

No one knows exactly who owns the cemeteries, and it may take years to find out.

Markers indicate burials began in them in the early 1900's. At least one burial was held as late as 1958.

The once-forgotten gravesites will no longer be forgotten. They will be seen by thousands of persons every year.



What's Sacred, What's Not?

Cemeteries + Stadium Development

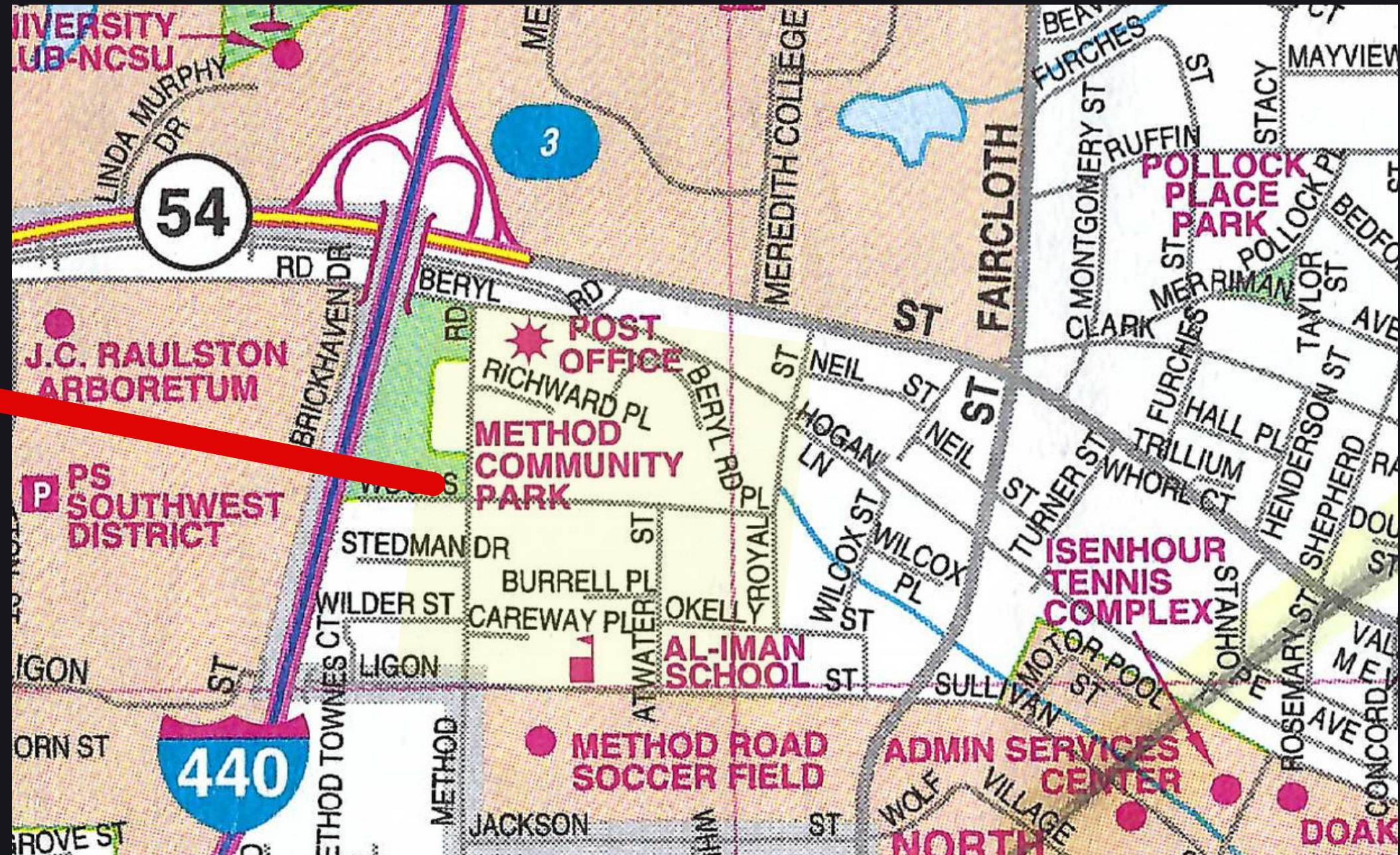


What's Sacred, What's Not?

Method

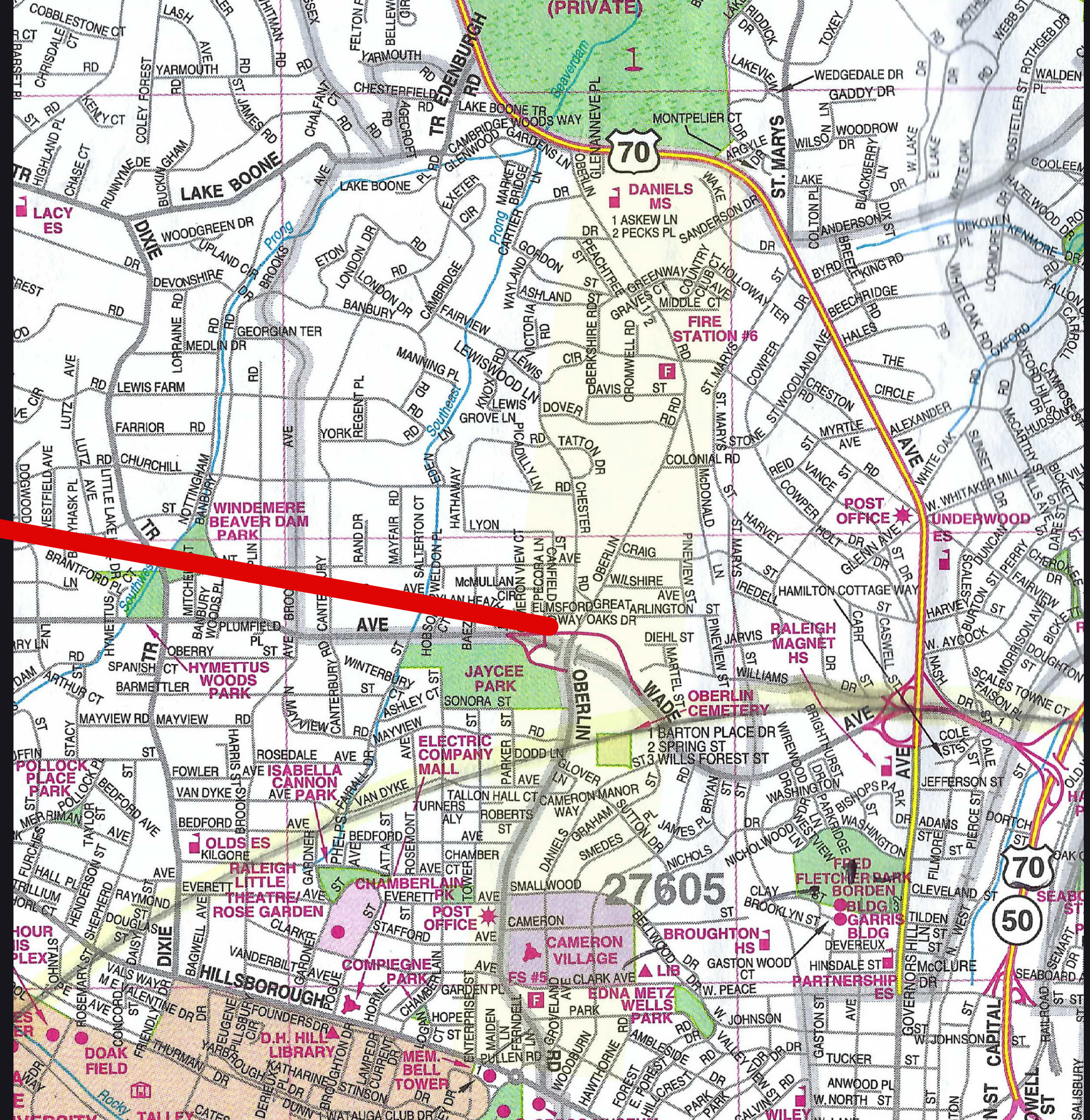
Neighborhood

Method was established as one of the original Freedman's Villages that ringed the city and was annexed.



Oberlin Village Neighborhood

Oberlin was cut in two by the construction of Wade Avenue, after the land had been annexed and pieces sold to whites who realized that it was at the highest ridge of the city at that time.



