

“HOW DEEP THE ROOTS ARE”:
CULTURAL AND HISTORIC PRESERVATION OF NORTHSIDE, CHAPEL HILL,
NORTH CAROLINA

by

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ABSTRACT

Gentrification has become an increasingly important topic throughout the last twenty years, with urban planners, journalists, urban sociologists, and geographers all tackling the issue. As more development flows into a city or neighborhood, the previous residents and renters, more often than not people of color and low-income families, are pushed out and displaced from the area they lived for decades. Historic preservationists can add to the discourse on gentrification and displacement by using public history methodology to better understand what current residents deem significant about their neighborhood and engaging the community to glean what they want preserved. This thesis uses the Northside neighborhood of Chapel Hill, North Carolina, home of the University of North Carolina, to illuminate the ways in which residents of a neighborhood threatened by gentrification took preservation into their own hands. Through petitioning the Town Council, working directly with planners, and peacefully protesting development that leads to displacement, the residents of Northside worked diligently for over ten years, and continue to do so, to preserve their historic and culturally significant neighborhood.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF FIGURES	v
CHAPTER I: FROM SEGREGATION TO GENTRIFICATION	1
The Setting	6
Intersecting Historic Preservation and Gentrification.....	14
Urban Renewal and its Legacies	19
CHAPTER II: “A SHARED VISION FOR THE HISTORIC NORTHSIDE NEIGHBORHOOD”	25
CHAPTER III: HISTORIC RESOURCES IN NORTHSIDE, A SURVEY	53
William M. Hargraves Center	54
First Baptist Church	57
St. Joseph Christian Methodist Episcopal Church	60
Northside Elementary and Site of Lincoln High	63
Mama Dip’s Kitchen	66
Knotts Funeral Home	67
Midway Barber Shop	69
Eva’s Beauty Salon	72
“Rock Wall”	73
CONCLUSION	77
BIBLIOGRAPHY	81
APPENDICES	86
Appendix A: Architectural Survey	87

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1. Image of Greenbridge Condominiums	2
Figure 2. Map of Northside boundaries and parcels	4
Figure 3. Chapel Hill and Carrboro, NC Negro Community.....	11
Figure 4. Map of Northside Neighborhood Conservation District	27
Figure 5. 229 Roberson Street west elevation	33
Figure 6. Knott’s Funeral Home west elevation	35
Figure 7. Front page of Northside News Vol. 1, Issue 3.	37
Figure 8. Example mailing advertisement featured in Northside News Vol. 1, Issue 3...	38
Figure 9. Map of Proposed Moratorium Areas	39
Figure 10. Map of Strategic Priorities.....	47
Figure 11. AC Hotel Chapel Hill	52
Figure 12. William M. Hargraves Center, front façade	56
Figure 13. Cornerstone laid on north elevation of First Baptist Church.....	59
Figure 14. Front façade of First Baptist Church	59
Figure 15. Front façade of St. Joseph CME Church	62
Figure 16. Example of interpretive text and photographs.....	63
Figure 17. Northside Elementary School.....	65
Figure 18. Mama Dip’s Kitchen	67
Figure 19. Knotts Funeral Home	69
Figure 20. Front window of Midway Barber Shop.....	71
Figure 21. Steve Edwards’s Barber License and razor	71

Figure 22. Eva’s Beauty Salon.....	73
Figure 23. Portion of “Rock Wall”	75
Figure 24. Close-up of portion of “Rock Wall”	76
Figure 25. Map showing change in investor-owned property in Northside	79

CHAPTER I: FROM SEGREGATION TO GENTRIFICATION

“My taxes ain’t gonna come back down, no matter how raggedy the building gets.”¹ Mildred “Mama Dip” Council told *The Daily Tar Heel* in September 2009 that she feared what the future held for her famed Mama Dip’s restaurant in the neighborhood of Northside in Chapel Hill, North Carolina. Projects aimed to revitalize Chapel Hill’s downtown area disproportionately affected Northside. A historically African American neighborhood, Northside offered cheaper land and rent prices for developers and realtors. Council, a long term resident and business owner, predicted what newly-built Greenbridge, the building she mentioned in her interview with the *Daily Tar Heel*, would do to her property taxes. Greenbridge, a luxury condominium, stands right on the outskirts of Northside and across the street from Mama Dip’s. Indeed, as recently as 2016, Greenbridge loomed closer to foreclosure. Nevertheless, the two high rises still stand as an early model of Chapel Hill’s twenty first century revitalization projects.

¹ Nick Anderson, “Greenbridge leases more than half its units,” *The Daily Tar Heel*, September 1, 2009.



Figure 1. Image of Greenbridge Condominiums

Northside began as two segregated neighborhoods on the western edge of Chapel Hill, separated by Church Street. Pritchard's Field, the eastern side of the neighborhood, housed white people while the western side of the neighborhood, known as Potter's Field, housed the African American community. In addition to Potter's Field, three other African American neighborhoods existed in the town: Windy Hill, Tin Top Alley, and Southwest Lane. Potter's Field made up the largest of the four. Over time, as Chapel Hill and the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill (UNC) expanded outward, Windy Hill, Tin Top Alley, and Southwest Lane slowly transitioned into predominately white business districts and higher-end majority white owned homes as the result of

development. Northside remained as a historic neighborhood for Chapel Hill's black population.

Today, as more revitalization projects move forward, Northside stands at risk of losing its cultural and historical integrity. Without local historic district status or National Register for Historic Places recognition, developers and realtors do not have to fear strict zoning regulations when presenting their building designs to the Chapel Hill Town Council, which allows them more leeway in developing within Northside. Local activists and non-profits work diligently to protect and preserve the history of Northside's past and present residents, assist homeowners and renters as their property taxes steadily increase, and create programs to educate Chapel Hillians on the importance of the neighborhood.

This thesis seeks to explore the ways in which public history, especially historic preservation, methods can be used within Northside to better understand the needs of current residents and preserve the legacy of past residents. As the only historically African American neighborhood left standing in Chapel Hill, Northside stands as reminder of the town's racially divided past, from Reconstruction to the Civil Rights Movement and into today's period of urban renewal and its consequences. The project has two objectives. The first is to contextualize Northside as a segregated, whether de facto or de jure, neighborhood and to explore the histories of its residents. Second, will be to explore how public history methods can be adapted to fit the needs of Northside's residents. Using Northside as a case study to evaluate the utility of current public history tools and methods, I intend to consider potential revisions of the methodology in order to develop a better understanding of how residents see themselves and their neighborhood as historically significant within a primarily white, Southern, college town.

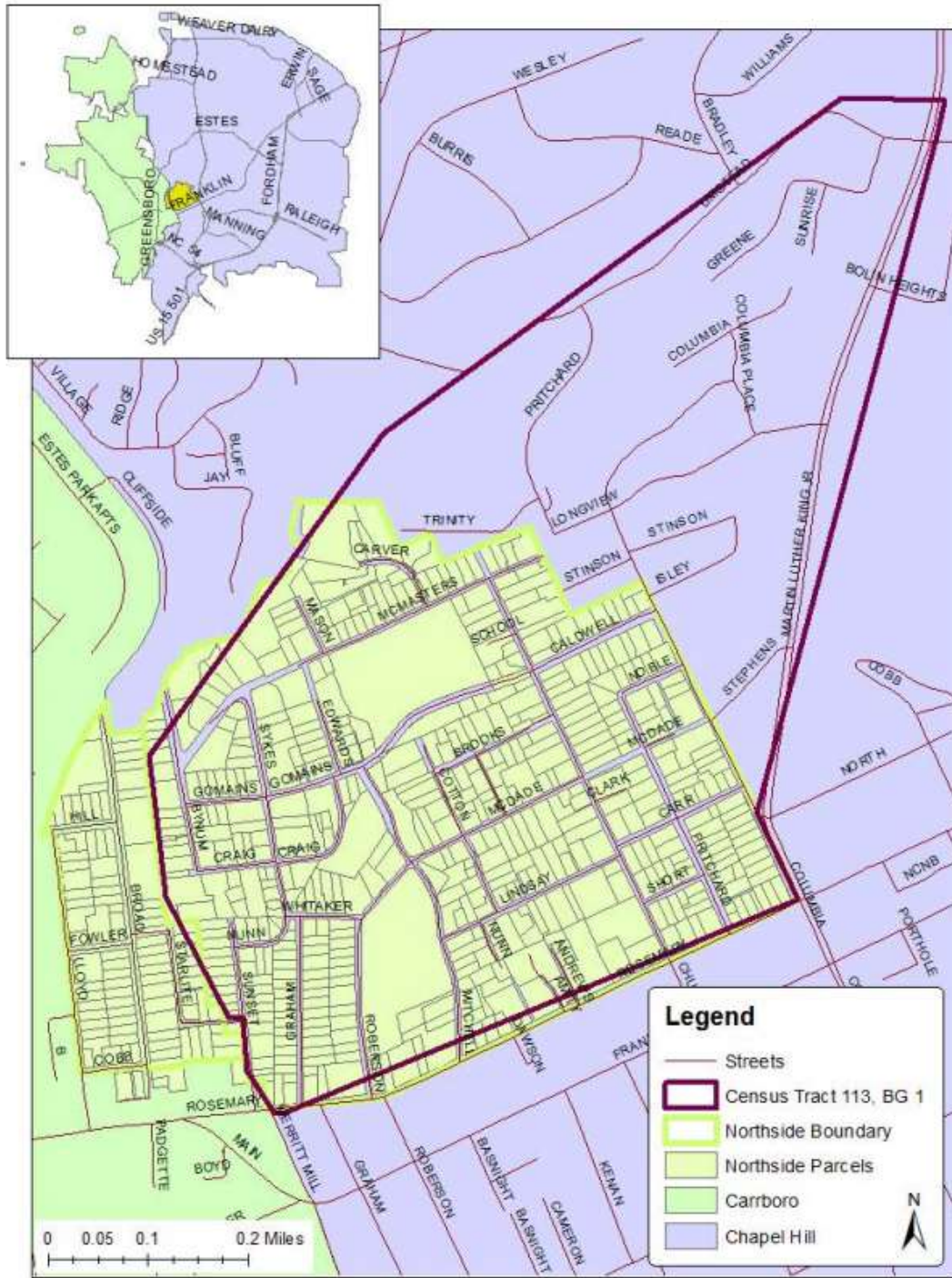


Figure 2. Map of Northside boundaries and parcels (In “Northside Neighborhood,” <http://www.townofchapelhill.org/town-hall/departments-services/housing-and-community/northside-neighborhood>)

Current trends in historic preservation and public history are focusing on the issues of race and the gentrification and displacement of marginalized community by affluent, white families. In the South, this trend has always been an issue. Yet, finding primary sources in institutionalized archives can prove difficult for researchers. In northern cities like New York and Chicago, rules from the Federal Housing Authority and the Homeowner Loan Corporation, as well as restrictive covenants written into property deeds, created a paper trail of racist housing policies. Especially in the South, de facto segregation and Jim Crow policies in the wake of Reconstruction meant physical documentation of residential segregation might not exist. Using an iconic and well documented southern town like Chapel Hill as a case study for the process of segregation to gentrification proves the need for public history methodology when studying a racialized southern built environment.

This chapter serves two purposes. The first, to place Northside geographically within Chapel Hill in order to contextualize the space in the wider town and the university landscape. Additionally, it will discuss the other African American neighborhoods and how they became erased from the town's landscape. The chapter will also explore multiple historiographies from the various subfields this thesis draws upon. This includes literature written within the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill system, public history, historic preservation, and urban studies.

Chapter two moves out of the past and into the present. With revitalization projects happening across Chapel Hill, residents of Northside are often displaced from their homes by landlords ready to sell to the best bidder or speculator developers offering cash up front for their properties. While these tactics occurred decades ago in larger cities

like New York, Chicago, and Baltimore, Northside neighbors are experiencing these pressures today. In order to keep the reputation as a university for the people, UNC has collaborated with the Town of Chapel Hill and several local non-profits to create protection measures for the neighborhood. This chapter analyzes and critiques an approximately fifteen year span of policies enacted by the town with the help of the university as well as the disconnect between town government preservation efforts and residents' activism for their own preservation projects.

Chapter three will focus on the need to invoke public history methodology in order to raise the question of race and the built environment in an area that did not document policies in an institutional archive. The legacies of Jim Crow are visible across the South. Yet, in regards to residential segregation, the documentation is not always there. Even in Chapel Hill, with a Research-1 institution with several archives, housing policies are not recorded. This lack of documentation should not stop historians and activists from raising the question of race, housing, and modern day gentrification in order to hold both the town and university accountable. Through the use of public history methodologies, including oral histories, landscape studies, and community engagement, Chapter three will include a survey of Northside's historic resources, other than the residential buildings, to show the historic importance of the community to Chapel Hill's African American residents both past and present.

The Setting

The Northside neighborhood stands in the western corner of Chapel Hill, within a mile of the University. From Columbia Street to Lloyd Street in Carrboro, the area of Northside is situated within both the town of Chapel Hill and the town of Carrboro.

Historically, the neighborhood, divided by Church Street, included Pritchard's Field and Potter's Field. In addition to Potter's Field, Chapel Hill once included three other distinct African American neighborhoods. In 1939, a study conducted by the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill found that many people in Chapel Hill's African American neighborhoods lived in poor conditions, vastly different from the majority of the town's white residents. Dorothy G. Jones conducted the survey of the neighborhoods, which informs the following descriptions of Windy Hill, Southwest Lane, and Tin Top Alley.

Windy Hill, situated along part of Hillsboro Street, was not segregated. Instead, both African Americans and poor white families lived amongst each other. Jones's 1939 report described the houses that once stood in this neighborhood as "attractive" and "structurally sound," but also "overcrowded". Tin Top Alley and Southwest Lane stood closer to each other than any of the other African American communities. Tin Top Alley, a suburb along the outskirts of western Chapel Hill next to Carrboro and the lowest income neighborhood of the three, included makeshift houses along an open meadow. Directly south of Tin Top Alley, Southwest Lane included some of the nicest houses in any of the African American neighborhoods.²

Potter's Field made up the largest African American neighborhood in Chapel Hill. Per Jones's report, most of the houses in this neighborhood were unpainted one or one and a half story frame buildings. In addition to houses, Potter's Field included several churches and the Orange County Training School. The school, which opened in 1917 as the first public high school for African Americans in Chapel Hill, burned down in 1922.

² Dorothy G. Jones, *A Study of Housing in the Four Major Negro Settlements of Chapel Hill* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina, 1939), 4-6.

In 1924, a new building opened on the location of present-day Northside Elementary.³ Due to its location in the northwest corner of Chapel Hill, residents of this neighborhood could easily access the main shopping district for African Americans. Despite all that the neighborhood included, the roads in Potter's Field remained unpaved throughout segregation.⁴

In addition to Jones's report, several other UNC students conducted thesis or dissertation work in the African American communities. Yet, like Jones, most failed to include the voices of actual residents within the area. Readers do not get a sense of what residents might have asked or been asked, how the interaction unfolded, or if any confrontations occurred. As early as 1916, Walter Patten conducted a study on African American churches and Sunday Schools in Orange County. Writing while a UNC Rural Economics and Sociology graduate student under the E.C. Branson, Patten focused the bulk of his study within Chapel Hill and Carrboro town limits. While he conducted thorough research with census data and church rolls, Patten failed to mention any church member, preacher, or teacher by name throughout his thesis.⁵

In his 1943 sociology thesis on the community center in Potter's Field, the present day Hargraves Center, Mittie Frank Mason used phrases such as "the Negro feels that"

³ M.C.S. Noble, "The Orange County Training School for Negroes," *The High School Journal* 2 (1919): 141-142; Preservation Chapel Hill, "Walk this Way! Civil Rights Walking Tour."

