PICTURING SIMMONS ROW: NEW HERITAGE STRATEGIES FOR INTERPRETING RELICTS OF THE BOTTOM IN WAKE FOREST, NORTH CAROLINA

by

CHRISTOPHER MICHAEL ROBEY

(Under the Direction of Cari Goetcheus)

ABSTRACT

Through this research, I propose an interpretive intervention focusing on Simmons Row, a demolished row of working-class tenant housing and relict of "the Bottom," as understood by the landscape architect Ujiji Davis, in the Northeast Community of Wake Forest, North Carolina. Today, the Ailey Young House stands as the sole surviving remnant of Simmons Row, with little other visible, tangible evidence to suggest its former landscape context. To address this problem, I undertake a nine-step process of abductive reasoning in order to ascertain what, if any, new heritage interpretation approach might be merited. My hope is that the results of this research may not only equip a future project team with the tools needed to critically visualize Simmons Row but may also inform parallel strategies for interpreting relict sites elsewhere in the Northeast Community and other Black vernacular homespaces similarly neglected, overlooked, and undervalued by the authorized heritage discourse.

INDEX WORDS: authorized heritage discourse, the Bottom, Black vernacular homespaces, relict cultural landscapes, new heritage, critical visualization, digital heritage interpretation, spatial narratives, Ailey Young House, Northeast Community, Wake Forest, North Carolina

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by

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Site Introduction and Background

The Northeast Community of Wake Forest, North Carolina, also known as the East End, was founded by formerly enslaved African Americans after the Civil War and remains a predominantly African American neighborhood today. The neighborhood is distinguished by its rural, working-class history, and has also been home to several individuals and institutions significant to the evolution of African American education in North Carolina.

Though rich in cultural and historic significance, the neighborhood has undergone significant changes to its historic built environment that have, to date, disqualified it for designation as a historic district of architectural significance. Many historic buildings have been demolished, and those that remain have been modified in ways that conflict with current standards of historical integrity.

A notable exception is the Ailey Young House, a rare surviving example of Reconstruction-era African American working-class housing located on the western boundary of the neighborhood. The house has been recently rehabilitated and will soon be nominated to the National Register of Historic Places. In addition to its architectural rarity, the Ailey Young House is also significant for its association with the Young family, whose members exemplify the many facets of African American

excellence that define the Northeast Community's history. Allen Young, a distinguished educator and school principal, founded the Wake Forest Normal and Industrial School in 1905. Ailey Mae Young, Allen's daughter, was likewise a distinguished educator who later went on to serve as Wake Forest's first African American town commissioner during the 1970s.

The Young family's home was once part of a larger row of working-class tenant housing known locally as Simmons Row, named for the former Wake Forest College professor and entrepreneur William Gaston Simmons. Simmons had the Ailey Young House and its neighboring structures built and rented them to the Youngs and other working-class African American families in the Northeast Community. Today, the Ailey Young House stands as the only remaining structure associated with Simmons Row.

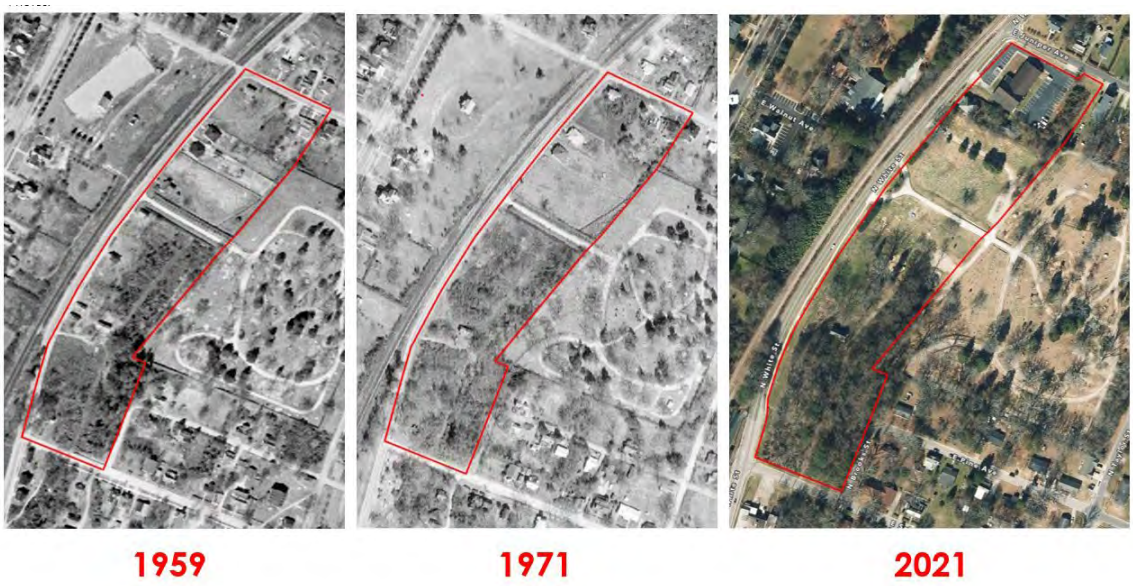


Figure 1: Prior to this research, the exact date of the demolition of Simmons Row was unknown. Historic aerial photographs suggested a date between 1959 and 1971. Aerial imagery published by USDA and Wake County GIS Services.

Although existing interpretive signage mentions Simmons Row, little else remains to physically indicate where the other houses stood and what their spatial relation to the Ailey Young House was. Further, while Simmons and the Young family have received significant attention from historians and preservationists, little is known about the other tenants who made their home along Simmons Row, and their former homesites have been incorporated into the Wake Forest Cemetery. The foundations of at least three structures are located within the Town-owned parcels that encompass the Ailey Young House site. These sites are considered archaeologically sensitive, however, and have not yet been comprehensively surveyed.

Problem Statement

Black landscapes are severely understudied within the field of cultural landscape conservation and marginalized within the greater regulatory environment of historic preservation. Jeremy C. Wells, noted researcher and advocate for human-centered preservation, points out that only 2% of properties listed in the National Register of Historic Places relate to Black heritage.[1] The murders of George Floyd, Ahmaud Arbery, and Breonna Taylor – the most recent in an ongoing spate of racially motivated and state-sanctioned violence against Black people – and the popular uprisings they provoked during the summer of 2020 have spurred greater concern for the documentation and preservation of Black history in the built environment. The accompanying spike in the

[1] Wells, Jeremy C. and Priya Chhaya. "A Guide to Becoming a Historic Preservation Professional: The Work You Can Do, What Employers Want, and Educational Considerations." NCPE White Paper, June 2019, 2. https://www.researchgate.net/publication/333658324_A_Guide_to_Becoming_an_Historic_Preservation_Professional_The_Work_You_Can_Do_What_Employers_Want_and_Educational_Considerations

popularity and relevancy of Kofi Boone's 2017 article, "Black Landscapes Matter," the publication of Walter Hood's celebrated book *Black Landscapes Matter* in 2020, and the 2021 Historic American Landscape Survey (HALS) Challenge prompt, "Historic Black Landscapes," indicate an increased professional concern for Black landscapes within the environmental design fields, and particularly in the areas of historic preservation and landscape architecture.

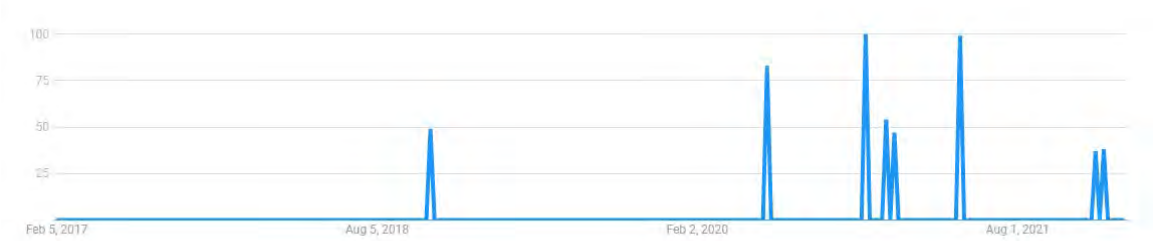


Figure 2: This graph illustrates the number of times the phase "black landscapes" was searched between the years 2017-2022. The spikes generally coincide with recent incidences of police violence against unarmed Black people. Take note of the spike in searches in the wake of Ahamud Arbery's death in February of 2020, Breonna Taylor's death in March of 2020 and George Floyd's death in May of 2020. Google Analytics. Screenshot.

Simultaneously, there has also been increased professional concern for documenting vanishing or lost landscapes, evident in the 2020 HALS Challenge prompt, "Vanishing or Lost Landscapes." Entire fields of scholarship have grown up around the visualization of lost or vanishing heritage landscapes, known variously as new heritage, virtual heritage, and cultural computing, among others.[2] The historian Angel David

[2] González-Tennant, Edward, and Diana González-Tennant. "The Practice and Theory of New Heritage for Historical Archaeology." *Historical Archaeology*, vol. 50, no. 1 (2016): 187–204. http://www.jstor.org/stable/24757054.

Nieves specifically points to digital reconstructions as an alternative, lower-cost means of visualizing and interpreting vanished Black landscapes.[3]

Due to the lasting effects of slavery and systemic racism, however, the historic and archaeological records for many significant Black landscapes may be fragmentary at best, and in some cases non-existent, greatly complicating attempts to digitally reconstruct vanished features. Further, the public agencies, community-based organizations, and cultural institutions charged with managing and interpreting these sites are often significantly under-resourced.[4] Though digital reconstructions may be less resource-intensive – in some ways – than physical reconstructions, they still require considerable technical expertise, time for research, access to stable internet and proprietary software, and other variables that can vary greatly between sites and organizations. Digital reconstructions of relict Black landscapes are thus exceedingly difficult and complicated.

While computer-based visualization is a powerful tool, it can also potentially be misleading and misrepresentative. This is evident in Hugh Denard's justification for the creation of the London Charter for the Computer-Based Visualization of Cultural Heritage – namely, to produce internationally recognized, professional standards for digital reconstruction and heritage visualization in order to minimize these technologies' capacity to mislead the public.[5] It is critical, then, that the right tool be selected for the

[3] Nieves, Angel David, "Digital Reconstruction as Preservation: Alternative Methods of Practice for Difficult and Lost Histories of the African American Past," in *Bending the Future: Fifty Ideas for the Next Fifty Years of Historic Preservation*, ed. Max Page and Marla Miller Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2016, 179-183.
[4] Nieves, "Digital Reconstruction as Preservation," 2016.
[5] Denard, Hugh. "A new introduction to the London Charter." In *Paradata and transparency in virtual heritage*, pp. 83-98. Routledge, 2016.

job, and that both the affordances and the potentialities for abuse be recognized and borne in mind when developing a visualization for Simmons Row.

In direct response to the concerns at the heart of the London Charter, this thesis seeks to undertake a systematic, rigorous evaluation of the suitability of a variety of new heritage visualization methods to the interpretation of Simmons Row in order to ascertain what, if any, type of computer-based visualization would be most appropriate to the particular historic context, organizational capacities of relevant heritage organizations, and unique interpretive constraints associated with Simmons Row. Taken together, these factors comprise a unique design situation. I argue that any future interpretive intervention concerning Simmons Row must be directly answerable and responsive to this design situation.

The specific aim of this research is to provide a project team with the tools needed to undertake a critical visualization of Simmons Row in the near future. The research question to be addressed is as follows:

How can the theory and practice of new heritage inform a methodology for interpreting relict vernacular landscape features in the Northeast Community of Wake Forest, North Carolina?

It is further hoped that such a visualization may not only augment the existing interpretive programming at the Ailey Young House Site but may also inform similar methodologies for revealing relict historic sites elsewhere within the Northeast Community and other historic Black neighborhoods similarly neglected, overlooked, and undervalued by the authorized heritage discourse.

Research Agenda

Broadly, I have organized the methodology I will employ to answer my research question under a pragmatic social science research agenda. In regard to the pragmatic ends of this research, I mean this both in the colloquial sense of the term, in that my purpose in answering this question is to address a real problem with tangible consequences in the world, and in reference to the philosophy of American pragmatism.

I draw on the classical tradition of American pragmatism, specifically, for its lasting influence across a range of socially progressive, emancipatory philosophical projects, namely the philosophy of race, as evidenced by the work of Cornel West, as well as pragmatist feminism, as outlined by Charlene Haddock Seigfried.[6] Within the classical pragmatist tradition, I draw most heavily on Charles Sanders Peirce's conception of abductive reasoning. Peirce defined abduction as a type of logical inference involving the adoption of "a hypothesis as being suggested by the facts."[7] Abduction is often thought of as "the argument to the best explanation," based on given observations and prior experience.[8] It is also frequently cited as an essential step in the process of design synthesis.[9] For the purposes of this thesis, the proposed interpretive intervention is understood as the "best explanation" for addressing the Simmons Row design situation

[6] Legg, Catherine and Christopher Hookway, "Pragmatism", *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy* (Summer 2021 Edition), Edward N. Zalta (ed.), URL = https://plato.stanford.edu/archives/sum2021/entries/pragmatism/.
[7] Peirce, Charles S. "On the Logic of Drawing History from Ancient Documents," in *The Essential Peirce: Selected Philosophical Writings, 1893–1913*, by Charles S. Peirce, ed. Peirce Edition Project. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1998, 95
[8] Kolko, "Abductive Thinking and Sensemaking," 2010.
[9] Lu, Stephen C-Y., and Ang Liu. "Abductive reasoning for design synthesis." *CIRP annals*, vol. 61, no. 1 (2012): 143-146; Kolko, "Abductive Thinking and Sensemaking," 2010.

arrived at through a process of logical inference.[10] In this sense, my research methodology may be understood as an extended exercise in abductive reasoning.

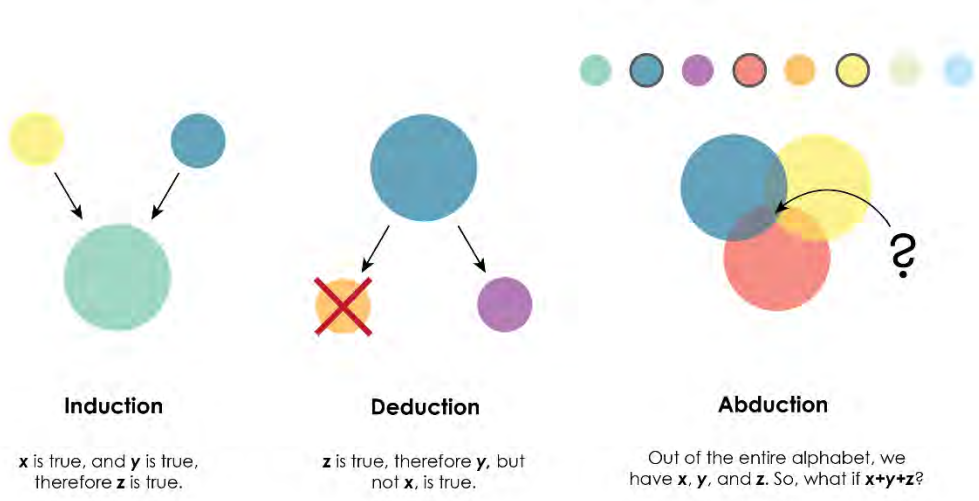


Figure 3: Abductive reasoning can be understood as the argument to the best explanation best on limited observations. It is a critical step in design synthesis. Diagram by Chris Robey (2022).

To accomplish the pragmatic aims of this research in the colloquial sense, I draw on Schon's notion of repertoire-building. In his 1983 book *The Reflective Practitioner: How Professionals Think In Action*, Schon describes the function of repertoire-building as the aggregation, description, and analysis of practice situations that do not easily fit accepted theories, models, and techniques in order to inform future practice. When considered as a whole, such case knowledge offers ready precedents by which to think through the novelties, complexities, and uncertainties of future situations. As Schon explains, such precedents thus serve as exemplars in a double sense: (1) they describe

[10] Kolko, "Abductive Thinking and Sensemaking," 2010.

prior practice situations, and (2) they exemplify ways of thinking about a problem, namely by linking knowledge of rules to particular problems and decision-making.[11]

Case studies are particularly well-suited to the task of repertoire-building. As defined by Yin, a case study is "an empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context, especially when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident."[12] Particular strengths of the case study method include: (1) its focus on the embeddedness of the case in its context, (2) its capacity to explain causal links, (3) the richness that comes of utilizing multiple data sources, (4) its ability to generalize to theory, and (5) it can be compelling and convincing when done well.[13] Hence, case studies are a widely employed research method not only in the social sciences but also in professions such as business, medicine, law, engineering and architecture.[14] The case method's use in architecture, in particular, is pertinent to the aims of this thesis. Namely, the case method in architecture goes beyond the listing of precedents to analyze how an architect thought about the problem posed, how she constructed the problem situation, what solutions she arrived at, and the domains from which she drew her "language of designing," meaning the conceptual framework, exemplars, and methods she employed to arrive at her final design.[15]

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[11] Schön, Donald A. *The Reflective Practitioner: How Professionals Think in Action.* New York: Basic Books, 1983), 315-317.
[12] Yin, Robert K. *Case Study Research: Design and Methods.* Fourth edition. Los Angeles, California: Sage Publications, 2009, 18.
[13] Groat, Linda N., and David Wang. "Case Studies and Combined Strategies" in *Architectural Research Methods.* 2nd ed. Hoboken: Wiley, 2013, 418-419.
[14] Francis, Mark. "A Case Study Method for Landscape Architecture: 20th Anniversary Edition." Resources, Landscape Architecture Foundation, 2019. https://doi.org/10.3153/csm002.
[15] Schön, *The Reflective Practitioner* (1983), 316.

The case method has gained traction with other built environment professions as well. Recognizing the utility and flexibility of the case study method, Mark Francis proposed a case method specific to the field of landscape architecture. In his white paper on the topic, Francis defines the case method for landscape architecture as "a well-documented and systematic examination of the process, decision-making, and outcomes of a project that is undertaken for the purpose of informing future practice, policy, theory, and/or education."[16] It is evident, then, that skillful use of the case method thus involves drawing out key facts, posing a sequence of targeted questions that lead the researcher – and the reader – through a process of inquiry that serves both to structure the "solution space" of the situation at hand and to demonstrate specific ways of thinking through particular problems.[17] This process produces both situation-specific tacit knowledge and more explicit, generalizable "lessons learned" which, once formalized, future designers may draw upon to inform their own approaches to novel practice situations.

Research Scope

Wells specifies four criteria for pragmatic social science research methodologies. Though Wells is specifically addressing the undertaking of a historic preservation thesis, his recommendations are not far removed from the requirements of a thesis concerned with cultural landscape interpretation. His four requirements are as follows:

1. It must be usable by a graduate student who may not have a significant social science background.
2. Data can be collected and analyzed in a single semester.

[16] Francis, "A Case Study Method for Landscape Architecture," 2019.
[17] Schön, *The Reflective Practitioner* (1983), 316.

3. The methodology is able to answer a specific research question.

4. Reliability and validity are important, but perfection is not appropriate in this context.[18]

Wells specifically references the qualitative case study method as an example of a pragmatic social science research methodology. In instances when researchers are new to a topic, the case study method offers one avenue for developing expertise through indirect observation. As Khan, Samia, and Van Wynsberghe propose, the mobilization of case knowledge occurs when researchers accumulate case knowledge, compare and contrast cases, and in doing so, produce new knowledge while also developing expertise.[19] Thus, the approach proposed for this research arguably fulfills the requirements of a master's thesis while performing some of the preliminary research necessary to foreground a future project team's effort at undertaking a critical visualization of Simmons Row by mobilizing actionable knowledge relating to similarly situated projects.

Research Methodology

My research methodology adopts a mixed-methods approach. For the purposes of this thesis, a mixed-methods approach is understood as "the combination of quantitative

[18] Wells, Jeremy C. "New Possibilities for a Preservation Thesis" in *Preservation Education: Sharing Best Practices and Finding Common Ground*. Eds Barry Stiefel and Jeremy C. Wells. Lebanon, New Hampshire: University Press of New England, 2014, pp. 245-263.

[19] Khan, Samia, and Robert Van Wynsberghe. "Cultivating the Under-Mined: Cross-Case Analysis as Knowledge Mobilization," *Forum: Qualitative Social Research*, vol. 9, no. 1, p. 34. Institut für Qualitative Forschung, 2008.

and qualitative data, as well as the fluid use of techniques (i.e., method), methodologies, and types of research."[20]

My research methodology can be broadly conceived of as an "hourglass" comprised of three main parts: an abductive inquiry, feeding into a two-step process of design synthesis, resulting in a proposed intervention.

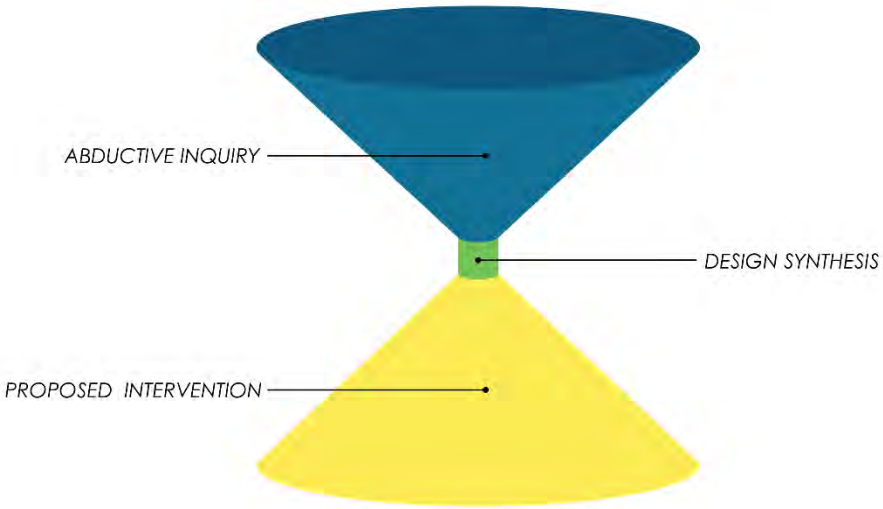


Figure 4: "Hourglass" methodological framework. Diagram by Chris Robey (2022).

These three parts, in turn, consist of nine discrete steps, outlined as follows:

1. Conduct background research.
2. Define Simmons Row as a cultural landscape.
3. Frame the Simmons Row design situation.
4. Establish case selection criteria based on the Simmons Row design situation.
5. Select and justify cases based on the specified case selection criteria

[20] Creswell, John W., and Vicki L. Plano Clark. *Designing and Conducting Mixed Methods Research*. 2nd ed. Los Angeles: SAGE Publications, 2011, 2-6.

6. Conduct a multiple case study of selected cases to derive a suite of case-specific "smart" practices.
7. Conduct a cross-case analysis in order to derive a set of cross-case assertions articulating the broad goals, scope, and constraints of the proposed intervention.
8. Synthesize the suite of "smart" practices derived from the multiple-case study into a proposed interpretive intervention that directly responds to the Simmons Row design situation.
9. Evaluate the proposed interpretive intervention based on its appropriateness and applicability to the Simmons Row design situation.

A brief description of each step is offered below.

Step 1: Conduct Background Research

In lieu of a comprehensive literature review, more limited but targeted background research into the key themes of cultural heritage, authorized heritage discourse, Black vernacular homespaces, new heritage theory and practice, landscape visualization, and landscape interpretation, as well as their various interrelationships, will be conducted in order to establish a theoretical grounding for the proposed interpretive intervention. This intervention will be arrived at through the proceeding nine research steps.

Step 2: Defining Simmons Row as a Cultural Landscape

Simmons Row is a culturally and historically significant site, of which only a portion is visible today. Visitors may arguably draw a fuller picture of this site and its

significance through interpretive interventions that critically visualize – i.e., make the invisible visible – intangible and invisible elements of the landscape in order to better situate and contextualize the features that remain.[21]

As Simmons Row has never been fully defined as a cultural landscape, it is necessary to describe it as such in terms acceptable to the current practice of cultural landscape conservation. This will mean detailing its physical history, landscape characteristics, character-defining features, and significance and accompanying period of significance, so far as they are known. This will also entail describing existing conditions, management, and interpretive interventions as well.

To describe Simmons Row as a cultural landscape, I use the twelve landscape characteristics outlined in the National Park Service technical bulletin "Landscape Lines #3: Landscape Characteristics."[22] My purpose in describing Simmons Row in terms of these twelve characteristics is to arrive at an empirically-based assessment of Simmons Row as a relict of what the landscape architect Ujiji Davis has termed "the Bottom" – a particular type of vernacular Black homespace that developed throughout the United States during the Reconstruction and Jim Crow eras.[23] From this initial description, I then derive the Simmons Row design situation.

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[21] Kwan, Mei-Po. "Critical visualization in landscape and urban planning: Making the invisible visible," *Landscape and Urban Planning*, vo. 142 (2015): 243-244. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.landurbplan.2015.07.011

[22] National Park Service. *Landscape Lines 3: Landscape Characteristics*. Cultural Landscape Guidance Documents, NPS Park Cultural Landscapes Program, Washington, D.C., 2004. https://irma.nps.gov/DataStore/DownloadFile/514956

[23] Davis, Ujiji. "The Bottom: The Emergence and Erasure of Black American Urban Landscapes" in the *Avery Review* 34 (October 2018). Web. Accessed April 17, 2022. https://www.averyreview.com/issues/34/the-bottom.

Step 3: Framing the Simmons Row Design Situation

Fil Salustri defines a design situation as "a model of the context to which a design intervention will be applied to bring about beneficial change."[24] For the purposes of this thesis, the design situation is understood as the designer's particular understanding of the problems, context, and constraints that may affect their proposed intervention, as well as the expected outcomes of this intervention. As such, my understanding of the Simmons Row design situation is directly derived from the site history, landscape characteristics, and interpretive interventions I outline in Step 1. Specific problems, contextual factors, constraints, and expected outcomes will thus be tied to this background research.

Framing design situations constitutes a form of problem-setting, which Schon broadly defines as "the process by which [practitioners] define the decisions to be made, the ends to be achieved, the means which may be chosen."[25] Schon further specifies that problem-setting is a way for practitioners to "frame the things to which we will attend and frame the context in which we will attend to them."[26] For the purposes of this thesis, problem-setting is understood as the essential task of Step 3. From the Simmons Row design situation, I will then derive two critical sets of criteria. The first set is evaluative and will be used to assess the relevancy, appropriateness, and usefulness of the proposed interpretive intervention. The second set of criteria will be used to select a sample of relevant cases on which the proposed intervention will be based.

[24] Design Wiki, "Design Situation," last modified August 1, 2020 by Fil Salustri, https://deseng.ryerson.ca/dokuwiki/design:situation
[25] Schon, *The Reflective Practitioner* (1983), 40.
[26] Ibid.

Step 4: Establishing Case Selection Criteria

Having outlined the characteristics of the design situation, I will next derive several criteria by which to select relevant cases. These selection criteria will be directly responsive to the Simmons Row design situation, ensuring each case's relevancy. For the purposes of this thesis, each case will be considered as an example of a new heritage approach to the visualization and interpretation of relict vernacular landscape features in historic Black settlements. Case selections will be based on the degree to which the proposed interpretive intervention exhibits the characteristics of new heritage theory and practice, as well as its applicability to the Simmons Row design situation. As such, all cases selected will represent similar situations, while also exemplifying a variety of new heritage approaches to addressing these situations.

Step 5: Selecting Cases for the Multiple-Case Study

Taken together, the selected cases are intended to serve as a representative sample of new heritage approaches to the visualization and interpretation of relict vernacular landscape features in historic Black settlements. I will introduce each case and justify its inclusion within this sample. To justify the inclusion of each case, I will articulate why the case is relevant, why it provides diversity across contexts, and why it provides a good opportunity to learn about new heritage theory and practice. Having justified my sample, I will then move on to the multiple case study.

Step 6a: Conducting a Multiple-Case Study

After selecting a representative sample of cases, I will then undertake a multiple case study per the methodologies outlined by Stake, Yin, and Francis. The objective of a multiple case study, as outlined by Stake, is to examine activity in its situation.[27] The researcher undertaking a multiple case study tries to tease out how the situation at each of several different situations influences the program, activity, or the phenomena in question.

Each case will be examined according to four main themes: (1) situation, (2) decision-making, (3) process, and (4) outcomes. These four themes of the multiple case study are proposed to address sub-principles 2.2 and 4.6 of the London Charter.

Subprinciple 2.2 establishes that a "systematic, documented evaluation of the suitability of each method to each aim should be carried out, in order to ascertain what, if any, type of computer-based visualization is likely to prove most appropriate."[28] The four themes of situation, decision-making, methods, and outcomes were chosen with the aim of articulating the ways in which each project team's goals and methodology responded to their design situation and the degree to which the outcomes of each project met the project team's stated goals. It is proposed that by repeating this procedure across a representative sample of cases reflecting a variety of new heritage methods and chosen for their relevancy to the Simmons Row design situation and aggregating the results, we may arrive at an interpretive intervention appropriately suited to the Simmons Row design situation.

[27] Stake, Robert E. *Multiple Case Study Analysis*. New York: Guilford Press, 2006, vi-vi.
[28] "Principle 2- Aims and Methods," London Charter for the Computer-Based Visualization of Cultural Heritage. Accessed April 17, 2022. https://www.londoncharter.org/principles/aims-and-methods.html

This goal also relates directly to subprinciple 4.6, which maintains that "documentation of the evaluative, analytical, deductive, interpretative and creative decisions made in the course of computer-based visualization should be disseminated in such a way that the relationship between research sources, implicit knowledge, explicit reasoning, and visualization-based outcomes can be understood."[29] Again, the four themes of situation, decision-making, process, and outcomes aim to explicitly state the causal relationships between specific research and design decisions, design situation, and project outcomes. By making these causal relationships explicit and aggregating the results, we may arrive at a suite of "smart" practices applicable across cases which may in turn inform the proposed interpretive intervention. As such, there four themes will be interwoven through a narrative account of each case.

At the end of each case study, having examined the case and organized my findings under these themes, I will then provide a summary analysis of the overall appropriateness and applicability of the methodology employed for the project to the Simmons Row design situation and provide a cursory outline of requirements of each in terms of the organizational capacity needed to implement the project. The goal, in each case, will be to articulate (1) what went well, (2) why, specifically, the practitioners in question adopted their particular approach, and (3) how particular elements of their approach might be applied toward the Simmons Row design situation. From this analysis, I derive a suite of case-specific "smart" practices.

[29] "Principle 4 – Documentation," London Charter for the Computer-Based Visualization of Cultural Heritage. Accessed April 17, 2022. https://www.londoncharter.org/principles/aims-and-methods.html

Step 6b: Defining "Smart" Practices

"Best" practices research is a commonly employed but oft-misunderstood analytical method favored across a variety of applied fields. In the context of public policy analysis, "best" practices research is understood as the process of reviewing policy alternatives that have been effective in addressing similar issues in the past and are applicable to a current problem.[30] In this way, a "best" practice research agenda closely aligns with the repertoire-building agenda outlined by Schon.

Despite many practitioners' best efforts, the concept of "best practices" remains stubbornly vague and should therefore be used cautiously. Much of this vagueness is rooted in the term "best," which is highly subjective. While evidence may support the determination of a practice as "best" suited to a given situation, it is usually more helpful to simply determine if the practice has worked well and to articulate why. This allows for a "mix-and-match" approach for proposing interventions that might encompass elements of several "good" or "smart" practices.[31]

Unwarranted optimism about the expected impact of untested smart practices is a common critique of "best" practices research. According to Eugene Bardach, the empirical groundwork necessary to justify this optimism is rarely undertaken.[32] Indeed, Michael Quinn Patton maintains that "the only best practice in which I have complete confidence is avoiding the label 'best practice'." Patton recommends that we avoid asking the question "Which is best?" and instead ask more nuanced questions relating to conditions and contexts. He concludes that practitioners would do well to question more

[30] Bardach, Eugene. *A Practical Guide for Policy Analysis: The Eightfold Path to More Effective Problem Solving.* Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 2011, 71-72.
[31] Bardach, *A Practical Guide for Policy Analysis* (2011), 71-72.
[32] Ibid, 71-72.

deeply and to better tolerate nuance and complexity in their search for precedents to novel problem situations while acknowledging that what is “best” will vary with context. [33]

For the purposes of this thesis, the terminology of “smart” practices is adopted to denote practices that are applicable to the Simmons Row design situation, meaning they address the specific problems, contextual factors, constraints, and expected outcomes relating to Simmons Row by offering precedents for decisions to be made, ends to be achieved, and means of achieving those ends.

Step 7: Conducting a Cross-Case Analysis

Having undertaken the multiple case study, I will then aggregate the results using the cross-case analysis methodology outlined by Stake.[34] For the purposes of this research, the resultant cross-case assertions derived from this analysis will articulate the broad goals, scope, and constraints of the proposed interpretive intervention.

Step 8: Synthesizing the Proposed Interpretive Intervention

The proposed design strategy will be synthesized from the suite of “smart” practices derived from Steps 6 and 7 via the process of design synthesis outlined by Jon Kolko. Jon Kolko defines design synthesis as "an abductive sensemaking process of manipulating, organizing, pruning, and filtering data in the context of a design problem,

[33] Patton, Michael Quinn. Q*ualitative Research & Evaluation Methods.* Fourth edition. Thousand Oaks, California: SAGE Publications, 2015, 193.
[34] Stake, Robert E. *Multiple Case Study Analysis*. New York: Guilford Press, 2006.

in an effort to produce information and knowledge." [35] This process consists of two discrete steps: sensemaking and abductive reasoning.[36]

Klein, Moon, and Hoffman define sensemaking as "a motivated, continuous effort to understand connections (which can be among people, places, and events) in order to anticipate their trajectories and act effectively."[37] In sum, sensemaking may be understood as an action-oriented process that people intuitively undertake in order to incorporate their experiences into their understanding of the world around them. For the purposes of this thesis, sensemaking is understood as the process of ordering the suite of "smart" practices derived from the preceding cross-case analysis through the process of abductive reasoning as outlined by Peirce.

The sensemaking stage of the design synthesis will focus specifically on integrating the "smart" practices derived from the multiple-case study with Hazifur Rahaman's conceptual framework for digital heritage interpretation in order to derive a suite of strategic elements.[38] The abduction stage will focus on fitting these strategic elements into the VMOSA strategic planning framework in order to arrive at a strategic action plan for implementing the proposed intervention.[39]

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[35] Kolko, "Abductive Thinking and Sensemaking," 2010.
[36] Kolko, Jon. "Abductive thinking and sensemaking: The drivers of design synthesis." *Design Issues*, 26, no. 1 (2010): 15-28.
[37] Klein, Gary, Brian Moon, and Robert Hoffman, "Making Sense of Sensemaking 1: Alternative Perspectives." *Intelligent Systems* (IEEE) 21:4 (July/August 2006), 71.
[38] Rahaman, Hafizur. "Digital heritage interpretation: a conceptual framework." *Digital Creativity* 29, no. 2-3 (2018): 208-234.
[39] Nagy, Jenette and Stephen B. Fawcett. "Chapter 8, Section 1: An Overview of Strategic Planning or "VMOSA" (Vision, Mission, Objectives, Strategies, and Action Plans)," Community Tool Box, Center for Community Health and Development, University of Kansas. Web. Accessed April 17, 2022. https://ctb.ku.edu/en/table-of-contents/structure/strategic-planning/vmosa/main

Step 9: Evaluating the Proposed Interpretive Intervention

Having synthesized the proposed interpretive intervention, I will then evaluate it based on its applicability and appropriateness to the Simmons Row design situation. This evaluation will employ the evaluative criteria derived from the Simmons Row design situation framed in Step 3. I will then conclude with a summarization of findings and recommendations for further research.

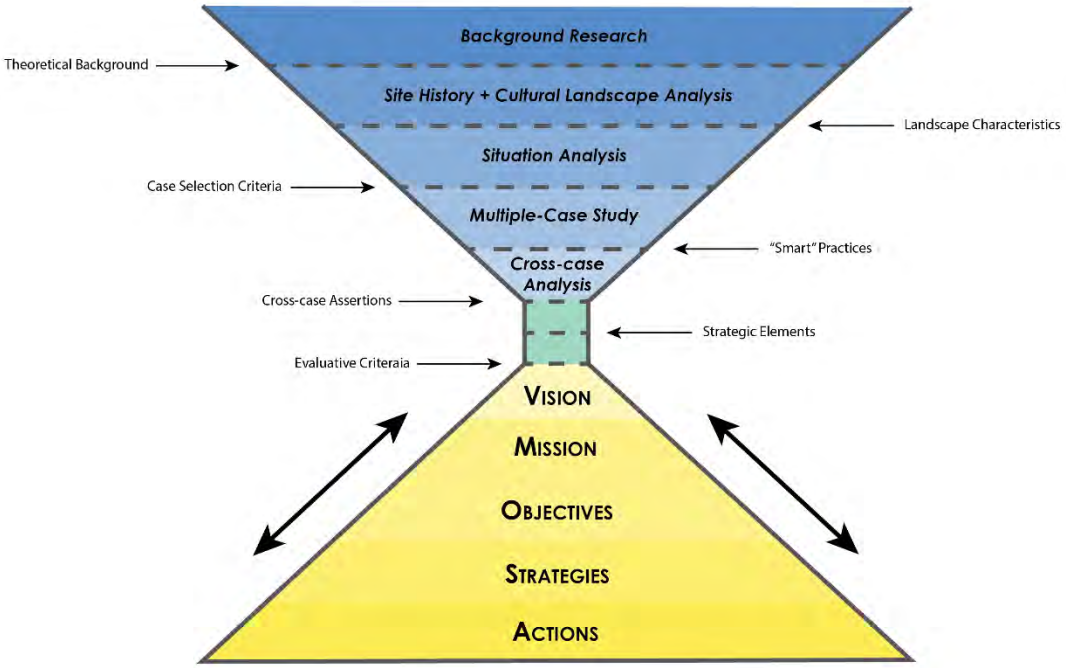


Figure 5: Step-by-step breakdown of "hourglass" methodological framework. Diagram by Chris Robey (2022).

Research Delimitations

It is not practical within the six to eight months typically available to complete an MLA thesis to undertake and implement a new heritage visualization project. Such projects often require a multidisciplinary team and multiple years of work, often

completed in successive stages or phases. Hence, it is not feasible for a single master's student with no prior training or experience with new heritage visualization to complete such a project to a degree that could do justice to its topic – namely, the Reconstruction-era Black vernacular homespace and its historic role in Black neighborhood development. Further, in addition to the time, labor, and resource-intensiveness of such projects, the technical skillset required to design and implement compelling new heritage visualizations well exceeds the capacity of the average masters-level graduate student with no prior training or experience with the requisite technologies and workflows.

In undertaking a physical and social history of Simmons Row, there are other important delimitations that must be taken into consideration. To date, no such history has been attempted, and it is not the aim of this thesis to do so comprehensively. I am focusing specifically on land-owning families on Simmons Row, namely those who appear on the 1910 Census.

I will be focusing on land-owning families, specifically, because their records are easier to trace, as they appear more consistently in the same place and near the same neighbors in the Census. Further, the names of key heads of household appear more consistently in land records of the time. Reconstructing the chains of title for each family's parcel within the designated study area thus allows for each family to be directly connected with the Simmons through Mary E. Simmons's land sales following her husbands' death in 1889.

In 1910, thirteen families lived on Simmons Row. Of those thirteen, five are listed as home and landowners. These families are the Thompsons, the Cookes, the Dunns, the

Youngs, and the Johnsons.[40] The delimited study area encompasses eleven parcels including these families' former landholdings as well as some of the homesites of the eight remaining families who rented dwellings on Simmons Row in 1910. These eight families – encompassing the Gregorys, Jefferyses. Jacksons, Dents, Burtons, Williamses, Locusts, and Whites – would be a prime subject of future research. Given that descendants Dent family still live in the Northeast Community today, as well as the fact that Genatus Dent – the Dents' head of household in 1910 – remains the only Simmons Row resident aside from Allen Young for whom a photograph has been recovered, they would be an ideal family to follow up on.[41] Recommendations for further research will be outlined in the conclusion of this thesis.

[40] Ancestry.com. *1910 United States Federal Census.* Year: 1910; Census Place: Wake Forest, Wake, North Carolina; Roll: T624_1136; Page: 12B; Enumeration District: 0131; FHL microfilm: 1375149. Lehi, UT, USA: Ancestry.com Operations Inc, 2006. Web. Accessed Aprrl 12, 2022 on Ancestry.com.
[41] "Philosopher and Preacher: James Robert Dent." Museum Blog. Wake Forest Historical Museum. June 1, 2018. https://wakeforestmuseum.org/2018/06/01/philosopher-and-preacher-james-robert-dent/

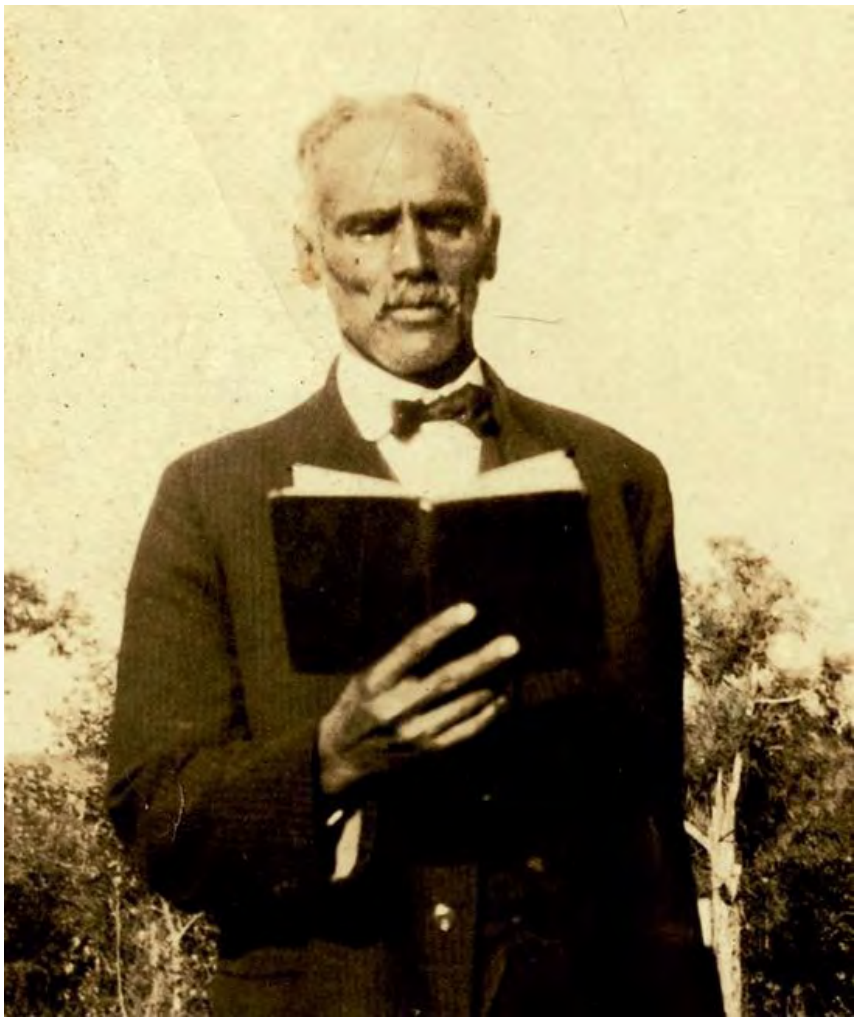


Figure 6: Reverend James Robert Dent, known informally as Genatus Dent, is the great-grandfather of Dianne Laws, treasurer of the Wake Forest Historical Association. He and his family resided alongside the Youngs, Dunns, Cookes, and other known landowning families on Simmons Row. Image digitized and published by Wake Forest Historical Museum.

Additionally, even with this preliminary research, there is plenty left to learn about the Thompsons, Cookes, Dunns, Youngs, and Johnsons and their residency on Simmons Row. Recommendations for further research concerning these families will be included as well.

Research Limitations

Noted weaknesses of the case study method includes its potential for oversimplifying the multi-faceted and complex nature of causal relationships, the challenge of integrating multiple data sources in a coherent way, the need for replication in other cases, and the overall difficulty of doing case studies well.[42]

There are other limitations relating to the particular subject matter of this study. Focusing on land-owning families with long periods of residency on Simmons Row offers a first step toward re-locating these families in the official record and centering their stories. The present study's exclusive focus on landowning families on Simmons Row is a noted limitation, however, as short-term tenancy was more common among working-class Black families during the late Reconstruction and early 20th century periods.[43] Further research is merited to develop a fuller account of renters' families' lives on Simmons Row, as their situation was more typical of African American families just beginning to establish a home for themselves during Reconstruction and onwards.

Research on working-class Black families and the built environment from post-Emancipation through Reconstruction into the end of Jim Crow are further complicated by "gaps in the archives," whereby land and vital records pertaining to these families, as well as spatial representations of the built environment they inhabited, may be fragmented or entirely absent from the public record. Unlike prominent white families like the Simmons, however, precious little written documentation – be it autobiographical accounts, newspaper articles, or even basic vital records – has been recovered to lend

[42] Yin, Robert K. *Case Study Research: Design and Methods.* Fourth edition. Los Angeles, California: Sage Publications, 2009.
[43] Copeland, Roy W. "In the Beginning: Origins of African American Real Property Ownership in the United States." *Journal of Black Studies* 44, no. 6 (2013): 646-664.

insight into the lives of ordinary Black families in the later 19th and early 20th centuries. The reasons for these gaps are attributable to the effects of systemic racism – Black heads of household at this time did not often write wills, for example, either because they were distrustful of predominantly white legal institutions or simply did not have the means or access to resources necessary to do so. Accounts of their lives on Simmons Row, then, are unavoidably fragmented. The challenge of interpreting the lives of Black working-class people is further compounded by the itinerant nature of their residency in places like Simmons Row. Where gaps in the archives prevent evidence-based assertions concerning the lives of Simmons Row residents, logical inferences are drawn to a limited degree and only when contextual factors – supported by their own chains of historical evidence – may justify them.

Thesis Organization

This thesis is organized into sixteen chapters, outlined as follows:

Chapter One serves as an introduction to the project, with the express aim of articulating and justifying the research question, scope, agenda, and methodology.

Chapter Two will serve the purpose of presenting key background research in order to contextualize the Simmons Row design situation. The express aims of this chapter will be to define key concepts articulated in the main research question and provide a theoretical grounding for the proposed interpretive intervention.

Chapter Three will present baseline historical research pertaining to the physical development and demolition of Simmons Row and begin to contextualize the Simmons Row design situation.

Chapter Four will provide an in-depth description of Simmons Row as a cultural landscape per the twelve landscape characteristics outlined in the NPS technical bulletin, "Landscape Lines 3: Landscape Characteristics."

Chapter Five will fulfill the task of problem-setting as articulated by Schon by specifying the design situation to which the proposed intervention will be responding. In specifying the Simmons Row design situation, I will also derive a set of evaluative criteria by which to assess the relevancy, appropriateness, and usefulness of the proposed intervention.

Chapter Six will serve the purpose of priming the multiple-case study by specifying case selection criteria and providing individual justifications for each of the six cases selected.

Chapters Seven through Twelve will comprise individual case studies. Each case study will begin with a narrative description of the situation, decision-making, process, and outcomes followed by an individual case analysis. The purpose of these analyses will be to (1) derive case-specific smart practices and (2) assess their applicability to the Simmons Row design situation.

Chapter Thirteen will comprise the cross-case analysis, by which the broad goals, scope, and constraints of the proposed intervention will be articulated as a series of cross-case assertions.

Having defined the Simmons Row design situation, derived a suite of smart practices through the multiple-case study, articulated the broad goals, scope, and constraints of the proposed intervention, and set evaluative criteria by which to assess the

proposed intervention, the final three chapters of this thesis will focus on synthesizing the intervention itself over two subsequent stages.

Chapter Fourteen comprises the first stage of the design synthesis and will focus on integrating the suite of smart practices derived from the multiple-case study into Hafizur Rahaman's conceptual framework for digital heritage interpretation. The product of this integration will be a series of strategic elements for use in the second stage of the design synthesis.

Chapter Fifteen comprises the second stage of the design synthesis and will focus on integrating the suite of strategic elements derived from Chapter Fourteen into the VMOSA strategic planning framework. The result of this integration will be a strategic action plan by which a future project team may orient their efforts toward implementing the proposed interpretive intervention.

In Chapter Sixteen, the concluding chapter, I will summarize my research findings, reflect on the methodology I used to arrive at them, and provide recommendations for further research.

CHAPTER II

BACKGROUND RESEARCH

Introduction

In this chapter, I will be defining key concepts articulated in the main research question in order to provide a theoretical grounding for the proposed interpretive intervention. These key concepts include cultural heritage, authorized heritage discourse, Black vernacular homespaces, new heritage theory and practice, landscape visualization, and landscape interpretation, as well as their various interrelationships. Before defining these concepts, however, it is helpful to consider to the relationship of race and the built environment in the American South more generally.

Race and the Built Environment in the South

Race has been defined as "a socially constructed and historically reproduced phenomenon that is not related to any biological imperative." [44] This definition reflects what Americans generally believe about race today; not too long ago, however, American social customs actively codified, in law, and edified, in the built environment, the opposite. Public space was actively divided along racial lines. Even today, race matters

[44] Harris, Dianne. "Race, Space, and the Destabilization of Practice." *Landscape Journal* 26, no. 1 (2007): 1-9. www.jstor.org/stable/43323750.

whether or not scholars are directly studying the spaces owned or occupied by underrepresented groups.[45]

Robert Weyeneth, in his essay "The Architecture of Racial Segregation," outlines a methodology for understanding the physical space of Jim Crow segregation. He identifies two methods for maintaining separation: isolation and partitioning. Partitioning is the most recognizable and best-remembered form. Under this strategy, African Americans were expressly prohibited from entering and using certain spaces.[46]

Following Reconstruction, white Southern Democrats came to power throughout the South and initiated a concerted effort to negate the 14th and 15th amendments. Their efforts followed a two-part strategy: (1) creation of laws that restricted the day-to-day lives of Black people, i.e. Jim Crow laws, and (2) systematic disenfranchisement.[47] Jim Crow laws codified racial segregation into every aspect of daily life with the express intention of restricting contact between white and Black people. The most recognizable effect of these laws was the mandate for separate facilities and services, including schools, buses, lunch counters, recreational facilities, and other public amenities. The Civil Rights Act of 1964 effectively abolished such forms of *de jure* segregation.[48]

The effects of isolation, however, remain persistent in the built environment well after the passage of the Civil Rights Act. Though Americans have distanced themselves from the days of *de jure* segregation, in many ways *de facto* segregation persists in national demographic trends, as visualized by the racial dot maps produced by the

[45] Harris, "Race, Space, and the Destabilization of Practice," (2007).
[46] Weyeneth, Robert R. "The Architecture of Racial Segregation: The Challenges of Preserving the Problematical Past." The Public Historian 27, no. 4 (November 1, 2005): 11. https://doi.org/10.1525/tph.2005.27.4.11.
[47] Weyeneth, "The Architecture of Racial Segregation," (2005).
[48] Weyeneth, "The Architecture of Racial Segregation," (2005)

Weldon Cooper Center for Public Service at the University of Virginia, as well as in the inequitable distribution of investment, community amenities, and physical infrastructure .[49] These patterns also manifest in the underrepresentation of marginalized histories through authorized channels such as the National Register of Historic Places as well as in local historic district designations.

Lipsitz writes: “For black people in the United States, struggles against the oppression of race have by necessity also been struggles over space.”[50] Battles to desegregate public space in the Civil Rights era were fundamentally struggles over space. This legacy has produced a powerful black spatial imaginary, “a socially shared understanding of the importance of public space and its power to shape opportunities and life chances.”[51] During Jim Crow era, racial control rested on spatial control. As Lipsitz concludes, “[t]he contours of racial inequality today flow directly from racial and spatial heritage bequeathed to us from the past.”[52]

Situating Heritage and the Authorized Heritage Discourse

For the purposes of this thesis, Laurajane Smith’s understanding of heritage as "a cultural process involved in the performance and negotiation of cultural values, narratives, memories, and meanings” is adopted as a baseline definition of the term.[53] Specifically, Smith positions heritage as a "cultural tool" used in the formulation,

[49] Demographics Research Group, “The Racial Dot Map,” Weldon Cooper Center for Public Service, University of Virginia, accessed March 28, 2021, https://demographics.coopercenter.org/racial-dot-map/
[50] Lipsitz, George. "The Racialization of Space and the Spatialization of Race: Theorizing the Hidden Architecture of Landscape." *Landscape Journal* 26, no. 1 (2007): 10-23. www.jstor.org/stable/43323751.
[51] Lipsitz, “The Racialization of Space and the Spacialization of Race,” (2007).
[52] Lipsitz, “The Racialization of Space and the Spacialization of Race,” (2007).
[53] Smith, Laurajane, Paul A. Shackel, and Gary Campbell. "Introduction: Class Still Matters,” in *Heritage, Labour, and the Working Classes*. Eds., Laurajane Smith, Paul A. Shackel, and Gary Campbell. London: Routledge, 2011, 4.

negotiation, and commemoration of identity. Such discourses surrounding identity tend to center on decisions that affect whether or not certain physical places or objects get preserved, and how these artifacts are to be managed as cultural resources. Smith emphasizes, however, that it is not the artifact itself that constitutes heritage, but rather "the activities that occur at and around these places and objects."[54] As such, her definition encompasses both the tangible (physical artifacts, buildings, monuments, and sites) and the intangible (traditions, commemorations, festivals, artwork, songs, and literary works) that surround them and reinforce their meaning. Heritage, she concludes, is thus a discourse deeply implicated in the recognition and governance of historical narratives as well as the role these narratives play in legitimizing or contesting social values and the hierarchies they support.[55]

Smith introduces the concept of authorized heritage discourse to encapsulate the system in which "the proper care of heritage, and its associated values, lies with the experts, as it is only they who have the abilities, knowledge and understanding to identify the innate value and knowledge contained at and within historically important sites and places."[56] According to Smith, the authorized heritage discourse tends to privilege "grand, old, aesthetically pleasing sites."[57] In the United States, this manifests in the fact that the current regulatory framework governing the practice of historic preservation overwhelmingly privileges the built heritage of a white, wealthy, landed, literate and predominantly male elite over marginalized histories. There are a number of reasons for

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[54] Smith, Laurajane. "Class, heritage and the negotiation of place." In *Conferencia presentada en" Missing Out on Heritage: Socio-Economic Status and Heritage Participation" Conference. Londres: English Heritage*, 2009.
[55] Smith, "Class, heritage, and the negotiation of place," (2009).
[56] Smith, Laurajane. *Uses of Heritage.* London: Routledge, 2006, 29-30.
[57] Smith, "Class, heritage, and the negotiation of place," (2009).

this, the most important being that the authorized heritage discourse tends to privilege physical, built fabric over intangible social meanings, particularly those relating to production, labor, and class conflict. In this way, Smith argues, the authorized heritage discourse has been used to "sideline" the values of most stakeholders, particularly marginalized populations.[58]

Interpreting Black Vernacular Homespaces

In its *Guidelines for the Treatment of Cultural Landscapes*, the National Park Service defines a historic vernacular landscapes as a landscape that "evolved through use by the people whose activities or occupancy shaped it."[59] J.B. Jackson writes of vernacular landscapes as "the image of our common humanity" and maintains that these spaces reflect individual choices, customs, personal relationships, and day-to-say spatial practices more clearly than other landscape types.[60] In anthropologist Tim Ingold's terms, vernacular landscapes most clearly reveal their constituent "taskscapes," or functions and uses over time.[61]

Black vernacular landscapes in the South speak powerfully to the history of Black agency, creativity, and resistance to white supremacy from Reconstruction through the Jim Crow era. Despite their significance, such spaces have received relatively little scholarly attention. *We Shall Independent Be: African American Place Making and the*

[58] Smith, *Uses of Heritage* (2006), 106.
[59] Birnbaum, Charles A. "Preservation Brief 36 – Protecting Cultural Landscapes: Planning, Treatment and Management of Historic Landscapes," Cultural Landscape Guidance Documents, National Park Service, Washington, D.C., 1994.
[60] Jackson, John Brinckerhoff. *Discovering the Vernacular Landscape*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1984, vii.
[61] Ingold, Tim. "The temporality of the landscape." *World archaeology* 25, no. 2 (1993): 152-174.

Struggle to Reclaim Space in the United States, edited by Angel David Nieves and Leslie M. Alexander, is one landmark volume that specifically considers the relationship between the American ideal of freedom and Black space creation. Crucially, the contributors to this volume elevate the study of African American vernacular buildings and landscapes as a valued area of study and position such sites as direct products of Black agency and placemaking.

One of the foremost scholars to have advanced the groundwork laid in *We Shall Independent Be* is Dr. Andrea Roberts. Utilizing archival, ethnographic, and digital humanities research methodologies, Roberts' work investigates the grassroots preservation practices of African American freedom colony descendants in east Texas. Undergirding Dr. Roberts' research is a conceptualization of African American vernacular building and placekeeping practices as a continuous struggle for freedom and "diasporic search for home."[62] Roberts' understanding of the significance of African American homesites is grounded both in her own experience as a freedom colony descendant as well as in the cultural theorist bell hooks' idea of homeplace as a "site of resistance." In her book *Yearning: Race, Gender and Cultural Politics*, hooks maintains that homemaking for Black Americans historically constituted a radical political act, whereby they could actively counteract the dehumanizing effects of white aggression and surveillance.[63]

[62] Roberts, Andrea R. ""Until the Lord Come Get Me, It Burn Down, Or the Next Storm Blow It Away": The Aesthetics of Freedom in African American Vernacular Homestead Preservation." In *Buildings & Landscapes: Journal of the Vernacular Architecture Forum*, vol. 26, no. 2, pp. 73-97. University of Minnesota Press, 2019.
[63] hooks, bell. *Yearning: Race, Gender, and Cultural Politics*. Boston, MA: South End Press, 1990, 42.

Over ten years prior to the publication of *We Shall Independent Be*, hooks argued for studies of black vernacular housing as spaces of creative expression that edify important lessons of subversion and resistance to white supremacy. The exact form such resistance took is best detailed in Robin D.G. Kelley's essay, "We Are Not What We Seem: Rethinking Black Working-Class Opposition in the Jim Crow South." In this essay, Kelley draws on the notion of the "hidden transcript" to denote the subtle ways that working-class Black people subverted the oppressive influence of the white supremacist systems and power relations they lived within.[64] Kelley notes that while much scholarship has focused on the ways that "hidden transcripts" were exercised in more typical working-class settings, such as juke joints and union halls, very little scholarship has turned attention to the domestic sphere. Kelley argues that these spaces are crucial, and points to studies of the role of family units, and particularly the role of Black women, in the formation of identity and class-consciousness as a rich area for future research. As Kelley writes,

"Once we begin to look at the family as a central (if not the central) institution where political ideologies are formed and reproduced, we may discover that households hold the key to understanding particular episodes of black working-class resistance."[65]

Subsequent work has broadened the scope of this research agenda beyond the individual homeplace to encompass the surrounding yardspace. One of the better-known studies of the contemporary African American yardspace is Richard Westmacott's *African-American Gardens and Yards in the Rual South*. In addition to outlining the

[64] Kelley, Robin D.G. "" We Are Not What We Seem": Rethinking Black Working-Class Opposition in the Jim Crow South." *The Journal of American History* (1993): 75-112.
[65] Kelley, ""We Are Not What We Seem,"" (1993).

history and denotative qualities of African-American yardscapes, Westmacott also details the strong attachments to place among Black landowners and the various symbolisms they associated with their domestic space. The homeplace itself, per Westmacott's observations, "was clearly a source of great pride. It embodied the values of home, family, ownership, and self-reliance" and stood as an "enduring symbol of security."[66] Westmcott spends much of his book elucidating the ways in which the spatial relationships and functional arrangements that characterize the yardspace surrounding Black homeplaces reflect, in each their own unique way, a multiplicity of interpretations and enactments of these key themes.

Historical archaeologist Whitney Battle-Baptiste has helped to bridge the concepts of Black homeplaces and yardspace by drawing them together under the term "homespace," by which she denotes a specific assemblage of Black homeplaces located in close proximity and unified by shared yardspace connecting "multiple families through a system of domestic cooperative exchange, forming a single multi-family household." Battle-Baptiste positions homespace as "the nucleus of this complex household."[67] Under slavery Black homespaces functioned as "one of the few places where captive Africans felt the comfort, support and love of family and friends."[68] As hooks demonstrates, this significance was carried forward after Emancipation into the Reconstruction and Jim Crow eras. In the white-dominated world outside the Black domestic sphere, working-class Black people's lives "were structured by racism, sexism, and multiple levels of

[66] Westmacott, Richard Noble. *African-American Gardens and Yards in the Rural South*. 1st ed. Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1992, 112.
[67] Battle-Baptiste, Whitney. "The Hermitage," in *Black Feminist Archaeology*. London: Routledge, 2016, 100.
[68] Battle-Baptiste, "The Hermitage," (2016), 94.

oppression. As such, the solace of a place called home takes on an added dimension. It was a place to regroup, to learn strategies of survival, find strength, and create thoughts of resistance."[69] Indeed, the homeplace, as the locus of working-class Black domestic life, may best be understood as a vehicle for survival, both financially and socially, situated within a system of white supremacy which, as Kelley argues, more closely resembled a fascist or colonial situation than a representative democracy.[70] The significance of homespace, then, speaks powerfully to the themes of perseverance, endurance as a social minority, resilience, agency over narrative, creativity, and ingenuity.

In his contribution *We Shall Independent Be*, Nieves argued for the conceptualization of black vernacular landscapes as spaces in themselves rather than collections of discreet features. "By 'spatializing culture,'" Nieves, writes, "we can begin to see the processes by which African Americans redefined the southern landscape, their contributions to American history, and their impact on architectural expressions of a redefined republican democracy."[71] Building on this idea of spatializing culture, Roberts maintains that black vernacular homesites constitute taskscapes reflecting a long tradition of subversive spatial practice. Interpreting these spaces, Roberts maintains, requires that nonblack researchers and practitioners (1) recognize these embedded narratives as valid

[69] Ibid, 95.
[70] Kelley, "We Are Not What We Seem," (1993).
[71] Nieves, Angel David. "'We Are Too Busy Making History...to Write History': African American Women, Constructions of Nation, and the Built Environment in the New South, 1892-1968," 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, Colo: University Press of Colorado, 2008, p. 315-316.

markers of historic integrity and significance, and (2) center Black identity and heritage, including narratives of resistance and freedom-seeking, in their representations.[72]

Roberts proposes numerous strategies for interpreting Black homespaces, each of which aims to subvert dominant white spatial imaginaries and the authorized heritage discourse that supports it. Foundational to Roberts's overall interpretive strategy is the practice of storytelling. Roberts draws on the literature detailing storytelling's role in planning and participatory action research to demonstrate the ways that it can empower stakeholders to challenge the dominant narratives employed in public discourse to define their shared heritage and influence policy decisions affecting their heritage.[73] In Roberts's own research on Texas Freedom colonies, she draws attention to the ways that descendant communities leverage storytelling to create and sustain Black "counterpublics" – a term drawn from feminist scholarship to describe a space that provides a venue for forming and negotiating place-based identity outside the white gaze.[74]

Roberts maintains that traditional preservation experts and public agencies, often preoccupied with the physical condition a single site, building, or block, should broaden the scope of their work to include consulting with local experts and gathering local place-based narratives, including oral histories. These entities have tended to shy away from such "messy" forms of data-gathering in favor of more ostensibly "empirical" forms of cultural resource assessment. Place-based narratives, particularly those derived from

[72] Roberts, "'Until the Lord Come Get Me, It Burn Down, Or the Next Storm Blow It Away,'" (2019).
[73] Roberts, Andrea R. "Performance as place preservation: The role of storytelling in the formation of Shankleville Community's Black counterpublics." *Journal of Community Archaeology & Heritage* 5, no. 3 (2018): 146-165.
[74] Roberts, "Performance as place preservation," (2018).

residents' direct lived experience, offer crucial perspective not only into the physical development of heritage resources but also their local meaning and significance. By recording these perspectives and actively incorporating them into preservation planning and interpretive interventions, traditional experts and preservation agencies may foster more culturally-responsive constructions of place that privilege the voices of descendant communities and other local stakeholders.[75]

Roberts' own research demonstrates the efficacy and promise of this approach in the context of Black homespaces. By demonstrating the ways that freedom colonies' foundational stories can function as a vital form of local knowledge – revealing, for example, previously unmapped settlement locations and legacy landholders' names. By recording and mapping these place-based narratives, Roberts argues, experts can empower freedom colony descendants to put their homespaces "back on the map," both literally and figuratively. Doing so not only promotes acknowledgement of previously unrecognized heritage but also makes freedom colonies visible to federal agencies charged with administering funding and other aid following hurricanes and floods – natural disasters that east Texans are particularly vulnerable to.[76]

Roberts cautions, however, that realizing this potential "requires processing the trauma associated with enslavement, segregation, and racial violence."[77] The dark and uncomfortable nature of these legacies discourages many descendants from discussing them with outsiders, and with good reason. Recording and sharing stories relating to

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[75] Ibid

[76] Roberts, Andrea R. "The Texas Freedom Colonies Project: Thick-Mapping Vanishing Black Places," viedo February 2020, from the Texas Cultural Landscape Symposium, posted to YouTube by "ncptt" on May 14, 2020, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=EERMag2C7jg

[77] Roberts, Andrea, and Grace Kelly. "Remixing as praxis: Arnstein's ladder through the grassroots preservationist's lens." *Journal of the American Planning Association* 85, no. 3 (2019): 301-320.

enslavement, segregation, and racial violence can exploit and traumatize descendant communities as readily as it can enlighten others to their position. As such, researchers engaged in this work must clearly communicate to their informants that evoking uncomfortable histories may not only be uncomfortable but may also complicate relationships of power and privilege between Black and white people in that locale. Confronting uncomfortable histories is necessary to the critical work of dislodging the conceptions of heritage and local history that enable white supremacy and represents a crucial first step toward reconciliation.[78]

Effects of the Authorized Heritage Discourse on Black Cultural Landscapes

Smith's comments resonate with Roberts, who argues that the authorized heritage discourse effectively erases any mention of uncomfortable histories relating to racial violence and oppression against African Americans.[79] Overall, African American heritage sites remain largely invisible not only to leading heritage conservation organizations like the National Park Service, but also to museums, heritage institutions, and academic research initiatives. Further, as Roberts writes, "[t]oo often, little physical evidence or archival materials is preserved among African American families, let alone made part of these official archives."[80] Again, this presents a major barrier to the documentation and preservation of African American heritage sites. National Register criteria, for example, center on property ownership and documentation from traditionally

[78] Roberts and Kelly, "Remixing as praxis," (2019).
[79] Roberts, Andrea. "The End of Bootstraps and Good Masters: Fostering Social Inclusion by Creating Counternarratives" from *Preservation and Social Inclusion*. Ed. Erica Avrami, Columbia Books on Architecture and the City, Issues in Preservation Policy Series, Columbia University Press: NY, NY, 2020.
[80] Roberts, "The End of Bootstraps and Good Masters," 2020.

recognized sources, such as university and library archives, spaces where traces of African American history and memory and remain fragmented at best and absent in most cases. The resultant misunderstanding and lack of knowledge about forms of heritage that have been relegated outside the authorized heritage discourses remains a major blind spot to these institutions. As such, Black vernacular homespaces and settlements remain severely undervalued, understudied, and underrepresented in the historic built environment.