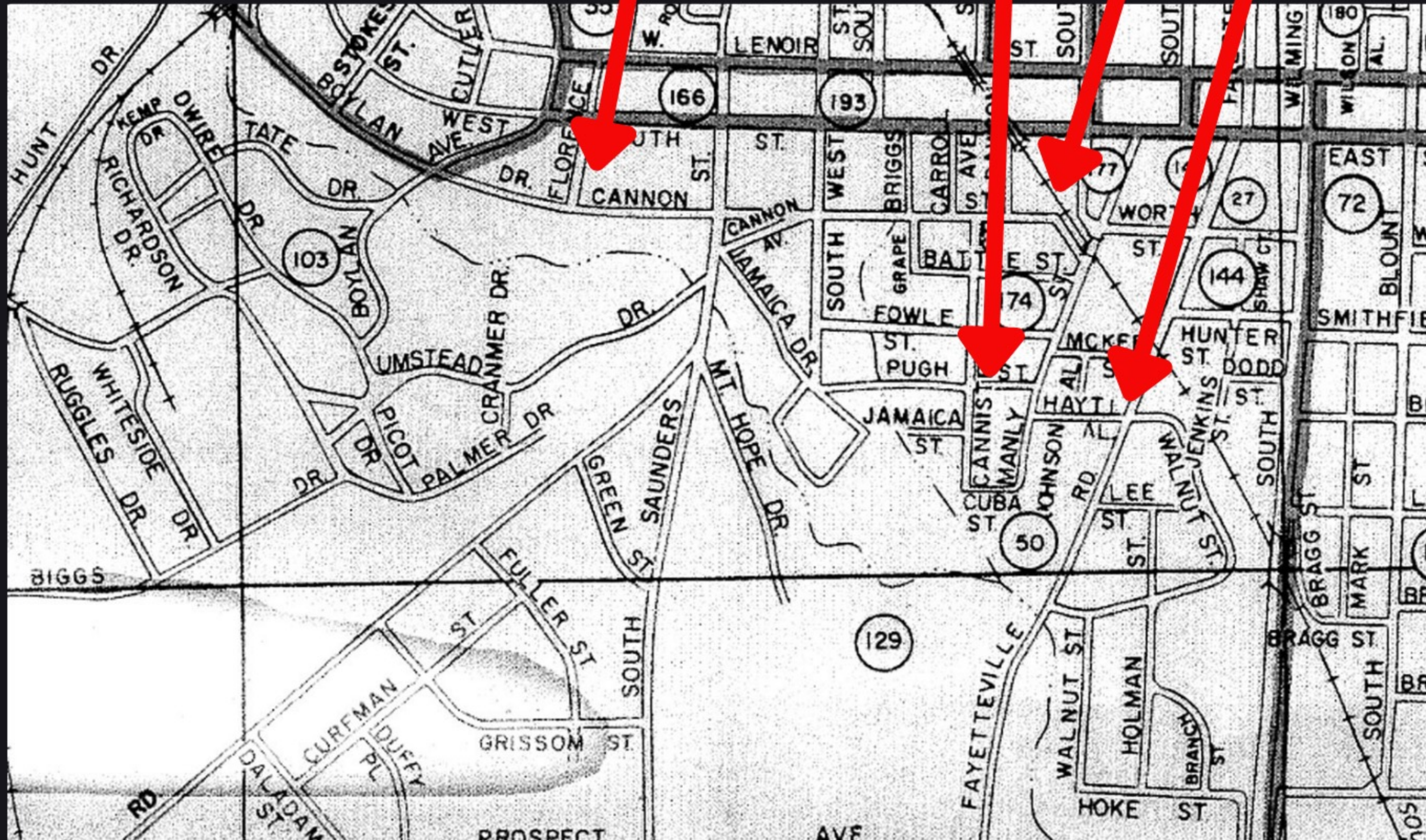
Neighborhoods

CANNON

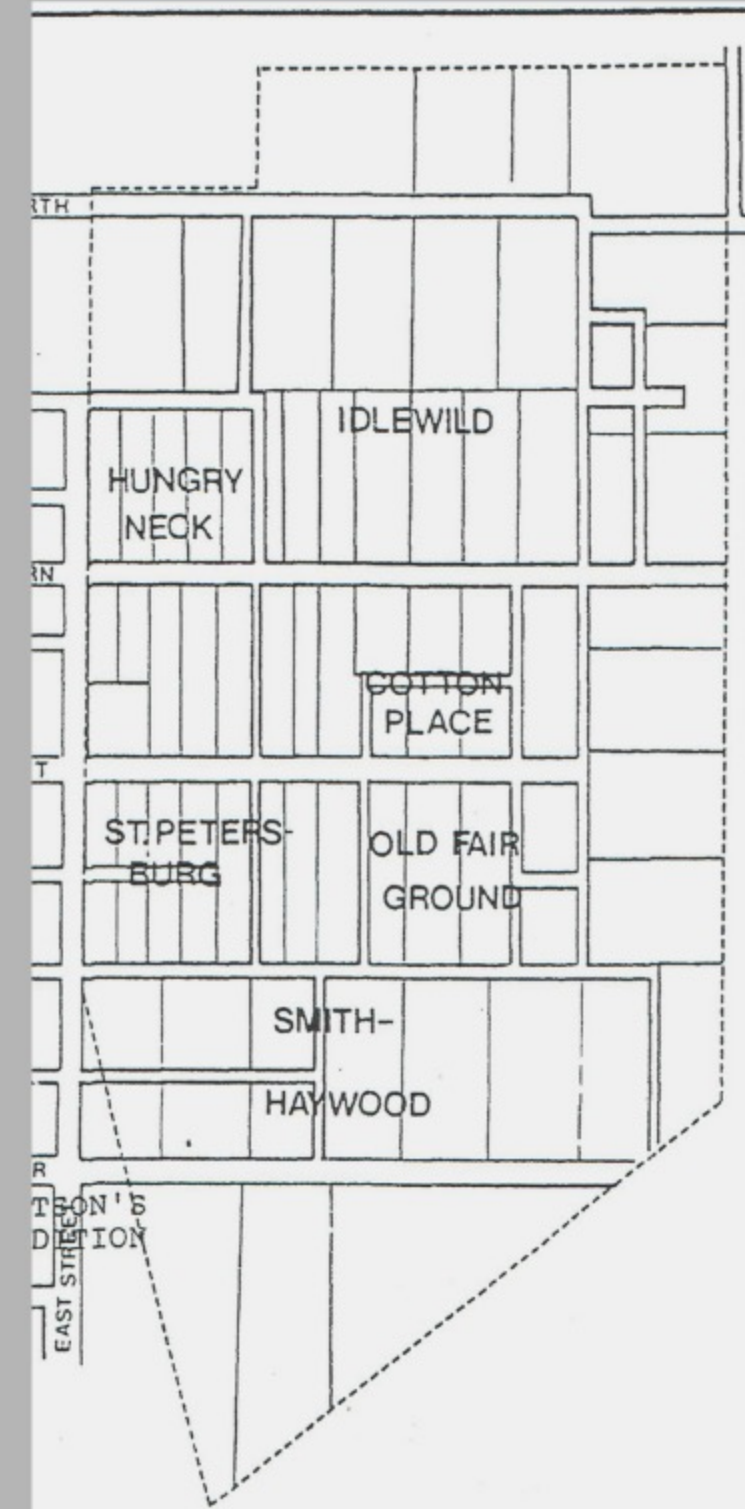
MANLY

RAILROAD

HAYTI

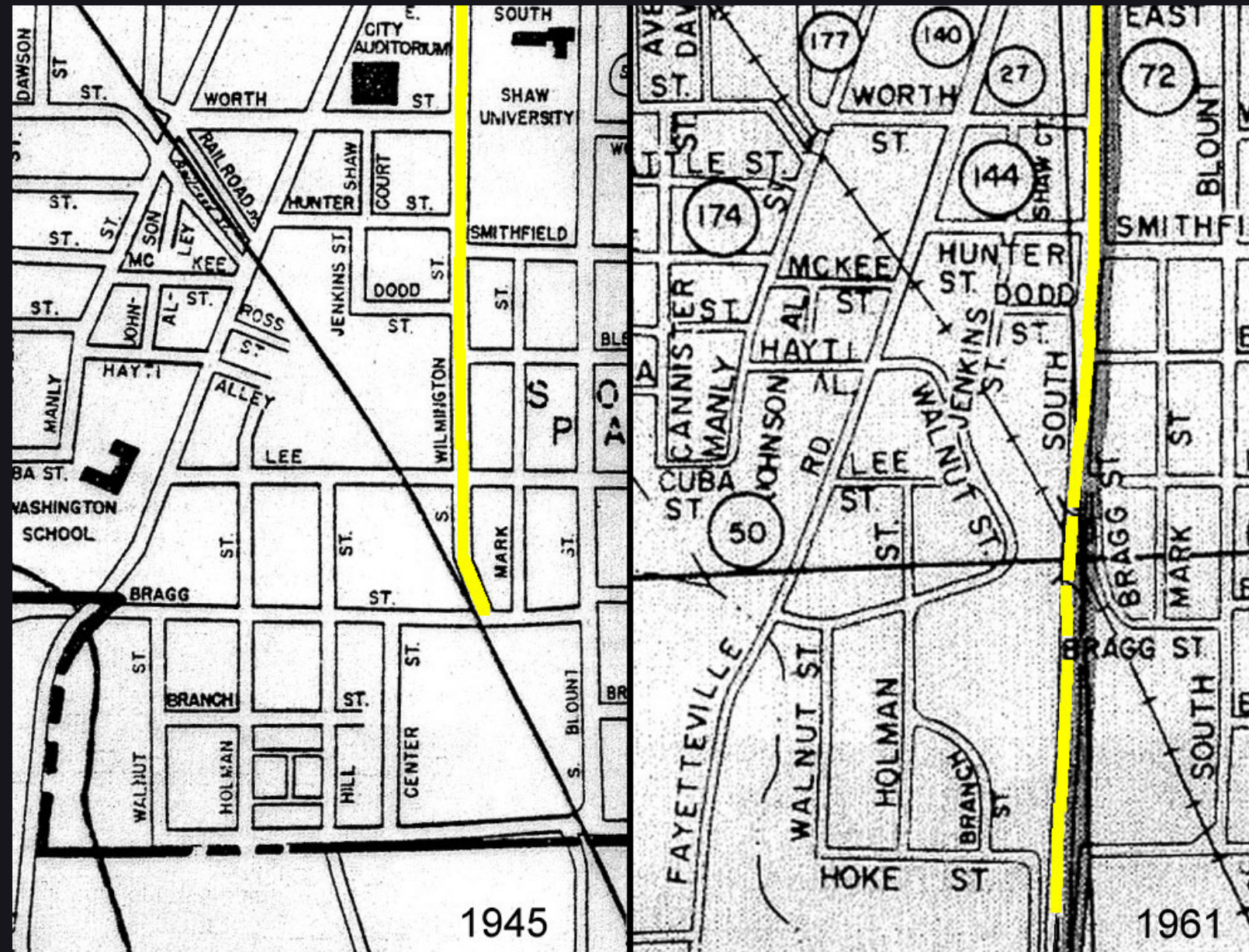


Freedmen's Village Map



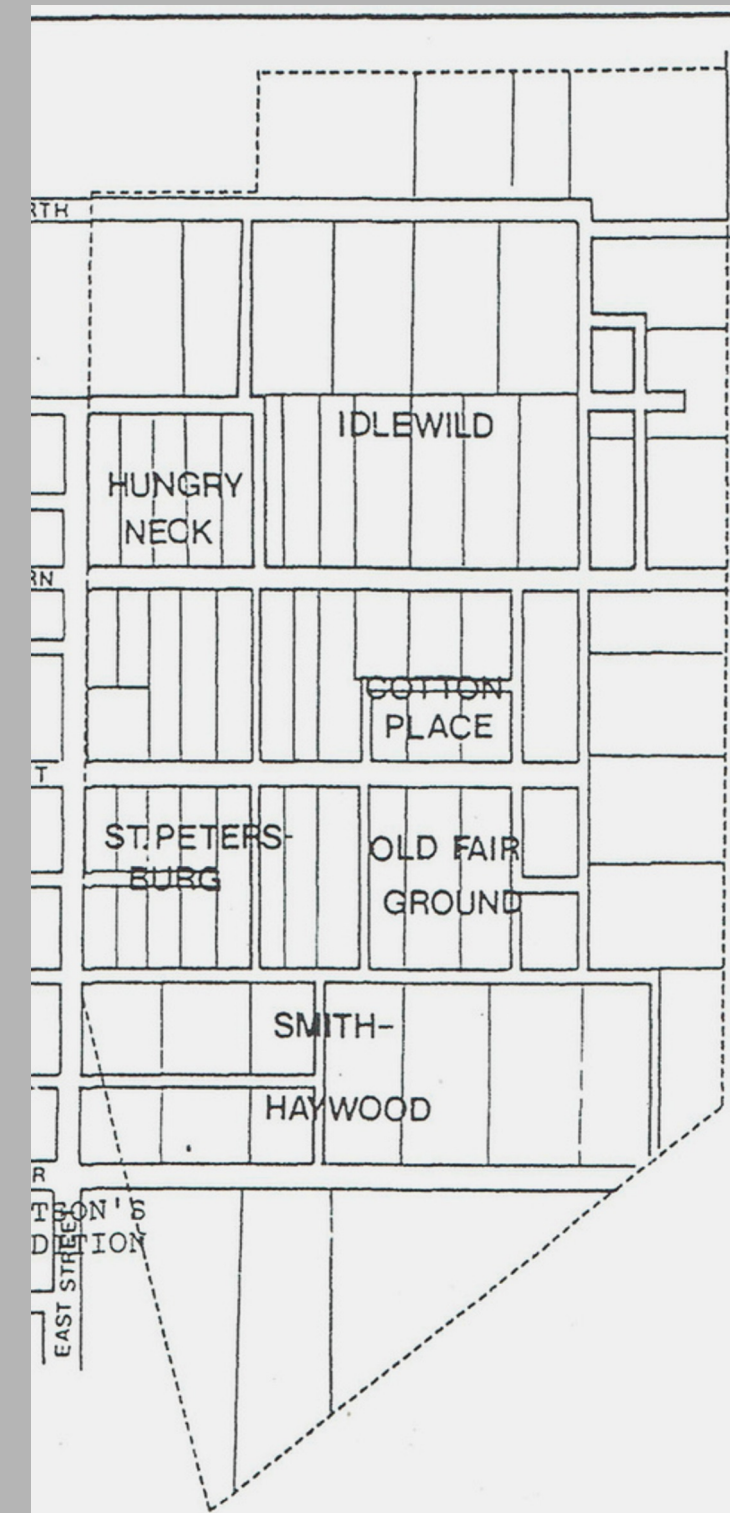
h Neighborhoods
Larson, "A Separate Reality: The Dev
gation in Raleigh, North Carolina, 186

Neighborhoods



These two maps show the changes in the Manly and Hayti areas between 1945 and 1961. The highlighted area is the change in South Wilmington Street. Often plans to "clean up" or improve an area was an earlier version of Urban Renewal. Homes and businesses are torn down and not replaced. This was also accomplished in Smoky Hollow.