⁴ Jones, 2-3.

⁵ See Walter Patten, "Negro Churches and Sunday Schools in Orange County, North Carolina, 1915-1916" (MA thesis, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 1916).

and “biological heritage” to explain how the living conditions for African Americans differed so drastically from that of the white population that the town had to construct a community center within the segregated community.⁶ Mason’s thesis perpetuates the “Lost Cause” narrative within Southern history, common within the Dunning School of thought, because he often blamed African Americans for the disorganization within their communities without fully analyzing how local government reinforced this disorganization through lack of investment. The Dunning School, coined after William A. Dunning, argued that Republicans sought revenge on their southern counterparts and attempted to take control over politics through alliances with African Americans.⁷ One of Dunning’s students, J.G. de Roulhac Hamilton, taught at UNC and left his mark on Reconstruction historiography. His dissertation, “Reconstruction in North Carolina,” often blamed African Americans and Republicans for the suffering of Chapel Hill, the university, and the South at large during the years of Reconstruction. Additionally, Hamilton established the Southern Historical Collection at UNC, which many of the students would have worked from.⁸

⁶ Mittie Frank Mason, “The Negro Community Center of Chapel Hill, North Carolina: A Study of the Processes of Community Organization” (PhD diss., University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 1943), 23, 15.

⁷ For more information on William A. Dunning see: John David Smith and J. Vincent Lowry, eds., *The Dunning School: Historians, Race, and the Meaning of Reconstruction* (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 2013).

⁸ For more on J.G. de Roulhac Hamilton and the Southern Historical Collection see: John Herbert Roper Sr., “Ransack Roulhac and Racism: Joseph Gregoire de Roulhac Hamilton and Dunning’s Questions of Institution Building and Jim Crow,” in *The Dunning School*.

A year later, in 1944, Charles Maddry Freeman, another sociology graduate student, conducted his M.A. thesis research in the African American communities of Chapel Hill and Carrboro. Interestingly, Freeman listed the African American communities as Potter's Field, Sunset, Tin Top, Southwest Lane, Windy Hill and the new development of the Knolls, one more than any of the previous students acknowledged. He pinpointed Sunset as the section of land between Rosemary Lane and Sunset Drive, which now constitutes part of Northside. Knolls, now known as Pine Knolls, was the newest development for African Americans, situated south of Tin Top.⁹

⁹ Charles Maddry Freeman, "Growth and Plan for a Community: A Study of Negro Life in Chapel Hill and Carrboro, North Carolina" (MA thesis, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 1944), 3-4.



Figure 3. Chapel Hill and Carrboro, NC Negro Community (In Charles Maddry Freeman, “Growth and Plan for a Community: A Study of Negro Life in Chapel Hill and Carrboro, North Carolina” (MA thesis, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 1944))

Freeman included several interviews with members of the African American community, including Lewis Caldwell. Unlike Jones and Mason, Freeman focused his study on the development of the African American communities, how residents organized, and how to further develop the communities alongside Chapel Hill’s elite. Freeman’s thesis, under the direction of Dr. Howard W. Odum, one of the university’s leaders in sociology and race relations, demonstrated UNC’s gradual shift towards liberalism and liberal education. Odum served as the chair of the university’s first

sociology department and paved the way for studying race relations in the South. Through his study of folklore in the 1920s and 1930s Jim Crow South, Odum sought to understand and appreciate African American culture while also practicing Christian good will.¹⁰ Yet when faced with the opportunity to advocate for Pauli Murray, the first African American woman to seek admission at UNC, Odum failed to invoke his sense of liberal race relations.¹¹ As a student of Odum's, Freeman sought to propose a plan for future growth within Chapel Hill's segregated communities through his own training in the department of sociology and through input from residents themselves.¹²

Twenty years later, Gary F. Blanchard looked at Chapel Hill as a case study for local governance and desegregation in his political science thesis. Blanchard traced the roots of desegregation from 1944 until 1964, when he wrote the thesis. He paid special attention to the Board of Aldermen and mayor, who made the decision to prohibit segregation within Chapel Hill. This marked a turn in UNC students' work with local African American communities and Northside as Blanchard, unlike any of the students before him that wrote about race relations, openly admitted his agenda in his introduction in which he stated he agreed with student activists and took a stand against segregation.¹³

¹⁰ Lynn Moss Sanders, *Howard W. Odum's Folklore Odyssey: Transformation to Tolerance through African American Studies* (Athens: The University of Georgia Press, 2003), x.

¹¹ Sarah Caroline Thuesen, *Greater than Equal: African American Struggles for Schools and Citizenship in North Carolina, 1919-1965* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2013), 114.

¹² Freeman, "Growth and Plan for a Community."

¹³ Gary F. Blanchard, "The Politics of Desegregation: A Case Study of Desegregation and Municipal Decision-Making in Chapel Hill, North Carolina" (MA

Many other UNC graduate students used Chapel Hill as a case study for desegregation, urban renewal, and race relations. The departments these students represented range from history to sociology to geography and focus on different niches within their respective disciplines. In the past twenty years the theses and dissertations shifted focus from desegregation to displacement and activism. In 2001, Jeff Scullin wrote about second wave urban renewal in Chapel Hill for his Mass Communications thesis. Scullin argued that economics displaced homeowners in Northside, not racial tensions.¹⁴ John K. “Yonni” Chapman, in his 2006 history dissertation, argued the exact opposite of Scullin. Chapman traced the roots of racial tensions within Chapel Hill and the university. His 1995 master’s thesis focused specifically on the youth activism within the town, with special attention to Northside, during Civil Rights Movement.¹⁵

While students had access to similar research materials, their arguments could differ depending on their personal outlooks and disciplines. Within the field of history, students’ research reflected the shifts from the New Social History to cultural history. Their research also reflected changing racial and political thought throughout the Civil Rights Movement, as more students took a more activist standpoint within their work.

thesis, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 1964). For Blanchard’s statement on his involvement in desegregation activism, see page 1.

¹⁴ See Jeff Scullin, “Urban Renewal’s Second Wave: The Case of Chapel Hill, NC” (MA thesis, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 2001).

¹⁵ See John K. Chapman, “Black Freedom and the University of North Carolina, 1793-1960” (Ph.D. diss., University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 2006) and “Second Generation: Black Youth and the Origins of the Black Civil Rights Movement in Chapel Hill, N.C., 1937–1963” (MA thesis, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 1995).

This change paralleled UNC's shift towards integration and diversity within the university.

Intersecting Historic Preservation and Gentrification

The roots of historic preservation stem from the fears of the elite when faced with changing American demographics. Women's volunteer societies used personalism to promote core values they sought to instill within a shifting populace: morality, temperance, and patriotism.¹⁶ The Mount Vernon Ladies' Association, made up of prominent women from thirty states across America, became one of the first preservation-focused groups. The women used their networks within upper-class social circles to raise funds for the preservation of George Washington's home.¹⁷ Barbara Howe's essay on women in historic preservation explained how "middle-class, white Americans searched for their roots by establishing historic sites that legitimized the nation's relatively short history."¹⁸ Yet, this legitimate history lacked any mention of the indigenous people that lived and worked the land before any white, European colonist reached the country.

Similarly, their view of America's "legitimate history" did not include the Africans and African Americans that helped to build and establish America. In order to preserve their history, African American women created their own separate preservation-

¹⁶ James M. Lindgren, "A New Departure in Historic, Patriotic Work': Personalism, Professionalism, and Conflicting Concepts of Material Culture in the Late Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries." *The Public Historian* 18 (1996): 42.

¹⁷ Barbara Howe, "Women in Historic Preservation: The Legacy of Ann Pamela Cunningham," *The Public Historian* 12 (1990): 33.

¹⁸ Howe, "Women in Historic Preservation," 35.

focused societies, like the National Association of Colored Women (NACW).¹⁹ While these women also focused on the work of “great men,” segregation forced them to work even harder than their white counterparts to receive funding and recognition. The NACW’s first preservation project, Cedar Hill, became a shrine to Frederick Douglass, closely related to the shrine to George Washington the MVLA created. NACW and other community members took care of the house for decades because the acting director, Arthur E. Demaray, of the National Parks Service (NPS) would not grant the site federal recognition. He believed Douglass’s home did not hold enough historical significance for federal funding and protection.²⁰

The elitist, and at time racist, roots of historic preservation persisted into the modern age. Max Page and Randall Mason analyzed the National Register Nomination of the Lower East Side in New York. Their essay, “Rethinking the Roots of the Historic Preservation Movement,” discussed how the district became known for its ties to Jewish history and culture. Yet, the actual map of the urban landscape used for the nomination excluded certain sections of the neighborhood. While those sections still held cultural significance, NPS did not include them in the nomination because they did not fall under the umbrella of Jewish history.²¹

¹⁹ Tara White, “‘A Shrine of Liberty for the Unborn Generations’: African American Clubwomen and the Preservation of African American Historic Sites” (Ph.D. diss., Middle Tennessee State University, 2010), 1.

²⁰ Ibid, n.p.

²¹ Max Page and Randall Mason, “Introduction: Rethinking the Roots of the Historic Preservation Movement,” in *Giving Preservation a History* (New York: Routledge, 2004), 3-4.

Some historians have argued that historic preservation has aided the process of gentrification since the 1920s.²² Beginning with William Sumner Appleton, Jr., founder of the Society for the Preservation of New England Antiquities, and the general professionalization of the field, preservation practices moved towards the historic architectural and stylistic importance.²³ This professionalization in turn created a dilemma for historic preservation. In 1906, Congress enacted the Antiquities Act of 1906, which focused on historic landmarks and historically important places in America's history. Yet, at the same time, local governments established local historic districts, which Schneider likened to period paintings that hang together to heighten visitors' appreciation.²⁴

Almost thirty years later, in 1935, Congress passed the Historic Sites, Buildings, and Antiquities Act. This act expanded upon the Antiquities Act of 1906 and allowed federal level historic districts.²⁵ Thirty one years after that, the National Historic Preservation Act (NHPA) passed, which solidified historic preservation's focus on architectural significance when designating buildings. The passage of the NHPA set the stage for later preservationists to use historic preservation as a tool for what they called

²² See Todd Schneider, "From Monuments to Urban Renewal: How Different Philosophies of Historic Preservation Impact the Poor," *Georgetown Journal on Poverty Law & Policy* 8 (2001): 258.

²³ Lindgren, "A New Departure in Historic, Patriotic Work," 50.

²⁴ Schneider, "From Monuments to Urban Renewal," 261.

²⁵ *An Act to provide for the preservation of historic American sites, buildings, objects, and antiquities of national significance, and for other purposes*, Public Law 74, *U.S. Statutes at Large* 49 (1936): 461-467.

“urban revitalization.” Revitalization combined early preservationists’ method of freezing a building or district in a specific moment in time and Appleton’s followers’ method of emphasizing the architectural uniqueness of an old building.

New laws, like Executive Order 13006, came from President Bill Clinton in 1996 as an order federal government facilities be housed in historic properties within urban centers. The Rehabilitation Tax Credit, which passed in 1981 as part of President Ronald Reagan’s stimulus package, provided tax relief to individuals and businesses that engage in adaptive reuse of historic buildings, encouraged city planners, developers, and individuals to engage in urban revitalization.²⁶ Despite the intention of the Rehabilitation Tax Credit, lower income families that did not have access to preservation specialists or help determining if their property was qualified for the tax relief. Therefore, as revitalization efforts increased, displacement rates of lower income and racial or ethnic minority families also increased.

Recent trends in historic scholarship have turned to analyzing the silences of marginalized groups and allowing their voices to be heard. The focus on marginalized groups extends into public history as public historians use methods such as community engagement to better understand community needs. In regards to urban renewal and displacement, the literature focuses on racial and ethnic spaces, how people created their

²⁶ Executive Order 13006 of May 21, 1996, Locating Federal Facilities on Historic Properties in Our Nation's Central Cities, *Code of Federal Regulations*, title 3 (1997): 195-196; *An Act to Amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 to encourage economic growth through reduction of the tax rates for individual taxpayers, acceleration of capital cost recovery of investment in plant, equipment, and real property, and incentives for savings, and for other purposes*, Public Law 97, *U.S. Statutes at Large* 97 (1981): 236-241.

space, and how they seek to preserve their cultural heritage as city revitalization changes the dynamics of their communities.

In *Beyond Preservation: Using Public History to Revitalized Inner Cities*, Andrew Hurley argued historic preservationists need to use the methods of public history, such as oral history and community engagement, to understand the needs and experiences of communities affected by urban renewal policies. Hurley offered a critique of early historic preservation, which he argued opted to preserve a city at a given moment in time, thus freezing its history. With the onset of the new social history, he believed preservationists began to incorporate methods of public history in order to revitalize city centers, which led to the displacement of native residents. Hurley provided an example of his work on the Old North St. Louis project, which attempted to get residents of the neighborhood more involved in city planning processes in order to avoid future displacement.²⁷

Similarly, Michael E. Crutcher, Jr.'s *Tremé: Race and Place in a New Orleans Neighborhood* used the neighborhood of Tremé in New Orleans as a case study of evaluating how urban renewal has shaped and changed the cultural landscape through direct engagement with community members. Crutcher's approach fused together cultural history and interpretation of geography in order to analyze the waves of urban renewal, first in the 1960s and second in the aftermath of Hurricane Katrina, which devastated Tremé's local African American population. His interpretation of the historic landscape of the neighborhood broke down preconceived myths about Tremé as the oldest African

²⁷ See Andrew Hurley, *Beyond Preservation: Using Public History to Revitalize Inner Cities* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2010).

American neighborhood and as one of the worst neighborhoods for crime in New Orleans. Crutcher showed how the boundaries and landscapes of the neighborhood changed over time due to political, social, and, in the case of Hurricane Katrina, natural ways, which lead to the gentrification of the neighborhood.²⁸

The anthology *“We Shall Independent Be:” African American Place Making and the Struggle to Claim Space in the United States* looked at how African Americans created their own sense of place when policies aimed to limit their space in cities across America.²⁹ Three chapters of the book particularly inform this thesis: “Self Determination: Race, Space, and Chicago’s Woodlawn Organization in the 1960s,” “‘Going Colored’: The Struggle over Race and Residence in the Urban South,” and “Putting the Movement in its Place: The Politics of Public Spaces Dedicated to the Civil Rights Movement.” This book, in particular, combined the work of preservationists and urban historians to analyze the ways in which the built environment and political forces affected African Americans’ ability to create and keep their own cultural identity within their neighborhoods.

Urban Renewal and its Legacies

The history of urban renewal policies also inform this thesis. Much of the previous work on early urban renewal policies focused on large cities, most commonly New York City. However, urban renewal took place across the country as local

²⁸ See Michael Eugene Crutcher, Jr., *Tremé: Race and Place in a New Orleans Neighborhood* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2010).