Specific patterns of undervaluation, disinvestment, erasure, have resulted from this policy framework and their consequences are widespread. Roberts writes that the current regulatory context encompassed by National Historic Preservation Act of 1966 and National Register of Historic Places criteria – specifically historical significance and integrity – privileges architecture and material features over social and historical background.[81] As an example, Roberts highlights how many Black homesteads have been repaired without benefit of consultation with trained architectural historians and preservationists who can advise on compliant methods of rehabilitation and materials. Deferred maintenance, variable income levels, and title instability also render Black homestead owners ineligible for government-funded assistance. Further, the aesthetics of traditional preservation writ large tends to exclude African Americans as it interprets their presence as new, non-historic and considers the integrity of their spaces to be compromised due to additions and modifications. At the neighborhood scale this results in a historic built fabric that is often considered "compromised" and thus ineligible for historic designation.[82]

[81] Roberts, ""Until the Lord Come Get ME, It Burn Down, Or the Next Storm Blow It Away,"" 2019.
[82] Ibid.

These patterns extend well beyond the neighborhood level. Through her research on freedom colonies in east Texas, Roberts demonstrates how, in the absence of their original populations, the character of structures and settlement patterns, demolition by neglect, and deferred maintenance have rendered many freedom colonies ineligible for the type of protection afforded by local historic districts. This is critical, as local districting stands as one of the most effective regulatory mechanisms by which to slow or halt the demolition of historically Black settlements. The increasing invisibility of these communities means that their historic settlement patterns become consonant with intangible heritage, the stuff of oral tradition and memory.[83]

The end result of enabling a one-size-fits-all authorized heritage discourse is the exclusion of African American spatial values and aesthetics from the historic built environment. A recent Congressional Research Service report by Mark K. Desantis, for example, states that of roughly 86,000 entries in the National Register of Historic Places, only 8% pertain to diverse histories.[84] Roberts relates these patterns specifically to the preservation of African American homesteads by highlighting the fact that there are only six African American homesteads listed in the entire National Register. Roberts refers to the marked underrepresentation of African American spaces in the National Register of Historic Places as a "preservation apartheid," in which such spaces are disproportionately excluded from legal protection and, as a result, disproportionately face demolition.[85]

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[83] Roberts, Andrea R. “The Texas Freedom Colonies Project: Thick-Mapping Vanishing Black Places,” 2020.
[84] Desantis, Mark K. *The Federal Role in Historic Preservation: An Overview*. R45800. Washington, D.C.: Congressional Research Service. https://crsreports.congress.gov/product/pdf/R/R45800
[85] Roberts, “”Until the Lord Come Get ME, It Burn Down, Or the Next Storm Blow It Away,”” 2019.

Smith maintains that cultural resource managers and other heritage professionals have a moral imperative to address issues of class and social and economic inequality, as well as the resultant "hidden injuries" it inflicts. Revealing these hidden injuries, Smith maintains, “can set the tone for some form of justice and reconciliation.”[86] As of yet, few researchers or practitioners have put forward a pragmatic, widely applicable method for counteracting the authorized heritage discourse.[87] Indeed, doing so remains a considerable challenge, as it is the very regulatory environment that enables historic preservation in the United States that also reinforces the authorized heritage discourse. Changing this regulatory environment necessitates changing its underlying laws, namely the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966, as well as its supporting policy guidelines and initiatives such as the Secretary of the Interior's Standards for the Treatment of Historic Properties and the National Register of Historic Places, in order to empower stakeholders and enable bottom-up approaches to conserving the historic built environment. To date, however, the National Park Service – the leading government agency responsible for administering preservation policy in the United States – has done little to address calls for changing this regulatory framework in order to adequately address issues of underrepresentation tied to authorized heritage discourse.[88]

[86] Smith, Shackel, and Campbell. "Introduction: Class Still Matters,” 2011, 2.
[87] Wells, Jeremy C. “Conservation today,” Conserving the Human Environment: Balancing Practice Between Meanings and Fabric, accessed April 16, 2022. https://heritagestudies.org/index.php/conservation-today/
[88] Taylor, Holly. “Recognizing the Contemporary Cultural Significance of Historic Places: A Proposal to Amend National Register Criteria to Include Social Value,” in *With a World of Heritage So Rich Lessons from Across the Globe for US Historic Preservation in its Second 50 Years*. Washington, D.C.: US/ICOMOS. https://usicomos.org/wwhsr/

Situating New Heritage

In *The Language of New Media,* Lev Manovich defines new media broadly as "the translation of all existing media into numerical data accessible through computers."[89] Specifically, new media represents a convergence of two distinct trajectories in the history of technology: computing and modern media technologies. Manovich traces the point of origin for both trajectories to the 1830s with the development of Babbage's Analytical Engine and Daguerre's daguerreotype. In the mid-20th century, the modern digital computer rapidly replaced the mechanical tabulators and calculators that companies and governments had previously employed to perform numerical calculations. Simultaneously, the rise of modern media technologies enables the storage of still images, sequences of images, sound and text in analog form - namely, as photographic plates, film reels, and vinyl records. The convergence of these histories, Manovich argues, is "new media—graphics, moving images, sounds, shapes, spaces, and texts that have become computable."[90] This not only encompasses the digitization of analog materials like photographs, film, and records, but also the creation of digital artifacts like computer-generated images and 3D models.[91]

New media technologies have been widely applied toward the documentation and interpretation of cultural heritage. In their book *New Heritage: New Media and Cultural Heritage*, Kalay et. al introduce the term new heritage to encompass this broad body of theory and practice united by the application of new media technologies toward

[89] Manovich, Lev. "What is new media?" in *The Language of New Media*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press. 2001. 20.
[90] Manovich, The Language of New Media, 2001, 6.
[91] González-Tennant and González-Tennant. "The Practice and Theory of New Heritage for Historical Archaeology," 2016.

documenting and interpreting cultural heritage.[92] Pertinent to the aims of this thesis, Edward and Diana González-Tennant further expand on this initial definition by drawing on their own work in historical archaeology to demonstrate how new heritage approaches can be applied toward digitally reconstructing and interpreting relict cultural landscapes.[93] Though the wider application of new heritage methodologies varies considerably, its underlying principles remain relatively consistent. First, new heritage embraces a mixed-methods approach to the use of new media for archaeological and heritage research, meaning that it combines quantitative and qualitative data through a fluid use of research methods.[94] The flexibility of this approach has enabled new heritage scholars to adopt methodologies from such wide-ranging fields as historical archaeology, social history, folklore research, the digital humanities, and critical pedagogy.[95] Thus, new heritage is notably interdisciplinary. Finally, new heritage has drawn on the field of heritage studies by embracing its concern for the use of the past in the present and the interaction of tangible and intangible forms of heritage.[96]

The specific activity of applying new heritage methodologies toward documenting and interpreting cultural heritage has been referred to as heritage visualization. Seminal works on data visualization such as Edward Tufte's *The Visual Display of Quantitative Information* center on the translation of vast, overwhelming

[92] Kalay, Yehuda E., Thomas. Kvan, and Janice. Affleck. *New Heritage: New Media and Cultural Heritage*. Eds. Yehuda E. Kalay, Thomas Kvan & Janice Affleck. London: Routledge, 2008.
[93] González-Tennant and González-Tennant. "The Practice and Theory of New Heritage for Historical Archaeology," 2016.
[94] Creswell and Clark. *Designing and Conducting Mixed Methods Research*, 2011.
[95] González-Tennant and González-Tennant. "The Practice and Theory of New Heritage for Historical Archaeology," 2016.
[96] Ibid.

numerical datasets into more digestible forms like charts, graphs, and infographics.[97] In the context of cultural heritage management and research, these datasets may include archaeological sites and artifacts and other material culture, entire buildings and landscapes, documentary records like censuses and deeds, historic aerial and ground photography, historic newspaper clippings, and personal journal entries, to name just a representative sample.

Numerous tools and techniques are available for visualizing these datasets. Laser scanning and photogrammetry can be employed to document existing cultural heritage resources, while GIS and 3D modeling can be used to locate and digitally reconstruct damaged or lost cultural heritage. The products of either approach can then be disseminated to both scholars and lay audiences as new media through web and mobile-based platforms. Increasingly, practitioners have moved beyond browser-based platforms to explore location-enabled mobile applications as well as immersive mixed reality technologies. Mobile-based augmented reality (AR) applications can deepen users' engagement with the actual site of vanished landscapes with location-enabled content, while virtual reality (VR) experiences allow users to experience the sensuous qualities of past landscapes that more static visualizations cannot communicate. Recently, landscape architects have further broadened the scope of new heritage projects by drawing on location-enabled mobile technologies for the purposes of cultural landscape interpretation and asset mapping to impact the discursive planning environment affecting cultural landscapes in communities of color.[98]

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[97] Tufte, Edward R. *The Visual Display of Quantitative Information*. 2nd ed. Cheshire, Conn: Graphics Press, 2001.

[98] See case studies of Elizabeth Brabec's Gullah Land and Community project (Chapter 8) and Kofi Boone's Cellphone Diaries project (Chapter 9).

This unique body of theory and practice has led to a proliferation of intriguing applications across numerous disciplines and has elevated heritage visualization to an established and recognizable discipline in its own right. No longer limited to academia, heritage visualization has become a full-fledged industry with services offered by private cultural resource management (CRM) firms as well as nonprofit organizations like CyArk. Increasingly, heritage visualization practitioners are focusing their efforts on documenting and interpreting previously ignored or undervalued elements of the historic built environment, particularly sites with fragile building fabric that are facing demolition by neglect, Southern vernacular architecture, and sites related to significant events within the civil rights movement.[99] It is arguable that the field's continued relevancy hinges on its willingness to continue pushing beyond its prior emphasis on grand, monumental sites to capturing the humbler, overlooked parts of our built environment which, while outwardly nondescript or underwhelming, nevertheless edify profound truths about the day-to-day lives of everyday people. Further, as the field of cultural heritage documentation and visualization continues to shift toward a more industrial, profit-driven model, practitioners must be wary of the degree to which market forces influence the scope, aims, quality, and accessibility of future work.

For the purposes of this thesis, I will be specifically focusing on the application of new heritage approaches toward the task of digitally reconstructing relict cultural landscapes. The Secretary of the Interior's Guidelines for the Treatment of Cultural Landscapes position interpretation as an integral component of reconstruction, as it helps make clear to the visiting public that the landscape they are encountering is not authentic

[99] "Heritage Documentation and Visualization." School of Architecture, College of Design, Georgia Tech. Accessed April 16, 2022. https://arch.gatech.edu/heritage-documentation-and-visualization

but rather a portrayal of the past based on an interpretation of the available evidence.[100] As such, digital reconstruction is understood as both the digital visualization of past landscapes and their interpretation. Later, I will describe both digital reconstruction and digital heritage interpretation in broad terms before examining their distinct bearing on the interpretation of Black vernacular homespaces. First, however, it is helpful to situate the broader task of landscape visualization – well known to landscape architects and planners - as a distinct practice in its own right contributing unique affordances to the task of digitally reconstructing relict cultural landscapes.

Situating Landscape Visualization

Visual communication has a long history in environmental design and management, particularly landscape architecture.[101] Indeed, landscape architects have pioneered innovative methods of visualizing landscapes since Humphrey Repton first published his *Red Books* in the late eighteenth century. Repton's use of "before-and-after" views demonstrated that visualizations help people intuitively understand not only past changes in the landscape, but also how landscapes could change in the future. As such, the centrality of Repton's Red Books to his design practice offers an early case study in the ways that visualizations affect people's thoughts, feelings, and perceptions about the landscapes they inhabit.[102]

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[100] National Park Service, "Guidelines for Reconstructing Cultural Landscapes: The Approach." The Secretary of the Interior's Standards for the Treatment of Historic Properties + Guidelines for the Treatment of Cultural Landscapes. Washington, D.C.: Secretary of the Interior. N.d. Accessed April 16, 2022. https://www.nps.gov/tps/standards/four-treatments/landscape-guidelines/reconstruct/approach.htm
[101] Kwan, "Critical visualization in landscape and urban planning: Making the invisible visible," 2015.
[102] Foo, Katherine, Emily Gallagher, Ian Bishop, and Annette Kim. "Critical landscape visualization to LAND SI "Critical Approaches to Landscape Visualization"." *Landscape and Urban Planning* 142 (2015): 80-84.

A key benefit of visualizations in the context of design and planning is their ability to provide a "common language" through which all relevant parties may participate in the decision-making process.[103] Additionally, visualizations hold provocative power attributable to their ability to quickly encapsulate design situations and issues, "bringing home" the potential consequences of a given course of action and focusing the decision-making process on the development of alternatives.[104] Beyond their basic communicative affordances, landscape visualizations may also facilitate stakeholder engagement, social learning, collaboration, mediation, and education.[105] For these reasons, visualization remains a foundational communication strategy in landscape architecture. The presentation of formal, bound project proposals featuring rendered views of proposed conditions and sets of detailed construction documents remains common practice, just as it did in Repton's day.

Emerging technologies have dramatically changed the way that landscape visualization is undertaken, however. Beginning in the 1970s, and gaining considerable momentum since the 1990s, the use of digital techniques for landscape representation has proliferated, with visualizations becoming more realistic, more interactive, and less costly to produce.[106] As realism in digital representation has become more commonplace,

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[103] Lovett, Andrew, Katy Appleton, Barty Warren-Kretzschmar, and Christina Von Haaren. "Using 3D visualization methods in landscape planning: An evaluation of options and practical issues." *Landscape and Urban Planning* 142 (2015): 85-94.
[104] Sheppard, S.R.J. "Bridging the sustainability gap with landscape visualization in community visioning hubs," *Integrated Assessment Journal*, 6 (2006), pp. 79-108.
[105] Lovett, Appleton, Warren-Kretzschmar, and Von Haaren. "Using 3D visualization methods in landscape planning," 2015.
[106] Lange, Eckart, and Ian D. Bishop. *Visualization in Landscape and Environmental Planning: Technology and Applications*. Eds. Ian D. Bishop and Eckart Lange. London: Taylor & Francis, 2005.; A. Lovett, K.J. Appleton, A.P. Jones. "GIS-based landscape visualization: The state of the art" N. Mount, G. Harvey, P. Aplin, G. Priestnall (Eds.), *Representing, modeling and visualizing the natural environment*, Boca Raton, FL: CRC Press (2009), pp. 287-309.

practitioners have turned their attention to other emerging technologies in mobile computing, mixed reality, remote sensing, and geographic information systems to explore further horizons in visual communication.[107]

The affordances of these emerging technologies make landscape visualization a powerful tool for social activism. For it to accomplish this task, however, an understanding of landscape visualization must extend well beyond the physical and tangible to encompass subtler discursive elements of the landscape that, while invisible and intangible, nonetheless significantly affect their design, planning, and management. Such discursive influences on the landscape hold particular bearing on landscapes inhabited and valued by people of color, as it is precisely these subtler, invisible discursive elements that have historically acted as the instruments of white supremacy. Surveillance-driven cluster arrangements on plantations, segregation, redlining, economic displacement, urban renewal, and the weaponization of space through CPTED ("Crime Prevention Through Environmental Design") may thus be understood as material traces of these discourses and their associated spatial imaginaries in the landscape.[108]

Landscape visualization offers a means of making these invisible discourses and power relations visible, however. Kwan has promoted the term critical visualization to describe this act of "making the invisible visible."[109] Specifically, she positions critical visualization as a means of challenging prevalent relations of social power. Drawing on the work of Kofi Boone, Annette M. Kim, and others, Kwan highlights the ways in which landscape visualization can reveal the experiences of people whose concerns remain

[107] Foo, Gallagher, Bishop, and Kim. "Critical landscape visualization to LAND SI "Critical Approaches to Landscape Visualization." 2015.
[108] Lipsitz. "The Racialization of Space and the Spatialization of Race," 2007.
[109] Kwan. "Critical visualization in landscape and urban planning," 2015.

largely invisible in the authorized discourse of landscape and urban planning. Their research suggests that by facilitating direct engagement between planning agencies and stakeholders, critical landscape visualizations may provoke changes in government plans that properly respond to the needs, values, and lived experience of marginalized people.[110]

The idea of critical landscape visualization was further expanded upon by Foo et al, who situate landscape visualization in a recursive relationship between the ways that landscapes are represented and the ways that they are interpreted. Notably, they insert the notion of "multiple interpretations" into this dynamic, suggesting the possibility for pluralistic public discourse – or, as is pertinent to this thesis, the opening of channels for contesting dominant narratives about cultural landscapes that render certain historic actors invisible.[111] In this sense, landscape visualization functions as both process and product – the process of visualization is an act of interpretation, and the resultant representation may evoke multiple interpretations.[112]

Interpreting Cultural Landscapes as Materialized Discourses

Interpretation in the field of cultural geography has a distinct connotation that should be considered separately from the way that natural and resource managers employ the term. The historical geographer Richard Schein traces the history of this understanding of interpretation in his paper "The Place of Landscape: A Conceptual Framework for Interpreting an American Scene." According to Schein, the interpretation

[110] Ibid.
[111] Foo, Gallagher, Bishop, and Kim. "Critical landscape visualization to LAND SI "Critical Approaches to Landscape Visualization." 2015.
[112] Ibid.

of landscapes has been foundational concern of North American cultural geography since the early 20th century.[113] The line of scholarship concerned with interpreting cultural landscapes is traceable to Carl O. Sauer's "Morphology of Landscape," in which he first defined cultural landscape as a distinct association of physical and cultural forms "fashioned from a natural landscape by a culture group." It is in this same essay that Sauer articulated his famous maxim: "Culture is the agent, the natural area is the medium, the cultural landscape the result."[114]

Drawing on this notion of the human-shaped environment, cultural geographers have variously positioned landscapes as autobiographical[115], as a common and ordinary part of everyday life[116], as symbolic, as representative, and as a representation[117], as duplicitous[118], as gendered, class-based, politicized, and central to the (re)production of

[113] Schein, Richard H. "The Place of Landscape: A Conceptual Framework for Interpreting an American Scene." *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 87, no. 4 (1997): 660-680.
[114] Sauer, Carl O. "The Morphology of Landscape" (1925). Reprinted in *Land and Life: A Selection from the Writings of Carl Ortwin Sauer*, ed. John Leighly, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1963, pp. 315–50.
[115] Lewis, Peirce. "Axioms for Reading the Landscape." In *The Interpretation of Ordinary Landscapes*, ed. D.W. Meinig. New York: Oxford University Press (1979), pp. 11–32; "Learning from Looking: Geographic and Other Writing about the American Cultural Landscape." *American Quarterly* 35 (1983), 242–61.
[116] Jackson, *Discovering the Vernacular Landscape* (1984); Meinig, D. W., ed. *The Interpretation of Ordinary Landscapes*. New York: Oxford University Press (1979); Stilgoe, John R. *Common Landscape of America, 1580–1845*. New Haven: Yale University Press (1982).
[117] Cosgrove, Denis E. and Stephen Daniels, eds. *The Iconography of Landscape*. New York: Cambridge University Press (1988); Duncan J., Duncan, N. and Ley, David, eds. *place/culture/representation*. New York: Routledge (1993); Schein, R. H. 1993. "Representing Urban America: 19th-Century Views of Landscape, Space, and Power." *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 1 (1993), 7–21.
[118] Daniels, Stephen. "Marxism, Culture, and the Duplicity of Landscape." In *New Models in Geography*, vol. 2, ed. R. Peet and N. Thrift. London: Unwin Hyman (1989), pp. 196–220.

social life[119], as texts, as metaphors, and as part of discourses[120]. Despite this plurality of interpretations, Schein argues, all prior theorization on the geographical meaning and function of cultural landscapes are bound by at least two common threads. First, cultural landscapes are generally understood as artifactual – that is, they are understood as material assemblages constituting what Lewis has called the "tangible, visible scene."[121] Second, all aforementioned scholarship concerned with the interpretation of cultural landscapes draws on a common set of key works expressing foundational ideas about the ways that culture shapes the environment, namely that cultural landscapes are human artifacts and that landscapes can be “read” in order to ascertain visible and invisible indicators of social and cultural life inscribed therein. Both situate the task of cultural landscape interpretation in a distinctly empirical, positivist tradition – inferences about the imprint of humanity on the landscape are derived from its visible, material form.[122]

Sauer’s "Morphology of Landscape" is one of these key works and is generally considered the first North American theorization of cultural landscapes as products of human activity. Following Sauer, Lewis is widely cited for his suggestion that the "human landscape is our unwitting autobiography.”[123] Sauer was primarily concerned with the landscape as the impress of human activity – as such, his ideas are foundational

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[119] Duncan, James S. *The City as Text: The Politics of Landscape Interpretation in the Kandyan Kingdom*. New York: Cambridge University Press (1990); Mitchell, Don. “Landscape and Surplus Value: The Making of the Ordinary in Brentwood, California.” *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 12 (1994), 7–30; Anderson, Kay, and Gale, Fay. *Inventing Places*. Melbourne: Longman Cheshire (1992); Zukin, Sharon. *Landscapes of Power: From Detroit to Disney World*. Berkeley: University of California Press (1991).

[120] Duncan J., and Duncan, N. “(Re)reading the Landscape.” *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 6 (1988), 117–26; Barnes, Trevor J., and Duncan, James S. *Writing Worlds: Discourse, Text and Metaphor in the Representation of Landscape*. New York: Routledge (1992).

[121] Lewis. “Axioms for Reading the Landscape,” 1979.

[122] Schein, “The Place of Landscape,” 1997.

[123] Lewis. “Axioms for Reading the Landscape,” 1979.

to an understanding of landscapes as artifacts. Lewis, on the other hand, taught later generations of scholars to "read" that impress as the reflection of "our tastes, our values, our aspirations, and even our fears."[124] Lewis further suggested that cultural landscape present us with a series of sedimentary layers of social accretion, each cultural stratum reflecting particular ideological origins, intentions, and contexts.[125] Schein suggests that it might be more useful to begin by viewing the landscape as "a palimpsest rather than cultural strata –an analogy that accounts for the possibility for erasure and overwriting and the co-existence of several different scripts."[126]

In his essay, "The Beholding Eye," D.W Meinig suggested that ten different individuals faced with the same visible scene might perceive ten different landscapes, alternately seeing landscape as nature, as nature, habitat, artifact, system, problem, wealth, ideology, history, place, and aesthetic.[127] Meinig's point is that we interpret landscapes through the ideas we bring to the project – multiple interpretations of the same scene are possible. Multiplicity and subjectivity have thus been integral to an understanding of landscape interpretation from the start. The plurality of landscape theorization and interpretation in the scholarship of cultural geography clearly demonstrated this to traditional academic experts. The importance of Meinig's essay is that it approaches the task of landscape interpretation through the eyes of everyday people. Any of the ten images of landscape that he suggests may fit the image that most people carry around in their heads day in and day out. Further, Meinig's essay supports

[124] Ibid.
[125] Ibid.
[126] Schein, "The Place of Landscape," 1997.
[127] Meinig, D.W. "The Beholding Eye." In *The Interpretation of Ordinary Landscapes*, ed. D. W. Meinig, New York: Oxford University Press (1979), pp. 33–50.

the notion of landscape as palimpsest, bearing the traces of a multiplicity of interpretations.

In this way, the cultural landscape, like "space," is socially produced and is ultimately implicated in the ongoing reproduction of social and cultural life.[128] As part of that process of social production, spatial relationships – distributions, partitions, enclosures, circulation, and division – serve as part of what Schein calls the "dispersed disciplinary mechanisms of modernity" and what Foucault calls "capillaries of power."[129] In his essay on the racialization of landscape, Lipsitz calls these structures "spatial imaginaries."[130] Writ large, these images and the accompanying attitudinal, behavioral, and ideological structures that support them have broad-scale implications for the morphology of landscape in North America.

As Schein explains, the American cultural landscape coalesced under a discursive paradigm founded on the ideals of liberal individualism, free-market capitalism, and representative democracy. A principal instrument in the constitution of the American landscape, then, has been the institution and reinforcement of private property rights and freehold land tenure.[131] As a result, most landscapes in the U.S. are created piecemeal through countless individual, independent, self-interested decisions that affect not only the outward physical form of landscapes but also their meaning and symbolism. Schein further maintains that each of these seemingly individual decisions and its resultant traces

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[128] Gottdiener, Mark. *The Social Production of Urban Space*. Austin: University of Texas Press (1985); Massey, Doreen. "Geography Matters." In *Geography Matters!: A Reader*, ed. Doreen Massey and John Allen. New York: Cambridge University Press. (1984) pp. 1–11; Soja, Edward. *Postmodern Geographies*. New York: Verso (1989); Lefebvre, Henri. *The Production of Space*, trans. Donald Nicholson-Smith. Cambridge, MA: Blackwell (1991).
[129] Schein, "The Place of Landscape," 1997; Foucault, Michel. *Power/knowledge*, ed. Colin Gordon. New York: Pantheon Books (1980).
[130] Lipsitz, "The Racialization of Space and the Spatialization of Race," 2007.
[131] Schein, "The Place of Landscape," 1997.

in the landscape are embedded within particular discourses. As such, when an individual's actions leave a tangible mark in the landscape, the cultural landscape becomes "discourse materialized."[132] Behind all material traces, then, are the innumerable webs of decisions leading to their enactment, of which the physical feature stands as edification. Examples of such materialized discourses that Schein discusses include zoning theory and practice, architectural design trends, economic consumption patterns, and others.[133]

Another key element of the discursive paradigm under which the American cultural landscape has taken shape that Schein leaves out in his initial analysis – but goes on to address in later work – is white supremacy. Crucially, Lipsitz addresses the spatialization of white supremacy in his essay "The Spatialization of Race and the Racialization of Space." In this essay, Lipsitz describes the ways in which what he calls the white spatial imaginary – founded upon notions of exclusivity and augmented exchange value – has functioned as "a central mechanism for skewing opportunities and life chances in the United States along racial lines."[134] As Lipsitz demonstrates, this imaginary is edified in patterns of housing and lending discrimination, school districting, policing, zoning regulations, and transit design, all of which historically served to physically relegate non-white people to parts of the landscape where their life prospects are limited. This relegation can affect everything from a person's ability to acquire a home that appreciates in value and can be passed down to their children, decide whether

[132] Ibid.
[133] Ibid.
[134] Lipsitz, "The Racialization of Space and the Spatialization of Race," 2007.

their children can attend well-staffed and well-resourced schools, and to choose whether to live in a place where they will not be exposed to pollution.[135]

Schein's case study of Ashland Park neighborhood in Lexington, Kentucky demonstrates the ways that local historical societies, preservation advocacy organizations, neighborhood associations, and the real estate industry leverage similar mechanisms to control the visible form of local cultural landscapes, namely through policies, ordinances, and design guidelines which determine how the visible character of a neighborhood is to be maintained. In this way, historic preservation policy and practice continues to function as instruments of the white spatial imaginary. The form, zoning, and development patterns visible in the Northeast Community today are directly attributable to such mechanisms and thus may be read as an intersection of discourses dictating the laying of boundaries, the allocation of resources, the direction of investment, and the decisions driving what does and does not belong in the landscape – what is and is not worth preserving.[136]

When understood as discourse materialized, cultural landscapes may be simultaneously disciplinary – as evidenced by the use of space and the built environment to reinforce racial segregation – and empowering in the potentialities for human action they contain. Indeed, as Lipsitz reminds us,

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[135] Allen, Austin. *Claiming Open Spaces: A Film by Austin Allen* (1995); Feagin, Joe and Karyn D. McKinney. *The Many Costs of Racism*. Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield (2003); Oliver, Melvin, and Thomas Shapiro. *Black Wealth/White Wealth: A New Perspective on Racial Inequality*. New York: Routledge (1995); Lipsitz, George. *The Possessive Investment in Whiteness: How White People Profit From Identity Politics*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press (1998).

[136] Schein, Richard H. "A methodological framework for interpreting ordinary landscapes: Lexington, Kentucky's Courthouse Square." *Geographical Review* 99, no. 3 (2009): 377-402.

"For black people in the United States, struggles against the oppressions of race have by necessity also been struggles over space […] The famous battles of the mid-twentieth-century civil rights movement to desegregate stores, lunch counters, trains, buses, and schools emerged from centuries of struggle over spaces, from a long history of struggle to secure freedom of movement in public, and from campaigns to enter, inhabit, use, control, and own physical places."[137]

Kofi Boone critically steers the conversation beyond the narratives of struggle that have tended to dominate scholarly work on Black landscapes to draw attention to the ways in which Black people have creatively shaped the American cultural landscape in profoundly impactful ways. Boone argues that everyday Black people have fulfilled the same roles as landscape architects throughout American history by engineering the sophisticated agricultural systems that materially supported the Confederacy, building educational institution and other forms of social infrastructure that would become influential center of social and political life, reconstituting segregated urban parks as spaces not only for recreation but also for social and political participation, and building prosperous commercial enclaves by which to build intergenerational wealth despite oppressive Jim Crow policies.[138] The ongoing reconstitution of Black social life, then, is deeply embedded in cultural landscapes. Just as space may be weaponized to reinforce oppression, so too may it function as "a potentially liberating medium for social change."[139]

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[137] Lipsitz, "The Racialization of Space and the Spatialization of Race," 2007.
[138] Kofi Boone, "Notes Toward a History of Black Landscape Architecture," *Places Journal*, October 2020. Accessed 16 Jan 2022. https://doi.org/10.22269/201028
[139] Schein, "The Place of Landscape," 1997.

If cultural landscapes are to be understood as discourse materialized, then it is through participation in these discourses that community residents can become empowered as "agents" articulating uniquely situated positions reflective of their histories and values.[140] Capturing and publicly communicating these narratives can influence power relationships and reshape the broader discursive situation to better align with community histories and values – a particularly powerful tool for resource-challenged communities engaged with more powerful government and commercial interests over the future of their cultural landscapes.[141] Efforts at interpreting local cultural landscapes then, should leverage channels for capturing and communicating the narratives of the local people who keep the meaning and memories of a place –the intangible elements that are perhaps the most determinant of a neighborhood's character and meaning to residents – alive and well. By opening these channels, cultural resource managers help to position visitors to a historic site as agents actively involved in the construction of local history. In turn, individual visitors, collectively, may influence the discourse surrounding community "sites of memory."[142]

Digital Reconstruction as New Heritage Visualization

The Secretary of the Interior's Standards for the Treatment of Historic Properties defines reconstruction as "the act or process of depicting, by means of new construction, the form, features, and detailing of a non-surviving site, landscape, building structure, or

[140] Boone, Kofi. "Disembodied voices, embodied places: Mobile technology, enabling discourse, and interpreting place." *Landscape and Urban Planning* 142 (2015): 235-242.
[141] Boone, "Disembodied voices, embodied places," 2015; Davies, Bronwyn, and Rom Harré. "Positioning: The social construction of selves." *Journal for the Theory of Social Behaviour* 20, no. 1 (1990).
[142] Nora, Pierre. "Between Memory and History: Les Lieux de Mémoire." *Representations*, no. 26 (1989): 7–24. https://doi.org/10.2307/2928520.

object."[143] Physical reconstruction remains a controversial treatment option in historic preservation. Starting in the 1970s, critics frequently cited the 1926 reconstruction of Colonial Williamsburg as a case in point, maintaining that physical reconstructions distract from, rather than enhance understanding of, the surviving features of the site.[144]

The Secretary of the Interior's Standards addresses this issue by establishing a rigorous six-step procedure for undertaking physical reconstructions. Under this regulatory framework, physical reconstructions may only be undertaken following a lengthy, and often expensive, process of historical investigation, archaeological survey, and preservation of existing historic features. Some historic sites, particularly those that exhibit the built heritage of a white, wealthy, and educated elite, are sufficiently well-documented to support full-scale historic reconstructions. Due to the lasting effects of systemic racism and cultural erasure, however, the historic and archaeological records for many relict African American heritage sites is often fragmentary, greatly complicating efforts to physically reconstruct them. Further, community-based organizations and cultural institutions charged with managing and interpreting these sites are often significantly under-resourced.[145]

Digital reconstructions may offer an alternative means of visualizing and interpreting relict African American heritage sites.[146] Since the 1980s the cultural heritage field has increasingly relied upon digital reconstructions of historic sites as a viable alternative to their physical counterparts.[147] The recognized advantages of digital

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[143] National Park Service. "Standards for Reconstruction." Technical Preservation Services. Accessed April 16, 2022. https://www.nps.gov/tps/standards/four-treatments/treatment-reconstruction.htm
[144] Sellers, Richard and Dwight Pitcaithley, "Reconstruction—Expensive, Life Size Toys?" *CRM Bulletin* 2, no. 4 (1979), 6-8.
[145] Nieves, "Digital Reconstruction as Preservation" 2016.
[146] Ibid.
[147] Ibid.

reconstructions include ease of dissemination for public interpretation, ability for researchers to explore multiple scenarios and change across time, relative ease of alteration compared to physical reconstructions, and comparatively low cost.[148] Finally, digital reconstructions also have a greater range of ways for dealing with and communicating uncertainty stemming from fragmentary archival and material records.

The issue of communicating uncertainty remains a considerable challenge, however, that is further exacerbated by the photorealistic rendering capabilities of modern-day digital visualization technologies. 3D models of past landscapes, for example, are usually conjectural interpretations. This is particularly the case with ruined, destroyed, or heavily modified landscapes. In cases where insufficient documentation exists to support a fully accurate reconstruction, site managers must make conjectures based on surviving structures, archaeological evidence, and other historic precedents. If done carelessly, this approach risks edifying a historically inaccurate representation of the vanished feature or landscape, which the public may then interpret as historic fact.[149] At times, new heritage practitioners have been accused of over-emphasizing photorealism at the expense of scholarly integrity and transparency.[150]

The London Charter for the Computer-Based Visualization of Cultural Heritage was conceived in 2006 partially in response to such concerns and has since provided an internationally accepted set of principles for maintaining the intellectual and technical rigor of digital reconstructions. These principles accommodate a reasonable degree of

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[148] Ibid.
[149] Westin, Jonathan. N*egotiating 'Culture', Assembling a Past*. Gothenburg: Acta Universitatis Gothoburgensis (2012).
[150] Bonenberger, Dan. "Historical GIS for Vernacular Architecture Surveys & Virtual Reconstruction of Urban Cultural Landscapes: A Case Study in 1850s Wheeling,(West) Virginia." *Material Culture* 52, no. 1 (2020).

conjecture, provided that researchers are fully transparent with end users about their decision-making process.

The Charter also recommends several methods of communicating uncertainty, including non-photorealism, variable transparency and coloration, and procedural modeling.[151] Researchers have continued to build upon these recommendations and have innovated novel ways of communicating uncertainty tailored to specific projects. Bonenberger, for example, developed a typology in which the degree of detail with which various demolished working-class dwellings in Wheeling, West Virginia were digitally reconstructed correlated with the availability of documentary evidence for each dwelling. Buildings with comparatively little documentation were rendered as blocky, nondescript "monopoly house"-style models, whereas buildings with the most documentation were rendered in as much detail as available evidence supported.[152]

Recent research has also explored synergies between the Secretary of the Interior's Guidelines for the Treatment of Cultural Landscapes and the principles of the London Charter, directly bridging the concerns of new heritage and cultural landscape conservation. Using the methodology, workflow, and regulatory guidance provided by the Guidelines to supplement the principles of the London Charter, Erdman and Payne successfully reconstructed two relict vernacular landscapes: the Rohwer Relocation Center in Rohwer, Arkansas, and the Hicks site in Rush, Buffalo National River, Arkansas. Further, they determine that, given the inherent risks, limitations, and costs of

[151] Erdman, Kimball, and Angela Payne. "Applying the United States Secretary of the Interior's guidelines for the treatment of cultural landscapes to digital landscape reconstructions." *Preservation Education and Research* 10 (2018): 75-93.
[152] Bonenberger, "Historical GIS for Vernacular Architecture Surveys & Virtual Reconstruction of Urban Cultural Landscapes," 2020.

physical reconstructions, digital reconstructions may be more appropriate in many instances. They subsequently recommend that the Guidelines be amended to consider digital reconstructions as viable alternatives.[153]

The practice of digital reconstruction remains limited by several factors, however. To date, the cost and expertise required to create high-quality digital reconstructions demanded multi-year projects, the inclusion of digital specialists on research teams, and large budgets to sustain development. Gonzalez-Tennant and Gonzalez-Tennant, for example acknowledge that time constraints and steep learning curves will likely continue to limit the widespread adoption of new heritage methods by historical archaeologists. They further emphasize the importance of understanding the time commitment required for undertaking new-heritage projects – for example, they estimate that it took them over 600 hours to complete their digital reconstruction of Rosewood, Florida, a Black settlement destroyed by a white mob in 1923.[154]

The issues of time, budgets, and the need for dedicated specialists in developing new heritage visualizations may not remain limiting factors for long, however. With the growing availability of cost-effective, open-source software and the proliferation of free online tutorials, the practice of new heritage stands to rapidly democratize. Researchers have just begun to explore this rich new horizon. A 2018 study published by Douglass et al exploring the use of digital reconstruction in archaeological research remains one of the clearest examples of this new approach. Using affordable software and freely accessible information, Douglass et al devised a pair of workflows suitable to reclaiming

[153] Erdman and Payne, "Applying the United States Secretary of the Interior's guidelines for the treatment of cultural landscapes to digital landscape reconstructions," 2018.
[154] González-Tennant and González-Tennant. "The Practice and Theory of New Heritage for Historical Archaeology," 2016.

lost heritage using archaeological and archival sources. Their research demonstrates the efficacy of affordably priced tools and freely available information to digitally reconstruct relict landscapes relating to marginalized histories. The research team has continued their efforts to democratize their findings through the creation and dissemination of freely available tutorial videos demonstrating the methods they utilized to create their visualizations.[155]

Another challenge to realizing the task of new heritage for sites relating to people of color in particular is that the historical record of people of color is almost always incomplete and fragmentary. As such, traditional approaches to reconstruction demanding an extensive and intact historical and archaeological record likely are not applicable and must be adapted to accommodate and account for these gaps in the archives. Where insufficient documentation exists to undertake full-scale digital reconstruction, researchers such as Erdman and Payne have leveraged other new heritage technologies, namely Esri's Story Maps platform, to adapt their interpretive interventions to draw user's attention to those areas of the landscape where sufficient documentation exists while still leveraging other documentary sources such as historic ground and aerial photos, census records, deeds, journal entries, oral history recordings, and other historical evidence to evoke past landscapes in the absence of the kind of physical, tangible evidence orthodox preservationists tend to favor.[156]

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[155] Douglass, Matthew J., Zachary R. Day, Jeremy C. Brunette, Peter Bleed, and Douglas Scott. "Virtual Reconstruction as Archaeological Observation: Embracing New Ways of Treating Sites, Places and Landscapes." *Advances in Archaeological Practice* 7, no. 2 (2019): 127–39. doi:10.1017/aap.2018.49.
[156] Wells, Jeremy C. "In stakeholders we trust: Changing the ontological and epistemological orientation of built heritage assessment through participatory action research." *How to assess built heritage* (2015): 249-265.

Finally, over the past two decades, the vast majority of digital reconstructions of relict landscapes have tended to focus on grand, monumental sites, usually closely associated with societal elites. As such, most previous work in new heritage has unwittingly supported what Smith has termed the authorized heritage discourse – a discourse which "privileges monumentality and grand scale" at the expense of vernacular, working-class, and other marginalized histories.[157] In this way, new heritage, alongside more recognized forms of heritage conservation, has functioned as yet another tool of cultural erasure.

As prior examples have shown, however, a growing cadre of researchers across the fields of heritage studies and environmental design has sought to shift this trend. Their efforts are representative of a greater intellectual shift across the heritage and environmental design professions from orthodox conservation theory, which is expert-driven and prioritizes rare or unique architectural specimens, to heterodox conservation theory, which is stakeholder-driven and values everyday spaces inhabited by ordinary people.[158] In line with this intellectual shift, Gonzalez-Tennant and Gonzalez-Tennant view the reconstruction of non-elite landscapes as a powerful and promising form of social activism, in that it enables the recovery of lost histories and the generation of new knowledge centering the narratives of disenfranchised minorities in the United States. By making relict landscapes visible to non-specialist audiences, they argue, researchers may achieve "the methodological equivalent of bell hooks's sentiments relating to the value of theory as a liberating practice."[159] If the recursive dynamic outlined by Foo et al is

[157] Smith, "Class, heritage, and the negotiation of place," (2009).
[158] Wells, "Conservation today," n.d.
[159] González-Tennant and González-Tennant. "The Practice and Theory of New Heritage for Historical Archaeology," 2016.

actively incorporated as a part of these interventions, critical visualizations of relict landscapes may even enable what the sociologist Orlando Fals-Borda has termed "the critical recovery of history," or the recovery of marginalized histories directly from the memories and personal archives of marginalized people themselves.[160]

Affordances of Mobile Augmented Reality for Heritage Visualization

When applied in the context of heritage interpretation, augmented reality (AR) technology can be defined as "that which supplements the way a person experiences an object or a place in the real world with information that may be in the form of sound, text or graphics."[161] The defining feature of augmented reality is that it enables users to access digitally-presented informational content within the specific context and location of its associated physical location in the real world in real time – content compliments real-time experience of place without removing the user from that immediate experience. The user stays engaged with their surroundings, and the content serves to draw them deeper into their experience of their surroundings. To enable this feature of AR, however, the device delivering the content must be able to sense the user's location in space, as well as the spatial orientation of the device itself and its proximity to other objects in the real world. Additionally, the device must be able to access and deliver digital content.

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[160] Fals-Borda, Orlando. "Some basic ingredients." In *Action and knowledge*, Eds. O. Fals-Borda and M.A. Rahman, pp. 3–12. The Apex Press, 1991, 8.

[161] Amakawa, Jonathan, and Jonathan Westin. "New Philadelphia: using augmented reality to interpret slavery and reconstruction era historical sites." *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 24, no. 3 (2018): 315-331; Amin, Dhiraj, and Sharvari Govilkar. "Comparative study of augmented reality SDKs." *International Journal on Computational Science & Applications* 5, no. 1 (2015): 11-26; Santos, A. *Creating an Interactive Past: Digital Technologies for Public Representation of Archaeological Sites and Artifacts*. Sarasota: University of Florida (2012).

Usually, this means it must have an internet connection or adequate cell signal. Thus, these features constitute both and affordance and a limitation of AR technology.

Audience studies by educational specialists have suggested that AR can improve users' conceptual learning as well as information comprehension and retention whilst encouraging deeper engagement with educational content.[162] This is primarily an effect of the direct connections between real-world places and the virtually-projected layers of information that compliment users' experience of these places, although other researchers have found that the technology also functions as a tool for facilitating greater interaction between audience members, prompting greater dialogue about the content being presented.[163]

More recent AR applications have enabled developers to experiment with more immersive forms of visualization. These applications have been enabled by rapid developments in mobile technology. Most mobile devices are GPS-enabled and have been for a long time – ever more accurate GPS capabilities accompany each new generation of mobile devices. Further, each new generation of device also comes equipped with greater graphic capabilities, both in terms of display and image capture – both video and photo.[164] These capacities afford the capability of overlaying virtual 3D

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[162] Damala, Areti, Pierre Cubaud, Anne Bationo, Pascal Houlier, and Isabelle Marchal. "Bridging the Gap Between the Digital and the Physical: Design and Evaluation of a Mobile Augmented Reality Guide for the Museum Visit." In 3*rd ACM International Conference on Digital and Interactive Media in Entertainment and Arts*, 120–128. New York: ACM Press (2008); Yoon, Susan A., Karen Elinich, Joyce Wang, and Jacqueline G. Van Schooneveld1. "Augmented Reality in the Science Museum: Lessons Learned in Scaffolding for Conceptual and Cognitive Learning." IADIS International Conference on Cognition and Exploratory Learning in Digital Age, 205–212 (2012).

[163] Amakawa and Westin, "New Philadelphia," 2018; Szymanski, Margaret H., Paul M. Aoki, Rebecca E. Grinter, Amy Hurst, James D. Thornton, and Allison Woodruff. "Sotto voce: Facilitating social learning in a historic house." *Computer Supported Cooperative Work (CSCW)* 17, no. 1 (2008): 5-34.

[164] Martínez, José L., Sonia Álvarez, Jaime Finat, Francisco J. Delgado, and Javier Finat. "Augmented Reality to Preserve Hidden Vestiges in Historical Cities: A Case Study." *ISPRS – International Archives of the Photogrammetry, Remote Sensing and Spatial Information Science*s XL-5/W4: 61–67.

models on the physical world in real-time, seamlessly blending virtual and real-world environments. This, in turn, opens the possibility of developing applications that overlay digital reconstructions of landscapes that have been lost over time and are no longer physically extant in the landscape today. What's more, virtual content can be overlaid in its historically precise location.

Virtually projected 3D objects afford numerous opportunities for interaction. Users can approach the object, walk around it, view it from all sides as if it were present in the real world, deepening their sense of embodiment. Scaled to the size of a town or landscape, it is possible to recreate the experience of traversing a place that no longer physically exists, in all its multisensory detail.[165] Users are able to explore both the location and information in a nonlinear manner. Additionally, such mobile-based AR applications enable immediate on-site access to relevant archival materials that users would normally have to visit a library or sit down at their computer to examine. Were comments that the digitization of such materials denotes a marked shift toward a novel type of heritage experience, "one that is marked by heightened mobility, on-demand availability and virtuality."[166]

Most AR platforms use one of two main methods for projecting virtual content onto specific physical locations. Each has its own accompanying advantages and

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10.5194/isprsarchives-XL-5-W4-61-2015 *s* (2015); Canciani, Marco, E. Conigliaro, M. Del Grasso, P. Papalini, and M. Saccone. "3D Survey and Augmented Reality for Cultural Heritage. The Case Study of Aurelian Wall at Castra Praetoria in Rome." *ISPRS – International Archives of the Photogrammetry, Remote Sensing and Spatial Information Sciences* (2016). XLI-B5: 931–937. 10.5194/isprsarchives-XLI-B5-931-2016; Kasapakis, Vlasios, Damianos Gavalas, and Panagiotis Galatis.. "Augmented Reality in Cultural Heritage: Field of View Awareness in an Archaeological Site Mobile Guide." *Journal of Ambient Intelligence and Smart Environments* vol.8, no. 5 (2016). 501–514.10.3233/AIS-160394.

[165] Michon, Daniel, and Ahmed El Antably. "It's hard to be down when you're up: interpreting cultural heritage through alternative media." *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 19, no. 1 (2013): 16-40.

[166] Were, Graeme. "Digital Heritage in a Melanesian context: Authenticity, Integrity and Ancestrality from the Other Side of the Digital Divide." International Journal of Heritage Studies 21, no. 2 (2015): 153-165.

disadvantages. The first method involves the use of geotagging to assign GPS coordinates to virtual content. Once the user is within range of this location, the content can be enabled. This can be useful when a developer wants to trigger contextual information or other content that does not need to be precisely located in space. The second method leverages the built-in image recognition capacities of mobile devices to toggle content when a pre-assigned target image becomes visible to its camera or viewfinder.[167] This can side-step the reliance of GPS on a strong signal to be spatially accurate. What it does require, however, is sophisticated motion-tracking capabilities in order to adjust the display of content in real time as users traverse a site or move their device around. The target-based method is ideal for situations in which the AR content is either fixed at a particular distance or angle in relation to the user, or if the user holding the device can move around the target and view the object from an outward perspective, from the outside. The mobile device uses the target image for scale and orientation; it is this capacity that enables the precise placement and scaling of virtual content in real time in relation to real objects.

Situating Digital Heritage Interpretation

In the field of cultural heritage management, interpretation has a distinct connotation that should be considered separately from the way that historical geographers like Richard Schein understand the term. Historians, archaeologists, and cultural resource managers consider heritage interpretation as a learning, communicating and management tool to increase visitors' awareness and empathy in regard to the heritage sites or

[167] Amin and Govilkar. "Comparative study of augmented reality SDKs," 2015.

artifacts.[168] Typically, these tools take the form of storylines adapted to guide visitors toward deeper engagement with and understanding of the site or objects.[169] The goals of this narrative-driven strategy have traditionally been to facilitate learning, provoke attitudinal or behavioral change, and enhance visitor enjoyment.[170]

Freeman Tilden's six principles of interpretation are an oft-cited starting point for understanding the practice of heritage interpretation. According to Tilden, effective interpretative programming (1) relates to visitors' experience, (2) offers revelation, not just information, (3) integrates information from multiple disciplines in a teachable way, (4) provokes empathy and cultural understanding, (5) aims to present the whole, not just the parts, and (6) includes separate programming for children. Subsequent frameworks from more recent authors are largely an elaboration on and clarification of these six principles.[171]

The digitization of cultural heritage has greatly complicated the application of Tilden's principles. UNESCO defines digital heritage as unique resources of human knowledge and expression "created digitally or converted into digital-form from existing analogue resources."[172] Digital heritage can thus be "digital-borne," meaning entirely computer-generated or "digital surrogates," meaning scans, models, or recordings of

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[168] Rahaman, Hafizur, and Beng Kiang Tan. "Interpreting Digital Heritage: Considering end- User's Perspective." Paper presented at the 15th international conference on computer aided architectural design research in Asia, CAADRIA, Hong Kong, April 7–10, 2010.
[169] Beck, Larry, and Ted Cable. *Interpretation for the 21st Century*. Champaign, IL: Sagamore Publishing (1998); Howard, Peter. *Heritage: Management, Interpretation, Identity*. London: Continuum (2003); Goodchild, Peter. "Interpreting Landscape Heritage." Paper presented at the international symposium on "interpretation: from monument to living heritage" and 2nd ICOMOS Thailand general assembly, Bankok, Thailand, November 1–3, 2007.
[170] Rahaman, Hafizur, and Beng Kiang Tan. "Digital Heritage Interpretation: Learning From the Realm of Real-World." *Journal of Interpretation Research* vol. 22, no. 2 (2017), 53–64.
[171] Tilden, Freeman. *Interpreting Our Heritage*. 3rd ed. Chapel Hill: Chapel Hill books, University of North Carolina Press (1977).
[172] UNESCO. "Charter on the Preservation of the Digital Heritage." In *32nd session: The general conference of the united nations educational, scientific and cultural organization*. Paris: UNESCO (2003).

heritage in analogue form.[173] Tilden's framework specifically addresses the interpretation of physical historical and archeological sites and artifacts, and does not easily apply to either form of digital heritage. To date, there has been a dearth of research literature focusing explicitly on the theory and methodology of digital interpretation and criticality in digital representation. Further, few practitioners in the field of heritage visualization have advanced arguments for the necessity of an explicit method of interpreting digital heritage.[174] As a result, even as digital heritage projects continue to proliferate, there remains a considerable gap in the literature, theory, and critical discourse of digital heritage interpretation.

Subsequent work by Rahaman has adapted Tilden's principles to the interpretation of such objects and offers the most comprehensive available conceptual framework for the interpretation of digital heritage. Rahaman's framework is a response to a number of issues that have long plagued digital heritage as a result of inadequate literature, methods, and critical discourse. Despite the flux of technological development and the proliferation of digital technologies among ordinary people, digital heritage projects are still mostly designed and developed without end-users in mind. Instead, these projects tend to focus exclusively on either the process or product of digitization.[175] Further, traditional media experts – the skilled modelers, animators, and programmers

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[173] UNESCO, "Charter on the Preservation of Digital Heritage," 2003.

[174] Affleck, Janice. "Memory Capsules: Discursive Interpretation of Cultural Heritage through Digital Media." HKU Theses Online (HKUTO) (2007); Tan, Beng Kiang, and Hafizur Rahaman. "Virtual Heritage: Reality and Criticism." Paper presented at the CAADfutures 2009: joining languages, cultures and visions, Montreal, Canada, June 17–19, 2009Cameron, Fiona. "The Politics of Heritage Authorship: The Case of Digital Heritage Collections." In New Heritage: New Media and Cultural Heritage, edited by Yehuda E. Kalay, Thomas Kvan and Janice Afflek, 170–184. New York: Routledge (2008).

[175] Rahaman and Tan. "Interpreting Digital Heritage," 2010; Rahaman, Hafizur, and Beng Kiang Tan. 2011. "Interpreting Digital Heritage: A Conceptual Model with End-users' Perspective." International Journal of Architectural Computing (IJAC) vol. 9, no. 1 (2011), 99–113.

enabling digitization – who undertake digital reconstructions may not be fully aware of the range of cultural values associated with a particular site or artifact, despite their considerable technical know-how. In this manner, the experts charged with digitally documenting and visualizing heritage sites and artifacts may inadvertently edify inappropriate assumptions in the resultant representation.[176]

Using Tilden's principles as a starting point, Rahaman identifies four objectives of digital heritage interpretation: user satisfaction, provocation / empathy, promotion of cultural learning, and multiplicity of historical perspectives. To achieve these objectives, he identifies fifteen considerations organized under four aspects: effective communication, cultural learning, embodied interaction and dialogic interaction. Each consideration offers a unique approach to achieving its respective aspect.[177]

Effective communication can be achieved through variety of content, adopting a consumer–led approach, setting up challenges for users to complete, ensuring ease of orientation and freedom of visit, remaining open to new information – including user contributions – and leveraging affordances to connect with user experience.[178] Cultural learning, or deep understanding of and connection to the context of a given site or artifact, can be achieved by communicating and connecting with users through artifacts, revealing the symbolic meanings and associations of those artifacts, and encouraging a

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[176] Cameron, Fiona. “The Politics of Heritage Authorship: The Case of Digital Heritage Collections.” In *New Heritage: New Media and Cultural Heritage*, edited by Yehuda E. Kalay, Thomas Kvan and Janice Afflek, 170–184. New York: Routledge (2008); Kalay, Yehuda E. “Preserving Cultural Heritage Through Digital Media.” In *New Heritage: New Media and Cultural Heritage* (2008); Dave, Bharat. “Virtual Heritage: Mediating Space, Time and Perspectives.” In *New Heritage: New Media and Cultural Heritage* (2008).

[177] Rahaman, Hafizur. "Digital heritage interpretation: a conceptual framework." *Digital Creativity* 29, no. 2-3 (2018): 208-234.

[178] Rahaman, “Digital heritage interpretation,” 2018.

spirit of exploration throughout the site.[179] Embodied interaction can be achieved by promoting active participation through problem-solving and meaning -making, setting up tasks to accomplish, allowing users to contribute and share their own reflections and content, and providing users with real-time feedback that is responsive to their actions.[180] Finally, dialogic interaction can be achieved by maximizing user interaction, creating spaces for users to share reflections, and promoting collaborative meaning-making by enabling dialogue between locals, participants, and experts.[181]

Rahaman's framework shows unique potential to synthesize the concept of "re-construction" and "popular interpretation" in the digital realm to produce a nonlinear interpretive process.[182] From both points of theory and practice, it also presents a way to juxtapose the professional and popular content at the narrative level. In other words, it allows for the juxtaposition of expert and stakeholder narratives, or the narratives of traditional and local experts.

Additionally, Rahaman's framework offers a new way of understanding how interpretation can become a space for inter-subjectivity and create an environment where higher satisfaction, provocation, learning and understanding of the past from multiple perspectives can take place.[183] Indeed, a more holistic understanding and reconstruction of history may only be possible when interpretive interventions make space for multiplicity both in the content they present and the opportunities for user engagement

[179] Ibid.
[180] Ibid.
[181] Ibid.
[182] Uzzell, David. *Heritage Interpretation*. London: Belhaven Press (1989); Fitch, James Marston. *Historic Preservation: Curatorial Management of the Built World*. New York: McGraw-Hill (1982).
[183] Rahaman, "Digital heritage interpretation," 2018.

they afford.[184] Capturing and communicating user-submitted perspectives and narratives can achieve this end, enabling a more broad-based, comprehensive understanding of the multiple intersecting discourses that belie the full meaning of cultural heritage sites to the people who frequent them.[185] The creation of such a space should be the goal of any future interpretive intervention at Simmons Row that adopts a new heritage approach.

Background Research Summary

Black vernacular homespaces are a unique form a cultural heritage that often necessitate novel, cutting-edge approaches to landscape visualization and interpretation due to gaps in the archives that are a lasting effect of the history of slavery and systemic racism in the United States. New heritage encompasses a body of theory and practice well-suited to addressing this longstanding challenge and offers a promising alternative to the physical reconstruction of relict Black homespaces. The field of new heritage has only just begun to align with regulatory guidelines such as the Secretary of the Interior's Standards for the Treatment of Cultural Landscapes and the London Charter as well conceptual models like Rahaman's framework for digital heritage interpretation. Greater adherence to and implementation of these guidelines and frameworks may enable practitioners to leverage the full range of affordances offered by digital technologies while safeguarding new heritage practice safeguard new heritage practice against

[184] Ibid.

[185] Roussou, Maria, Laia Pujol, Akrivi Katifori, Angeliki Chrysanthi, Sara Perry, and Maria Vayanou. "The Museum as Digital Storyteller: Collaborative Participatory Creation of Interactive Digital Experiences" (2015); Tammaro, Anna Maria. "Participatory Approaches and Innovation in Galleries, Libraries, Archives, and Museums." International Information & Library Review vol. 48, no. 1 (2016), 37–44.

uncritical misrepresentations of the past. Having provided a theoretical grounding for my proposed interpretive intervention, I will now move on to outline the history of Simmons Row as a cultural landscape.

CHAPTER III

SITE HISTORY

Introduction

To date, Simmons Row has never been formally assessed as a cultural landscape. As such, it is necessary to begin by describing it as such in terms acceptable to the current practice of cultural landscape conservation. This means detailing its physical history, character-defining features, significance and accompanying period of significance, so far as they are known. Having defined the key concepts relevant to my research question, I will now present baseline historical research pertaining to the physical development and demolition of Simmons Row in order to begin defining it as a cultural landscape and framing the design situation it is embedded within.

Antebellum Period – Calvin Jones Plantation

In 1805, northern Wake County, North Carolina was designated the "Forest District" for the abundant forests spanning the area north of the Neuse River, an area also frequently referred to as the "Forest of Wake." Dr. Calvin Jones, a prominent physician originally from Massachusetts who gained notoriety in North Carolina as a politician, newspaper publisher, and war veteran, had moved to Wake County in 1803, settling first in Raleigh. Over a decade later, Jones married into a wealthy farming and slaveholding family, thereby acquiring more than 20 enslaved people and becoming a member of the

antebellum planter class. Searching for a place to put his enslaved workforce to better use, he purchased a 615-acre tract in the "Wake Forest Township" from Davis Battle for $4,000 in 1820.[186]

With his family and enslaved workforce in tow, Jones moved into the two-story Federal-style frame house that Davis Battle had constructed and centrally located on what Jones would thereafter refer to as his "Wake Forest Plantation." Over the proceeding years, enslaved workers produced corn, wheat, cotton, hay, vegetables, fruit, and distilled brandy on the plantation. When Jones was appointed postmaster for the township in 1823, he began heading his letters as coming from "Wake Forest."[187]



Figure 7: The Calvin Jones House has been moved at least twice during its history. Originally, it had been centrally located on Jones's plantation near the current center of the Southeastern Baptist Cemetery. Image from Wake Forest Historic Preservation Plan.

[186] Town of Wake Forest. "Wake Forest Historic Preservation Plan." Wake Forest, NC: Town of Wake Forest (September 2012), 7. Web. Accessed April 16, 2022. https://issuu.com/bmartinson/docs/historicpreservationplan?e=4737722/9055804; Davis Battle deed to Calvin Jones, in "Archives—Wills and Gifts" folder, Wake Forest University Financial Services, Winston-Salem, North Carolina; Marshall DeLancey Haywood, *Calvin Jones: Physician, Soldier and Free Mason: 1775–1846* (Bolivar, Tennessee: Press of Oxford Orphanage, 1919), 22.

.[187] Town of Wake Forest, "Wake Forest Historic Preservation Plan" (2012), 7; Jones, Calvin. "Farm Journal, 1820-1835" 96, 98. Calvin Jones Papers, Special Collections & Archives, WSR Library, Wake Forest University. Web. Accessed April 16, 2022. https://wakespace.lib.wfu.edu/handle/10339/95463

No sooner than Jones and his family had assumed the operation of their plantation at Wake Forest, Jones began searching for a new buyer. In an advertisement he placed in *The Raleigh Register* in 1836, Jones described his holdings thusly:

"*It is 16 miles from Raleigh on the mail road to Oxford, and the nearest and much travelled road to Warrenton and Petersburg, 5 miles from Colonel Donaldson's works at the falls of Neuse, and in one of the best neighbourhoods in the state […] My plantation consists of about 617 acres, on Richland creek, which is without a mill seat and of course healthy [...] It is divided into 5 fields for a regular and systematic course of cropping, besides a field for a succession of root crops and clover...*"[188]

As this description suggests, fields stretched in all directions about the main house. In his *Farm Journals*, Jones included rough sketches of his five fields, placing each in relation to the house, nearby Richland Creek, and the main road passing between the two. According to Capps, these sketches depict lowland fields nearer to Richland Creek, west of the house, while the upland fields surrounded the house and extended to the north, south, and east.[189] The northeastern-most fields would have encompassed the lands on which the East End neighborhood–today known as the Northeast Community–would eventually develop.

[188] Calvin Jones, "My Wake Forest Plantation for Sale," *The Raleigh Register*, September 14, 1827, 3.
[189] Capps, Matthew. "Study of the Built Landscape of the Original Campus of Wake Forest University," (Winston-Salem, North Carolina: Slavery, Race, and Memory Project, Wake Forest University, 2019), 6. Web. Accessed April 16, 2022. https://wakespace.lib.wfu.edu/bitstream/handle/10339/94331/Capps_WFHMReport_9-22-19_with_Introduction.pdf



Figure 8: This excerpt from Jones's Farm Journal depicts his home at its original central location surrounded by agricultural fields. Image scanned and published by the ZSR Library, Special Collections and Archives.



Figure 9: Jones's land holdings to the northeast of his home encompass the area now known as the Northeast Community. Image scanned and published by the ZSR Library, Special Collections and Archives.

Antebellum Period - Wake Forest Institute

In 1832, the North Carolina Baptist Convention had begun searching for a site suitable to the establishment of a new manual labor institute. Meanwhile, Dr. Jones had renewed his efforts to sell his Wake Forest plantation. John Purefoy, a Baptist minister living near the plantation at the time, notified the Convention of Jones's intentions and convinced them to purchase the property for the new institute. Jones sold the entirety of his 615-acre tract to the trustees of the newly established "Wake Forest Institute" later that same year.[190] By February of 1834, the new institute was open and accepting male students.

Within a year of its founding, the Wake Forest Institute had accepted seventy-two students.[191] Hillsborough architect John Berry was hired to design new facilities for the growing campus. Berry designed and constructed three new brick buildings – a hall with additional classroom space and two faculty residences. At this time, the Calvin Jones House was moved just to the south of its original location at the center of the new campus to make way for the new Administration Building. The new classroom hall – named Wait Hall for the institute's first president, Samuel Wait – replaced the Calvin Jones House at the center of campus. The two faculty residences – North Brick House and South Brick House – were named for their respective locations at the north and south ends of campus.[192]

[190] Town of Wake Forest, "Wake Forest Historic Preservation Plan" (2012), 7.
[191] Ibid, 8.
[192] Ibid, 8; Capps, "Study of the Built Landscape of the Original Campus of Wake Forest University" (2019), 13.

From 1834 to 1838, the Institute functioned as a manual labor institution focusing on agricultural work. In 1838, this emphasis on agriculture and manual labor was abandoned, and the school rechartered as "Wake Forest College". With no further use for the surrounding fields, and growing further in debt from its continued expansion, the College began dividing Jones's original 615-acre tract into residential lots and selling them for $100 to $150 each.[193]

It was around this time that the Wake Forest Cemetery began to develop as well. In 1836, Daniel Lindsay Russell was the first death in the newly established college community of Wake Forest. He was interred on land set aside by the College in 1835. Though his was the first known death in Wake Forest, the exact site of his burial remains uncertain. A year later, Charles R. Merriam, brother-in-law to Samuel Waits, became the second recorded death in the community. His interment site remains the earliest marked grave in Wake Forest Cemetery today.[194] For several decades thereafter, this Cemetery remained the only significant development east of the developing town.