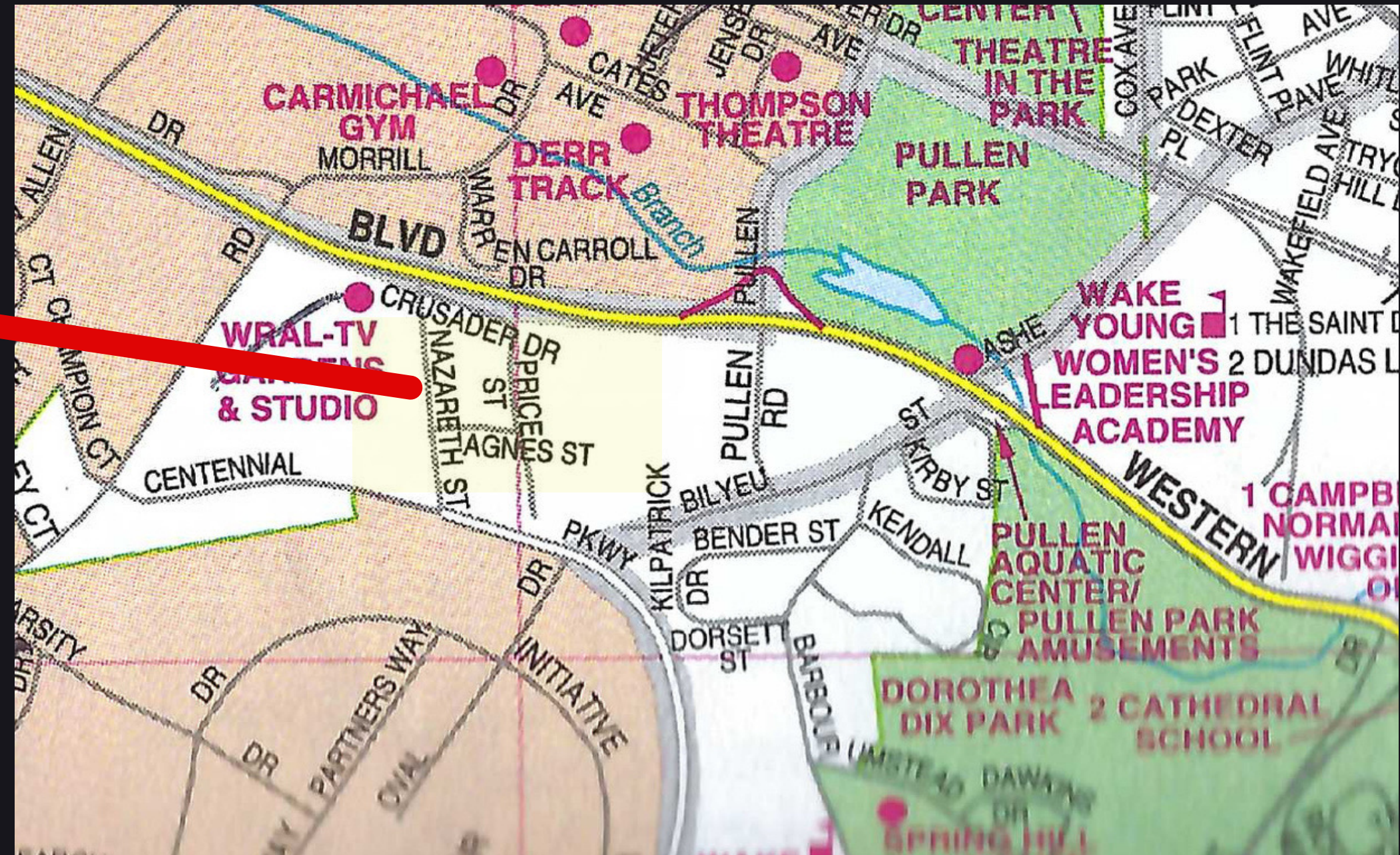
Freedmen's Village Map

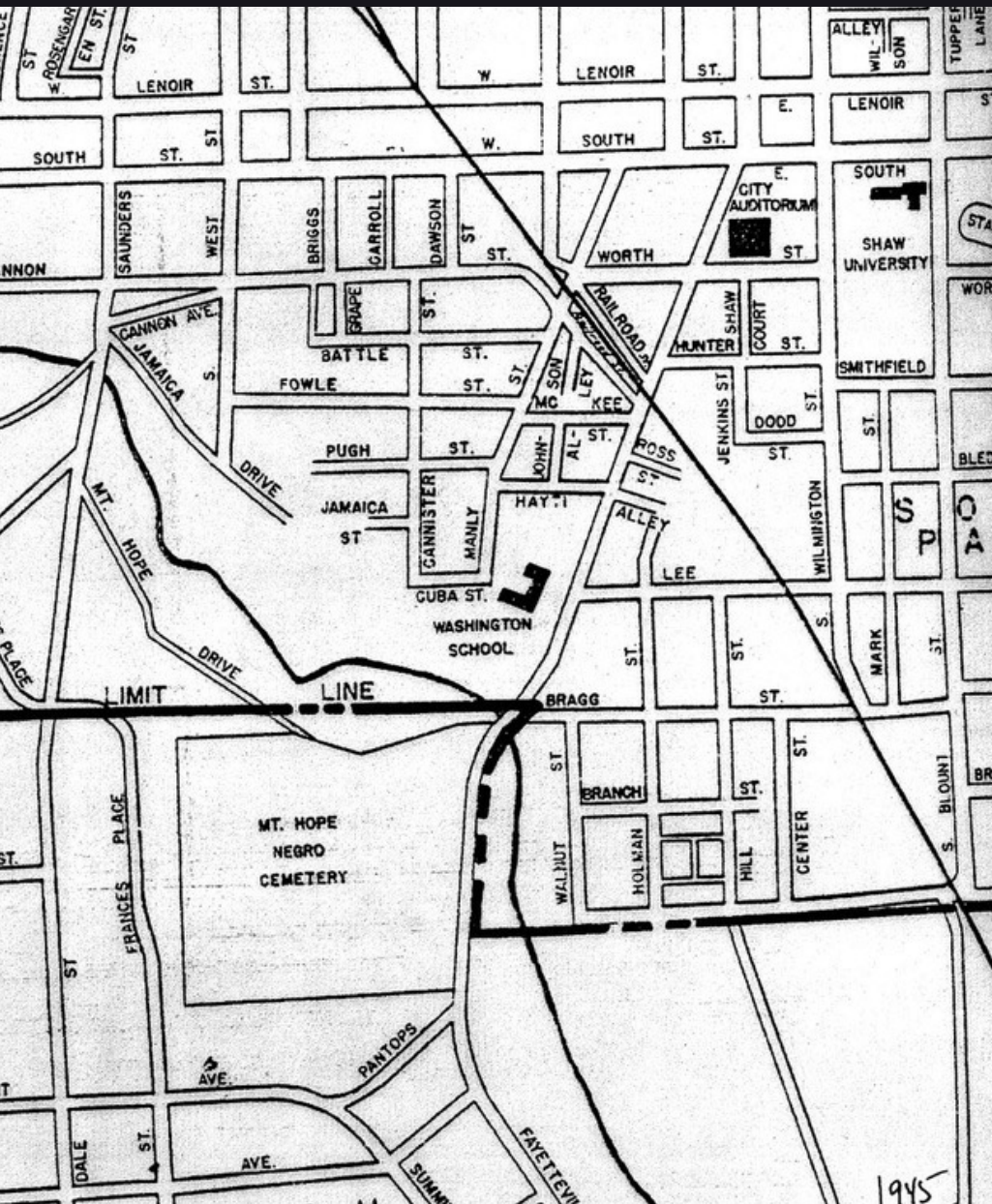


h Neighborhoods
Larson, "A Separate Reality: The Dev
gation in Raleigh, North Carolina, 18

Nazareth Neighborhood

Nazareth was purchased by the Pope family in the 1880's. It was next to the Catholic Diocese property and several of the family members worked there.





By 1910, Idlewild was Black.

Smoky Hollow, which had been a mixed community of millworkers, is becoming less mixed.

Black housing is listed on insurance and other maps as "negro shanties" or "tenements".

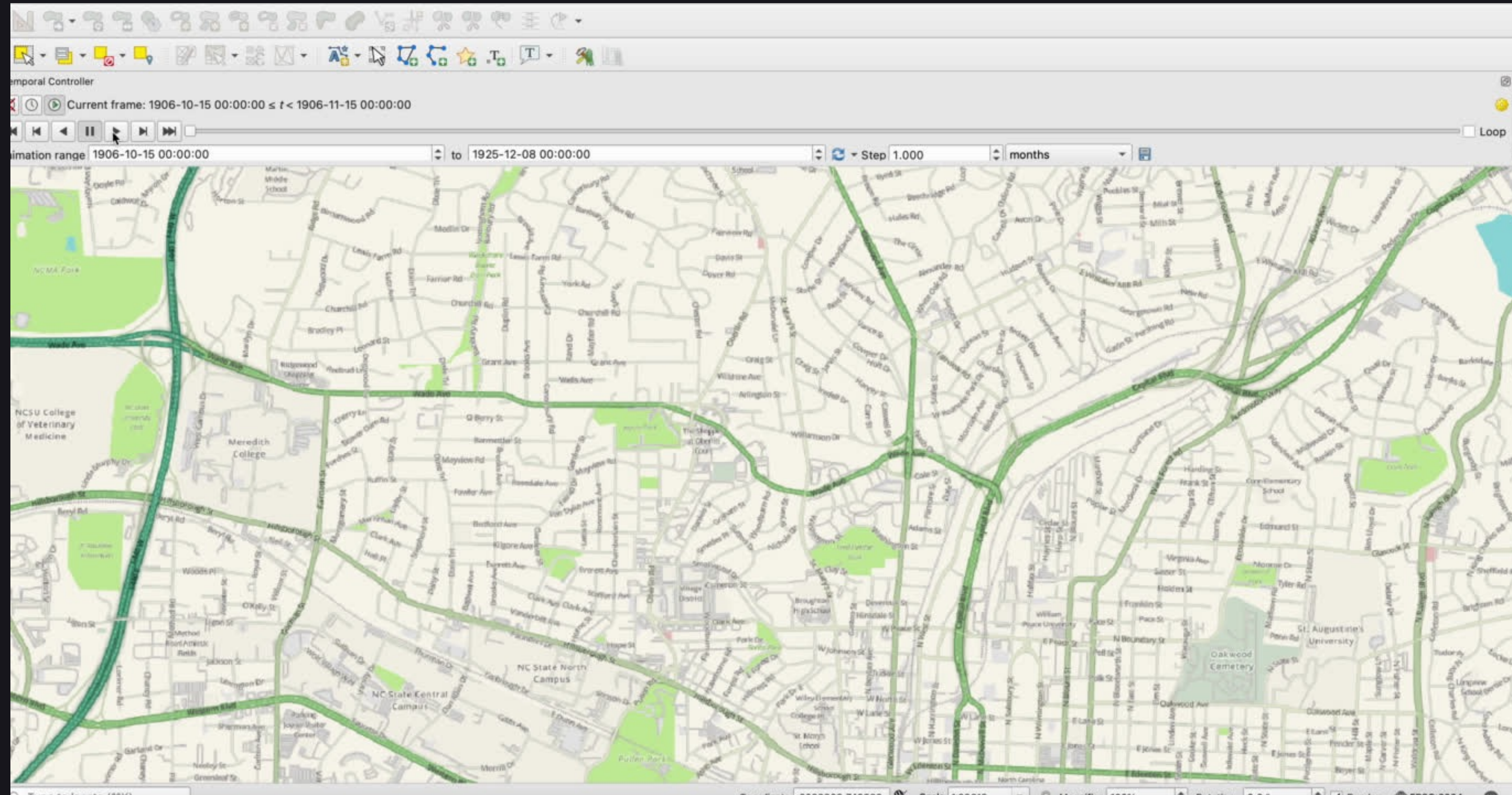
As more workers live near place of employment, they are often given space to live in the rear of the property. Descriptions of some places are "small porchless shelters in the back of business lots, lining alleyways."

Black "elites" tend to live on streets near the colleges, public schools and churches that employ them.



THE POLICY MACHINERY OF ERASURE

RESTRICTIVE COVENANTS/SEGREGATION MECHANISMS



Wake County Register of Deeds, Restrictive Deed Covenant Project

<https://www.wake.gov/departments-government/register-deeds/racially-restrictive-covenants-project>

EVIDENCE OF HOUSING INEQUALITY

1946

Negro Housing Sinks to Deplorable Depths



Patch-work repairs have been made recently on the first three of this row of Negro homes on South McDowell Street. Painting and general renovations are out of the question, say landlords, because of inflationary prices. Property of this type is being held solely in hope that business, which already has pushed within a stone's throw, will demand the land at a handsome price.

By WILLIAM G. WOMBLE, Jr.

Negro housing in Raleigh has reached its most deplorable stage ever, and the most disturbing aspect is that relief is nowhere in sight. Caught by post-war inflation, private capital has retired almost entirely from the field of Negro rental investment for the simple reason it is no longer profitable.

At the same time, national real-estate interests have fought enlargement of the Federal low-cost housing program to a dog fall, so that the promising Taft-Wagner-Elender bill promising Taft-Wagner-Elender bill is now as dead as Hector's pup. It expired with the last Congress.

Hoped For 400 Units.
Under the T-W-E measure, Raleigh had hoped to get 400 additional Negro public housing units to supplement the 231 now in Chavis Heights. Detailed plans already had been made to apply for these units, which would have been constructed over a three-year period.

Those hopes now have vanished for the time being, at least. The only hope left is that next year's Congress will see this bill, or one similar to it, revived.

Situation Growing Desperate.
Never before have so many Raleigh Negro families been forced to double and triple-up under the same roof, say the people who handle the rentals, and who thus know the situation first-hand.

The Capital Realty Company said a fair estimate would be from three to five families to each house. It is not rare, this firm reported, to find the original renter taking in more money on sub-rentals than he himself is paying for the house.