²⁹ See Leslie M. Alexander and Angel David Nieves, eds., *“We Shall Independent Be:” African American Place Making and the Struggle to Claim Space in the United States* (Boulder: University Press of Colorado, 2008).

governments sought to revitalize their cities and put an end to blighted communities.³⁰ From its inception, urban renewal disproportionately affected African Americans, immigrants, and lower class families. For the purpose of this paper, the focus will highlight to ways in which policies affected African Americans.

As early as the 1930s, the federal government instituted programs to segregate neighborhoods. As historian Thomas J. Sugrue explained *The Origins of the Urban Crisis* (1996), redlining, the process of color coding and grading neighborhoods on a map, became a way for the federally sponsored Home Owner's Loan Corporation to delineate which communities Americans could receive a mortgage in.³¹ The A-rated neighborhoods consisted of all white families and typically stood outside of city centers. As soon as one African American family moved into the neighborhood, the rating went down. Unsurprisingly, the majority African American neighborhoods rated D and were colored in red. Through redlining, the federal government allowed the Home Owner's Loan Corporation to effectively block integrated neighborhoods.

Beryl Satter's *Family Properties* looked at the ways in which white real estate contract sellers manipulated African American families into buying houses on contract without insurance or protection measures. Satter, using her father's history and legacy as Jewish attorney who sought to eradicate contract buying and help lower class African Americans out of the cycle of poverty, explored the ways in which community organizers

³⁰ Michelle Boyd, "Defensive Development: The Role of Racial Conflict in Gentrification," *Urban Affair* 6 (2008): 751.

³¹ Thomas J. Sugrue, *The Origins of the Urban Crisis: Race and Inequality in Postwar Detroit* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996), xvi-xvii.

and attorneys worked against real estate agents in Chicago. Satter unpacked her father's work as a Jewish attorney in a once Jewish neighborhood that became a largely African American neighborhood back to the history of redlining. Because the federal government backed redlining, African American families turned to contract sellers in order to buy a home, but as soon as they missed a single payment they lost their money and their chance at owning the home. Satter historicized redlining and contract buying and created a framework to explore present-day Chicago's urban centers.³²

Much of the historiography on urban renewal positions the white elite in power against lower class communities of color. Michelle Boyd has argued that while this may be true, African Americans are not simply passive actors in urban renewal policies and the process of gentrification.³³ Her work, focused in Chicago's South Side, has led her to the conclusion that African Americans now use "community building and economic revitalization strategies designed to protect their neighborhoods from control by White residents, city elites, and developers," to retain control of their urban neighborhoods.³⁴ More specifically, elite African Americans use what she calls "defensive development" to revitalize their communities, much like the white elites seek to do, and leave the poorest members of their community vulnerable to displacement.³⁵ Furthermore, Boyd argued in

³² See Beryl Satter, *Family Properties: How the Struggle over Race and Real Estate Transformed Chicago and Urban America* (New York: Picador, 2009).

³³ See Boyd, "Defensive Development"; Boyd, "The Downside of Racial Uplift: the meaning of gentrification in an African American neighborhood," *City and Society* 17 (2005).

³⁴ Boyd, "Defensive Development," 752.

³⁵ *Ibid.*

a 2005 article that African American participants in gentrification “hope to help a larger number of blacks participate in those structures from a more advantageous position.”³⁶

From this perspective, the more upper class Africans become involved in the gentrification process, the more they are able to negotiate and provide resources to their community members. However, the argument does not get to the origin of the problem, rooted in market orthodoxy and class structure, which still leave the lowest class community members displaced.

Moving out of the northern urban centers, Kevin M. Kruse’s study of white flight in Atlanta explored the ways in which racial housing policies affected the South. In his book *White Flight: Atlanta and the Making of Modern Conservatism*, Kruse combatted the idea that white flight, or the movement of white families out of cities and into the suburbs as more African American families migrated to the North, remained a Northern phenomenon.³⁷ He traced the idea of white flight as a segregationist argument in the North to a forced integration opposition in the South. Kruse placed more emphasis on ideology, hence “making of modern conservatism,” than on race. While he conceded that race played a role as a factor in the housing policies of the 1950s and 1960s, Kruse argued that race did not play the predominant role, ideology did.³⁸

³⁶ Boyd, “The Downside of Racial Uplift: the meaning of gentrification in an African American neighborhood,” 286.

³⁷ See Kevin Kruse, *White Flight: Atlanta and the Making of Modern Conservatism* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2005).

³⁸ Kruse, *White Flight*, 263.

Gentrification, while separate from urban renewal and housing segregation, can be closely linked to the two policies. Urban sociologist Ruth Glass coined the term in 1964. Glass, writing about London, used gentrification, with the root word of gentry, to describe the phenomena of upper-class families moving into historically working-class neighborhoods.³⁹ Since the term's inception, countless other cities across the globe have used it to describe the process of one group of residents replacing the historical group of residents in a city or neighborhood. In recent years, historians, journalists, and planners alike have studied and analyzed the current wave of gentrification cities are undergoing.⁴⁰

Peter Moscovitz's 2017 *How to Kill a City* particularly speaks to the recent wave of urban changes. Using four cities as case studies, including New Orleans, New York, Detroit, and San Francisco, he explored the commonalities cities across the country are undergoing as white people move into city centers, revitalize or tear down buildings, and increase rents and property values that push older residents out. Moscovitz defined gentrification as "a void in a neighborhood, in a city, in a culture" and "a trauma, one

³⁹ For Glass's formal definition of gentrification and the term's relation to London, see Ruth Glass, *London: Aspects of Change* (London: MacGibbon and Kee, 1964).

⁴⁰ In recent years, a growing number of scholars produced works on gentrification and the changing urban landscape. Many of these recent works focus on large cities that are undergoing middle- and affordable housing shortages as a result of an influx of capital into urban cores, such as San Francisco, Brooklyn, New York, and New Orleans. For more see: Peter Moscovitz, *How to Kill a City: Gentrification, Inequality, and the Fight for the Neighborhood* (New York: Nation Books, 2017); John Joe Schlichtman, Jason Patch, and Marc Lamont Hill, *Gentrifier* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2017); Neil Smith, *The New Urban Frontier: Gentrification and the Revanchist City* (London: Routledge, 1996); and Gordon Chin, *Building Community, Chinatown Style: A Half-Century of Leadership in San Francisco Chinatown* (San Francisco: Friends of Chinatown Community Development Center, 2015).

caused by the influx of massive amounts of capital into a city and the consequent destruction following in its wake.”⁴¹ This broad definition allows for not just major metropolitan areas, but also smaller neighborhoods, like Northside, to be included in the dialogue surrounding gentrification.

While several previous works focused on urban renewal, gentrification, and consequential displacement, many narrowed the focus on larger cities like New York City, Washington, D.C., and Atlanta. These so-called hot spots have went through ebbs and flows in regards to population booms and demographics. These larger urban centers have a common theme: the displacement of racial and ethnic families in order to revitalize neighborhoods, which consequently brings in white families. However, displacement as a result of urban revitalization is not limited to large urban areas. As seen in places like Chapel Hill, smaller college towns also see displacement of African American families in order to create new commercial developments and luxury housing. This thesis seeks to fill the gap in the historiography on racialized housing and spaces to include smaller southern towns.

⁴¹ Peter Moskowitz, *How to Kill a City: Gentrification, Inequality, and the Fight for the Neighborhood* (New York: Nation Books, 2017), 5.

CHAPTER II: “A SHARED VISION FOR THE HISTORIC NORTHSIDE NEIGHBORHOOD”

At the close of the 1860s, Chapel Hill’s population was almost evenly divided between African Americans and whites. Four hundred eighty-three white people lived in the town as well as four hundred fifty-four Africans Americans. This nearly even split did not last long though. By 1924, the white population had almost tripled to 1,411 while the African American population had not even doubled at seven hundred thirty-five.¹ Nevertheless, the African American population in Chapel Hill found ways to create their own distinct spaces within the town.

U.S. Census records show that in 1980 African Americans accounted for 1,159 residents in Northside, which meant they accounted for only 12.2 percent of the town’s total population. In 2010, only 690 African Americans lived in Northside and the percentage of African Americans in Chapel Hill’s total population decreased to 9.7.² The decrease in the total African American population occurred around the same time that more UNC students sought housing off-campus. Thus, the college-aged population in Chapel Hill increased as the African American population decreased, which is reflected in the changes Northside underwent in the decades from 1980 to 2010. As community

¹ Charles Maddry Freeman, “Growth and Plan for a Community: A Study of Negro Life in Chapel Hill and Carrboro, North Carolina” (MA thesis, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 1944), 5.

² “Northside Neighborhood,” Town of Chapel Hill, accessed January 10, 2017, <http://www.townofchapelhill.org/town-hall/departments-services/housing-and-community/northside-neighborhood>; Town of Chapel Hill, “Demographics” in *2010 Data Book* (Chapel Hill: Town of Chapel Hill, 2011), 3.6.

members aged, investors saw opportunities to convert the older, single-family homes into student rentals. Efforts to revitalize the downtown area of Chapel Hill saw more high rises and mixed-use developments creep up around the neighborhood. While these new developments went up, several former African American businesses and homes came down. Yet, despite these changes Northside maintained its sense of place and importance within Chapel Hill.

Starting in 2004, after the protest of Northside residents, the Town of Chapel Hill's local government began a series of public hearings and Council meetings to establish a Conservation District over the neighborhood. The Conservation District would consist of a zoning overlay in the form of a Zoning Atlas Amendment to Chapel Hill's 2000 Comprehensive Plan. The Land Use Management Ordinance, adopted in 2003, allowed for the creation of Neighborhood Conservation Districts in order "preserve and protect unique and distinctive older in-town residential neighborhoods or commercial districts which contribute significantly to the overall character and identity of the Town."³ In Northside, the historically African American community had undergone rapid changes as a result of cheaper than average land and proximity to the university and town center. The Conservation District became the first, in a series of five Town efforts over a span of approximately ten years, plan for fighting against incompatible development, rising rent costs, and the displacement of long term residents.

³ Memorandum from W. Calvin Horton to Mayor and Town Council, January 21, 2004, Town of Chapel Hill Council Meetings, Minutes, and Agendas Archive, Chapel Hill, Town Hall.

BOUNDARY MAP

Northside Neighborhood Conservation District

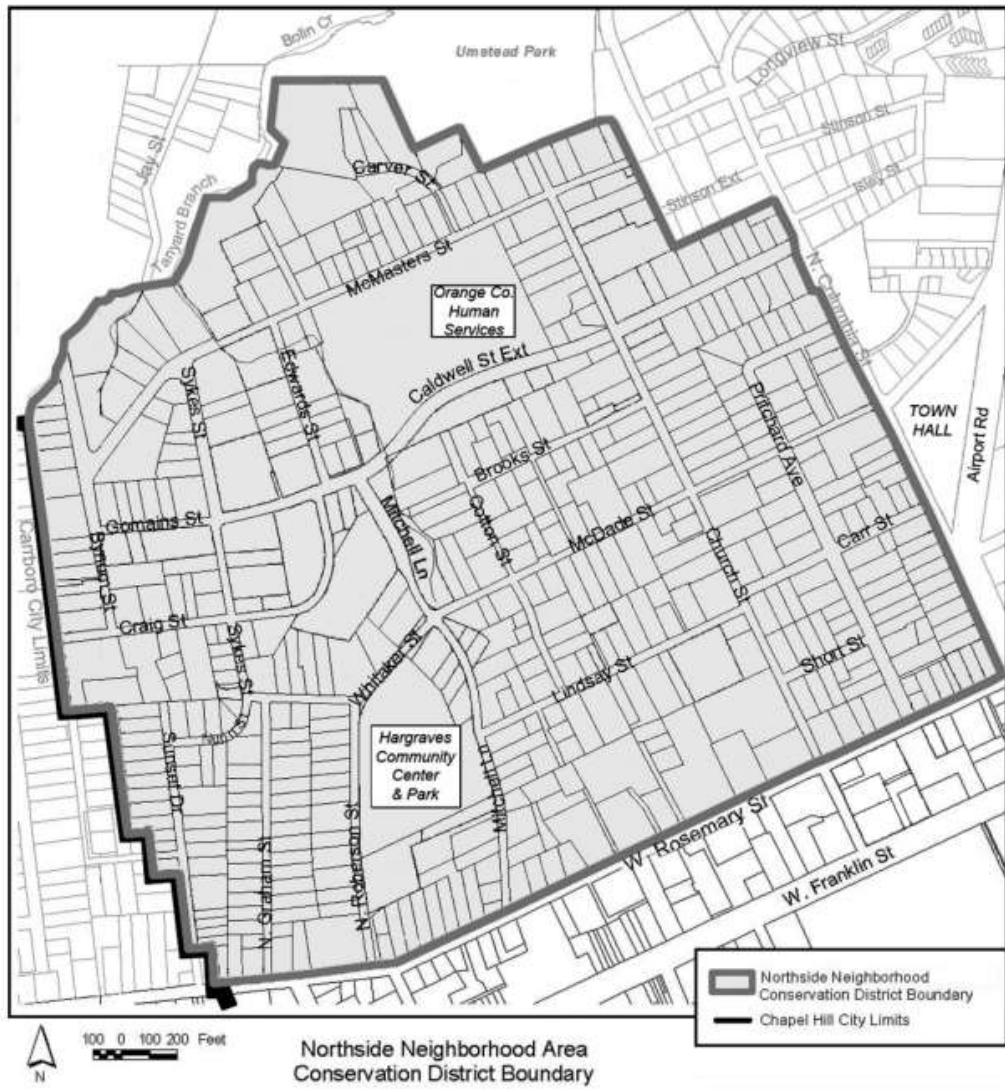


Figure 4. Map of Northside Neighborhood Conservation District (In “Design Guidelines: Northside Neighborhood Conservation District.” Town of Chapel Hill, 2004, 2)

Two aspects of Northside made it ripe for a Neighborhood Conservation District. The first was its prior designation as a residential conservation area. The second was its designation as an area susceptible to change. In accordance with the Land Use Management Ordinance, a residential conservation area constituted an area surrounding the downtown and UNC's campus that needed designation for policy protection. An area susceptible to change meant an area, most likely a residential conservation area, which had more development pressure due to the potential availability of land. The Conservation District would allow the Town to rezone the neighborhood and add protectionary land use codes.⁴

Yet, the Planning Department also had the option to create a local historic district in Northside. At the time in 2004, Chapel Hill had three local historic districts as well as four National Register of Historic Places districts. The first locally designated district, the Franklin-Rosemary District, received approval in 1976. In 1990, both the Cameron-McCauley District and Gimghoul District received local status. The National Register districts include the Chapel Hill, Gimghoul, Rocky Ridge, and West Chapel Hill Districts. In Chapel Hill, National Register districts do not receive any oversight from the Planning Department or Town Council. However, local historic districts must obtain Certificates of Appropriateness from the Historic District Commission before exterior changes can be made.

⁴ Summary Minutes of a Public Hearing of the Chapel Hill Town Council Wednesday, January 21, 2004, at 7 PM, January 21, 2004, Town of Chapel Hill Council Meetings, Minutes, and Agendas Archive, Chapel Hill, Town Hall.