[193] Town of Wake Forest, "Wake Forest Historic Preservation Plan," (2012), 8.
[194] Patterson, Allen H. Jr. "The Wake Forest Cemetery: Fifty-Two Stones, One Thousand Years of Service." (Wake Forest University, May 2022), 7. Web. Accessed April 16, 2022. https://wfu.primo.exlibrisgroup.com/permalink/01WAKE_INST/1al1so1/alma9945504200506286; "Wake Forest Cemetery Historical Listings." Wake Forest, NC: Wake Forest Cemetery, Town of Wake Forest. Compiled by the Wake Forest Cemetery Advisory Board. Web. Accessed April 16, 2022. https://www.wakeforestnc.gov/sites/default/files/uploads/cemetery_advisory_board/historical-listings.pdf

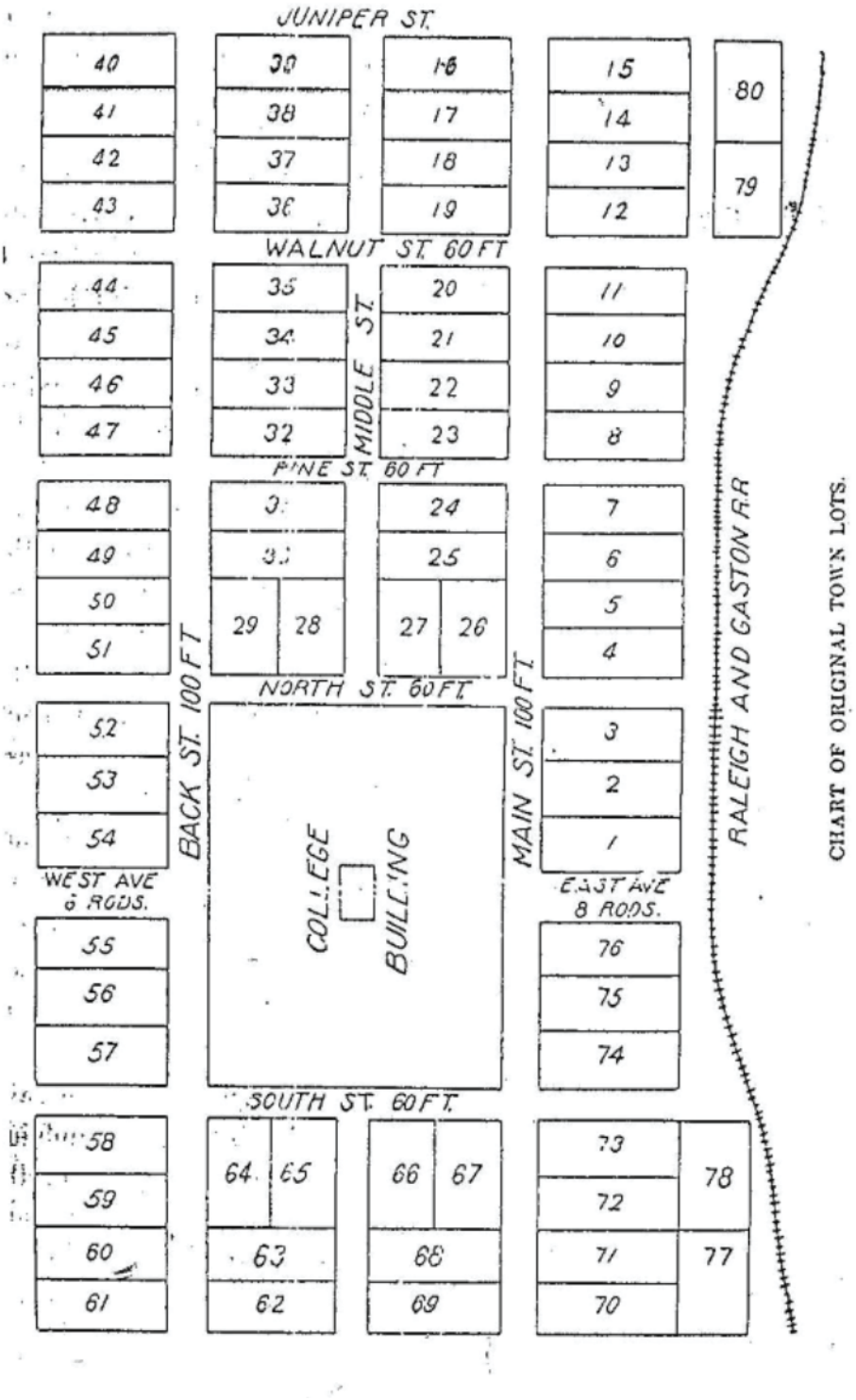


Figure 10: The original layout of Wake Forest town proper consisted of Jones's former farm lands divided into one-acre parcels sold off at $100 to $150 an acre. Image from Wake Forest Historic Preservation Plan.

Antebellum Period – Railroad | "Farm Lands" Conveyances

The arrival of the railroad in Wake Forest in the late 1830s radically altered the landscape of the old plantation and newly established Wake Forest College campus. Wake Forest College first donated the right-of-way land to the Raleigh and Gaston Railroad in 1837. By 1838, the tracks through campus had been completed and would thereafter set the eastern border of the campus as well as the dividing line between the town proper and the outer plantation lands to the east – then colloquially known as the "farm lands."[195]

Beginning in the 1840s, the College, still deeply in debt, began selling off the "farm lands" east of the railroad tracks. The College sold its first portion of these lands to Isham Holding in the early 1840s. In 1848, W. T. Brooks bought thirty acres between the railroad and the "Ridge Path," a dirt path to the east that likely became North Taylor Street. In 1852, Brooks bought an additional 94 acres north of his 1848 purchase for $10 an acre. The remaining 42 acres of "farm lands," located between the Brooks and Holding properties, were sold to John M. Brewer for $550 - about $13.75 an acre in 1852.[196] Given that residential lots nearer to the town proper were selling for $100 to $150, it appears that the "farm lands" were marginally valuable in comparison.[197]

John M. Brewer's 42-acre tract likely included the lands that would develop into Simmons Row. Per the boundary description included in the deed, this tract was bounded

[195] Little, Ruth. "Ailey Young House, Wake County, North Carolina." National Register of Historic Places Form (Draft). Raleigh, North Carolina: Longleaf Historic Resources, prepared for the Town of Wake Forest (2009), 7.
[196] Little, "Ailey Young House, Wake County, North Carolina," (2009), 7.
[197] Town of Wake Forest, "Wake Forest Historic Preservation Plan," (2012), 8.

to the west by Raleigh and Gaston Railroad, to the north by Isham Holding's property, and to the east by the "old Ridge Road or path." The two-acre Wake Forest Cemetery was also located on this parcel. Soon after Brewer purchased this property, the Trustees of Wake Forest College reserved the Cemetery and an entry right-of-way for themselves in perpetuity.[198]

The Simmons During the Antebellum Period



Figure 11: William Gaston (W.G.) Simmons remains a foundational figure in the history of the Northeast Community by virtue of the fact that it developed atop his former landholdings. Image scanned and published by Wake Forest Historical Museum.

[198] Little, "Ailey Young House, Wake County, North Carolina," (2009), 8; Wake County Register of Deeds. "Wake Forest College to John M. Brewer." *Consolidated Real Property Index*, Book 19, Page 407, Raleigh, NC: Register of Deeds, 1852. Web. Accessed April 16, 2022. http://rodcrpi.wakegov.com/booksweb/PDFView.aspx?DocID=108447841&RecordDate=10/17/1852

William Gaston (W.G.) Simmons was born to a wealthy family in Montgomery County, North Carolina in 1830. Supported by his father Lockey Simmons, who placed "a high estimate upon learning," W. G. Simmons graduated from Wake Forest College in 1852 and went on to earn his juris doctor at the University of North Carolina in Chapel Hill.[199] In 1853, Simmons married Mary Elizabeth Foote, the only daughter of a planter family in Warren County, North Carolina. Joining the faculty at Wake Forest College as a professor of chemistry and natural history in 1855 and serving in this capacity, in addition to numerous administrative positions, until his death in 1889. Simmons remained a beloved and well-respected presence on campus.[200]

[199] Paschal, George. "Biography of William Gaston Simmons" in History of Wake Forest College, Volume II (1895-1905). Raleigh, NC: Edwards & Broughton Company (1943), 498. Web. Accessed April 16, 2022. https://wakespace.lib.wfu.edu/bitstream/handle/10339/33246/wf_history_v2.pdf.
[200] Little, "Ailey Young House, Wake County, North Carolina," (2009), 9; Cocke, Elton C. "A Brief History of the Department of Biology of Wake Forest College." *Bios* 19, no. 3 (1948): 179-184.



Figure 12: The North Brick House remained the Simmonses' primary residence for most of their lives in Wake Forest. Image scanned and published by Wake Forest Historical Museum.

During their first years of residency in Wake Forest, William and Mary rented the North Brick House near campus on the corner of what is now North Avenue and North Main Street. By 1856, they had purchased the North Brick House, which would remain their place of residence for the remainder of their lives.[201] The 1860 Census Slave Schedules indicate that there were eight enslaved people living with the Simmons around

[201] Little, "Ailey Young House, Wake County, North Carolina," (2009), 9; Wake County Register of Deeds. "John Kerr to William Gaston Simmons." *Consolidated Real Property Index*, Book 21, Page 263, Raleigh, NC: Register of Deeds, 1856. Web. Accessed April 16, 2022. http://rodcrpi.wakegov.com/booksweb/PDFView.aspx?DocID=108469969&RecordDate=07/23/1856

this time – three women, one man, and four girls.[202] The 1915 Sanborn maps for the Town of Wake Forest denote two small servants' dwellings still sited behind the North Brick House.[203] It is likely that these dwellings were inhabited by the enslaved individuals living with the Simmons prior to emancipation.

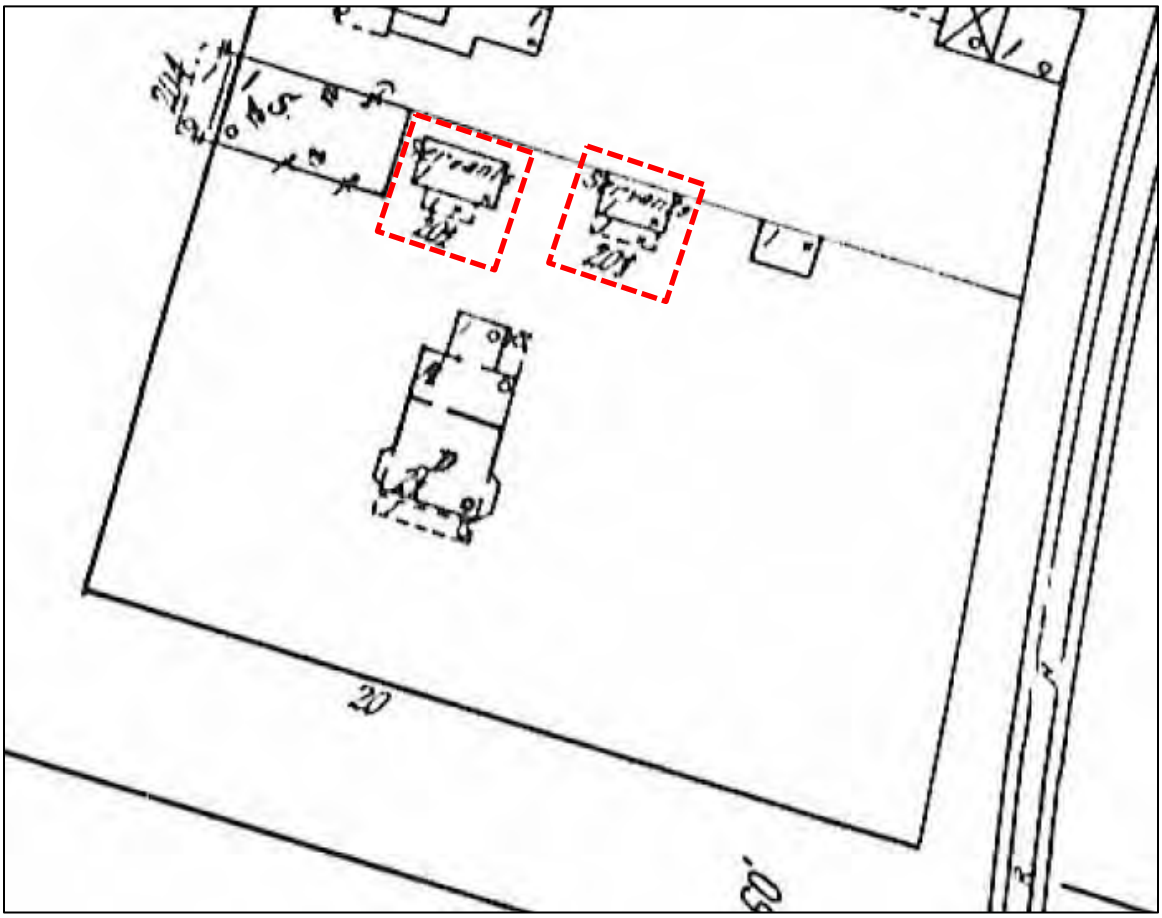


Figure 13: The 1915 Sanborn Map depicts the servants' residences located behind the North Brick House. These buildings housed eight people enslaved by the Simmons family. Screen clipping of 1915 Sanborn Map, Wake Forest, NC.

[202] The National Archives in Washington DC; Washington DC, USA; *Eighth Census of the United States 1860*; Series Number: *M653*; Record Group: *Records of the Bureau of the Census*; Record Group Number: *29*. Lehi, UT, USA: Ancestry.com Operations Inc, 2010. Web. Accessed April 16, 2022 on Ancestry.com.
[203] Sanborn Fire Insurance Company. Map. Wake Forest, NC, June 1915, Sheet 4.

At this time, all lands east of the railroad tracks remained undeveloped, save for the two-acre Wake Forest Cemetery. It is notable, however, that the North Brick House is located approximately three blocks southwest of the present location of the Ailey Young House on North White Street.

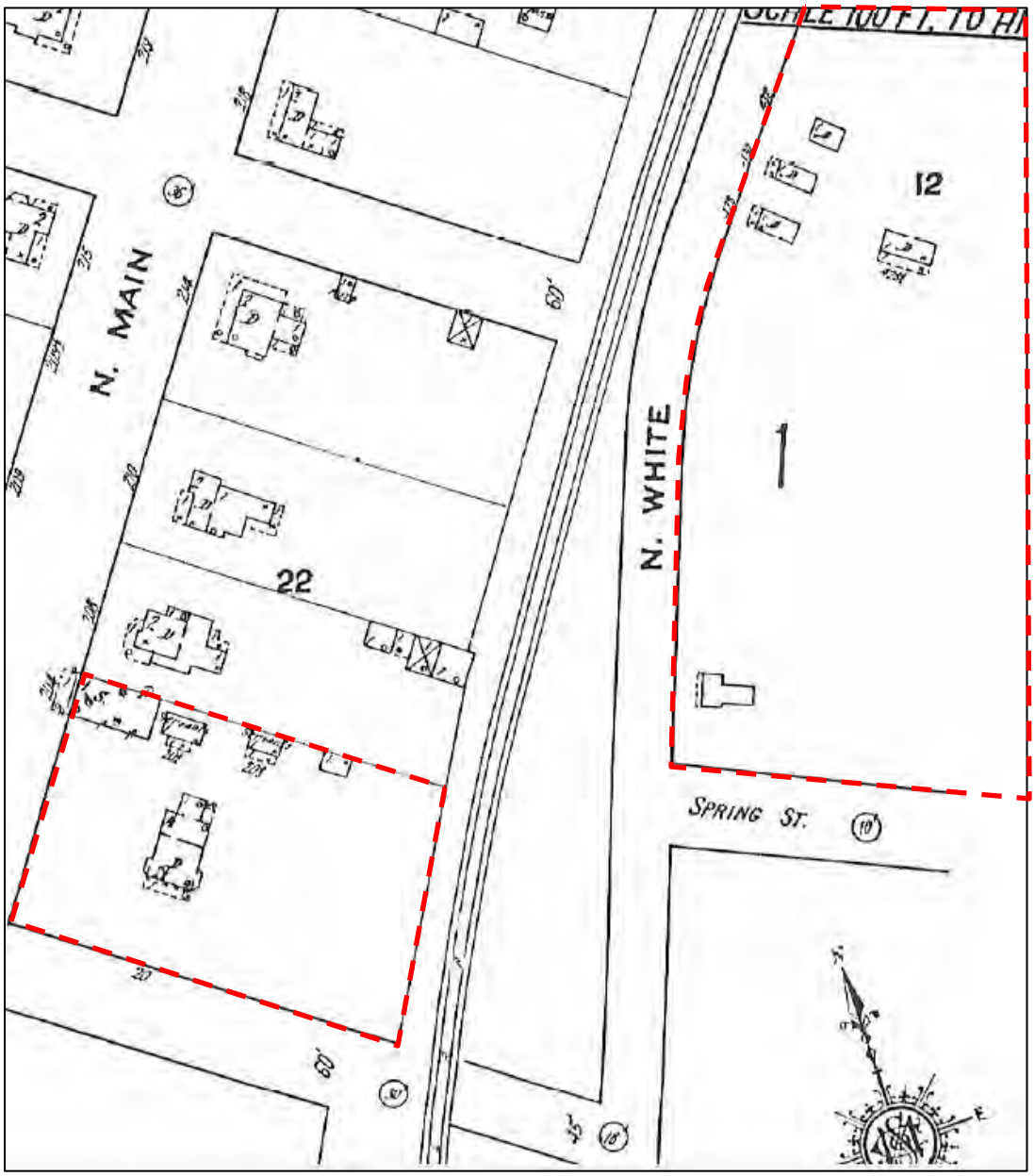


Figure 14: The proximity of the North Brick House to Simmons Row recalls spatial arrangements intended for surveillance typical of plantation landscapes, raising questions as to whether the eleven dwellings on North White Street might have originally been constructed as slave housing. Screen clipping of 1915 Sanborn Map, Wake Forest, NC.

Civil War Years (1861 – 1865)

With the onset of the Civil War in 1861, the students and at least one faculty member left to fight for the Confederate Army, prompting the College to close. George W. Paschal, Wake Forest professor and historian, noted that the former "farm lands" remained undeveloped during the Civil War. "East of the railroad there was no building," Paschal wrote, "nothing but an old field covered with pines."[204] This observation suggests that the fields had been abandoned long enough by this point to undergo intermediate stages of ecological succession. In 1865, the College reopened with the help of W. G. and Mary E. Simmons.

The Simmons during Reconstruction

In 1866, John M. Brewer sold his 42-acre tract east of the railroad tracks to Professor Simmons for $800.00, including the Wake Forest Cemetery.[205] By 1875, Simmons had begun apportioning this land and selling it to formerly enslaved African Americans – one such sale, recorded in 1879, conveyed a one-acre tract to the trustees of the newly formed Olive Branch Baptist Church.[206] Around this nucleus, a new freedmen's enclave began to develop.

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[204] Little, "Ailey Young House, Wake County, North Carolina," (2009), 8; Paschal, "History of Wake Forest College, Vol. 2," (1942), 34.
[205] Little, "Ailey Young House, Wake County, North Carolina," (2009), 8; Wake County Register of Deeds. "John M. Brewer to William Gaston Simmons." *Consolidated Real Property Index*, Book 24, Page 638, Raleigh, NC: Register of Deeds, 1866. Web. Accessed April 16, 2022. http://rodcrpi.wakegov.com/Booksweb/PDFView.aspx?DocID=108469076&RecordDate=10/15/1866
[206] Wake County Register of Deeds. "W.G. Simmons & Wife to Trustees Olive Branch Church." *Consolidated Real Property Index*, Book 283, Page 524, Raleigh, NC: Register of Deeds, 1879. Web. Accessed April 16, 2022. http://rodcrpi.wakegov.com/Booksweb/PDFView.aspx?DocID=107375555&RecordDate=05/15/1914

Based on its construction technology, it is likely that the Ailey Young House was built circa-1875 as well.[207] Though definitive evidence remains to be recovered, the most likely scenario accepted by architectural historians is that the construction of the Ailey Young House, along with a row of similar vernacular-style duplexes, was ordered by Simmons to provide rental housing.[208]

Simmons's will, written and probated in 1889, appointed his wife Mary as executrix and granted her power to divide his real estate into "as many parcels or lots as she may think proper and expedient," sell it off, and distribute the proceeds among their seven children.[209] Upon her husband's death later that same year, Mary continued to sell the small, subdivided lots to African Americans living in and around Wake Forest. In executing her husband's wishes, Mary thus facilitated the growth of the developing freedmen's enclave.[210]

Development of the East End

Although the Gaston and Raleigh railroad had been constructed in the 1830s, the depot was originally located 1.5 miles south in the town of Forestville. In the 1870s, the depot was relocated to a new site adjacent to the College, stimulating commercial development. As the College continued to sell lots on the east side of the tracks a new commercial district began to develop on White Street. This new economic development enabled the town to draft its first charter. On March 26, 1880, the Town of Wake Forest

[207] Little, "Ailey Young House, Wake County, North Carolina," (2009), 1.
[208] Ibid. 11.
[209] Ancestry.com. "Will of William G. Simmons, Wake County, N.C., 1889." *North Carolina, U.S., Wills and Probate Records, 1665-1998*. Wills and Estate Papers (Wake County), 1663-1978; Author: North Carolina. Division of Archives and History; Probate Place: Wake, North Carolina. Provo, UT, USA: Ancestry.com Operations, Inc., 2015.
[210] Little, "Ailey Young House, Wake County, North Carolina," (2009), 12.

College was officially incorporated. An amendment to this charter shortened the name of the town to Wake Forest in 1909.[211]

Meanwhile, the Wake Forest Cemetery, originally two acres, continued to grow. In 1885, management of the Cemetery appears to have been assumed by the Wake Forest Cemetery Association, based on a land sale recorded that year which conveyed a 1.10-acre tract to W. G. Simmons which adjoined his own lands and those of said Association.[212] Gradually, the Cemetery, originally two acres, enlarged to its current size of 18 acres.[213] Just south of the Cemetery, formerly enslaved African Americans and their families struggled to make a life for themselves on Simmons Row, moving into and out of the rental housing that Simmons had built. Some, like the Cooke family, took out mortgages with the Simmonses, and would eventually begin buying land themselves.[214]

Simultaneously, the freedmen's enclave that had taken shape northeast of the town grew to encompass an area bounded generally by North White Street and the railroad tracks to the west, North White Street to the west, Wait Avenue to the south, North Allen Road to the east, and East Perry Avenue to the north. In 1879, Olive Branch Baptist Church split from the Wake Forest Baptist Church and established a new sanctuary at the corner of East Juniper Avenue and North Taylor Street. Neighborhood development coalesced around this central institution, spreading northeast, east, and southeast from the church. The resultant streets developed organically – while loosely

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[211] Town of Wake Forest, "Wake Forest Historic Preservation Plan," (2012), 9.
[212] Little, "Ailey Young House, Wake County, North Carolina," (2009), 14; Wake County Register of Deeds. "A.R. Vann to William G. Simmons" *Consolidated Real Property Index*, Book 84, Page 462, Raleigh, NC: Register of Deeds, 1885. Web. Accessed April 16, 2022. http://rodcrpi.wakegov.com/Booksweb/PDFView.aspx?DocID=108152706&RecordDate=04/25/1885
[213] Little, "Ailey Young House, Wake County, North Carolina," (2009), 14.
[214] See "The Cookes at 442 & 444 North White Street," pp. 119-128.

gridded, circulation in the neighborhood exhibited numerous inconsistencies and mismatched intersections as builders navigated natural features and irregular land parcels.[215] As the East End developed into a distinct community on the outskirts of Wake Forest, the tracks of the Raleigh and Gaston railroad took on a layered significance, forming not only a physical boundary between the African American development and the established white community north of the Wake Forest College campus but a psychological one as well.

[215] Slane, Heather Wagner and Cheri LaFlamme Szcodronski, "Wake Forest, North Carolina Architectural Survey Update 1958-1975" (Durham, North Carolina: hmwPreservation, 2020), 41. Web. Accessed April 16, 2022. https://files.nc.gov/ncdcr/historic-preservation-office/survey-and-national-register/surveyreports/Final-Report-Wake-Forest-North-Carolina-Architectural-Survey-Update-1958-1975.pdf

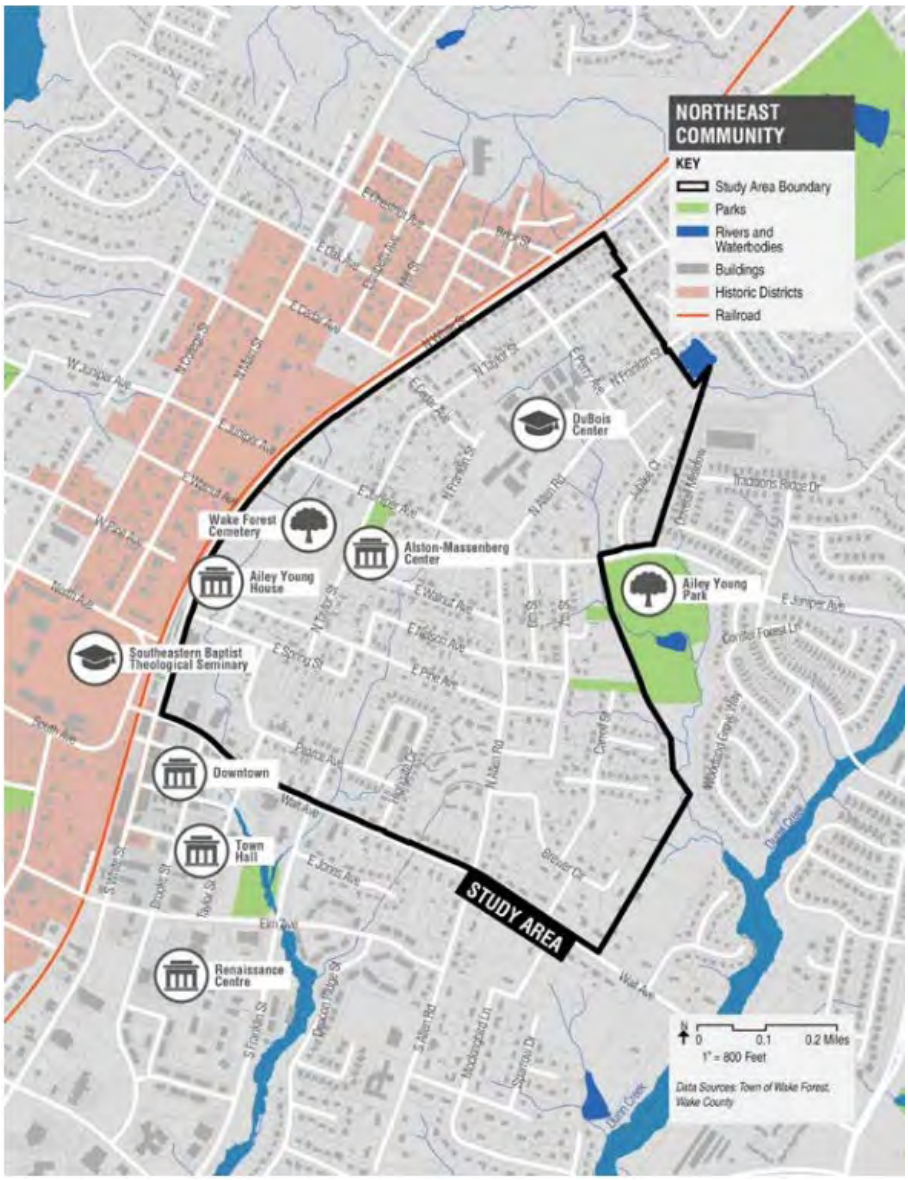


Figure 15: This contemporary study area map, drawn from the updated Northeast Community Plan, illustrates the extent of the area encompassed by the neighborhood. The community characteristics denoted by this boundary have persisted since the early 1900s. Map by Rhodeside & Harwell (RHI).

By the early 1900s, the East End was home to a majority of the formerly enslaved Black population of Wake Forest. Many continued to work in town as domestic servants or laundresses, catering to faculty and students at Wake Forest College, or as day laborers at nearby farms, on the railroad, at the Glenn Royall Cotton Mill, or in the shops of

burgeoning commercial district on South Main Street. Others established their own businesses within the neighborhood, establishing a Black commercial district on North White Street adjacent to white-dominated South White Street. Over time, the community came to be served by its own cadre of small business owners, including funeral home directors, laundresses, midwives, grocers, masons, electricians, plumbers, barbers, and hairstylists. Blacks-only chapters of the Masonic Lodge and Order of the Eastern Star readily accepted East End residents. [216] Further, deed records indicate that the United Order of Tents, a Black women's secret society that engaged in mutual aid work, owned land on Simmons Row from 1896 to 1909 and was likely active in the community at this time as well.[217]

The 1915 Sanborn map refers to the East End area as "Happy Hill" - a derogatory, patronizing term applied to the segregated section of Southern Towns.[218] Despite such derision, the East End soon became notable in the state of North Carolina for its educational institutions.[219] The first public school for Black children was located at the corner of E. Juniper and Taylor Street and began serving students as early as the 1890s. It is likely that this first public school was established and operated by the trustees of Olive Branch Baptist Church.

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[216] Slane and Szcodronski, "Wake Forest, North Carolina Architectural Survey Update 1958-1975" (2020), 41.

[217] Wake County Register of Deeds. "M.E. Simmons to Trustees of Golden Rule Tent Society – No. 99" *Consolidated Real Property Index*, Book 136, Page 298, Raleigh, NC: Register of Deeds, 1896. Web. Accessed April 17, 2022. http://rodcrpi.wakegov.com/booksweb/PDFView.aspx?DocID=108094352&RecordDate=05/14/1896; Wake County Register of Deeds. "Emma Dent, et als Trustees to J.B. Carlyle" *Consolidated Real Property Index*, Book 235, Page 342, Raleigh, NC: Register of Deeds, 1896. Web. Accessed April 17, 2022. http://rodcrpi.wakegov.com/Booksweb/PDFView.aspx?DocID=107426093&RecordDate=01/26/1909

[218] Bennett, Kelley. "Lost History: Happy Hill and Freedmen's Enclaves" (Greensboro, North Carolina: The Historic Dimension Series, UNCG Department of Interior Architecture, Fall 2006), http://libcdm1.uncg.edu/cdm/ref/collection/Community/id/17504.

[219] Sanborn Fire Insurance Company. Map. Wake Forest, NC, June 1915, Sheet 1.

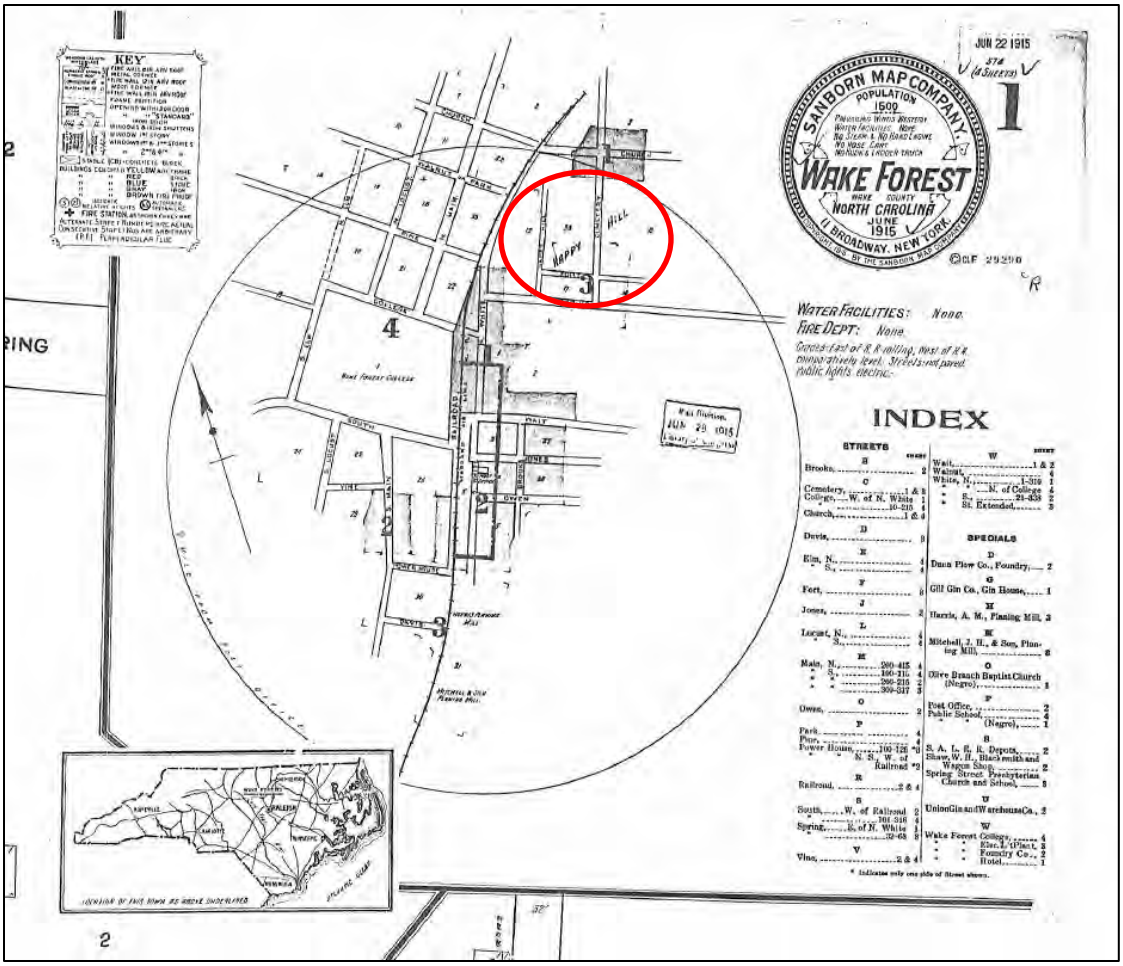


Figure 16: What few parts of the Northeast Community that are visible on the 1915 Sanborn Maps are labelled "Happy Hill," a derogatory term for Black neighborhoods employed elsewhere in the Piedmont South. Screen clipping of 1915 Sanborn Map, Wake Forest, NC.

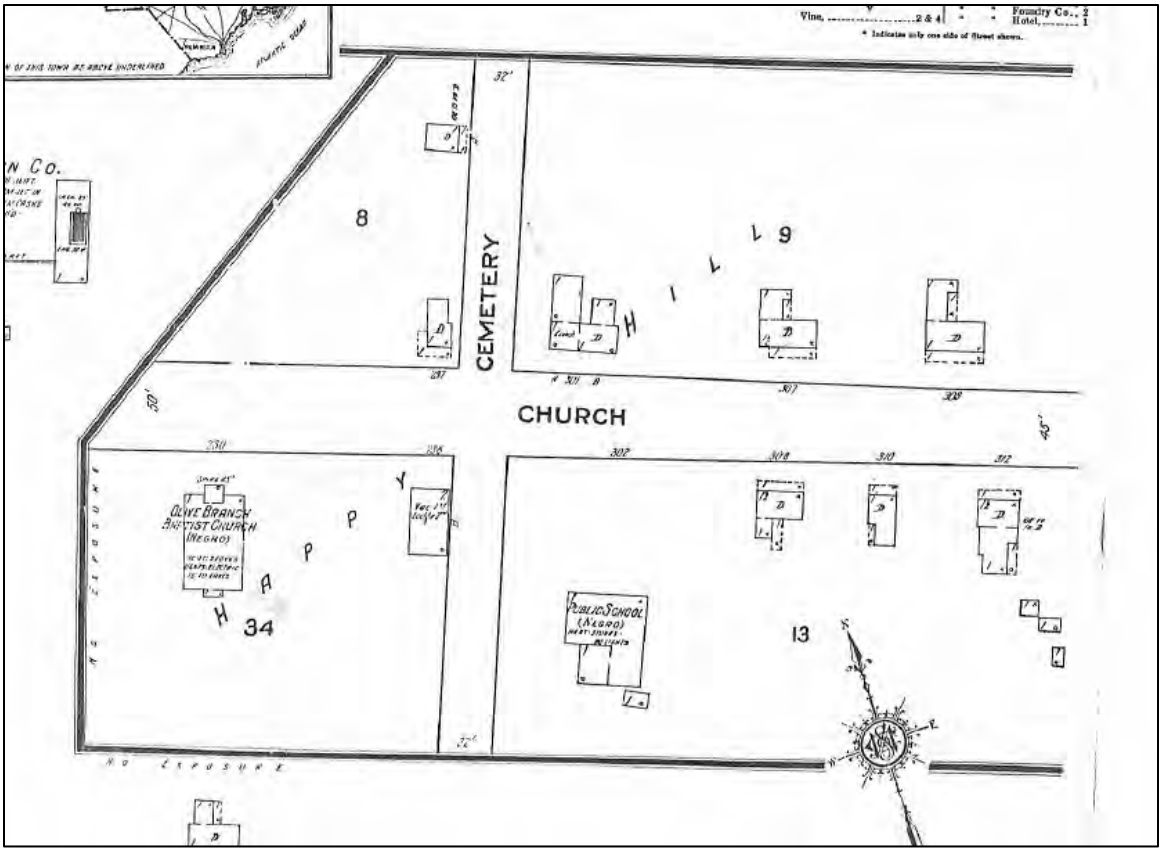


Figure 17: "Happy Hill" has been used interchangeably to refer both to a specific topographic feature located within the Northeast Community and to the neighborhood as a whole. Screen clipping from 1915 Sanborn Map, Wake Forest, NC.

In 1905, Allen Young and Nathaniel Mitchell founded a Presbyterian mission school, operating out of a vacant mattress factory at the corner of North White and Spring Streets, a site secured with the help of then Wake Forest College President Dr. Louis Poteat.[220] Allen Young soon broadened the scope of the school to encompass Booker T. Washington's model of industrial education, renaming it the Wake Forest Normal and Industrial School. By 1915, he had constructed new facilities at a site near the corner of North Taylor and Spring Streets.[221] From 1905 to 1957, Young's school operated as a

[220] Little, "Ailey Young House, Wake County, North Carolina," (2009), 19.
[221] Sanborn Fire Insurance Company. Map. Wake Forest, NC, June 1915, Sheet 3.

space for training boys in agriculture and manual arts and girls in home economics and domestic industry while also offering evening classes for their parents and the first preschool and kindergarten for Black children in the area for their younger siblings.[222]



Figure 18: The Wake Forest Normal and Industrial School, founded in 1905 by Allen Young, served as the first private school for Black children in Wake Forest and quickly grew into a nationally renowned institution. Image scanned and published by Wake Forest Historical Museum.

[222] Slane and Szcodronski, "Wake Forest, North Carolina Architectural Survey Update 1958-1975" (2020), 14.



Figure 19: The Wake Forest Normal and Industrial School provided quality education for Black students as well as employment opportunities for local Black educators. Image scanned and published by Wake Forest Historical Museum.

Members of the Olive Branch Baptist Church remained committed to providing opportunities for quality public education in the neighborhood and began working in the 1920s to establish a new public school. After acquiring a four-acre lot at the northeastern end of the neighborhood, congregants sought and won a $1500 grant from the Rosenwald Fund to construct a new school following the Rosenwald Foundation's "Seven-Teacher Community School" plan.[223] Per the Fund's terms, the community matched the $1500 grant and also won $17,000 from the county school board. In 1926, the new school opened, and is labeled on the 1926 Sanborn map as "Negro Graded School."[224]

[223] Ibid.
[224] Sanborn Fire Insurance Company. Map. Wake Forest, NC, April 1926, Sheet 6.



Figure 20: The layout and architectural features of the DuBois School was based on standardized plans published by S.L. Smith, director of the Rosenwald Foundation office in Nashville. Image scanned and published by Wake Forest Historical Museum.



Figure 21: From its founding in 1926 through the integration of Wake County's public schools in the late 1960s and early 1970s, the DuBois School functioned as a nucleus of social life in the Northeast Community. Image scanned and published by Wake Forest Historical Museum.

Initially teaching only up through seventh grade, the school quickly expanded to teach students up through the eleventh grade. Though many boys still ended up taking agricultural jobs rather than complete their education, the new school nonetheless accomplished the congregants' goal of expanding opportunities for public education in the East End. The neighborhood quickly became known for its skilled bricklayers – a trade actively taught at the school – as well as for its musicians, who received private at-home lessons from the school's music teachers.[225] Renamed W.E.B. DuBois High School in 1939, the school became a locus of the burgeoning East End and continued to serve the community from 1926 to 1970.[226]

Simmons Row Period of Occupation (1877 to 1967)

The name "Simmons Row" first appeared in reference to the row of tenant housing constructed by W. G. Simmons on North White Street in the 1910 Census, scrawled in the margins by the enumerator at this time.[227] Deeds, personal accounts from former residents, and other records indicate that this area of the East End was inhabited as early as 1877, however. Some of the earliest residents on Simmons Row appear to have been the Cooke family, consisting of Henderson T. Cooke, Mariah Cooke, and the thirteen children they would raise over 42 years. [228]

[225] Slane and Szcodronski, "Wake Forest, North Carolina Architectural Survey Update 1958-1975" (2020), 14.
[226] Ibid, 15.
[227] Ancestry.com. *1910 United States Federal Census.* Year: 1910; Census Place: Wake Forest, Wake, North Carolina; Roll: T624_1136; Page: 12B; Enumeration District: 0131; FHL microfilm: 1375149.
[228] See "The Cookes at 442 & 444 North White Street," pp. 119-128.

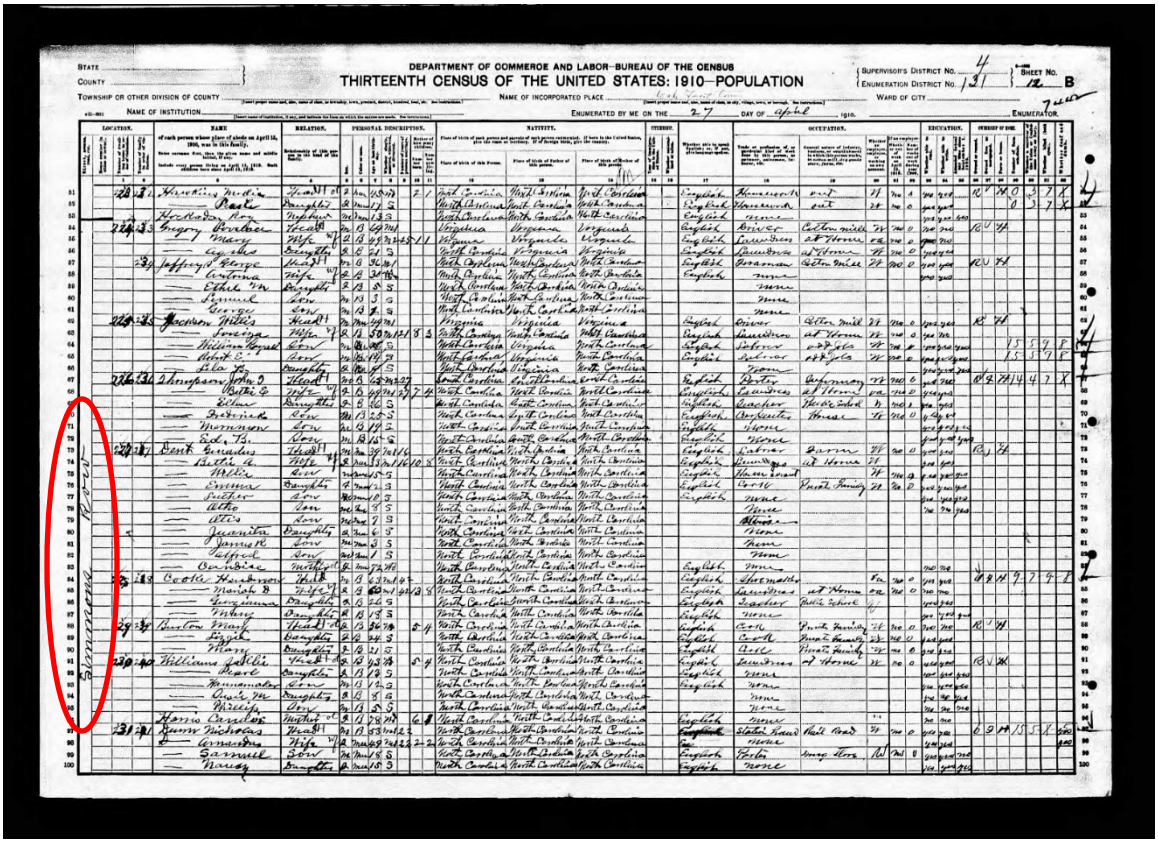


Figure 22: The first documented occurrence of the name "Simmons Row" appears as a note scrawled in the margins of the 1910 Census by the enumerator at the time. It is unknown whether this is how residents actually referred to their home, however. Image scanned and published by Ancestry.com.

In 1910, thirteen African American families encompassing seventy people, including the parents of Allen Young and his siblings, are listed as living on Simmons Row at this time, distributed among the eleven houses visible along North White Street in the 1915 Sanborn map. It is possible that some dwellings housed two families. The thirteen families living on Simmons Row at this time represented a rich, illustrative cross-section of working-class life in the East End in the early 20th century, with multi-generational households of cotton mill workers, laundresses, schoolteachers, brick layers, farmers, domestic servants, porters, station hands, and day laborers and their numerous

children. These people made a life for themselves despite poverty, crowded and often subpar living conditions, and the racial discrimination so clearly represented by the railroad tracks outside their front doors – a dividing line between the white-dominated Wake Forest town proper and the independent Black enclave that the East End had grown into.[229]

[229] Ancestry.com. *1910 United States Federal Census.*



Figure 23: Simmons Row originally consisted of at least eleven dwellings, all of which are visible on the 1915 Sanborn Map of Wake Forest. It is possible that it may have encompassed other buildings and structures demolished prior to the publication of this map, however. Screen clipping from 1915 Sanborn Map, Wake Forest. NC.

Though the name "Simmons Row" only appeared in the Census once in reference to this area, the name has apparently persisted and found a revival in the press coverage and official interpretation of the surviving Ailey Young House. East End residents continued to inhabit these dwellings until 1967, when the majority of the houses that had survived to that point were demolished as a consequence of urban renewal – specifically, an apparent slum clearance effort undertaken by the Town of Wake Forest ten years prior to its annexation of the neighborhood in 1977.[230]

As the Ailey Young House was the only building to survive this series of demolitions, most attempts to understand the lives of Simmons Row residents have been interpreted through the Young family. Given the prominence Allen Young and his daughter Ailey Mae Young – who took after her father by becoming a beloved public educator before entering politics as the first Black and second female Town Commissioner in Wake Forest in the 1970s – it is perhaps unsurprising that most interpretive efforts have focused on their family's humble beginnings on Simmons Row. Because almost no other physical evidence of their neighbors' lives on Simmons Row has survived, little attention has been focused on them. By drawing greater attention to the representative cross-section of Black working-class life evident in the 1910 Census, however, we can not only better understand the social and economic context the Young family navigated but glean insight into early 20th-century life in what the landscape architect and writer Ujiji Davis has called "the Bottom," out of which came "America's

[230] See "Demolition Context, pp. 148-150.

black firsts: doctors, lawyers, teachers and professors, dentists, small manufacturers, politicians, and community leaders."[231]

Unlike prominent white families like the Simmons, however, precious little written documentation – be it autobiographical accounts, newspaper articles, or even basic vital records – has been recovered to lend insight into the lives of ordinary Black families in the later 19th and early 20th centuries. Accounts of their lives on Simmons Row, then, are unavoidably fragmented. The challenge of interpreting the lives of Black working-class people is further compounded by the itinerant nature of their residency in places like Simmons Row. Focusing on land-owning families with long periods of residency on Simmons Row at this time, however, offers a first step toward re-locating these families in the official record and centering their stories.

Landowning Families on Simmons Row

Much has already been written about the Young family's life on Simmons Row, as well as about their surviving dwelling, the Ailey Young House. Given the family's prominence, however, a summarization of their life on Simmons Row, based on available documentation, is merited. Little has been written of the Young family's neighbors on Simmons Row, however. Architectural historian Ruth Little mentions the Johnsons, the Cookes, and the Dunns in reference to the Young family in her draft National Register nomination for the Ailey Young House.[232]

[231] Davis, Ujiji. "The Bottom: The Emergence and Erasure of Black American Urban Landscapes" in the *Avery Review* 34 (October 2018). Web. Accessed April 17, 2022. https://www.averyreview.com/issues/34/the-bottom.
[232] Little, "Ailey Young House, Wake County, North Carolina," (2009), 14.

These families are notable as the sole landowning families in an area of the East End neighborhood where few owned their homes and short-term tenancies were the norm. As such, their records are easier to trace, as they appear more consistently in the same place and near the same neighbors in the Census. Further, the names of key heads of household appear more consistently in land records of the time. Reconstructing the chains of title for each family's parcel within the designated study area thus allows for each family to be directly connected with the Simmons through Mary E Simmons's land sales following her husbands' death.

Even so, the available records pertaining to each family are spotty at best. As such, the resultant narratives remain spotty and merit further research. The accounts that follow should thus be considered a preliminary step toward providing a fuller account of Black working-class life on Simmons Row. Each family's social history on Simmons Row will be summarized as available data allows. Further research, including consultation with living descendants of the Simmons Row residents, is merited to develop a more robust account of each family's tenancy on Simmons Row and their role in the Northeast Community, however.

Additionally, land records indicate that Dora Hartsfield, the last recorded resident of Simmons Row, owned the land she lived on. A June 29th, 1967 article in the *Wake Weekly* suggests that she was displaced from her property.[233] A land sale recorded after this date indicates that she then sold the property to the Town of Wake Forest at a loss.[234]

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[233] "Displaced Person Must Soon Find New Home." *The Wake Weekly And The Youngsville - Rolesville Record*, Volume XXI, Number 26, p. 1, Thursday Morning, June 29, 1967.
[234] Wake County Register of Deeds. "Dora Hartsfield to Town of Wake Forest" *Consolidated Real Property Index*, Book 1820, Page 431, Raleigh, NC: Register of Deeds, 1968. Web. Accessed April 17, 2022.
http://rodcrpi.wakegov.com/Booksweb/PDFView.aspx?DocID=106292289&RecordDate=05/24/1968

The same article highlighting her displacement also reveals her long-term residency on Simmons Row as a tenant prior to her displacement.[235] As such, her residency on Simmons Row, and the record of land transactions and tenancies prior to hers, are worth outlining as well.

The present study's exclusive focus on landowning families on Simmons Row is a noted limitation, as short-term tenancy was more common among working-class Black families during the late Reconstruction and early 20th - century periods.[236] Further research is merited to develop a fuller account of renters' families' lives on Simmons Row, as their situation was more typical of African American families just beginning to establish a home for themselves during Reconstruction and onwards. Specific recommendations for further research will be included at the conclusion of this thesis.

The Youngs at 428 ½ North White Street

The following is a summarization of the account of the Young family's residency on Simmons Row originally written by architectural historian Ruth Little, who authored the draft National Register nomination for the Ailey Young House following her survey of the property in 2008.

Ailey Fowler Young was born in 1857. In 1875, Ailey married Henry Young, a young farmer. They had thirteen children together. Allen Young, their oldest child, was born in 1875. Henry, Ailey, and their children Allen, Leonora, Eddie, and James first

[235] "Displaced Person Must Soon Find New Home," *The Wake Weekly* (1967), 1.
[236] Copeland, "In the Beginning" (2013).

appear on Census in 1880. Their address at this time is listed as Wake Forest Township, outside the village of Wake Forest proper.[237]

In 1895, Mary E. Simmons sold a 7/8-acre tract of land bounded by North White Street to the west, Cemetery branch to the east, Willis Johnson's property to the south, and Mr. Simmons's property to the north for $105.00.[238] Given the estimated construction date of 1875, it is assumed that the structure that stood on the property at this time was the duplex today known as the Ailey Young House. Since land in this section of town had value of $100 an acre, it can be inferred that the duplex was of little value at the time.[239] The 1900 Census does not list a street address for the Youngs, but does list them as living in close proximity to the same three families – one headed by Willis B. Johnson, a brickmason from Virginia, another headed by Nick Dunn, a day laborer and railroad station hand, and the third headed by Henderson Cooke, a farmer and shoemaker.[240]

In 1899, Mary Simmons sold Ailey Young an additional three-tenths of an acre adjoining the lands of Mrs. Simmons, Nicholas C. Dunn, and the Golden Rule Tent Society.[241] By 1900, Ailey Young had owned the duplex for five years. She and her husband Henry Young had ten children living with them at home at this time: Nora, James, Lizzie, Francis, Peter, Joseph, Fred, Mable, Hubert, and Eva Belle. Ruth Little suggests that the fact that the Youngs named their youngest daughter Eva Belle, the same

[237] Little, "Ailey Young House, Wake County, North Carolina," (2009), 13.
[238] Ibid.
[239] Ibid.
[240] United States of America, Bureau of the Census. *Twelfth Census of the United States, 1900.* Year: 1900; Census Place: Wake Forest, Wake, North Carolina; Roll: 1221; Page: 8; Enumeration District: 0152; FHL microfilm: 1241221. Provo, UT, USA: Ancestry.com Operations Inc, 2004. Web. Accessed April 17, 2022 on Ancestry.com.
[241] Little, "Ailey Young House, Wake County, North Carolina," (2009), 15.

as the Simmons's youngest daughter, suggests a close association between Youngs and Simmons. She maintains that the Youngs must have rented the home from the Simmons, or that Henry or Ailey may have worked for them. [242]

In the early 1900s, Ailey died, having appointed her oldest son Allen as the administrator of her property.[243] By 1910, Henry Young was listed as a widower in the Census and lived with his children Leonora, Fred, Mabel. Hubert, and Eva Belle.[244]

Henry farmed throughout his life, and his sons including Allen, helped as farm laborers. Private houses around Wake Forest College, where students lived, provided a ready market for produce. Further, the College did not have a cafeteria until the 20th century. Little suggests that they may have supplied fresh vegetables to kitchens of these houses all over Wake Forest. Given their agricultural background, as well as the necessity for many working-class African Americans to raise animals and grow vegetables to supplement their meager incomes during the early 20th century, it is highly likely that the Youngs also maintained a vegetable patch on their property.[245] No physical evidence has survived to confirm this, however.

Henry died sometime in the 1910s.[246] In 1920, the Census enumerator supplied handwritten notes in the margins once again. It appears that he worked his way north from Spring Street to White Street, as in 1910. Rather than Simmons Row, however, the name "Smooth Lane" appears, with one household – Henry and Amelia Stallings and their four children – noted. The Stallings worked as a servant and laundress for a private

[242] Ibid, 15.
[243] Ibid.
[244] Ibid.
[245] Ibid, 16.
[246] Ibid.

family at this time. The Stallings may have been living in the Ailey Young House at this time. With Henry and Ailey dead by this point, their children likely may have moved or rented elsewhere.[247]

The same three neighbors who appear in prior Censuses – Willis Johnson, Nick Dunn, and Henderson Cooke – are still listed as living nearby in the 1920 Census. Their address is listed as White Street. This suggests that Simmons Row was then considered White Street, and that Smooth Lane could have referred to the driveway leading from North White Street to the Ailey Young House.[248]

During the 1930s, it appears that the Young family lost the house. They would not regain ownership for the next two decades. Records suggest that the lot was seized by the Town to pay back taxes in 1933.[249] In 1954, the Town of Wake Forest sold to the heirs of Ailey Young the same tract that Ailey had originally purchased in 1895 for $165.00.[250] The legal heirs listed in this transaction included their children and grandchildren: Fred, Allen, Hubert, Mable Young Jeffries, William, John Henry Gattis, Fred Young Batham, Alexander Young Carrington, James, Pauline, Hallie, and Callie.[251]

The Young heirs may have repurchased the property to house Hubert, Ailey and Henry's youngest son born in 1892. He had been living with his wife Novella and their

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[247] Ibid; Ancestry.com. *1920 United States Federal Census* [database on-line] Year: 1920; Census Place: Wake Forest, Wake, North Carolina; Roll: T625_1325; Page: 12A; Enumeration District: 149. Provo, UT, USA: Ancestry.com Operations, Inc., 2010. Web. Accessed April 17, 2022.
[248] Little, "Ailey Young House, Wake County, North Carolina," (2009), 17.
[249] Ibid, 17; Wake County Register of Deeds. "John W. Hinsdale to Town of Wake Forest" *Consolidated Real Property Index*, Book 606, Page 114, Raleigh, NC: Register of Deeds, 1933. Web. Accessed April 17, 2022.
http://rodcrpi.wakegov.com/Booksweb/PDFView.aspx?DocID=107164700&RecordDate=08/08/1933
[250] Ibid, 17; Wake County Register of Deeds. "Town of Wake Forest to Heirs of Ailey Young (Deceased)" *Consolidated Real Property Index*, Book 1144, Page 18, Raleigh, NC: Register of Deeds, 1954. Accessed April 17, 2022.
http://rodcrpi.wakegov.com/Booksweb/PDFView.aspx?DocID=106686526&RecordDate=02/25/1954
[251] Ibid, 17.

six children at 310 N. White Street until about 1954, when their house burned down. In 1955, Hubert and his family moved into their family's old homeplace and remained there until late 1960s. Hubert, who had worked as a custodian at Wake Forest College, had retired by this time. [252]

In 1963, Hubert died. Novella, now widowed, remained until 1967, when she moved to government-subsidized housing elsewhere in the East End. Thereafter, the Ailey Young House was rented out to various tenants throughout the 1970s.[253] In 1988, the Town of Wake Forest purchased the Ailey Young House plot from the Young family heirs.[254]

The Johnsons at 304 North White Street

Willis B. Johnson was born between 1858 and 1862 in Virginia.[255] He came to Wake County in 1861, around the same time that another notable Virginia-born East End resident, "Doctor" Tom Jeffries, arrived in Wake Forest as well.[256] Like Jeffries, Johnson had been born into slavery.

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[252] Ibid, 17-18.
[253] Ibid, 18.
[254] Ibid; Wake County Register of Deeds. "Beverley Batham to Kathryn Y. Shepard, Tract II" *Consolidated Real Property Index*, Book 4309, Page 479, Raleigh, NC: Register of Deeds, 1988. Accessed April 17, 2022. http://rodcrpi.wakegov.com/Booksweb/PDFView.aspx?DocID=439532&RecordDate=07/20/1988
[255] Census records consistently list Willis's birthplace as Virginia. His birth year, however, is listed variously between 1858 and 1862.
[256] "Boone Marker Event Postponed to Monday," *The News and Observer*, Sunday, June 14, 1936; "Doctor" was an honorary title given to Jeffries by students and professors at Wale Forest College, who admired his wisdom and life experience. See Wake Forest Historical Musuem, "'Doctor' Tom Jeffries," Museum Blog (July 24, 2013). Accessed June 22, 2022. https://wakeforestmuseum.org/2013/07/24/doctor-tom-jeffries/.

In 1881, Willis married Nellie A. Young when he was 22 and she was 21.[257] Nellie was born in 1858 in Franklin County.[258] Her parents were Henderson Young – of no established relation to the Youngs on Simmons Row – and Ellen Harris.[259] She, too, was born into slavery.

The Johnsons appear to have acquired their property on Simmons Row via two separate land purchases, the first in 1895 and the second in 1902. In 1895, Mary E. Simmons sold a half-acre lot to Nellie Johnson for $60.00.[260] It is likely that the home they moved into was one of several tenant houses built by the Simmons circa-1875. As such, the property would have already had a house built upon it at the time of purchase. In 1900, Willis and Nellie are listed in the Census as living with their oldest, and then only, daughter, Willie Lou Johnson.[261] In 1902, her husband Willis Johnson purchased an additional third of an acre near their 1895 purchase from Mary E. Simmons for $33.00.[262]

In 1905, with the establishment of the Spring Street Presbyterian Mission School, later to become the Wake Forest Normal and Industrial School, Willis Johnson appears to

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[257] Ancestry.com. "Nellie A. Young." *North Carolina, U.S., Marriage Records, 1741-2011* [database on-line]. Provo, UT, USA: Ancestry.com Operations, Inc., 2015.
[258] Ancestry.com. "Nellie A. Johnson." *North Carolina, U.S., Death Certificates, 1909-1976* [database on-line]. North Carolina State Archives; Raleigh, North Carolina; *North Carolina Death Certificates.* Provo, UT, USA: Ancestry.com Operations Inc, 2007.
[259] Ancestry.com. "Nellie A. Johnson." *North Carolina, U.S., Death Certificates, 1909-1976* [database on-line]. North Carolina State Archives; Raleigh, North Carolina; *North Carolina Death Certificates.* Provo, UT, USA: Ancestry.com Operations Inc, 2007.
[260] Wake County Register of Deeds. "Mary E. Simmons to Nellie Johnson." *Consolidated Real Property Index*, Book 142, Page 175, Raleigh, NC: Register of Deeds, 1895. Accessed April 17, 2022. http://rodcrpi.wakegov.com/Booksweb/PDFView.aspx?DocID=108085000&RecordDate=06/29/1897
[261] Ancestry.com. *1900 United States Federal Census* [database on-line]. Year: 1900; Census Place: Wake Forest, Wake, North Carolina; Roll: 1221; Page: 8; Enumeration District: 0152; FHL microfilm: 1241221. Provo, UT, USA: Ancestry.com Operations Inc, 2004. Web. Accessed April 17, 2022.
[262] Wake County Register of Deeds. "Mary E. Simmons to Willis Johnson." *Consolidated Real Property Index*, Book 2400, Page 398, Raleigh, NC: Register of Deeds, 1902. Accessed April 17, 2022. http://rodcrpi.wakegov.com/Booksweb/PDFView.aspx?DocID=491741&RecordDate=05/10/1976

have been designated a trustee of the school alongside Charlie Pulley and Johnny Johnson. Allen Young was principal.[263]

In 1910, Willis and Nellie are listed in the Census as residents of Simmons Row. Nellie was working as a laundress at this time, likely laundering for students at nearby Wake Forest College, the campus of which is just one block to the southwest. Willis by this time was a renowned brick mason in the community. Their household had grown to include themselves and three children: Allen H. P., Rosa L., and Cora M.E. Evidently, by this time Willie Lou had moved elsewhere. Their son Allen H. P. was working as a bricklayers' apprentice at this time as well, presumably alongside his father.[264]

Willis was acknowledged as the go-to brick mason in the community. He is also known for having assisted Tom Jefferies with building the dry-stacked stone wall encircling the Wake Forest College campus. Willis and Dr. Tom appear to have been close – a May 31, 1933 article in the Raleigh *News and Observer* details how he "carefully set in its form a bronze marker of his compatriot and fellow slave," "Doctor" Tom Jeffries upon his death that year.[265]

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[263] Devon Borgardt, Paige McCoy, and Kelly Scott. "Northeast Community History Project: Wake Forest Normal and Industrial School," (Raleigh, NC: 2020), 15. Prepared for Town of Wake Forest. Digital copy on file with Wake Forest Historical Museum; Presbyterian Church (U.S.A.). *Cape Fear Presbytery Centennial, 1886-1986*. Presbyterian Church (USA), 1986, 100.
[264] Ancestry.com. *1910 United States Federal Census* [database on-line]. Year: 1910; Census Place: Wake Forest, Wake, North Carolina; Roll: T624_1136; Page: 13A; Enumeration District: 0131; FHL microfilm: 1375149. Lehi, UT, USA: Ancestry.com Operations Inc, 2006. Web. Accessed April 17, 2022.
[265] "To Unveil Tablet to Negro Janitor – Memory of Faithful Servant Will Be Honored at W.F. Finals." *The News and Observe*r, Wednesday, May 31, 1933.



Figure 24: The stone wall encircling the Southeastern Baptist Seminary, formerly Wake Forest College, was constructed by "Doctor" Tom Jeffries and Willis Johnston. Both emigrated from Virginia, where they had been born into slavery. Photograph by Chris Robey (2022).



Figure 25: This memorial near the northeast entrance to the historic core of the Wake Forest College campus bears a bronze plaque dedicated to "Doctor" Tom Jeffries. Newspaper clippings from 1933 suggest that Willis Johnson either designed the mold for this plaque or cast the bronze himself.

It is possible that Willis and his son taught bricklaying at W.E.B. Du Bois High School. Slane and Szcodronski note in their 2020 architectural survey update for the Town of Wake Forest that the curriculum at W.E.B. High School included bricklaying and that the East End soon became known for its skilled brick masons.[266] Willis appeared to have been considered the best brick mason not only in the East End but in Wake Forest as well.[267]

In 1920, Willis and Nellie Johnson are listed in the Census as still living on North White Street. Willis is 62 and Nellie is 55. Living with them at this time as well is their daughter, Cora Mae Johnson. Rosa L. Taylor, formerly Rosa L. Johnson, is also listed as living on Church Street in 1920 with her husband, Buzzel Taylor.[268]

In 1929, Willis initiated an estate property transfer to Rosa L. Taylor, their oldest daughter who was living with them at the time.[269] In 1930, the Johnsons were still living on North White Street near the Dunns and the Cookes. Their household at this time also consists of their daughters Cora Mae Johnson and Rosa L. Taylor as well as Rosa's children Stephen Taylor, Johnsie Taylor, and Willis A. Taylor.[270]

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[266] Slane and Szcodronski, "Wake Forest, North Carolina Architectural Survey Update 1958-1975" (2020), 14.
[267] "Boone Marker Event Postponed to Monday," *The News and Observer*, Sunday, June 14, 1936.
[268] Ancestry.com. *1920 United States Federal Census* [database on-line]. Year: 1920; Census Place: Wake Forest, Wake, North Carolina; Roll: T625_1325; Page: 12A; Enumeration District: 149. Provo, UT, USA: Ancestry.com Operations, Inc., 2010. Web. Accessed April 17, 2022.
[269] "Real Estate Transfers," *The News and Observer*, Wednesday, November 27, 1929.
[270] Ancestry.com. *1930 United States Federal Census* [database on-line]. Year: 1930; Census Place: Wake Forest, Wake, North Carolina; Page: 7B; Enumeration District: 0065; FHL microfilm: 2341460. Provo, UT, USA: Ancestry.com Operations Inc, 2002. Web. Accessed April 17, 2022.