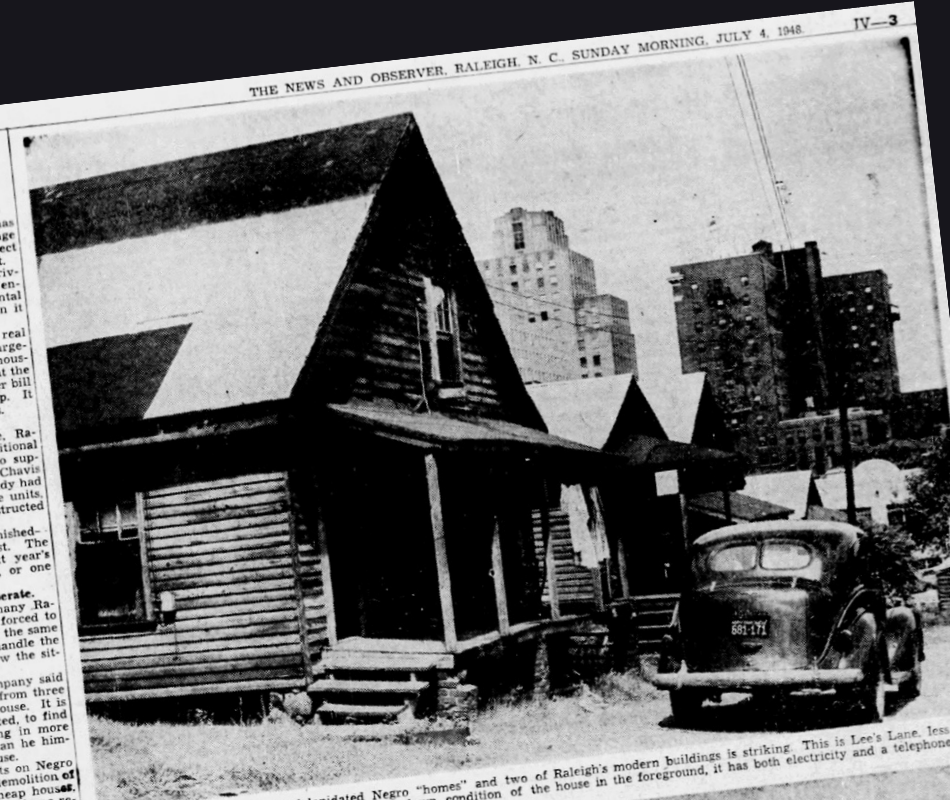
Business encroachments on Negro areas have brought the demolition of scores upon scores of cheap houses, and there have been virtually no replacements.

"We don't know where these people are going," said an official of Acme Realty Company, Negro-operated firm. "All we know is that we have had no homes to rent to them."

The answer, obviously, is that most of these dispossessed families are moving in with other-crowding has become the rule rather than the exception throughout the city's Negro residential sections.

Many Sub-Standard Homes.
Raleigh has an estimated Negro population of 22,300, according to Mrs. Inez B. Jones, executive director of the Raleigh Housing Authority, which operates both the white and Negro public housing projects here.

Mrs. Jones says that the last survey made by her force shows that 12,118 Negro families are living in sub-standard homes. Admittedly, some of these homes are not too



The contrast of these dilapidated Negro "homes" and two of Raleigh's modern buildings is striking. This is Lee's Lane. Less than three blocks from City Hall. Despite the run-down condition of the house in the foreground, it has both electricity and a telephone line.

Few New Homes.
While there have been a number of moderate homes built recently for sale to comparatively well-to-do Negroes here, the vast majority of members of that race are renters, and it is this class that is suffering as never before.

The number of new rental homes for Negroes built since the war probably could be counted on the fingers of two hands, said one real estate man. Acme Realty has built six since the war, but all were "for sale only," not for rent. A few Negroes have had private contractors construct homes for them.

Chavis Heights' 231 units, completed in 1940, barely scratched the surface of the need for Negro housing, said Mrs. Jones, and her statement is borne out by the fact that she now has on file no less than 816 applications from families for apartments. The 36 temporary wood units added to the Chavis development helped a little, taking care of some of the Negro war veterans who returned with no place to live, but many, many more are needed, Mrs. Jones declared.

Breedloves Set Example for
"When we first married, and started keeping house, we owned one sugar dish, nothing more."

Pretty, brown-eyed Ellen Breedlove, 37, the mother of six outstanding youngsters and the wife of one of the most progressive young farmers in Nash County, doesn't mind recounting the story of her family's rise, in 13 years, from farm-family status to a position of community leadership. Though she speaks modestly of that progress, the success of an experiment in home-making, an experiment planned by James and Ellen back in their sugar-dish days and never abandoned. There was no expert marriage advice, nor any authoritative guide on child training, to help them. The couple was simply blessed.

Chavis Heights, Negro public housing project finished shortly before the war, has 231 permanent masonry units, each modern with baths, electric stoves, hot and cold water, and steam heat. Rental is based on the family income. If the income exceeds \$4,000 a year, the family must move out. The house depicted above the family must move out.

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2025

Raleigh leaders questioned on affordable housing progress

1969



Raleigh does have some fine Negro homes, such as this one recently completed on Lincoln Court, a part of the old Piedmont League Ball Park. East Raleigh. But the number of Negroes able to afford a home like this is infinitesimal when compared with the thousands who rent to Negroes.

26 The News and Observer, Monday, July 29, 1968

Raleigh Negro Housing Situation Hit in Church Forum

By MAC MCGREW

"Negro housing in Raleigh is inadequate, insufficient and very, very unequal," a Raleigh Negro real estate man declared here Sunday.

James A. Shepard's remarks were echoed by the two other speakers on the Pullen Memorial Baptist Church's weekly forum on Raleigh's urban problems. About 70 persons, whites and Negroes as well as members of other Raleigh churches, attended.

Other speakers on the program, moderated by the

Rev. W. W. Finlator, Pullen Memorial's pastor — were the Rev. Charles Ward, pastor of the First Baptist Church on Wilmington Street, and Dr. Theodore Weeden, founder of HOME (Housing Opportunities Made Equal) here and a former professor at Shaw University.

Shepard said that housing is inadequate for Negroes both as to property they can buy and property they can rent. What housing is available, he continued, is in one section of the city, the southeast quad-

Confining Negroes to that sections, Shepard continued, indicates what the power structure has ruled. "It's a dangerous situation, a stupid situation," he declared.

"Riots happen in Negro areas," he observed. "As long as you have 'Negro areas,' you will have trouble because as long as you isolate people, there will be trouble."

Isolating people, Shepard said, often means repairs — such as to houses, streets, sidewalks and broken street lights — are not made.

Recently, Shepard recalled,

the front porch on a Southside house collapsed, because it was rotten, and fell on top of a small child.

On a current note, Shepard cited slow garbage collection. "The Negro is suffering" because of the shortage of garbage collectors in the city. What will happen in the Negro area, he said, is that the piled-up garbage will "be picked up when the collectors get around to it."

Discussing the availability of housing, Shepard said The News and Observer has literally hundreds of want ads listing rental property, within

the range that Negroes can pay. "But when they apply, they are told they cannot rent because they are black," he said.

Turning to property for sale, Shepard noted that the average Negro salary in Raleigh runs from "zero to about \$6,000, with the majority between \$2,000 and \$4,000."

Then he pointed out, for example, that a developer is building about 300 homes off Rock Quarry Road, with the price ranging from \$17,500 to \$25,000, far above what the

Negro home buyer can afford.

The Rev. Ward — representing Raleigh Inter-Church Housing Inc. (RICH) which has broken ground for low cost housing at Method — declared that too few houses are available to Negroes and asserted "the unwritten covenant (not to sell to Negroes) is still in force."

He, along with Shepard, spotlighted the living conditions forced on the Negro by the city's housing pattern, and he said, "People will explode

when they live in overcrowded, adverse conditions."

"If we put you," the Rev. Ward told the middle class audience, "in the same situation, you would explode, too, only quicker."

Dr. Weeden, who will join the Wake Forest University faculty in September, reminded that the purpose of HOME is to locate housing for Negroes in "white neighborhoods by 'finding people who will sell to blacks.'"

"Negro housing is not a Negro problem, but a white problem," he asserted.

To find whites willing to sell to blacks, Dr. Weeden said letters were sent out. By the middle of June, the last time he saw the figures, he said there were about 400 persons on the available list.

Citing progress in HOME's campaign, Dr. Weeden said one Negro family has bought a home in a previously all-white neighborhood.

Dr. Weeden, who is also an ordained Methodist minister, answered when some one from the audience asked for the identity of the "power structure!"

"The power structure is the

URBAN RENEWAL WAS A BLUEPRINT, NOT AN ACCIDENT

1940s

Oberlin Community

Wade Avenue

1958

Smoky Hollow Community

Downtown Boulevard

Peace Street

1970s

4th Ward

Dawson/McDowell Connector
Western Boulevard Extension

URBAN RENEWAL WAS A BLUEPRINT, NOT AN ACCIDENT

1958

Smoky Hollow Community

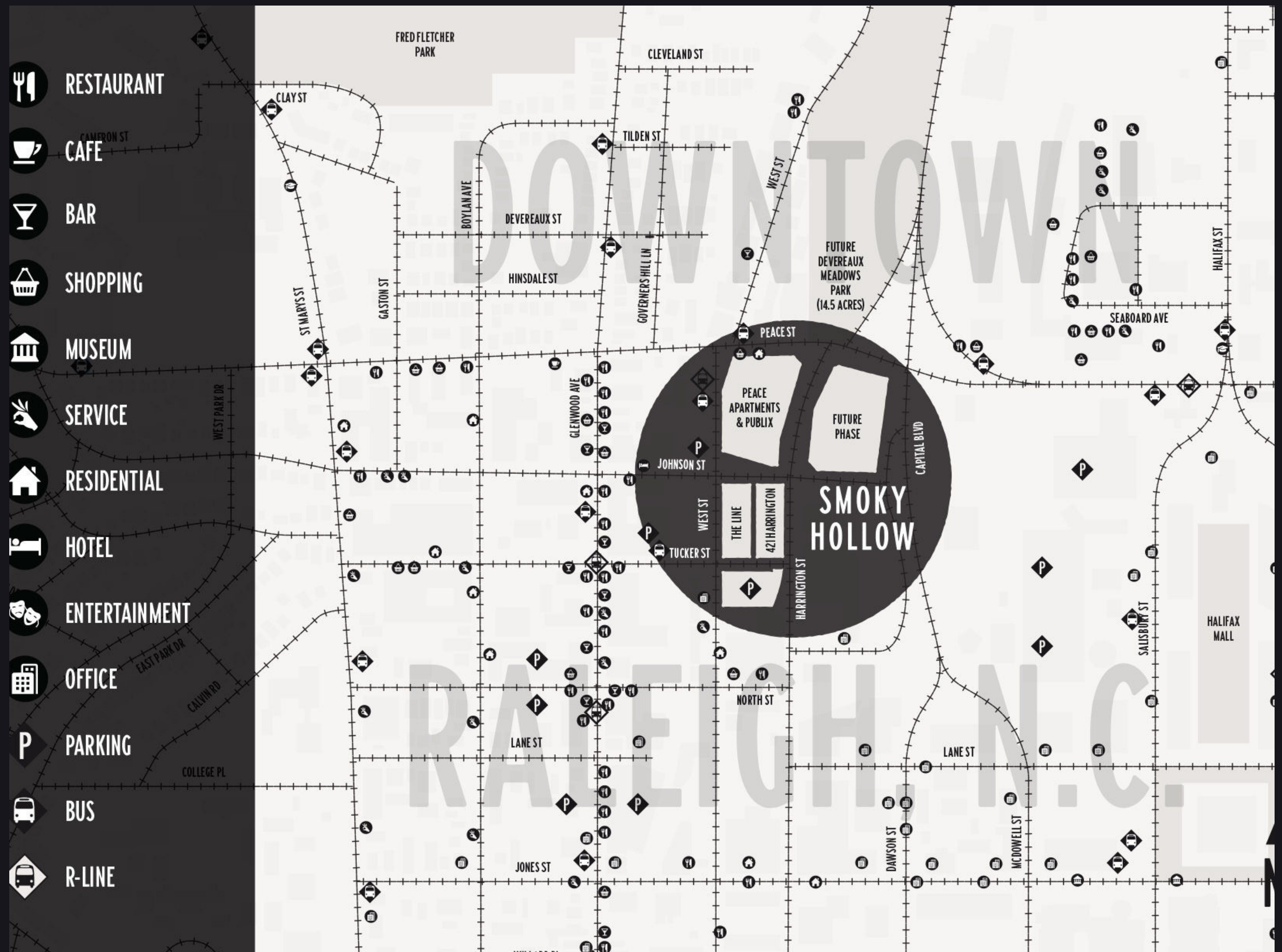
**Downtown Boulevard
Peace Street**

Plans to "clean up" or improve an area was an earlier version of Urban Renewal. Homes and businesses are torn down and not replaced. This was accomplished in Smoky Hollow when the area was razed and 165 families were moved out. This area was destroyed during the mid 1960s.