While the Town had the option for a zoning overlay in the Land Use Ordinance, they still had to justify any change in order to rewrite the code. In the memorandum circulated by the Town Manager, W. Calvin Horton, he stated that the Town Council had three options for justification: rezoning to correct a manifest error, rezoning because of changed or changing conditions in a particular error, or rezoning to achieve the purposes of the 2000 Comprehensive Plan. Horton argued Northside's location made it especially vulnerable to development and growth pressures to due increased demand for housing around Chapel Hill's downtown area. Additionally, he argued rezoning followed three of the Comprehensive Plans goals: "Conserve and enhance those elements that define Chapel Hill's special community character and the heritage of Chapel Hill's historic neighborhoods (Goal, Section 3.2), protect the physical and social fabric of Chapel Hill's neighborhoods (Objective, Section 3.2), and support preservation of existing housing stock" (Strategy 7B-1)."⁵

With the memorandum circulated to the Town Council, Horton and the Planning Department began distributing notifications to residents within the proposed boundaries of the Neighborhood Conservation District. On January 30, 2004, the Town circulated a notice to all property owners inside the proposed district boundaries and within 1,000 feet of the boundaries a notice of public hearing regarding the proposed rezoning.⁶ The notice let residents know about a public hearing held earlier in the month and notified them of

⁵ Memorandum from W. Calvin Horton to Mayor and Town Council, January 21, 2004.

⁶ Certification from Loryn Barnes and Scott Simmons, February 18, 2004, Town of Chapel Hill Council Meetings, Minutes, and Agendas Archive, Chapel Hill, Town Hall.

an upcoming hearing scheduled for February. The notice also let residents know they had the option of filing a protest letter against the proposed rezoning measures. At the time of the January 21, 2004 public hearing, only 7 percent of residents affected by the rezoning proposal signed a petition, which did not trigger a protest.⁷

Along with the notice regarding the rezoning measures and public hearing, Town officials also mailed a flyer to let residents of Northside know about a design workshop, which focused on landscaping, architecture, and site planning. The design workshop, held on a Saturday morning, gave residents a chance to be part of the planning process.⁸ While the Planning Department had already started recommendations and drafting the zoning amendment, the workshop allowed members of the community to voice their opinions and concerns over potential design guidelines. However, officials held the workshop at Town Hall, outside of the Northside community despite the neighborhood having a community center, the Hargraves Center, centrally located within the proposed Conservation District boundaries. While the Town made an attempt at including the community in the process of crafting design guidelines, other options were available that would have allowed for more inclusive engagement.

The Town Council adopted the Northside Neighborhood Conservation District on February 23, 2004 as the first conservation district in Chapel Hill. Adoption of the design guidelines followed on June 30, 2004. Per the January 21, 2004 public hearing, the key

⁷ Summary Minutes of a Public Hearing of the Chapel Hill Town Council Wednesday, January 21, 2004, at 7 PM, January 21, 2004, Town of Chapel Hill Council Meetings, Minutes, and Agendas Archive, Chapel Hill, Town Hall.

⁸ Certification from Loryn Barnes and Scott Simmons, February 18, 2004.

issues raised by town planners and residents of Northside included non-conforming lots, uses and features, effects of the zoning overlay on non-residential buildings, duplexes, height restrictions, and especially effectiveness.⁹ While the residents of Northside argued strongly the design guidelines needed to take into consideration non-residential buildings and effectiveness of the conservation overlay regarding “real issues facing the neighborhood,” the original 2004 guidelines did not address those concerns.¹⁰ A major issue that residents wanted addressed, duplexes, still made it into the design guidelines despite residents expressing their concern over the increase in multi-family housing. Their biggest concern over the construction of new duplexes was that it allowed realtors to double their profit while still marketing towards student renters.¹¹ Instead, the design guidelines created established setbacks, regulated fencing and porches, and predetermined landscaping, including which plants could and could not be planted, were recommended.¹²

The Northside Neighborhood Conservation District Design Guidelines are ten pages in length. The document defines building orientation, site design, parking, fencing,

⁹ Memorandum from W. Calvin Horton to Mayor and Town Council, February 23, 2004, Town of Chapel Hill Council Meetings, Minutes, and Agendas Archive, Chapel Hill, Town Hall.

¹⁰ Memorandum from W. Calvin Horton to Mayor and Town Council, February 23, 2004.

¹¹ Summary Minutes of a Public Hearing of the Chapel Hill Town Council, January 21, 2004, Town of Chapel Hill Council Meetings, Minutes, and Agendas Archive, Chapel Hill, Town Hall.

¹² Town of Chapel Hill, “Design Guidelines: Northside Neighborhood Conservation District,” 3-7, Town of Chapel Hill Council Meetings, Minutes, and Agendas Archive, Chapel Hill, Town Hall.

porches, and design details.¹³ These design guidelines stand in stark contrast to the detailed, seventy-seven page document that lays out the design guidelines for local historic districts. Historic districts in Chapel Hill must adhere to the district setting, including landscaping, accessory structures, walls or fences, and exterior lighting. Any changes to the exterior of the buildings must adhere to guidelines specified to the building material. Additions or alterations go through the Planning Department and Historic District Commission for Certificates of Appropriateness. Any new construction within local district limits must also receive Certificates of Appropriateness and remain compatible with the setting and character of the district in which it is built.¹⁴ As for new construction in Northside, the guidelines simply state new builds or additions to previous housing stock should respect the overall character of the neighborhood in size and scale, although this is not always enforced.¹⁵ Size and scale is a particular issue when realtors add rear additions, as exemplified by 229 North Roberson Street. The house, built in 1925, underwent major renovations after it sold out of the Jones family in 2011. The rear additions allow the realtor to market the house to a larger number of student renters.

¹³ Town of Chapel Hill, “Design Guidelines: Northside Neighborhood Conservation District,” Town of Chapel Hill Council Meetings, Minutes, and Agendas Archive, Chapel Hill, Town Hall.

¹⁴ Chapel Hill Historic District Commission, “Design Guidelines for Chapel Hill Historic Districts,” (Chapel Hill: Town of Chapel Hill), 2001.

¹⁵ Town of Chapel Hill, “Design Guidelines: Northside Neighborhood Conservation District,” 6, Town of Chapel Hill Council Meetings, Minutes, and Agendas Archive, Chapel Hill, Town Hall.



Figure 5. 229 Roberson Street west elevation showing rear addition

Yet, even with the zoning overlay intact, investors and developers found cheaper than average land on the outskirts of the neighborhood. One of the most controversial developments, Greenbridge Condominiums, caused issues in Northside for years. As early as January 2007, only three years after the Town enacted the first Neighborhood Conservation District, Northside community members reached out to the Town Council to voice their concerns over the luxury condos, arguing the ten story building would not “mesh well” with the characteristics of their historic neighborhood.¹⁶ Nevertheless, by

¹⁶ Andy Kenney, “Residents speak on Greenbridge,” *The Daily Tar Heel*, January 18, 2007.

February 2007 the Council voted to let the plans continue. The decision did not stop Northside residents from rallying around their neighborhood. A group, known as “concerned residents of Northside,” wrote an open letter that asked prospective Greenbridge buyers to reconsider and let them know they would not be welcomed in the area.¹⁷

Not only did residents of Northside worry about the effects of Greenbridge, but business owners did as well. The placement of Greenbridge on the outskirts of Northside put it right on top of the former African American business district. In the 1950s Charlie Mason opened Mason’s Grocery on the lot where Greenbridge stands now. Mason’s business went through several iterations, including a motel and the Starlight Supper Club. The Interfaith Council looked into the property to create a homeless shelter in 1987, but eventually the building underwent demolition in the early 2000s, just in time for Greenbridge’s development.¹⁸ Knotts Funeral Home, located directly beside Greenbridge, had to fight to remain open on Graham Street. Originally founded by William Harvey Knotts, Sr., who had to struggle to obtain his mortuary license during segregation, the family business opened a chain of funeral homes in Chapel Hill.¹⁹ As construction continued on Greenbridge, debris fell on the Graham Street building and employees worried about the structural integrity of the building. The director of the funeral home, Michael Parker, told *The Daily Tar Heel* that fewer clients used that particular site

¹⁷ Nick Anderson, “Greenbridge leases more than half its units,” *The Daily Tar Heel*, September 1, 2009.

¹⁸ Preservation Chapel Hill, “Walk this Way! Northside Tour.”

¹⁹ Preservation Chapel Hill, “Walk this Way! Northside Tour.”

because they worried about parking and personal safety in the midst of falling debris.²⁰ Community members, including both Northside residents and business owners, came together in the face of gentrification and began petitioning the Town Council for more effective conservation guidelines.



Figure 6. Knott's Funeral Home west elevation with Greenbridge Condominiums in back

²⁰ Florence Bryan, "Funeral home neighboring Greenbridge fights to live," *The Daily Tar Heel*, February 3, 2010.

Students were another reason the Neighborhood Conservation District became a viable option to deter development in Northside. To accommodate students seeking off-campus housing, investors found ways to renovate older homes or tear down with replacements in neighborhoods surrounding UNC's campus. Northside, with historically lower land values and rent prices than other neighborhoods in Chapel Hill or Carrboro, took the hardest hit. *Northside News*, a newsletter circulated in the neighborhood by The Jackson Center for Saving and Making History, a nonprofit formed in conjunction with Northside residents, frequently warned longtime residents of scams from investors seeking to purchase their houses at lower than market value rates. In September 2010, *Northside News* ran a column titled "Community Support" that encouraged homeowners to seek assistance if they felt pressured to sell their home or if they felt they could no longer afford their property taxes.²¹ Property taxes, which increased as more investors purchased homes and converted them into high price rental units, often displace longtime residents of lower income neighborhoods. In March 2011, *Northside News* dedicated an entire page to "Protecting your home from aggressive buyers." The newsletter warned residents of tactics realtors used, such as knocking on doors and offering to provide their services in selling the home, mailing flyers that warned against rising interest rates, and lying about the best time to sell in order to get the best price. The page ended with a call to not sell any houses to a realtor or developer, as that only caused property taxes to increase even more.²²

²¹ "Community Support," *Northside News*, September 2010, p.1.

²² "Protecting your home from aggressive buyers," *Northside News*, March 2011, p.1.

Northside News

March 2011

A print-link for the neighborhoods of Northside

Vol. 1, Issue 3

Protecting your home from aggressive realtors

Long-time residents of Northside and Pine Knolls are reporting being pressured by individuals and real estate companies to rush into selling their homes in these historic neighborhoods. Realtors are using aggressive tactics, from mailings that pressure residents to sell before "interest rates rise" to frequent and harassing in-person visits. Before you make any decision about selling your home, it is crucial that you have information to avoid falling prey to deceptive or forceful tactics.

First, it is illegal for realtors to come to your door and offer their services to sell your home. You can call 911 to report them for soliciting. While it is legal for them to offer to buy your home, you have the right to tell them to leave your property and call 911 to report them as trespassers. If they return uninvited, they could be arrested for trespassing.

The rapid changes in our neighborhoods are partially a result of these tactics. You have the right to resist, and there are various ways to preserve the historic character of Northside and Pine Knolls:

- 1) **If you are over the age of 65**, you may qualify for the Orange County Homestead Exemption Act, which **cuts property taxes in half** for senior citizens.
- 2) If you plan to leave your home to your family, **meet with a lawyer to create a will**. It may be possible to specify that your home must remain occupied by a single family. This can help maintain the family atmosphere of our community and limit the effects of rentals with regard to rapid increases in property values and taxes.
- 3) **Contact us**, and we will make every effort possible to connect you with affordable legal services.

If you are selling your home, there are several organizations, including EmPOWERment, Inc., the Community Home Trust, and Habitat for Humanity, which are committed to offering affordable housing in Chapel Hill. You have the option of working with these organizations to help keep Northside and Pine Knolls diverse and affordable neighborhoods.



**Help decide the future of
our neighborhoods.**

Tuesday, March 22nd, 5:30 to 7:30 pm
St. Joseph C.M.E. Church

610 W. Rosemary St.

Light Refreshments and Childcare Provided
Learn ways to make your voice heard!

Finally, if you must sell your home to a realtor or developer, know that there is a reason they are so interested in buying your home. We are in a severe economic recession, and the values of homes are almost certain to go up over the next five years. Anyone looking to buy your home now stands to make a large profit later, especially those who plan to rent houses to multiple individuals. The value of land in our neighborhoods is worth much more than many of the buildings. In fact, developers have been demolishing homes in Northside after buying them to build new ones for rentals. Do not trust realtors who claim that you must sell your home quickly in order to get the best price. The addition of Carolina North and the increasingly desirable location of our neighborhoods will continue to drive up the prices of homes. You stand to gain by waiting to sell until the economy improves.

If you have questions or concerns you would like to discuss or you are interested in connecting with any of the resources mentioned in this article, come to the SOS Meeting on March 22nd or contact the Jackson Center at [919-929-6495](tel:919-929-6495) or jacksoncenter.info@gmail.com.

Figure 7. Front page of Northside News Vol. 1, Issue 3.

Just Sold

502 Church St.

\$247,000

Thinking of selling your property? The Northside area of Chapel Hill is HOT! Multiple bidders are common-place right now. Don't wait for interest rates to rise and scare off these eager investors.

Contact me today for a free market evaluation of your property's value. I may already have a buyer ready to go!

Providing personal attention to all of your real estate needs

***Above: Deceptive mailings are sent daily to residents of Northside and Pine Knolls.

Figure 8. Example mailing advertisement featured in Northside News Vol. 1, Issue 3

As residents of Northside increasingly expressed their concerns with the rapid development occurring in their neighborhood, the Planning Department began to analyze the effectiveness, or lack thereof, of the Conservation District. In 2011, the Town Council expressed interest in and support for a development moratorium within the Northside Conservation District boundaries. The members hoped that through the moratorium, planners would be able to better assess the increase in student housing developments despite the fact that the Planning Department recommended against the moratorium in favor of a comprehensive neighborhood plan.²³

²³ Chelsey Dulaney, "Town Council looks to slow Northside development," *The Daily Tar Heel*, May 23, 2011.