Nellie died in 1935 at the age of 77, leaving Willis a widower.[271] Four year later, on May 26, 1939, Willis Johnson died as well.[272] In 1940, Rosa L. Taylor was 48 and widowed with several children – one of whom is named Willis – and living in a house that she then owned on North White Street. Rosa's household at this time consisted of her children Danan J., Johnnie Mae, Willis, as well as her sister, Cora Mae Johnson. There appear to be some inconsistencies concerning Cora's listed age, however. In 1930, her age is listed as 28, whereas in 1940 her age is listed as 42.[273]

Today, the land remains in the Johnson family's possession. As Willis appears to have died without dictating a will, the property is now considered heirs' property, meaning that its current ownership is distributed among all of Willis Johnson's legally recognized heirs. Heirs' properties are particularly vulnerable to dispossession, as the original landowner's living heirs have typically dispersed and no longer retain any close connection with the original homeplace. At any point, any one of the living heirs could initiate a land transfer, which would put the land up for public auction. Historically, this legal framework has functioned as a mechanism for rampant Black land loss in the South.[274]

It is possible that the house was included among the eight properties condemned and demolished on North White Street along with the Hartsfield residence in 1967.

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[271] Ancestry.com. "Nellie A. Johnson." North Carolina State Archives; Raleigh, North Carolina; *North Carolina Death Certificates.*

[272] Ancestry.com. "Wallie Johnson." *North Carolina, U.S., Death Certificates, 1909-1976* [database on-line]. North Carolina State Archives; Raleigh, North Carolina; *North Carolina Death Certificates.* Provo, UT, USA: Ancestry.com Operations Inc, 2007.

[273] Ancestry.com. *1940 United States Federal Census* [database on-line]. Year: 1940; Census Place: Wake Forest, Wake, North Carolina; Roll: m-t0627-02983; Page: 13A; Enumeration District: 92-86. Provo, UT, USA: Ancestry.com Operations, Inc., 2012.

[274] Gaither, Cassandra Johnson. ""Have not our weary feet come to the place for which our fathers sighed?": heirs' property in the southern United States." *e-Gen. Tech. Rep. SRS-216. Asheville, NC: US Department of Agriculture Forest Service, Southern Research Station* 216 (2016): 1-31.

The Dunns at 430 & 432 North White Street

Few of Nicholas C. Dunn's vital records have been recovered at this time. Thus, his exact date of birth is unknown. An approximate date of birth can be inferred based on proceeding records, however. Given that Nick is 21 when he first appears in the 1880 Census, it can be inferred that he was born sometime in 1859. Thus, he was born just a few years prior to Emancipation.

Based on this initial research, the first time that Nicholas C. Dunn appears in official records is in the 1880 Census. At this time, he was not yet living on Simmons Row and was living with what appears to be his first wife, Adeline. She was keeping house and he was working as a servant. She was 17 and he was 21. He is listed as "Deaf and Dumb" – a phrase commonly employed at this time to refer to someone who is deaf and nonverbal.[275]

Evidently, Nick and Adeline's marriage did not last. The next time he appears in official records, it is in the documentation of his marriage to Amanda Weaver on October 15th, 1890.[276] Proceeding records indicate that both are "Deaf and Dumb" in the parlance of the day[277]. Though neither could speak, and both may have been deaf, they both could read and write.

Nick and Amanda's marriage license lends some further personal information. Nick's birth date is listed as 1859 – as such, he was 31 at the time he married Amanda.

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[275] Ancestry.com and The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. *1880 United States Federal Census* [database on-line]. Year: *1880*; Census Place: *Wake Forest, Wake, North Carolina*; Roll: *985*; Page: *450B*; Enumeration District: *277*. Lehi, UT, USA: Ancestry.com Operations Inc, 2010. 1880 U.S. Census Index provided by The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints.

[276] Ancestry.com. "Nicholas C. Dunn." *North Carolina, U.S., Marriage Records, 1741-2011* [database on-line]. Provo, UT, USA: Ancestry.com Operations, Inc., 2015.

[277] Both Nick and Amanda are listed as such each time they appear in the Census.

Amanda's birth date is listed as 1860 – she was 30 at the time that she married Nick. They were married by a Presbyterian minister named A G Davis. Their witnesses were J. W. Pope, B. E. Young, and J. J. Weaver. It is possible that B. E. Young was related to Allen Young – this is yet to be confirmed, however.[278]

On January 13th, 1897, a newspaper article appeared in the *Raleigh Press-Visitor* describing an incident in which Nick Dunn, described again as "deaf and dumb," was struck by a train along the Seaboard Air Line Railway – formerly the Raleigh and Gaston Railway – near Forestville, just south of Wake Forest. At the time, it was speculated that Dunn, who had sustained numerous broken bones and internal injuries, would not survive.[279]

Evidently, he did survive this incident and went on to build a life for himself and his family on Simmons Row. In 1897, Mary E. Simmons sold a .15-acre property to Nick for $150.00. The Deed notes that the land he bought adjoined properties owned by M. E. Simmons and the Golden Rule Tent Society.[280] In the 1900 Census, Nick and Amanda were listed as living on Simmons Row in a house they own "free and clear" near the Youngs, Cookes, and Johnsons. Nick was 42 and working as a day laborer. Amanda was unemployed. Both were listed as able to read and write, but unable to speak. Also living with them at this time was their 8-year-old son, Samuel.[281]

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[278] Ancestry.com. "Nicholas C. Dunn." *North Carolina, U.S., Marriage Records, 1741-2011* [database on-line]. Provo, UT, USA: Ancestry.com Operations, Inc., 2015.
[279] "Kicked off the track - Nick Dunn, Perhaps Fataly Injured by the S. A. L. Train," *The Press-Visitor*, Wednesday January 13, 1897, 1.
[280] Wake County Register of Deeds. "Mrs. M. E. Simmons to Nicholas C. Dunn." *Consolidated Real Property Index*, Book 149, Page 205, Raleigh, NC: Register of Deeds, 1897. Accessed April 17, 2022. http://rodcrpi.wakegov.com/Booksweb/PDFView.aspx?DocID=108082678&RecordDate=09/26/1898
[281] Ancestry.com. *1900 United States Federal Census* [database on-line]. Year: 1900; Census Place: Wake Forest, Wake, North Carolina; Roll: 1221; Page: 8; Enumeration District: 0152; FHL microfilm: 1241221. Provo, UT, USA: Ancestry.com Operations Inc, 2004.

In the 1910 Census, Nick and Amanda were still living on Simmons Row with their two children, Samuel and Nancy. Nick was 53 and working as a station hand on the railroad. Amanda was still listed as unemployed. Both were listed as "Deaf and Dumb" but literate. Samuel was working as a porter at a drug store and Nancy was attending school, presumably at the public school for African American children on North Taylor Street, as no other school had yet opened in the East End by this point.[282]

In the 1920 Census, Nick and Amanda were listed as still living on North White Street, though their children had since moved elsewhere. Nick was 58 and still working as a day laborer. Amanda was 54 and unemployed. Both were listed as literate, but unable to speak.[283]

Between 1920 and 1929, Nick died. In 1929, Amanda Dun, now widowed, sold the property to R. M. Squires, a white dentist, and his wife Ethel C. Squires for $10.00.[284] The Squires were a white family who lived elsewhere in Wake Forest at this time, and did not appear to ever inhabit the houses on Simmons Row. It is possible they may have rented them out to other tenants – this is only speculation at this point, however, and remains to be verified.

On March 5th, 1936, R. M. Squires entered into an indenture with his brother, H. G. Squires, owing to a $1500 debt that he owed him. P. H. Wilson was listed as the Trustee in this indenture. Per the conditions of this indenture, R. M. Squires offered up a

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[282] Ancestry.com. *1910 United States Federal Census* [database on-line]. Year: *1910*; Census Place: *Wake Forest, Wake, North Carolina*; Roll: *T624_1136*; Page: *12B*; Enumeration District: *0131*; FHL microfilm: *1375149*. Lehi, UT, USA: Ancestry.com Operations Inc, 2006.
[283] Ancestry.com. *1920 United States Federal Census* [database on-line]. Year: *1920*; Census Place: *Wake Forest, Wake, North Carolina*; Roll: *T625_1325*; Page: *12A*; Enumeration District: *149*. Provo, UT, USA: Ancestry.com Operations, Inc., 2010.
[284] Wake County Register of Deeds. "Amanda Dunn to R. M. Squires" *Consolidated Real Property Index*, Book 568, Page 298, Raleigh, NC: Register of Deeds, 1929. Accessed April 17, 2022. http://rodcrpi.wakegov.com/Booksweb/PDFView.aspx?DocID=107170193&RecordDate=04/09/1929

number of tracts of land as collateral, to be held in trust by P. H. Wilson until R. M. had paid off his debt to his brother. The parcel formerly belonging to the Dunns was listed among the tracts of land put up as collateral per the terms of this indenture. A stamp added in 1941 indicates that R. M. had fulfilled the conditions of his indenture and paid off his debt to his brother by this time.[285]

In 1956, following R. M. Squires's death, his wife Ethel C sold their land on Simmons Row to the Town of Wake Forest for $10.00.[286] At this time, the property still encompassed .15-acres. The 1967 article in the Wake Weekly detailing the condemnation of the Simmons Row houses and displacement of Dora Hartsfield also describes a nearby house had been unoccupied and burned to the ground recently.[287] It is possible that this referred to the house formerly occupied by Nick and Amanda Dunn.

[285] Wake County Register of Deeds. "R. M. Squires to P. H. Wilson, Trustee" *Consolidated Real Property Index*, Book 725, Page 568, Raleigh, NC: Register of Deeds, 1929. Accessed April 17, 2022. http://rodcrpi.wakegov.com/Booksweb/PDFView.aspx?DocID=107101722&RecordDate=09/21/1936
[286] Wake County Register of Deeds. "Ethel C. Squires to Town of Wake Forest" *Consolidated Real Property Index*, Book 1260, Page 83, Raleigh, NC: Register of Deeds, 1929. Accessed April 17, 2022. http://rodcrpi.wakegov.com/Booksweb/PDFView.aspx?DocID=106655686&RecordDate=11/26/1956
[287] "Displaced Person Must Soon Find New Home." *The Wake Weekly And The Youngsville - Rolesville Record*, Volume XXI, Number 26, p. 1, Thursday Morning, June 29, 1967.



"I'm the only one left," Dora said, as she sat glumly on the small front weather-beaten front porch next to the condemned sign. She mentioned that often her son is out, and "I work hard all day and sleep sound at night." Two

the old bare wood siding with gaping holes, Dora replied, "It looks like a raggedy old house, but it don't rain on me."

"I wants to get in the low-rent housing project, but I hope it's not too high; I'm so poor," Dora said.

Smoking Remains of Nearby Home

Figure 26: The "smoking remains" pictured in this 1967 newspaper clipping may have been part of the former home of Nick and Amanda Dunn. Fires in unoccupied buildings on Simmons Row and elsewhere in the Northeast Community were a somewhat frequent occurrence. The Ailey Young House still bears scars of the fire that burned much of its original fabric. Photograph by Chris Robey (2022).

Between 1956 and the present day, it appears that the Town of Wake Forest continued to acquire land and consolidated it into a single .92-acre tract which now

includes the original .15-acre tract that had been the Dunn property. Presumably, the Town was acquiring land for the purposes of expanding Wake Forest Cemetery. This is in line with the current narrative of the identification of the Ailey Young House.

The Cookes at 442 & 444 North White Street

Few of Henderson T. Cooke's vital records have been recovered. What is known, however, is that he was born in September 1842 and thus born into slavery.[288] Mariah Batchelor, Henderson Cooke's future wife, was also born into slavery, having been born on December 25th, 1850 in Halifax County, Virginia.[289] Henderson and Mariah were married in Franklin County, North Carolina on December 25th – Christmas Day, and Mariah's birthday – in 1867.[290]

Henderson and Mariah next appear together in the 1880 Census, in which they were listed as living in Wake Forest – though their exact address is unknown – with six children: Libelina, Lidia J., Bryant, Bettie A., Willie, and Laura A. Henderson was 37 at the time and working as a farmer. Mariah was 30 and keeping house. Neither could read or write. Both Libelina and Lidia were attending school, presumably at the public school for African American children on North Taylor Street.[291] No other known home or landowners along Simmons Row were listed as living near them at this time, so it is assumed that the Cookes had not yet moved to Simmons Row.

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[288] 1900 Census

[289] Ancestry.com. "Mrs. Mariah Dorah Cook" *North Carolina, U.S., Death Certificates, 1909-1976* [database on-line]. North Carolina State Archives; Raleigh, North Carolina; *North Carolina Death Certificates.* Provo, UT, USA: Ancestry.com Operations Inc, 2007.

[290] Ancestry.com. "Mariah Batchelor" *North Carolina, U.S., Marriage Records, 1741-2011* [database on-line]. Provo, UT, USA: Ancestry.com Operations, Inc., 2015.

[291]

One of Henderson and Mariah's daughters, Annie Elizabeth – whose name does not appear as such in early Census records but may have been referred to as "Bettie A." in the 1880 Census – went on to distinguish herself as an educator and "woman of rare accomplishments," and is profiled in *History of the American Negro and His Institutions: North Carolina Edition*, an early history of accomplished Black Americans published in 1917.[292] In an autobiographical essay written for the *Baptist Home Mission Monthly* in 1907, Annie described her parents, the houses she grew up in, the hardships of her youth, and her struggles to attain an education despite the poverty she came from.[293]

Annie begins by describing her early life living in a series of log cabins near the Brooks plantation in Wake Forest following her birth on December 4, 1875. In 1877, when Annie was two years old, her father took out a mortgage on a property on Simmons Row, and enters into an indenture with W. G. Simmons.[294] Annie herself describes this period thusly: "During this time my father had bought 52/100th of an acre of land and put a three-room house on it, not of logs but of weatherboarding. We then moved into this

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[292] "I'll Find a Way or Make It." Museum Blog. Wake Forest Historical Museum. February 12, 2019. https://wakeforestmuseum.org/2019/02/12/ill-find-a-way-or-make-it/; Caldwell, A. B., *History of the American Negro and His Institutions: North Carolina Edition* (Atlanta, GA: A. B. Caldwell Publishing Co., 1917), Internet Archive e-book, 206. Accessed April 17, 2022. https://archive.org/details/historyofamerica04cald/page/206/mode/2up?q=annie+elizabeth+

[293] "I'll Find a Way or Make It," Museum Blog. Wake Forest Historical Museum (2019); "Life of Mrs. A. Elizabeth Cooke Weeks of the President of New Bern Collegiate Industrial Institute," in *Autobiography of Alfred Leonard Edward Weeks and Annie Elizabeth Cooke Weeks - Principal and Wife of the New Bern Collegiate Industrial Institute, New Bern, N.C.* {New Bern, N.C.: New Bern Collegiate Industrial Institute, circa 1900). Internet Archive e-book, 18-26. Accessed April 17, 2022. https://archive.org/details/autobiographyofr00week/page/18/mode/2up.

[294] Wake County Register of Deeds. "Deed of Mortgage – H. T. Cooke to William G. Simmons" *Consolidated Real Property Index*, Book 48, Page 459, Raleigh, NC: Register of Deeds, 1877. Accessed April 17, 2022. http://rodcrpi.wakegov.com/Booksweb/PDFView.aspx?DocID=108430434&RecordDate=11/12/1877; "Lien Bond – Henderson T. Cooke to W. T. Brooks" *Consolidated Real Property Index*, Book 45, Page 335, Raleigh, NC: Register of Deeds, 1877. Accessed April 17, 2022. http://rodcrpi.wakegov.com/Booksweb/PDFView.aspx?DocID=108434327&RecordDate=01/05/1877

house, and my father would rent land on which to farm."[295] It can be inferred, then, that the property Annie refers to in her account was her father's property on Simmons Row, and the Cookes had begun paying a mortgage to the Simmons at this time.

Through the rest of her essay, Annie proceeds to describe her parents as well as the hardships her family endured as he grew up. She describes her parents thusly:

> "My father. Rev. Henderson Cooke (who still lives,) is, and has always been since I have known him, an honest Christian farmer and shoemaker. Though not educated, yet ere the shackles of slavery were loosed from him he learned to read and write, and after freedom became a minister of the gospel. He has always been known for his honesty and pure Christian character. My mother, Mariah D. Cooke, a virtuous Christian woman, noted for her straightforward Christian disposition, has always put forth the most earnest efforts to rear her children to be honorable men and women."[296]

It is clear from Annie's account that the Cookes led a hard life. Annie and all her siblings spent most of the year helping their parents in the fields and could not spare much else for other pursuits. According to Weeks, the public schools ran four to five months, but her parents could only spare her and her siblings two to three months out of the year. Weeks, who expressed an early desire to "make a useful woman" of herself by attaining an education, describes her growing anxiety, stemming from her feeling that

[295] "Life of Mrs. A. Elizabeth Cooke Weeks of the President of New Bern Collegiate Industrial Institute," (circa 1900), 24.
[296] Ibid, 23.

she'd never achieve her goal of receiving an education because of her impoverished life circumstances.[297]

But she persisted. Energized by a newspaper headline reading "I'll find a way or make it!," Annie proceeded to do just that. Even while still hoeing corn and cotton from morning to night, Weeks made a habit of slipping off to school every chance she got over the next few years. By the age of sixteen, she had completed public school and was admitted to Shaw University in Raleigh. In less than a month, Annie had earned a teaching certificate and was working as an assistant at a public school earning $15 a month.[298] The next year, however, Annie was called home to attend to her mother Mariah, who had fallen gravely ill. With one sister married off, another sister dead, and her two older brothers occupied with farm work, Annie was left to take up the housework herself all while still teaching at the very same public school she had stolen off to in her free time while growing up. This was a trying experience in itself – as Annie herself writes, "If one should ask me how I did it I could not tell, only I know I did it and the Lord was with me."[299] Like the other trials in her life, however, Annie marshalled through and was soon able to return to Shaw University to continue her education. After graduating in 1900, Weeks enjoyed a long and distinguished career as an educator.[300]

[297] "I'll Find a Way or Make It," Museum Blog. Wake Forest Historical Museum (2019); "Life of Mrs. A. Elizabeth Cooke Weeks of the President of New Bern Collegiate Industrial Institute," (circa 1900), 24.
[298] Ibid, 26.
[299] Ibid, 26.
[300] "I'll Find a Way or Make It," Museum Blog. Wake Forest Historical Museum (2019)



Figure 27: Annie Elizabeth Cooke Weeks is pictured in the upper left-hand corner of this photograph, alongside her husband and daughter Her autobiographical account of her early life on Simmons Row sheds further light on the lives of her parents, Henderson and Mariah Cooke. Image scanned and published by Wake Forest Historical Museum.

On November 10th, 1888, W. G. Simmons and Mary E. Simmons sold the 52/100-acre lot on North White Street near the Cemetery for $58.51.[301] This lot would remain their home on Simmons Row for the rest of their lives.

In the 1900 Census, Henderson and Mariah are listed as still living on Simmons Row near Nick Dunn and Henry Young. Their household at this time consisted of their children Elizabeth, William H., Georgia, Silas, Jerroy Lee, and Mary L. as well as Henderson's 82-year-old mother, Dilcy A. At this time, the family owned the land but appear to have been renting the house, still. Henderson was 57 and still working as a farmer. Mariah was listed as unemployed. Elizabeth was working as a schoolteacher, presumably at the public school for African American children on North Taylor Street. William H. was working as a farm laborer, as was his younger brothers Silas and Jerroy Lee. Georgia also worked at a school, presumably the same school where Elizabeth teaches. Dilcy A. was Henderson's mother. At this time, Henderson and Mariah were still listed as illiterate, yet it is evident that both were prominent members of the community.[302] In 1909, Mariah appeared as a Trustee of the Golden Rule Tent Society on a deed conveying a tract of land on Simmons Row to Dr. J. B. Carlyle.[303]

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[301] Wake County Register of Deeds. "M. E. Simmons to Henderson Cooke" *Consolidated Real Property Index*, Book 104, Page 719, Raleigh, NC: Register of Deeds, 1888. Accessed April 17, 2022. http://rodcrpi.wakegov.com/booksweb/PDFView.aspx?DocID=108114707&RecordDate=01/22/1888

[302] Ancestry.com. *1900 United States Federal Census* [database on-line]. Year: 1900; Census Place: Wake Forest, Wake, North Carolina; Roll: 1221; Page: 8; Enumeration District: 0152; FHL microfilm: 1241221. Provo, UT, USA: Ancestry.com Operations Inc, 2004.

[303] Wake County Register of Deeds. "Emma Dent, et als Trustees to J.B. Carlyle" *Consolidated Real Property Index*, Book 235, Page 342, Raleigh, NC: Register of Deeds, 1896. Web. Accessed April 17, 2022. http://rodcrpi.wakegov.com/Booksweb/PDFView.aspx?DocID=107426093&RecordDate=01/26/1909

In the 1910 Census, Henderson and Mariah were listed as still living on Simmons Row with two daughters: Georgianna and Mary. Henderson was 63 and listed as a shoemaker, rather than a farmer. Mariah was 60 and working as a laundress at home. Georgiana, presumably Georgia in the 1900 Census, was still working at the public school, presumably the same public school for African American children on North Taylor Street, and is teaching there. Mary was unemployed. Henderson and Mariah were still listed as illiterate. At this point, they fully owned their home.[304]

The 1915 Sanborn map depicts two dwellings on the area encompassed by their parcels. Both are single-story wood-frame structures. It is not apparent at this time whether Georgiana and Mary were living in the second dwelling, or if the Cookes rented out their second dwelling to other tenants.[305]

In the 1920 Census, Henderson and Mariah were listed as still living on White Street. By this point, Henderson was 77 and no longer working. Mariah was 70 and working as a nurse at a confinement center. Their son Willie H. was also living with them at this time and working as a day laborer.[306]

Between 1920 and 1924, Henderson died. No vital records have been recovered to confirm his date of death, but it can be inferred that he died during this time because Mariah shows up on the 1924 heirs' plat as the owner of the lot and is listed in the 1930 census as a widow. In 1924, Mariah was listed as the property owner on a plat created for

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[304] Ancestry.com. *1910 United States Federal Census* [database on-line]. Year: 1910; Census Place: Wake Forest, Wake, North Carolina; Roll: T624_1136; Page: 12B; Enumeration District: 0131; FHL microfilm: 1375149. Lehi, UT, USA: Ancestry.com Operations Inc, 2006.
[305] Sanborn Fire Insurance Company. Map. Wake Forest, NC, June 1915, Sheet 4.
[306] Ancestry.com. *1920 United States Federal Census* [database on-line]. Year: 1920; Census Place: Wake Forest, Wake, North Carolina; Roll: T625_1325; Page: 12A; Enumeration District: 149. Provo, UT, USA: Ancestry.com Operations, Inc., 2010.

W. G. Simmons's heirs.[307] This plat, in combination with boundary descriptions from future deeds, helped to pinpoint the exact parcels that had previously belonged to Mariah and Henderson.

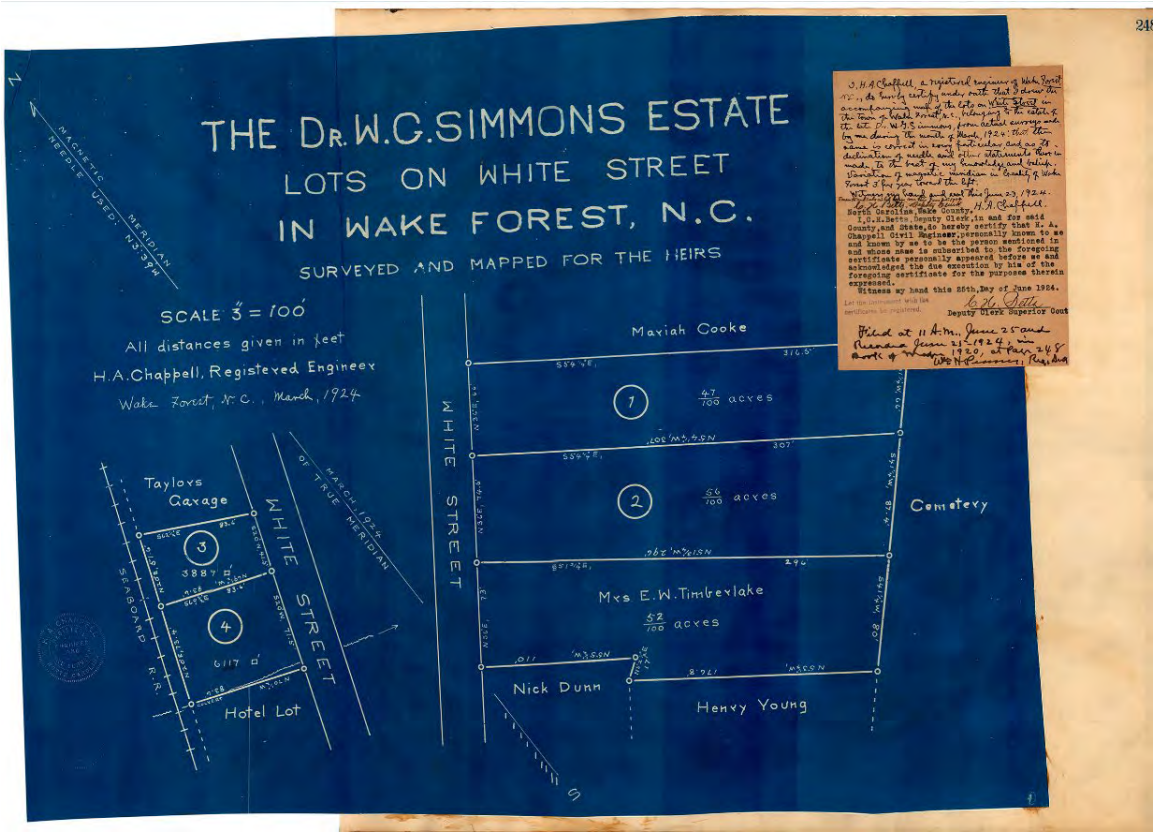


Figure 28: This 1924 plat by H.A. Chappell was originally drawn as a part of the process of dividing W.G. Simmons's estate among his heirs. The proximity of these lots to other land holdings occupied by Simmons Row residents like Maria Cooke, Nick Dunn, and Henry Young also allows this plat to lend insight into broader patterns of Black land ownership at this time. Image scanned and published by Wake County Register of Deeds.

Mariah was listed in the 1930 Census as "Maria Cook," and was living on White Street near Willis B Johnson with a boarder named Wilmer Johnson. By this point she was widowed and owned the house. Her home was valued at $1500. Wilmer Johnson,

[307] Chappell, H. A. "The Dr. W. G. Simmons Estate Lots on White Street in Wake Forest, N.C. - Surveyed and Mapped for the Heirs" [map]. First Edition, Restored. 3"=100'. Wake Forest, N.C.: Wake County Register of Deeds, March 1924. Book of Deeds 1920, Page 248.

age 21, was boarding with Mariah and working as a servant for a private family at this time.[308]

This same year, Mariah died. Her death certificate lists her date of death as July 8th, 1930. She was 79 years old when she died. In this same document, her late husband Henderson is listed as having been a reverend, appearing as "Rev." H. L. Cooke.[309]

Henderson and Mariah appear to have died without designating a will, and their property presumably languished in legal limbo, its ownership being divided among their children, for the next twenty years. Further research is merited to develop a fuller account of who was residing at this property between the date of Mariah's death and the sale of the land in 1950. In 1950, Georgia E. Wyche, one of the Cookes' daughters who had since intermarried, initiated an heir's property sale that put her parent's lot up for public auction. The deed lists what is presumably all of Henderson and Mariah's living heirs at law at the time. The land was subsequently divided in half, with the northern lot being sold to one James Battle for $100.00 and the southern portion being sold to Katheryn Young, one of Allen Young's daughter's, also for $100.00.[310] Here, the chains of title for what was previously the Cooke lots diverges, it having been split into a northern and a southern portion.

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[308] Ancestry.com. *1930 United States Federal Census* [database on-line]. Year: *1930*; Census Place: *Wake Forest, Wake, North Carolina*; Page: *7B*; Enumeration District: *0065*; FHL microfilm: *2341460*. Provo, UT, USA: Ancestry.com Operations Inc, 2002.
[309] Ancestry.com. "Mrs. Mariah Dorah Cook" *North Carolina, U.S., Death Certificates, 1909-1976* [database on-line]. North Carolina State Archives; Raleigh, North Carolina; *North Carolina Death Certificates.* Provo, UT, USA: Ancestry.com Operations Inc, 2007.
[310] Wake County Register of Deeds. "Georgia E. Wyche, Widow, et als to James Battle" *Consolidated Real Property Index*, Book 1084, Page 479, Raleigh, NC: Register of Deeds, 1950. Accessed April 17, 2022. http://rodcrpi.wakegov.com/Booksweb/PDFView.aspx?DocID=106731531&RecordDate=12/10/1951

In 1952, Katheryn entered into an indenture between one W. G. Barnes, acting as Trustee, and Wilson Uzzle, Incorporated, an automobile dealer in Raleigh.[311] Evidently, Katheryn incurred a debt in the amount of $1,360 with this company, presumably for a car, and put her southern lot up as collateral until the debt could be paid. A stamp on this same deed indicates that the debt was paid by June 1, 1956.[312]

In 1956, Katheryn and her husband, James Augustus Shepard, sold their southern lot to the Town of Wake Forest for $10.00.[313] Through this time, the Battles retained their northern portion of the former Cooke lot. In 1967, James and his wife Minnie Fort Battle conveyed the land to the Town of Wake Forest for $ 10.00 “and other valuable considerations”. [314]

The Golden Rule Tent Society and Dora Hartsfield at 428 North White Street

In 1896, Mary E. Simmons sold a one-tenth-acre parcel of land to the trustees of the Golden Rule Tent Society – No.99 – listed as Flora Church, Emma Dent, and Ellie Lewis – for $50.00. Per the description in this deed, the property was bounded to the west by North White Street and on its north, south and west sides by the Simmons’s property.

[311] Hill Directory Company. "Hill's Raleigh (Wake County, N.C.) City Directory [1950]." 1950. Accessed April 17. 2022. https://lib.digitalnc.org/record/25748?ln=en.
[312] Wake County Register of Deeds. “Indenture – Katheryn Lucille Young to W. G. Barnes, Trustee” *Consolidated Real Property Index*, Book 1105, Page 17, Raleigh, NC: Register of Deeds, 1952. Accessed April 17, 2022. http://rodcrpi.wakegov.com/Booksweb/PDFView.aspx?DocID=106748160&RecordDate=09/11/1952
[313] Wake County Register of Deeds. “Kathryn Young Shepard to Town of Wake Forest” *Consolidated Real Property Index*, Book 1234, Page 410, Raleigh, NC: Register of Deeds, 1956. Accessed April 17, 2022. http://rodcrpi.wakegov.com/Booksweb/PDFView.aspx?DocID=106643006&RecordDate=05/24/1956
[314] Wake County Register of Deeds. “Minnie Fort Battle to Town of Wake Forest” *Consolidated Real Property Index*, Book 1793, Page 255, Raleigh, NC: Register of Deeds, 1967. Accessed April 17, 2022. http://rodcrpi.wakegov.com/Booksweb/PDFView.aspx?DocID=106344890&RecordDate=11/13/1967

In 1909, the trustees of the Golden Rule Tent Society sold their one-tenth-acre plot on North White Street to J. B. Carlyle, Sr. – a Wake Forest College professor who lived in an Italianate-style house up North White Street on the other side of the railroad tracks. The trustees at this time were listed as Emma Dent, Mollie Gregory, and Mariah Cooke. The deed details that the trustees had authorized the sale at a meeting of the Golden Rule Tent Society, No. 9 of the United Order of Tent Sisters on January 22nd, 1909. Carlyle paid the Tent Sisters $75.00 for the property. The boundary description is slightly different, but still encompasses the same one-tenth-acre plot described in the 1896 deed.[315]

The former Golden Rule Tent Society tract remained in the Carlyle family's possession for the next 44 years. In 1953, following under the will of John B. Carlyle, Jr. - son of J. B. Carlyle, Sr., who purchased the property in 1909 – Wachovia Bank, acting as successor trustee, conveyed multiple tracts of land to J. B. Carlyle, Jr.'s living heirs per line item #8 of Carlyle's will.[316] One of the properties conveyed, listed as "Tract #5" in the deed, is the former Golden Rule Tent Society tract.[317] This conveyance split the original tract in half, distributing one half to one of Carlyle's daughters, Alice Dunn, and the other half to one of his sons, Irving E. Carlyle.

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[315] Wake County Register of Deeds. "Emma Dent, et als Trustees to J. B. Carlyle" *Consolidated Real Property Index*, Book 235, Page 342, Raleigh, NC: Register of Deeds, 1909. Accessed April 21, 2022. http://rodcrpi.wakegov.com/booksweb/PDFView.aspx?DocID=107426093&RecordDate=01/26/1909

[316] Ancestry.com. "Will of John Bethune Carlyle, Wake County, N.C., 1911." *North Carolina, U.S., Wills and Probate Records, 1665-1998* [database on-line]. Wills and Estate Papers (Wake County), 1663-1978; Wills and Estate Papers (Wake County), 1663-1978; Author: North Carolina. Division of Archives and History; Probate Place: Wake, North Carolina. Original data: North Carolina County, District and Probate Courts. Provo, UT, USA: Ancestry.com Operations, Inc., 2015.

[317] Wake County Register of Deeds. "Wachovia Bank & Trust Company, Successor Trustee to Irving E. Carlyle, et al" *Consolidated Real Property Index*, Book 1117, Page 548, Raleigh, NC: Register of Deeds, 1953. Accessed April 21, 2022. http://rodcrpi.wakegov.com/Booksweb/PDFView.aspx?DocID=106710401&RecordDate=03/23/1953

The next year, in 1954, Dora V. Carlyle, wife of Irving E. Carlyle, sold the tract of land her husband had inherited to Dora Hartsfield. Wachovia Bank & Trust Company acted as the Commissioner for the sale. The deed details a special court proceeding between Alice Dunn Carlyle and Irving E. Carlyle, in which the Wachovia Bank & Trust Company had been appointed as Commissioner authorized to sell the property at public auction. Wachovia Bank offered due advertisement before offering the lands for sale at public auction on October 13th, 1954. At this public auction, Dora Hartsfield became the last and highest bidder at the price of $575.00. Wachovia Bank reported the sale to the court, bidding remained open for more than ten days and no advance bid was filed. On November 22, 1954, court entered order approving and confirming sale of the land to Ms. Hartsfield by Wachovia Bank. The property description included in this deed is the same as that described in the preceding conveyance between J. B. Carlyle and his heirs.[318]

In 1967, Dora Hartsfield was displaced from her property. An article appearing in the *Wake Weekly* on June 29th of that year described the situation. According to the article, Dora Hartsfield, who is of retirement age at the time of writing, was given 90 days to find a new home after her "raggedy old house" had been condemned the week prior by Wake Forest Building Inspector Guy Hill.[319] Dora had already been searching for somewhere else to live for two years by this time. Her 34-year-old son Eugene was also living with her at the time that the building is condemned. The author described the dilapidated condition of her home and notes that two other condemned structures are very

[318] Wake County Register of Deeds. "Dora V. Carlyle to Dora Hartsfield" *Consolidated Real Property Index*, Book 1172, Page 348, Raleigh, NC: Register of Deeds, 1954. Accessed April 21, 2022. http://rodcrpi.wakegov.com/Booksweb/PDFView.aspx?DocID=106657628&RecordDate=12/20/1954
[319] "Displaced Person Must Soon Find New Home." *The Wake Weekly And The Youngsville - Rolesville Record*, June 29, 1967.

nearby. A recent fire had burned one of the condemned buildings to the ground just a short distance away from where Dora was living, giving due cause for alarm. She proceeded to describe how she had lived in her house "for so long, I don't know how long" and that she had rented it from Dora Carlyle before buying it in 1954.[320] She concludes by saying "I want to get in the low-rent house project, but I hope it's not too high; I'm so poor."[321]

[320] Ibid
[321] Ibid



Figure 29: In this 1967 newspaper clipping, Dora Hartsfield is pictured seated in front of her home at 428 North White Street. Guy Hill, the Town building inspector at the time, had recently condemned it, along with the other remaining dwellings on North White Street, due to their dilapidated appearance. The condemnation displaced Ms. Hartsfield from her home and forced her to seek new housing elsewhere in the Northeast Community. Photograph by Chris Robey (2022).



New Chamber of Commerce Directors in addition to Tommy Holding, are (l to r) John Lyon, Carlton Chappell, and Watson Smith. —(Photo by Bob Allen)

Rear of Dora's Old House

Figure 30: This photograph of the rear of Hartsfield's residence lends rare insight into the construction and architectural features of other dwellings on Simmons Row aside from the Ailey Young House. The dilapidated outward appearance of Ms. Hartsfield's home never bothered her. Photograph by Chris Robey (2022).

In 1968, Dora Hartsfield sold her lot to the Town of Wake Forest for $10.00 “and other valuable considerations,” presumably after her house was razed.[322] Thus, in addition to being displaced, Dora ended up not only losing her property but also upwards of $565, given that she paid $575.00 for the land and house.

The Gills, Allens, and Thompsons at 448 North White Street

Joseph and Laura Gill were married in Wake County, North Carolina on April 9th, 1864. Both were listed as emancipated slaves in the Wake County Marriage Register.[323] In 1870, the Gills had not yet moved to Simmons Row but appeared in the Census as living with their young son, James. Joe was working as a farm laborer and Laura was keeping house. They did not appear to be living near any other known residents of Simmons Row at this time.[324]

In 1879, Joe Gill appeared among the Trustees of the Olive Branch Baptist Church listed in an 1879 deed by which W.G. and Mary E. Simmons convey the one-acre lot on to the Trustees for the sum of one dollar. The other trustees listed are J. T. Thompson, J. F. Phillips, S. S. Powell, and Henry Dunstan. The deed specifies that the land must be used for "Church and School purposes, and not for residence, mercantile, or mechanical business, or for any purpose of an immoral character."[325]

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[322] Wake County Register of Deeds. “Dora Hartsfield to Town of Wake Forest” *Consolidated Real Property Index*, Book 1820, Page 431, Raleigh, NC: Register of Deeds, 1968. Accessed April 21, 2022. http://rodcrpi.wakegov.com/Booksweb/PDFView.aspx?DocID=106292289&RecordDate=05/24/1968

[323] Ancestry.com. “Joseph Gill.” *North Carolina, U.S., Marriage Records, 1741-2011* [database on-line]. Provo, UT, USA: Ancestry.com Operations, Inc., 2015.

[324] Ancestry.com. *1870 United States Federal Census* [database on-line]. Year: 1870; Census Place: Wake Forest, Wake, North Carolina; Roll: M593_1163; Page: 408A. Provo, UT, USA: Ancestry.com Operations, Inc., 2009.

[325] Wake County Register of Deeds. “W.G. Simmons & Wife to Trustees Olive Branch Church.” *Consolidated Real Property Index*, Book 283, Page 524, Raleigh, NC: Register of Deeds, 1879. Web.

Joe and Laura Gill next appear in the 1880 Census, in which they are listed as living with their son, four daughters, and nephew near Henderson and Mariah Cooke, suggesting that they had settled on Simmons Row by this time. Joe was still working as a farmer, and Laura was still keeping house. Their oldest son Jimmie was working as a laborer, as was their nephew Mathew Alston. Their daughters were Mollie, Bettie, Hattie, and Idenia.[326]

In 1888, the Gills purchased a lot encompassing just over an acre from the Simmons for the sum of $200.00.[327] The purchase money is forwarded to Joe Gill by Jesse Newton Holding, a lawyer from Wake Forest who had established a successful practice in Raleigh. A deed of mortgage recorded on the same page as the land sale details the terms of the arrangement between the Gills and Holding. Per the terms of this mortgage, the debt of two-hundred dollars was payable twelve months from the date of purchase with interest at a rate of 8% per annum, payable semi-annually. Had the Gills failed to pay the principal or interest on their loan or their property taxes, Holding would have been empowered to put their land up for sale at public auction.[328]

Evidently, the Gills fell short on their payments. On December 17th, 1891, Holding posted a notice of sale for the Gill's property in the *Daily State Chronicle*, a

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Accessed April 16, 2022. http://rodcrpi.wakegov.com/Booksweb/PDFView.aspx?DocID=107375555&RecordDate=05/15/1914

[326] Ancestry.com and The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. *1880 United States Federal Census* [database on-line]. Year: 1880; Census Place: Wake Forest College, Wake, North Carolina; Roll: 985; Page: 454B; Enumeration District: 277. Lehi, UT, USA: Ancestry.com Operations Inc, 2010. 1880 U.S. Census Index provided by The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints.

[327] Wake County Register of Deeds. "W. G. Simmons to Joe Gill" *Consolidated Real Property Index*, Book 104, Page 694, Raleigh, NC: Register of Deeds, 1888. Accessed April 21, 2022. http://rodcrpi.wakegov.com/Booksweb/PDFView.aspx?DocID=108114456&RecordDate=01/16/1889

[328] Wake County Register of Deeds. "Joe Gill to J.N. Holding" *Consolidated Real Property Index*, Book 104, Page 695, Raleigh, NC: Register of Deeds, 1888. Accessed April 21, 2022. http://rodcrpi.wakegov.com/Booksweb/PDFView.aspx?DocID=108114392&RecordDate=01/16/1889

newspaper published in Raleigh.[329] On January 22nd, 1892, the land was put up for public auction at the Wake County Courthouse in Raleigh. It was there that Adeline Allen, being the last and highest bidder, acquired the land for the price of $275.00.[330]

Adeline and Edmund Allen appear in the 1880 Census with Nick Dunm also listed as a member of their household. Edmund was working as a farmer, Adeline was keeping house, and Nick was working as a servant. Edmund was illiterate, but Adeline could both read and write.[331] It is possible that this is why the deeds were in her name later on.

Not much else is known about the Allens and their ownership of the property. Few vital records relating to their whereabouts between the years of 1892 and 1898 have been recovered. They re-appear in the 1900 Census but are living elsewhere in Wake Forest by this point.[332]

On September 13th, 1898, the Allens sold their lot to Betty E. Thompson and her husband Jack Thompson for the sum of $275.00.[333] The Thompsons appear in the 1900 Census but are not listed near any other known residents of Simmons Row. Bettie was unemployed and Jack was working as a servant in a boarding house. The 1900 Census lists the Youngs, Hendersons, Dunns, and Johnsons as living near each other. It is

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[329] "Notice of Sale," *The Daily State Chronicle*, January 30. 1892, 3.
[330] Wake County Register of Deeds. "Deed of Mortgage – J. N. Holding to Adeline Allen" *Consolidated Real Property Index*, Book 125, Page 120, Raleigh, NC: Register of Deeds, 1892. Accessed April 21, 2022. http://rodcrpi.wakegov.com/Booksweb/PDFView.aspx?DocID=108105587&RecordDate=12/12/1892
[331] Ancestry.com and The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. *1880 United States Federal Census* [database on-line]. *Year: 1880; Census Place: Wake Forest, Wake, North Carolina; Roll: 985; Page: 450B; Enumeration District: 277.* Lehi, UT, USA: Ancestry.com Operations Inc, 2010. 1880 U.S. Census Index provided by The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints.
[332] Ancestry.com. *1900 United States Federal Census* [database on-line]. Year: 1900; Census Place: Wake Forest, Wake, North Carolina; Roll: 1221; Page: 9; Enumeration District: 0152; FHL microfilm: 1241221. Provo, UT, USA: Ancestry.com Operations Inc, 2004.
[333] Wake County Register of Deeds. "Adeline Allen to Bettie E. Thompson" *Consolidated Real Property Index*, Book 174, Page 534, Raleigh, NC: Register of Deeds, 1898. Accessed April 21, 2022. http://rodcrpi.wakegov.com/Booksweb/PDFView.aspx?DocID=107486795&RecordDate=05/19/1903

inferred, then, that the Thompsons owned a home elsewhere and had not yet moved to Simmons Row. Their children at this time are Ellen E., Frederick, Merriman, and Eddie B., whose ages varied from 17 to 5 years old. Ellen, Frederick and Merriman were all in school, possibly at the Black public school on the corner of North Taylor Street and East Juniper Avenue. Eddie, the youngest, was not yet in school at this time.[334]

The Thompsons next appear in the 1910 Census and were listed as owning a home on Simmons Row. Their children living with them at this time are: Ellen, Frederick, "Memnion,"[335] and Ed B. John was working as a porter in an infirmary and Bettie was running a laundry out of their home that likely catered to students at Wake Forest College. Their daughter Ellen was then teaching at a public school, likely the same Black public school she had been attending in 1900. Frederick was a house carpenter. "Memnion" and Ed B. were both unemployed.[336]

It is worth noting that Bettie's surname is Young; her father was Henry Young, and she was a sister of Allen Young.[337] It is possible that Jack Thompson, also listed elsewhere as John T Thompson, was among the Trustees of the Olive Branch Baptist Church listed in the 1879 deed.[338]

By 1920, Bettie E. Thompson appears to have been widowed, as she is listed in the Census as the head of household. Her daughter Ellen, now Ellen Powell, was still

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[334] Ancestry.com. *1900 United States Federal Census* [database on-line]. Year: 1900; Census Place: Wake Forest, Wake, North Carolina; Roll: 1221; Page: 9; Enumeration District: 0152; FHL microfilm: 1241221. Provo, UT, USA: Ancestry.com Operations Inc, 2004.
[335] "Memnion" appears to be the correct spelling, but the 1910 enumerator's handwriting can be difficult to decipher at times.
[336] Ibid.
[337] Ancestry.com. "Bettie E. Thompson." North Carolina State Archives; Raleigh, North Carolina; *North Carolina Death Certificates North Carolina, U.S., Death Certificates, 1909-1976* [database on-line]. Provo, UT, USA: Ancestry.com Operations Inc, 2007.
[338] "W.G. Simmons & Wife to Trustees Olive Branch Church," Book 283, Page 524, 1879.

living with her, as is Ellen's husband, James W. Powell. They were still listed in-between the Jacksons and the Dents, and so can be presumed to have still been living on Simmons Row.[339]

James's father was Silas Powell.[340] It is possible that his father Silas was listed as "S. S." Powell among the Trustees of the Olive Branch Baptist Church.[341] James clearly had a strong connection to the Church, as he grew up to become a Baptist minister.[342] It is possible that he preached at Olive Branch Baptist Church.

In the 1930 Census, Bettie E. Thompson was still listed as the head of household. Her daughter Ellen, now Ellen Powell, was still living with her, as is Ellen's husband, James W. Powell. At this point, Ellen and James had a daughter named Mary Louise. James Powell, Ellen's husband, was listed as a minister at a Baptist Church, presumably Olive Branch Baptist Church. They were listed as living near "Maria" Cook, who had taken on a boarder. They were no longer listed between the Jacksons and the Dents, however. A different set of families were renting near them, including the Stallings, Perrys, and Pepperses.[343]

Bettie E. Thompson died in 1937. Evidently, she died without a will, as there is no recorded legal transfer of land between her and her descendants. Ownership of the land was thereafter divided up among her living heirs. On her death certificate, her usual

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[339] Ancestry.com. *1920 United States Federal Census* [database on-line]. Year: 1920; Census Place: Wake Forest, Wake, North Carolina; Roll: T625_1325; Page: 12A; Enumeration District: 149. Provo, UT, USA: Ancestry.com Operations, Inc., 2010. Images reproduced by FamilySearch.
[340] Ancestry.com. "James W. Powell." *North Carolina, U.S., Marriage Records, 1741-2011* [database on-line]. Provo, UT, USA: Ancestry.com Operations, Inc., 2015.
[341] "W.G. Simmons & Wife to Trustees Olive Branch Church," Book 283, Page 524, 1879.
[342] *1920 United States Federal Census* [database on-line]. Year: 1920; Census Place: Wake Forest, Wake, North Carolina; Roll: T625_1325; Page: 12A; Enumeration District: 149.
[343] Ancestry.com. *1930 United States Federal Census* [database on-line]. Year: *1930*; Census Place: *Wake Forest, Wake, North Carolina*; Page: *7B*; Enumeration District: *0065*; FHL microfilm: *2341460*. Provo, UT, USA: Ancestry.com Operations Inc, 2002.

residence is listed as PO Box 547 in Wake Forest, NC. The same address is provided by her daughter Ellen Powell, who is listed as the informant of her death.[344] Although it is uncertain what dwelling this P.O. Box refers to, it is likely, that Bettie and Ellen were still living on Simmons Row at this time. Therefore, 547 may have referred to the same dwelling they had been residing in for the previous thirty years.

By 1940, Ellen and James Powell appear to have still been living on North White Street, as they are listed a few rows (on the Census sheet) down from Rosa L Taylor, one of the last known residents at Willis Johnson's property to the south.[345] In 1944, Ellen's husband James died.

In 1961, Ellen and her siblings, as the living heirs of Bettie E Thompson, sold the lot to the Town of Wake Forest.[346] By this point, Ellen was widowed and still living in Wake County.

In 1963, Ellen Powell died.[347] On her death certificate, her usual residence is listed as 404 North White Street in Wake Forest, NC[348]. It is not clear whether this address referred to the same property, or if Ellen had moved elsewhere on North White Street by this point. At this time, no land records have been located to suggest that Ellen and James ever moved elsewhere, however. Further, the last known address of the

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[344] Ancestry.com. "Bettie E. Thompson." North Carolina State Archives; Raleigh, North Carolina; *North Carolina Death Certificates North Carolina, U.S., Death Certificates, 1909-1976* [database on-line]. Provo, UT, USA: Ancestry.com Operations Inc, 2007.
[345] Ancestry.com. *1940 United States Federal Census* [database on-line]. Year: *1940;* Census Place: *Wake Forest, Wake, North Carolina;* Roll: *m-t0627-02983;* Page: *13B;* Enumeration District: *92-86.* Provo, UT, USA: Ancestry.com Operations, Inc., 2012.
[346] Wake County Register of Deeds. "Ellen Thompson Powell, et al to Town of Wake Forest" *Consolidated Real Property Index*, Book 1542, Page 179, Raleigh, NC: Register of Deeds, 1961. Accessed April 21, 2022.
http://rodcrpi.wakegov.com/Booksweb/PDFView.aspx?DocID=106460767&RecordDate=03/11/1963
[347] "Deaths & Funerals – Mrs. Ellen Powell," *The News and Observer*, Wednesday, March 6, 1963, 9.
[348] Ancestry.com. "Ellen Powell." North Carolina State Archives; Raleigh, North Carolina; *North Carolina, U.S., Death Certificates, 1909-1976* [database on-line]. Provo, UT, USA: Ancestry.com Operations Inc, 2007.

property, which changed in 1937 and was reflected in the 1946 Sanborn map, was 402.[349] Today, the parcel does not have an address. The next two properties up from it, however, are listed as 414 and 420 North White Street, in increasing order going south to north.[350] It would have made sense for 404 North White Street to refer to the Gill-Thompson-Powell property. It is possible that, in selling her lot to the Town, Ellen specified that she be allowed to live out the rest of her life in the house she had lived in since she was a child. If this is true, then this house was inhabited more or less continuously from 1888 to 1963.

Summary of Site History

By tracing the physical development and demolition of Simmons Row, we come to understand it as an example of a vernacular Black homespace significant to the overall development of the Northeast Community. In bearing witness to the lives of its residents, namely its major landowning families, we may further understand Simmons Row as an example of the Bottom as described by Ujiji Davis. Having detailed this history and established a baseline contextual understanding of Simmons Row and its significance to the development of the Northeast Community, I will now proceed to describe it as a cultural landscape and define its character-defining features.

[349] Arrington & Arrington. *Wake Forest, N.C.* 1st Edition. 1" = 200'. Wake Forest N.C.: Arrington & Arrington, September 1937, Revised June 1940, March 1943, December 1944, March 1949; Sanborn Fire Insurance Company. Map. Wake Forest, NC, 1946, Sheet 5.
[350] Wake County GIS, "iMAPS," Parcel PIN: 1841630228. Accessed April 21, 2022. https://maps.raleighnc.gov/imaps/

CHAPTER IV

LANDSCAPE CHARACTERISTICS

Introduction

Having outlined the physical development and demolition of Simmons Row, as well as aspects of its social history relating to the landowning families who dwelled there, I will now provide an in-depth description of Simmons Row as a cultural landscape per the twelve landscape characteristics outlined in the NPS technical bulletin, "Landscape Lines 3: Landscape Characteristics." These twelve characteristics include the site's natural systems and features, spatial organization, land uses, cluster arrangements, circulation, topography, vegetation, buildings and structures, views and vistas, constructed water features, small-scale features, and archaeological sites.[351]

Natural Systems and Features

The National Park Service defines natural systems and features as "the natural aspects that have influenced the development and physical form of a landscape."[352] The natural systems and features of Simmons Row are characteristic of the Northern Outer Piedmont ecoregion of North Carolina.

[351] National Park Service. *Landscape Lines 3: Landscape Characteristics*, 2004.
[352] Ibid.

Physiography:

The physiography of this ecoregion has been characterized as a dissected irregular plain with low hills, rounded ridges, and shallow ravines. The topography is considerably less rugged than areas farther inland but higher in elevation and more rugged than the southeastern coastal plain.[353]

Geology:

The Northern Outer Piedmont is mostly underlain by heavily weathered metamorphic rocks, including gneiss and schist, with some igneous intrusions of granite.[354] The soils formed on these rocks tend to be clay-rich, acidic, and low in calcium. The gneiss and schist bedrock is veneered with saprolite – chemically weathered, clay-rich and highly erodible soils that usually make up lower soil horizons in the Piedmont.[355] These characteristically red soils have been exposed in many areas of the region and are thus immediately recognizable to most Piedmont residents today, however, due to the heavy soil erosion that is the lasting legacy of exhaustive cotton and tobacco agriculture in the region.[356]

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[353] Griffith, G.E., Omernik, J.M., Comstock, J.A., Schafale, M.P., McNab, W.H., Lenat, D.R., MacPherson, T.F., Glover, J.B., and Shelburne, V.B., 2002, *Ecoregions of North Carolina and South Carolina*, (color poster with map, descriptive text, summary tables, and photographs): Reston, Virginia, U.S. Geological Survey (map scale 1:1,500,000).

[354] Griffith, Glenn, James Omernik, and Jeffrey Comstock. "Northern Outer Piedmont" in *Ecoregions of North Carolina: Regional Descriptions* (Corvalis, OR: Environmental Protection Agency (August 31, 2002). Web. Accessed April 22, 2022. https://www.epa.gov/eco-research/ecoregion-download-files-state-region-4#pane-31

[355] "Ultisols." The Twelve Soil Orders. University of Idaho College of Agricultural and Life Sciences. Accessed April 15th, 2021. https://www.uidaho.edu/cals/soil-orders/ultisols.

[356] Helms, Douglas, and Joan E. Freeman. "Soil Conservation." NCpedia, published January 1, 2006. Accessed July 8, 2022. https://www.ncpedia.org/soil-conservation.

Soils:

The predominant soil series on the Simmons Row site is eroded Appling sandy loam. This soil series is typically deep to saprolite and very deep to bedrock and formed from material weathered from the igneous and metamorphic bedrock underlaying Piedmont uplands. This soil series is typically found on broad, nearly level to gently sloping ridges and on sloping to moderately steep sides of ridges between intermittent and permanent streams in the southern Piedmont. Appling soils tend to be well-drained and moderately permeable, although low-lying areas surrounding the Ailey Young House tend to stay consistently wet well into the summer months. Most of the acreage encompassed by this soil series has been cultivated or converted to pasture. The remainder lies in mixed hardwood and pine forest. Appling soils can support an array of staple crops, including corn, tobacco, soybeans, cotton, and various grains.[357] Almost all of these crops were grown by Dr. Calvin Jones when he was still managing the land, and remained staple crops produced on the farms surrounding Wake Forest well into the 20th century.[358]

Hydrology:

Simmons Row, along with the rest of Wake Forest, is situated in the Lower Neuse River Watershed of the Neuse River Basin. Hydrology on the Simmons Row site consists of a branch referred to in the deed records as "Cemetery Branch," forming the eastern

[357] Natural Resource Conservation Service. "Appling Series." Official Soil Series Descriptions. Last updated December 30, 2000. Accessed April 22, 2022. https://soilseries.sc.egov.usda.gov/OSD_Docs/A/APPLING.html
[358] Natural Resource Conservation Service. "Appling Series." Official Soil Series Descriptions. Last updated December 30, 2000. Accessed April 22, 2022. https://soilseries.sc.egov.usda.gov/OSD_Docs/A/APPLING.html ; Jones, "Farm Journal, 1820-1835."

boundary of the landscape and which has historically functioned as a landmark defining boundary lines for the various parcels that have been platted in the area.[359] This branch flows southward and empties into Spring Branch which in turn empties into Hatteras Branch then Smith Creek before finally emptying into the Neuse River.[360]

Climate:

The climate of Northern Outer Piedmont is humid to subhumid, with mean annual precipitation of 44 to 45 inches and a mean annual temperature of 60 degrees Fahrenheit.[361] This site is located in Plant Hardiness Zone 7a, and the plants present on site, both native and planted, are characteristic of these climactic conditions.[362] Given the favorable climate, this part of the Piedmont has been historically and continues to be presently ideal for agriculture, and that history is reflected in the physical history and development of Simmons Row. It was formerly situated on farmland owned, managed, and actively farmed by Dr. Calvin Jones as a part of his plantation. Crops that Jones grew include cotton, tobacco, corn, and oats – all well-suited to the soils and climate of the region.[363]

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[359] See, for example, Wake County Register of Deeds. "Mary E. Simmons to Ailey Fowler Young." Consolidated Real Property Index, Book 136, Page 241, Raleigh, NC: Register of Deeds, 1896. Accessed June 17, 2022. http://rodcrpi.wakegov.com/Booksweb/PDFView.aspx?DocID=108094011&RecordDate=03/14/1896.
[360] NC Department of Environment & Natural Resources. "Section A, Chapter 2: Neuse River Basin Overview" in *Neuse River Basinwide Water Quality Plan.* Raleigh, NC: Division of Water Quality Planning (July 2002). Web. Accessed April 22, 2022. https://deq.nc.gov/media/4202/download
[361] [361] Griffith et al, *Ecoregions of North Carolina and South Carolina*, 2002.
[362] U.S. Department of Agriculture. "USDA Plant Hardiness Zone Map." Agricultural Research Service. Accessed April 22, 2022. https://planthardiness.ars.usda.gov/
[363] Jones, "Farm Journal, 1820-1835"; Natural Resource Conservation Service. "Appling Series." Official Soil Series Descriptions. Last updated December 30, 2000. Accessed April 22, 2022. https://soilseries.sc.egov.usda.gov/OSD_Docs/A/APPLING.html

Native Vegetation:

A best guess of the native vegetation of the Simmons Row site was determined by sampling the canopy and understory species present on the Mable-Beasley lot, which was never developed and has remained undisturbed. The canopy and understory species composition appears to be characteristic of Piedmont bottomland forest. This natural community type is characterized mostly by a high occurrence of bottomland oaks such as water, willow, and black oaks, along with the more widespread species such as red maple, tulip poplar, sweetgum, and loblolly pine. These natural communities typically occur on higher parts of large Piedmont floodplains. On the Simmons Row site, this natural community type is expressed through a high occurrence of willow oaks, red maples, and tulip poplars. More sporadic species include sweetgum, bluejack oak, and American elm. Characteristic understory species identified on-site include cut-leaf grape fern and American holly.[364]

While it is unknown whether the Simmons Row site was cultivated, historic aerials confirm that as late as 1959, the site occupied by the Mable-Beasley lot south of the Ailey Young House was cleared and much more open, rather than forested. The heavy presence of tulip poplars in this bottomland forest type may thus be considered as physical evidence of this prior disturbance.[365] Prior evidence of disturbance and succession is also evident in the differentiation in canopy height between the Mable

[364] Schafale, Michael P. "Piedmont Bottomland Forest (High Subtype" in *Guide to the Natual Communities of North Carolina: Fourth Approximation.* Raleigh, NC: North Carolina Natural Heritage Program, Department of Environment and Natural Resources (March 2012). Web. Accessed April 22, 2022. https://www.ncnhp.org/media/2/open
[365] Ibid

Beasley lot and the Johnson lot. This is clearly visible when standing on the west side of North White Street.



Figure 31: Differentiations in plant species and canopy height at the Johnson homesite are particularly evident in the winter and early spring, when the otherwise lush vegetation has died back. Photograph by Chris Robey (2022).

This characterization of the natural plant communities that tend to express themselves on the Mable Beasley lot are, again, a tentative best guess, and merits a more thorough inventory with the Town arborist and other horticultural specialists prior to any development or understory clearing. Further, it must be noted that there has been substantial confusion about the natural vegetation of these communities in the published

literature.[366] Community expression is thus imperfect and is included only as a gauge by which to distinguish naturally occurring vegetation from the cultural vegetation that will be discussed later in this chapter.

Topography

The National Park Service defines topography as "the three-dimensional configuration of a landscape surface characterized by features (such as slope and articulation) and orientation (such as elevation and solar aspect)."[367] The site of Simmons Row is characterized by gentle to moderately sloping Piedmont upland slopes ranging from 6 to 10 percent. The minimum elevation is 372' near the branch, and the maximum elevation is 400' near the shoulder of North White Street. The aspect is generally east to southeast. High points are generally located along the shoulder of North White Street. The site slopes gently down toward the branch.[368]

Cultural features associated with the topography of Simmons Row are characterized not so much by direct manipulations of the topography as by what various scholars have called racialized topography.[369] This term is drawn from the early 2000s research of Ueland and Warf, who found that in the Southeastern United States, higher elevations were the places of white people and high land values and lower elevations were the places of African Americans, people of color, and poor people and low land

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[366] Ibid.
[367] National Park Service. *Landscape Lines 3: Landscape Characteristics*, 2004.
[368] Wake County GIS, "Raleigh 2 Foot Contours," GIS layer, iMAPS web application. Accessed July 8, 2022. https://maps.raleighnc.gov/imaps/.
[369] Boone, Kofi. "Race and Landform – Racialized Topography," May 17, 2010, video, 13:55, from CELA 2010, held May11-14, 2010 at Wageningen University. Posted by "kofi boone," https://vimeo.com/11807115

values.[370] The location of some of the residences directly in the floodplain of the nearby branch, most notably the Ailey Young House and the Johnson House, is characteristic of this pattern.

Further, the land that the Northeast Community developed upon had previously been abandoned farmland with no development other than the Wake Forest Cemetery. Wake Forest Cemetery was built in the rural cemetery style resemblant of Mount Auburn Cemetery in Cambridge, Massachusetts. These cemeteries were typically situated well away from the town center on the outskirts.[371] At the time that W. G. Simmons originally acquired the land, there was nothing upon save "an old field covered with pines."[372] It can be inferred, then, that these were marginal, undeveloped lands.

Schultz, in his study of landowning narratives in Hancock County, Georgia, noted several commonalities among the various dynamics of white and black land transfers, one of which was that whites tended to sell only marginal land in small portions to blacks.[373] Land east of the railroad tracks sold for roughly $10 to $20 an acre at a time when lots nearer to the campus were selling for $100 to $150 for comparably sized parcels.[374] This disparity in price indicates that the "farm lands" east of the railroad tracks were considered marginal in comparison.

The racialization of topography within the Northeast Community is also evident in the naming of "Happy Hill," a small hill located southeast of Simmons Row on Pine

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[370] Ueland, Jeff, and Barney Warf. "Racialized Topographies: Altitude and Race in Southern Cities." *Geographical Review* 96, no. 1 (2006): 50-78.
[371] Patterson, "The Wake Forest Cemetery: Fifty-Two Stones, One Thousand Years of Service." (2002), 5.
[372] Paschal, "History of Wake Forest College, Vol. 2," (1942), 34.
[373] Schultz, Mark R. "The Dream Realized? African American Landownership in Central Georgia between Reconstruction and World War Two." *Agricultural History* 72, no. 2 (1998): 298–312. http://www.jstor.org/stable/3744384.
[374] Town of Wake Forest, "Wake Forest Historic Preservation Plan," (2012), 8.

Street. This moniker has continued to be used by long-time residents, notably Diane Laws.[375] It is uncertain how this moniker came to be applied in Wake Forest, but it is possible that it is a reference to the Happy Hill neighborhood in Winston-Salem, North Carolina, another freedman's enclave established after the Civil War. There, the term had been applied to the neighborhood since at least 1874.[376] As previously noted, it is generally understood that this was a derogatory term used by whites to refer to the segregated parts of Southern towns.[377]

Simmons Row, as a localized example of racialized topography, thus serves as a microcosm reflecting greater trends common not only throughout the Northeast Community but throughout the rural South as well.

Spatial Organization

The National Park Service defines spatial organization as "the three-dimensional organization of physical forms and visual associations in a landscape, including the articulation of ground, vertical, and overhead planes that define and create spaces."[378] Aside from the site's topography and drainage patterns, a key feature influencing the way space was divided not only physically but also culturally, in terms of the way that Simmons Row was understood and represented, was the railroad tracks. Architectural historian Ruth Little noted the construction of the railroad fundamentally altered the overall spatial organization not only of Wake Forest College but the surrounding

[375] Laws, Diane and Roger Shackleford, interview by Michelle Michael and Samantha Smith, August 16, 2016, File Name: "DianeLawsRogerShackelfordInterview8-19-16.mp3," transcript, 4, 7. Town of Wake Forest Planning Department, Wake Forest, NC.
[376] Bennett, "Lost History," (2006).
[377] Ibid.
[378] National Park Service. *Landscape Lines 3: Landscape Characteristics*, 2004.

townscape as well.[379] After their construction, the railroad tracks became perhaps the most influential defining spatial element for the Town.

The railroad tracks were a significant marker of racial segregation – indeed, “east of the railroad tracks” came to be common parlance for the “black side” in many Southern railroad towns. Northeast Community resident Danny Scarborough, famed dancer, choreographer and founder of the Black Reparatory Dance Troupe, affirms the significance of the railroad tracks as a marker of racial division in a December 10, 1983 article in the Los Angeles Times, in which he characterizes Wake Forest as "a rural town with the traditional railroad tracks separating us, the blacks, from the whites.”[380] Simmons Row’s position directly at the western edge of the East End essentially made it the “face” – it was located directly on the dividing line between white and black.