URBAN RENEWAL

SMOKY HOLLOW Neighborhood Today



URBAN RENEWAL WAS A BLUEPRINT, NOT AN ACCIDENT

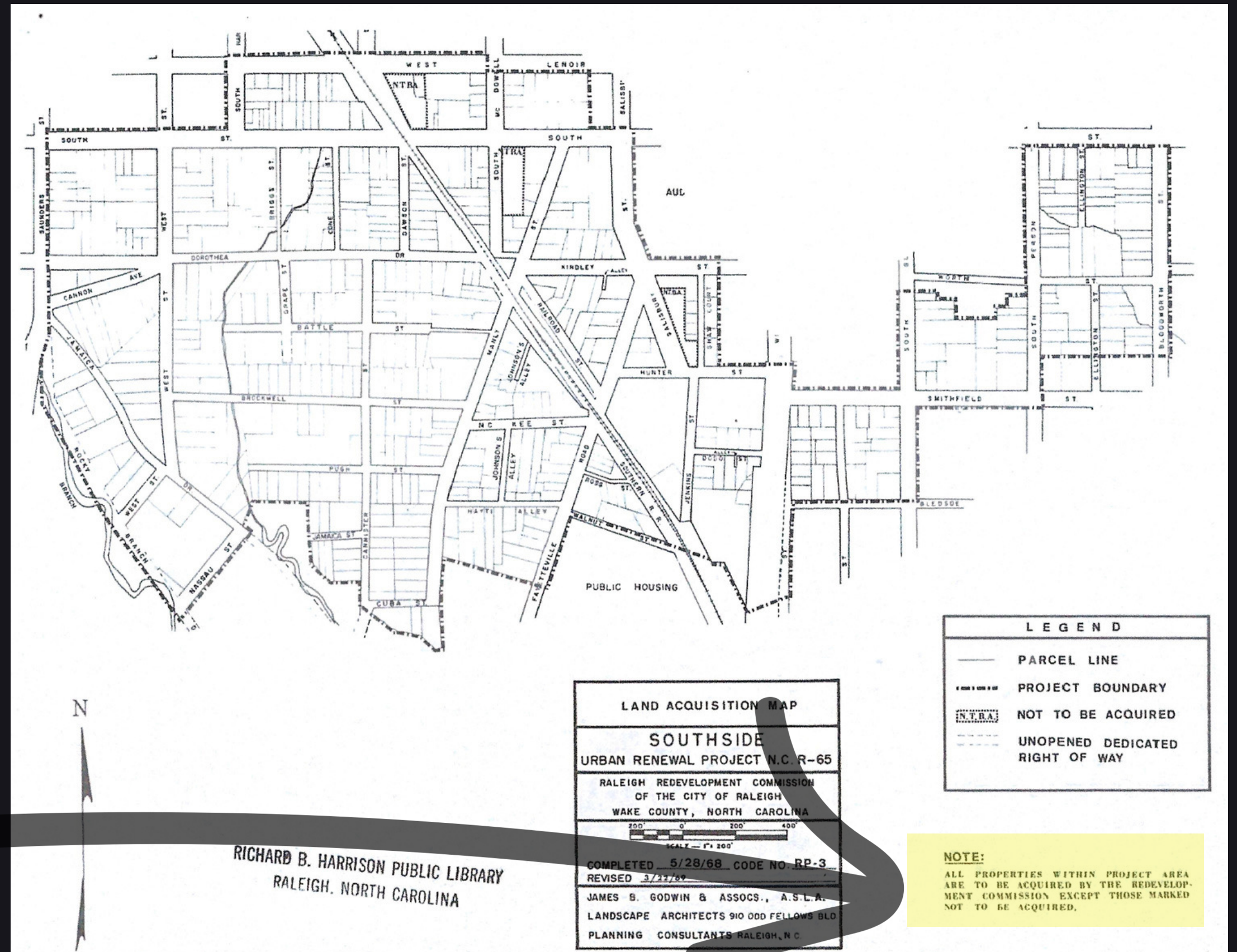
1970s

4th Ward

**Dawson/McDowell Connector
Western Boulevard Extension**

NOTE:

ALL PROPERTIES WITHIN PROJECT AREA ARE
TO BE ACQUIRED BY THE REDEVELOPMENT
COMMISSION EXCEPT THOSE MARKED NOT
TO BE ACQUIRED.



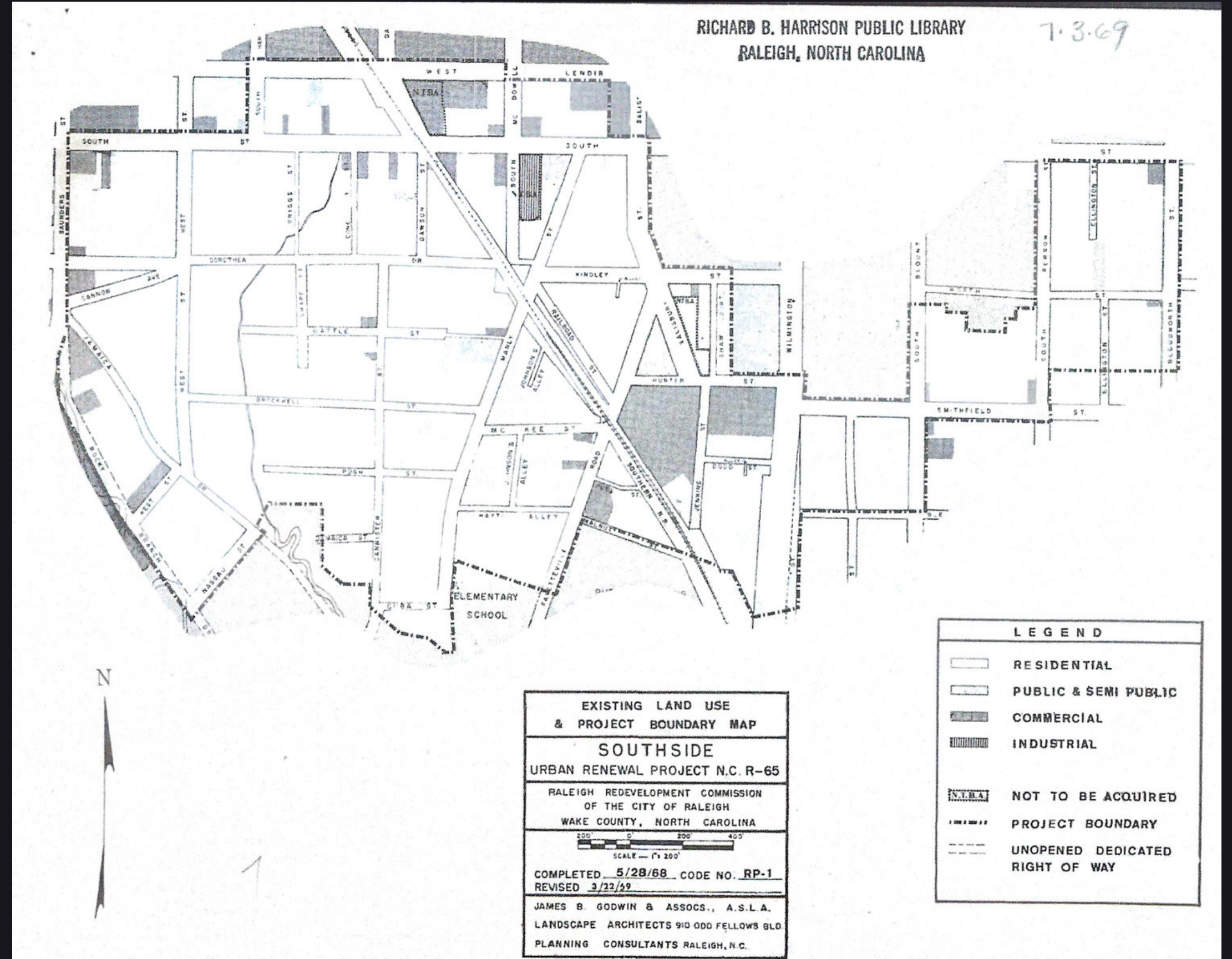
URBAN RENEWAL WAS A BLUEPRINT, NOT AN ACCIDENT

1970s

4th Ward

Dawson/McDowell Connector Western Boulevard Extension

Note this was happening at the same time as the desegregation of the school system.