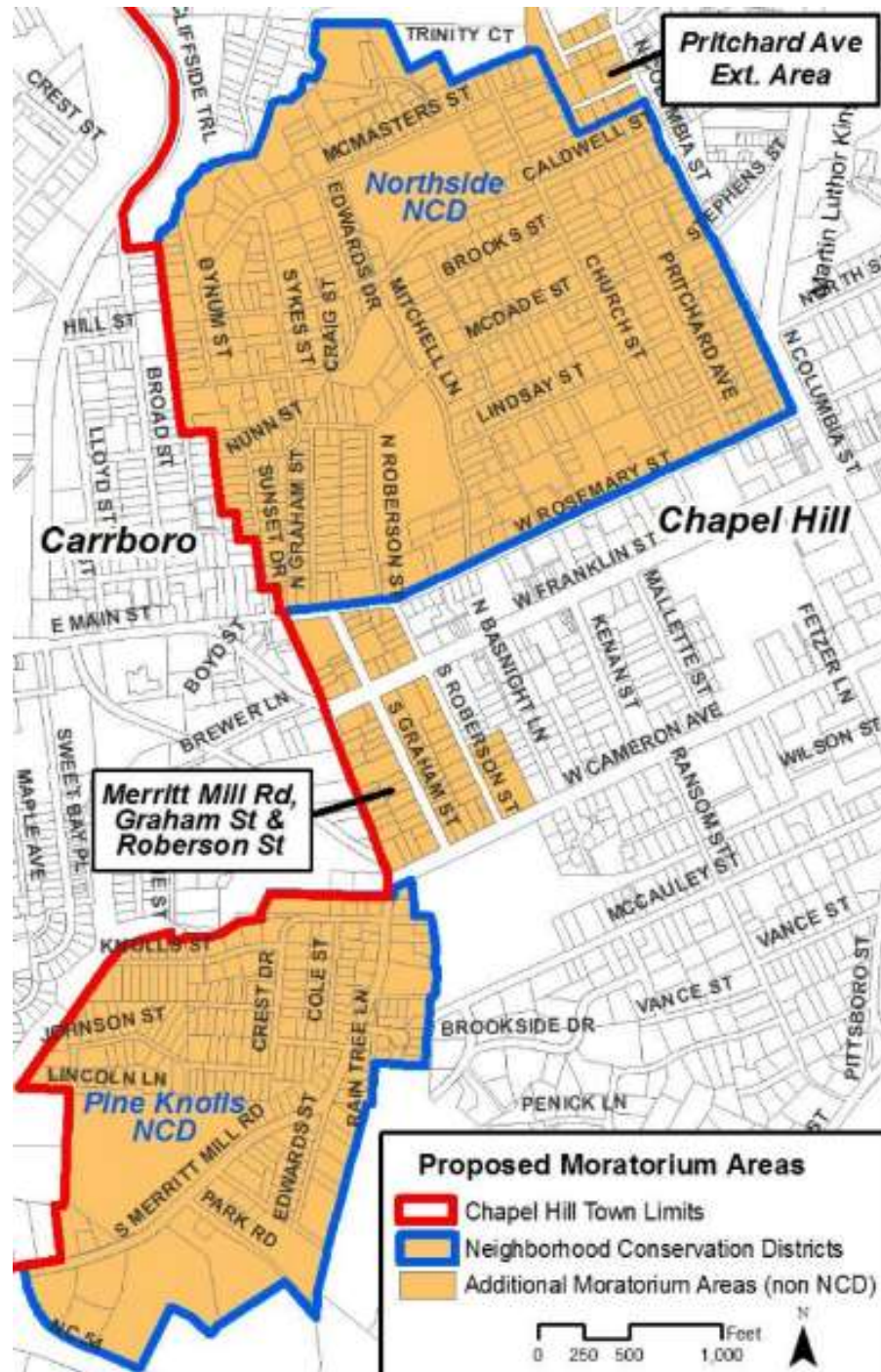


Figure 9. Map of Proposed Moratorium Areas (In “Questions and Answers about the Northside and Pine Knolls Temporary Development Moratorium.” Town of Chapel Hill, 2011, 1)

In an interview with *The Daily Tar Heel*, Chapel Hill-Carrboro NAACP President Michelle Laws explained that long term residents of Northside could not afford attorneys to explain the legal jargon of the zoning overlay the same way that developers could. Therefore, developers and their legal teams could find loopholes in the district guidelines in order to continue building student housing. Council members voiced similar concern that the redevelopment of single family housing in the neighborhood was disintegrating the historic fabric of the community. Through resident advocacy and the support of non-profits and the local chapter of the NAACP, the Town Council overrode the Planning Department's recommendations in favor of the moratorium.²⁴

From June 21, 2011 through January 31, 2012, no new development occurred in Northside. During that time, the Planning Department began work on the Northside Community Plan. By early January 2012, with the help of Sustaining OurSelves Coalition (SOS), the Town released the plan. By involving SOS, the Town effectively had community input for the Community Plan. The group, made up of clergy, neighborhood stakeholders, and professors at UNC, led the charge to enact the development moratorium and continued to be a voice for Northside while the Planning Department created the plan. In the plan, they identified six key issues at stake in Northside: affordable housing, cultural and historic preservation, enforcement, education and outreach, parking, and

²⁴ Dulaney, "Town Council looks to slow Northside development," *The Daily Tar Heel*, May 23, 2011.

zoning.²⁵ The Planning Department and Town Council analyzed the issues and provided recommendations for addressing the issues.

In regards to affordable housing, the Planning Department identified three priority solutions. The first, to dedicate funding towards an affordable housing program with Town Council approval. The second solution was to partner with financial institutions to establish a middle- and workforce-housing mortgage program. The third priority solution included rehabilitating the current housing stock within Northside so that homeowners could remain in their homes. The Planning Department also listed several other non-priority solutions for the affordable housing crisis in Northside, one of which would have allowed for the construction of more duplexes within the neighborhood boundaries, despite the fact that the residents were concerned about the development of multiple-family housing.²⁶

The fact that the Town identified cultural and historic preservation as solutions within Northside indicates the Town's knowledge and acceptance of the importance of Northside and its historic resources within Chapel Hill. Yet, none of the solutions to the issue of losing historic integrity made the priority list within the Community Plan. Instead, the Planning Department listed general solutions, such as creating a walking tour through the neighborhood, supporting preservation actions through the help of a non-profit, which they did not specify, establishing a community center, and setting aside

²⁵ Town of Chapel Hill, "Northside and Pine Knolls Community Plan," January 9, 2012, Town of Chapel Hill Council Meetings, Minutes, and Agendas Archive, Chapel Hill, Town Hall.

²⁶ Town of Chapel Hill, "Northside and Pine Knolls Community Plan," January 9, 2012.

funding for community advocacy.²⁷ While these solutions are useful in theory, key issues remained. A historic preservation non-profit, Preservation Chapel Hill, already existed and provided walking tours of Northside and the historically African American business district of Chapel Hill. Additionally, the Hargraves Center, which the Town identified as one of Northside's historic resources, already functioned as a community center when the Neighborhood Plan was released.

Enforcement remained a key issue for residents of Northside since the early public hearings for the Neighborhood Conservation District. The top priorities for enforcement in the plan were to add more code officers and to design a communication program between renters, property owners, and students. The two top priorities contradicted one another as adding code enforcement officers would allow long-term residents and families to report students and other violators out of compliance with the zoning codes. However, the Planning Department described the goal of the communication program as a way to “resolve issues without initiating a formal code violation process.”²⁸ While a communication program for non-student and student residents and renters would ultimately allow for more engagement and dialogue, the town prioritized students over long-term residents, who had for years asked for better enforcement of the Conservation District zoning codes.

The plan also included parking regulations, education and outreach through the Good Neighbor Initiative, a webpage for students living off-campus, and a newsletter

²⁷ Ibid.

²⁸ Ibid.

called *Tar Heel Citizens Times*. Through new parking regulations, residents sought to limit the number of students living in renovated rental units and hoped to see a decrease in the number of parties and noise violations. Through education programs like the Good Neighbor Initiative, an off-campus living webpage, and newsletter, residents hoped to educate students on the history of the neighborhood and provide steps they could take to be more responsible in a family-friendly community.²⁹

The Northside Neighborhood Plan also included an update to the 2004 Neighborhood Conservation District. Design guidelines received an amendment with the hopes that stricter guidelines would deter developers. Under the updated design guidelines, the maximum footage of secondary buildings on single-family lots decreased, the maximum size of a single-family house and the floor area ratio decreased, a maximum for the number of cars allowed on one lot was set, a two-week waiting period for resident comments on any new development application was established, and duplexes and triplexes were allowed for any project with 100% affordable housing units.³⁰

As the Town worked to create the Northside Neighborhood Plan, a non-profit was formed inside Northside. Residents incorporated the Jackson Center for Saving and Making History, located within Northside, in 2012. The organization informally began in 2001 after working closely with members of St. Joseph C.M.E. Church, local leaders, and other residents who shared their stories of growing up in the neighborhood and their concerns for the future. Dr. Della Pollock, a UNC professor, created a course which

²⁹ Ibid.

³⁰ Ibid.

partnered with Northside residents to conduct the oral histories as class projects. The course turned into United with the Northside Community Now (UNC NOW), which by 2008 had an office in the upstairs portion of St. Joseph CME Church in the neighborhood.³¹ With an established oral history database, founding members sought to expand within the community and use the power of history to help give a voice to residents, both past and present. This process took the form of Sustaining OurSelves, which worked in conjunction with residents and allies during the 2011 fight for the development moratorium.³²

With roots in preserving and fostering the history of Northside, the Jackson Center works directly with residents to provide services, such as the SOS Coalition to provide tax relief and house rehabilitation, Heavenly Groceries to provide food to families in need, and *Northside News* to inform community members of events and resources they provide. After more than ten years, the center continues to work for residents of Northside and remains active partners in preservation efforts put forth by the town. The Jackson Center continues its partnership with St. Joseph CME, with their office based in the church's former parsonage.³³ The Jackson Center stands as community hub and advocacy group for residents within Northside.

³¹ "Our Story," The Jackson Center, accessed January 10, 2017, <https://jacksoncenter.info/about-us-2/our-story/>, paragraph 5.

³² "Who We Are," The Jackson Center, accessed January 10, 2017, <http://www.jacksoncenter.info/about-us/who-we-are/>, paragraphs 1-4.

³³ "Our Story," The Jackson Center, accessed January 10, 2017, <https://jacksoncenter.info/about-us-2/our-story/>, paragraph 5.

Despite the Northside Neighborhood Plan, on top of the Neighborhood Conservation District, residents of Northside continued to feel the pressures of development and threat of displacement. In 2012, *Northside News* ran a story on a man who had lived in the same house in Northside for over thirty years. Pop Degraffenreid fought for three months to stay in his house. After a New York City-based company took over the rental units, Degraffenreid did not know who to send his rent payment to anymore, even though his daughter repeatedly called the lawyers for the company. Fellow community members rallied around their neighbor in order to help him appeal in court. Degraffenreid's case was ultimately dismissed, but the realty company continued sending him letters warning him of rent increases and notices to vacate. He told *Northside News* he hoped other residents could learn from his story and hoped that his resistance would encourage others to resist selling their homes or giving in to aggressive realtors.³⁴

With the Town's preservation and protection plans proving ineffective in the fight against displacement, residents of Northside worked with non-profits to formulate their own ideas and actions. Self-Help, a Durham-based community development non-profit, researched and authored "Northside Housing Market Action Plan," also known as MAP, in 2013. Self-Help partnered with the Jackson Center and a group of Northside residents called the Northside Compass Group. Self-Help ultimately wanted to present "a clear implementation strategy for the Northside that will change the trajectory of the

³⁴ Alexander Stephens, "Family on Bynum Street resists push-out," *Northside News*, November 2012, p.1.

neighborhood's housing market" through the use of coordinated investment and cultural preservation.³⁵

In order to create the Northside Housing MAP, Self-Help engaged with the Northside community in ways that prioritized its concerns. Made up of fifteen residents and Northside allies, the Northside Compass Group met regularly to hold focus-meetings. Self-Help and the Compass Group, together with forty representatives from UNC, the Town of Chapel Hill, the Town of Carrboro, the Chamber of Commerce, the Chapel Hill Downtown Partnership, Chapel Hill-Carrboro City Schools, the Chapel Hill-Carrboro NAACP, and the Community Empowerment Fund, came up with a list of top priorities for the neighborhood. The priorities included retaining long-term residents, attracting new homeowners and non-student renters, maintaining and creating affordable and workforce housing for people employed in town, and managing the student presence within the neighborhood.³⁶

³⁵ Center for Community Self-Help, "Northside Housing Market Action Plan," March 26, 2013, n.p., Town of Chapel Hill Council Meetings, Minutes, and Agendas Archive, Chapel Hill, Town Hall.

³⁶ Center for Community Self-Help, "Northside Housing Market Action Plan," March 26, 2013, 11-12.

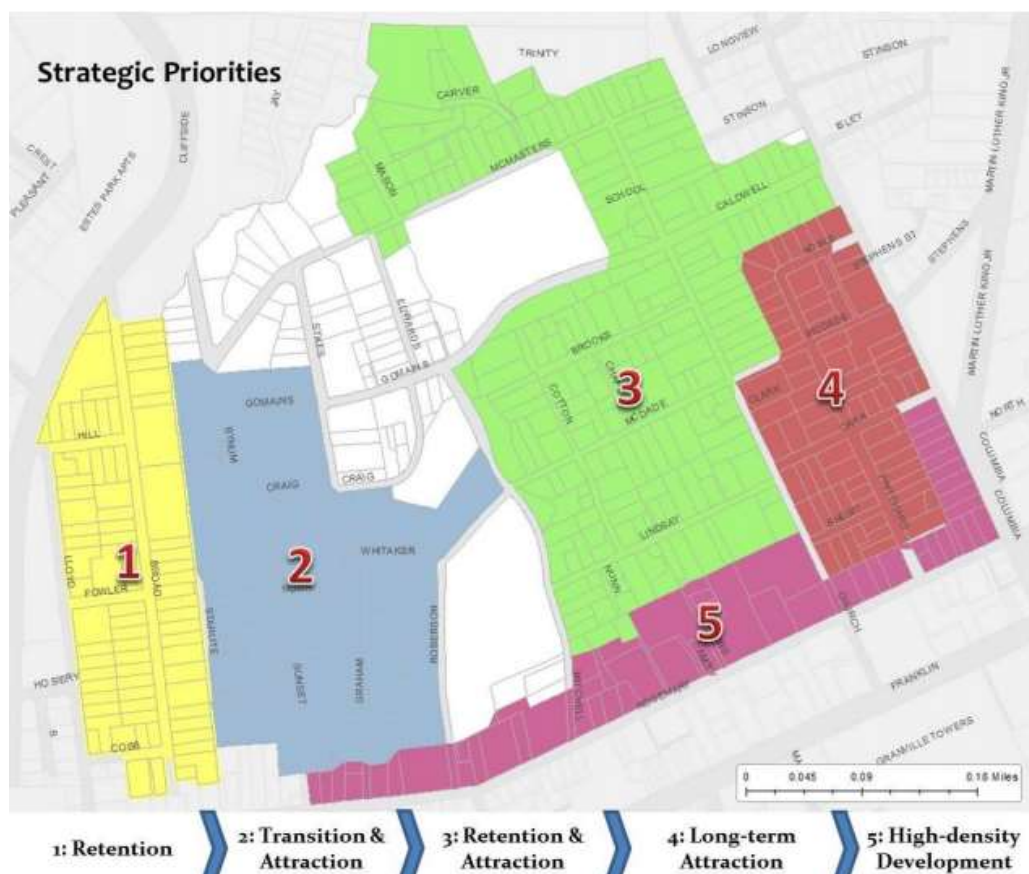


Figure 10. Map of Strategic Priorities (In “Northside Housing Market Action Plan.” Center for Community Self-Help, 2013, 2)

The Northside Housing MAP divided the Northside Neighborhood Conservation District into five distinct sections. Each section had a different goal meant to strategize the top priorities residents came up with during the focus meetings. The goals included retention, transition and attraction, retention and attraction, long-term attraction, and high-density development. The first section, with a goal of retention, included pre-existing single-family housing and single-family infill development for long-term residents and families. The second section had a goal of transition and attraction, which would include single-family infill, accessory dwelling units, and duplexes to maintain long-term residents and attract new long-term renters and homebuyers. The third section

had a goal retention and attraction of accountable landlords and students. The fourth section, and the section closest to UNC's campus, had a goal of long-term attraction. For this section, MAP suggested marketing the existing housing stock towards families seeking larger, market-rate homes. The final section, the high-density development portion of Northside, followed along West Rosemary Street. In this area, historic fabric had already undergone demolition, which made the area a buffer for development in the neighborhood.³⁷

What set the Northside Housing MAP apart from past plans and recommendations put forth by the Town of Chapel Hill's Planning Department or Town Council was the community engagement process. From the outset, Self-Help included members of the community, as well as the non-profits working within the neighborhood, in the conversation. Several focus group meetings were held within the neighborhood as well as conversations with stakeholders outside of the neighborhood boundaries. Self-Help included an appendix in their report which outlined, in detail, the process they undertook for community engagement.³⁸

Two years after Self-Help and the Northside Compass Group made their recommendations for preserving the neighborhood, the Town of Chapel Hill and UNC, together with Self-Help and the Jackson Center, announced a new initiative on March 9, 2015. The Northside Neighborhood Initiative would foster a "family-friendly, multi-generational community that balances the needs of long-term residents, new owners,

³⁷ Ibid, 2.