[379] Little, Ruth. “Ailey Young House, Wake County, North Carolina.” National Register of Historic Places Form (Draft). Raleigh, North Carolina: Longleaf Historic Resources, prepared for the Town of Wake Forest (2009), 7.
[380] "Dance Troupe Is Expanding Its SDSU Horizons," The Los Angeles Times, Saturday December 10, 1983, 17.



Figure 32: The Raleigh and Gaston Railroad tracks, distinguished by their elevated grade and the dark line denoting the edge of the rails and ties, are visible on the left-and side of this circa-1930 photograph of North White Street. Photograph scanned and published by ZSR Library, Special Collections & Archives.

The railroad tracks not only functioned as a physical boundary demarcating racially segregated space in Wake Forest, but also a psychological one as well. Examining the ways that segregated space was represented can lend some insight into the ways that white residents viewed black residents of Simmons Row and the greater Northeast Community.

A hand-drawn map dated 1937 and created by Ed Wyatt provides a case in point. Ed Wyatt was a student at Wake Forest College and illustrator who contributed cartoons and other artwork to *The Wake Forest Student*, a monthly student-run magazine, and *The*

Old Gold and Black, the weekly student-run newspaper, between 1935 and 1937.[381] A hand-drawn map bearing his signature and dating to 1937, titled "A Buzzard's Eye View of Wake Forest," partially depicts Simmons Row. The way in which Simmons Row is represented on this map, however, bears many markers of the predominant racial attitudes of this time. Where other parts of Wake Forest College and its surrounding townscape are rendered in full detail, only a portion of Simmons Row is represented before fading into obscurity, suggesting a "terra incognita" beyond which the viewer needn't concern themselves. The portion of Simmons Row represented fades into a racist caricaturization of a Black person being chased through Wake Forest Cemetery by a skeleton.[382]

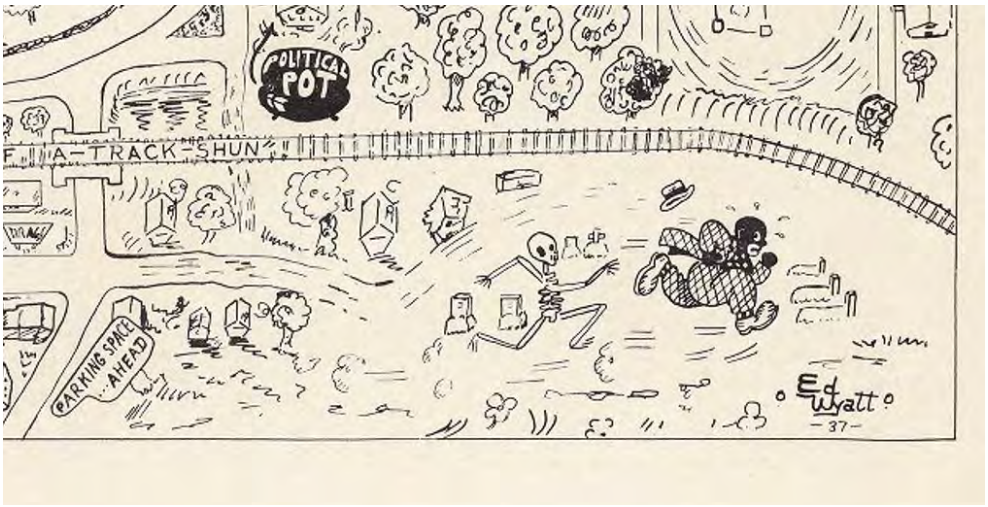


Figure 33: This 1937 map by cartoonist Ed Wyatt lends insight into the white spatial imaginary, namely local whites' perceptions of Simmons Row and its residents. Screen clipping from "Buzzard's Eye View of Wake Forest" (1937). Original Image scanned and published by David Rumsey Historical Map Collection.

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[381] "First Student Out October 19." *Old Gold and Black*. October 5, 1935, 3; "Another Student to Appear May 15." *Old Gold and Black*, May 11, 1935, 1; "Second Student Published Here" *Old Gold and Black*. November 7, 1936, 1; "Faculty Honored in New Student," *Old Gold and Black*, March 4, 1937, 1.
[382] Wyatt, Ed. "Buzzard's Eye View of Wake Forest." Map. Wake Forest, North Carolina. May 1937. No scale. Web. Accessed April 22, 2022. https://www.davidrumsey.com/luna/servlet/detail/RUMSEY~8~1~292180~90064342:Buzzard-s-eye-view-of-Wake-Forest?sort=Pub_List_No_InitialSort%2CPub_Date%2CPub_List_No%2CSeries_No&qvq=q:wake%20forest;sort:Pub_List_No_InitialSort%2CPub_Date%2CPub_List_No%2CSeries_No;lc:RUMSEY~8~1&mi=0&trs=1

The particular caricature that Wyatt used to represent Black people in this case is telling in itself. This 'Zip Coon' caricature – a common stock character in minstrelsy performances – is considered today to be a particularly insulting and dehumanizing anti-black caricature.[383] Documentary filmmaker H. Lee Walters documented a minstrelsy performance in Wake Forest in 1939.[384] This kind of stereotyping was not unusual for the time. A pioneer study of ethnic stereotyping conducted in 1933 lends further insight into prevailing racial attitudes, finding that undergraduates at Princeton University consistently described Black people as "superstitious," "happy-go-lucky," and "lazy" – all characteristics of the 'Zip Coon' caricature – despite having little to no contact with Black people in their day-to-day lives.[385] The study was repeated in 1951 and reached similar conclusions.[386] It is likely, then, that white students at Wake Forest College, who made up a considerable portion of the town's population, held similar views.

Finally, open sight lines had been a characteristic spatial element of the Simmons Row landscape historically. Ground photographs from 1939 to as late as 1967 reveal that a viewer could see clear through from one side of the Gaston and Raleigh railroad tracks to the other. This is most clearly evident in the 1939 photographs. In one, the photographer is facing northward, up North White Street. In the background, the J.B. Carlyle House, located up North White Street on the opposite side of the railroad tracks,

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[383] Pilgrim, David. "The Coon Caricature." Jim Crow Museum. Accessed April 22, 2022. https://www.ferris.edu/HTMLS/news/jimcrow/coon/homepage.htm

[384] Waters, H. Lee. "Wake Forest, N.C., 1939." Digital NC, *Movies of Local People: Films by H. Lee Waters*, North Carolina Moving Images, State Archives of North Carolina. Accessed April 22, 2022. https://lib.digitalnc.org/record/24761?ln=en

[385] Pilgrim, "The Coon Caricature," Jim Crow Museum; Katz, D. & Braley, K. "Racial stereotypes of one hundred college students." *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, 28 (1933), 280-290.

[386] Pilgrim, "The Coon Caricature," Jim Crow Museum; Gilbert, G. M. "Stereotyping persistence and change among college students." *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, 46 (1951), 245-254.

is clearly visible. The ground plane is open with little to no vegetation, in stark contrast to existing conditions today.[387]



Figure 34: The landscape along Simmons Row was historically much more sparsely vegetated than it is today. In this circa-1930 photograph, the J.B. Carlyle House is visible in the background on the left side of the frame. Today, this house is obscured by a screen of bamboo. Image scanned and published by ZSR Library, Special Collections and Archives.

A second photograph from 1939 lends further insight into the spatial organization along Simmons Row. In this photograph, the photographer is standing on the shoulder of North White Street near two of the Simmons Row houses and facing east toward Wake Forest Cemetery. The view is between two houses. Wake Forest Cemetery is visible in

[387] "View of man in black suit kneeling next to an item on the ground beside North White Street." Digital Collections, Special Collections & Archives, ZSR Library, Wake Forest University. Still image. Accessed April 22, 2022. https://wakespace.lib.wfu.edu/handle/10339/89679

the background as a terraced hillside dotted with graves. No tall vegetation is evident in the middle ground – meaning the area immediately behind the houses – and the vegetation surrounding the streambank is spare, allowing for a clear sight line from the street through to the Cemetery.[388]



Figure 35: In this circa-1930 photograph, terracing and rows of gravestones associated with the Wake Forest Cemetery are visible in the background behind two dwellings on Simmons Row. Today, this view is obscured by several decades' worth of secondary-growth forest cover along Cemetery Branch. Image scanned and published by ZSR Library, Special Collections and Archives.

Today, the site's previously open visual character has changed significantly. The lots have grown up, undergone succession, the canopy has matured. The lot between the

[388] "View across North White Street of man in light suit standing near an item on the ground." Digital Collections, Special Collections & Archives, ZSR Library, Wake Forest University. Still image. Accessed April 22, 2022. https://wakespace.lib.wfu.edu/handle/10339/89704

Youngs and the Johnsons has grown up into a full-blown floodplain forest along the creek. At one point, prior to the identification of the Ailey Young House, this forest had extended almost all of the way to the Cemetery entrance road. In 2012, following the re-discovery of the Ailey Young House, much of the vegetation that had obscured the lot was removed to make the site more open and accessible.[389] In this way, historic sight lines have been partially restored.

Other sightlines remain obscured. The sight line that had formerly existed between Simmons Row and the J.B. Carlyle House, for example, has been completely obscured by a massive bamboo screen. Similarly, sight lines all the way along North White Street from one side of the railroad tracks are radically differently, completely obscured by a maturing forest canopy. Where the western boundary along North White Street had previously been visually permeable, today it is obscured – confining the space and heightening the sense of spatial separation between the Northeast Community and the rest of Wake Forest – the historic districts just on the other side of the railroad tracks.

[389] "Wake Forest honours house." *The News and Observer*. Sunday, March 11, 2012, 1.



Figure 36: This bamboo screen along the CSX railway, previously the Raleigh and Gaston Railroad, physically edifies the sense of isolation from Wake Forest town proper that many Northeast Community residents have reported in the present. Photograph by Chris Robey (2022).

The vegetation that has grown up along the railroad tracks is a stark visual barrier. Northeast Community residents have described a sense of isolation in comments submitted to the Town of Wake Forest Planning Department as a part of neighborhood planning efforts undertaken in 2007 and 2020.[390] Experientially, this vegetative barrier

[390] Town of Wake Forest Planning Department. "Northeast Neighborhood Plan: A Road Map for the Future." Wake Forest, NC: Town of Wake Forest Planning Department (2007). Prepared in consultation with Clarion Asssociates, Delores Bailey, and Dr. Emil Malizia (July 2007). Web. Accessed April 16, 2022. https://www.wakeforestnc.gov/sites/default/files/uploads/departments/planning/ne_neighborhood_plan_final.pdf; "Northeast Community Plan: Our neighborhood. Our vision." Wake Forest NC, Town of Wake Forest Planning Department (December 2021). Prepared in consultation with RHI, RKG, Timmons Group, and Public Participation Partners (P3). Web. Accessed April 22, 2022. https://online.flippingbook.com/view/370447640/2-3/

clearly heightens this sense of isolation. Ironically, though segregation is long since abolished, the space feels more isolated today than it did in the past.

Circulation

The National Park Service defines circulation as "the spaces, features, and applied material finishes that constitute the systems of movement in a landscape."[391] North White Street functions as the primary circulation route for automobiles and a key spatial organizing element in the landscape. The original addresses for all properties located on Simmons Row are identifiable by their location on North White Street. Further, the row-type cluster arrangement that of the Simmons Row houses is also attributable to their location along North White Street.

Streets in the Northeast Community remained unpaved well into the 80s – a sign of the disparity in investment and allocation of resources and basic services owing to the neighborhood's history of segregation. Photographs from *The Wake Weekly* offer visual testimony of the fact that as late as 1969, residents of the neighborhood were still traveling on unpaved dirt roads subject to flooding and muddy conditions after heavy rains.[392]

[391] National Park Service. *Landscape Lines 3: Landscape Characteristics,* 2004.
[392] "Slippery Travel," *The Wake Weekly And The Youngsville - Rolesville Record,* Thursday, January 23, 1969.



nail your contribution in or drop t in one of the coin collection box-s.

showers Friday.

It could be worse. We could live in California.

erected, etc., but its real reward comes from the cooperative efforts of the townspeople and as they re-

(Robert) shows 19 flying 100 ietnam in

Slippery Travel

Travel on Spring Street in Wake Forest is not recommended for timid drivers since the recent rains. The street is covered with about an inch of extremely slippery mud. If you must travel on it, mud and snow tires would certainly be safer and surer. —(Photo by Bob Allen)

Figure 37: Streets in the Northeast Community remained unpaved well into the 1980s. Photograph by Chris Robey (2022).

South White Street, "Wake Forest's main business street," had received new paving and centerlines almost two years prior.[393] Streets in the East End remained unpaved until after the neighborhood was annexed by the Town in 1977, after which the Town leveraged various grants to pave the streets as well as implement housing improvements and extend water and sewer service to the neighborhood. These improvements were not completed until well into the 1980s, however.[394]

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393 "White Street Gets New Paving, *The Wake Weekly And The Youngsville - Rolesville Record,* Volume XXI, Number 26, p. 1, Thursday Morning, June 29, 1967; "White Street Gets New Lines," *The Wake Weekly And The Youngsville - Rolesville Record,* Thursday Morning, August 31, 1967.

394 Slane and Szcodronski, "Wake Forest, North Carolina Architectural Survey Update 1958-1975" (2020), 25; Pelosi, *Connections: 100 Years of Wake Forest History* (2008), 113, 118-119, 122, 126.



White Street Gets New Paving

Workmen are shown paving S. White Street with a smooth, new 1½ coating of asphalt Tuesday from Roosevelt Ave. to Elm Street. Traffic was allowed on the street Wednesday. S. Wingate St. was paved Wednesday.

—(Photo by Bob Allen)

Figure 38: Through the 1960s and 70s, as Northeast Community residents found themselves mired in mud after heavy rains, South White Street received considerable investment as one of Wake Forest's primary business districts. Photograph by Chris Robey (2022).

Improvements sometimes meant the destruction of community assets. This is evident in the case of the Moses Massenburg Store, also known as Gracie's, on East Juniper Avenue.[395] Moses Massenburg had constructed the building in 1939 from scrap lumber he'd carefully gathered for years while working for the Town. He ran the store while continuing to work for the Town until 1941, when he handed management of the store over to Gracie, his wife. Gracie operated her "forget-me-not store" for the next 25

[395] Pelosi, *Connections: 100 Years of Wake Forest History* (2008), 112.

years until her death in 1966, after which her daughter, Esther Shackleford, took over its operation.[396] Following the Northeast Community's annexation in 1977, North Allen Road, on the eastern edge of the Northeast Community boundary, was extended, necessitating the demolition of the Massenburgs' store – an unfortunate casualty of the Town's aggressive housing and infrastructure expansion activities at the time.[397]



Figure 39: Historic aerial overlays help make instances of erasure resulting from urban renewal more clearly visible, as in the case of Gracie Massenburg's store on North Allen Street. Original photographs published by USDA. Overlay by Chris Robey (2022).

It is conceivable that the Simmons Row houses were demolished under a similar rationale. As previously noted, the demolition came at a time when Wake Forest was beginning to receive considerable investment in improving and expanding its built environment.[398] Urban renewal has been hypothesized as the reason for Simmons Row's demolition. The occurrence of related cases like Gracie Massenburg's Store elsewhere in the Northeast Community substantiates this hypothesis.

[396] Ibid.
[397] Ibid.
[398] Slane and Szcodronski, "Wake Forest, North Carolina Architectural Survey Update 1958-1975" (2020), 18, 32.

Another key circulation element of Simmons Row is the Youngs' driveway, which had extended from North White Street just south of the Dunn's property to the Ailey Young House. The 1920 Census enumerator referred to parts of what had previously been labeled "Simmons Row" as "Smooth Lane.[399] In her draft National Register nomination for the Ailey Young House, Ruth Little has speculated that Smooth Lane referred to the Youngs' driveway.[400]

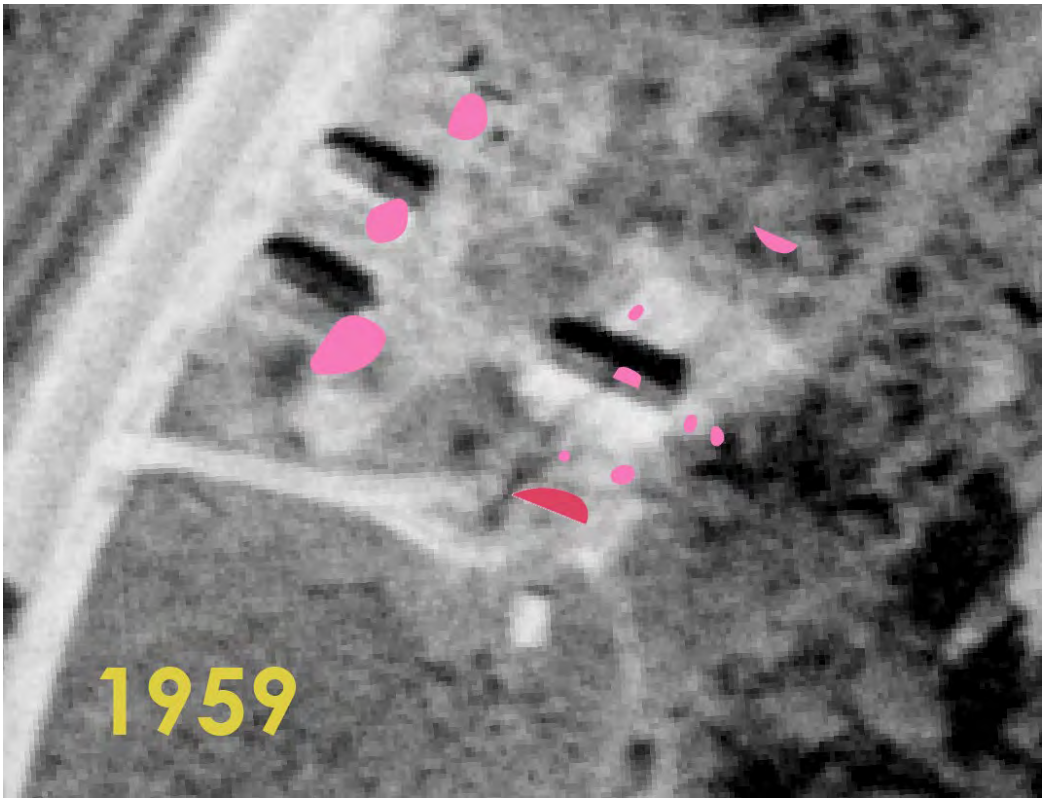


Figure 40: Recent archaeological investigations may have uncovered traces of the Young family's old driveway. A subsurface feature recorded during GPR surveys conducted by New South Associates in 2017, here depicted in red, closely aligns with the historic location of this driveway, as revealed in circa-1959 aerial photographs. Original photograph published by USDA. GPR data published by New South Associates. Overlay by Chris Robey (2022).

[399] Ancestry.com. *1920 United States Federal Census;* Little, "Ailey Young House, Wake County, North Carolina," (2009), 16.
[400] Little, "Ailey Young House, Wake County, North Carolina," (2009), 17.

Based on historic aerial imagery, the driveway appears to have been packed dirt. Throughout the Ailey Young House's period of occupancy, it was never paved. The site has since become overgrown. Its location is evident despite the vegetation, however, by the high occurrence of invasive species like Japanese honeysuckle and Russian olive, a noticeable transition from the bottomland forest vegetation south of the Ailey Young House. The high concentration of these species suggests prior disturbance from the construction and use of the driveway.



Figure 41: The presence of invasive species such as honeysuckle and Russian olive suggest recent prior disturbance. In this case, this disturbance aligns with the historic location of the Young family's driveway. Photograph by Chris Robey (2022).

Prior archaeological excavations by New South Associates have also uncovered traces of brick landing for the Ailey Young House porch. The report describes the feature thusly:

"The brickwork runs diagonally across the unit and is parallel with the façade of the house. The brickwork extends only one course deep and is seven courses wide. No mortar is present between the brick; instead, they have been set together with sand, similar to the laying of a modern brick walkway. The brick was laid in a variety of patterns, with the courses along each edge differing from that in the interior of the feature. The southern-most line of brickwork is laid in an alternating pattern of two horizontal bricks followed by two vertical bricks, while the northern edge of the feature

consists of a line of all vertical bricks. Within the interior of the feature, all bricks appear to be laid horizontally."[401]



Figure 42: In 2019, New South Associates excavated a portion of a brick landing that had formerly been constructed as part of the outdoor space surrounding the Ailey Young House porch. Photograph by New South Associates.

In July 2021, Sherry Boyette, an archaeological lab technician at the North Carolina Office of State Archaeology (NCOSA) and master's candidate in anthropology at NC State University, completed a full excavation of the brick feature first uncovered by New South Associates in 2017 for her capstone project. Her research findings confirmed the use of this feature as a landing for the Young family's porch and determined its approximate dimensions. As Boyette describes it, the brick landing is "approximately three feet by three feet square with one course of bricks. There are three

[401] New South Associates, Inc. "Limited Archaeological Excavations at the Ailey Young House (31WA1958**)" (August 1, 2019), 17.

rows of bricks but they have been separated, most likely due to drainage, time, and heavy machinery. Row one, starting south and moving north, has a pattern of two horizontal bricks followed by two vertical bricks. Row two are all horizontal bricks and row three are all vertical bricks."[402]

The racialization of space appeared to have extended to the naming of certain circulation features near Simmons Row, as "Happy Hill" not only referred to a topographical feature within the Northeast Community but also to a specific road.[403] This road no longer exists, but was first noted on the 1915 Sanborn map in reference to the entirety of the Northeast Community as well as a specific road.[404] Based on the map, the road appeared to run parallel to Cemetery Branch, which marks the eastern boundary of Simmons Row. This street name appears again on the 1926 Sanborn map.[405] By 1936, however, it had been renamed 1st Street; by 1946, the street was no longer visible.[406] Though tangentially related to Simmons Row, the naming of this now-vanished street lends further credence to the idea of the Northeast Community as racialized space as well as the historic presence of a white spatial imaginary visible in cartographic representations of the neighborhood.[407] As previously noted, "Happy Hill" was a derogatory term that white people used to refer to the "black" sections of Southern towns.[408]

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[402] Boyette, Sherry, "Porch Living: The Material Culture of the Ailey Young House (31WA1958)," Master's capstone, (North Carolina State University, 2022), *ii*.
[403] Bennett, "Lost History," (2006); Lipsitz, "The Racialization of Space and the Spatialization of Race," (2007).
[404] Sanborn Fire Insurance Company. Map. Wake Forest, NC, June 1915, Sheet 1.
[405] Sanborn Fire Insurance Company. Map. Wake Forest, NC, April 1926, Sheet 1.
[406] Sanborn Fire Insurance Company. Map. Wake Forest, NC, 1936, Sheets 1 & 5; Sanborn Fire Insurance Company. Map. Wake Forest, NC, 1946, Sheets 1 & 5.
[407] Lipsitz, "The Racialization of Space and the Spatialization of Race," (2007).
[408] Bennett, "Lost History," (2006)



Figure 43: Happy Hill may also have referred to a road that had once run parallel to Cemetery Branch, on the bank opposite to the eastern boundary of Simmons Row. Overlay by Chris Robey (2022).

The Seaboard Airline Railroad is another important circulation feature. Historically, it was the major transportation and shipping artery for the Town of Wake Forest. Today, it is still maintained as an active railway by the CSX Corporation and continues to serve as a key element of the site's spatial organization.



Figure 44: The CSX railway, formerly the Gaston and Raleigh Railroad, is still operational today, albeit at far lower capacity than it had been during Simmons Row's peak period of occupation. Photograph by Chris Robey (2022).

Other notable existing features include the sidewalk along North White Street, which provides the main avenue of pedestrian access to the site. There is also a sewer right-of-way maintained by the City of Raleigh. This right-of-way is paved with 57 stone and connects to Spring Street on its southern end. Its northern end formerly connected to a gravel parking area in the Wake Forest Cemetery. This end is now occupied by the Wake Forest Cemetery columbarium. As of now, the gravel parking lot provides the main parking area for the site.

Cluster Arrangement

The National Park Service defines cluster arrangement as "the location and pattern of buildings and structures in a landscape and associated outdoor spaces."[409] Simmons Row exhibits a row-type cluster arrangement typical of 19th and 20th-century workers' housing. Of the eleven dwellings that formerly lined North White Street, only the Ailey Young House had any kind of setback; all the rest directly abutted the right-of-way. This row-type arrangement is resemblant enough of typical enslaved housing patterns to provoke questions of whether the Ailey Young House and other dwellings along Simmons Row had in fact served as enslaved workers' housing.[410] Michael Vlach, in his seminal work *Back of the Big House: The Architecture of Plantation Slavery*, points to Cedar Grove Plantation in Halifax County, North Carolina as one pertinent illustration of this pattern. At Cedar Grove, as with many other large plantations, enslaved workers' housing often lined the road leading to the Big House, partially for purposes of surveillance and partially as a display of the planter's wealth – a sizable enslaved workforce signaled a successful planter to guests visiting the property.[411] Capps, in his report on the historic built environment of the Wake Forest College campus, speculates that the enslaved quarters on Calvin Jones's plantation similarly lined the road approaching his house.[412] To date, however, this proposition remains speculative, as no further evidence has been recovered to validate it.

[409] National Park Service. *Landscape Lines 3: Landscape Characteristics*, 2004.
[410] Little, "Ailey Young House, Wake County, North Carolina" (2009), 27-35.
[411] John Michael Vlach, *Back of the Big House: The Architecture of Plantation Slavery* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1993), 210.
[412] Capps, "Study of the Built Landscape of the Original Campus of Wake Forest University" (2019), 6-7.

The row-type cluster arrangement of Simmons Row has similarly provoked questions as to whether or not the eleven dwellings it had encompassed were constructed as railroad worker housing. According to Ruth Little, not only was the architecture, arrangement, and proximity of the dwellings to the railroad resemblant of company-built housing for section hands elsewhere in North Carolina, but annual reports of the Raleigh and Gaston Railroad confirm that the company had been constructing such housing near the towns of Macon, Littleton, and Clarksville. At this time, the railroad was empowered to seize land within eighty feet of the railway for the purposes of constructing depots, warehouses, maintenance sheds, and worker housing via condemnation.[413] At the time she wrote the draft National Register nomination for the Ailey Young House, however, Little had not located any condemnation proceedings relating to the section of the Raleigh and Gaston railway that passes through Wake Forest.[414] As such, this proposition, too, remains to be validated.

To date, no evidence recovered suggests that Simmons Row was either enslaved housing or railroad worker housing. Thus, the accepted conclusion remains that Simmons Row was constructed as tenant housing by W. G. Simmons. Nonetheless, Simmons Row reflects many patterns traceable to both of these housing types.

Land Use

The National Park Service defines land use as "the principal activities in a landscape that form, shape, and organize the landscape as a result of human

[413] Clark, Walter. *History of the Raleigh & Gaston Railroad Company*. Raleigh: The Raleigh News Steam Job (1877), 21; Little, "Ailey Young House, Wake County, North Carolina" (2009), 28.
[414] Little, "Ailey Young House, Wake County, North Carolina" (2009), 28-29.

interaction."[415] Simmons Row, as with the rest of the Northeast Community, stands on what had previously been agricultural fields owned by Dr. Calvin Jones and cultivated by his enslaved workforce. Following Jones's departure, these fields were abandoned and left fallow as the early College was established. The "farm lands" were eventually sold off as real estate in order to raise funds to pay off the College's debts.[416]

The land changed hands several times before coming under the ownership of W. G. Simmons. Simmons began selling off the land that would become the Northeast Community for home lots during the Reconstruction era. Families along Simmons Row rented and, in some cases, bought and owned land, and established homeplaces there. Land tenure and ownership hold a particularly potent meaning to Black landowners. Acquiring and owning land during the Reconstruction Era constituted a form of freedom-seeking, a way of carving out distinct spaces for the building of lives and institutions within socioeconomic systems characterized by white supremacy.

In the wake of the boll weevil, which severely crippled the 20th-century Piedmont's cotton-dependent economy and compounded the day-day hardships faced by Black people in rural North Carolina, these lands functioned as spaces for the cultivation of self-sufficiency, thrift, adaptability, and resiliency.[417] Each homeplace on Simmons Row may thus be thought of as a self-sufficient unit nonetheless bound with its neighboring dwellings as a singular homespace by proximity, similarity of situation, and shared outdoor space.[418] The domestic activities that typified and characterized this

[415] National Park Service. *Landscape Lines 3: Landscape Characteristics,* 2004.
[416] Town of Wake Forest, "Wake Forest Historic Preservation Plan," (2012), 8.
[417] Westmacott. *African-American Gardens and Yards in the Rural South* (1992), 23-24; Slane and Szcodronski, "Wake Forest, North Carolina Architectural Survey Update 1958-1975" (2020), 13
[418] Battle-Baptiste, "The Hermitage," (2016), 100.

homespace in turn may be understood as what the anthropologist Tim Ingold has termed a “taskscape” revealing the patterns of nineteenth and twentieth century Black domestic life.[419]

After a time, in many cases, land passed from ownership by the original Black residents of Simmons Row, who acquired the land from the Simmons, into the hands of wealthier white academics, professionals, and businessmen. Certain tracts of land remained in the Simmons family and were passed on as inheritances split up among the Simmons’s living heirs. In one case, the trustees of the Golden Rule Tent Society, which included Mariah Cooke, sold their lot to the Carlyles, who retained it for over forty years and transferred it between family members by inheritance.[420]

The house stands on land the Town of Wake Forest purchased to expand the town cemetery. Eventually, all lands made their way into the hands of the Town of Wake Forest, who acquired the tracts for future development as cemetery lots. The Cemetery remains the most notable ongoing land use and has been a part of the Simmons Row landscape through its entire period of occupancy.

The railroad is another major ongoing land use. Constructed in 1838, the railway is today owned and operated by the CSX Corporation. The railway remains in use and trains regularly pass-through town to this day.

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[419] Roberts, “’Until the Lord Come Get Me, It Burn Down, Or the Next Storm Blow It Away,’” (2019); Ingold "The temporality of the landscape," (1993).
[420] “Emma Dent, et als Trustees to J. B. Carlyle," Book 235, Page 342, Register of Deeds, 1909; “Wachovia Bank & Trust Company, Successor Trustee to Irving E. Carlyle, et al,” Book 1117, Page 548, Register of Deeds, 1953; “Dora V. Carlyle to Dora Hartsfield”, Book 1172, Page 348, Register of Deeds, 1954.

Buildings and Structures

The National Park Service distinguishes buildings, which they define as "elements constructed primarily for sheltering any form of human activity in a landscape," from structures, which they define as "elements constructed for functional purposes other than sheltering human activity in a landscape."[421] Simmons Row formerly consisted of eleven houses, of which only one remains standing. In Table 1, these eleven houses have been organized by address, other known names, construction and demolition dates, brief architectural description, and level of available documentation.

Table 1: Aggregated Descriptions of Properties on Simmons Row[422]

Address(s)	Other Name(s)	Construction / Demolition Dates	Style / Form	Level of Documentation
304 N. White Street / 200 N. White Street	Johnson Homesite	Circa-1875 / 1967	Vernacular style, side gable form with rear ell and front porch	Tier III
428 N. White Street / 302 N. White Street	Hartsfield House; Golden Rule Tent Society Lot	Circa-1875 /1967	Vernacular style, shotgun form with front porch	Tier II
428 ½ N. White Street / 302 ½ N. White Street	Ailey Young House	Circa-1875 / Still Extant	Vernacular style, saddlebag form with front porch	Tier I
430 N. White Street / 304 N. White Street	Dunn Lot, South Dwelling	Circa-1875 / 1967	Vernacular style, shotgun form with front porch	Tier II
432 N. White Street / 306 N. White Street	Dunn Lot, North Dwelling	Circa-1875 / 1967	Vernacular style, single pen form	Tier II
438 N. White Street / 312 N. White Street	N/A	Circa-1875 / 1967 (Burned)	Vernacular style, possible shotgun or single pen form	Tier II
440 N. White Street	N/A	Circa-1875 / Circa-1930	Vernacular style, possible shotgun or single pen form	Tier II
442 N. White Street / 316 N. White Street	Cooke Lot, South Dwelling	Circa-1875 / Between 1959 and 1965	Vernacular style, side gable form with rear ell and front porch	Tier III

[421] National Park Service. *Landscape Lines 3: Landscape Characteristics*, 2004.
[422] Style and form descriptions determined in consultation with Michelle Michael.

444 N. White Street / 318 N. White Street	Cooke Lot, North Dwelling	Circa-1875 / 1967	Vernacular style, possible gable front form with engaged side porch	Tier III
446 N. White Street	N/A	Circa-1875 / Circa-1920	Vernacular style, possible gable and wing form with rear porch	Tier IV
448 N. White Street / 402 N. White Street	Gill-Allen-Thompson House	Circa-1875 / Between 1959 and 1965	Vernacular style possible side gable form with rear ell and front porch	Tier III

The level of documentation available for each building, in turn, is organized under four tiers. Tier I properties are physically extant today as well as visible in historic maps, historic aerial photographs, and historic ground photographs. Tier II properties are no longer extant today but are visible in historic maps, historic aerial photographs, and historic ground photographs. Tier III properties are no longer extant but are visible in historic maps and historic aerial photographs. Finally, Tier IV properties are no longer extant and only visible on historic maps.

For further information about individual properties, see Appendix A (p. 547).

Demolition Context*:*

The May 11th, 1967 issue of the *Wake Weekly* featured an article announcing that the Wake Forest Community Council had voted to take two development issues to the Wake Forest Town Board and urged them to take action, one of which appears to have concerned the remaining houses on Simmons Row.[423] Evidently, by this point the houses were already condemned and had been standing vacant for some time.

[423] "Council to Seek Action on House; Fluoridation" *The Wake Weekly And The Youngsville - Rolesville Record*, Volume XXI, Number 19, p. 1, Thursday Morning, May 11, 1967.

A discussion concerning the condemned houses resulted in a decision to send a delegate to represent the Council before the Town Board and request that the houses be taken down. The Council opted to send Kenneth Tisdale, the Chamber of Commerce director at the time, as their representative to the Town Board. This decision followed on public discussions led by Tisdale concerning areas in which the Town might leverage federal funds for completing local projects.[424]

The 1960s and 70s were a period of intensive population growth and development for the Town of Wake Forest.[425] Given this development context, it is likely that the decision to demolish the houses on North White Street was part of a broader urban renewal and "blight" removal effort. Further evidence is needed to substantiate this hypothesis; it is notable, however, that similar projects bearing the patterns of urban renewal were taking place in the Northeast Community during this same period as well. Carol Pelosi, in her book, *Connections: 100 Years of Wake Forest History,* notes that a casualty of a 1970s decision to leverage a federal economic development grant to improve streets, housing, and infrastructure in the Pine Terrace area – a group of residences across from the DuBois School campus – was a store belonging to Moses and Gracie Massenburg which was torn down to make way for a road extension on North Allen Road.[426]

The next article concerning the condemned houses on North White Street appeared in the June 29th, 1967 issue of the *Wake Weekly*. This article, titled "Displaced Person Must Soon Find New Home," centered on the situation of Dora Hartsfield, the last

[424] Ibid.
[425] Slane and Szcodronski, "Wake Forest, North Carolina Architectural Survey Update 1958-1975" (2020), 18, 32
[426] Pelosi, *Connections: 100 Years of Wake Forest History* (2008), 112.

known resident of Simmons Row, who evidently was evicted from her home on North White Street following the decision to demolish it along with seven other condemned buildings.[427] Historic aerial imagery from 1965 reveals that there were six dwellings associated with Simmons Row still standing on North White Street.[428]



Figure 45: By 1965, only six of the eleven dwellings originally depicted on the 1915 Sanborn map remained standing. By this time, few were still occupied. Two years later, the remainder of these dwellings would be demolished, leaving the Ailey Young House as the sole remaining intact building associated with Simmons Row. Photograph digitized and published by USGS.

[427] "Displaced Person Must Soon Find New Home." *The Wake Weekly And The Youngsville - Rolesville Record*, Volume XXI, Number 26, p. 1, Thursday Morning, June 29, 1967.
[428] EarthExplorer. File Name: "1VBBX00010053" [digital]. Scale unknown. 1-53. GS-VBBX. United States Geological Survey, Washington D.C. February 22, 1965.

Hartsfield was given ninety days to find new living quarters after her house was condemned by Wake Forest Building Inspector Guy Hill. At the time, Dora and her 34-year-old son, Eugene, were the only remaining residents on Simmons Row after the residents of two other nearby dwellings had chosen to vacate themselves. Recently, one of the other condemned dwellings nearby had burned to the ground.[429] The cause of the fire was not known.

Dora also described how her two-room house was condemned because "it has too many holes" – a detail the reporter confirms both in the text of the article and through an accompanying photograph. When the reporter asks Ms. Hartsfield how she had fared during a recent storm, she replies: "It looks like a raggedy old house, but it don't rain on me."[430] Hartsfield mentions that she may be able to seek housing at one of the new low-income housing developments, but worried that even this would be too expensive.[431]

Cultural Vegetation

The National Park Service defines cultural vegetation as "the deciduous and evergreen trees, shrubs, vines, ground covers and herbaceous plants, and plant communities," that have been introduced to the landscape by human activity.[432] Cultural vegetation on the Simmons Row site consists of volunteer remnants of plantings consistent with Richard Westmacott's inventory of characteristic species found in African

[429] "Displaced Person Must Soon Find New Home." *The Wake Weekly And The Youngsville - Rolesville Record*, Volume XXI, Number 26, p. 1, Thursday Morning, June 29, 1967.
[430] Ibid.
[431] Ibid.
[432] National Park Service. *Landscape Lines 3: Landscape Characteristics*, 2004.

American gardens and yards in the rural South. Characteristic species noted by Westmacott that are found on-site include privet, nandina, Canna lilies, magnolias, and pecan trees.[433] Other volunteer species found on-site include Chinese holly and Fortune's osmanthus, both of which are commonly planted throughout the South.



Figure 46: Volunteer Canna lilies can be seen blooming near the former sites of 428 and 430 North White Street. These volunteers are likely associated with ornamental plantings tended by residents of these dwellings. Photograph by Chris Robey (2020).

Notably, two sizable patches of Canna lilies persist on the area formerly occupied by two dwellings in front of the Ailey Young House. Past researchers have highlighted Canna lilies as a characteristic feature of many rural African American gardens. Richard

[433] Westmacott, Richard. *African-American Gardens and Yards in the Rural South* (Knoxville, TN: University of Tennessee Press, 1992), 176-185.

Westmacott notes that Cannas were among the most frequently occurring flowering perennials encountered during his interviews with rural African American gardeners.[434] The photographer Vaughn Sills notes the significance of Canna lilies among other outstanding features of traditional African American gardens in her collection, *Places for the Spirit: Traditional African American Gardens*.[435] The orange and red Canna lilies, believed to be C*anna x. generalis*, are most visible in the summer and occur in three distinct patches on the site's northwest slope.



Figure 47: Canna lilies were among the most frequently occurring flower species inventoried by Richard Westmacott during his field studies of rural African American gardens and remain a popular addition to Southern gardens today. Photograph by Chris Robey (2020).

[434] Westmacott *African-American Gardens and Yards in the Rural South* (1992), 176-185.
[435] Sills, Vaughn. *Places for the Spirit: Traditional African American Gardens* / Photographs by Vaughn Sills ; Foreword by Hilton Als. San Antonio, Texas: Trinity University Press, 2010.

Yellow daffodils are also visible during the spring and occur in scattered patches from the southwest corner of the house to the southwest corner of the lot, just off the sewer easement. Like the Canna lilies, these daffodils are likely volunteer remnants of historic plantings.



Figure 48: Michelle Michael has reported that daffodils still bloom in and around the woods south of the Ailey Young House. This author had the opportunity to observe these specimens coming into bloom during a site visit in the early spring of 2022. Photograph by Chris Robey (2022).

Also notable are several pecan trees scattered throughout the Young and Dunn lots. Pecan trees were frequently planted in groves in the south. Another such grove is extant at Joyner Park that was likely planted in the 1940s. It is possible that the pecan

trees present on the Simmons Row site are volunteer remnants of trees that were planted and maintained by the residents of this area. Historic aerials from 1938 to 1971 do not reveal tree patterns that suggest the presence of a grove, however. It is possible, then, that the pecan trees currently found on-site are volunteer descendants of one or two trees that could have been planted near the Ailey Young House when it was still inhabited.

Manicured lawns were not a common feature of African American yards in the rural South during the 19th and 20th centuries. Given disproportionately low incomes among rural African Americans of this period, mown grass lawns required an investment of time and money that rural African Americans like the Young family could not often afford. Swept yards were a more common feature of 19th to 20th century African American yards in the rural South. While it is unknown at this point whether the Young family maintained a swept yard, photographs dating circa-1930 illustrate the absence of mown grass near the Simmons Row houses. The landscape illustrated by these photographs may reasonably be taken as an indicator of what yards throughout Simmons Row would have looked like.[436]

[436] "View across North White Street of man in light suit standing near an item on the ground." Digital Collections, Special Collections & Archives, ZSR Library, Wake Forest University. Still image. Accessed April 22, 2022. https://wakespace.lib.wfu.edu/handle/10339/89704



Figure 49: Historic ground photographs, such as this one taken circa-1930, suggest that turfgrass was not a prominent element of the yardscapes surrounding the dwellings on Simmons Row during their period of occupancy. Photograph digitized and published by ZSR Library, Special Collections and Archives.

George Marie Clanton – daughter of George Massenburg, for whom the Alston-Massenburg Center in the Northeast Community is named – recalls aspects of her childhood on North Taylor Street offering further insight into the types of vegetables and ornamental plants that might have also been grown on Simmons Row. According to Ms. Clanton, the kinds of vegetables her father liked to grow included collard greens, turnip green, string beans, corn, butterbeans, field peas, tomatoes, cucumbers, watermelons, and okra. Ms. Clanton also recalled that her mother liked to keep azaleas, rosebushes, elephant ears, rooster combs, zinnias lilies, pansies, verbena, viburnum, and “tuliptree

bushes" around her house.[437] Many of these plant species are characteristic of the vegetation observed and inventoried by Westmacott as well. While most reflective of her mother's and father's personal tastes, Ms. Clanton's recollections offer the most detailed evidence available at this time of the types of plants that might have been grown along Simmons Row as well.

Extensive ground disturbance has rendered the Ailey Young House site vulnerable to encroachment by a host of novel plant species, including nonnative exotics, weeds, and invasive species. Autumn olive and Japanese honeysuckle are concentrated in the Mable Beasley lot, with Autumn olive being particularly prolific. These invasive shrubs are most heavily concentrated at the northern end of the Mable-Beasley lot, around where the driveway leading to the Ailey Young House had been. The Johnson lot has been completely overrun by great periwinkle. Kudzu and Oriental bittersweet also cover the site for most of the year.

Tree-of-Heaven has been observed sprouting on the roadside along North White St. on the sites of the two former dwellings in front of the Ailey Young House and have invaded the patches of Canna lilies there. Other species considered weedy, borderline weedy, or invasive in the State of North Carolina today that have been observed at the site include: Japanese stiltgrass, Carolina horsenettle, Asiatic dayflower, ground ivy, fleabane, dogfennel, and pokeweed. Fleabane and dogfennel are notable, as they have a history of use for treating insect bites, among other medicinal applications, among African Americans.[438]

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[437] Clanton, George Marie. Unpublished phone interview. July 28, 2020.

[438] See, for example, Moerman, Daniel Ellis. *Extended Family and Popular Medicine on St. Helena Island, SC: Adaptations to Marginality*. University of Michigan (1974), 203; Goetcheus, Cari, personal correspondence with author, July 8, 2022.

Chinese privet and nandina, or Heavenly bamboo, have also been observed at the site. Although both species are considered weedy by today's standards, both are also traditional fixtures of many older Southern gardens and landscape plantings, including rural African American gardens. Indeed, Westmacott counts both plants among the most frequently observed species noted during his fieldwork. Privet, in particular, was the most frequently occurring foliage shrub observed at the properties he surveyed for his study.[439] It is thus possible that these volunteer species at the Ailey Young House site could be historic features as well.

Archaeological Sites

The National Park Service defines archaeological sites as "the ruins, traces, or deposited artifacts in a landscape, evidenced by the presence of either surface or subsurface features."[440] To date, all archaeological investigations of Simmons Row have concentrated on the Ailey Young House site. In 2017, New South Associates, Inc. undertook ground penetrating radar (GPR) and metal detection surveys of the property and engaged community members through a day-long public archaeology workshop.[441] In 2019, New South Associates returned to the Ailey Young House site to complete limited excavations of two features identified during their 2017 investigation and facilitated another public archaeology workshop as well.[442] In 2021, Sherry Boyette of North Carolina State University (NCSU) who had assisted with New South Associates'

[439] Westmacott *African-American Gardens and Yards in the Rural South* (1992), 176-185.
[440] National Park Service. *Landscape Lines 3: Landscape Characteristics*, 2004.
[441] New South Associates, Inc., "Ground Penetrating Radar Survey and Selected Metal Detecting to Prospect for Historic House Artifacts and Features at the Ailey Young House (31WA1958**), Wake County, North Carolina," (July 7th, 2017).
[442] New South Associates, Inc. "Limited Archaeological Excavations at the Ailey Young House (31WA1958**)," (August 1, 2019).

prior investigations at the Ailey Young House site, returned with a team of fellow graduate students to fully excavate the brick feature uncovered in 2019.[443] The goal of Boyette's investigation was to determine "the function, size, and shape of the [brick feature] and to find out what kind of activities took place on the Young family porch."[444] This excavation confirmed the use of the feature as a landing for the Young family porch and uncovered an array of artifacts offering insight into the multiple porch's domestic, social, and recreational uses.

Most of the artifacts that survived modern ground disturbances remain in place, however, and much archaeological work remains to be done. In the future, the Town of Wake Forest plans to fund archaeological investigations of the two home sites located near the Ailey Young House, provided that grant funding can be secured for this purpose. Numerous artifacts are visible throughout the area encompassed by Simmons Row where it has not been redeveloped for cemetery lots. As such, the entirety of the undeveloped portions of this may be considered a site with high potential for yielding future archaeological information.

Artifacts were first collected from the Ailey Young House site in 2011 by a surveyor using a metal detector, who recovered 129 artifacts and subsequently gave them to the Town of Wake Forest. No provenance information was recorded at the time these artifacts were collected, however.[445] In 2016, Michelle Michael brought the artifacts to the North Carolina Office of State Archaeology (NCOSA) for analysis. Boyette, who had joined the staff of NCOSA as an archaeological lab technician in 2017, was subsequently

[443] Boyette, "Porch Living" (2022), *ii*.
[444] Ibid.
[445] Blewitt-Golsch and Boyette, "Partners in Preservation" (2107).

asked to perform this analysis. Boyette later displayed these artifacts for the public during New South Associates' investigations at the site later that year.[446]

The assemblage of artifacts collected in 2011 consisted mostly of various kitchen wares, comprising 58.9% of collected artifacts. The date ranges for these artifacts spanned the 19th and 20th centuries, fitting the period during which the Young family occupied the site. Most of the kitchen wares recovered consisted of container glass, namely mason jars, soda bottles, and milk containers. Ceramic fragments, including porcelain, whiteware, ironstone, and yellow ware, were also recovered.[447]

The assemblage of artifacts also included many notable personal items attributed to the Young family, including "wagon parts, plastic toys, buttons, a copper belt buckle, furniture hardware, coins, pocket-watch parts, pocket knives, a safety razor, a cosmetic compact, musical instrument parts, and a military pendant."[448]

In April of 2017, New South Associates completed a ground penetrating radar (GPR), limited metal detection survey, and a public archaeology workshop to investigate the landscape surrounding the Ailey Young House. The goal of this research was to identify possible historic features and artifacts associated with the Young family below the ground surface. The public archaeology provided an opportunity for participants to learn about archaeological fieldwork through a hands-on demonstration of GPR techniques.[449]

[446] Boyette, Sherry, personal correspondence, August 1, 2022.
[447] Ibid.
[448] Ibid
[449] New South Associates, Inc., "Ground Penetrating Radar Survey and Selected Metal Detecting to Prospect for Historic House Artifacts and Features at the Ailey Young House (2017), 4.

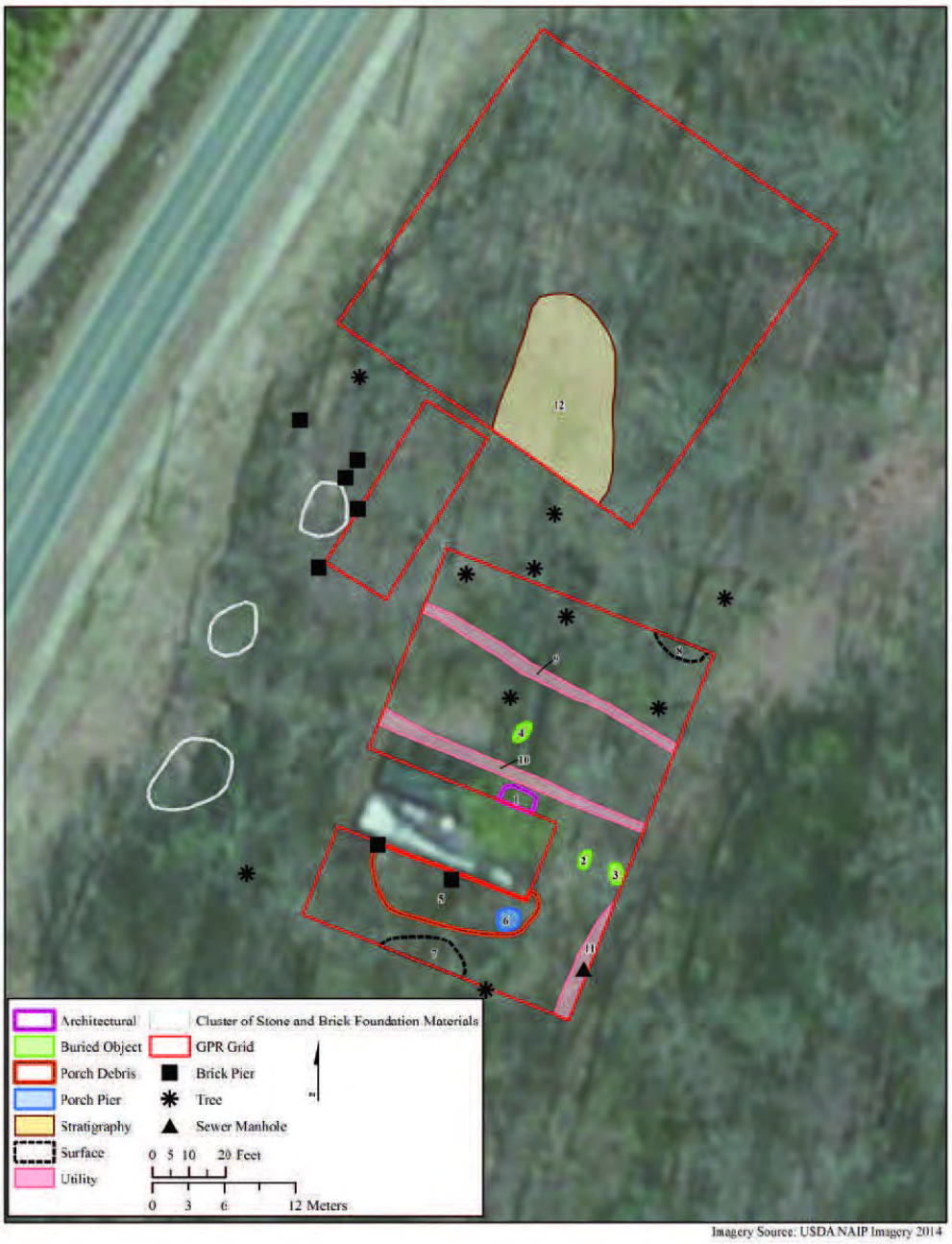


Figure 50: New South Associates' 2017 GPR survey findings included several buried objects, building debris, subsurface features, and other anomalies suggesting the presence of historic landscape features like the Ailey Young House driveway, here depicted as the "Surface" outlined with a dashed black line. Image by New South Associates.

The GPR and metal detecting surveys identified features associated with the Young family's occupation of the house as well as modern disturbances. GPR identified

front porch remnants, what appeared to be a buried porch pier, various buried objects, and a possible root cellar as well as other subsurface anomalies suggesting additional historic features. Additionally, sixteen artifacts were recovered during metal detecting. These artifacts dated mostly to the twentieth century and provide some insight into 20th-century domestic life. The assemblage of artifacts included glass bottles, canning supplies, dishes, and buttons. Kitchen debris made up the majority of the artifacts recovered (64.3%), followed by personal items (21%). Artifacts associated with other domestic activities made up 7% and building debris made up another 7%.[450]

The authors of the 2017 field report hypothesize that most of the features identified relate to various domestic landscape features and outbuildings associated with the Ailey Young House. As the authors relate, the house would have had an outdoor privy, well, garden features, paths, and a large front porch – each of which would have left a distinct geophysical signature, be it pitting, compaction, or buried debris. Notably, one of the subsurface anomalies identified appeared to be associated with the driveway leading to the Ailey Young House and connecting it to North White Street.[451]

It was also evident throughout the GPR and metal detection surveys that insensitive modern use and activities likely destroyed many features and artifacts. Nonetheless, many artifacts remain, and much archaeological investigation remains to be done. The authors subsequently recommended limited excavations of features associated with the Ailey Young House porch.[452]

[450] Ibid, 11.
[451] Ibid, 22.
[452] Ibid, 22-25.

In April of 2019, New South Associates, Inc. returned to the Ailey Young House site to complete a limited archaeological investigation to expose what were presumed to be porch features identified during the 2017 GPR and metal detection surveys. The goal of this project was the verify and date the location of the Ailey Young House's front porch and confirm the presence of porch remains in the areas identified during the 2017 surveys.[453]

As with the 2017 surveys, this project included a public archaeology workshop which provided participants the opportunity to learn about research and restoration efforts at the Ailey Young House site by observing the excavation of a test unit and peruse a table display of artifacts recovered during the excavation.[454]

Limited excavations of the two previously identified porch-related sites uncovered two features and 1,676 artifacts. The first feature, a dry-laid brick landing for the former porch's steps, relate directly to the architecture of the Ailey Young House. The second feature, previously thought to be a porch pier remnant, was determined to be what was described as a linear stain containing an unusually high concentration of charcoal. The function of this second feature remains unknown, although it has been hypothesized that the feature relates an outdoor cooking pit.

The assemblage of recovered artifacts consisted both of building debris and items that could have easily slipped through the cracks of the porch boards. Non-architectural artifacts were consistent with 20th-century domestic life and were mostly related to

[453] New South Associates, Inc. "Limited Archaeological Excavations at the Ailey Young House (2019), *i.*
[454] Ibid, *i.*

kitchen-related activities. Architectural debris comprised 30% of artifacts recovered, and 29% of artifacts recovered related to cooking and other kitchen-related activities.[455]

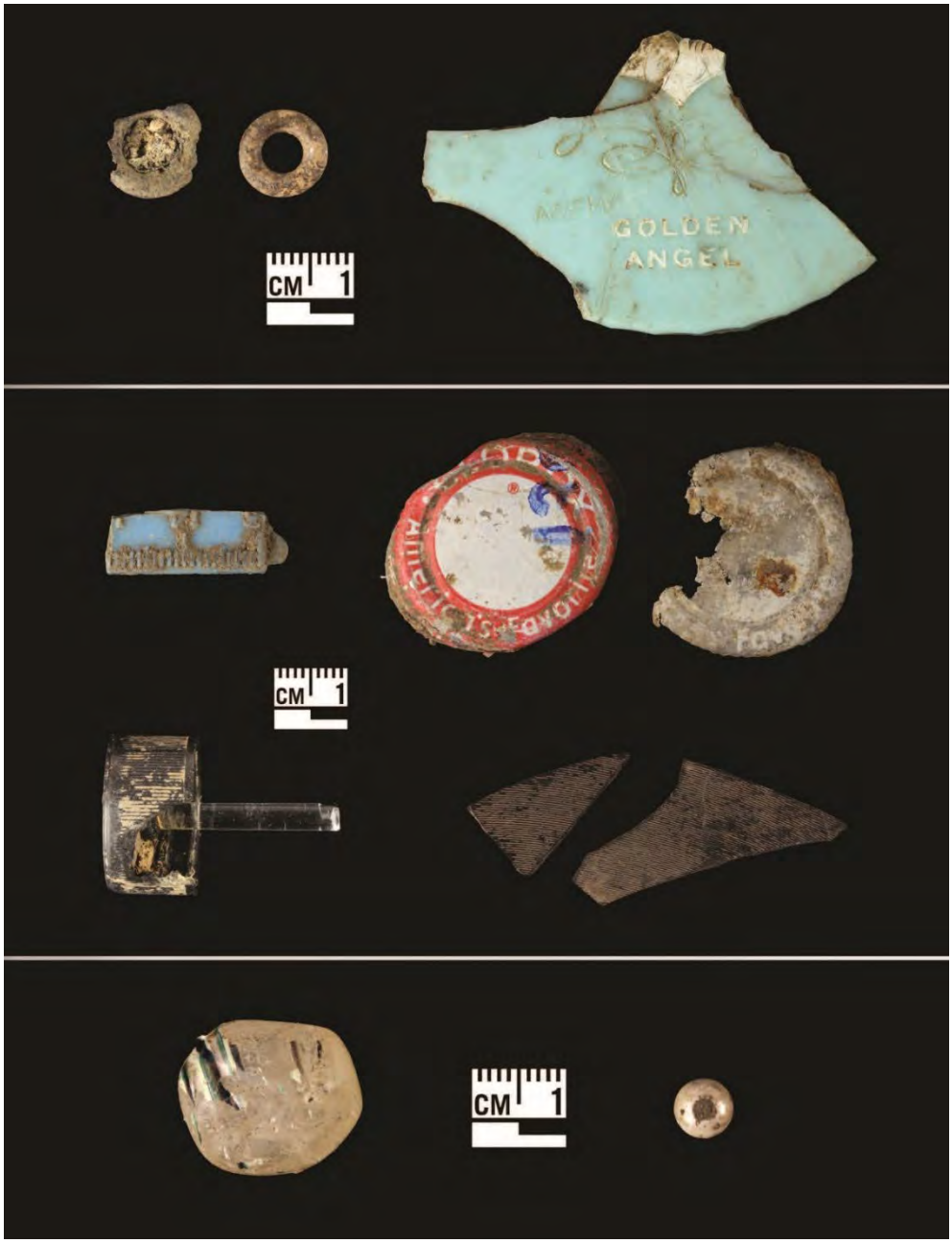


Figure 51: Sampling of artifacts collected and accessioned following limited excavations of the Ailey Young House site in 2019. Artifacts pictured her include a metal grommet, a plastic ruler fragment, a Clorox bottle lid, and medicine dropper, and a fragment of a phonograph record. Image by New South Associates.

[455] Ibid, 17-19.

Between July 16 and July 18, 2021, Boyette and fellow graduate students Kiana Fekette, Devon Borgardt, and Mandy Posgai located the partially excavated brick feature on the south side of the Ailey Young House and dug two new test pits, fully excavating the feature. In the process, the team also uncovered 2,748 artifacts relating to two distinct periods during which the Ailey Young House had been occupied by members of the Young family: 1875 to 1920 and 1955 to 1967.[456]

The first test unit yielded 569 artifacts, the majority of which consisted of miscellaneous and architectural debris – 43% and 26%, respectively. Kitchen-related artifacts made up another 22%, faunal and botanical remains another 4%, clothing-related artifacts another 3%, personal items another 2%, residential activities another 1%, and arms-related artifacts less than 1%.[457] The second test unit yielded 2,179 artifacts, consisting mostly of miscellaneous and kitchen-related items – 58% and 25%, respectively. Architectural debris made up another 11%, faunal and botanical remains another 4%, and clothing, personal items, and domestic activities-related artifacts collectively comprising less than 1%.[458]

Artifacts associated with the Ailey Young House's first period of occupation (1875 to 1920) included "porcelain and whiteware ceramics, a porcelain figurine, linoleum floor tiles, a soda bottle, a wood pencil, a screw, shoe fragments, the Bennington doorknob, a clothing rivet, glass tableware, and bottles."[459] Though not directly related to "porch living," these artifacts nonetheless offer insight into the day-to-

[456] Boyette, "Porch Living" (2022), *ii*, 16-17.
[457] Ibid, 22.
[458] Ibid, 23.
[459] Ibid, 34.

day lives of the Young family, including their stylistic preferences, shopping habits, and the range of consumer goods that they could afford.[460] Artifacts associated with the second period of occupation (1955 to 1967) included "foam expanded polystyrene, pull tabs, buttons, beads, screws, shell casings, plastic pencil clips, electrical cords, coins, radio parts (electric vacuum tube and capacitors), records, bottles (soda and liquor), a bottle cap, a shoe, glass and plastic containers, a safety valve, a nut, a zipper, a shirt stud, a plastic fork, a poker chip, a twist tie, a reducing adapter, a floor tile, wallpaper, and an auto fuse."[461] These items align with the radical changes in consumer spending and mass production technologies that occurred during the mid-20th century. Plastics, in particular, made up the majority of this assemblage – 87.7%. Fragments of flooring and wallpaper also suggested changes in the family's stylistic preferences.[462]

Boyette argues that many of these artifacts can be connected to porch-related activities across both periods of occupation. Specifically, "[the] animal bone fragments, wood pencil fragment, and glass marbles could have been used during either occupation. The plastic poker chip, plastic fork, radio parts, 7-up soda bottle fragments, liquor bottle fragment, and record fragments are mid-20th century to present artifacts."[463] Taken together, these artifacts suggest that the Young family may have enjoyed meals and drinks, listened to music, wrote, and played games with one another and their friends on the porch.[464] Boyette connects these uses with the greater Southern cultural tradition of "porch living," whereby the porch functions "as a space for gathering, socializing,

[460] Ibid.
[461] Ibid 34-35.
[462] Ibid.
[463] Ibid, 35.
[464] Ibid.

creating community, playing, enjoying life, and even a space to create ideas for the future."[465]

Various ground scatters of artifacts suggest further archaeological investigations yet to be undertaken along Simmons Row. All around the designated study area, various artifacts are visible at and just below the ground surface and appear to be continually uncovered as stormwater washes over the site. Assemblages of artifacts are particularly heavily concentrated around other former homesites and appear to be washing out as stormwater erodes soil and carries it downhill. Buttons, fragments of ceramics and bottles, metal joists and other parts, are all evident and visible on-site.

The Mable-Beasley lot, in particular, has high potential for yielding archaeological information, as it is the site of the Young driveway trace as well as trash middens and numerous forms of volunteer and remnant cultural vegetation that has persisted. The relatively good condition of these traces is attributable to the fact that the site has never been developed and has been allowed to reforest since the period of occupancy ended in the late 1960s. High concentrations of artifacts visible on the ground surface suggest that there are likely subsurface features here as well. It is also possible that this area is the former location of a well – a well is noted in prior deeds associated with the area.[466]

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[465] Ibid, 38.

[466] Wake County Register of Deeds. "M.E. Simmons to Trustees of Golden Rule Tent Society – No. 99" *Consolidated Real Property Index*, Book 136, Page 298, Raleigh, NC: Register of Deeds, 1896. Web. Accessed April 17, 2022. http://rodcrpi.wakegov.com/booksweb/PDFView.aspx?DocID=108094352&RecordDate=05/14/1896; Wake County Register of Deeds. "Emma Dent, et als Trustees to J.B. Carlyle" *Consolidated Real Property Index*, Book 235, Page 342, Raleigh, NC: Register of Deeds, 1896. Web. Accessed April 17, 2022. http://rodcrpi.wakegov.com/Booksweb/PDFView.aspx?DocID=107426093&RecordDate=01/26/1909

Boyette notes that the former homesites northwest of the Ailey Young House may yield yet further insights into the day-to-day lives of Simmons Row residents. Additionally, she recommends further excavation of the area encompassed by the Young family porch – namely the porch footprint and edges – could build upon her investigations of the brick landing. Crucially, Boyette also proposes that future researchers conduct oral history interviews with neighborhood elders in order to better understand the function and significance of "porch living" within the Northeast Community. As she concludes, "[for] the Northeast Community, the understanding of porch living can add to the increasing knowledge of community interpretation for future generations and be comparable to other African American communities across the country."[467]

Views and Vistas

The National Park Service defines views and vistas as "the prospect created by a range of vision in a landscape, conferred by the composition of other landscape characteristics and associated features."[468] There were no designed views or vistas on Simmons Row. It is notable, however, that the overall visual character of Simmons Row was much more open in the 1930s and 40s than it is now. This is particularly evident in ground photographs taken in the 1930s.[469]

[467] Boyette, "Porch Living" (2022), 39.
[468] National Park Service. *Landscape Lines 3: Landscape Characteristics*, 2004.
[469] "View across North White Street of man in light suit standing near an item on the ground." Digital Collections, Special Collections & Archives, ZSR Library, Wake Forest University. Still image. Accessed April 22, 2022. https://wakespace.lib.wfu.edu/handle/10339/89704



Figure 52: Historic ground photographs such as this circa-1930 view of North White Street suggest a much more open visual character than what can be observed at the site today. Photograph digitized and published by ZSR Library, Special Collections and Archives.

Historic aerials indicate that this visual character remained a characteristic element of Simmons Row through its latest period of occupancy during the 1960s, at which point the floodplain below the Ailey Young House and other dwellings had grown up considerably.

Constructed Water Features

The National Park Service defines constructed water features as "the built features and elements that use water for aesthetic or utilitarian functions in a landscape."[470] To date, no constructed water features associated with Simmons Row have been located. Boundary descriptions in the deeds associated with the Golden Rule Tent Society mentions at least one well, however.[471] Given that the Northeast Community did not receive running water until well into the 1970s, it is likely, then, that the residents of Simmons Row got their water from a nearby well. Approximating the location of this well would be a worthwhile endeavor for future researchers.