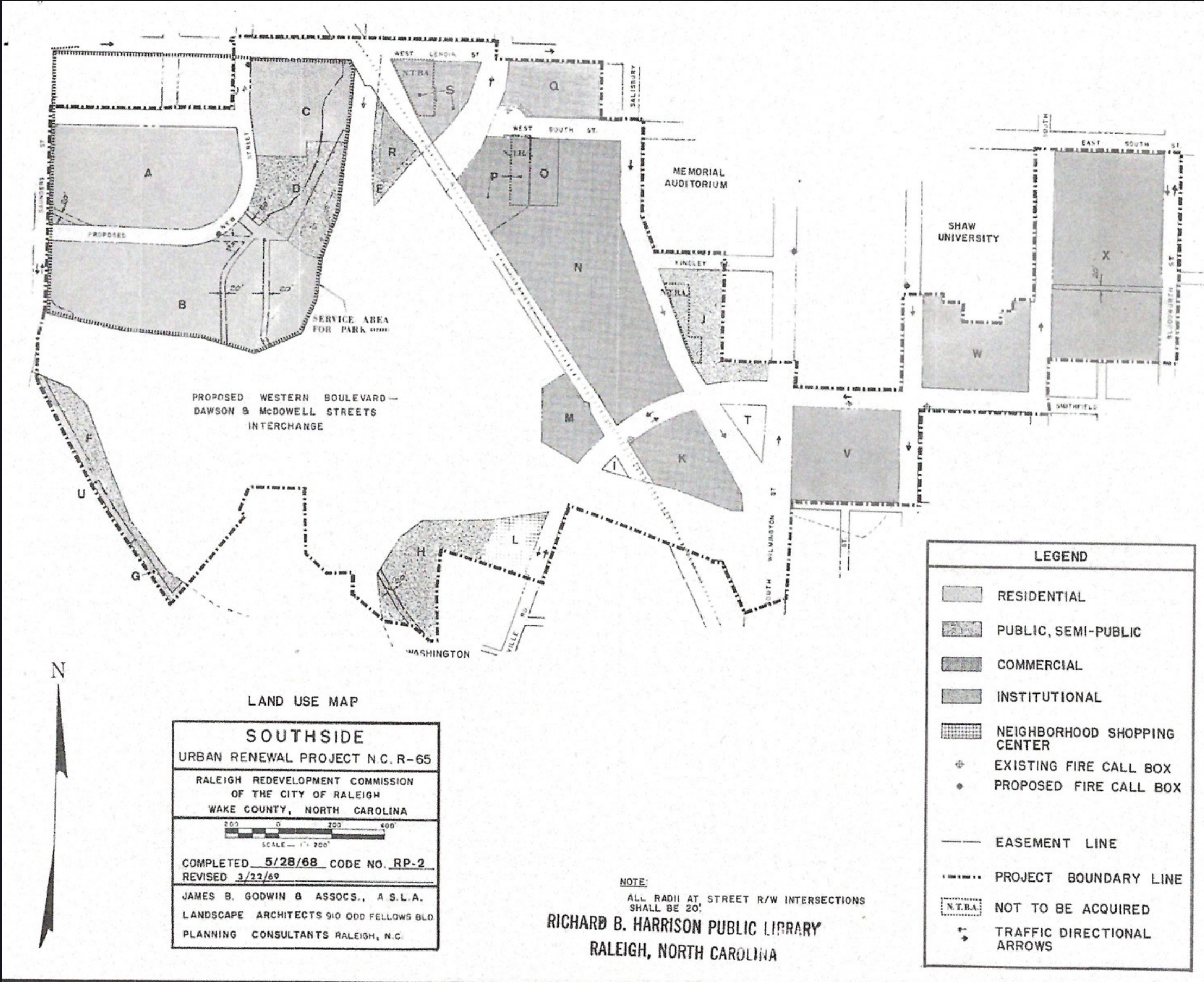


URBAN RENEWAL WAS A BLUEPRINT, NOT AN ACCIDENT

1970s

4th Ward

Dawson/McDowell Connector
Western Boulevard Extension

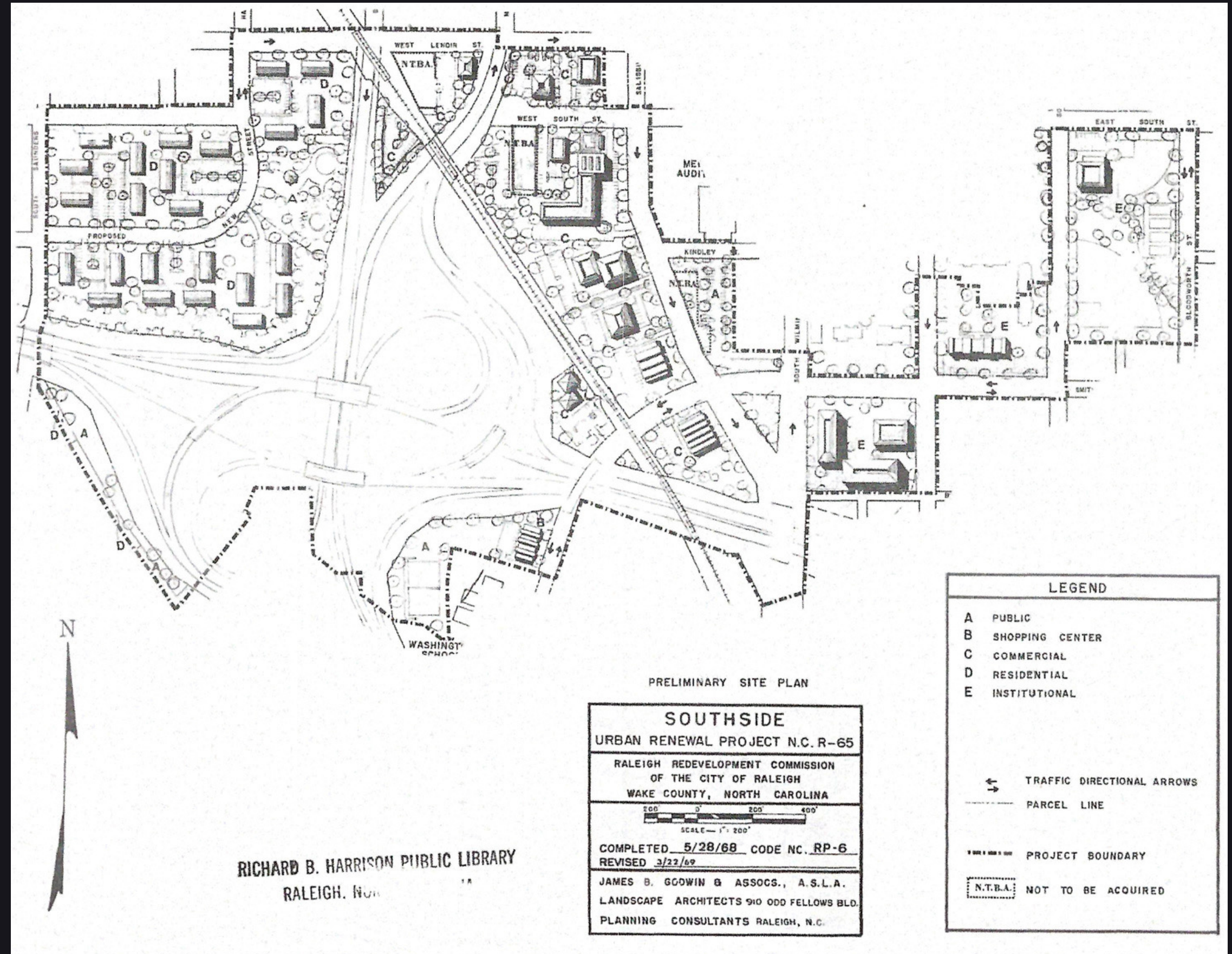


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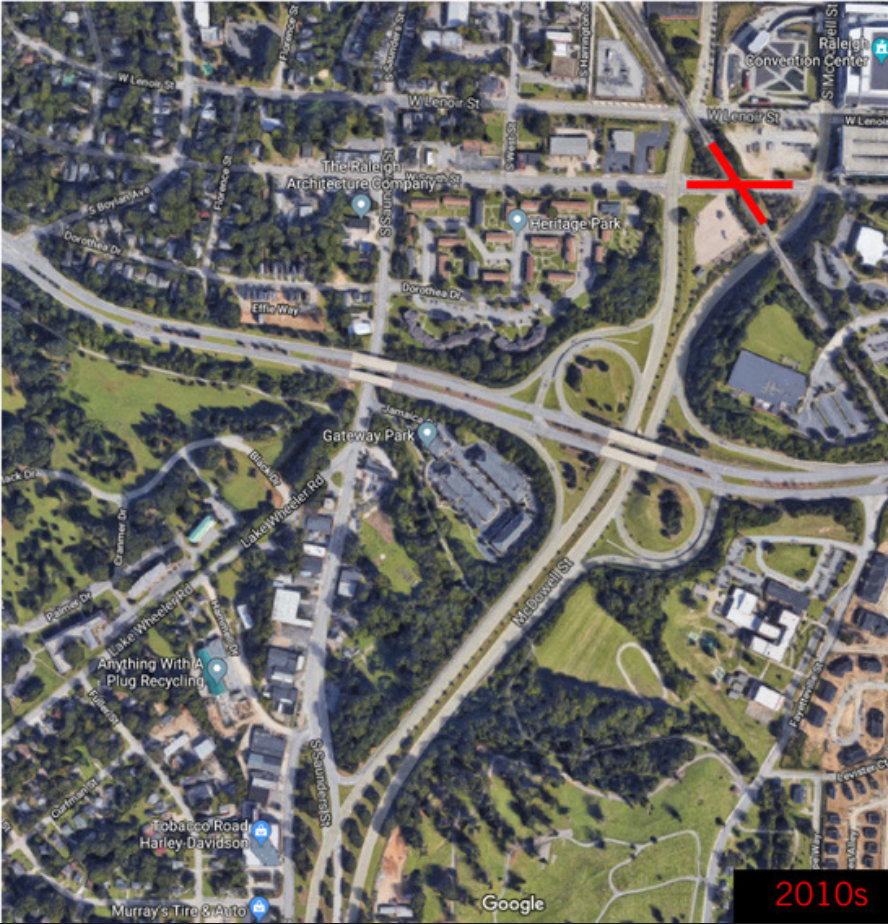
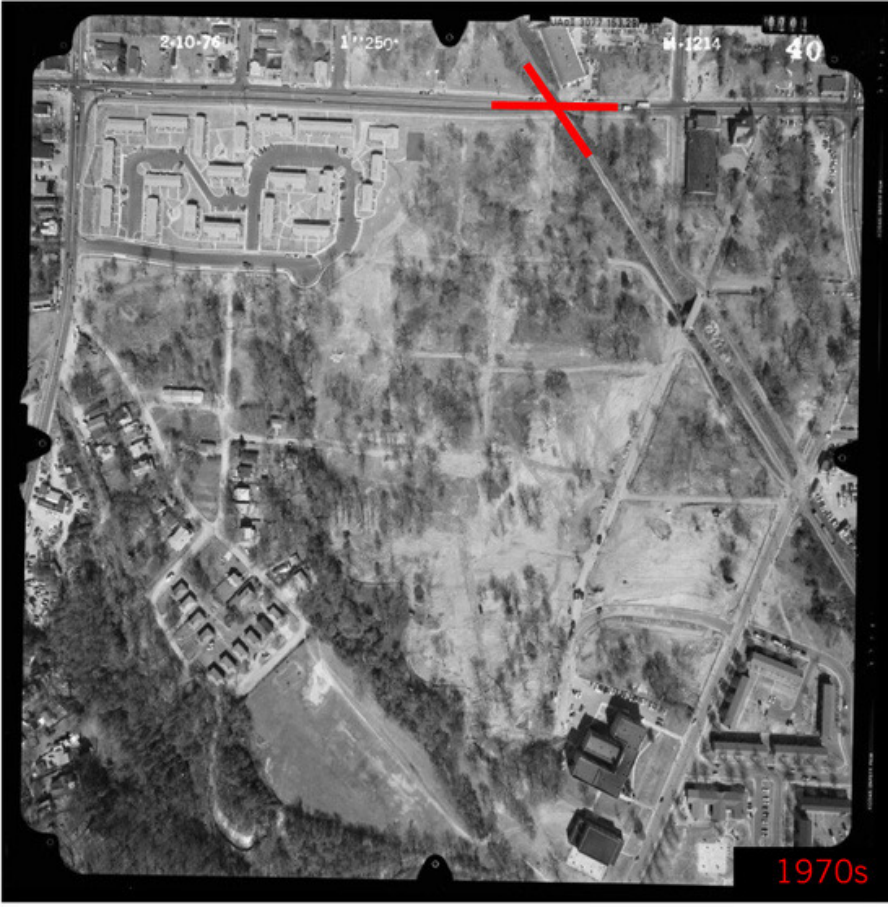
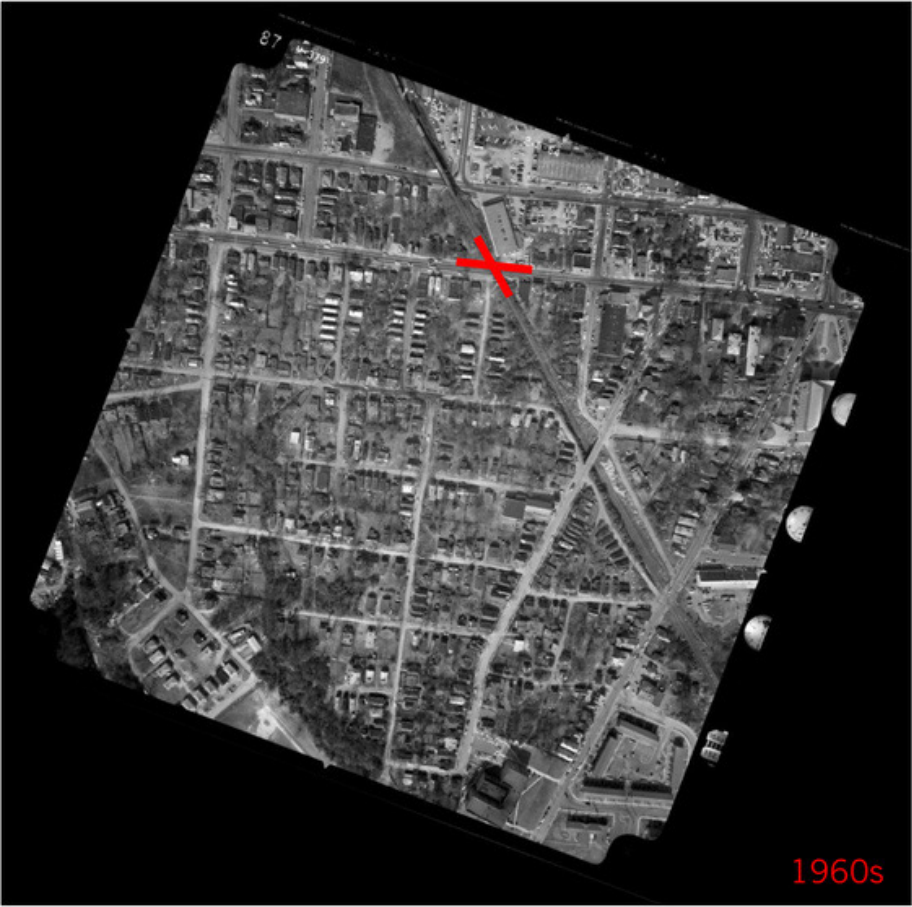
1970s

4th Ward

Dawson/McDowell Connector
Western Boulevard Extension



COMMUNITY → CLEARANCE → MODERN CITY



DISPLACEMENT WITHOUT REPLACEMENT

(1946 and 1967)

Not a new issue and didn't provide
for enough housing then.

Surplus Timidity

In the so far purposeless and potentially disruptive debate over how many public housing units will be needed for persons displaced by Raleigh's proposed Southside urban renewal project, Fred G. Turner of the city housing authority suggests that 350 new units will fill the bill nicely. "We're not trying to overdo this thing," Turner said.

"Some areas have too much of this type thing (public housing). We don't want to build a surplus."

Mr. Turner's worries about any housing "surplus" seem exaggerated, to say the least. As city urban renewal officials noted Wednesday, Raleigh will have to have every one of 500 new public housing units to meet the needs of those displaced by the Southside project. The federal government, which has offered considerable financial assistance to the city's urban renewal program, has also stipulated that the 500 units must be constructed if the federal money is to be forthcoming. The requirement is no stroke of federal whimsy. It is based on a careful survey of Raleigh's housing needs, and on past experience in other cities where overly cautious estimates like Mr. Turner's have

aggravated already intolerable public housing shortages.

In Raleigh, not only the federal estimates, but home-grown statistics argue against the possibility of any housing surplus. The city's two Negro housing projects are already packed, with a waiting list of between 600 and 700 families. Even if only one-fourth of these waiting families is eligible for public housing as Mr. Turner predicts, the number who will be displaced by the Southside project and those who are moved out of sub-standard housing by the city's inspectors every week will make the need for additional public housing space a certainty.