³⁸ Ibid, iii-viii.

renters and students.” The new initiative, which came from a \$3 million no-interest loan from UNC, allowed Self-Help to utilize the funds in order to lead efforts in property acquisition and the resale of houses within Northside. Self-Help would then maintain any houses within the Northside land bank until they became ready for potential home buyers or renters.³⁹

While the Town of Chapel Hill and UNC partnered to establish the initiative, the key leaders continue to be the Jackson Center, Self-Help, and residents of the neighborhood. The Jackson Center serves as the primary facilitator and organizer within the neighborhood, serving residents first. Self-Help manages the land bank and ensures the acquisition of land. The Northside Compass Group, established during the Northside Housing MAP, continues to meet to express residents’ concerns. Therefore, despite providing funding for the Initiative, both local government and university officials largely remain in the background of the community work.

One goal of the Northside Neighborhood Initiative at first seems a poor fit with historic preservation. The Initiative pushes to build and develop new housing within the neighborhood boundaries. The Town of Chapel Hill’s website lists Northside in two distinct places. Under “Housing and Community,” Northside has its own tab which links visitors to information on the Initiative, as well as past planning efforts. Also under the “Housing and Community” section of the website, Northside is listed under the

³⁹ “Northside Neighborhood Initiative,” Town of Chapel Hill, accessed January 6, 2017, <http://www.townofchapelhill.org/town-hall/departments-services/housing-and-community/northside-neighborhood/northside-neighborhood-initiative>.

“Affordable Housing” subheading.⁴⁰ Yet, the Initiative actually meets historic preservation goals in that it wishes to preserve this historic African American neighborhood as a whole. Getting families back is a necessary first step to preserving Northside as an African American place. In this instance, historic preservation is used as a development tool. An aspect of Northside that residents sought to preserve was the affordability and livability for families. While the Town has latched onto the idea of affordability, they have simultaneously allowed new development, under the guise of density for more affordable units within the Neighborhood Conservation District. Establishing new housing, even if affordable- and workforce housing, begs the question of whether or not the Town Council and Planning Department still view Northside’s cheaper than average land as a means to exploit and overdevelop. This proves a slippery slope as not all developers actually create affordable housing, but still construct multi-unit student housing.

At the end of the first year of the Northside Initiative, fifteen properties came under acquisition, twelve new affordable housing units were built, and three families moved into the neighborhood. Orange County Habitat for Humanity became a partner in the initiative in the first year and helped build the new housing units. The neighborhood held a celebratory event to mark the success, which included a parade through Northside, interactive showcases, and performances by local churches. *The Daily Tar Heel*, which reported about the event, spoke with the Jackson Center’s senior director, Hudson

⁴⁰ “Office of Housing and Community,” Town of Chapel Hill, accessed January 6, 2017, <http://www.townofchapelhill.org/town-hall/departments-services/housing-and-community>.

Vaughn, who said, “Our hope for this event was to both showcase a lot of the work that has been going on, that’s been made possible by the legacy of generations of folks who’ve made this community special — but also to preserve the future of Northside.”⁴¹ With the fifteen properties held in the landbank, Northside residents could celebrate their efforts being realized and the preservation of their neighborhood’s history.

From 2004 through 2015, and continuing today, the Town of Chapel Hill has made strides to protect the historic integrity of the Northside Neighborhood. Once filled with substandard housing and unpaved roads during the reign of Jim Crow, the neighborhood still boasted a school, a business district, churches, and community. Today, the threat of revitalization projects in Chapel Hill’s downtown core, as seen with the construction of a new boutique AC Hotel on the eastern edge of the Northside neighborhood boundaries, and a steady influx of student renters threatens the neighborhood. Residents of Northside, together with local non-profits, have worked to petition the Town Council and the university for stricter design guidelines and protectionary measures. They refuse to be silent and continue to pressure those in power to fight against gentrification and work towards a better preservation plan.

⁴¹ Sally Bitar, “Northside Neighborhood Initiative celebrates success of its first year,” *The Daily Tar Heel*, September 29, 2016.



Figure 11. AC Hotel Chapel Hill, located on the eastern edge of the Northside neighborhood boundary

CHAPTER III: HISTORIC RESOURCES IN NORTHSIDE, A SURVEY

The Town Council and Planning Department list historic resources in Northside on the town's website. While a historic neighborhood within the town's limits, officials only list two sites as assets: the William M. Hargraves Center and Northside Elementary School.¹ This limited listing greatly depreciates the historic and cultural significance of Northside within Chapel Hill's history. Beyond the vernacular residential houses that remain in the neighborhood, Northside exhibits strong community ties with churches, businesses, and cultural landscapes. These community sites deserve attention from town planners and preservationists as they mark the culture and history of the neighborhood. Using oral histories housed in the Southern Oral History Program (SOHP), walking tours created by Preservation Chapel Hill and Hidden Voices Collective, and indicators of cultural institutions, such as churches and businesses, the following survey analyzes nine historic sites within Northside. The guidelines for the survey are taken from the North Carolina State Historic Preservation Office. However, significance is argued from a community and cultural standpoint, considering the property's significance as contributions to African American ethnic identity and Northside as a significant African American place.

¹ "Northside Neighborhood," Town of Chapel Hill, accessed January 6, 2017, <http://www.townofchapelhill.org/town-hall/departments-services/housing-and-community/northside-neighborhood#Map of Northside>.

William M. Hargraves Center

The William M. Hargraves Center, better known simply as the Hargraves Center, has remained a community hub since its construction began in 1938. After petitioning the town for better accommodations, African Americans in Chapel Hill gained their own New Deal community center. Constructed with funding from the Works Progress Administration, the Hargraves Center is one of the WPA-supported African American community centers in North Carolina. The Colonial Revival style building, located at 216 North Roberson Street, began as the Negro Community Center.² The location of the center, in the heart of Northside, placed the community center in the middle of the largest African American neighborhood at the time.

Segregation remained the standard in Chapel Hill throughout the first half of the twentieth century. Separation of the races extended into residential, educational, and recreational aspects of everyday life. African American children attended separate schools and did not have the same type of leisure spaces, such as playgrounds or community centers, as white Chapel Hill youth. Following an incident on West Franklin Street, leaders of Chapel Hill's African American population, collectively known as the Negro Civic Club, fiercely advocated for a separate recreational space within their neighborhood. The incident, which occurred on May 6, 1935, involved the murder of a seventeen-year-old African American woman, Helen Massey, by a twenty three- year-old

² In 1943, Mittie Frank Mason, a School of Social Work student at UNC, wrote his Masters thesis on the development of the Negro Community Center. For more, see Mittie Frank Mason, "The Negro Community Center of Chapel Hill, North Carolina: A Study of the Process of Community Organization" (MA thesis, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 1943).

African American man, George Alston. Less than two months later, the Civic Club petitioned the town for more protection. They began to turn their attention to the school, located in Northside, and the youth in the African American neighborhoods. A second violent incident, on August 27, 1937, occurred between both black and white residents of Chapel Hill. A white man who worked at a local gas station hit a black man on the head, which led to an altercation. These two incidents led the Civic Club to petition for a community center so that African American youth would have more leisure activities readily available to them. Less than a year later construction began on the Negro Community Center.³

Construction of the Center slowed as the U.S. entered in World War II. Yet in 1942, in order to accommodate the Navy Preflight Training School established at UNC, the black military band used the incomplete Center as their barracks.⁴ Three years later, in 1945, construction of the building finally came to a close and the Community Center opened to the public in Northside.

The Negro Community Center, which later became known as the William M. Hargraves Center, became an important strategy center during the Civil Rights Movement. As students began their involvement in protests and sit-ins, they found a meeting spot in the Center. With its central location in the remaining historic African

³ Mason devoted an entire chapter on events that led to the creation of the Negro Community Center. See “Specific Incidents Leading up to Group Action for Construction of a Negro Community Center” in “The Negro Community Center of Chapel Hill, North Carolina,” 32-47.

⁴ M. Ruth Little, *The Town and Gown Architecture of Chapel Hill, North Carolina, 1795-1975* (Chapel Hill: Preservation Society of Chapel Hill, 2006), 70.

American community, students could meet and plan their protests. Reverend Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. also spoke at the Hargraves Center when he made his visit to Chapel Hill.⁵

Today the Town of Chapel Hill's Parks and Recreation Department owns the Hargraves Center. The community center has grown from its original stone Colonial Revival building to include an outdoor swimming pool, a basketball court, and a baseball field. The legacy of the Community Center is highlighted with interpretive art installations, which illustrate the importance of Chapel Hill's black history. The exterior of the building remains intact, with additions on the rear of the building. With its significance to Northside's culture and history, as well as the building's material integrity, the Hargraves Center is a vital historic resource within the neighborhood.



Figure 12. William M. Hargraves Center, front façade

⁵ Preservation Chapel Hill, "Walk this Way! Northside Tour."

First Baptist Church

Angel David Nieves and Leslie M. Alexander's edited anthology on black place-making illustrated the ways in which African American claimed and created spaces during segregation and Jim Crow. The sixth chapter, "Churches and Sacred Spaces" analyze the various ways in which churches became important spaces within black communities, not just as places of worship but also as places for protest. Two churches in Northside, First Baptist Church and St. Joseph's Christian Methodist Episcopal Church further illustrate their points.⁶

First Baptist Church, located at 106 North Roberson Street, has a long-standing history with black Chapel Hillians. According to the church's website, the congregation dates back to 1865. That year, the African American members of the Baptist Church of Chapel Hill separated from the church and withdrew their membership in order to start their own congregation. The church has gone through several names including Colored Baptist Church of Chapel Hill. They originally met in the Quaker Building on Franklin Street. Their first church building, also located on Franklin Street, stood until the congregation grew too large. Reverend R.L. Hackney, who also had ties to the African American school in Northside, helped lead the way for construction of a larger church, which also stood on the Franklin Street site.

⁶ See "Churches and Sacred Spaces" in *'We Shall Independent Be': African American Place Making and the Struggle to Claim Space in the United States*, eds. Angel David Nieves and Leslie M. Alexander (Boulder: University Press of Colorado, 2008), 415-510.

In 1956, nearly one hundred years after the congregation started, a large church, complete with a parsonage, was constructed.⁷ As Carroll Van West noted in his essay “Spaces of Faith, Community and Resistance,” African American congregations often built new, more ornate churches in the years following the *Brown v. Board* decision. With a renewed sense of racial pride and the legal end of public segregation, the new church buildings reflected the congregation’s pride. First Baptist reflects the pattern of constructing new religious buildings.⁸

The 1956 brick church, a grand Colonial Revival style brick building, stands across half a block of North Roberson Street. The church campus includes a side addition, which is constructed in the same style as the name fellowship hall, and looks like a smaller version of the name building. Four columns adorn the front façade of both the name building and the smaller addition. The church has a deep rooted history within Chapel Hill. With a congregation that dates back to the pre-emancipation era, First Baptist remains an important cultural and religious space within Northside’s boundaries and is contributes significantly to the neighborhood’s history.

⁷ “Church History,” First Baptist Church Chapel Hill, accessed December 23, 2017, <http://www.ourfbc.org/home/about/church-history/>.

⁸ Carroll Van West, “Sacred Spaces of Faith, Community, and Resistance: Rural African American Churches in Jim Crow Tennessee,” in *We Shall Independent Be: African American Place Making and the Struggle to Claim Space in the United States*, ed. Angel David Nieves and Leslie M. Alexander (Boulder: University of Colorado Press, 2008), 454.



Figure 13. Cornerstone laid on north elevation of First Baptist Church



Figure 14. Front façade of First Baptist Church

St. Joseph Christian Methodist Episcopal Church

St. Joseph Christian Methodist Episcopal Church, a tall brick building at 510 West Rosemary Street, stands on along the edge of Northside's boundaries. According to the church's website, the congregation formed in 1898 to serve the needs of members from the former Hamlet CME church in Pittsboro, a town neighboring Chapel Hill and Carrboro. Under the direction of Henry Cotton, local residents contacted the North Carolina Conference of the Colored Methodist Episcopal Church in order to organize a new church within Chapel Hill town limits. With the help of Reverend J.W. Roberts, the church organized and became known as Cotton Chapel CME church. Their first pastor was Reverend Roundtree. A small church was built, but later fell victim to a fire. A second building was constructed in its place with the help of Henry Baldwin, Kennon Cheek, who later became known as one of the university janitors who helped UNC's janitorial staff gain better working conditions and wages, and Jasper Robinson.⁹ The church that stands today was constructed in 1957, similarly reflecting the new sense of racial pride associated with the *Brown* decision as First Baptist.

Throughout the Civil Rights Movement, the church became a key strategy center for organizing. Located next Franklin Street and the business district of Chapel Hill, St. Joseph provided a safe space as protesters planned and executed their protests and sit-ins.¹⁰ The Jackson Center and St. Joseph's congregation understood the importance of the

⁹ "Church History," St. Joseph CME Church, accessed December 23, 2017, <http://www.saintjosephcme.com/History.asp>.

¹⁰ "Our Story," The Jackson Center, accessed January 10, 2017, <https://jacksoncenter.info/about-us-2/our-story/>.

space as a center for community organizing and helped the Town Council create a gateway to the neighborhood with interpretive text and historic photographs. Known as the Freedom Fighters Gateway, the rock wall and panels are examples of public interpretation of the cultural and historic significance of both St. Joseph and Northside.

St. Joseph's does not just serve the community's spiritual needs, but also serves the community in preserving Northside's history and feeding less fortunate locals. In 2005, Dr. Della Pollock partnered with members of St. Joseph's, whose mission to be a church without walls inspired her to create a classroom without walls. The partnership spurred an on-going class project in which students conducted oral histories with elders in the Northside community.¹¹ With their office next door to the church and in the former parsonage, the Jackson Center and St. Joseph's partnership continues to work towards the preservation and celebration of Northside's history and heritage. Interpretive texts and photographs are embedded into the low lying fieldstone walls along the church's property line. The church also houses Heavenly Groceries in conjunction with the Jackson Center. The food pantry, in the style of a grocery store, helps to feed the town's less fortunate in times of need.