Small-scale Features

The National Park Service defines small-scale features as "the elements providing detail and diversity for both functional needs and aesthetic concerns in a landscape."[472] The few small-scale features that may be found at the Simmons Row site today are all associated with contemporary development. Three interpretive panels have been installed on a small concrete pad connected to the sidewalk along North White Street. These panels comprise the primary existing site interpretation and focuses almost exclusively on the Ailey Young House. The first panel details the House's history in relation to the Northeast Community's development, the second panel focuses on the Young family,

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[470] National Park Service. *Landscape Lines 3: Landscape Characteristics*, 2004.
[471] Wake County Register of Deeds. "M.E. Simmons to Trustees of Golden Rule Tent Society – No. 99" *Consolidated Real Property Index*, Book 136, Page 298, Raleigh, NC: Register of Deeds, 1896. Web. Accessed April 17, 2022. http://rodcrpi.wakegov.com/booksweb/PDFView.aspx?DocID=108094352&RecordDate=05/14/1896; Wake County Register of Deeds. "Emma Dent, et als Trustees to J.B. Carlyle" *Consolidated Real Property Index*, Book 235, Page 342, Raleigh, NC: Register of Deeds, 1896. Web. Accessed April 17, 2022. http://rodcrpi.wakegov.com/Booksweb/PDFView.aspx?DocID=107426093&RecordDate=01/26/1909
[472] National Park Service. *Landscape Lines 3: Landscape Characteristics*, 2004.

namely Allen Young, and the third panel focuses on the House's architecture. Only the first panel mentions Simmons Row, and even then only briefly.

Other small-scale features on-site included a sign denoting the Ailey Young House's status as a local historic landmark and a temporary power pole installed to extended electrical service from the powerlines along North White Street to the Ailey Young House.

Cultural Traditions

The National Park Service defines cultural traditions as "the practices that influence the development of a landscape in terms of land use, patterns of land division, building forms, stylistic preferences, and the use of materials."[473] Richard Westmacott argues that Black vernacular landscapes in the rural South are characterized first and foremost by a strong functionalist sensibility. Though vernacularism and traditionalism are often conflated in reference to time-honored, unchanging practices and styles in the built environment, Westmacott maintains that a defining characteristic of Black vernacular landscapes is the manner in which they express adaptability, resourcefulness, and openness to change. Referring specifically to gardens and yards, Westmacott writes, that "in the vernacular garden, tradition and adaptation are not contradictory. Adaptation itself is a tradition." [474] Westmacott identifies three major functions of vernacular gardens and yards: subsistence, as extended space for cooking and other household chores, and for entertainment, recreation, and social display.[475]

[473] National Park Service. *Landscape Lines 3: Landscape Characteristics*, 2004.
[474] Westmacott *African-American Gardens and Yards in the Rural South* (1992), 109-111.
[475] Ibid, 23.

Rural African Americans in the South strongly valued self-sufficiency – a value that became essential for survival in the wake of the boll weevil and during the Great Depression – and this became evident in the functional arrangement of their gardens and yards as well as in the array of activities that took place on Black homeplaces.[476] Given this emphasis on self-sufficiency, as well as the noted concentration of agricultural know-how on Simmons Row, it is likely that inhabitants kept vegetable gardens on whatever available space around and behind the houses that they had available to them.[477] There may even have been a communal garden plot that residents jointly tended to. At present, this is only a hypothesis – the only physical evidence suggesting the possibility of a vegetable garden is a subsurface feature to the north of the Ailey Young House identified during the 2017 GPR survey.[478]

It is notable, however, that residents elsewhere in the Northeast Community were known to have kept extensive vegetable gardens and freely shared the bounty of these gardens with their neighbors. During her 2016 oral history interviews with Town Historic Preservation staff, Ms. Dianne Laws offered some insight into Northeast Community residents' gardening sensibility. Growing up during the 1940s and 50s, Ms. Laws recalls how most people in the neighborhood kept a vegetable garden.[479] Given the lot layout and house situation typical to the neighborhood at this time, these gardens were usually located on land behind the house stretching to the back of the lot.

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[476] Ibid, 23-24.
[477] Little, "Ailey Young House, Wake County, North Carolina," (2009), 16.
[478] New South Associates, Inc., "Ground Penetrating Radar Survey and Selected Metal Detecting to Prospect for Historic House Artifacts and Features at the Ailey Young House (2017), 12.
[479] Laws, Diane, interview by Michelle Michael and Samantha Smith, August 12, 2016, File Name: "DianeLawsInterview8-12-16.mp3," transcript, 14. Town of Wake Forest Planning Department, Wake Forest, NC.

The most extensive example of these rear vegetable gardens was maintained by George Massenburg during his family's tenure at the duplex that once occupied the current site of Taylor Street Park. During an informal phone interview, Ms. George Marie Clanton, a lifetime resident of the Northeast Community and daughter of George and Marie Massenburg, provided a detailed account of her father's vegetable patch as well as her mother's flower gardens.[480] According to Ms. Clanton, her mother's flowers surrounded the house, while her father's rows of vegetables stretched from the back of the house to the southern end of their lot, where it abutted the cemetery now known as the Alston-Massenburg Cemetery.[481] Ms. Clanton also related how anyone was free to pick what they wanted, and fondly recalls how people would gather for the harvest and sit on their front porch to shell beans and snap peas on harvest days.[482] Again, given the skillset and community-mindedness of the residents of Simmons Row, as well as the socioeconomic conditions under which they lived, it is arguable that such vegetable patches were also present on Simmons Row as well.

The dwellings on Simmons Row were decidedly small, usually no more than two rooms and maybe a loft, so it is likely that most domestic labor, including cooking and washing, likely took place outdoors. Often, porches served as an extension of the kitchen on rural homeplaces. Tasks like canning, which could cause the kitchen to grow very hot, were likely performed outside as well.[483] This was both out of necessity and out of preference – Westmacott notes how, even after many of his informants had installed indoor plumbing and running water, they continued to cook and wash outdoors by

[480] Clanton, George Marie. Unpublished phone interview. July 28, 2020.
[481] Ibid.
[482] Ibid.
[483] Westmacott *African-American Gardens and Yards in the Rural South* (1992), 28.

choice.[484] The concentration of kitchen-related archaeological artifacts in the area where the Young family's porch once stood suggests that the Young family extensively employed their porch for this purpose well into the 20th century.[485] The other dwellings on Simmons Row had front-facing porches that directly faced the street and abutted the right-of-way. While cooking and other activities relating to domestic labor may not have been concentrated on and around the porch in this case, workstations for these activities were likely arrayed in the yard space around and behind each house. Such workstations tended to be concentrated around an outdoor wellhead, fire pit, or grouping of shade trees.[486]

This arrangement would have lent itself to another notable use of porch space, namely for social purposes. The front yard was most often associated with greeting and receiving friends and neighbors, and was commonly employed for leisure, relaxation, and social display.[487] Watching passerby was a particularly common activity. As Westmacott writes, "[rural] families like to see who is passing by. Places for sitting and talking often faced towards the road. [...] In some cases the road was within hailing distance, but in most others the passing traffic could be clearly seen and greeted with a wave."[488]

A notable expression of resourcefulness and adaptability is what many architectural historians have regarded as a sensitivity to local materials. Westmacott posits that the innovative use of "available" materials – meaning those materials that are readily at-hand and free or low-cost – might better apply to the dwelling spaces of low-

[484] Ibid, 102.
[485] New South Associates, Inc., "Ground Penetrating Radar Survey and Selected Metal Detecting to Prospect for Historic House Artifacts and Features at the Ailey Young House (2017), 25.
[486] Westmacott *African-American Gardens and Yards in the Rural South* (1992), 34.
[487] Ibid.
[488] Ibid.

income rural people. “In the opportunistic use of materials such as railroad ties, granite blocks from local quarries, cable reels, auto tires, etc., and in the reuse of building materials,” Westmacott writes of his informants, “most of the gardeners showed considerable resourcefulness.”[489]

Westmacott further maintains that stockpiles of such materials – including steel drums, wheel rims, and other assorted objects – should not be interpreted as trash, but instead as stockpiles of recyclable materials whose use had not yet been specified.[490] Such recycled materials were often employed in the construction of fences, animal pens, and other outbuildings in displays of what Westmacott considered to be displays of “ingenious improvisation.”[491] A notable example of this kind of adaptive improvisation is evident in the Ailey Young House in the use of recycled quarry blocks in the construction of its fieldstone piers.

The use of such recycled materials tends to lend buildings and landscapes a weathered appearance that can be both positively and negatively perceived – some may find in such assemblages a picturesque, rustic charm, whereas others see only dilapidation and disorder.[492] When interpreting sites such as Simmons Row, it is important to set aesthetic preferences aside in order to closely consider the functionalism and its associated characteristics of resourcefulness, adaptability, ingenuity, and thrift that such interventions express.

As the Ailey Young House is the only surviving Simmons Row dwelling, almost all that is known about the architectural history and context of housing on Simmons Row

[489] Ibid, 109-111.
[490] Ibid, 85-86.
[491] Ibid.
[492] Ibid, 109-111.

relates to it. It is reasonable, however, to extend this history and context to encompass the other houses on Simmons Row that have since been demolished. Ground photos from 1937 suggest that many of the other houses, while not specifically saddlebag in form, closely resembled the Ailey Young House in construction, style, and materials. Thus, it is proposed that the same architectural history and context may be extended to encompass them as well.

The saddlebag is a rural vernacular house type consisting of two pens or rooms. These pens are typically one-room units flanking an open space with chimney. A shared fireplace was usually located between the two units. The name "saddlebag" comes from the observation that the two units spanned the chimney similarly to the same way that saddlebags were draped across a horse's back. Duplexes built of dimensioned lumber may indicate worker housing. The single chimney tended to serve two individual dwelling units.[493]

Historically, the saddlebag occurred in North Carolina most frequently as enslaved housing. Caswell County, North Carolina contains a number of these log saddlebag slave dwellings constructed in the mid-19th century.[494] The type most likely was not peculiar to North Carolina, however. As a predominantly 19th century log house type, its distribution would have spanned the upland South. At the time Ruth Little was writing her draft National Register nomination, there were only two saddlebag houses remaining in North Carolina – the example in Caswell County, and the Ailey Young House.[495]

[493] Little, "Ailey Young House, Wake County, North Carolina," (2009), 1.
[494] Ibid, 27.
[495] Ibid.

All of the Simmons Row dwellings were very closely located to the Raleigh and Gaston railroad tracks. As such, it has been speculated that they may have been built as worker housing for station hands. During the 19th century, railroad companies sometimes built dwellings for section hands who maintained their railways.[496] Nick Dunn, one of the landowners on Simmons Row, was known to have worked as a station hand for the railroad.[497]

Annual reports of the Raleigh and Gaston Railroad, which was constructed in Wake Forest in 1838, mention such worker dwellings from 1850s through 1870s. At this time, the railroad had "power to invade the land along the railroad line up to eighty feet in width to construct depots, warehouses, sheds, workshops, etc."[498] Such "invasion" was not to exceed one-and-a-half acres for any given parcel, however, and was carried out via condemnation proceedings.[499]

In 1853, the railroad reported that "comfortable houses have been provided for laborers at various points." In 1859, the railroad built station masters' houses with "good framed Negro cabbins at Macon, Littleton, and the Clarksville Junction." In 1869, the railway superintendent reported that the railroad had built "many new cabins for hands at different points along the road." In 1871, the railroad "built new Cabins on 1st, 4th, 5th, 6th, and 7th Sections, for the hands."[500] It is possible that the earlier cabins constructed along 19th century railroads for rail hands maintaining the tracks were saddlebags.

[496] Ibid, 28.
[497] Ibid, 14.
[498] Ibid, 28.
[499] Ibid.
[500] Ibid.

The railroad would have had to condemn the property to construct such cabins, however. Little notes that the grantor deed indexes and Wake County court records did not yield any evidence of condemnation proceedings relating to W.G. Simmons's property, however.[501]

Ruth Little notes that three workers' cabins had survived until recently (at the time of her writing in 2015) in eastern NC that could provide a comparison between the Simmons Row houses and known railroad worker cabins. Examples located in Hobgood, Halifax County; Palmyra, Halifax County, and Garingers, Lenoir County were representative of standard, one-story, side-gabled board-and-batten buildings with gable roofs, central chimneys and large six-over-six sash windows. Two rooms flanked the center hall, which lead to a rear ell with a dining room and kitchen.[502]

Examples of late-19th century black worker housing in Old Salem, NC also bear some similarities to the Ailey Young House and other dwellings formerly located on Simmons Row. Six frame duplexes, known collectively as Crist Bottom, were set almost on the ground, had central chimneys, board-and-batten siding and were perched along the side of a hill. Each unit was comprised of one room. Together, the six dwellings allowed shelter for up to twelve families. The buildings have since been demolished, and the original owners remain unknown. The Ailey Young House, with its high foundation and loft bedrooms, provided more spacious and comfortable living conditions, however.[503]

Ruth Little maintains that the most likely origin for the Ailey Young House is that it was built as rental housing ca. 1875 by W.G. Simmons. This argument has been

[501] Ibid, 28-29.
[502] Ibid, 29.
[503] Ibid, 30.

extended to encompass the origin of the other dwellings on Simmons Row as well.[504] The saddlebag form of the Simmons Row houses reproduces barracks housing built for enslaved people during antebellum era. The Ailey Young House is notable, however, for its high-quality materials of stone, brick, and wood. Even so, "The standard for black housing obviously remained low during the Reconstruction era. Simmons' units, with their heated first floors and unheated attic bedrooms were larger than the one-room slave cabins, but otherwise much the same."[505]

Today, the most pervasive image of worker housing in North Carolina remains the rows of shotgun houses built during 1900s.[506] Worker housing from the Reconstruction era has largely disappeared, elevating the significance of the Ailey Young House as a rare surviving example of African American post-bellum worker housing that still expresses characteristics of the slave housing concept.[507]

Landscape Characteristics Summary:

My purpose in describing Simmons Row in terms of these twelve characteristics is to arrive at an empirically-based assessment of Simmons Row as a relict of what the landscape architect Ujiji Davis has termed "the Bottom" – a particular type of vernacular Black homespace that developed throughout the United States during the Reconstruction and Jim Crow eras.[508]

In accepting Davis's typology, we come to understand Simmons Row as a materialized discourse rife with implicit tensions. On the one hand, it may be understood

[504] Ibid, 29-30.
[505] Ibid, 30.
[506] Little, "Ailey Young House, Wake County, North Carolina," (2009), 30.
[507] Ibid.
[508] Davis, "The Bottom" (2018).

as both homeplace and homespace, embodying the qualities that hooks, Roberts, and Battle-Baptiste attribute to these sites. In the relicts that remain, we may still discern the characteristics and qualities that Westmacott affirmed through his observations of Black rural life in the South: thrift, resilience, unfettered creativity, adaptability, and pride in place. From the social history of Simmons Row and its residents, we may begin to read these relicts as evidence of the ways that Black Americans claimed space to build families and institutions under systems of white supremacist oppression

Simultaneously, we also come to understand Simmons Row as a product of these very systems, a segregated space situated on marginal land – marginalized both in terms of its productive quality and in its relegation the outskirts of the Wake Forest town proper. We can read the ways that this segregation was enforced both through psychosocial barriers and through the physical separation of the railroad tracks. In the very construction and arrangement of the dwellings that the residents of Simmons Row inhabited, we may read qualities that are a carry-over of the built environment of slavery

There are further tensions, still. In understanding how Simmons Row came to disappear from the landscape through a combination of demolition by neglect and slum clearance – both forms of disinvestment – we come to understand its fate as an effect of the authorized heritage discourse. And yet, given the trajectory of the descendants of the Simmons Row residents, we also come to understand how the abandonment Simmons Row was almost inevitable as Black Americans strove to overcome the material poverty, disenfranchisement, and socioeconomic oppression that had relegated them to these spaces in the first place.

Situated amidst these implicit tensions, these relicts of the Bottom in the Northeast Community powerfully testify to how those first generations out from Emancipation claimed space and exercised their rights as citizens despite every attempt to undermine them by Jim Crow segregationists. In bearing witness to this testimony, we may begin to acknowledge the way that a generation of Black Americans for whom slavery was a living memory built the institutions and social capital necessary to raise their children above the oppressions they had borne firsthand. We see this in the example of Joe Gill, Trustee of the Olive Branch Baptist Church; Henderson Cooke, Reverend; Mariah Cooke, Trustee of the Golden Rule Tent Society; and Willis Johnson, renowned brick mason whose handiwork can still be seen in Wake Forest today as well as an early Trustee of the Spring Street School in partnership with Allen Young. In the example of Nick and Amanda Dunn, we also find inspiring examples of a couple who built a life for themselves despite living with disabilities at a time of limited understanding and accommodation to them.

The fruit of their labors is evident in the trajectories that the children of these ordinary Black Americans followed in adulthood. We see Allen Young, prodigal son of Simmons Row, who would move into his own single-family home on East Spring Street before undertaking the work of building what would become the Wake Forest Normal and Industrial School; and we see Annie Elizabeth Cooke Weeks, daughter of Henderson and Mariah Cooke, who went on to graduate from Shaw University and undertake a career as a respected educator. Ujiji Davis articulates the meaning of their life-course best when she writes:

"For many, the Bottom became a thriving, aspirational clean slate that served as a refuge and platform for achievement within the oppressive anti-black system. Emerging from the confines of low-quality housing and infrastructure came growing businesses and professionals, slowly building the wealth and financial security blacks did not have under the crushing hand of chattel slavery, Black Codes, and Jim Crow segregation. Out of the Bottom came America's black firsts: doctors, lawyers, teachers and professors, dentists, small manufacturers, politicians, and community leaders."[509]

In considering these trajectories, we are reminded of that quintessentially American experience of leaving home that equally expresses our ambivalence and our ambition.[510] What sets the Black American experience apart in this regard, however, is the element of resistance. In realizing opportunities that their parents could only have dreamed of in their lifetimes, the generations that succeeded families like the Thompsons, the Cookes, the Dunns, the Youngs, and the Johnsons carried forward a distinct understanding of homeplace as a site of resistance. hooks articulated the "hidden transcript" underlying this understanding of home best when she wrote:

"Historically, African-American people believed that the construction of a homeplace had a radical political dimension. Despite the brutal reality of racial appartheid, of domination, one's homeplace was the one site where one could freely confront the issue of humanization, where one could resist."[511]

[509] Davis, "The Bottom" (2018)
[510] Bellah, Robert N., Richard Madsen, William M. Sullivan, Ann Swindler, and Steven M. Tipton. *Habits of the Heart: Individualism and Commitment in American Life* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, CA: University of California Press. 1985), pp. 56-62.
[511] hooks, *Yearning (*1990), 42.

CHAPTER V

PROBLEM-SETTING

Introduction

Having defined Simmons Row as a cultural landscape, I will now fulfill the task of problem-setting as articulated by Schon by specifying the design situation to which the proposed intervention will be responding.[512] This will consist of four parts: a narrative analysis, a contemporary development and stakeholder analysis, an outline of current preservation policies and digital heritage interventions implemented by the Town of Wake Forest that are relevant to Simmons Row, and a cursory assessment of the potential effects of the digital divide on the Northeast Community. In specifying the Simmons Row design situation through these four steps, I will also derive a set of evaluative criteria by which to assess the relevancy, appropriateness, and usefulness of the proposed intervention.

Narrative Analysis

Based on the historical narrative and landscape analysis presented in Chapters Three and Four, the full significance of Simmons Row should now be clearly evident. Based on this initial research, Simmons Row appears to exhibit the characteristics of what the landscape architect Ujiji Davis has described as “the Bottom,” a distinctive type

[512] Schon, *The Reflective Practitioner* (1983), 40.

of Black homespace that emerged from the Reconstruction and Jim Crow eras characterized by patterns of settlement and land use that reflect African Americans' early efforts to literally and figuratively claim space for themselves as newly recognized citizens of the United States.[513] Despite the advances of emancipation and the abolition of slavery, Black people at this time struggled harder than ever to build lives and institutions under an oppressive culture of white supremacy that sought to undermine what little rights they were granted at every turn. Through their early efforts to claim space at the margins of white society, the first generations out from Emancipation built communities characterized by a culture of mutual aid, high social capital, and tangible expressions of self-sufficiency adaptability, and resilience. From this nurturing ground emerged a new generation of "Black firsts" - the first Black lawyers, doctors, schoolteachers, politicians, and other professionals who would go on to make up the nascent Black middle class.[514] Residents such as Henry and Ailey Young, Mariah and Silas Cooke, Joe Gill, and Willis Johnson are emblematic of such figureheads who, having claimed and held space for their children, laid the foundation for them to participate more directly in American life. In so doing, they picked up a throughline of freedom-seeking and struggle for space that has distinguished Black life in the United States since the first enslaved Africans arrived on North American shores in 1619 and continues today in the triumphs and struggles of the Black Lives Matter movement.

In understanding Simmons Row as a Black Bottom, we add another layer to our conception of the Northeast Community as a cultural landscape as well. Beginning as an unincorporated freedmen's enclave, the Northeast Community developed as a distinct

[513] Davis, "The Bottom" (2018)
[514] Ibid.

and independent municipality for well over a century before its official incorporation in 1977, despite its deep social and economic ties to the town proper, particularly regarding labor relations – most residents of the East End who did not make their living from farming or millwork labored as service workers catering to the white students and professors at Wake Forest College.[515] As Ruth Little relates, the social and economic life of Wake Forest exhibited the "salt and pepper" pattern typical of many small Southern towns during the Reconstruction and Jim Crow eras.[516] In regard to where people made their homes, however, the Northeast Community remained divorced from the town proper. This divorce was not only social and psychological but also found tangible, physical expression in the landscape as well. As the rest of Wake Forest modernized, the Northeast Community did not receive any of the same public investment, infrastructure, and services – no water or sewer lines, no paved streets, no school bussing, no firefighting services. Absent the support and investment of the Town proper, these services and others came from within the community itself. Independent of the town proper, the Northeast Community developed its own churches, its own schools, its own class of builders and tradesmen, its own food system, its own volunteer fire department – the list goes on.[517] The residents of Simmons Row, and others like them, were foundational not only in the establishment of a Black middle class in Wake Forest, but also in establishing the kinds of tight-knit institutions and community organizations – the social infrastructure, in a word – that could make such self-sufficiency possible.

[515] Slane and Szcodronski, "Wake Forest, North Carolina Architectural Survey Update 1958-1975" (2020), 12.
[516] Little, "Ailey Young House, Wake County, North Carolina," (2009), 8.
[517] Slane and Szcodronski, 12, 21, 25-26.

At the heart of these institutions is an idea of freedom-seeking that is deeply entwined with the idea of property ownership and the occupation of physical space. These values were decidedly apparent in the initial findings of the Northeast Community History Project, a service-learning initiative directed by Dr. Alicia McGill, who teaches in the public history master's program at NC State University. One of Dr. McGill's graduate students, Andre Taylor, who participated in the inaugural session of the Northeast Community History Project, put it best in the following comments during his presentation on several homes located along East Juniper Avenue:

"Overall, what we examined with this group of homes on Juniper is agency over narrative for African Americans. When you consider in 1866 you have the Civil Rights Act that gave citizenship to African Americans, and one of those rights of citizenship was ownership. But you also had the Freedmen's Bureau Bill of 1865 which also assisted Blacks with being able to acquire homes and work contracts. So what you see through these three homes […] is African Americans who want ownership and stake in a community, to be a part of the American narrative […] we have to look at these structures not only as places where people live but look at the message behind each of the structures and interpret them as a sign of agency over narrative of African Americans in the American South at the time."[518]

This idea of agency over narrative is essential not only to understanding the significance of sites like Simmons Row, but also to appropriately interpreting them.

Having lacked such perspective to this point, however, popular understanding of Simmons Row and its history has been constrained to a narrative that, at times, borders

[518] Corinne Foster and Andre Taylor, "E. Juniper Avenue," HI/ANT-587: Cultural Resource Management (class presentation, NC State University, Raleigh, NC, May 1, 2020).

on paternalistic in the way that it positions the Simmons foundational figures in the establishment of the Northeast Community. By now, this "official" narrative should be familiar: W. G. Simmons, having owned most of the land that would become the Northeast Community, is essentially credited with founding the neighborhood by virtue of the fact that he began selling his land to newly emancipated African Americans after the Civil War. Around 1875, Simmons ostensibly commissioned the construction of the row of dwellings along North White Street that would bear his name to this day. Simmons rented these dwellings to poor farmers like the Cookes and Youngs as well as other working-class Black families until his death in 1889. Upon his death, Mary Elizabeth Simmons was appointed executrix of his will and given power to subdivide and sell the remaining lands and distribute the proceeds among their children. Thus, in handling her husband's estate and selling largely to the Black residents of the Northeast Community, Mary Simmons is supposed to have played an equally instrumental role in its establishment. Her unfailingly benevolent status was subsequently memorialized in an essay penned by Wake Forest College historian George Paschal upon her death in 1917, who recounted how she "had a reputation of helpfulness and kindness" and "a way of doing good. The colored people were not left out of her scheme."[519]

It is worth questioning the degree of agency this type of narrative ascribes to the Simmons at the expense of the families who lived out their day-to-day lives on North White Street. Under the current narrative, the Simmons are positioned as foundational figures, and the Youngs are taken to stand in as representative of the Northeast Community as a whole while the contributions of families like the Cookes, Johnsons,

[519] Paschal, George. "Biography of Mrs. Mary E. Simmons," *History of Wake Forest College, Volume II (1895-1905*), 515.

Dunns, and Gills, who played no less of a role in laying the groundwork for the emergence of a Black middle class in the neighborhood, have gone unexamined. It is further worth questioning the degree of founding agency currently credited to the Simmons simply by virtue of the fact that they owned and conveyed property, as opposed to the contributions of individuals who directly contributed to the establishment of key social infrastructure and building of social capital that has been foundational to the lasting identity of the Northeast Community. These questions quickly become complicated, as it is clear that property ownership is deeply entwined with the sense of autonomy and agency over narrative that Taylor highlighted in his presentation. While challenging as an interpretive design problem, these questions also bring to bear the full cultural richness of a space like Simmons Row – in confronting these issues, we confront a greater question of what it means to have a stake in a community and claim the chance to participate in the American narrative as a Black person in the American South during the Reconstruction and Jim Crow eras.

It is also important to acknowledge that while Simmons may have commissioned the construction of the dwellings on North White Street, it is likely that local Black tradesmen did the actual construction work. Dianne Laws, treasurer of the Wake Forest Historical Association and a respected local placekeeper who was born and raised in the Northeast Community, suggested this possibility in a 2016 oral history interview with Michelle Michael and Samantha Smith, who was interning with Michael at this time. In this interview, Laws describes a number of skilled tradespeople who lived in the neighborhood who worked on buildings throughout the Town proper and Wake Forest College campus, including Willis Johnson. "[…] they were the ones who did the

buildings," Laws stated, "'cause I mean the community didn't have the money to pay no professionals, that just didn't work. So they just pulled together, the neighborhood pulled together."[520] Laws's affirmation of the Black-built history of the neighborhood is further bolstered by Annie Elizabeth Cooke Weeks's account of her father, Silas Cooke, having constructed the house that her family would inhabit on North White Street.[521]

Such accounts contradict the narrative of W.G. Simmons as a proverbial "founding father" of Simmons Row. That being said, there are some elements of the narrative that are worth affirming. It was indeed uncommon for white landowners to sell property to newly emancipated Black people during the Reconstruction era. When they did, they usually only sold small parcels of marginal lands at inflated rates.[522] These patterns appear to persist in the land transactions between the Simmons and Northeast Community residents – based on the evidence presented in Chapter Three, it would appear that the Simmons were selling lots of what amounted to marginal abandoned farmland at a comparable price to that paid by whites for the most desirable lots west of the railroad tracks, nearer to the Town center and College campus. Even so, the simple fact is that the Simmons sold a sizeable portion of their estate to newly emancipated Black people at a time when it was still very uncommon for white landowners to do so. Further, as Ruth Little suggests in her account of the Ailey Young House's history, it would certainly appear that the Simmons may have been close with their tenants, as can be inferred from the fact that the Youngs named their youngest daughter, Eva Belle, after

[520] Laws, Diane, interview by Michelle Michael and Samantha Smith, August 12, 2016, File Name: "DianeLawsInterview8-12-16.mp3," transcript, 10. Town of Wake Forest Planning Department, Wake Forest, NC.
[521] "Life of Mrs. A. Elizabeth Cooke Weeks of the President of New Bern Collegiate Industrial Institute," (circa 1900), 20.
[522] Schultz, Mark R. "The Dream Realized?" (1998).

the Simmons's youngest daughter.[523] That being said, if it is true that the Simmons maintained the dwellings on North White Street as rental properties, then the primary relationship between them and their tenants was economic, first and foremost. Further, based on the prices at which the Simmons sold land to Black people in the Northeast Community, it would appear that their business dealings with Black people did not differ from what was typical of other white landowners at this time.

Altogether, this suggests that the key issue behind the narrative of Simmons Row amounts to an oversimplification as well as a misattribution of agency. Specifically, this authorized narrative does not give due credence to the lives and contributions of the Young family's neighbors – indeed, they are almost entirely absent from most published accounts. Even where their neighbors are mentioned, as in Ruth Little's draft National Register nomination for the Ailey Young House, their names are mainly referenced as "landmarks" in the census data in order to confirm the Young family's tenancy on North White Street. Much of this misattribution of agency may be tied to the simple fact that, to this point, most research and interpretation relating to Simmons Row has focused almost exclusively on the Young family, owing, in turn, to the fact that the Ailey Young House remains as the only dwelling left standing. Relatively little else was known about the other Simmons Row residents, an issue compounded by the fact that the lives of ordinary, working-class Black people during the Reconstruction and Jim Crow eras remain poorly represented in the traditional documentary record. In order to fulfill the commitments stated in the various local planning documents that have claimed a stake in protecting cultural resources in Wake Forest, however, it is essential that we probe these gaps in the

[523] Little, "Ailey Young House, Wake County, North Carolina," (2009), 15.

archives in order to ascertain, as much as possible, how ordinary, everyday people living under extraordinarily trying and oppressive circumstances nonetheless created a space in which their children could realize potentialities in their lives that their parents, the first generation out from Emancipation, could only have dreamed for themselves. In exploring their lives, we may come to understand relicts like the Ailey Young House not only in relation to its immediate surroundings, but also to the innumerable other freedmen's enclaves that coalesced across the United States during the Reconstruction era as well.

Contemporary Development Context and Stakeholder Analysis

For the past twenty years, Wake County has experienced record levels of growth and development, with the Raleigh metropolitan area consistently ranked as one of the most desirable places to live in the nation. As a result, the housing and development markets in this area are booming. While the low cost of living and high quality of life of the Raleigh metropolitan area persists in comparison to other similarly-sized cities around the nation, gentrification and displacement remains a looming threat – indeed, Raleigh has already experienced levels of gentrification in recent years sufficiently enough to merit a feature article in the New York Times.[524] These trends extend to Wake Forest, which has continued to experience an analogous spurt of growth and development over the past two decades – between 2000 and 2010, for example, the population of Wake Forest more than doubled.[525] This rate of growth is projected to continue at a similar pace

[524] Badger, Emily, Quoctrung Bui, and Robert Gebeloff, "The Neighborhood Is Mostly Black. The Home Buyers Are Mostly White." New York Times, April 27, 2019, https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2019/04/27/upshot/diversity-housing-maps-raleigh-gentrification.html.
[525] Slane and Szcodronski, "Wake Forest, North Carolina Architectural Survey Update 1958-1975" (2020), 26.

over the proceeding two decades as well.[526] Thousands of new residents continue to flock to Wake Forest each year, and accompanying this new influx of residents has come an accompanying spike in the demand for new housing, a wider range of amenities, and the expansion of automobile-centered infrastructure.[527]

Notably, the Northeast Community has not shared in this spurt of growth and investment – instead, the neighborhood has been plagued by a marked degree of disinvestment for years. This disinvestment extends to the neighborhood's cultural and historic resources as well. As is all-too typical of Black Bottoms in the United States, the Northeast Community today also exhibits many of the same patterns of devaluation and cultural erasure characteristic of the lasting effects of systemic racism and its expression in the authorized heritage discourse. In addition to the development pressures and demographic shifts that mark the onset of gentrification, these effects manifest as rapid, tangible changes to the quality and character of the neighborhood's built environment. This is most clearly evident in the loss of historic fabric due to demolition by neglect, urban renewal projects, or simple lack of access to the resources and expertise needed to maintain a property to the standards demanded by orthodox preservation policy. The effect of this loss is disqualification and loss of eligibility for designation as a local historic district. All are tangible effects of the authorized heritage discourse in historic Black neighborhoods, and all are evident in the Northeast Community today. In better understanding the physical development of Simmons Row and how it came to disappear

[526] Wake Forest Business & Industry Partnership, "2021 Demographic Trends in Wake Forest," Discover Wake Forest, last modified May 20, 2021, accessed May 31, 2022, https://www.discoverwakeforest.org/news-1/2021/4/28/2021-demographic-trends-in-wake-forest.
[527] Town of Wake Forest. "Town of Wake Forest Community Plan Update - Revised Draft," 4, 14, 20-21, Wake Forest, NC: Town of Wake Forest (March 2, 2022). Web. Accessed May 31, 2022. https://issuu.com/bmartinson/docs/draft-wake_forest_community_plan_lq_2022-03-02?fr=sN2JiYTI0ODE0NTU.

from the landscape, it becomes more evident that its erasure marks an apotheosis of these patterns.

True to its history as a freedmen's enclave, in which networks of mutual aid and other forms of social infrastructure provided both lifeblood and staying power, the Northeast Community continues to carry forward a legacy of civic involvement and participation. Neighborhood leaders came together in 2005 to form the Northeast End Organization. In 2007, this organization partnered with the Town of Wake Forest on the first Northeast Community Plan, which focused broadly on revitalizing community infrastructure and economic opportunities. In 2012, Northeast Community residents and local churches invited Habitat for Humanity of Wake County as a Neighborhood Revitalization partner in order to bolster their efforts at preserving existing housing opportunities, creating new opportunities for affordable housing, and promoting community development. This partnership was later formalized as the Northeast Community Coalition (NECC), a resident-led community organization. With ongoing support from Habitat for Humanity, the organization has expanded its stakeholder base to encompass Town staff, local police, and over twenty religious and civic organizations.[528]

Residents have taken notice of the early onset of gentrification in the Northeast Community and have expressed their concerns during stakeholder interviews conducted for the 2021 Northeast Community Plan Update.[529] Specifically, residents have expressed fears about the possibility of displacement which have only grown over the past decade

[528] Northeast Community Coalition, "About," NECC, accessed May 31, 2022, https://www.wfnecc.org/about.
[529] Town of Wake Forest Planning Department, "Northeast Community Plan" (2021), 41, 47-49.

as the neighborhood has attracted more new residents and housing costs have risen. Additionally, newer construction in the neighborhood is of a markedly different character than that of older, existing housing and is significantly more expensive. As the cost of homeownership continues to rise, residents' fears of displacement are further compounded by the encroachment of massive new housing development to the east of the neighborhood.[530] In considering these concerns, one cannot forget that economic displacement and cultural erasure go hand-in-hand.

Northeast Community residents also report feelings of isolation from the rest of Wake Forest regarding their physical connections to surrounding neighborhoods, access to advanced economic opportunities, shopping, and other amenities. These feelings of isolation are directly tied to physical conditions noted in the site analysis conducted for the updated Northeast Community Plan, which found that physical barriers, notably the railroad tracks marking the western boundary of the neighborhood as well as the limited connecting roads that lead people into the neighborhood, continue to divorce the Northeast Community from the rest of Wake Forest.[531] It is troubling to note the ways in which the railroad tracks, in particular – once the literal dividing line between white and black during the Jim Crow era – still functions as a physical and psychological barrier functionally isolating the neighborhood today. Additionally, the Wake Forest Renaissance Plan acknowledged the presence of psychological barriers that separate the Northeast Community from this downtown historic core, despite their proximity to one another, owing mainly to the disparity in housing types and conditions. The plan specifically states:

[530] Ibid, 18-19.
[531] Ibid, 31.

"The retail potential along North White Street and Roosevelt Avenue remains somewhat questionable at this time, as Roosevelt presents a psychological barrier of sorts, partly due to the public realm, but also, to the ailing condition of many properties along the corridor and in the adjoining neighborhood."[532]

Once again, physical conditions relating to the disinvestment and devaluation of places like the Northeast Community – again, tangible effects of the authorized heritage discourse – relate directly to the central social, economic, and development issues affecting the neighborhood today. Further, though segregation has long since been abolished in principle, features like the railroad tracks continue to function as a de facto boundary between the valued historic districts to the west, which overwhelmingly represent the Town's wealthy white figureheads, and the rapidly deteriorating but no less significant Black cultural landscape east of the railroad tracks. When considered in this light, the location of the Simmons Row site along this very dividing line becomes all the more significant.

Despite this separation, residents' sense of community identity and pride is strong. Notable among similar older residential areas in the United States, residents of the Northeast Community have retained many long-term, even lifetime residents, with relationships between some neighbors spanning decades. As described in the 2007 Northeast Community Plan, "the history of the neighborhood is alive and well in the hearts and minds of its elderly residents."[533] Direct comments submitted for the 2007

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[532] Stantec, "Renaissance Plan for Downtown Wake Forest, NC," prepared for the Town of Wake Forest by Stantec in collaboration with MJB Consulting and Zanetta Illustration (September 2017), 78. Web. Accessed May 31, 2022. https://online.flippingbook.com/view/880906864/84/.

[533] Town of Wake Forest Planning Department, "Northeast Neighborhood Plan: A Road Map for the Future," Wake Forest, NC: Town of Wake Forest Planning Department, prepared in consultation with Clarion Asssociates, Delores Bailey, and Dr. Emil Malizia (July 2007), 11, web, accessed April 16, 2022.

Northeast Community Plan ranged from expressions of deep-rootedness and identity with the neighborhood to high valuations of the neighborhood's history.[534] These perspectives remain consistent with the community feedback gathered for the 2021 Northeast Community Plan Update. Based on stakeholder interviews, residents continue to exhibit a strong sense of civic pride and see community events such as the annual Juneteenth celebration as opportunities to foster community cohesion as well as garner community assistance and support. Altogether, residents are generally willing to work collectively for their neighborhood's enhancement and preservation while also remaining open and welcoming to newcomers. Despite their feelings of isolation, residents want to be plugged into the life of Wake Forest and are eager to share their community assets, including their heritage, cultural, and historical resources, with others.[535]

The 2021 Northeast Community Plan Update has afforded residents a platform by which to articulate the specific enhancements and preservation efforts they would like to see implemented in the neighborhood. Overall, they would like to see improved amenities and connections to the surrounding neighborhoods and downtown historic core, as well as an expansion of community activities to celebrate the neighborhood and invite others to learn about its history.[536] Residents also see an opportunity to further promote the neighborhood's history through the creation of a historic walking tour that draws attention to its historic and cultural assets.[537] Additionally, residents expressed a desire to create a "cornerstone" gathering space in the neighborhood, a need they see as potentially being

https://www.wakeforestnc.gov/sites/default/files/uploads/departments/planning/ne_neighborhood_plan_final.pdf
[534] Ibid
[535] Town of Wake Forest Planning Department, "Northeast Community Plan," (November 2021), 41-42.
[536] Ibid, 41-42.
[537] Ibid.

fulfilled by opening the Ailey Young House as an African American heritage and cultural center.[538] The Ailey Young House Preservation Plan highlights the potential of the House, once fully opened to the public, to fulfill this function. Even prior to realizing its full interpretive potential, however, residents already consider the Ailey Young House to be a key civic amenity, a status clearly demonstrated by its use as a stop on the annual Freedom March held as a part of the neighborhood's Juneteenth celebration. A video of this occasion was captured and maintained by the Wake Forest Historical Museum and depicts local placekeeper Roger Shackleford giving a talk on the property's history and significance. During this talk, Roger describes the significance of the Ailey Young House thusly:

"The reason it's important is that it represents how working-class people lived and where they lived versus a lot of historical resources and time have been spent […] identifying and renovating mansions [and] plantation houses. There's lots of those, but far fewer examples of houses where people lived, where workers and their families lived […] that's the value of maintaining this house, and I think we are very fortunate to be able [to work] with the Town to actually preserve this structure and make it a permanent part of our history where our young folks and other folks can come and observe and learn about our history and how lived post-Civil War."[539]

Though Shackleford is referring specifically to the Ailey Young House, his comments just as easily extend to the Simmons Row site overall.

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[538] Ibid.

[539] "Juneteenth Celebration - June 22, 2019." June 24, 2019, video, 20:38, from a talk given as a part of Northeast Community Coalition's Juneteenth celebration on June 15, 2019, posted by "Wake Forest Historical Museum," https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=yy5JM7vwBnI.

The 2021 Northeast Community Plan Update concludes that "the story of Wake Forest cannot be told without understanding the history of the Northeast Community."[540] As such, Town planners have made it an imperative to identify sites of historic significance and educate the public of their importance to Town history, and freely disseminate these stories among the general public. Further, the Northeast Community Plan update articulates a commitment to working with preservation agencies across all levels of government in order to formally recognize historic sites in the Northeast Community.[541] On paper, this included "the establishment of a historic district and/or cultural landscape to preserve the historic character "of the neighborhood, as well as the addition of historic markers and other interpretive interventions in order to better communicate the stories and significance of the neighborhood.[542] While the Town has been successful in installing the beginnings of a robust interpretive infrastructure aimed at better educating the public about the Northeast Community's history, the neighborhood has not yet expressed an interest in local historic district designation, necessitating that planning and historic preservation staff pursue alternative means of preservation. These efforts will be discussed in the proceeding section.

Preservation Policy and Digital Heritage Interpretation in Wake Forest

The Wake Forest Community Plan, adopted in 2009, articulates a commitment to identifying, restoring, and actively using sites of historic significance in order "to safeguard the heritage of the town, and to enhance their educational, economic and

[540] Town of Wake Forest Planning Department, "Northeast Community Plan," (November 2021), 60.
[541] Ibid, 60.
[542] Ibid, 88-91.

cultural value to the community and State of North Carolina."[543] Indeed, the Community Plan explicitly frames protecting Wake Forest's cultural and historical resources as "one of the town's most important community assets."[544] Fulfilling this commitment as it relates to the Northeast Community has proven exceedingly difficult, however. The orthodox policy framework adopted by most historic preservation agencies in the United States sets strict integrity standards that relate primarily to the physical condition of the cultural resource in question. As a result, despite the obvious richness of the neighborhood's cultural heritage, the Northeast Community has been deemed ineligible for designation as a historic district due to the compromised integrity of its built environment.

Town staff have pursued alternative means of documenting, preserving, and interpreting the Northeast Community's cultural heritage. Their efforts relate to another set of policies expressed in the Town of Wake Forest Historic Preservation Plan, specifically Policies HP-2 and HP-5. Policy HP-2 emphasizes the need for communication tools for promoting historic preservation activities and programs. In addition to conventional channels, such as web pages and newsletters, this policy also specifies a need for an interactive database of historic properties in Wake Forest.[545] Policy HP-5 prioritizes bolsters this idea by proposing the development of an interactive database as a special project of the Historic Preservation Commission.[546] In line with

[543] Town of Wake Forest Planning Department, "Community Plan: Vision Statements and Policies, Including the Growth Strategy Map," prepared by the Town of Wake Forest Planning Department staff in consultation with Glenn R. Harbeck, Glenn Harbeck Associates, Inc., and Community Planning and Public Involvement (Steptember 2009), 249. Web. Accessed May 31, 2022. https://online.flippingbook.com/view/609109129/2/.
[544] Ibid, 249.
[545] Town of Wake Forest. "Wake Forest Historic Preservation Plan" (September 2012), 55.
[546] Ibid, 56.

these policies, Michelle Michael, senior historic preservation planner for the Town of Wake Forest, has envisioned an initiative specifically focusing on the Northeast Community which she originally titled the Northeast Community Virtual Tour. In a 2020 presentation, Michael articulated a set of goals for the Virtual Tour project that encompassed identifying and documenting potentially significant parcels, evaluating properties for historical significance, mapping each property as well as preparing an individual archival record for it, and linking the archival and map content together for display as a publicly accessible, web-based story map.[547]

Coinciding with this initiative, Dr. Alicia McGill of NC State University, in collaboration with Michael and the Wake Forest Historical Museum, established the Northeast Community History Project, which would fulfill the data collection, cultural resource survey, and archival record preparation objectives of the Virtual Tour project. Facilitated through Dr. McGill's graduate-level cultural resource management class, an elective offered to students in the Master of Public History program at NC State, the Northeast Community Project has provided an opportunity for Dr. McGill's students to directly consult with residents of the Northeast Community and offer a platform for their direct testimony of heretofore undocumented aspects of their neighborhood's history. The inaugural session of the class was offered during the spring of 2020, and a second session was offered during the spring of 2021. Despite the disruptions of the COVID-19 pandemic, Dr. McGill's students have produced archival records for sixteen properties, encompassing century-old private dwellings as well as long-standing community hubs

[547] Michael, Micelle. "Northeast Community Virtual Tour Project." Presentation by Michelle Michael, Town of Wake Forest, North Carolina, February 21, 2020.

like the Olive Branch Baptist Church. All documentation produced by the students has been digitally archived at the Wake Forest Historical Museum.[548]

During the summer of 2020, this author was hired by Michelle Michael as a historic preservation intern and tasked with designing and developing an ArcGIS Story Map drawing on the Northeast Community History Project materials in order to accomplish the mapping-focused objectives of the Virtual Tour project. After presenting a preliminary version of the map at the end of that summer, and with additional edits from the Town's resident GIS Analyst, Eric John, the completed Story Map went live in early 2021 and has since been widely celebrated – for example, the Town of Wake Forest received the Carraway Award for Excellence in Preservation from Preservation NC for the project later that year. The Story Map currently only displays the properties documented through the inaugural session of the Northeast Community Project but will continue to be updated and is explicitly framed on its homepage as a "living document."[549]

Though well on its way to fulfilling the goals of the Northeast Community History Project that Michelle Michael first articulated, the process of creating the Story Map brought several notable limitations to light. Namely, the ArcGIS Story Map platform is limited in its ability to directly host digital content. The same goes for the geodatabases that contain the actual data behind the content displayed through the Story Map. In general, GIS-based geodatabases are much better at storing and analyzing quantitative data than they are at accomplishing these same tasks for qualitative data – a

[548] Michelle Michael, "Northeast Community Story Map," Town of Wake Forest, accessed May 31, 2022, https://www.wakeforestnc.gov/northeast-community-plan/northeast-community-story-map.
[549] Ibid.

challenging constraint for a project expressly devoted to spatializing historical narratives. Further, while the policies supporting the development of the Story Map call for web-based solutions, they also acknowledge the need for non-electronic means of access, such as in-person interpretive programming, physical signage, and physical exhibits.[550]

While the existing interpretive signage at the Ailey Young House site does a good job overall in ascribing due agency to the Youngs and others within the Northeast Community, its presentation of the Ailey Young House in relation to Simmons Row as a Black homespace is limited. Interpretive content is delivered across three separate panels, each dealing with a separate theme of the site's history and significance. The first panel deals most directly with Simmons Row and situates the Ailey Young House as a relict of Simmons Row. The panel features the excerpt from the 1915 Sanborn Map illustrating its historic spatial extent, as well as a portion of the ground photographs depicting Simmons Row in the late 1930s, and briefly mentions Simmons Row in the text. The text excerpt is as follows:

"The small row of houses which are no longer standing in front of the Ailey Young house were built by Wake Forest College professor William Gaston Simmons."[551]

Further below this excerpt, the sign reads in emboldened text: "Northeast Wake Forest was settled by African Americans freed after the Civil War," establishing Black agency as a subtext of the interpretive content.[552] The second panel focuses on Allen Young and his accomplishments, and the third panel focuses on the architecture of the

[550] Town of Wake Forest. "Wake Forest Historic Preservation Plan" (September 2012), 55.
[551] Outdoor interpretive panel, Ailey Young House, "Ailey Young and African American Life in Wake Forest," Wake Forest Historical Museum, Wake Forest, North Carolina.
[552] Ibid.

Ailey Young House and its significance as "a rare example of Reconstruction-era workers housing."[553] Though this existing interpretive signage is well-designed and does a good job of interpreting the Ailey Young House as an architectural specimen, it does not supply visitors with the context they need to fully understand it as part of a greater cultural landscape. Thus, the Young family and the Ailey Young House are understood in isolation of the social, economic, and material context of the rest of Simmons Row and its greater role within Northeast Community history.

These same limitations are also evident in the Northeast Community Story Map – again, in the absence of further evidence, content creators had to resort to the authorized narrative of Simmons Row. Even so, the Story Map has at least begun the work of visualizing its former location by illustrating some of the building footprints near the Ailey Young House on the navigable map windows displayed at various points throughout the website.

The Digital Divide in the Northeast Community

The limitations of existing interpretive interventions also raise concerns about the digital divide and its particular impact on African Americans. In order to ascertain the degree to which the digital divide may impact residents' ability to access and make use of tools like the Story Map, it is helpful to consult contemporary demographic trends in the Northeast Community. The 2021 Northeast Community Plan Update provides a snapshot of these trends. According to this document, the residents of the Northeast Community

[553] Outdoor interpretive panels, Ailey Young House, "Ailey Young and African American Education in Wake Forest" and "The Architecture of the Ailey Young House," Wake Forest Historical Museum, Wake Forest, North Carolina.

are, on average, educated, bring in moderate household incomes, and is comprised mostly of either younger singles or senior households.[554] The neighborhood also has a more racially diverse population than is typical for Wake Forest, with a 33.1% Black population as opposed to an average 16.3% Black population for the rest of the Town. These trends are projected to persist past 2025.[555] The Northeast Community also has a higher share of young people aged 35 and under and seniors aged 65 and over compared to the rest of Wake Forest, a trend that has persisted since the first Northeast Community Plan was adopted in 2007.[556] 72.2% of residents of the Northeast Community have attained some college or higher education, compared to 80.1% of residents of the Town of Wake Forest as a whole.[557] Both rates of higher education attainment are greater than the national average. In the Northeast Community, however, this higher level of education is accompanied by a noted disparity in average household income. The median household income in the Northeast Community is $57,601, whereas the average for the Town of Wake Forest as a whole is $85,560.[558]

According to Mossey et al, age and education level steeply affect the likelihood of adopting digital technologies.[559] Among African Americans aged 65 and older, 45% report being regular Internet users and 30% report having access to broadband Internet in their homes. Higher incomes and education levels help to narrow this disparity, however. Indeed, young college-educated Blacks earning higher incomes are just as likely as

[554] Town of Wake Forest Planning Department, "Northeast Community Plan," (November 2021), 24, 28-29.
[555] Ibid, 24, 28.
[556] Ibid.
[557] Ibid.
[558] Ibid.
[559] Mossey, Sean, Daniel Bromberg, and Aroon P. Manoharan, “Harnessing the power of mobile technology to bridge the digital divide: a look at US cities’ mobile government capability," *Journal of Information Technology & Politics* 16, no. 1 (2019): 52-65.

whites of similar socioeconomic status to use the Internet and have access to its requisite technologies. Further, 86% of young Black people aged 18 to 29, 88% of Black people with college degrees, and 91% of Black people with an annual household income of $75,000 or greater report adoption and regular use of broadband Internet.[560] This carries mixed implications regarding the degree to which the digital divide may affect the Northeast Community. On the one hand, a higher concentration of Black people aged 65 and up may correspond to similarly low rates of Internet use and access as is typical for this demographic. Additionally, lower annual incomes may also affect access to the technologies that enable Internet access. Conversely, the higher levels of educational attainment in the Northeast Community, in addition to the higher concentration of young people, may correlate to higher rates of digital literacy. Even so, the persistent trends that characterize the digital divide and its impact on African Americans merits an interpretive approach that takes proper account of these effects.

Evaluative Criteria for Proposed Design Strategy

In order to properly respond to the design situation outlined thus far, the proposed design strategy must:

1. Align with existing policies and interventions implemented by the Town of Wake Forest, the Wake Forest Historical Museum, and their academic partners.
2. Leverage the upswell of local support for promoting and protecting Northeast Community history.

[560] Mossey et al, "Harnessing the power of mobile technology to bridge the digital divide" (2019).

3. Properly account for the effects of the digital divide in the Northeast Community.
4. Problematize the authorized narrative of Simmons Row.
5. Create space for the articulation of counter-narratives by Northeast Community residents themselves, not just traditional experts.

The degree to which the proposed design strategy fulfills these criteria will ultimately determine its relevancy to Simmons Row, its appropriateness as a framework for interpreting it, and its usefulness as a roadmap by which a future project team can orient their efforts.

CHAPTER VI

PRIMING THE MULTIPLE-CASE STUDY

Introduction

In this chapter, I will prime the multiple-case study by specifying case selection criteria and providing individual justifications for each of the six cases selected. For the purposes of this thesis, each case will be considered as an example of a new heritage approach to the visualization and interpretation of relict vernacular landscape features in historic Black settlements. Case selections will be based on the degree to which the proposed interpretive intervention exhibits the characteristics of new heritage theory and practice, as well as its similarity to Simmons Row's history, context, and existing conditions. As such, all cases selected will represent similar situations, while also exemplifying a variety of new heritage approaches to addressing these situations.

Taken together, the selected cases are intended to serve as a representative sample of new heritage approaches to the visualization and interpretation of relict vernacular landscape features in historic Black settlements. After introducing each case, I will justify its inclusion within this sample. To justify the inclusion of each case, I will articulate how the case constitutes an example of new heritage theory and practice, why the case is relevant to the Simmons Row design situation, and how its lessons might be applicable to the proposed interpretive intervention.

Case Selection Criteria

Each of the six cases I have selected for the multiple-case study has been chosen based on four main criteria articulating the degree to which they (1) center to relict history and vernacular culture of historic Black settlements, (2) exemplify the characteristics of new heritage theory and practice, (3) employ different methodologies of new heritage visualization and interpretation to similar situations, and (4) constitute a comprehensive sample encompassing more than four but no greater than ten cases.

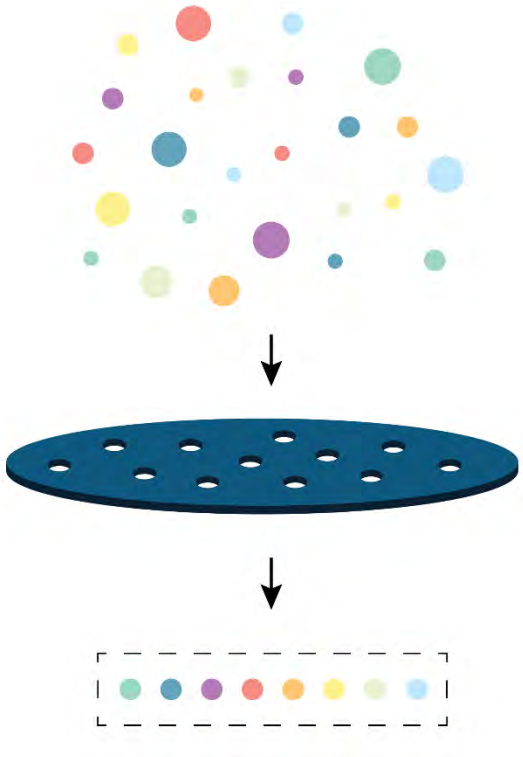


Figure 53: The four case selection criteria function as a “filter” for choosing among a wide range of potentially relevant cases. Diagram by Chris Robey (2022).

Each case should center the relict history and vernacular culture of historic Black settlements – be they freedmen’s enclaves, freedom colonies, or historically segregated neighborhoods that develop into independent communities. Part relict, part continuation

of the history of Black self-determination, these sites remain significant today but are often "invisible" to policymakers, planners, preservationists, and others with the power to offer protection and allocate resources toward their care. Further, because they are ordinary, everyday landscapes, they are often discounted, considered insignificant, not worth investing the kinds of resources that go towards preserving grand and unique specimens of "high-style" architecture and design. Similarity of situation – specifically meaning a common grounding in spatial and place-based strategies for Black freedom-seeking and a shared history of marginalization, systemic disinvestment, and cultural erasure affecting existing conditions – thus constitutes the first case selection criterion.

As the history of Black freedom-seeking and placemaking spans the entirety of American history from the colonial period to the present day, specific periods of significance are not taken as a determining factor of this criterion. Likewise, as the spatial and place-based strategies for Black freedom-seeking and placemaking effectively span the entirety of the continental United States, project location, too, is not considered a determining factor in fulfilling this criterion. Rather, it is the way such histories have been obscured or erased both from the physical landscape, from public memory, and from present political discourse that ultimately determines the relevancy of each case to the present study.

Employment of new heritage techniques of visualization and interpretation constitutes the second selection criterion. Specifically, this means that the project in question exemplifies the characteristics of new heritage theory and practice as outlined by Gonzalez-Tennant and Gonzalez-Tennant – it employs mixed methods, new media

technologies, and a critical research agenda.[561] Mixed methods is taken to mean the combined analysis of qualitative and quantitative data through a fluid use of multiple research methods.[562] New media is taken to mean not only the digitization of analog materials like photographs, film, and records, but also the creation of digital artifacts like computer-generated images and 3D models.[563] Finally, a critical research agenda is taken to mean that the project is undertaken not only for purely educational purposes but also to enact social or political change.[564]

The specific methodologies of new heritage visualization and interpretation – meaning not only the tools and techniques employed but also the decision-making and theoretical grounding guiding their use – should differ between cases, however. This constitutes the third case selection criterion – while each case shares a similarity of situation, the specific decision-making, processes, and outcomes at play will differ. Specifically, this means that each case should demonstrate the use of different technologies, theoretical frameworks, and strategies for heritage landscape visualization and interpretation. A caveat, however, is that the different theoretical frameworks must share a common critical research agenda.

Finally, the number of cases selected will be delimited per Stake's recommendations – greater than four but no more than ten.[565] This constitutes the fourth and final case selection criterion.

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[561] González-Tennant and González-Tennant, "The Practice and Theory of New Heritage for Historical Archaeology," (2016)
[562] Creswell, John W., and Vicki L. Plano Clark, *Designing and Conducting Mixed Methods Research* (2011), 2-6.
[563] Manovich, *The Language of New Media*, 20; González-Tennant and González-Tennant, "The Practice and Theory of New Heritage for Historical Archaeology," (2016)
[564] González-Tennant and González-Tennant, "The Practice and Theory of New Heritage for Historical Archaeology," (2016)
[565] Stake, Robert E. *Multiple Case Study Analysis* (2006), 22.

Taken as a whole, the selected cases should comprise a representative sample of new heritage approaches to visualizing and interpreting relict vernacular landscape features in historic Black settlements. Based on these criteria, the six cases here chosen will be briefly described through the remainder of this chapter.

Case #1: The Texas Freedom Colonies Atlas & Study

The Texas Freedom Colonies Project is a social-justice oriented research and educational initiative dedicated to preserving the heritage of historic Black settlements in Texas as well as documenting community origin stories and cultural practices and supporting grassroots preservation efforts led by freedom colony descendants. The stated goal of the project is "to prevent the erasure, destruction, and decay of cultural properties within settlements in partnership with descendant communities."[566] The project was founded by Dr. Andrea Roberts, an assistant professor of urban planning at Texas A&M University and freedom colony descendant with expertise in public administration, political organizing, and community development.

A key initiative of the project is the Texas Freedom Colonies Project Atlas & Study, an ArcGIS Story Map-based platform that functions as an online archive of documented freedom colonies. The online map allows users to directly participate in the project team's research efforts by uploading and sharing data including GPS points, historical and contemporary accounts, recordings, photographs, and interviews relating to freedom colonies and current grassroots preservation efforts. By making this data open

[566] Andrea Roberts, "What is the Texas Freedom Colonies Project?", Texas Freedom Colonies Project, accessed June 1, 2022, https://www.thetexasfreedomcoloniesproject.com/the-texas-freedom-colonies-project

and freely available, the project team aims to provide grassroots and public preservation groups and agencies with evidence-based support for making freedom colonies more visible to policymakers and other public officials with the power to allocate resources toward their preservation.

Freedom colonies are another name for the many historic Black settlements founded by freed Black people across the United States following Emancipation. In Texas alone, freed Black people established over 557 such enclaves in rural areas of the state between 1865 and 1930.[567] The origin stories and patterns of development that characterize these communities closely mirror the historic trajectory of the Northeast Community. Further, like the Northeast Community, freedom colonies in Texas have long suffered from the effects of systemic disinvestment and cultural erasure. Many freedom colonies remain unmapped and severely underrepresented in the public record, effectively making them invisible to policymakers and planning agencies with the power to direct resources toward their protection. This is an especially perilous position given the fact that following Hurricane Harvey, it was determined that at least 229 freedom colonies were located in FEMA-designated counties. Where other, more visible settlements in these counties may receive emergency funding in the event of natural disasters like Hurricane Harvey, unmapped freedom colonies receive none and thus are disproportionately at risk of destruction.[568]

The Texas Freedom Colonies Project Atlas and Study is a particularly good example of a new heritage approach to critical visualization and interpretation. The

[567] Roberts, “What is the Texas Freedom Colonies Project?”
[568] Andrea Roberts, "Saving Texas Freedom Colonies," prepared by Dr. Andrea Roberts with assistance from her students for The Texas Freedom Colonies Project (2020), 4. Web. Accessed June 1, 2022. https://issuu.com/freedomcoloniesproject/docs/saving_texas_freedom_colonies

digital atlas is an example of a digital humanities project employing public participatory GIS methods. The data gathered for this map is gathered using mixed methods, including GIS analysis, archival research, and engaged ethnography, including oral histories. Further, it is evident that the project researchers are acting according to a critical research agenda. The project team identifies themselves as "researchers who map disappearing places and co-create resilience strategies with endangered communities" with the goal of counteracting the effects of systemic disinvestment and cultural erasure.[569] Their express aim is to "[put] freedom colonies on the map, on policy agendas, and at the center of Texas history," thus affecting discourse and allocation of resources.[570] In these ways, the Texas Freedom Colonies Project Atlas and Study closely aligns with the characteristics of new heritage outlined by Gonzalez-Tennant and Gonzalez-Tennant.

Case #2: The Gullah Land and Community Project

This project centers on the application of locative media toward interpreting the heritage landscape of the Gullah community of St. Helena Island, South Carolina. Building on the existing visitor resources provided by the Penn Center complex, the primary Gullah cultural and interpretive center on St. Helena Island, the project aimed to interpret and communicate the significance of the Gullah cultural landscape while providing a multi-layered user experience. To accomplish this, the project team developed a website centering on two goals: (1) informing visitors of the St. Helena Island cultural landscape and its significance, and (2) offering an interpretive intervention

[569] Roberts, "What is the Texas Freedom Colonies Project?"
[570] Ibid.

that effectively engages tourists without putting descendant communities "on display."[571]

The Gullah are a distinct African American cultural group descended from enslaved people forcibly brought to the United States from Africa and the Caribbean. Today, the Gullah live in communities across the lower Atlantic coast and are concentrated along the coasts of Georgia and South Carolina. An extremely attractive region to tourists and developers alike, the southeastern Atlantic coast today is marked by an influx of high-end private residential retirement communities, and tourist development. This has put growing pressure on the Gullah community and contributed to significant land loss and cultural erosion. This predicament is compounded by the fact that few Gullah heritage sites are well-interpreted. Because few outside the community understand the significance of these sites, as well as the lasting effects of slavery and systemic racism, Gullah cultural landscapes are continually undervalued and overlooked.[572]

Despite different historical trajectories and cultural traditions, residents of both the Gullah community of St. Helena Island and the Northeast Community struggle with similar threats today. Mounting development pressures and land loss tied to heirs' property laws remain a continual source of cultural erosion. Further, Gullah cultural landscape and heritage sites remain "invisible" to planners and policymakers, resulting in

[571] Elizabeth Brabec, "Protecting Gullah Land and Community: A Locative Media Website for Tourism, Community Planning, and Education," prepared by Elizabeth Brabec, Gordon McLennan, Paul Keyserling, and Preston Chuhon for the National Center for Preservation Technology and Training (September 2012), 3. Web. Accessed June 1, 2022. https://www.ncptt.nps.gov/wp-content/uploads/Final-Report-.pdf
[572] Ibid.

land use and development decisions that do not appropriately consider their potential for impacting, affecting, or further contributing to Gullah cultural erasure.

Brabec's project is a notable example of the use of new heritage methods for the purpose of critical visualization. Her work makes use of locative media, or interpretive media linked to specific locations through GPS-enabled devices or georeferenced files, to interpret Gullah heritage sites, and explicitly frames this tool as a type of new media alongside other more well-known examples such as augmented, virtual, and mixed reality. The noted benefits of locative media, Brabec explains, is its capacity for self-direction, its low infrastructure costs, and its minimal impact on local communities compared to other forms of heritage tourism.[573] Her project employs mixed methods, namely formal and informal interviewing, documentary filmmaking, mapping and geolocation, and traditional historical research. Further, it is clear that Brabec's work follows a critical research agenda. The central task of her project is critically visualizing the historically marginalized Gullah culture in order to make it more visible to planners and policymakers with the power to affect development on St. Helena Island. Further, widening appreciation for and knowledge of Gullah settlement patterns and cultural centers helps to create an informed public comprising a body of potential advocates who can step in when developers overstep their bounds.

Case #3: Chavis Park "Cellphone Diaries"

This project centers on the use of mobile technology to enable stakeholder-driven asset mapping and leveraging the resultant data to affect planning discourse concerning

[573] Ibid.

Chavis Park, a 26 1/2 - acre public park located in southeast Raleigh, North Carolina built in 1937 as “separate but equal” park for Raleigh’s African American residents.[574] The project was led by Kofi Boone, a professor of landscape architecture at NC State University with a particular interest in Black cultural landscape preservation.