The severe shortage of decent housing and attendant slum conditions which have been allowed to grow up in Raleigh's older Negro neighborhoods have not developed overnight. Mostly they are the product of years of procrastination and tightfistedness by a city leadership reluctant to grasp the scope or substance of the situation. Yet the need for action is real and immediate. Official timidity has put the city so far behind that even a full-scale effort now to cope with the problem will bring us only to the starting line.

OFFICE ZONING OPPOSITION

Rezoning becomes a lever to encourage turnover

Oberlin Road Blacks Oppose Office Zoning

What will happen to residential property near Cameron Village, much of which is owned by blacks, where business interests almost exclusively buy property offered for sale?

This was the question put to the city council and planning commission Wednesday at a joint zoning hearing.

Attorney Sam Mitchell, representing residents of the Oberlin Road area, charged that approval of a rezoning request would be "spot zoning" and add to "instability in the neighborhood."

"If there is one thing we really need here it is stabilization," he said. A predominantly black group of 25 appeared to oppose rezoning for office use of one acre of property on the west side of Oberlin Road between Mayview Street and Van Dyke

time somebody sells property somebody who wants to build offices always buys."

Most of the area along Oberlin Road is zoned for office and institutional use. According to Ed Pizer, one of the owners of the tract proposed for rezoning, the planning commission said as early as 1965 the area was a natural for office and business use.

"Planning Commission minutes say all the property between Cameron Village and Wade Avenue should be zoned O and I," and that "this is the time to do it," Pizer stated. That was in 1965.

Residents Complained

However, because many residents of the area complained their taxes would jump if the land were rezoned while they were still living



Sam Mitchell

agreed not to rezone the land O and I because of the

developers. If the citizens would band together now, the commission would probably support them. But it just won't happen that way."

Mitchell said the rezoning would be "spot zoning" because the property is a portion of an area zoned R-6 (six residences per acre), the same zoning for property north of Mayview on the west side of Oberlin.

Most land south of the property in question and on the west to Cameron Village is zoned O and I, as well as almost all on the east side to that point.

Pizer said "any spot zoning was for residents who fought" the O and I zoning several years ago.

The matter was automatically referred to the planning commission. They will make a recommendation

Hartsfield, representing the developers, said approximately 200 apartments would be built if the rezoning request were approved. That represents about half of the number planned, he said.

Opposition also was expressed to construction of an apartment complex on the west side of Blue Ridge Road, southwest of the Lake Boone Trail intersection. About 194 units would be built on 17 acres there. The developer is Ezra Meir.

The group also heard a rezoning request from J. W. York of 72 acres southeast of the intersection of North Boulevard and the Beltline.

The property is zoned I-2, which allows any construction except for residential. He wants O and I-2 which would allow 40 residences per acre. There was no opposition.

PHYSICAL TRAUMA OF INFRASTRUCTURE

**Cuts, embankments,
severed streets**

**Separation of community
Walls of public works
Accelerating decline of
communities**

**While this is Oberlin Road, the same thing also
happened between Rochester Heights and
Biltmore Hills when I-40 (now I-440) was built)**



***Destination Strategic Plan 2028
Then v. Now***



DESTINATION 2028



Make Wake County a destination by 2028



8 Strategic Priorities

- Meetings and conventions
- Sports
- Events
- Key Attractors
- Individual Leisure
- Destination Development
- Regional demand drivers
- Quality of Place

Keep your eyes open to what is going on around you. There are always multiple factors in play.

Consider the Hospitality Tax that we pay when we eat out.