The church's history spans from Reconstruction to the Civil Rights Movement and into today's development and gentrification pressures. It serves as an anchor within Northside as seen in the organizing efforts of the 1960s and the preservation efforts of today. The 1957 brick church building stands tall on the corner of West Rosemary and North Roberson Streets in the middle of Northside. It remains intact with no visible

¹¹ "Our Story," The Jackson Center, accessed January 10, 2017, <https://jacksoncenter.info/about-us-2/our-story/>.

additions to the front façade. With its ties to several periods of significance within both the neighborhood and the town's history, St. Joseph is clearly eligible for National Register listing under Criterion A.



Figure 15. Front façade of St. Joseph CME Church



Figure 16. Example of interpretive text and photographs in front of St. Joseph CME Church

Northside Elementary and Site of Lincoln High

Northside Elementary School, which reopened in 2013, illustrates a long legacy for the fight for education in Chapel Hill. The site upon which the elementary school stands today once held Lincoln High School, the only black high school in Chapel Hill until integration. The story of Chapel Hill’s segregated past is illustrated in its educational history.

The original school, formerly located on Merritt Mill Road, opened in 1916 following the consolidation of the county-run Free School and the privately-run Hackney High School.¹² Through the use of the Julius F. Rosenwald Fund, a fund set up by one of

¹² Edwin Caldwell, “History of Lincoln High School,” accessed December 23, 2017, <http://lincolnhighalumni.org/history.shtml>.

the founders of Sears, Roebuck and Company, African Americans were able to establish schools in rural parts of the country, especially the South. After the original building burnt down in 1922, the new school, the Orange County Training School (OCTS) opened in its place in 1924 on property located within Northside.¹³ The school would later be renamed Lincoln High School in 1948. In 1951, Lincoln High moved into a new building, again on Merritt Mill Road. The grades that remained in the old school building were renamed to Northside Elementary.¹⁴

The former Northside Elementary closed in 1965 as Chapel Hill-Carrboro City Schools underwent the full integration process. The building remained in use as an administrative office, but closed shortly thereafter.¹⁵ As for Lincoln High students, the desegregation of the town's largest African American school led students to Chapel Hill High. While desegregation of schools was seen as a victory in the Civil Rights Movement, alumni of OCTS, Lincoln High, and Northside Elementary remember the educational enclaves fondly. Many UNC classes have partnered with alumni to record their stories.¹⁶ As homage to its racially segregated past, the Town of Chapel Hill has

¹³ "Then and Now: African American Training School Becomes Symbol of the Future," *WUNC*, September 3, 2014; Preservation Chapel Hill, "Walk this Way! Civil Rights and Segregation in Chapel Hill's Northside and West End Community Walking Tour."

¹⁴ Preservation Chapel Hill, "Walk this Way! Civil Rights and Segregation in Chapel Hill's Northside and West End Community Walking Tour."

¹⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁶ In her dissertation, Dwana Leah Waugh, "From Forgotten to Remembered: The Long Process of School Desegregation in Chapel Hill, North Carolina and Prince Edward County, Virginia," (Ph.D. diss., The University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 2012),

interpretive exhibits on Lincoln High and other segregated schools in the Lincoln Center, located on the site that the original OCTS stood on.¹⁷

Today's Northside Elementary, the LEED certified school that opened in 2013, stands on the grounds of the former segregated high school and elementary school. While the new, modern building is not indicative of the past Northside school, the site holds cultural significance within the neighborhood and black Chapel Hill as a whole. The building would not be considered contributing to a historic district or a National Register district. However, given the site's importance, Northside Elementary remains a significant part of the neighborhood's history.



Figure 17. Northside Elementary School (Image courtesy of Town of Chapel Hill)

discussed Dr. Jacqueline Dowd Hall's undergraduate course at UNC in which students conducted oral histories with alumni of Chapel Hill's formerly segregated schools.

¹⁷ Robin O'Lunaigh, "History of the Lincoln Center," *Southern Neighbor*, March 29, 2016.

Mama Dip's Kitchen

Mildred “Mama Dip” Council began cooking at a young age. When she first began working, she worked as a family cook. She then moved on to work at Carolina Coffee Shop, a Franklin Street staple, and at St. Andrews Hall on UNC’s campus. By 1956, she started working with her mother-in-law in a small take-out kitchen in Chapel Hill near the campus. Twenty years later, Council opened up her own restaurant, but continued to make the famed country-style food that her and her mother-in-law became best known for.¹⁸ Family and entrepreneurial success continues as part of Mama Dip’s legacy. Her family still owns and operates the restaurant today.

The vernacular building, located at 408 West Rosemary Street meshes well with the single-story, vernacular residential houses common within Northside. Mama Dip’s Kitchen tells a significant story within Northside. At a time when the neighborhood had already undergone several changes following the desegregation of Chapel Hill, Council chose to open a restaurant within the black community. As a chef and business owner, Council has been active for over fifty years and her legacy continues through her family. Despite many changes in Northside and the surrounding developments, the restaurant remains both a cultural and community staple. Covered in vinyl and out of the “fifty year rule” set by National Register nomination standards, Mama Dip’s Kitchen cannot be considered eligible at the time of this project, but nevertheless deserves preservation protection as part of the neighborhood as a whole.

¹⁸ “Mama Dip’s History,” Mama Dips, accessed December 23, 2017, <http://mamadips.com/about/>.



Figure 18. Mama Dip's Kitchen

Knotts Funeral Home

William Harvey Knotts began his mortuary work at a young age. His family tells the story of how he received the nickname “the undertaker” as a child because he buried the animals that died in the neighborhood. Following graduation from high school, Knotts went to Atlanta College of Mortuary Science, an all-black school in Georgia. When called to serve in the Army during World War II, he served in the morgue. After his service ended in 1948, he started his career in an all-white funeral home in Sanford. Several years passed and Knotts and his wife moved away from North Carolina to save

up money. However, upon returning to Sanford, he purchased the former whites-only funeral home and created his own business.¹⁹

Knotts had the ability to expand his business and started a chain of funeral homes across the state. One such location opened in Chapel Hill. Located at 113 North Graham Street, Knotts Funeral Home has been opened since 1970. The small, vernacular building has stained glass windows throughout and has not undergone any major alterations. However, Greenbridge Condominiums, the luxury development that looms over the rest of the block and much of Northside, encroached upon the funeral home during its construction. This black-owned and operated business represents entrepreneurship and stands as a community marker within the former black business district, meeting Criterion A themes of African American ethnic identity and commerce. However, at the time of this project Knotts Funeral Home does not meet the fifty-year requirement set by National Register Standards. Yet with relatively few changes and its proximity to new development, Knotts Funeral Home is considered eligible in this survey and needs preservation protection.

¹⁹ “Our History,” Knotts Funeral Home, accessed December 23, 2017, <http://www.knottsfuneralhome.com/about-us>.



Figure 19. Knotts Funeral Home

Midway Barber Shop

One of the oldest black-owned businesses in the Chapel Hill-Carrboro area, and the oldest in the town of Carrboro, remains open and family-operated. In a commercial block on the Carrboro side of West Rosemary Street, the Edwards family operates Midway Barber Shop. Stephen Edwards started the business in 1948. He used money he earned through the G.I. Bill, following his service in the Army during World War II, to attend barber school. According to his son, Stepney Edwards, Stephen worked at another barber shop when he first started his career. As an African American man in a predominantly white town, Edwards found he could work as a professional within the barbering business. Within a few years, he and some close friends worked together to

construct the building where Midway is located.²⁰ Edwards did not stop at his own business though. In order to help foster business within the community, he built a large enough building to house three businesses, his barbershop and two others which he rented out on the street level as well as room for travelers on the second level. Edwards hoped the rooms could provide black travelers with safe spaces to stay during segregation when other hotels and accommodations would not accept black travelers.²¹

Edwards was one of the first black barbers in the area, and the business remains a black-owned entrepreneurial space. Stepney bought the barber shop from his father and continues to operate it today. The building that stands at 707 West Rosemary Street has seen many different tenants throughout the years, but Midway Barber Shop remains a staple. The brick building's exterior remains relatively intact, with various paint jobs and murals adding a unique spins on Carrboro's modern day aesthetic. Midway Baber Shop and the commercial block in remains housed in are important pieces of black entrepreneurship in the Northside neighborhood and are considered eligible in this survey.

²⁰ Shantan Krovvidi, "Late barbershop owner inducted into Hall of Fame," *The Daily Tar Heel*, October 26, 2015.

²¹ "Stephen J. Edwards," Chapel Hill-Carrboro Business Hall of Fame," accessed December 23, 2017, <https://businesshalloffame.weebly.com/stephen-j-edwards.html>.



Figure 20. Front window of Midway Barber Shop (Image courtesy of Yelp)



Figure 21. Steve Edwards's Barber License and razor, from artifact case inside Midway Barber Shop

Eva's Beauty Salon

In an unassuming house on the Carrboro side of West Rosemary Street, a businesswoman has served the community for nearly fifty years. Eva Barnett, owner and operator of Eva's Beauty Salon, worked out of her home for over forty years until going into semi-retirement. Born in Carrboro in 1927, Ms. Eva opened up her salon in her home in 1970. As a black, woman entrepreneur, Barnett has been recognized by Alpha Kappa Alpha Sorority, Inc. for her "non-traditional entrepreneurial success", an award she received in 2010, and by the Chapel Hill-Carrboro Chamber of Commerce as a "Hall of Famer" in 2015.²²

The minimal traditional house, built in 1961, located at 704 West Rosemary Street, is significant for its ties to this long-standing business. Carrboro, historically known as West End, bordered Pottersfield and Sunset, two of the African American neighborhoods, and fostered a black business district. Historian Tiffany Gill analyzed the role of beauty salons during and after the era of Jim Crow in the South. By fostering an environment for black women to own businesses, work within their communities, and meet in a safe space, beauty shops became a site for racial uplift.²³ Barnett's home and business are representative of a former black business area and remain significant as a meeting spot and place of commerce within the black community, especially for black women.

²² Eva Barnett, interview by author, Carrboro, NC, November 13, 2015, Preservation Chapel Hill Collections.

²³ See Tiffany Gill, *Beauty Shop Politics: African American Women's Activism in the Beauty Industry* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2010).



Figure 22. Eva's Beauty Salon (Image courtesy of Google Maps)

“Rock Wall”

Landscape features also play a prominent role in Northside's built environment. Low-lying fieldstone walls are found outlining much of Chapel Hill's former village boundaries, including UNC's campus. Painting a romanticized view of the historic grounds, the stone walls are included in the campus master plan and must extend into the newest parts of campus.²⁴ While the walls may be synonymous with UNC and much of old Chapel Hill, the history is a reminder of Chapel Hill's past ties to slavery. Enslaved people who worked at the university, misleadingly memorialized as “university servants” in many of UNC and Chapel Hill's older history books, built much of the historic campus, including South Building, Old East, the original President's House, and the

²⁴ University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, The University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill Campus Master Plan (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina, 2001), 94.

original stone walls.²⁵ For aesthetic value, the walls now extend down West Rosemary and West Franklin Streets, and into the Northside neighborhood.

A rock wall, known with the neighborhood as “the rock”, presents an opposing history of resistance to the fieldstone walls built by the exploitation of black labor. As more houses were built in Northside in the 1940s, Fannie Bradshaw saw an opportunity to keep neighborhood children from cutting through her yard at the corner of McDade and Cotton Streets. Her new neighbor, Atlas Cotton, needed to blast rock in order to construct his house. Bradshaw asked for the blasted away chunks of fieldstone in order to construct a rock wall, a request to which Cotton obliged. However, the rock wall did not have the effects she intended. Children began to use the rock as a gathering place. In the 1960s, at the height of the Civil Rights Movement, the same children began to use the rock wall as a meeting spot to plan protests and organize for sit-ins.²⁶

The juxtaposition of the rock in Northside against the rock walls that line Chapel Hill illuminate a conflicting history. Slave labor built the original stone walls that surrounded the white part of the old Chapel Hill village. In a segregated neighborhood, less than one mile from campus, a different rock wall was constructed and became a site of the long freedom struggle and fight for racial equality in the town. The rocks, which can still be seen today, mark an important landscape feature within Northside. With the

²⁵ John K. Chapman, “Black Freedom and the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 1793-1960,” (Ph.D. diss., The University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 2006), 37.

²⁶ In his dissertation, Chapman provided a brief history of “the rock” and analyzed the ways in which black youth used this public space to organize and lead the charge in protest movements within Chapel Hill and the university. See Chapman, “Black Freedom and the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill,” 302-303.

help of interpretive text, whether in the form of a historical marker or panels, would aid in the preservation of both the cultural significance and historic importance of the rock.



Figure 23. Portion of "Rock Wall"



Figure 24. Close-up of portion of “Rock Wall”

CONCLUSION

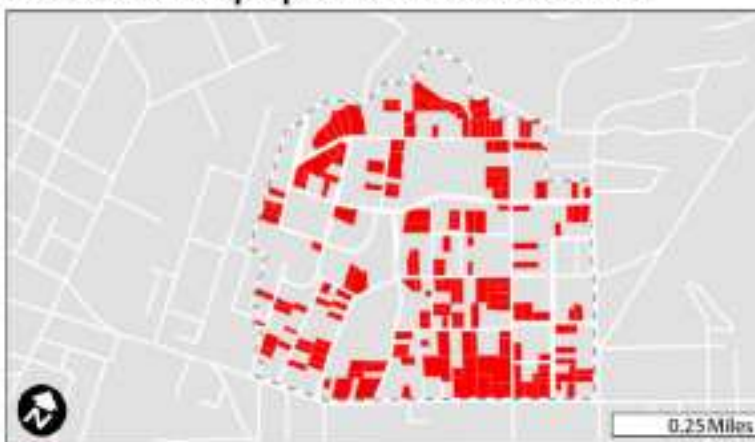
Northside neighborhood in Chapel Hill, North Carolina presents a unique case study for the study of gentrification. What began as a segregated neighborhood for university laborers has now become a hot spot for student renters and luxury developments. As the story goes for many neighborhoods and cities that experience gentrification pressures, cheaper than average land entices realtors and developers who build new developments, often times not considering the look and feel of what existing housing and business stock is already there. What makes Northside different from areas like Brooklyn, New York, North Portland in Portland, Oregon, and Oakland, California, is that Chapel Hill is not a booming metropolitan area. Scores of new people are not flooding into Chapel Hill and Carrboro to work at new tech industry jobs, pushing out those that have lived in the urban core for decades. Instead, university and town development pressures have led to an increase in students living off-campus and luxury condominiums and hotels constructed to meet the needs of those with capital. What remains the same, from small, college hot spots to large, metropolitan cities is that people are displaced, most frequently people of color and the working-class.

Chapel Hill was not redlined. The Federal Housing Authority did not determine the sites of affordable housing or housing projects. Therefore, unlike areas such as Atlanta, Baltimore, and even Durham, North Carolina only seven miles away from UNC's campus, a government paper trail does not tell the story of segregation and disinvestment. Instead, Chapel Hill and UNC's legacy of exploiting black labor, from slavery to Jim Crow, tell the story of a southern town divided by race. Historic districts

are found throughout Chapel Hill, from the grandeur of the Franklin-Rosemary District to the pre-planned faculty neighborhood of Gimghoul. These predominantly white areas are preserved and monitored by the Town's Historic District Commission and Design Guidelines. Northside, on the other hand, with its vernacular and minimal traditional homes, did not receive any preservation plans until residents petitioned the town for greater protections.