The project engaged Black residents of historic South Park East Raleigh, North Carolina, Raleigh’s largest historically African American community located one mile southeast of the city center, in the use of smartphones to document places that were meaningful to them in Chavis Park, the “green heart” of the South Park East Raleigh community.[575] At the time, the park was undergoing rapid changes that the community interpreted as the loss of significant cultural landscape features. The project was one prong of a multi-pronged effort by NC State researchers to enable neighborhood revitalization organized around a stakeholder-driven community vision plan.[576]

Project participants were trained in the use of smartphones and loaned identical phones to capture and narrate on-site digital videos of places that were meaningful to them in Chavis Park. Most participants were elderly residents who had lived in South Park East Raleigh for most of their lives. The resultant videos were then uploaded and georeferenced in an online map created using the Google My Maps platform. The geolocated videos produced an online tool for spatial analysis and interpretation revealing previously undocumented people, places, and events that were meaningful and significant

[574] Kofi Boone, "Disembodied voices, embodied places: Mobile technology, enabling discourse, and interpreting place," (2015).
[575] Kofi Boone, "Cellphone diaries: Mobile technology and self-authored digital videos in asset mapping," *PRISM: A Journal of Regional Engagement* 1, no. 2 (2012): 7.
[576] Ibid.

to community members that could be disseminated as a catalog of community perceptions of the park's meaning to community members.[577]

The results of this study highlighted the utility of place-based narratives prompted by on-site interactions and captured by smartphones as a tool for engaging with public planning agencies. This can affect planning discourse and activate concerns relating to valued cultural landscapes in historic Black neighborhoods. Boone concludes his research by arguing that "the use of mobile technology constitutes a critical visualization approach that affected the park planning discourse by enabling community people to create material products (videos and maps) that positioned their narratives in multiple discourses beyond the immediate planning context."[578] The power of place-based narratives can be amplified through other channels, including media and arts community outlets, broadening their capacity to affect park planning processes to better reflect the values of the communities involved.

South Park East Raleigh is a clear example of what Kofi Boone terms "racialized topography."[579] In a 2010 CELA conference presentation, he describes the manner in which the patterns of racialized topography came to define the spatial organization and historical trajectory of South Park East Raleigh, a historic Black neighborhood that developed on the outer outskirts of the city of Raleigh.[580] The particular location and context of this project is the most directly similar to the Northeast Community. Wake Forest is located just over 18 miles northeast of Raleigh, and the Northeast Community

[577] Kofi Boone, "Disembodied voices, embodied places," (2015).
[578] Ibid.
[579] Kofi Boone, "Race and Landform – Racialized Topography," (2010).
[580] Ibid.

developed around the same time that South Park East Raleigh did.[581] As such, its particular design situation is perhaps the most directly similar to the Simmons Row design situation.

This project provides another example of a new heritage approach to critical visualization. The project utilizes a mixed methods approach combining digital video capture as the primary data collection method and informed by the PhotoVoice approach to ethnographic research, which puts the power of data capture and representation in the hands of stakeholders themselves, rather than solely in the hands of researchers or experts.[582] These videos were then uploaded, their spatial data extracted, and finally added to an online map created in Google My Maps. The resultant place-based narratives were then analyzed using discourse analysis to articulate and make explicit the ways in which residents valued the cultural landscape as they knew it personally and translate that personal experience to directives and actions aimed at affecting planning discourse determining the physical condition of the landscape.

The project also focuses on the use of mobile technologies, specifically smartphones, while staying mindful of the affordances and limitations of cellphone use for asset mapping. On one hand, smartphones enable participatory and spatial approaches to asset mapping that overcome known barriers to their use, including cost and access to the enabling technologies. When content is captured, the user can also enable the device to geolocate the content by capturing a GPS point where the photo or video is taken. Most smartphones have an in-built GPS which, while usually used for navigation, also

[581] Raleigh Historic Development Commission, "East Raleigh-South Park Historic District," Raleigh National Register Districts. Accessed July 9, 2022. https://rhdc.org/east-raleigh-south-park-historic-district.
[582] Kofi Boone, "Disembodied voices, embodied places," (2015).

enables spatial data capture.[583] On the other, there is a documented digital divide driving smartphone use among people of color. Communities of color often lack Internet access via desktop and laptop and rely on mobile devices as a primary means of access.[584] The project's focus on mobile technologies thus a response to a constraint of the design situation – there is a known digital divide and choosing a tool that people of color are more likely to have access to is one way of addressing that divide.

The project's express intent is to affect planning discourse and broaden capacities for stakeholders to engage planning agencies in ways that ensure that community values and needs are reflected in any development proposals or interventions. Thus, it follows a critical research agenda. The PhotoVoice approach also fits within a critical research agenda by putting the power of data capture and representation in the hands of stakeholders directly, rather than solely in the hands of researchers and other experts. This approach thus enables stakeholders to exercise greater agency over their own place-based narratives.

Case #4: Picturing Mulberry Row

Gardiner Hallock's 2017 study considers the digital reconstruction and visualization of Mulberry Row, a vanished row of workshops, storehouses, and housing that functioned as the working heart of Thomas Jefferson's plantation at Monticello during its years of operation and housed significant portions of Jefferson's free and enslaved workforce. To help visualize the development of Mulberry Row, the Thomas Jefferson Foundation partnered with a team of archaeologists, architectural historians,

[583] Ibid.
[584] Mossey et al, "Harnessing the power of mobile technology to bridge the digital divide," (2019).

and digital rendering professionals to comprehensively model each of the buildings that comprised it as well as the surrounding mountaintop landscape as they would have appeared during three distinct periods: c. 1784, c. 1796, and c. 1816. The project team modelled thirty-two buildings in total and relied on three main sources of documentary evidence: archaeological evidence from past surveys, period documents, and surviving examples of 18th - 19th century vernacular buildings. The process of building the models forced researchers to ask new questions of decades-old evidence, while also creating opportunities for the exploration of new questions concerning the shifting uses, demographics, and social dynamics of Mulberry Row as well as the different spatial and architectural planning methods Jefferson employed to maintain order while enacting his vision for an ideal plantation landscape at Monticello.[585]

The design situation that characterizes the Picturing Mulberry Row project bears a several key similarities to Simmons Row. First, Mulberry Row stands as a relict example of an antebellum-era Black vernacular homespace. Although of an earlier period of significance than Simmons Row, the spatial organization that characterizes Mulberry Row is reflected in Simmons Row – a quality that has fueled speculation as to whether or not the Ailey Young House and other dwellings on Simmons Row could have been modeled on slave housing, if they did not specifically function as slave housing. As such, Mulberry Row may be considered as a precursor to the housing arrangements that would typify later Reconstruction-era Black vernacular homespaces. Most importantly, however, evidence of both Mulberry Row and Simmons Row has become increasingly

[585] Gardiner Hallock, "Object Lesson: 'Build the Negro Houses near Together': Thomas Jefferson and the Evolution of Mulberry Row's Vernacular Landscape," *Buildings & Landscapes: Journal of the Vernacular Architecture Forum* 24, no. 2 (2017): 22-36. Accessed September 11, 2021. https://doi.org/10.5749/buildland.24.2.0022

scarce as time has passed as the same forces of marginalization and cultural erasure have diverted resources away from their preservation and toward the preservation of the accepted edifices of the authorized heritage discourse. At Monticello, this is Jefferson's primary dwelling – the 'Big House,' according to Michael Vlach.[586] At Wake Forest, this is the middle-to-upper class dwellings concentrated in the area of North Main Street, just on the other side of the railroad tracks, now preserved as a local historic district.

The Picturing Mulberry Row project stands as an example of new heritage visualization and interpretation for several reasons. In terms of research methods, the project clearly employs a mixed-methods approach combining historical archaeology, oral history, and digital reconstruction. Its use of new media technologies, namely 3D modeling and digital storytelling, is also characteristic. Regarding the digital reconstruction methods employed, this project is also notable for its rigorous procedures for maintaining adherence to empirical evidence, rather than conjecture, and for communicating uncertainty concerning less-documented landscape features to audiences of interpretive content. In this way, the project team's approach is well within the guidelines proposed by the London Charter.

The Picturing Mulberry Row project also clearly exemplifies a critical research agenda. Namely, the project team took on the project as a part of greater effort to reckon with the Thomas Jefferson's legacy as a slaveholder, and the ways in which he not only employed slave labor at Monticello but also organized the space of his plantation to exhibit control of its operations and enslaved inhabitants. In this way, the project sheds light on the ways that Jefferson and his contemporaries used space as an instrument of

[586] Vlach, *Back of the Big House* (1993).

control over Black bodies and labor. The project also sheds light on the lived experience of the enslaved people who lived and worked at Monticello. As the authors write, the express intention of their efforts is to "re-establish a more inclusive power of place" at Monticello.[587]

Case #5: The New Philadelphia AR Tour

This project centers on the vanished town of New Philadelphia, preserved and managed by National Park Service today as the New Philadelphia National Historic Landmark. Located in Pike County, Illinois, New Philadelphia was the first town platted and founded by an African American in the United States. Through this project, the project team explores augmented reality as a way of re-associating meaning with historic sites that lack material remnants. They also contest the idea that a site is not worthy of interpretation if nothing material remains.[588] The project team employs a mixed-methods approach to their digital reconstructions, drawing on a range of historic documents, archaeological evidence, a sketch generated by a former resident, and representations of similar 19th century buildings as referents. The resultant intervention, a mobile augmented reality app, allows visitors to walk through the site, view digital reconstructions of historic buildings in their original location, and learn about the community's history through immersive multimedia content.

The project design situation relates to Simmons Row by a shared history of Black freedom-seeking during the 19th and early 20th centuries, as well as a shared

[587] Gardiner Hallock, "Mulberry Row: Telling the Story of Slavery at Monticello," *SiteLINES: A Journal of Place* 14, no. 2 (2019): 3–8, https://www.jstor.org/stable/26608851.
[588] Amakawa and Westin. "New Philadelphia," (2018).

marginalization by the authorized heritage discourse. This manifests not only in the physical disappearance of the New Philadelphia landscape but also in the scarcity of records, artifacts, and other cultural remnants relating to it. The town was abandoned in the early 20th century as a result of economic decline following the railroad company's decision against locating a train station there. Historical research suggests that this decision may have been racially motivated.[589] The erasure of New Philadelphia thus constitutes an example of the ways that disinvestment can literally and figuratively wipe Black settlements from the map. Until extensive archaeological investigations of the site began, the site had remained largely absent from the historic record. Even today, with the base of archaeological and historical evidence that has been gathered to recall the settlement's history, the site remains a challenge to interpret, as almost nothing physically remains to suggest its presence aside from the site itself and the stories tied to it.[590] This type of site – rich in history but lacking material edification of that history – is typical of the range of sites that frequently fall outside the authorized heritage discourse.

The project exemplifies a new heritage approach to visualization and interpretation centering on the use of mobile augmented reality technology to complement on-site visitation by not only making vanished landscape features visible but also interactive for visitors. By putting New Philadelphia not only back on the map but literally overlaid on the landscape before visitors' eyes, the project effectively flips the notion that a historic site lacking in material remains can't effectively capture the attention of visitors and convey the meanings and significance associated with it to them. In this way, the New Philadelphia project constitutes a critical visualization. Further, by

[589] Ibid.
[590] Ibid.

adopting an interpretive approach requiring minimal physical infrastructure beyond the placement of target marker signs to enable to augmented reality app, the approach adopted by the project team also aligns with site managers' efforts to preserve the integrity of the archaeological resources that do remain.

Case #6: The Rosewood Virtual Heritage Project

The Rosewood Virtual Heritage Project integrates a wide range of data through a mixed-methods approach to heritage visualization and interpretation. The project centers on the history of Rosewood, Florida – a Black settlement destroyed by a racist mob in 1923. Though physically destroyed, community residents and their descendants survived and remain committed to ensuring that the history of Rosewood does not disappear from public memory. Utilizing evidence gathered through a mixture of historical archaeology, ethnography, oral history, and GIS-based mapping and spatial analysis, the primary investigator for the project employs a range of new media technologies traditionally used by the video game industry, as well as more traditional 3D modelling, virtual reality, and digital storytelling tools, to digitally reconstruct Rosewood and interpret it for the public in a dynamic, interactive, and thought-provoking way.[591]

The design situation that characterizes Rosewood parallels that of Simmons Row not so much through a direct correlation between their historical trajectories – outright violence never factored into Simmons Row's disappearance from the landscape for example – but rather through the fact that both stand as mid-19th century examples of majority Black communities established as an expression of Black freedom-seeking

[591] González-Tennant and González-Tennant, "The Practice and Theory of New Heritage for Historical Archaeology," (2016)

following Emancipation. Both were closely entwined with an array of social and cultural institutions founded by freed Blacks following Emancipation. As the residents of Simmons Row were deeply involved in the spiritual, educational, and mutual aid-focused organizations in the Northeast Community, so too were the residents of Rosewood who built their own respective institutions. At its height, Rosewood became a Black enclave in its own right, with three churches, a Black masonic temple, and a Black school.[592] The respective design situations of Simmons Row are also linked by the absence of physical traces in the landscape today, which poses significant challenges to interpretation. The histories of both landscapes are similarly marginalized and of limited visibility in public memory today. Further, as with so many other examples of relict Black homespaces, fragmentary records, posing challenges to historical research, interpretation, and visualization.

The project began as a counter-mapping effort intended to reconstruct the boundaries of the hundreds of individual plots that had made up Rosewood. As the town had never been officially incorporated, no official maps exist to illustrate its historic boundaries. The primary investigator matched these reconstructed plot boundaries to census records, oral histories, and related historical maps in order to reconstruct the social as well as the physical fabric of the community. Over time, as this evidence base grew, González-Tennant – the primary investigator for the project – began to digitally reconstruct the community using 3D modeling and video game technologies. To disseminate the resultant digitally-reconstructed landscape to a broader audience, the

[592] Edward González-Tennant, "New Heritage and Dark Tourism: A Mixed Methods Approach to Social Justice in Rosewood, Florida," *Heritage & Society* 6, no. 1 (2013): 62-88, https://doi.org/10.1179/2159032X13Z.0000000007.

primary investigator explored the use of virtual world environments such as the popular avatar-based social media platform Second Life, as well as more conventional browser-based approaches, to give users the opportunity to explore historically accurate visualizations of the long-vanished landscape of Rosewood.[593]

González-Tennant's interpretation of the Rosewood site is heavily informed by Black feminist and intersectional theory, and focuses particularly on the ways that the systemic, symbolic, and interpersonal legacies of racially-motivated violence throughout American history persist in present forms of racial injustice and inequity.[594] As such, the project clearly exhibits a critical research agenda and is expressly centered on the argument that racially motivated violence is not limited to the past but remains systemically embedded in American society today.

Conclusion

Having primed the multiple-case study, I can now move on to the individual case studies themselves. I will begin with Case #1: The Freedom Colonies Atlas & Study.

[593] González-Tennant and González-Tennant, "The Practice and Theory of New Heritage for Historical Archaeology," (2016).
[594] Ibid.

CHAPTER VII

CASE #1: THE TEXAS FREEDOM COLONIES ATLAS & STUDY

Introduction

Sitton and Conrad define freedom colonies as "dispersed communities...places unplatted and unincorporated, individually unified only by church and school and resident's collective belief that a community existed […]."[595] Researchers particularly emphasize the latter element – residents' collective belief – which together comprise a distinct sociocultural geography that is both unique east Texas and resemblant of Black settlement geographies across the United States. Freedom colonies were specifically founded between 1865 and 1930s in bottomlands near the coast in east Texas, usually near former plantations. Their location in bottomlands makes these settlements particularly vulnerable to flooding and hurricane damage. Freedom colonies almost always began in isolated rural areas as clusters of independent landowners. The difference between freedom colonies and other types of Black settlement, however, is the elements of choice and agency that characterize their founding. Rather than being relegated to the periphery against their will, the Black founders of freedom colonies freely chose to establish their homeplaces, and actively sought out isolated rural locations well beyond the white gaze.[596]

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[595] Sitton, Thad, and James H Conrad. *Freedom Colonies: Independent Black Texans in the Time of Jim Crow*. University of Texas Press, 2005.
[596] Roberts, Andrea. "Saving Texas Freedom Colonies," (2020), 1-3.

The Texas Freedom Colonies Atlas is an initiative of The Texas Freedom Colonies Project, a social justice-oriented research project initiated by Dr. Andrea Roberts in 2014 as an outgrowth of her doctoral research on freedom colonies in Jasper and Newton Counties. The purpose of Roberts's initial research was to "ground truth" the findings of Sitton and Conrad, whose 2005 book *Freedom Colonies: Independent Black Texans in the Time of Jim Crow*, mapped the location of 14 freedom colonies in Newton and Jasper Counties. Roberts employed a mixed-methods approach, drawing on the methodologies of action research, co-curation via ethnography, and cultural resource surveying. Roberts also positions her work as deep mapping and "memory work," per the cultural and historical geographer Derek Alderman.[597] To present the results of her research, Roberts leverages digital humanities methods – namely participatory GIS, with an emphasis on crowdsourcing volunteered geographical and historical information relating to freedom colonies submitted by freedom colony descendants.[598]

For her fieldwork, Roberts employed traditional historical research as well as ethnography, oral history, formal and informal interviewing, and other documentary methods to collect data on present grassroots placekeeping and preservation efforts led by freedom colony descendants. Dr. Roberts's research in Newton and Jasper Counties also revealed the locations of 35 freedom colonies in the county, 21 of which were previously unidentified by Sitton and Conrad in 2005.[599]

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[597] For a recent example of memory work in practice, see Inwood, Joshua F., Anna Livia Brand, and Derek Alderman. "Truth-Telling and Memory-Work in Montgomery's Co-Constituted Landscapes." *ACME: An International Journal for Critical Geographies* XX (2022).
[598] Roberts, Andrea. "Thick-Mapping Vanishing Black Places," 2020.
[599] Biazar, Mohammad Javad. "Participatory Mapping GIS Tools for Making Hidden Places Visible: A Case Study of the The Texas Freedom Colonies Atlas," Master's Professional Paper, (Texas A&M University, 2019), 4. Available electronically from https://oaktrust.library.tamu.edu/handle/1969.1/177491.

A specific goal of Dr. Roberts's research is to geotag intangible heritage relating to descendants' placemaking, preservation, and oral traditions, as well as to literally put freedom colonies "on the map" in order to make them more visible to public planning agencies with the power to allocate resources toward their protection. The Atlas represents the tangible result of these efforts and was undertaken in cooperation with graduate research assistant and urban planning master's candidate Mohammad Javad Biazar. As a discursive planning and preservation tool, the Atlas is intended to serve as a platform for connecting descendant communities' counter-narratives to the counter-mapped places visualized by the Atlas. In this way, the Texas Freedom Colonies Atlas centers the spatial narratives of descendant communities rather than just engaging and extracting them. Beginning with an initial pre-study list drawn from a variety of sources, the project has mapped 357 of 557 known freedom colonies, capturing not only their location but also the stories, challenges, problems, and best practices that characterize their respective descendant communities' grassroots placekeeping, preservation, and planning efforts.[600]

The Texas Freedom Colonies Atlas was undertaken in two phases. The first phase focused on offline mapping and involved the conversion of a pre-study list of place names relating to known freedom colonies into a geodatabase, which was then converted to a GIS-based map. Biazar and Roberts utilized MS Excel and MS Access for the initial data cleaning, database conversion, and assigning of unique geographic identifies, before

[600] Roberts, Andrea, and Mohammad Javad Biazar. "Black Placemaking in Texas: Sonic and Social Histories of Newton and Jasper County Freedom Colonies." *Current Research in Digital History* 2 (2019).

joining the resultant database to county, state, and municipal-level geographic information in ArcMap.[601]

The second phase of the Atlas project leveraged ArcGIS Online to design a web-based mapping application that enabled public users to both view freedom colony locations and information through an interactive interface and to upload data relating to unmapped freedom colonies via an ArcGIS Survey123-based survey form. In this way, the online map functions as a tool for both heritage interpretation and as a tool for gathering crowdsourced data directly from freedom colony descendants and other members of the public.[602]

Phase One: Offline Mapping

The first phase of the Atlas mapping project consisted of five discrete steps: (1) compiling the pre-study list, (2) finding matching names, (3) verifying the results of the name-matching process, (4) searching for unlocated places, and (5) combining the results and creating the final map.[603]

Step One: Compiling the Pre-Study List

The first step, compiling the pre-study list, built directly on Roberts's previous research identifying and documenting freedom colonies in Newton and Jaspers counties. Drawing on this research and combining it with the index of Sitton and Conrad's 2005 book, *Freedom Colonies: Independent Black Texans in the Time of Jim Crow* as well as

[601] Biazar, "Participatory Mapping GIS Tools for Making Hidden Places Visible" (2019), 39.
[602] Ibid.
[603] Ibid.

publicly available data from the National Register of Historic Places and the Texas Historic Site Atlas, Roberts compiled a list of 557 freedom colonies located in east Texas. Roberts entered these place names into an MS Excel spreadsheet, organizing them by county name and listing the number of freedom colonies per county. Each freedom colony was also assigned a unique geographic identifier in order to aid mapping undertaken in subsequent steps. Having compiled the pre-study list, the researchers then converted the resulting MS Excel spreadsheet to a searchable database in MS Access that would allow them to perform the queries necessary for the next step of offline mapping phase, finding matching names.[604]

Step Two: Finding Matching Names

Having converted their pre-study list to a searchable database in MS Access, the researchers' next task was to confirm the existence of the listed freedom colonies and map their known locations by cross-referencing the pre-study list with relevant publicly available datasets listing officially recognized settlements, place names, and historic sites. To accomplish this task, the research team drew on the following six datasets:

- US Census Bureau Designated Places
- Integrated Public Use Microdata Series (IPUMS) Places
- National Historical Geographic Information System (NHGIS) Places
- United States Geological Survey (USGS) Place Names
- Texas Historical Commission Historical Markers
- Texas Historical Commission Cemeteries

[604] Ibid, 39-40.

- US National Register

GIS-based map layers and their associated databases were downloaded from each source and subsequently prepared for further analysis. Discrete actions taken to prepare the data included data cleaning, identification of common fields, deletion of irrelevant fields, and matching field names and place name formats across datasets. The cross-referencing analysis itself was carried out by performing a series of SQL queries in MS Access that allowed the researchers to compare names associated with geographic points across the six datasets with freedom colonies listed on the pre-study list to identify both fully and partially matching records.[605] By undergoing this process, the research team was able to match the names of 347 of the 557 place names included on the pre-study list to known locations.

Step Three: Results Verification

Matching place names to known locations did not necessarily guarantee that the researchers had identified the true location of freedom colonies, however, nor even does it guarantee that the matched location was in fact a freedom colony at any point in its history. As such, further verification was merited. Researchers accomplished the task of verification by cross-referencing the 347 matched place names and locations they had identified against information from the Texas State Historical Association (TSHA) Online Handbook – a rich historical database providing contextual information spanning the entire history of human settlement in east Texas. By undergoing this additional round

[605] Ibid, 40-44.

of cross-referencing, the research team was able to organize the 347 matched place names and locations they had identified into four distinct categories:

1. **Located**, meaning that the location of the settlement and its history as a freedom colony had been verified;
2. **Located – Relationship to African-Americans Needs More Research**, meaning that the location of the settlement had been verified but its history as a freedom colony was uncertain;
3. **Located in Multiple Locations**, meaning that the settlement had been associated with a different location in the TSHA Handbook than had been suggested by other datasets; and
4. **Not Located**, meaning that neither the location of the settlement nor its history as a freedom colony could be verified.[606]

Table 8. Number of freedom colonies by locating status and data source

Data Source	Matched Names*	Located	Located – Need more Research	Not Located
USGS Place Names	324	216	86	22
THSA Cemeteries	170	114	52	4
TSHA Handbook	90	78	12	0
THSA Historical Markers	72	56	8	8
Newton & Jasper Pilot Study	35	35	0	0
Census Designated Places	19	19	0	0
IPUMS NHGIS Places	19	19	0	0
US National Register	7	5	0	2

** These numbers include duplicates and might overlap as a freedom colony might be among the results from more than one data source. Therefore, they don't add up to the total number of freedom colonies.*

Figure 54: Table illustrating distribution of four categories of mapped Freedom Colonies. These preliminary results were foundational to later mapping efforts. Image by MJ Biazar.

[606] Ibid, 47.

Step Four: Searching for Unlocated Places

Having organized their findings into the four categories outlined above, the next step toward mapping the 557 known freedom colonies would focus on the latter three categories, as well as the 114 freedom colonies whose place names were not matched to records available in any of the six datasets cross-referenced in Step Two. The research team consulted a variety of other data sources including the TSHA Handbook, Google Maps, and Wikipedia in order to compile evidence relating to these settlements and were able to successfully locate 80 freedom colonies that would otherwise have remained unverified. The TSHA Handbook, in particular, proved critical to this step.[607]

Step Five: Combining Results and Creating the Final Map

The final step before adding the final geodatabase to ArcMap was aggregating the results of aforementioned steps with the results of previous research. The database resulting from the aforementioned steps was combined with the 35 freedom colonies identified through Dr. Roberts's doctoral research. Finally, having aggregated the results, the research team divided the 557 original place names from the pre-study list into three final categories reflecting their location status for the purposes of mapping: (1) Located, encompassing 357 settlements; (3) Located – Need more Research, encompassing 86 settlements; and (3) Not located, encompassing 114 settlements.[608]

[607] Ibid, 48.
[608] Ibid.

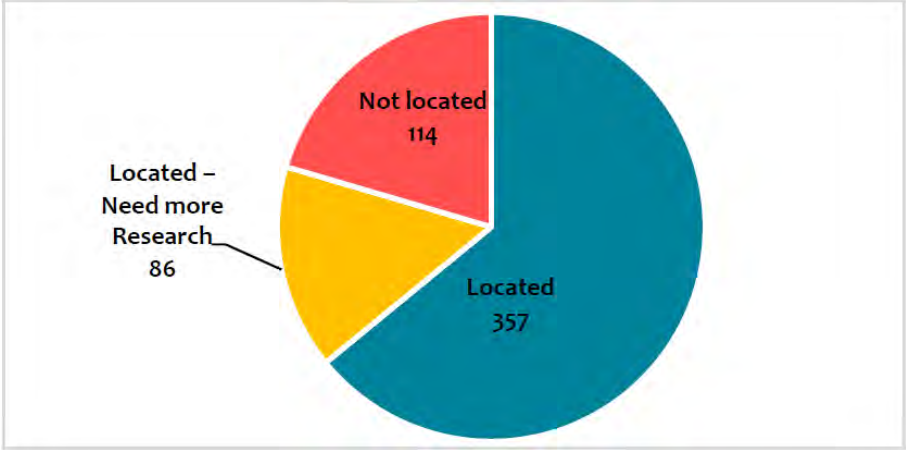


Figure 55: The four categories used to organize freedom colonies by their location status and data source in Figure 52 were streamlined into three categories during the final stage of mapping. Categories such as “Located – Need More Research” and “Not Located” suggest avenues by which Atlas users may contribute to the map via the project team’s various crowdsourcing channels. Image by MJ Biazar.

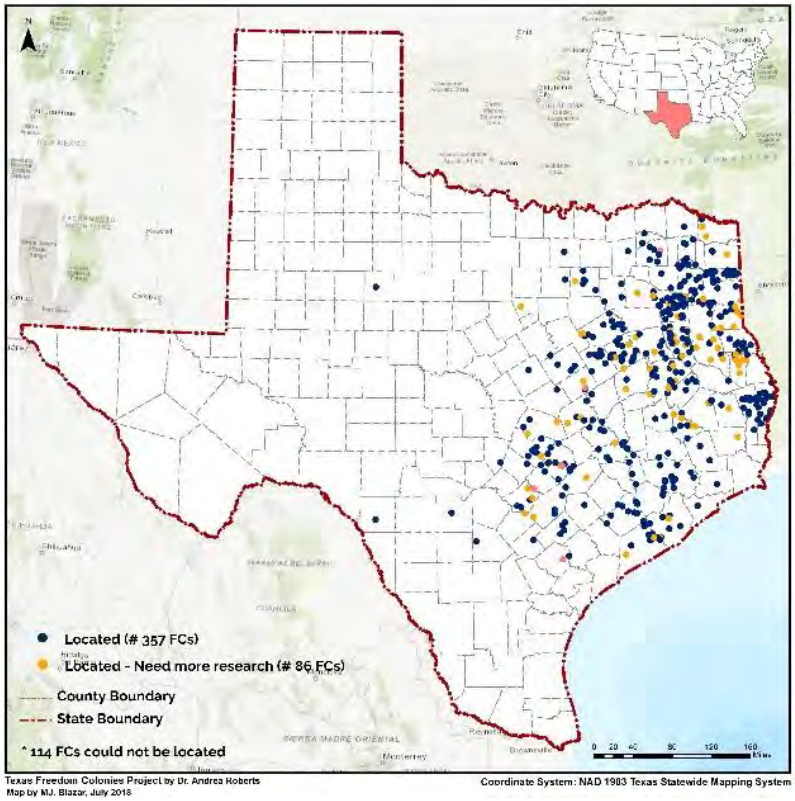


Figure 56: This map illustrates the project team’s initial efforts to locate freedom colonies in east Texas and organize them best on their documentation status. Once uploaded to the online, publicly accessible Texas Freedom Colonies Atlas, freedom colony descendants could look to these preliminary results in order to pinpoint avenues by which to contribute their own data and content. Map by MJ Biazar.

Phase Two: Online Mapping and Crowdsourcing

Once the research team was able to upload their mapped freedom colony dataset to ArcGIS Online, they then proceeded to design a web-based crowdsourced mapping tool. This tool is comprised of two components: (1) an interactive web-based mapping tool, and (2) online survey forms linked to the map that enables crowdsourced data collection. The web-based mapping tool enables users not only to visualize the distribution and documentation status of freedom colonies in east Texas, but also allows them to submit edits and additions of their own. The survey forms – offered as both short and long versions – further enable public participation by allowing users to submit geolocated photos, videos, recordings, origin narratives, historical accounts, and other data to the research team. Once vetted, user submissions are then added to a unique layer of the online map expressly intended for user additions.[609]

The research team utilized three Esri products – namely, ArcGIS Online, ArcGIS Online Web App Builder, and Survey123 – to design the online maps, web interfaces, and survey forms. The resultant application is accessible across numerous devices, including desktops, laptops, smartphones, and tablets. By combining the mapping and interactive capabilities of ArcGIS Online with the data collection capabilities of Survey123 and providing operability across a range of devices, the Texas Freedom Colonies Atlas offers numerous avenues for public participation in the process of making Texas freedom colonies visible.[610]

[609] Ibid, 50-51.
[610] Ibid, 50-55.

The application was developed over several iterations. To date, four discrete versions of the Atlas have been released: 1) Beta 1.0, 2) Critical Places Class (CPC) version, 3) Version 2.0, and (4) Version 2.1. Each iteration shares a common suite of components but utilizes different web interfaces to enable different user capabilities.[611] Further, each new iteration improves upon the last.

Beta 1.0:

The Beta 1.0 version of the Atlas offers users several ways of interacting with the map. Basic navigation tools like a zoom bar, default extend, and "My Location" finder allow the user to adjust their view to the desired scale and compare their current location to mapped freedom colony locations. Other tools common to GIS interfaces enable users to change the underlying basemap, toggle different data layers, and view the map legend.[612] When users select a specific freedom colony, the attribute information associated with it is displayed as a pop-up window. The administrator managing the web map can customize what data is displayed and how users may view it. In this way, users may draw a direct link between freedom colony locations and the geotagged documentary evidence associated with that location.[613]

Aside from these general features, four additional tools enable users to explore mapped freedom colonies and contribute their own information relating to them: (1) Filter, (2) Search Freedom Colonies, (3) Add a New Freedom Colony, and (4) Create a Report. The "Filter" tool allows the user to limit viewable data points only to either

[611] Ibid, 56.
[612] Ibid, 56-61.
[613] Ibid.

specific freedom colonies or to those freedom colonies located within particular counties. The “Search Freedom Colonies” tool enables users to query the freedom colony database for specific settlements within each county. The “Add a Freedom Colony” tool allows users to add to the crowdsourced data layer of the map by creating geographic points and associating settlement-related data to them via their corresponding attribute table. The "Create a Report” tool allows users to generate a summary report for either specific freedom colonies or for all of the settlements within a specific county and export it for download as a PDF or CSV dataset.[614]

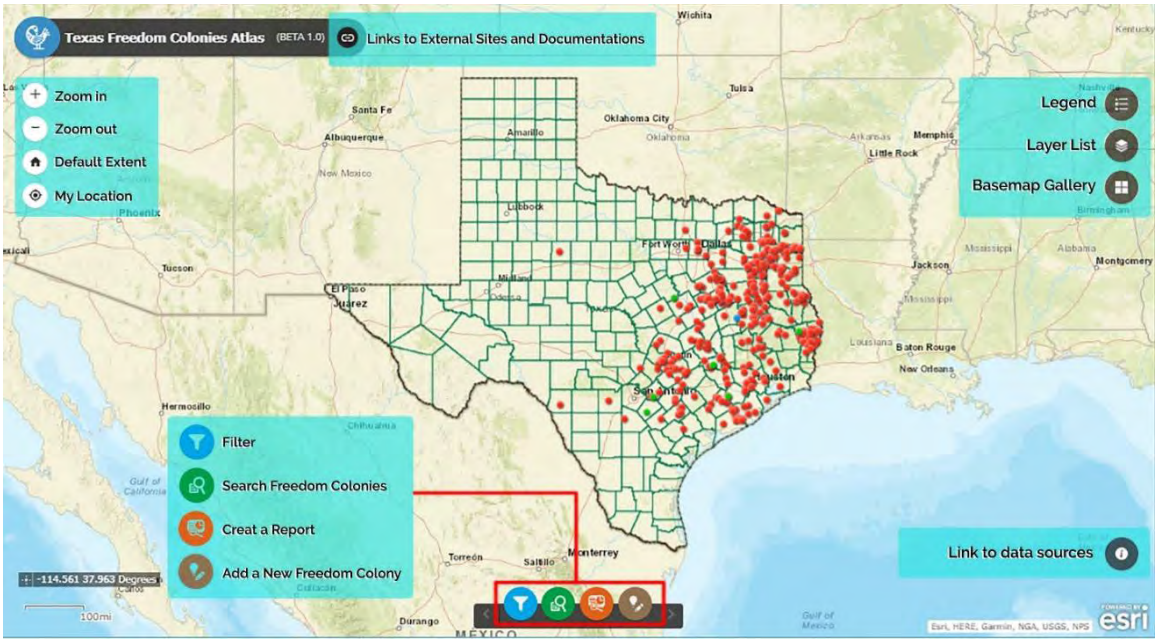


Figure 57: The Beta 1.0 version of the Texas Freedom Colonies Atlas user interface included only a basic suite of tools and features, but still enabled users to contribute their own data. Image by MJ Biazar.

[614] Ibid.

The Beta 1.0 version of the Atlas was publicly launched on July 12th, 2018. Users were invited to submit feedback on the web interface and survey form designs. This feedback directly informed the next iteration of the Atlas.

CPC Version:

This iteration of the Atlas was designed specifically for a class on Critical Place Studies that Dr. Roberts taught in the fall of 2018 at Texas A&M University. The purpose of this iteration was to leverage Dr. Roberts's class as a user test group as well as to assess the application's potential as an engaged and participatory pedagogical tool for similarly focused university-level courses.[615]

The CPC version of the Atlas utilized the same layout as Beta 1.o but was designed with key differences in terms of its constitutive components, features, and openness to public viewing. Namely, Beta 1.0 was open to any member of the public to use, whereas the CPC version was only available to students enrolled in Dr. Roberts's Critical Place Studies class. Students could access the CPC version by logging into ArcGIS Online via their institutional accounts associated with Texas A&M. This, in turn, enabled the site's administrators – the project's primary researchers – to track student activities, data submissions, and edits for the purpose of vetting their contributions.[616]

The CPC version of the Atlas also offered expanded opportunities for interaction with the map to Dr. Roberts's students. In addition to the tools and features available in Beta 1.0, the CPC version introduced four new tools: (1) Add Data, (2) Measurement, (3) Attribute Table, and (4) Edit. The "Add Data" tool enabled users to upload new data

[615] Ibid, 62-24.
[616] Ibid.

layers either from their own devices or online for the purposes of spatial analysis. The "Measurement" tool enabled users to roughly measure distance and area on the map in their desired units. The "Attribute Table" tool enabled users to view the attribute tables associated with specific data layers and map features as well as to export the data contained in each table as a CSV file. Finally, the "Edit" tool enabled users to modify the appearance and location of existing map features as well as their associated attribute data.[617]

Aside from the addition of these new tools, the distinguishing feature of the CPC version was the way it enabled users to edit existing map features on their associated attribute table data. This feature had been disabled in Beta 1.0 in order to minimize the risk of user error, such as the accidental deletion of point features and their associated data. Further, as public users of Beta 1.0 were not required to sign in to ArcGIS Online in order to use it, tracking map edits would have been impossible. Because students had to sign in to ArcGIS Online via their institutional account, the project team could monitor and vet their contributions.[618]

[617] Ibid.
[618] Ibid.

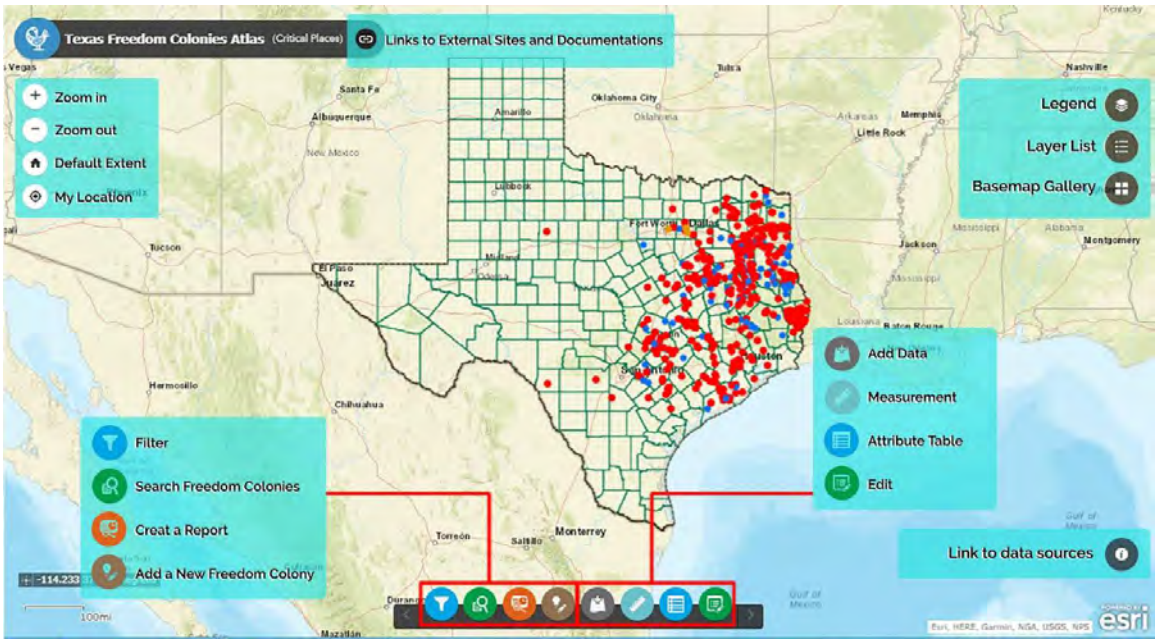


Figure 58: The CPC version of the Atlas user interface included the addition of buttons for adding data, taking measurements, accessing the attribute table containing the data behind the features visible on the map, and an "Edit" tool for adjusting or adding to this data. This version was only available to students enrolled in Dr. Andrea Roberts's Critical Place Studies class. Image by MJ Biazar.

Version 2.0:

Based on feedback solicited from users of the Beta 1.0 and CPC versions of the Atlas, the project team designed version 2.0 to address user-identified issues and optimize the capabilities of the web interface. Previous versions of the Atlas had directed users to either the online map or the survey forms as separate web pages. In order to streamline access to both tools, version 2.0 integrated all Atlas components – the interactive mapping tool, long-form survey and short-form survey – into a single interface via the ArcGIS Online Map Series template. This template allows users to toggle between web pages through a series of tabs visible at the top of the page.[619]

[619] Ibid, 65-68.

In addition to the same suite of tools and features included in Beta 1.0 and the CPC version, three new tabs were added to the Atlas 2.0 interface: a “Welcome” page, an “Atlas Guidebook,” and an “About the Project” page. The “Welcome” page oriented users to the Atlas web interface and introduced them to navigating the various tabs as well as using the web mapping and survey tools. The “Atlas Guidebook” tab directed users to a PDF document offering detailed guidance on how to best utilize the Atlas's various tools. The “About the Project” page introduces users to the Texas Freedom Colonies Project and situates the Atlas within the Project’s other initiatives.[620]

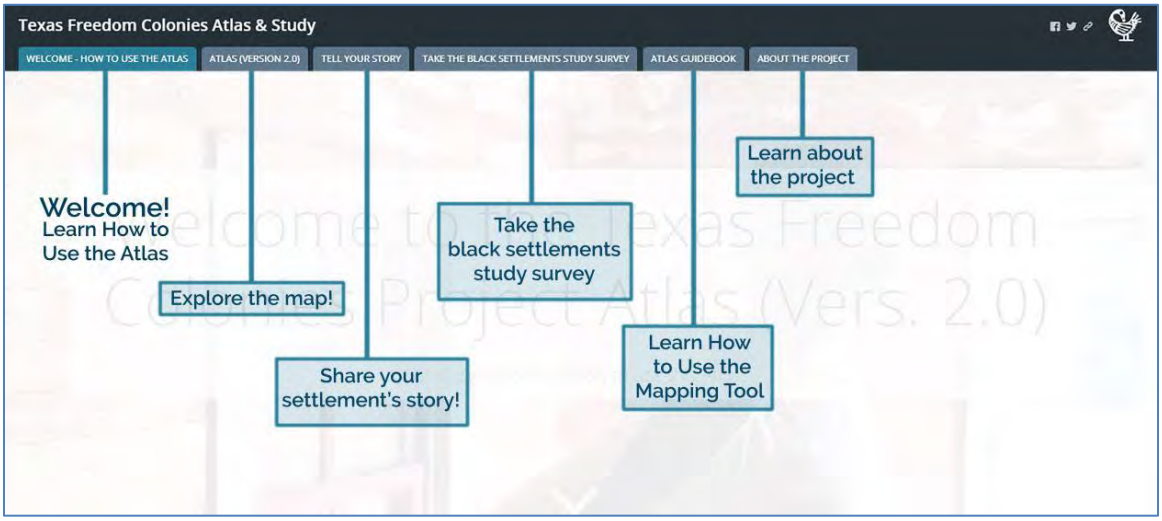


Figure 59: The Atlas 2.0 welcome page includes the addition of several features enabling users to contribute data to the map as well as orienting first-time users to the Texas Freedom Colonies Project. Image by MJ Biazar.

The Atlas 2.0 mapping tool combines the features and capabilities of the previous two iterations into a single interface. All tools and features of the Beta 1.0 version were retained, with the addition of the “Attribute Table” tool originally added to the CPC

[620] Ibid.

version. Additionally, a “Print” and “Full Screen” tool were added to the interface as well.[621]

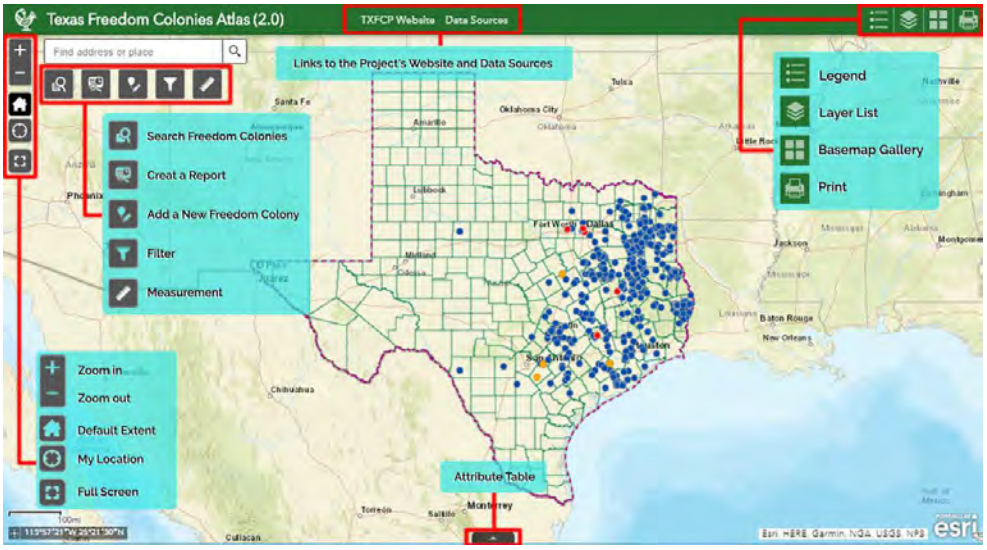


Figure 60: The 2.0 version of the Atlas mapping tool includes the addition of several buttons for filtering data, creating summary reports from data associated with particular freedom colonies, and toggling between different base map layers. Image by MJ Biazar.

By integrating these components into a single web interface, the project team greatly improved ease of use for users of the Atlas. The research team also improved ease of use by simplifying the information that users are presented with in pop-ups. Previously, the information provided had been more detailed and extensive – now, community origin stories and other information are abbreviated into more concise summaries, thus reducing the information to more immediately digestible chunks appropriate to quick map browsing. Additionally, the project team enabled pop-ups to display attachments so that users may view photos, scanned documents, and other content to deepen their understanding of particular communities.[622]

[621] Ibid.
[622] Ibid.

In providing new users with a detailed introduction to the map as well as guidance on how to best leverage its various capabilities, the project team not only improved overall functionality but further empowered freedom colony descendants by providing them the tools they need to directly participate in countermapping and the creation and dissemination of counternarratives. Additionally, by streamlining the content displayed in pop-up windows and making it easier for users to view more specific, personal content submitted by descendant communities, the project team broadened the Atlas's capacity for engagement and retaining user interest. The Texas Freedom Colonies Atlas Version 2.0 replaced the Beta 1.0 version on April 2019.[623]

Version 2.1:

Version 2.1 of the Atlas is the latest iteration and is currently available at the project website. This updated version utilizes all of the same features and tools as Version 2.0 with some minor additions. Namely, two new tabs have been added to the web interface: a "Dashboard" tab and a "Visual History" tab.[624]

[623] Ibid.
[624] "Texas Freedom Colonies Atlas 2.1," The Texas Freedom Colonies Project. Web. Accessed June 2, 2022. https://www.thetexasfreedomcoloniesproject.com/atlas

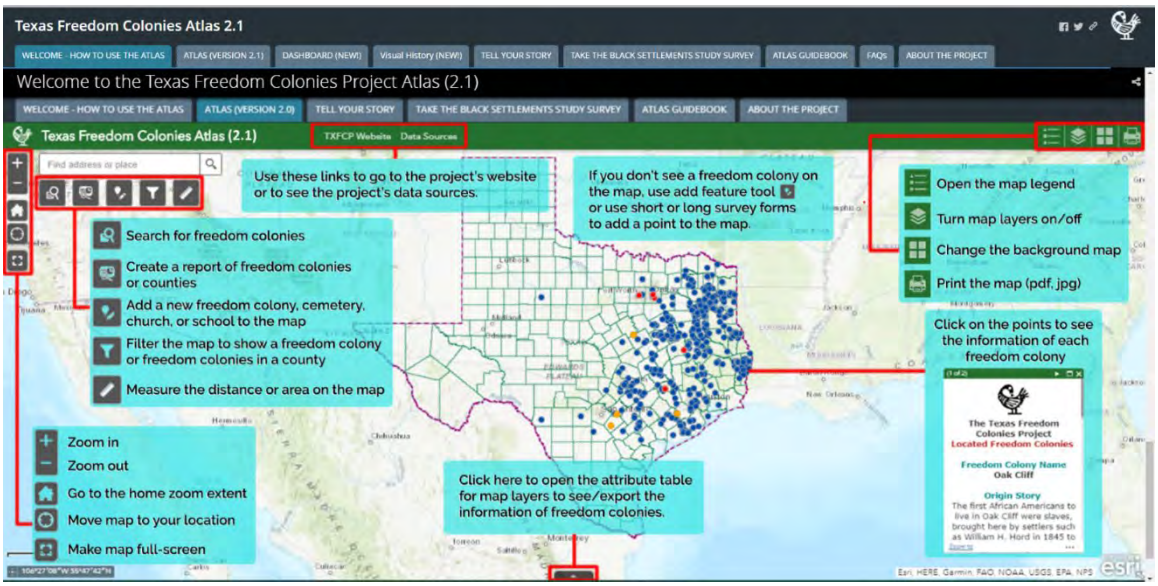


Figure 61: The Atlas 2.1 user interface represents the most recent iteration of the Texas Freedom Colonies Atlas. Image by MJ Biazar.

The "Dashboard" tab directs users to a new web page which provides an overview of the mapping project status and accomplishments. These web page features two main sidebars. The left side of the screen features a static side bar which provides the numbers on the four categories used to distinguish between degrees of documentation for each freedom colony. According to this sidebar, 427 freedom colonies have been located and verified, 214 have been crowdsourced and are under review, 84 have been located and remain to be verified, and 106 have not been located or verified.[625]

An additional sliding sidebar on the right side of the screen allows users to browse the full freedom colony dataset and displays all mapped freedom colonies in alphabetical order. When a user selects a freedom colony from this list, the pop-up associated with it displays on the center screen. Additionally, once they have selected a freedom colony, the

[625] Ibid.

map automatically pans over to the selected settlement and zooms in to it at settlement scale. The pop-ups are similarly formatted to those that appear when users click on freedom colony point features on the main Atlas map interface.[626]

The center screen displays the same map layers that appear in the main Atlas interface, albeit with reduced capabilities. The toolbars that allow users to submit edits and additions to the map, for example, are not present on the dashboard. The Dashboard, then, is intended solely to display information and provide users with a snapshot of the mapping project's current status, rather than providing multiple opportunities for interaction and direct participation in the research.[627]

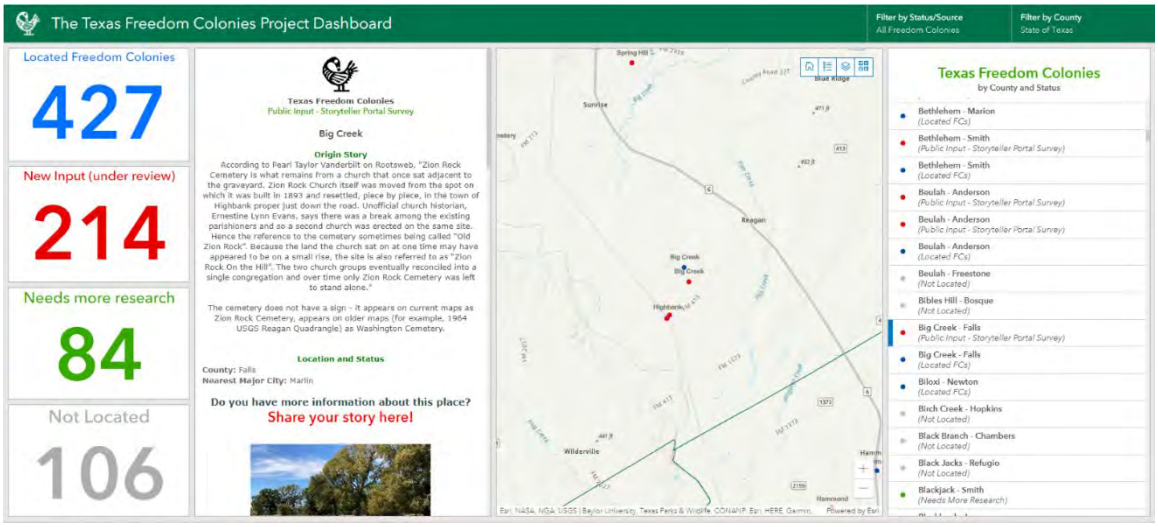


Figure 62: The “Dashboard” tab provides users a snapshot overview of their selected freedom colony’s location and documentation status in relation to the entire Texas Freedom Colonies Atlas dataset. Image by MJ Biazar.

[626] Ibid.
[627] Ibid.

The “Visual History” tab directs users to a web page that expands visualization capabilities of the Atlas web interface and illustrates the ways in which freedom colony documentation is geolocated or geotagged, meaning associated with particular places.

The overall function of these tab appears to be that of an attachment viewer, allowing users to closely examine photos, scanned documents, and other attachments included with the point locations of particular freedom colonies alongside the informational pop-ups displaying their location, status, existing features and structures, and origin stories. Selected freedom colonies appear on the map as highlighted with a cyan halo.[628]

The left side of the screen includes a reduced map view similar to that visible on the Dashboard web page. Users can select individual freedom colonies directly from the map, or enter their names into a search bar at the top of the map screen. The map view then pans over and zooms in to the selected freedom colony. The pop-up associated with the freedom colony is displayed on the lower half of the sidebar. The vast majority of the screen space is taken up by the content viewing window, which allows users to browse between attachments. A sliding zoom bar at the bottom of the screen allows users to zoom in to particular parts of a photo. Some PDF and .jpg content can be downloaded directly.[629]

[628] Ibid.
[629] Ibid.

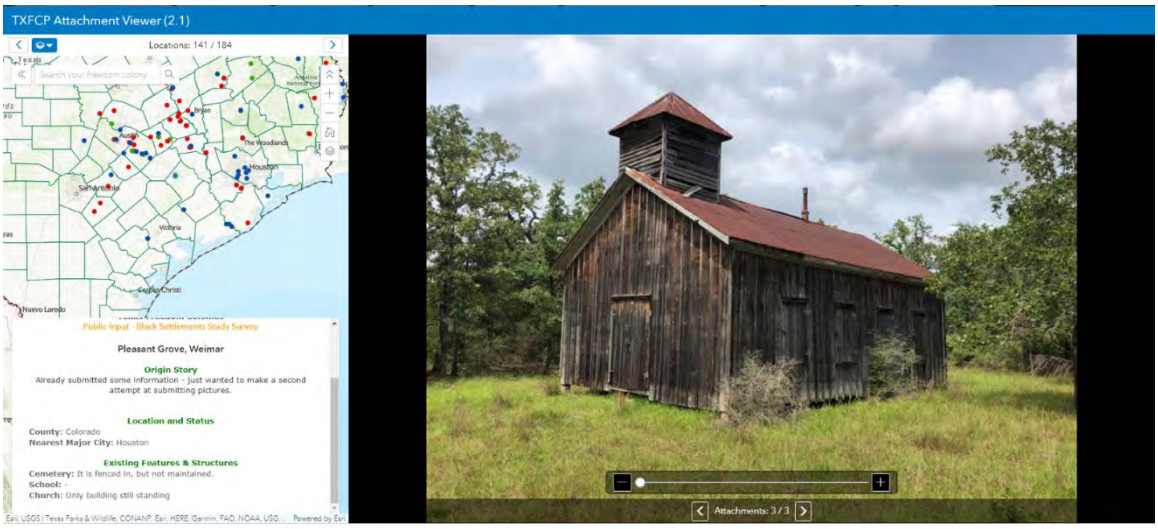


Figure 63: The "Visual History" tab allows users to delve into visual content associated with particular freedom colonies, such as ground photographs submitted by freedom colony descendants. Image by MJ Biazar.

The project team continues to monitor and vet crowdsourced data submissions and periodically updates the content displayed through the Atlas web interface. The project's public outreach team has been expanding its efforts to promote the project while offering support to new users by answering queries and responding to requests. The Atlas has become an important public history and policy tool and is of growing importance – TXDOT, for example, uses the tool to assess historic resources that may be impacted by road expansions and other highway-related projects.[630] As the project continues to gain momentum, the project team will broaden the scope of their work to more fully emphasize the Atlas as a tool for affecting planning discourse.

[630] Roberts, Andrea. "State Transportation Projects Guide: How to Use the Atlas to Identify Projects Impacting Freedom Colonies" prepared by the Texas Freedom Colonies Project for the Texas Department of Transportation (TXDOT). Web. Accessed June 2, 2022. https://issuu.com/freedomcoloniesproject/docs/txfc_20transportation_20booklet_20_6_.

Individual Case Analysis (Case #1)

Of the cases presented, the Texas Freedom Colonies stands as perhaps the best example of the type of intervention that would be most appropriate for visualizing and interpreting Simmons Row. Most notable is the project's reliance on volunteered geographical and historical information collected via crowdsourcing. Crowdsourcing, in this case, functions as a channel for stakeholders to contribute directly to an ongoing and evolving historic narrative. In this way, contributors, stakeholders, descendant communities are positioned as co-researchers and co-authors, rather than merely as informants.

The methodology that Roberts employed for her initial ethnographic fieldwork in Jasper and Newton counties is not unlike the methods employed by the Northeast Community History Project, albeit of a far more extensive rubric and scope. The COVID-19 pandemic has prevented much on-the-ground fieldwork that participants in the Northeast Community History Project could have employed, necessitating a reliance on online sources. With time, the Northeast Community History Project may achieve the same level of documentation. but there is still much to be done to get to this point. Even so, by incorporating Roberts's methods, the Project can continue to add to its existing evidence base and dataset and lend further insight into the placekeeping practices of Northeast Community residents. This constitutes the first "smart" practice.

Perhaps most notable is the Texas Freedom Colonies Project's reliance on ArcGIS Online, as this is the exact platform used to create and host the Northeast Community Story Map. The use of Survey123, a built-in app included with the Story Map platform, for opening a crowdsourcing channel for the Texas Freedom Colonies

Project thus demonstrates how a similar approach could be taken with the existing Northeast Community Story Map. Biazar's extensive documentation of the technical specifics of his process in his master's practicum provides much to go off of in terms of figuring out how to apply this approach to the Northeast Community Story Map. Further, the various iterations of the Texas Freedom Colonies Atlas user interface provide a suite of examples that could be drawn on as inspiration for an updated Story Map interface. The features relating to editing the map and submitting volunteered geographical and historical information could be particularly useful precedents. Finally, the Texas Freedom Colonies Atlas's lasting utility as a reference and planning tool demonstrates the potential for the existing Northeast Community Map to fulfill a similar role, suggesting that a project team working on Simmons Row would do well to leverage this existing asset. This constitutes the second “smart” practice.

In terms of affordances, Esri’s ArcGIS Online platform offers a panoply of tools for creating web-based maps and applications that can further enable public participation in the planning process. This toolkit continues to expand – notably, Biazar and Roberts highlight ArcGIS Collector as an under-explored asset of the ArcGIS Online suite that can make it easier for members of the public to submit volunteered geographical and historical information via their personal mobile devices.[631] By leveraging such tools for the purpose of soliciting public input, planners can ensure inclusivity, engage underrepresented groups, and reap the benefits of crowdsourcing to bring local knowledge into the planning process.

[631] Biazar, "Participatory Mapping GIS Tools for Making Hidden Places Visible” (2019), 82.

In order to reap the full benefits of such an approach, a number of limitations must be taken into account. The use of novel technologies for the purpose of crowdsourcing risks alienating users when the processes involved are overly technical and not clearly explained. Therefore, the digital applications, tools, and other design elements employed must be simple and easily used by the lay public. Additionally, in order to be successful, a crowdsourcing tool must be accompanied by sufficient technical support and documentation. This not only means making static resources like PDF instructions freely available but also, where possible, opening direct channels for technical assistance and troubleshooting between users and the facilitators of the project. Finally, despite their promise, it must be acknowledged that online tools can never replace more traditional methods of soliciting public input such as field surveys, interviews, and ethnographic research – rather, they must always be considered supplementary. This remains particularly pertinent given the limitations imposed by the digital divide in disadvantaged communities.

That being said, the Texas Freedom Colonies Project is notable for the level of support offered to users of the interface. The scale and scope of the Texas Freedom Colonies Project prevents the assignment of personal tech buddies to individual participants, as in the Chavis Park project. Even so, project staff continue to make themselves available via email and phone to field user questions and guide first-time submitters through any issues they run into. Most notably, the project also publishes an extensive guide introducing first-time users to the features of the map and guiding them step-by-step through the procedures for editing the map and submitting volunteered

geographical and historical information.[632] Thus, it is proposed that any approach aiming to open channels for such crowdsourced information must include a robust system of technical support in order to ensure that participants have all the guidance and assistance they need to participate effectively. This constitutes the third "smart" practice.

Something else worth noting about the Texas Freedom Colonies Project is that ArcGIS Online is a proprietary software, and that the creation of content for the story map also necessitated a subscription to ArcGIS Pro. These are proprietary software that are expensive and require some technical expertise to use. Additionally, they are the tools maintained and used by the Town of Wake Forest – in this sense, the publication and maintenance of the map remains in the hands of the Town planning staff. This raises questions about the allocation of labor, responsibility, and authorship, as well as the accessibility of GIS data to the lay public. The greater point here is that there is an expert-driven component here that must be accounted for, in addition to the cost and expertise required to use tools like ArcGIS Online and ArcGIS Pro.

The qualities of freedom colonies themselves, namely the characterizing element of collective agreement and belief in the existence of a distinct community, is one of the most explicit examples among the cases considered of what Schein refers to as the discursive qualities of landscape.[633] It is this intangible yet nonetheless influential belief in the existence of a community that imbues these places with their particular significance. As the physical edifices and landmarks that demarcated, distinguished Black neighborhoods continue to fade from the landscape, these discursive elements become all

[632] Roberts, Andrea, and MJ Biazar. "The Texas Freedom Colonies Atlas 2.1 User Guidebook," prepared by Dr. Andrea Roberts and MJ Biazar for the The Texas Freedom Colonies Project Atlas & Study (March 2019). Web. Accessed June 2, 2022. https://www.thetexasfreedomcoloniesproject.com/atlas.
[633] Schein, "The Place of Landscape," 1997.

the more important to the continuation of the community. Indeed, it is these intangible elements that most define the character of the community. Buildings and structures come and go, but collective memory persists over time and continues to imbue sites with meaning. It is the task of critical visualization to make concrete the connections between collective memory and place in order to reveal the histories and stories often hiding in plain sight, to "make the invisible visible."[634]

The element of collective belief which characterizes freedom colonies in east Texas is also foundational to the contemporary identity of the Northeast Community. In many ways the Northeast Community exists more as a discourse than it does as a physical, geographically-bound entity. With so much of its physical edifices demolished or in decline, and with the neighborhood continuing to undergo rapid physical changes, this element of collective belief remains perhaps the strongest bind holding the community together. The same can be said of Simmons Row – indeed, the name Simmons Row itself exists only in discourse, as a narrative formulated well after its physical disappearance from the landscape. There is no evidence to suggest that this is how residents like Mariah Cooke or Nick Dunn actually referred to their shared homespace. In the end, the only documentary evidence supporting Simmons Row as a placename is a note scrawled in the margins of the 1910 Census by the enumerator assigned to North White Street and the surrounding area. Beyond this, we've no way to tell whether this was simply a name assigned by the enumerator, perhaps drawn from the local vernacular, or if he picked it up during his visits with local residents.[635] For lack of any other convenient reference, the name has stuck.

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[634] Kwan, "Critical visualization in landscape and urban planning," (2015).
[635] Ancestry.com, *1910 United States Federal Census.*

This, in the end, is perhaps the most vital insight to be derived from the Texas Freedom Colonies Project. Historically, Black settlements were distinguishable by physical edifices and boundaries. Over time, many of these edifices and boundaries have disappeared from the landscape, and in their absence the lasting identity of the community becomes reliant on discourse – namely, shared memory and collectively agreed-upon boundaries that exist more in resident's psychological experience of place than they do on any map. As physical relicts continue to erode, discourse and memory takes on a vital role as vessels of community identity. At this point, one of the greatest threats to the ongoing existence of the community is not just physical erasure but also the dwindling presence of lifetime residents who can remember a time when the physical body of the community was more intact. While this insight does not speak directly to any particular "smart" practice, it is vital to understanding the fundamental issue that any proposed interpretive design strategy should be addressing.

Understanding the issue at hand as fundamentally narrative and discursive further highlights the efficacy of counter-narratives and counter-mapping, both essential strategic elements for the Texas Freedom Colonies Project. By positioning participants in the project as co-researchers, rather than simply as informants, the project team democratizes the knowledge production process and empowers freedom colony descendants to exercise greater agency over the ways their heritage is presented and used in the world. A project team would do well to consider the importance and utility of these activities to amending the existing narrative around Simmons Row. Thus, this constitutes the fourth and final "smart" practice.

In all, the Texas Freedom Colonies Project best exemplifies, of the cases surveyed, the desired conditions to be achieved through the process of visualization and interpretation, and best demonstrates the ways in which a new heritage approach to visualizing and interpreting Simmons Row could be scaled up not only to critically visualize the rest of the Northeast Community but could also be applied to similar design situations as well.

Summary List of Applicable "Smart" Practices (Case #1)

- 1.1. Employ a mixed-methods approach to data collection that combines face-to-face ethnographic fieldwork with web-based crowdsourcing.
- 1.2. Where possible, make use of existing assets already employed by the Town of Wake Forest like Esri's ArcGIS Online platform.
- 1.3. Where web-based crowdsourcing is employed, be sure that a robust system for providing troubleshooting and other technical assistance is in place. Compliment this with detailed, step-by-step instructions and other downloadable resources.
- 1.4. Empower stakeholders to engage in counter-mapping and the articulation of counter-narratives by ceding authority and democratizing the knowledge production process.