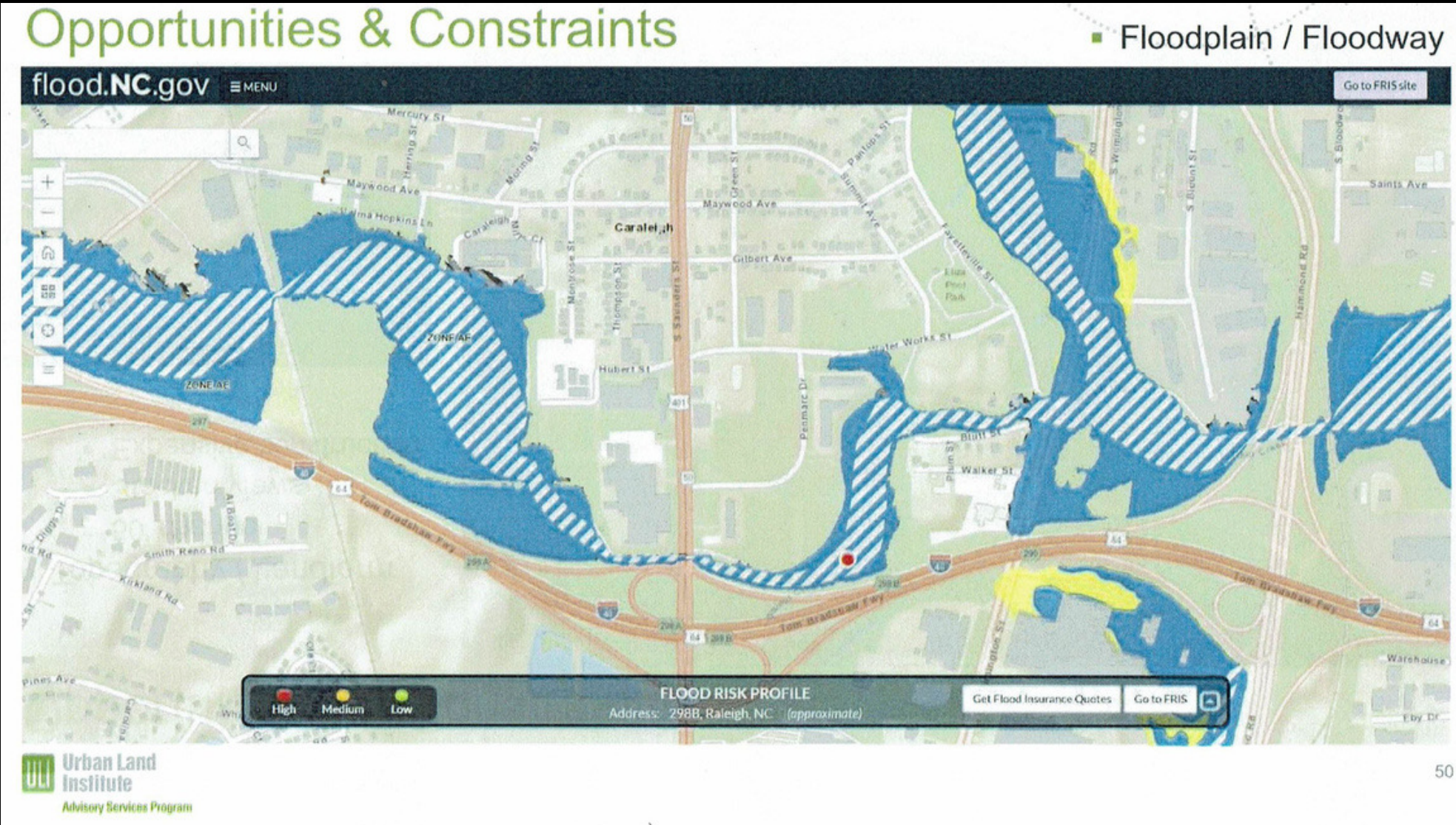
TODAY'S FLOOD ISSUES

Site of former homes in
Rochester Heights after FEMA
buyout

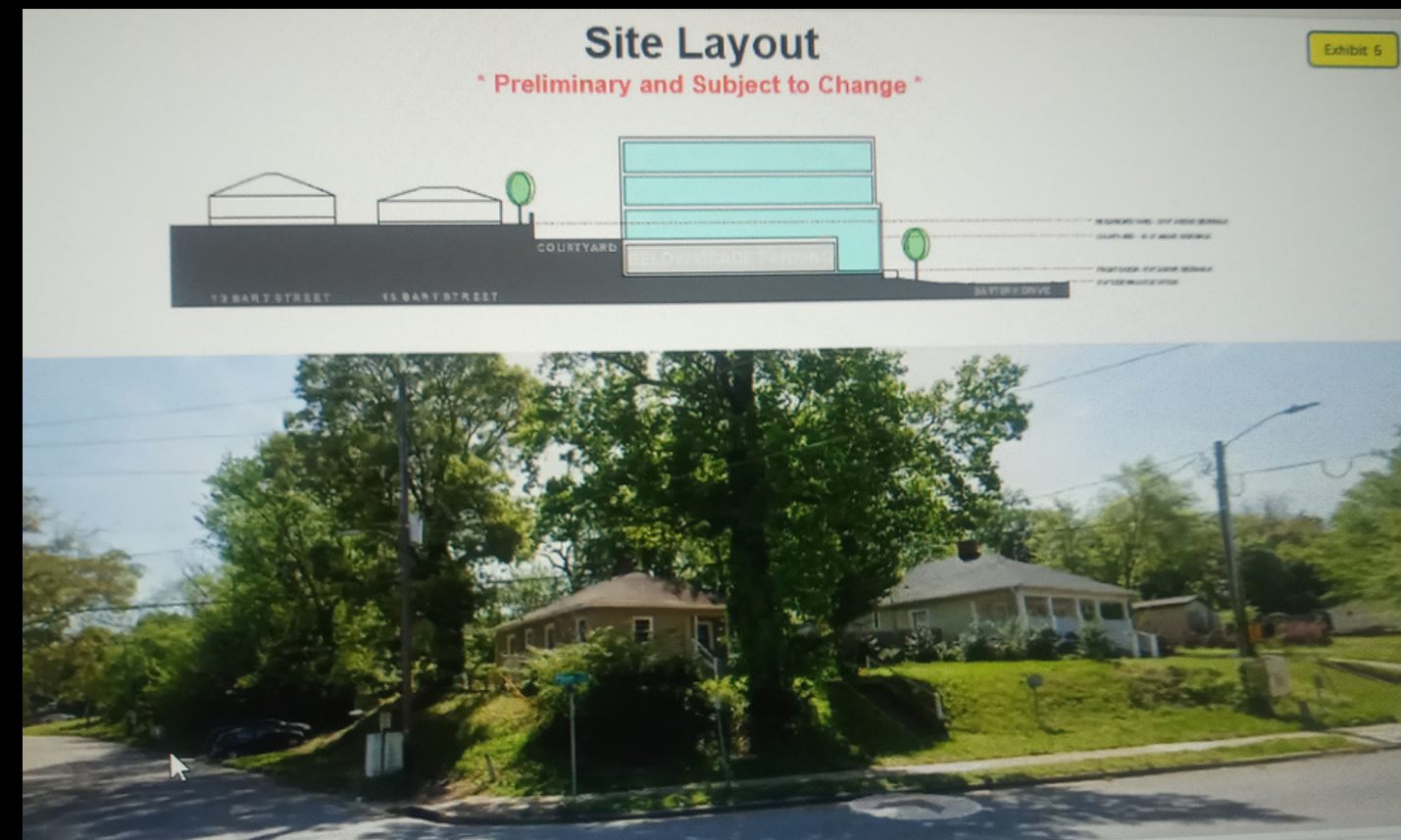
Park in this area after rainfall



Garner Road at Rochester Heights

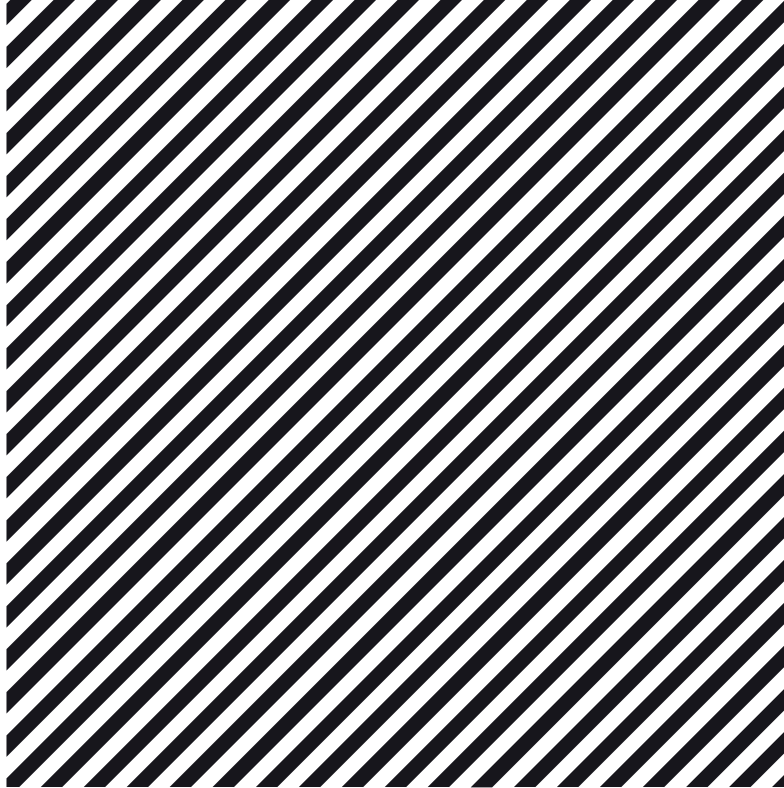


Walnut Creek @ Downtown South
Yellow areas show regularly flooded areas



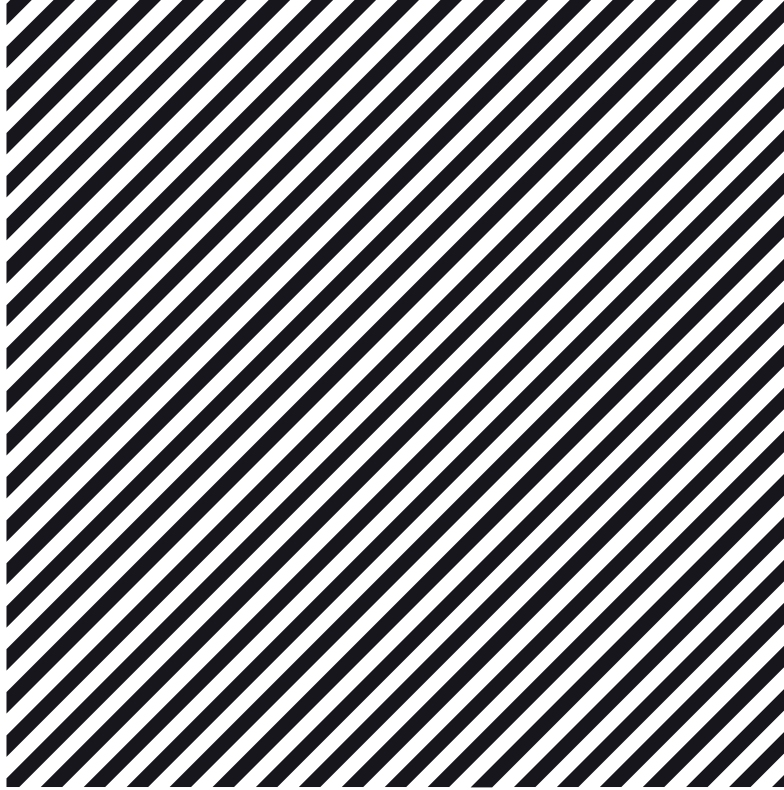
TODAY'S FLOOD ISSUES





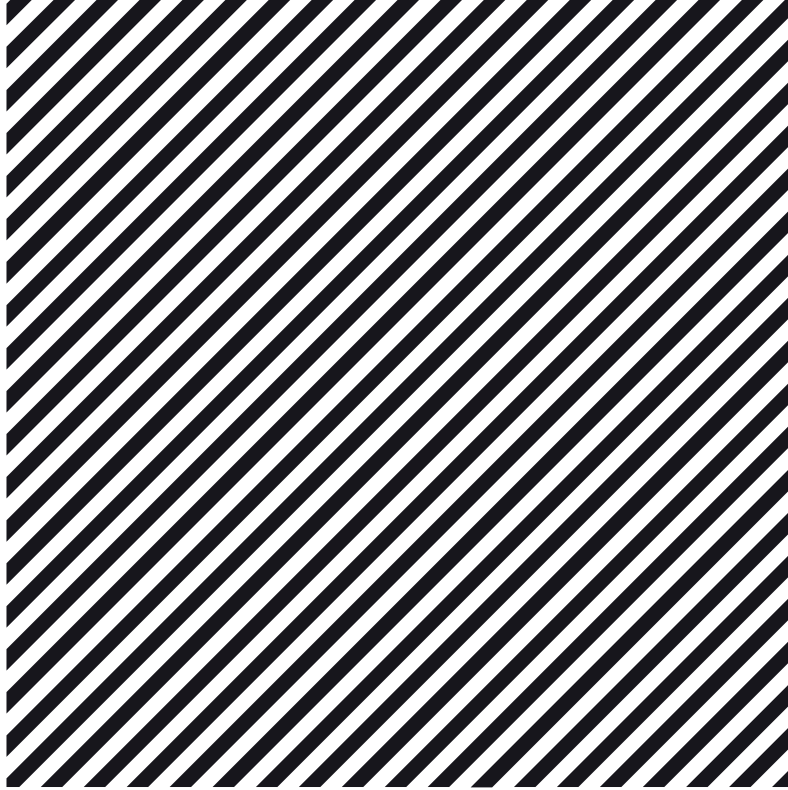
**Today's
Affordable
Housing**





**Today's
Affordable
Housing**





**Today's
Affordable
Housing**





ABC STORE NEW BERN AVENUE



HOUSE BEHIND ABC STORE

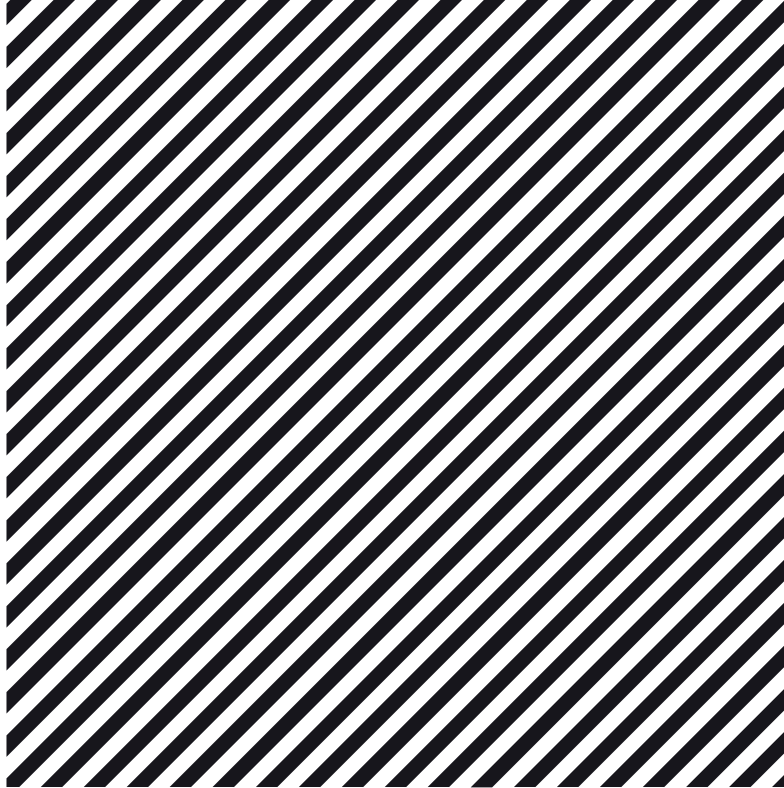
ABC STORE @
VILLAGE
DISTRICT



STONE SCHOOL
SUPPLY WAREHOUSE



TRANSFER FOOD HALL



Economic Different Treatments



POWER PLANT ON S. EAST STREET



ELECTRICAL STORAGE HOUSE ON NEW BERN AVENUE



ELECTRICAL STORAGE HOUSE ON WADE AVENUE

BUILDING BRIDGES THAT CROSS NEIGHBORHOODS



HIGHWAY CONCEALING WALL 440 NEAR LAKE BOONE TRAIL



HIGHWAY CONCEALING WALL /440 NEAR PERSON STREET EXIT



NO WALL TO CONCEAL ON BAILEY
DRIVE BETWEEN ROCHESTER
HEIGHTS AND BILTMORE HILLS



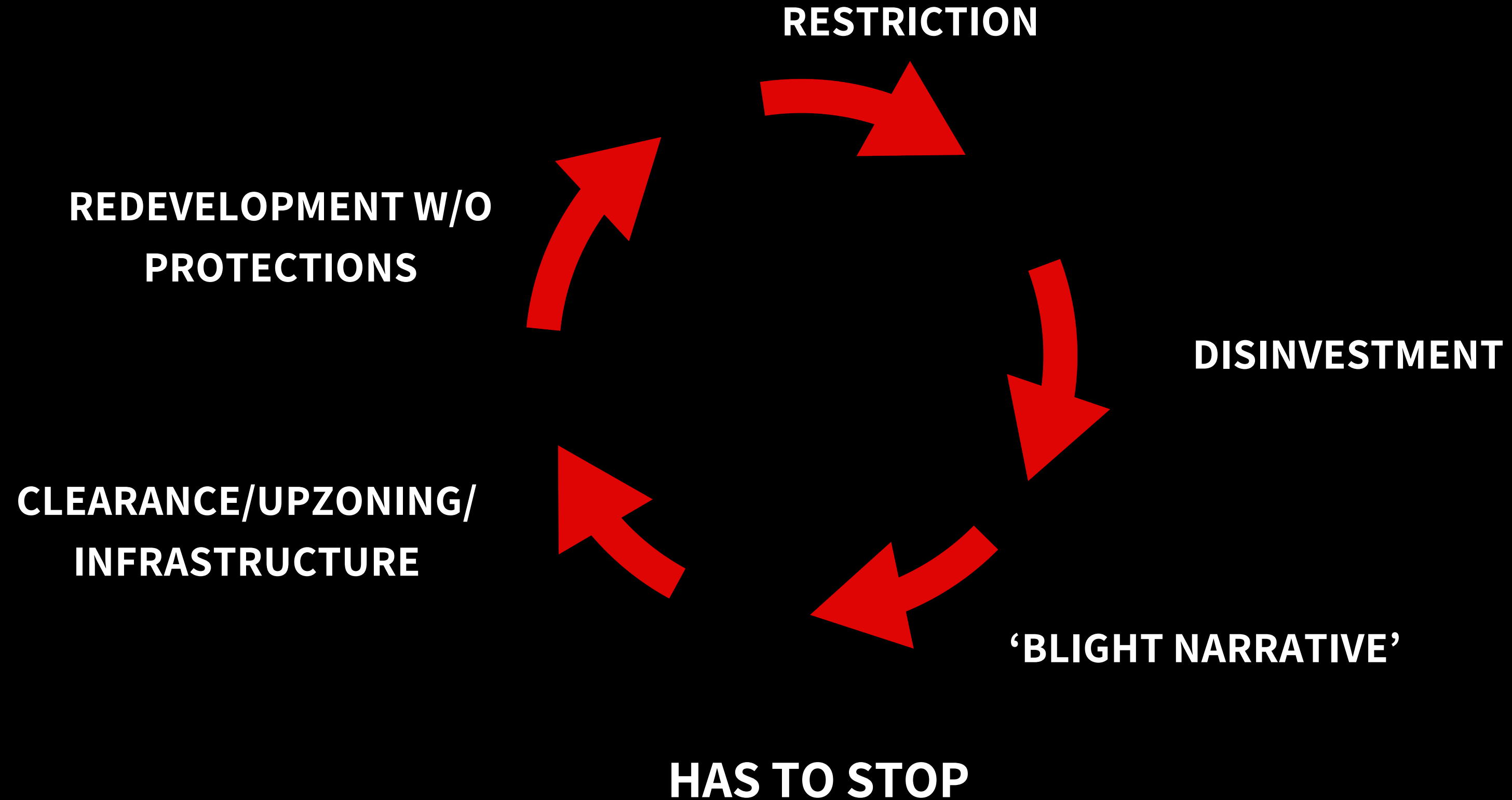
CONCEALING WALL IN
ROCHESTER HEIGHTS CLOSE
TO HOUSE ON CALLOWAY DRIVE



CONCEALING WALL IN ROCHESTER
HEIGHTS CLOSE TO HOUSE ON
CALLOWAY DRIVE (SAME HOUSE
FROM STREET FRONT)



THE REPEATING CYCLE



WHAT THE NEXT COMP PLAN MUST DO DIFFERENTLY?

- ***PLANNING SHOULD BE REPARATIVE***
 - ***USE ANTI-DISPLACEMENT TOOLS***
 - ***COMMUNITY OWNERSHIP***
 - ***CULTURAL RESOURCE PROTECTION***
 - ***INCLUDE CEMETERIES***
 - ***DETERMINE BINDING PROTECTIONS FOR LEGACY COMMUNITIES***

WHAT ? TO ASK?

- ***WHO BENEFITS FROM THIS?***
- ***WHO BEARS THE COST OF THIS?***
- ***WHAT PROTECTIONS ARE GUARANTEED?***
- ***HOW DO WE MEASURE THE SUCCESS OF THESE QUESTIONS?***

Raleigh

Today



1954



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Thank you! — Questions?

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