The Neighborhood Conservation District, of which Northside was the first to receive in Chapel Hill, provides homeowners and developers with a less strict set of design guidelines. However, as seen in the eleven-year struggle between the implementation of the conservation overlay and the start of the Northside Neighborhood Initiative, the Conservation District has not slowed developers from creating new duplexes and student apartments. Just as residents of Northside did in the early 2000s, they continue to petition the Town for better protection from displacement and refuse to stay silent in the face of gentrification.

As a historic neighborhood, there are many resources within Northside that are in need of preservation as Chapel Hill continues to develop. The short survey in Chapter III is only a brief start at analyzing the historical and cultural significance of Northside's churches, schools, businesses, and cultural landscapes. Yet, the Town only recognizes two heritage properties within the neighborhood and the omissions are glaring.

Investor-owned properties in Northside: 2000**Investor-owned properties in Northside: 2005****Investor-owned properties in Northside: 2011**



 Investor-Owned Property  Boundary of neighborhood conservation district

Figure 25. Map showing change in investor-owned property in Northside (In Northside Housing Market Action Plan, 2013)

In order for neighborhoods like Northside to receive the preservation efforts they deserve, especially as rates of gentrification and displacement increase, local officials should embrace a larger understanding of significance found in many other southern places. The Soulsville Neighborhood in Memphis, Tennessee, through a partnership with Middle Tennessee State University Center for Historic Preservation, created a driving tour of historic properties community members found significant within the neighborhood and established a welcome center in a former beauty salon. Northeast Nashville community members teamed with the Nashville Public Library and the Center for Historic Preservation to host community history days, create a website which celebrates the neighborhood's history, and started a driving tour of the neighborhood.

Historic preservation can no longer center on the grandeur and architecturally significant. Instead, neighborhoods that reflect race and class struggles must be paid attention to. The back-to-the-city movement that has affected cities across the country are facing similar issues, sometimes on a much larger scale, as Northside. The vernacular architecture of Northside juxtaposed against the large Colonial Revivals common to Chapel Hill tell the story of emancipation and the Jim Crow South. The churches, with congregations dating back to the pre-Civil War era show that African Americans shaped the town and university. Schools, community center, and public spaces within Northside tell the story of the Civil Rights Movement and integration. These are all stories Chapel Hill will erase if development continues to push into Northside and the people who lived through the events are pushed further away from the town.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A: ARCHITECTURAL SURVEY

The following architectural survey was conducted on December 23, 2017 using the North Carolina State Historic Preservation Office's (SHPO) guidelines for a reconnaissance level survey. Upon completing the survey, a blank Access Database used as an example on the SHPO's website was used in order to generate a report on the survey findings. The following Appendix includes the reports generated for each survey point. The survey was not submitted to the SHPO, but the guidelines and Access Database were used to follow the standards set forth by the state as closely as possible.

North Carolina State Historic Preservation Office

Historic Property Survey Summary

County: **Orange**

SSN: **1** Blockface#

Quad: PIN: X: Y: DOT Project #: OSA#:

Update Mo: Yr:

No Alt Alt Det Rehab
 Removed Outbldg Loss
 No Acc. Not Fnd FileMsg
 Newly ID'd Needs Resch.

Property Name: William M. Hargraves Center Street or 911 Address: 2016 N. Roberson Street Location Description: Town/vicinity: Chapel Hill District: None 0 District Dates: NRdate: SLdate: DOEdate: Local District:
--

<input type="checkbox"/> Recommended for SL <input type="checkbox"/> StudyList SLDate: 12/23/2017 <input type="checkbox"/> NR NRDate: NR #: None <input type="checkbox"/> DOE DOEdate: DOE Type: Local Status: None Ownership: Local
--

Principal Resource Material Integrity: **High** Condition: **Good** Location Integrity:

Architectural Data: Date(s): 1941 Major Style Group(s) New Deal Era Construction: Not specified Ext. Material: Stone Later Covering: Height: 1 story Roof: Side Gable Plan: Unknown Core Form (Domestic): Design Source and attribution: Not specified

Major Theme: Community Planning 2nd Theme: Entertainment-Recreation Group Association: African American Religious Affiliation Historic Function:

Written Summary

Outbuildings/Features

Actions

North Carolina State Historic Preservation Office

Historic Property Survey Summary

County: **Orange**

SSN: **2** Blockface#

Quad: PIN: X: Y: DOT Project #: OSA#:

Update Mo: Yr:

No Alt Alt Det Rehab
 Removed Outbldg Loss
 No Acc. Not Fnd FileMsg
 Newly ID'd Needs Resch.

Property Name: First Baptist Church Street or 911 Address: 106 N. Roberson Street Location Description: Town/vicinity: Chapel Hill District: None 0 District Dates: NRdate: SLdate: DOEdate: Local District:
--

<input type="checkbox"/> Recommended for SL <input type="checkbox"/> StudyList SLDate: 12/23/2017 <input type="checkbox"/> NR NRDate: NR #: None <input type="checkbox"/> DOE DOEdate: DOE Type: Local Status: None Ownership: Non-profit

Principal Resource Material Integrity: **High** Condition: **Good** Location Integrity:

Architectural Data: Date(s): 1952-1956 Major Style Group(s) Colonial Revival Construction: Not specified Ext. Material: Brick Later Covering: Height: 1 story Roof: Front-gable Plan: Unknown Core Form (Domestic): Design Source and attribution: Not specified

Major Theme: Religion 2nd Theme: Group Association: African American Religious Affiliation Baptist Historic Function:
--

Written Summary

Outbuildings/Features

Actions

North Carolina State Historic Preservation Office

Historic Property Survey SummaryCounty: **Orange**SSN: **3** Blockface#

Quad:

PIN:

X:

Y:

DOT Project #:

OSA#:

Update Mo: Yr:

 No Alt Alt Det Rehab Removed Outbldg Loss No Acc. Not Fnd FileMsg Newly ID'd Needs Resch.Property Name: **St. Joseph CME Church**Street or 911 Address: **510 W. Rosemary Street**

Location Description:

Town/vicinity: **Chapel Hill**District: **None 0**

District Dates: NRdate: SLdate: DOEdate:

Local District:

 Recommended for SL StudyList SLDate: **12/23/2017** NR NRDate: NR #: **None** DOE DOEdate:DOE Type: Local Status: **None** Ownership: **Non-profit****Principal Resource** Material Integrity: **High** Condition: **Good** Location Integrity:Architectural Data: Date(s): **1955**Major Style Group(s) **Vernacular**Construction: **Not specified**Ext. Material: **Brick**

Later Covering:

Height: **2 story** Roof: **Other** Plan: **Other, Church** Core Form (Domestic):Design Source and attribution: **Not specified**Major Theme: **Religion**2nd Theme: **Social History**Group Association: **African American**Religious Affiliation **CME**

Historic Function:

*Written Summary**Outbuildings/Features**Actions*

Saturday, March 17, 2018

North Carolina State Historic Preservation Office

Historic Property Survey SummaryCounty: **Orange**SSN: **4**

Blockface#

Quad:

PIN:

X:

Y:

DOT Project #:

OSA#:

Update Mo: Yr:

 No Alt Alt Det Rehab **Removed** Outbldg Loss No Acc. Not Fnd FileMsg Newly ID'd Needs Resch.Property Name: **Northside Elementary**Street or 911 Address: **350 Caldwell Street**

Location Description:

Town/vicinity: **Chapel Hill**District: **None 0**

District Dates: NRdate:

SLdate:

DOEdate:

Local District:

 Recommended for SL StudyListSLDate: **12/23/2017** NR NRDate:NR #: **None** DOE DOEdate:

DOE Type:

Local Status: **None**Ownership: **State****Principal Resource** Material Integrity: **N/A-GONE** Condition: **Good** Location Integrity:**Architectural Data:** Date(s): **2012**Major Style Group(s) **Moderne**Construction: **Not specified**Ext. Material: **Brick**

Later Covering:

Height: **1 story**Roof: **Other**Plan: **Other, School**

Core Form (Domestic):

Design Source and attribution: **Not specified**Major Theme: **Education**

2nd Theme:

Group Association: **African American**

Religious Affiliation

Historic Function:

Written Summary**Outbuildings/Features****Actions**

Saturday, March 17, 2018

North Carolina State Historic Preservation Office

Historic Property Survey Summary

County: **Orange**

SSN: **5** Blockface#

Quad:	
PIN:	
X:	Y:
DOT Project #:	
OSA#:	

Update Mo: Yr:

No Alt Alt Det Rehab

Removed Outbldg Loss

No Acc. Not Fnd FileMsg

Newly ID'd Needs Resch.

Property Name: **Mama Dip's Kitchen**
 Street or 911 Address: **408 W. Rosemary Street**
 Location Description:
 Town/vicinity: **Chapel Hill**
 District: **None 0**
 District Dates: NRdate: SLdate: DOEdate:
 Local District:

Recommended for SL StudyList SLDate: **12/23/2017** NR NRDate: NR #: **None**
 DOE DOEDate:
 DOE Type: Local Status: **None** Ownership: **Private**

Principal Resource Material Integrity: **High** Condition: **Good** Location Integrity:

Architectural Data: Date(s): **1978**
 Major Style Group(s) **Vernacular**
 Construction: **Not specified**
 Ext. Material: **Vinyl** Later Covering:
 Height: **1 story** Roof: **Front-gable** Plan: **Restaurant** Core Form (Domestic):
 Design Source and attribution: **Not specified**

Major Theme: **Commerce** 2nd Theme:
 Group Association: **African American** Religious Affiliation:
 Historic Function:

Written Summary

Outbuildings/Features

Actions

North Carolina State Historic Preservation Office
Historic Property Survey Summary

County: **Orange**
SSN: **6** Blockface#

Quad:	
PIN:	
X:	Y:
DOT Project #:	
OSA#:	

Update Mo: Yr:

No Alt Alt Det Rehab
 Removed Outbldg Loss
 No Acc. Not Fnd FileMsg
 Newly ID'd Needs Resch.

Property Name: **Knotts Funeral Home**
 Street or 911 Address: **113 N. Graham Street**
 Location Description:
 Town/vicinity: **Chapel Hill**
 District: **None 0**
 District Dates: NRdate: SLdate: DOEdate:
 Local District:

Recommended for SL StudyList SLDate: **12/23/2017** NR NRDate: NR #: **None**
 DOE DOEDate:
 DOE Type: Local Status: **None** Ownership: **Private**

Principal Resource Material Integrity: **Medium** Condition: **Fair** Location Integrity:

Architectural Data: Date(s): **1970**
 Major Style Group(s) **Vernacular**
 Construction: **Not specified**
 Ext. Material: **Weatherboard:Plain** Later Covering:
 Height: **1 story** Roof: **Front gable** Plan: **Commerical** Core Form (Domestic):
 Design Source and attribution: **Not specified**

Major Theme: **Commerce** 2nd Theme:
 Group Association: **African American** Religious Affiliation:
 Historic Function:

Written Summary

Outbuildings/Features

Actions

North Carolina State Historic Preservation Office

Historic Property Survey Summary

County: **Orange**

SSN: 7 Blockface#

Quad:	
PIN:	
X:	Y:
DOT Project #:	
OSA#:	

Update Mo: Yr:

No Alt Alt Det Rehab
 Removed Outbldg Loss
 No Acc. Not Fnd FileMsg
 Newly ID'd Needs Resch.

Property Name: Midway Barber Shop Street or 911 Address: 707 W. Rosemary Street Location Description: Town/vicinity: Carrboro District: None 0 District Dates: NRdate: SLdate: DOEdate: Local District:

<input type="checkbox"/> Recommended for SL <input type="checkbox"/> StudyList SLDate: 12/23/2017 <input type="checkbox"/> NR NRDate: NR #: None <input type="checkbox"/> DOE DOEdate: DOE Type: Local Status: None Ownership: Private
--

Principal Resource Material Integrity: **High** Condition: **Good** Location Integrity:

Architectural Data: Date(s): 1952 Major Style Group(s) Commercial Vernacular Construction: Not specified Ext. Material: Brick Later Covering: Height: 2 story Roof: Flat Plan: Commercial Core Form (Domestic): Design Source and attribution: Not specified

Major Theme: Commerce 2nd Theme: Group Association: African American Religious Affiliation: Historic Function:
--

Written Summary

Outbuildings/Features

Actions

North Carolina State Historic Preservation Office

Historic Property Survey Summary

County: **Orange**

SSN: **8** Blockface#

Quad:	
PIN:	
X:	Y:
DOT Project #:	
OSA#:	

Update Mo: Yr:

No Alt Alt Det Rehab

Removed Outbldg Loss

No Acc. Not Fnd FileMsg

Newly ID'd Needs Resch.

Property Name: Eva's Beauty Salon
Street or 911 Address: 704 W. Rosemary Street
Location Description: Town/vicinity: Carrboro
District: None 0
District Dates: NRdate: SLdate: DOEdate:
Local District:

<input type="checkbox"/> Recommended for SL	<input type="checkbox"/> StudyList	SLDate: 12/23/2017	<input type="checkbox"/> NR	NRDate:	NR #: None
<input type="checkbox"/> DOE	DOEdate:	DOE Type:	Local Status: None	Ownership: Private	

Principal Resource Material Integrity: **High** Condition: **Good** Location Integrity:

Architectural Data: Date(s): 1961, 1976
Major Style Group(s) Minimal Traditional
Construction: Not specified
Ext. Material: Brick Later Covering:
Height: 1 story Roof: Side Gable Plan: Side passage Core Form (Domestic):
Design Source and attribution: Not specified

Major Theme: Commerce 2nd Theme:
Group Association: African American Religious Affiliation:
Historic Function:

Written Summary

Outbuildings/Features

Actions

North Carolina State Historic Preservation Office

Historic Property Survey Summary

County: **Orange**

SSN: **9**

Blockface#

Quad: PIN: X: Y: DOT Project #: OSA#:

Update Mo: Yr:

No Alt Alt Det Rehab
 Removed Outbldg Loss
 No Acc. Not Fnd FileMsg
 Newly ID'd Needs Resch.

Property Name: "Rock Wall" Street or 911 Address: N/A N/A N/A Location Description: Town/vicinity: Chapel Hill District: None 0 District Dates: NRdate: SLdate: DOEdate: Local District:
--

<input type="checkbox"/> Recommended for SL <input type="checkbox"/> StudyList SLDate: 12/23/2017 <input type="checkbox"/> NR NRDate: NR #: None <input type="checkbox"/> DOE DOEdate: DOE Type: Local Status: None Ownership: N/A
--

Principal Resource Material Integrity: **High** Condition: **Good** Location Integrity:

Architectural Data: Date(s): Not specified Major Style Group(s) N/A Construction: Not specified Ext. Material: Not specified Later Covering: Height: N/A Roof: N/A Plan: N/A Core Form (Domestic): Design Source and attribution: Not specified

Major Theme: Landscape 2nd Theme: Other Group Association: African American Religious Affiliation: Historic Function:
--

Written Summary
 Second Theme: Other, Civil Rights Movement

Outbuildings/Features

Actions