CHAPTER VIII:

CASE #2: THE GULLAH LAND AND COMMUNITY PROJECT

Introduction

The Gullah are a distinct African American cultural group descended from enslaved people forcibly brought to the United States from Africa and the Caribbean. The Gullah have since inhabited the Sea Island region of the Atlantic coast for over three hundred years, from the colonial era to the present day. Today, the Gullah live in communities across the lower Atlantic coast and are concentrated along the coasts of Georgia and South Carolina. Because of their longstanding presence, record of enduring inhabitation, and uniquely preserved cultural traditions, the Gullah remain one of the most studied cultural groups in the United States.[636]

Gullah culture is uniquely expressed not only through its language, food, religious practices, musical and folkloric traditions, and sociological structures, but also through distinctive patterns of settlement, land tenure, and land use that have left visible traces in the coastal landscape. These patterns are uniquely juxtaposed against those that typify white European American settlement and land use practices. Today, this juxtaposition has resulted in ongoing tensions, encroachments, and erasures derived from fundamentally

[636] Brabec, "Protecting Gullah Land and Community" (2012), 6.

different cultural understandings of land – who owns it, how it is used, and how it is to be responsibly managed.[637]

An extremely attractive region to tourists and developers alike, the southeastern Atlantic coast today is marked by an influx of high-end private residential, retirement communities, and tourist development. This has put growing pressure on the Gullah community and contributed to significant land loss and cultural erosion. This predicament is compounded by the fact that few Gullah heritage sites are well-interpreted. Because few outside the community understand the significance of these sites, as well as the lasting effects of slavery and systemic racism, Gullah cultural landscapes are continually undervalued and overlooked.[638]

Recognizing the cultural significance of the Gullah cultural landscape as well as the various forces threatening its integrity, the federal government designated much of the Sea Island region as the Gullah/Geechee Cultural Heritage Corridor in 2006. While this elevated the importance of the region and led to broad-scale acknowledgment of the significance of the region to American cultural heritage, it has done little to render the cultural landscape visible to the visiting public, much less to the policymakers and planners with the power to affect development decisions that could potentially impact Gullah lands. While the Gullah cultural landscape remains remarkably intact and retains a high degree of integrity, market and development pressures grow more intense every year as coastal tourism and the proliferation of gated retirement communities gains a greater foothold in the region.[639]

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[637] Brabec, Elizabeth, and Sharon Richardson. "A Clash of Cultures: The Landscape of the Sea Island Gullah." *Landscape Journal* 26, no. 1 (2007): 151-167.
[638] Brabec, "Protecting Gullah Land and Community" (2012), 7.
[639] Ibid, .6

Over the last two to three decades, scholars have increasingly drawn attention to the threat that such development poses to the integrity of the Gullah cultural landscape. Namely, tourist and gated community development disrupts traditional Gullah land use practice by building atop valued fishing and material gathering sites, cutting off long-used circulation routes, and oftentimes forcing descendant communities from lands that their families had inhabited for generations. The effects of such pressures are particularly pronounced on Hilton Head Island, where such development has forced Gullah families to abandon their ancestral lands and relocate elsewhere.[640]

Local government officials, policymakers, and land-use planners are limited in their ability to respond to these land-use conflicts mainly by their poor understanding of the Gullah cultural landscape. As such, they tend to undervalue and overlook the cultural significance of lands slated for development. In order to protect and sustain Gullah culture and its unique expressions in the landscape and raise awareness of the characteristic social and spatial patterns that distinguish their communities, coordinated interpretive interventions are needed. Simultaneously, with the growing demand for heritage tourism opportunities, and an overall increase in the tourism sector of Atlantic coastal economies, Gullah communities must also be protected against the potential impacts that increased attention and attractiveness to tourists, particularly for culturally sensitive sites that have historically remained hidden. The end result is what the project team calls "an interpretive paradox: outsiders must understand the culture to comprehend its value, while at the same time local communities are wary of outsiders and of 'Disneyfication,' in the process of celebrating Gullah heritage."[641]

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[640] Brabec and Richardson. "A Clash of Cultures" (2007).
[641] Brabec, "Protecting Gullah Land and Community" (2012), 7.

Research Agenda and Methodology

The Gullah Land and Community project builds on Elizabeth Brabec's prior research on Gullah cultural landscapes, namely her 2007 article, "A Clash of Cultures: The Landscape of the Sea Island Gullah," in which she argues that the Gullah community and cultural values are edified in unique patterns of land use, tenure, and settlement that often clash with dominant white American conceptions of land ownership and appropriate land use, and the privileges that accompany property ownership.[642] By analyzing these land patterns in the context of Gullah cultural history, Brabec argues that policymakers and planners can learn to "read" the Gullah cultural landscape in ways that offer a path toward conciliatory land management regimes that accommodate present development needs without compromising the integrity of this uniquely African American cultural resource.



Figure 64: This circa-1938 photograph depicts a Gullah family compound located near Charleston, South Carolina. Such spatial arrangements tended to arise organically, family by family, as opposed to adhering to a predetermined, formal plan. Photograph by Farm Security Administration. Digitized and published by Library of Congress.

[642] Brabec and Richardson. "A Clash of Cultures" (2007).

For this research, Brabec employs traditional historical analysis and draws on a variety of archival sources, including plantation plats, historic aerial imagery, historic ground photographs, and other land records. Other documentary sources include plantation writings such as farm ledgers and other planters' records, travel accounts, slave narratives, and visual representations of low country slave life, including oil paintings and sketches. Brabec overlays GIS-based parcel data atop aerial imagery and uses these as the basis for diagrammatic sketches illustrating the typical cluster arrangements of Gullah family compounds.[643] The concepts of Gullah land, community, and culture that form the basis for the organization of website content are directly derived from this research.

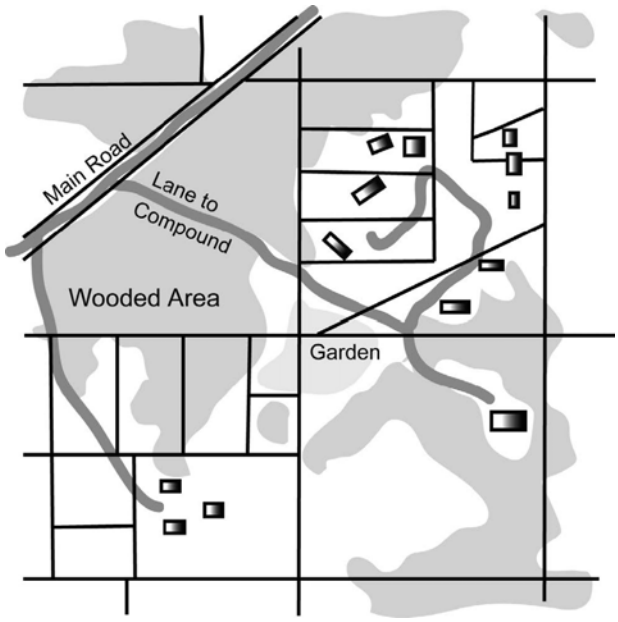


Figure 65: This sketch illustrates the typical spatial organization and cluster arrangement of a Gullah family compound such as that depicted in Figure 62. Diagram by Elizabeth Brabec.

[643] Brabec, Elizabeth. "Slave Landscapes of the Carolina Low Country: What the Documents Reveal." In *The Council of Educators in Landscape Architecture Annual Conference*. 2003.



Figure 66: In her research on Gullah cultural landscapes, Elizabeth Brabec used GIS to overlay Civil War-era parcel data atop contemporary aerial photographs as the basis for a series of diagrams demonstrating the ways that Gullah patterns of land use differ from those of Anglo-American settlers and their descendants. Image by Elizabeth Brabec.

Implementing the Gullah Land and Community Project



Figure 67: The Gullah Land and Community Project centers on St. Helena Island, home to one of the most intact active Gullah communities in the United States. Today, the community exists as part of the formally recognized Gullah Geechee Cultural Heritage Corridor. Image by National Park Service.

This project centers on the application of locative media toward interpreting the heritage landscape of the Gullah community of St. Helena Island, South Carolina. Building on the existing visitor resources provided by the Penn Center complex, the primary Gullah cultural and interpretive center on St. Helena Island, the project aimed to interpret and communicate the significance of the Gullah cultural landscape while providing a multi-layered user experience. To accomplish this, the project team developed a website centering on two goals: (1) informing visitors of the St. Helena

Island cultural landscape and its significance, and (2) offering an interpretive intervention that effectively engages tourists without putting descendant communities "on display."[644]

Locative media offers the potential to resolve many potential issues relating to increased heritage tourism in a cost-effective manner. Locative media encompasses digital content, including narratives, videos, photographs, and scanned images, that has been geotagged, meaning it is tied to specific GPS point locations either on the ground at the actual site or on a digital map of the site. Locative media can be accessed via two primary channels: virtually via a desktop, laptop, or other device, or on the ground via a GPS-enabled mobile device. To access content, users can either browse it via web server or download the geo-referenced files directly to their device. In this way, users can augment their experience of a historic site with supplementary information in real time via their mobile device. Leveraging the affordances of this technology, the project team argues, could help to raise public awareness of the significance of the Gullah cultural landscape on St. Helena Island without the need for extensive physical infrastructure for supporting site interpretation and heritage tourism.[645]

The primary objective of the project was to prototype a locative media-based interpretive intervention for St. Helena Island that could stand as a pilot project of methods that the Penn Center could adopt to complement its other educational efforts.[646] Specific project tasks included drafting a storyline and organizational structure for the website – tasks oftentimes referred to as "storyboarding" and "wireframing," respectively

[644] Brabec, "Protecting Gullah Land and Community" (2012), 4.
[645] Ibid.
[646] Ibid.

– and gathering, editing, and uploading documentary content relating to the history of Gullah inhabitation of the island as it is reflected in the current land use patterns, social structures, historically significant sites, and other forms of tangible and intangible heritage deeply linked to the coastal landscape.[647] Documentary content included not only historical narratives, photographs, maps, and other archival materials, but also professionally-shot documentary videos featuring interviews with local residents who are noted practitioners and exemplars of local traditions – what Dr. Andrea Roberts would refer to as "placekeepers."[648]

Building on the principles of traditional web design, the Gullah Land and Community website includes all the features typical of a conventional website. The website's operability has been expanded to encompass not only desktop and laptop users but is also viewable via smartphones and tablets as well. Mobile-based content primarily appears as geolocated videos and images. The website enables users to engage with content at multiple levels. Users who wish to simply skim the surface will find it easy to do so; conversely, users who wish to take a "deep dive" into Gullah land, culture, and community may find numerous opportunities to do so through the website's numerous tabs and subpages. Professional researchers, in particular, may find particular benefit in exploring the "Then and Now" tab, which grants access to a wealth of archival materials relating to the Gullah cultural landscape and its historic development on the Island. In addition to highlighting the qualities and significance of the Gullah cultural landscape on St. Helena Island, the website is also a vehicle for communicating the ways that it stands

[647] Ridge, Mia, Don Lafreniere, and Scott Nesbit. "Creating Deep Maps and Spatial Narratives through Design." *International Journal of Humanities and Arts Computing* 7, no. 1-2 (2013): 176-189.
[648] Roberts, "The End of Bootstraps and Good Masters," (2020).

to be impacted by encroaching development. As such, the goals of the website and the rationale behind the content curated for it closely align with the mission and program offerings of the Penn Center.[649]

The documentary content curated for the website is organized under three main themes: Land, Community and Culture. Each theme, in turn, is divided into three subsections. The theme of Land encompasses Access to Land, Growing Food, and Cooking. The theme of Community encompasses Praise House, Cemeteries, and Penn Center. The theme of culture encompasses Music, Quilt Making, and Boat Building. Each subsection primarily relies on documentary video to capture user attention and communicate the interrelationships of each theme with the St. Helena Island landscape. Videos were created for each subsection of all three themes. Each video features an interview with specific individuals recommended by Penn Center staff. Each of these individuals was invited to a prescreening interview, after which they were invited to a formalized interview in front of the camera. These formalized interviews were what was captured and edited into the final documentary videos curated for the website. All videos are also available through a Vimeo account maintained by the primary researcher, Elizabeth Brabec.[650]

[649] Brabec, Elizabeth. "Gullah: St. Helena Island, South Carolina," Gullah Land and Community Website. Accessed June 3, 2022. http://gullahcommunity.org/.
[650] Brabec, Elizabeth. "Locative Media Project," Vimeo. Accessed June 3, 2022. https://vimeo.com/locativemediaproject

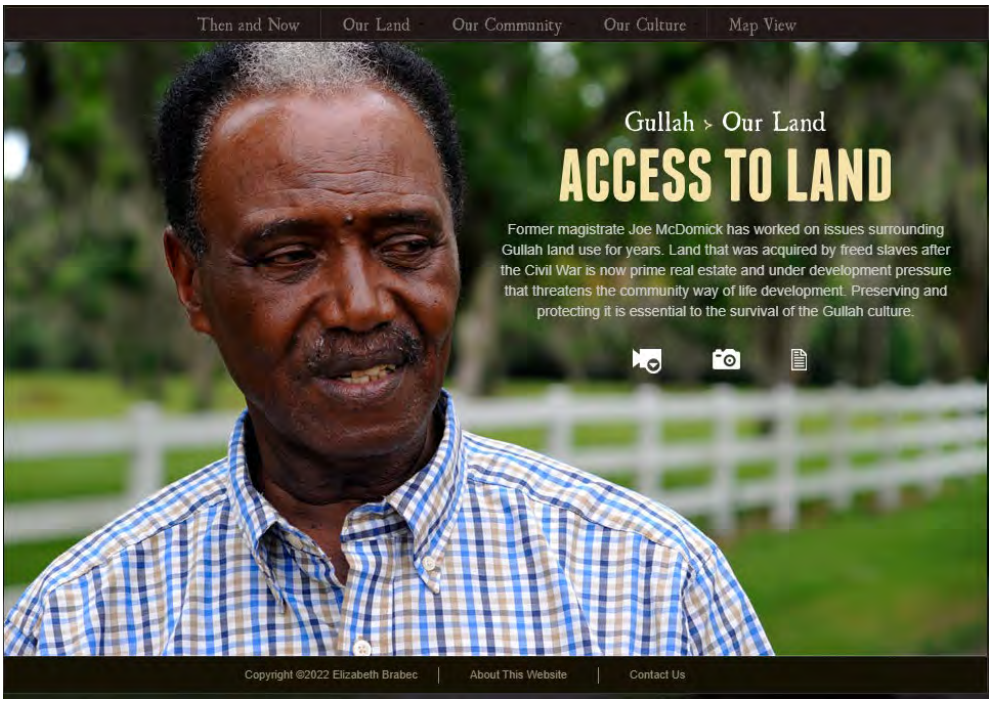


Figure 68: Formal interviews with residents of St. Helena Island were recorded and used as the basis for what amounts to a mini-documentary on Gullah cultural lifeways and land use on the island. These videos were then geotagged and incorporated into an interactive web map viewable via the "Map View" tab. Screen capture of Gullah Land and Community website. Website maintained by Elizabeth Brabec.

The documentary videos are further supplemented with historical photographs and brief scholarly essays written by the primary researcher. Historical documentation was curated to focus as much as possible on the specific historic and cultural context of St. Helena Island. Most archival materials, especially historic photographs, were drawn from the Penn Center's archives in the Southern Historical Collection of the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. Other materials were drawn from various collections housed in the Library of Congress as well as local archives in the surrounding towns and counties.

The website also features a Map View web page displaying all geolocated content on a single web map. This web map was designed with a very basic, stripped-down user

interface – the base map is a greyscale and abstracted with a simple scale bar, and users can adjust their view using one of two buttons, one for toggling full screen view and the other for zooming in and out. Geolocated content is displayed using two different types of icons: One for text-based informational pop-outs, mostly relating to historic sites, and the other for pop-outs containing direct links to one of the nine short interviews filmed for the project. The text-based informational pop-outs make a point of notifying users which features are not publicly accessible, and which are intended for viewing only. Site names accompanied by brief captions detail their significance. The main value of the map is allowing users to spatially locate content and get an understanding for the spatial organization and arrangement of features on St. Helena Island. This map would also be critical to visitors on-site, as it would enable them to navigate between points of interest and track their location in relation to other points of interest they may wish to see.[651]

[651] Brabec, Elizabeth. "Map View," Gullah Land and Community Website. Accessed June 3, 2022. http://gullahcommunity.org/map-view/.



Figure 69: An interactive web map spatially locates the website's various mini-documentaries and other interpretive content. Such methods allowed the project team to make the spatial dimensions of Gullah cultural heritage more explicit to users unfamiliar with St. Helena Island. Screen capture of Gullah Land and Community website. Website maintained by Elizabeth Brabec.

The project team concludes that the potential of locative media as a tool for interpreting the Gullah cultural landscape holds promise both on-site and online. The web interface effectively communicates interpretive content about St. Helena Island and successfully geolocates this content, providing users with a better understanding of the spatial extent and distribution of both tangible and intangible cultural heritage on the island and its connection to specific places on the landscape. On-site, the web content augments visitors' experience of the landscape by enabling users to access information directly related to specific points on the ground, allowing them to draw explicit connections between the various elements of Gullah history and culture that the content

highlights and the particular places to with which it is enmeshed. This provides for a highly immersive and interactive visitor experience. Another benefit of locative media is that it delivers interpretive information to heritage tourists at much lower cost than other interventions that would require more significant physical infrastructure. Finally, the locative media website compliments the program offerings of the Penn Center and broadens its capacity to communicate the significance of the Gullah cultural landscape by making it easier for users to draw concrete, direct connections between interpretive content and places in the landscape.

Individual Case Analysis (Case #2)

Of the cases sampled, the Gullah Land and Community Project is the most similar to the interpretive interventions that the Town of Wake Forest has already implemented that focus on the Northeast Community. Indeed, the steps that Brabec and her project team undertook to design and launch the Gullah Land and Community website are very similar to those undertaken by Town of Wake Forest staff undertook to implement the Northeast Community Story Map. In both its process and product, the Gullah Land and Community website bears the closest similarity to existing interpretive interventions focused on the Northeast Community. What the Story Map does not feature, however, are professional-quality video interviews with local placekeepers. These interviews end up being one of the most engaging elements of the Gullah Land and Community website. In consulting local experts and recording their perspectives, the project team provides users with an insider's perspective on the hidden cultural landscape of St. Helena Island. This constitutes the first "smart" practice that can be derived from this project.

Though the current Story Map does not feature this type of content, parallel efforts have been undertaken previously. On its YouTube page, the Wake Forest Historical Museum maintains a series of oral history interviews with older Black women who recall what life was like while living under Jim Crow prior to the Civil Rights movement.[652] These interviews were taped as a part of an ongoing exhibit on women's history in Wake Forest and were conducted and recorded by the historian, Emily Herring Wilson, author of *Hope and Dignity: Older Black Women of the South*.[653] Though not yet directly tied to the Story Map, these interviews do lend valuable perspective into the day-to-day experience of Northeast Community residents at this time. For example, one of the interviews, conducted with Ms. Geraldine Hall Taylor, expressly highlights the railroad tracks as a dividing line between whites and blacks in Wake Forest, and features Ms. Taylor speaking of an instance in which, during her time as a domestic worker, she directly participated in the "hidden transcript" by subverting one wealthy white woman's demands that she get on her hands and knees to clean up after her dog.[654] These kinds of perspectives lend tangible, lived experience to an understanding of Simmons Row and the greater Northeast Community as a Black cultural landscape, and are valuable even if they do not necessarily translate to a specific "smart" practice.

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[652] Wake Forest Historical Museum, "Northeast Community History Playlist," YouTube. Accessed June 3, 2022. https://www.youtube.com/playlist?list=PLROoW1N2JT3IkeLPISr_v69deMg0nFBuM.
[653] Wake Forest Historical Museum, "Oral History Film Clips," Wake Forest Historical Museum Blog. Posted July 18, 2013. Accessed June 3, 2022. https://wakeforestmuseum.org/2013/07/18/oral-history-film-clips/.
[654] Kelley, "'We Are Not What We Seem'" (1993); Wake Forest Historical Museum. "Crossing the Tracks," July 6, 2014, video, 2:50, from *Women of Wake Forest* documentary. Posted by "Wake Forest Historical Museum," https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=xGdeVi6hCR4&list=PLROoW1N2JT3IkeLPISr_v69deMg0nFBuM&index=2.

In addition to the oral histories filmed by the Wake Forest Historical Museum, the Town of Wake Forest also operates its own television station and maintains an active YouTube channel. This is all to say that the capacity to capture quality video recordings of interviews used for the Gullah Land and Community Project exists for Simmons Row. The trick in implementing such an approach, however, would be in identifying informants in the community who can speak to what Simmons Row was like prior to its demolition. Traditional media channels also offer just one avenue for accomplishing the task. Another avenue would be enlisting community members themselves to record and submit interviews of their family members. This was featured in a recording of the 2020 Northeast Community Juneteenth celebration, which featured cellphone video interviews conducted by younger relatives of older residents who've lived all their lives in the Northeast Community articulating what they valued most about the neighborhood and what they felt most worth preserving. This work could also be conducted by graduate students in the Public History program at NC State as a part of the Northeast Community Project. This is all to say, again, that the capacity for capturing archival-quality video narratives already exists – thus, we may consider leveraging these existing channels as another “smart” practice.

The fact that all of this video content is not hosted on the website itself, but rather through Vimeo, demonstrates the need to identify similar third-party web hosting services for digital archival materials relating to the Northeast Community History Project, with which all materials relating to Simmons Row will ultimately find its home. If the story map is to function as an online archive, as intended, this will be an important consideration, as it is already evident that the Story Map platform itself cannot function

in this way. It would behoove a project team involved in this task, then, to consult with a digital archivist or other library professional at NC State or Wake Forest University who can lend further insight into the most appropriate tools for this task. All materials relating to the Northeast Community project have already found a home in the Wake Forest Historical Museum.[655] It is also notable that the ZSR Special Collections Library at Wake Forest University already maintains an extensive collection of digital materials relating to Wake Forest and the university when it was still based in the town which includes resources relating to Northeast Community history.[656] As the Northeast Community History Project is currently based out of NC State, however, further progress on this effort would entail future collaboration between the two universities as well as the Wake Forest Historical Museum. Thus, consulting with library professionals to determine what third-party hosting and other digital archiving tools would be most beneficial constitutes another "smart" practice that can be derived from this case.

There are other limitations worth considering in order to achieve optimal results with a locative media intervention. In order to ensure user buy-in, locative media content must offer the user some added value or perspective that they could not otherwise obtain from existing on-site interpretive interventions. In the case of the Gullah Land and Community Project, users are granted an insider's perspective of the cultural significance of St. Helena Island as well as direct access to the voices of local experts through the video interviews. Finally, in order to maintain the relevancy and visibility of the

[655] Michael, Michelle. "Wake Forest Historical Museum," Northeast Community Story Map. Accessed June 3, 2022. https://www.wakeforestnc.gov/northeast-community-plan/northeast-community-story-maphttps://www.wakeforestnc.gov/northeast-community-plan/northeast-community-story-map.
[656] "Original Campus Photographs," ZSR Library at Wake Forest University, Special Collections & Archives, Digital Collections. Accessed June 3, 2022. https://wakespace.lib.wfu.edu/handle/10339/89141.

intervention, locative media projects must be updated regularly and accompanied by an effort to maintain presence via robust and ongoing traditional and social media campaigns.[657] This unfortunately is not the case for the Gullah Land and Community Project – indeed, the link to the website is somewhat difficult to find unless one is already familiar with Brabec's work or, perhaps, is directed to the project by Penn Center staff. In considering the degree to which this affected the project's ongoing visibility, we may thus derive another "smart" practice.

Another notable difference between the Gullah Land and Community website and the Northeast Community Story Map is that users cannot download geolocated content directly from the Story Map to their device. Even so, there are plans in place to integrate the story map with the Town's existing suite of mobile-based historic walking tours. These tours are available through the Town of Wake Forest app and enable users to experience the Town's various historic districts in the same way that Brabec intended users to experience St. Helena Island – via self-guided virtual tours in which all of the information that a heritage tourist would need is available through their device without the need for additional infrastructure or personnel.

Locative media's key affordance is the connection it creates between content to location. In delivering interpretive content directly to the user's personal mobile device, locative media enables a visitor experience "that is simultaneously self-directed, has low infrastructure costs, and has minimal negative impact to the local community and their cultural landscapes."[658] The development and adoption of locative media technologies

[657] Brabec, Elizabeth. "Locative Media as a Tool for Landscape Interpretation." In *Proceedings of the Digital Landscape Architecture Conference*, pp. 167-174. 2013.
[658] Brabec, "Protecting Gullah Land and Community" (2012), 4.

has been rapid, with the term first coming into vogue in the late 1990s and finding a ready user base among artists throughout the 2010s. Indeed, locative media techniques were initially adopted as a part of visual art installations aimed at drawing out the invisible "storyscapes" in urban environments – projects in which connecting content to location was essential.[659] Though its enabling technologies have been widely available for quite some time, locative media has only just begun to find widespread adoption by heritage professionals.[660] Brabec's project certainly represents one of the first instances of a landscape architect adopting the technology for the purpose of cultural landscape interpretation.

A notable advantage of locative media for the purposes of the Gullah Land and Community Project is its non-invasiveness – indeed, from its conception, the project was expressly intended to enable tourists to guide themselves through the Gullah cultural landscape on St. Helena Island without the need for the physical and organizational infrastructure typically associated with heritage tourism – intrusions which, as Brabec points out, often unintentionally lead to the "Disneyfication" of the very places they celebrate.[661] Essential to maintaining its non-invasive nature is the careful geotagging of interpretive content, along with clear instructions that explicitly demarcate the boundaries of the public and private realm as they relate to the project area. Users and project teams alike must avoid any potential conflicts or privacy transgressions by making private property boundaries clear and ushering users along authorized pathways in the same way

[659] Kaufman, Ned. "Chapter 2: Protecting Storyscape" in *Place, Race, and Story: Essays on the Past and Future of Historic Preservation*. Routledge. 2009; Brabec "Locative Media as a Tool for Landscape Interpretation," (2013).
[660] Brabec "Locative Media as a Tool for Landscape Interpretation," (2013).
[661] Brabec, "Protecting Gullah Land and Community" (2012), 7.

that trails and other physical infrastructure help to concentrate user impacts within acceptable bounds. The consequences of overlooking this kind of proactive intervention are vividly illustrated by the ameliorative efforts that Niantic Labs, the developers of Pokémon Go, have had to undertake in order to address the spike in private property transgressions that have coincided with the game's growing popularity.[662] The Gullah Land and Community project demonstrates this approach in its use of pop-ups to distinguish which cultural resources are located on private property. This constitutes another "smart" practice that can be derived from this project.

It must be said, however, that the assumption that tourists will always regulate their own behavior remains questionable at a time when more people than ever before have immediate access to "insider" information through social media. When presented without context, the proliferation of such informally distributed information tends to exacerbate the destructive effects of tourism in many culturally and ecologically sensitive places.[663] Even where explicit pains are taken to inform tourists of their responsibilities, the associated warnings and notifications often go unheeded. Addressing these behaviors specifically goes well beyond the scope of this thesis – ultimately, in attempting to incorporate this concern into a proposed intervention, all that a project team can do is perform their due diligence by informing potential tourists of their responsibilities knowing that individual behavior will always fall outside of their control. That being said, for a site like Simmons Row which is for all intents and purposes an active, exposed

[662] Hern, Alex. "Pokémon Go: Who owns the virtual space around your home?" *The Guardian*, July 13, 2016. Web. Accessed June 3, 2022. https://www.theguardian.com/technology/2016/jul/13/pokemon-virtual-space-home.
[663] Pearson, Stephanie, "Overtourism Has Reached a Dangerous Tipping Point - Am I Part of the Problem?" *Outside*, May 17, 2022. Web. Accessed June 3, 2022. https://www.outsideonline.com/adventure-travel/essays/sedona-overtourism-last-tourist/.

archaeological site, it would behoove the project team to exercise due caution by remaining reticent about the presence of certain archaeological resources and reminding visitors that the same rules that apply to any other protected site, such as refraining from picking up or taking artifacts, are applicable here as well. Ongoing public archaeology workshops, which provide cultural resource professionals to interface directly with the public and educate them on proper conduct when visiting archaeological sites, also present an opportunity to ameliorate the deleterious effects of increased attention from heritage tourists. These constitute another set of "smart" practices: (1) exercise caution in geotagging and otherwise drawing attention to archaeological resources, and (2) leverage future public archaeology workshops as opportunities to further educate the public about how to conduct themselves when visiting archaeological sites.

Finally, the Gullah Land and Community Project clearly stands as another good example of critical visualization in practice, as it not only provides an avenue for heritage tourists to non-invasively experience and learn about the Gullah culture and history on St. Helena Island, but also makes this culture and history visible and explicit to planners and policymakers. The project remains a resource to which officials may refer in order to inform themselves of the potential impacts that their planning and development decisions may have on the Gullah cultural landscape. By making the land use patterns that characterize the Gullah cultural landscape visible and contrasting them against the contemporary development patterns which have been responsible for so much displacement and erasure of Gullah culture, the project not only informs officials but also helps to build a broader network of potential advocates who, should the need arise, could be ready to step in when developers overstep their bounds. Most importantly, the website

makes visible both the tangible and intangible qualities of a living history that has long been marginalized. In this sense, the Gullah Land and Community website offers insight into the future potential of the Northeast Community Story Map to serve similar functions as the neighborhood continues to grapple with the effects of gentrification and encroaching development. Thus, in considering how a relict cultural landscape like Simmons Row might be interpreted, it is critical that any potential intervention align itself with the greater task of making visible heretofore unrecognized histories throughout the Northeast Community.

The absence of Simmons Row from the landscape today is, in a way, a powerful testament to this idea of marginalized histories hidden in plain sight, of stories tied deeply to place even as the buildings that had edified them have disappeared. Indeed, it testifies to an idea central to heterodox preservation theory that, while buildings are temporary, stories persist so long as people continue to tell them. Thus, in undertaking the task of visualizing and interpreting Simmons Row, the proposed intervention should be focused not so much on projecting an interpretation of what Simmons Row may have looked like onto the site, but rather making visible the web of stories that lend the site its significance, and making narrative connections between the inhabitants of Simmons Row and the various institutions that came to characterize the Northeast Community as a distinctively Black cultural landscape. While this does not hint at a specific “smart” practice, it is nonetheless a valuable insight for informing the greater purpose that the proposed design strategy is intended to serve.

Summary List of Applicable "Smart" Practices (Case #2)

- 2.1. Lend an insider's perspective to visitors unfamiliar with the cultural context of the site by elevating the voices of local experts.
- 2.2. Leverage existing channels for producing archival quality video recordings and other media centering the voices of local experts.
- 2.3. Consult with library professionals to determine what third-party hosting services and other digital archiving tools would be most appropriate for the project.
- 2.4. Foster collaboration between like-minded institutions and organizations with a stake in the project.
- 2.5. Maintain a regular online presence by updating web-based content and engaging in ongoing traditional and social media outreach efforts to maintain project relevancy and visibility.
- 2.6. For geotagged content, use pop-ups and other tools to clearly demarcate public and private property in order mitigate possible disruptions to the local community.
- 2.7. Exercise caution in geotagging or otherwise drawing attention to archaeological sites and other sensitive cultural resources.
- 2.8. Leverage in-person opportunities like public archaeology workshops to further educate the public on how to conduct themselves when visiting sensitive cultural sites.

CHAPTER IX

CASE #3: CHAVIS PARK “CELLPHONE DIARIES”

Introduction



Figure 70: Chavis Park is located in the historically Black neighborhood of South Park East Raleigh. Like the Northeast Community, South Park East Raleigh began as a freedmen’s enclave relegated to the margins of Raleigh city proper. The park was regionally important was one of the few recreational amenities available to Black people in North Carolina during the Jim Crow era. Image by Kofi Boone.

Chavis Park is a 26 1/2 - acre public park located in southeast Raleigh, North Carolina built in 1937 as “separate but equal” park for Raleigh’s African American residents. The construction of Chavis Park was funded through the WPA and strongly

backed by local government and local, white-dominated civic organizations. The park was one of the few segregated recreational facilities built during this period with federal funding, confirming the complicity of the federal government in supporting and maintaining Jim Crow practices and policies.[664]

The park was designed by G. Robert Derick, a National Park Service landscape architect, and retains many of its original features reflecting the design movement to use "rustic" materials for the construction of recreational facilities, i.e. Park Service Rustic style or "parkitecture."[665] Integrated in the 1960s, Chavis Park remains a focal point for Raleigh's African American community. Recent master planning efforts have actively consulted with and incorporated community input. These recent participatory design efforts draw on recent scholarship documenting the intangible threads of narrative, memory, and meaning that define the significance of the park to the African American community.[666]

Original Features

Original features of Chavis Park historically consisted of an amphitheater, pool, carousel, and simple picnic shelters set amidst mature canopy trees. Two bridges spanned a small stream that coursed its way through the park. These features reflected "rustic"

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[664] Hanbury, Marry Ruffin and Jeffery J. Harris. "John Chavis Memorial Park, Raleigh, Wake County, North Carolina." National Register of Historic Places Form WA3867. Raleigh, NC: Hanbury Preservation Consulting, prepared for the North Carolina State Historic Preservation Office (2016). Web. Accessed June 4, 2022. https://files.nc.gov/ncdcr/nr/WA3867.pdf.

[665] Hanbury and Harris, "John Chavis Memorial Park" (2016).

[666] Boone, Kofi. "Disembodied Voices, Embodied Places: Mobile Technology, Enabling Discourse, and Interpreting Place." *Landscape and Urban Planning Special Issue: Critical Approaches to Landscape Visualization*, 142 (October 1, 2015): 235–42. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.landurbplan.2015.07.005; Boone, Kofi. (2012) "Cellphone Diaries: Mobile Technology and Self-Authored Digital Videos in Asset Mapping," *PRISM: A Journal of Regional Engagement*: Vol. 1: Issue 2, Article 7. Available at: http://encompass.eku.edu/prism/voll/iss2/7.

design style popularly employed by the National Park Service. The bridges and amphitheater, for example, were faced with uncoursed stone. Additionally, the shelters were built with rough, exposed log framing, styled to blend with their surroundings. Track and baseball fields were later added to expand recreational opportunities at the park.[667]



Figure 71: This rustic stone amphitheater is one of several historically significant landscape features lending insight into the original design and layout of Chavis Park. The park is a unique blend of rustic-style "parkitecture" and Jim Crow-era recreational amenities explicitly designed to be segregated. Photo by Mary Ruffin Hanbury.

A 1972 master plan by Jerry Turner & Associates brought significant changes to Chavis Park. The original Olympic-sized pool was replaced with a smaller pool and community center. Further, the original Allen Herschel Company Carousel was moved from its central location to a climate-controlled carousel house. Other key features - the

[667] Hanbury and Harris, "John Chavis Memorial Park" (2016).

bridges, picnic shelters, amphitheater, and original carousel pavilion - remained in their original locations, however.[668]

Chavis Park's Significance Today

John Chavis Memorial Park and South Park East Raleigh, the neighborhood surrounding it, remain central to the African American community in Raleigh today. The park powerfully demonstrates the lengths gone to ensure the separation of African Americans from whites through the construction of "separate but equal" facilities. Despite this legacy, the African American community in Raleigh continues to embrace the park and use it.[669] This, in itself, is a powerful testament to that community's ability to take something originally intended to oppress and separate them and turn it into something uniquely their own.

Contrary to negative connotations of its "separate but equal" legacy" residents take pride in the central role Chavis Park played in their community. Its athletic fields were training grounds for many regionally famous football players. Social events such as church revivals, picnics, and Easter egg hunts held at the park attracted users from across the region. African American touring acts stopping in Raleigh frequently performed in Chavis Park, and considered it a "safe harbor" in travelling between Atlanta and D.C. Further, during the Civil Rights era, Chavis Park played a significant role in the development of several national student and civil rights organizations, chief among them the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC).[670]

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[668] Ibid.
[669] Ibid.
[670] Boone, "Disembodied Voices, Embodied Places," (2015).

The "Cellphone Diaries" Project

Researchers at NC State, working in partnership with the City of Raleigh and the South Park East Raleigh Neighborhood Association's Preservation and History Program (SPERNA), undertook a multidisciplinary, multi-year effort toward revitalizing the South Park East Raleigh Neighborhood and guiding its development through a community vision plan. SPERNA formed out of concern for the effect of gentrification on the cultural heritage of the South Park East Raleigh Neighborhood, and today continues to focus on documenting, interpreting, and protecting community history. One arm of the joint research effort involved documenting Chavis Park's significance to local residents. Kofi Boone, a professor of landscape architecture at NC State renowned for his work in community design and African American cultural landscape preservation, spearheaded a mobile technology component called the "Cellphone Diaries."[671] This initiative had a two-fold objective:

1. Train residents to use mobile devices for digital on-site asset mapping

2. Compare smartphone-based approaches to other concurrent engagement efforts including individual interviews and community workshops.

Through this initiative, local residents created videos that were linked to an online map, creating a geo-located interpretive tool that provided a snapshot of the people, places, and events important to South Park East Raleigh residents.[672]

The methodology behind the "Cellphone Diaries" project is responsive to a number of factors associated with the overall design and discursive planning situation

[671] Ibid.
[672] Ibid.

within Chavis Park. First, Boone positions his research as an outgrowth of a long tradition of participatory documentation processes. Specifically, the "Cellphone Diaries" was implemented as a modernized equivalent of the Photo Voice method long used by sociologists and other researchers to empower communities to tell their own stories while overcoming the lack of democratic access to the enabling technologies of mass media.[673]

Participatory video represents a later iteration of this approach that leverages the affordances of digital videography, namely its capacity to capture and communicate an enriched, multisensory experience of place to viewers. With the use of more advanced technologies came the need to overcome additional barriers to entry, namely the disparity in technical acumen between researchers familiar with shooting and editing digital videos and the communities they partnered with. Proponents of participatory video have argued, however, that rich collaborations between researchers and stakeholders create abundant opportunities for co-authorship and the exchange of skills and resources.[674] While this same line of thinking applies to digital mapping, the proliferation of GIS as a tool for participatory asset mapping adds further complications. Indeed, many researchers have questioned whether or not participatory GIS can actually aid the democratization of knowledge production, as the steep learning curves and high cost of subscriptions to proprietary software like ArcMap present ever more considerable barriers to entry.[675]

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[673] Ibid; Crang, Mike. "Visual methods and methodologies," in *The SAGE Handbook of Qualitative Geography*. Eds. Dydia Delyser, Steve Herbert, Stuart Aitken, Mike Crang, and Linda McDowell. Los Angeles : SAGE, 2010; Al-Kodmany, K. "Visualization Tools and Methods for Participatory Planning and Design." *Journal of Urban Technology*, 8(2), 1–37. The Society of Urban Technology (2001).
[674] Evans, Mike, and Stephen Foster. "Representation in Participatory Video: Some Considerations from Research with Métis in British Columbia." Journal of Canadian Studies 43, no. 1 (2009): 87-108.
[675] Corbett, Jon, Giacomo Rambaldi, Peter Kyem, Dan Weiner, Rachel Olson, Julius Muchemi, Mike McCall, and Robert Chambers. "Overview: Mapping for Change: The emergence of a new practice." *Journal of Participatory Learning and Action*, 54 (2005).

The employment of smartphones for capturing spatial narratives and disseminating them as a digital asset map represents a union of Photo Voice, participatory video, and participatory GIS. Further, in adopting elements of all three of these approaches, Boone prioritizes the use of low-to-no cost tools that coincide as much as possible with the kinds of photo, video, and mapping technologies that most people use in their day-to-day lives. His choice to use Google My Maps to display and disseminate the spatial narratives captured for this project is another example of this commitment to low-to-no cost tools requiring minimal technical expertise.

Finally, the choice to use smartphones as a data collection tool is also directly responsive to the proliferation of mobile technology use across all demographics, most notably African Americans. In fact, as Boone relates, African Americans are one of the most rapidly growing groups of mobile technology users. A Pew Research Center report authored by Aaron Smith has suggested that African Americans not only tend to use mobile technology for texting and web browsing more than white Americans, but also disproportionately leverage the photo and video recording affordances of mobile technology in conjunction with social media.[676] In this way, Boone's choice to make mobile technology central to his approach represents an effort to meet this target demographic where they were.

[676] Smith, Aaron. *Mobile Access 2010: Pew Internet & American Life Project* (2010). Web. Accessed June 4, 2022. https://www.pewresearch.org/internet/wp-content/uploads/sites/9/media/Files/Reports/2010/PIP_Mobile_Access_2010.pdf.

Implementing the "Cellphone Diaries"

A total of seventeen participants were recruited from the pool of residents who took part in the initial community visioning workshop. All seventeen participants were senior African American women who had lived in the South Park East Raleigh neighborhood for most of their lives and had already involved themselves in SPERNA's efforts to steward community history. These participants had also taken part in the research initiative's parallel efforts to document their personal experiences and memories as contributions to community history. The project team developed an IRB in order to protect the participants' rights and privacy which included a release waiver authorizing the use of their voices, experiences, and memories – as expressed in personal spatial narrative form – for the study.[677]

A Raleigh-based cellular provider donated seven identical mobile devices for the study. The project team, consisting of the principal investigator and several graduate assistants, developed a training module designed to orient the study participants to the phone's use. For many of the participants, this was the first time they had ever used a smartphone, captured a digital video, recorded a personal narrative, or posted content online – the training module was intended to help overcome this initial gap in experience. The training module included guidance on testing the digital video and GPS-enabled affordances of each device, as well as enabling "one" touch video uploads. Each participant was required to complete the training module in order to use the smartphones. The graduate assistants, in turn, received training in basic technical support so that they may serve as "Tech Buddies" to the study participants, offering assistance where needed

[677] Boone, "Disembodied Voices, Embodied Places," (2015).

and troubleshooting issues with smartphone operation, video capture, and video uploads.[678]



Figure 72: Kofi Boone and his project team implemented a series of training workshops by which they instructed project participants – all residents of South Park East Raleigh who grew up near Chavis Park – on how to use smartphones to capture and geotag their personal place-based memories of the park. Photograph by Kofi Boone.

Once trained, each of the study participants were loaned one of the mobile devices, with which they were to record and self-narrate digital videos at specific sites with personal meaning to them in Chavis Park. All study participants were allotted one week to do so. Most smartphones are equipped with a GPS. This enables a function called geotagging, by which any photo or video captured by the device is immediately tagged with the coordinates of the location at which that content was captured. When

[678] Ibid.

uploaded to a server, these coordinates remain linked to the content as embedded metadata and can be used to map the location of the content when added to a GIS program or other mapping software. Once recorded, all of the resultant videos were uploaded to a shared server and uploaded to a web map created using Google My Maps. All videos were also uploaded to YouTube. The links for these videos were then extracted and used to link the videos directly to the specific site at which it was taken via embedded GPS coordinates captured at the time of recording – leveraging a feature called geotagging which is common to most smartphones.[679]

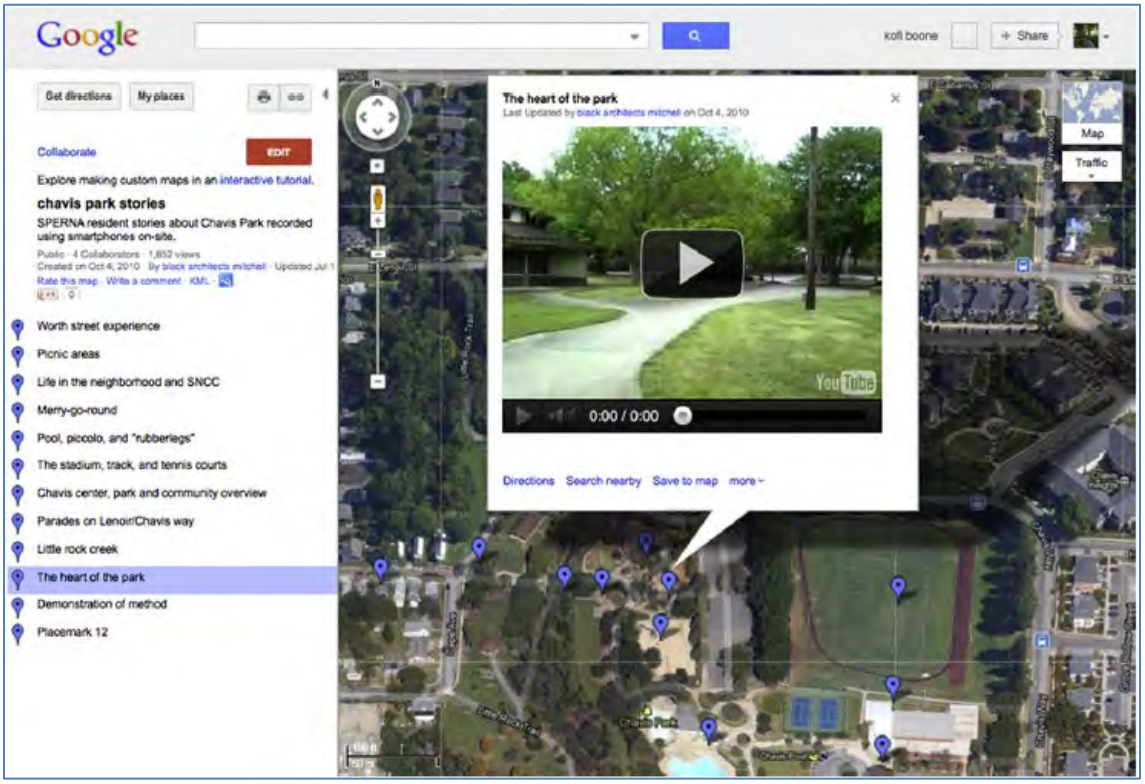


Figure 73: Most smartphones enable users to geotag their digital photos, videos, and other digital content, thus tying their content to the specific coordinates at which it was captured or created. When uploaded to a mapping program like Google My Maps, the resulting visualization illustrates the spatial arrangement of users' place-based memories and experiences in Chavis Park. Image by Kofi Boone.

[679] Ibid.

A total of 58 videos were submitted. Once collected, the primary investigator performed a discourse analysis of all video submissions, placing particular emphasis on the relationships between spoken claims, the visual framing and particular views depicted in the videos, and the "physical and socio-political context, informed by community power relationships."[680] Transcripts of each video were compiled and individually analyzed. Based on this analysis, a code was developed relating to the locations, views, video durations, and narrative content of each video. From this code, the research team developed a set of unifying themes. Ten of the fifty-eight videos were selected to be displayed on the final online map made viewable to the public. Each video was chosen to represent a discrete theme drawn from the author's discourse analysis of the video transcripts. The "Heart of the Park" was by far the most consistent theme, documented independently by six different participants whom each offered their own personal stories relating to the space. From their combined narratives, a fuller understanding of the "Heart of the Park" and its significance to residents emerged.[681]



Figure 74: This panoramic view captures the area of Chavis Park referred by several of the Cellphone Diaries project participants as the "Heart of the Park." The original carousel is visible in its historic location on the right side of the frame. Image by Kofi Boone.

[680] Ibid; Blommaert, Jan. *Discourse: A Critical Introduction.* New York: Cambridge University Press, 2004; Gee, James Paul. *An Introduction to Discourse Analysis: Theory and Method.* 3rd ed. New York, NY: Routledge, 2011.
[681] Ibid.

The "Heart" was comprised of what the primary investigator describes as "a critical mass of elements including the Carousel, a jukebox (what the residents call a "piccolo"), concession stand, dance platform, an Olympic-size swimming pool with accompanying changing facilities, a miniature train that circumnavigated the park, and other amusement-related features. Based on the participants' narratives, much of the life of the park was to be found in this space. One participant recalled how Billy Eckstine, a prominent jazz musician who frequently stopped in Raleigh while on tour, would swim in the Olympic pool at Chavis Park. Other participants recalled a locally famous dancer nicknamed "Rubberlegs" who appeared in a televised dance show staged at the park's dance platform. Further, many of the park's concession and service areas provided part-time employment to young people in the South Park East Raleigh neighborhoods – opportunities that are decidedly absent from the park today.[682]

These themes were then compared against the results of the formal at-home videos and community workshops. Additionally, the narrative content of each video – namely the spoken claims of participants relating to particular physical features or historical events – was cross-referenced against archival materials including historic planning documents, maps, newspaper articles, and aerial and ground photography. Through this archival research, the primary investigators ascertained that the previous richness of amenities was gradually removed as funding for the park dwindled following desegregation. As a near-exact duplicate of Pullen Park, city maintenance personnel saw little reason to continue funding the park when the same amenities were available at nearby Pullen Park. Henceforth, the City maintained Pullen Park as a regionally

[682] Ibid.

significant recreational space, whereas Chavis Park was maintained as a city park of limited attractiveness beyond the South Park East Raleigh neighborhood surrounding it.[683]

In the past, Chavis Park had been regionally significant for the amenities and recreational opportunities it afforded to Black people at a time when they existed almost nowhere else in North Carolina. In an ironic turn of events, it was desegregation, ultimately, that led to the deterioration of the "Heart" of Chavis Park. Today, the Carousel stands as the only physical remnant of the "Heart," and no further tangible evidence or interpretation suggests the former social, cultural, and economic vitality of Chavis Park. Where the "Heart" had featured a rich array of user amenities in the past, it now only offered users a concrete-paved plaza, a modular playground, and expansive parking lot.[684]

The final results of this analysis were reviewed by SPERNA and community design workshop participants and compiled into a DVD capturing and communicating the significance of several of the themes. This DVD was widely shared among SPERNA organizers and its members.[685]

Project Outcomes

Through the "Cellphone Diaries" project, long-time residents of the South Park East Raleigh neighborhood were empowered to share their personal spatial narratives relating to a valued cultural landscape. The resultant digital videos, in turn, affected the

[683] Boone, "Disembodied Voices, Embodied Places," (2015).
[684] Ibid.
[685] Ibid.

discursive planning situation of Chavis Park, and ultimately helped to steer future planning efforts in ways that better reflected community values. By making previously undocumented places and their associated meanings, memories, and values significant to the South Park East Raleigh Community visible to planners, the project stands as a clear example of critical visualization in practice.

An unanticipated outcome of the "Cellphone Diaries" project was the increased visibility it garnered and the usefulness of the participants' digital videos for communicating residents' perspectives and concerns beyond those immediately involved in developing the neighborhood Vision Plan. The videos were widely disseminated, reaching a wide public audience through the publicly viewable online map, YouTube, newspaper articles, an interview on "The State of Things with Frank Stasio" on WUNC Public Radio, and a gallery presentation sponsored by the City of Raleigh.[686] This significantly widened the project's sphere of influence, as well as greater public understanding of elements of the parks' significance that had previously been undocumented – "insider" knowledge available and considered significant only to long-time residents of the South Park East Raleigh neighborhood, previously. The YouTube videos are still available for public viewing, as is the online map with the linked videos. Previously hosted directly by Google Maps, the map has since been published to Google's My Maps platform.[687] Users may still utilize the map to link participants'

[686] Stasio, Frank. "It Took A Neighborhood," *The State of Things with Frank Stasio*, WUNC 91.5FM, Chapel Hill, NC: WUNC, January 11, 2011; Prewitt, Neill, curator. "Cellphone Diaries compiled by Kofi Boone." (2010-2011). City of Raleigh, gallery exhibit. Block2 Gallery: Street Video Series.
[687] Boone, Kofi. "Chavis Park Stories," Google My Maps. Last modified June 13, 2018. Accessed June 4, 2022. https://www.google.com/maps/d/u/0/viewer?mid=1MzVJydaBmZYGilU786lcTRWb_xQ&ll=35.77045700845983%2C-78.63070349999998&z=18.

spatial narratives to specific places in Chavis Park and may use it as the basis for their own self-guided virtual tours.

The "Cellphone Diaries" research contributed documentation that led to the designation of one of Raleigh's first cultural districts: the South Park East Raleigh Cultural District. Henceforth, the district may serve as a policy tool for building the neighborhood's capacity for heritage tourism.[688] Themes from the "Cellphone Diaries" study also informed a recent Master Plan update for Chavis Park. These themes were directly translated into programming and design elements that honor the heritage of the park and rehabilitate previously undocumented areas. The Master Plan update was unanimously approved by Raleigh City Council. The park was then renamed John Chavis Memorial Park, and a $12.5 million bond was passed to fund the initial phases of its revitalization.[689] Further, the City was authorized by the State of North Carolina to nominate Chavis Park for historic designation. In 2016, John Chavis Memorial Park was nominated to the National Register of Historic Places.[690]

It is important to note, however, that even though segregation was outlawed decades ago, South Park East Raleigh residents still do not view Pullen Park as "for them." A conflict that arose over the course of the "Cellphone Diaries" study illustrates further tensions that exist between city officials and South Park East Raleigh residents. City officials proposed to move the historic carousel at the center of Chavis Park from its original location to a more publicly prominent, economically attractive spot. Residents protested on the grounds that this relocation would constitute an erasure of one of the last

[688] Boone, "Disembodied Voices, Embodied Places," (2015).
[689] Ibid.
[690] Hanbury and Harris, "John Chavis Memorial Park" (2016).

remaining features representing the "heart" of the park. Local resistance was unsuccessful in changing the City's decision. The carousel was moved to its new location and preserved inside a new, temperature-controlled structure.[691]

Boone writes: "Through the study, it was revealed that because of other forms of perceived inequality (broader discrepancies in the allocation of resources to, and access to power by African Americans) community partners still felt the effects of discrimination. In their opinion, Raleigh is in some ways just as segregated as it ever was. And the lack of recognition of basic inequality, reflected in the inequitable distribution of investments in places like Pullen and Chavis parks, was evidence of continued challenges."[692]



Figure 75: Despite vocal opposition by residents of South Park East Raleigh, the historic Chavis Park carousel was eventually moved from its original location to a new, more prominent site. To many of the participants in the Cellphone Diaries project, this constituted an erasure of what they considered the "Heart of the Park." Image by Sharna Chowdhury.

[691] Ibid.
[692] Boone, "Cellphone Diaries," (2012).

Relationships between Raleigh city officials and South Park East Raleigh residents remain contentious following the relocation of the carousel. The novel use of mobile technology to capture stakeholder perspectives that have otherwise escaped city staff's attention garnered the project considerable sway and holding power, however. Boone is careful to parse out the advantages and limitations of the approach, however. On the one hand, the digital videos as the "disembodied voice" of the South Park East Raleigh community both put the community's concerns on the radar of city officials while also giving officials room to leverage the recordings as evidence of stakeholder perceptions without directly engaging South Park East Raleigh residents. Although capturing and disseminating digital recordings certainly helped to package community concerns and make them palatable to city officials, as well as contextualize the discursive planning situation surrounding Chavis Park, Boone cautions that the method is no substitute for direct, face-to-face engagement with stakeholders.[693]

Individual Case Analysis (Case #3)

The situation of South Park East Raleigh closely resembles the situation of the Northeast Community today. As with SPERNA's efforts to document and interpret their community history, the Northeast Community History Project and Story Map have been undertaken out of concern for the effects of gentrification on the Northeast Community, and the updated Northeast Community Plan addresses many of these concerns. As such, the overall design situation characterizing the Chavis Park project is the most directly

[693] Ibid.

relatable to the Simmons Row design situation. One notable difference, however, is the absence of city planning staff in this coalition. Indeed, the city planning staff in many ways are positioned in an adversarial relationship to SPERNA and the researchers given the conflict over the decision to move the carousel. In this instance, the outside consultant brought in to develop a master plan for the park was more amenable to considering community input than city staff.

One of the most notable characteristics of the Chavis Park project is its reliance on accessible, easy-to-use technologies. The project was undertaken ten years ago – by now, most people of all age groups use smartphones and are familiar with their use. At the time the study was undertaken, many of the participants, which consisted almost entirely of older Black women, were first-time smartphone users who needed a good deal of guidance and assistance. Presumably, smartphone use has become more ubiquitous in the ten years since the study was undertaken. Indeed, the COVID-19 pandemic has forced users of all ages to adapt to the use of mobile technologies for basic communication and day-to-day tasks. This constitutes the first “smart” practice.

While the “Cellphone Diaries” project certainly makes clever use of in-built features that work reasonably well, it should be noted that the positional accuracy of mobile-based geotagging is limited by signal strength and certainly is not as precise as professional-grade GPS units. As such, attempting to map content and match it to its respective location may require additional input or editing when added to mapping software. This should be accounted for in any accompanying training protocol, as well, and thus constitutes another “smart” practice.

Further, the demographic trends identified in the 2021 Northeast Community Plan update suggest that the effects of the digital divide remain a concern. While it is true that people of color are among the most rapidly growing groups of mobile technology users, this is partially a response to the fact that many communities of color lack access to broadband Internet – as such rather than a desktop or laptop, residents of these communities rely on their smartphones as a primary means of Internet access. Further inequalities persist in the distribution of physical infrastructure enabling faster, more reliable Internet connections in wealthier areas. Thus, the proliferation of mobile technology use among African Americans is as much an effect of the digital divide as it is a means of overcoming it.[694] Boone and his team are able to work around these issues, however, by supplying the smartphones themselves as well as the training needed to use them for the purposes of the "Cellphone Diaries" project. In doing so, ensure that lack of access to a smartphone does not preclude participation. This constitutes another "smart" practice.

In addition to directly supplying participants with the means of data collection, Boone and his team also supplied direct technical assistance in the form of "tech buddies" who walked first-time smartphone users through any technical issues they encountered. As many of the project participants were first-time smartphone users, this became very important. The fact that even with this system of supporting many participants still reported a great deal of confusion around capturing and submitting their recorded video narratives testifies to just how steep a barrier to entry there is to overcome in terms of the technical skill required to participate in these projects. For young people whose day-to-

[694] Smith. *Mobile Access 2010,* (2010).

day life is mediated largely through their mobile device, it can be easy to take this level of skill for granted – simultaneously, as so-called "digital natives," they stand to take on the role of Boone's "tech buddies." In the Northeast Community, the higher concentration of both younger and older residents, as well as resident's high degree of social cohesion, represents an opportunity for such networks of support to emerge from within the neighborhood itself. This constitutes another "smart" practice.

Filling out an IRB is an administrative procedure likely to be important to any project involving the use of participants' voices and perspectives. Participants in the Northeast Community Project had to follow a similar procedure, as they were directly interviewing Northeast Community residents and recording their experiences, memories, and perspectives. A project team should plan for this if they consider incorporating this strategy. It may not follow the exact procedures used by university IRB programs, but the basic purpose remains the same – to protect participants' rights and privacy. Other institutions have parallel programs that should be considered. This constitutes another "smart" practice.

Another notable characteristic of the "Cellphone Diaries" project is the way it centers place-based narratives. What ends up being visualized is not so much non-extant features but rather the accretions of meaning and memory associated with those features – what the preservationist Ned Kaufman calls the "storyscape."[695] This emphasis on personal narrative and memory shifts the focus away from buildings and features as architectural specimens toward the various intangibles that arguably contribute more to a sense of place. Indeed, it is these personal spatial narratives that ultimately exercise the

[695] Kaufman, "Chapter 2: Protecting Storyscape" in *Place, Race, and Story* (2013).

greatest influence over the discursive planning environment in which Chavis Park is situated. It was only by making the invisible storyscape visible to planners that they were able to target specific portions of the park for preservation and rehabilitation.

None of this could have been enabled without a fundamental premise of the project, which is positioning participants as co-authors rather than simply as informants. This positioning, in turn, was enacted primarily through the use of mobile technology. In the context of asset mapping, mobile technology empowers participants to capture and narrate place-based narratives in their own voice. Participants in the study reported that using mobile devices in this way was empowering to them. Disseminating their self-authored digital videos online and via various other channels enabled community advocates to share their place-based narratives concerning the park simultaneously from different locations, at several scales of interest and influence that extended well beyond the boundaries of the South Park East Raleigh neighborhood. This provided a platform for exercising considerable discursive influence directly affecting a valued cultural landscape, and thus constitutes another “smart” practice.

Even so, this ultimately did not change the City’s decision to relocate the carousel. Physical integrity and location, in the end, was extremely important to residents where it had been retained in the park. By that point, with so many other elements of the park having been physically compromised, any feature that still resembled the Chavis Park of their memory was a precious thing indeed, heightening the lasting slight of the City’s decision all the more.

The key insight of Boone's work, however, is that digital methods can never displace face-to-face interaction and on-the-ground experiences. While not necessarily

connected to any one "smart" practice, this insight certainly undergirds any number of such practices that properly account for the limitations and constraints imposed by the digital divide.

Further, while it is clear that smartphones can enable more equitable and democratic forms of heritage discourse, Boone reminds us that mobile technologies do not exist apart from their users' socio-political context. Quite the contrary – the place-based narratives submitted by participants in the "Cellphone Diaries" project are threaded through and through with each participants' politics and social identity and, as Boone reports, clearly affected the stories they chose to tell about themselves and their community. Rather than taking issue with the inherent subjectivity of this approach, Boone finds in it an intriguing suite of questions relating to the ways that such polyvocality constitutes sense of place. He concludes:

"It is in this arena where individuals with different backgrounds, politics, perspectives offer the makings of rich and contested narratives of a place. It is also in this arena where planners and designers can innovate in the contemporary pursuit of forming consensus through critical visualization."[696]

Here, Boone pinpoints what is perhaps the most significant potentiality of undertaking the task of re-interpreting Simmons Row – namely, that enabling polyvocality creates the conditions for counter-narratives to emerge. This constitutes the final, and arguably the most important, "smart practice" to be derived from this project.

[696] Boone, "Disembodied Voices, Embodied Places," (2015).

Summary List of Applicable "Smart" Practices (Case #3)

- 3.1. When engaging the public in participatory documentation efforts, be sure that the tools involved are accessible and easy to use.
- 3.2. Recognize that the GPS-enabled affordances of mobile devices are limited by signal strength and other factors and that significant post-processing may be required.
- 3.3. Account for the effects of the digital divide on stakeholders and project participants.
- 3.4. Enable broad-based participation by directly supplying participants with the means of data collection and knowledge production.
- 3.5. Supply participants with direct technical assistance, when possible, while enabling networks of support among stakeholders themselves.
- 3.6. Where place-based personal narratives and other forms of volunteered historical and geographical information are involved, make every effort to protect participants' rights and privacy.
- 3.7. Position participants as co-authors, not just informants, in order to amplify their discursive agency.
- 3.8. Acknowledge that digital interventions will never supersede in-person, face-to-face interactions.
- 3.9. Create the conditions for counter-narratives to emerge by enabling polyvocality.

CHAPTER X

CASE #4: PICTURING MULBERRY ROW

Introduction

"Picturing Mulberry Row" is a digital visualization of Mulberry Row, the industrial heart of Jefferson's plantation, which describes the landscape's physical evolution throughout Jefferson's life. Though most know Monticello for its iconic architecture, Jefferson's famously self-designed residence sat at the center of a 5,000-acre plantation consisting of four separate farms. At any given point, the plantation's day-to-day operations were undertaken by 130 enslaved people working in the fields, workshops, and main house. Field hands lived in separate dwellings located near the fields where they worked. Craftsmen and domestic workers, however, lived in low dwellings along Mulberry Row or in the main house.[697]

Mulberry Row itself encompassed 1,300 feet of packed dirt road encircling the Big House and functioned as the bustling heart of Jefferson's domestic enterprise. At its height, Mulberry Row included over 20 workshops, residences, and storage buildings where enslaved people, indentured servants, and hired white craftsmen lived and worked. Industries represented included weaving, spinning, blacksmithing, tinsmithing, nail-making, carpentry, sawmilling, charcoal-burning, livery, joinery, and domestic work. The

[697] Hallock "Object Lesson: 'Build the Negro Houses near Together.'" (2017).

physical landscape of Mulberry Row was dynamic and constantly re-purposed to suit Jefferson's mercurial visions for his property.[698]

"Picturing Mulberry Row" is one of several multimedia installations that the Jefferson Foundation has developed as a part of its ongoing "Slavery at Jefferson's Monticello: Paradox of Liberty" exhibition – a multiyear effort to critically examine and interpret the connections between slavery, Jefferson's personal life, and his economic livelihood, as well as to reclaim the history and lived experience of the people he enslaved.[699]

The final visualization of Mulberry Row is the end product of a number of parallel and supporting efforts. The work of completing the final 3D modelling, rendering, and visualization was contracted out to RenderSphere, LLC, an architectural visualization firm based in Richmond, Virginia. Extensive project direction, consultation and research supporting the physical and digital reconstruction of the structures and dwellings along Mulberry Row was provided by the architectural historian Jobie Hill, well-known for her expertise in the preservation and interpretation of enslaved housing. Finally, additional research supporting the visualization and interpretation of several key buildings on Mulberry Row was provided by Dr. Earl Mark, an Associated Professor of Architecture at the University of Virginia. All of this work builds on decades' worth of archaeological and historical research conducted by a host of experts involved with the Thomas Jefferson Foundation.[700]

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[698] Ibid.
[699] Thomas Jefferson Foundation, "Slavery at Monticello: Paradox of Liberty," Thomas Jefferson's Monticello. Web. Accessed June 5, 2022. https://www.monticello.org/slavery/paradox-of-liberty/.
[700] Hallock "Object Lesson: 'Build the Negro Houses near Together.'" (2017); Thomas Jefferson Foundation, "Archaeology & DAACS," Thomas Jefferson's Monticello. Web. Accessed June 5, 2022. https://www.monticello.org/research-education/for-scholars/archaeology-daacs/.



Figure 76: Final visualization of Mulberry Row, ca. 1784. Image by RenderSphere, LLC.



Figure 77: Final visualization of Mulberry Row, ca. 1796. Image by RenderSphere, LLC..



Figure 78: Final visualization of Mulberry Row, ca. 1816. Image by RenderSphere, LLC.

In order to clearly communicate the physical evolution of Mulberry Row, the project team decided to organize its visualization into three main periods: an early development period ending in 1784 when Jefferson left Monticello to undertake diplomatic duties in France, a middle period culminating in 1796 with Mulberry Row's industrial peak, and a late period centering on Jefferson's later modifications and re-arrangements to the landscape following his retirement from public service in 1809. In all, the project team developed thirty-two individual building models and situated them in their historically accurate geographic locations in a faithfully rendered digital reconstruction of the plantation landscape as it would have appeared in Jefferson's time. To develop these visualizations, the project team drew upon three main types of evidence: decades' worth of archaeological findings, surviving documents including personal logs, sketches, and historic maps dating to Jefferson's period of occupancy, and surviving precedent examples of similar 18th and early 19th vernacular buildings. Throughout the reconstruction process, researchers prioritized evidence directly related to Monticello – inferences drawn from contemporary buildings of similar style, construction and use were used sparingly and only to fill in gaps in existing documentation or to substantiate inferences and claims drawn from other period documents.[701]

[701] Hallock "Object Lesson: 'Build the Negro Houses near Together.'" (2017).

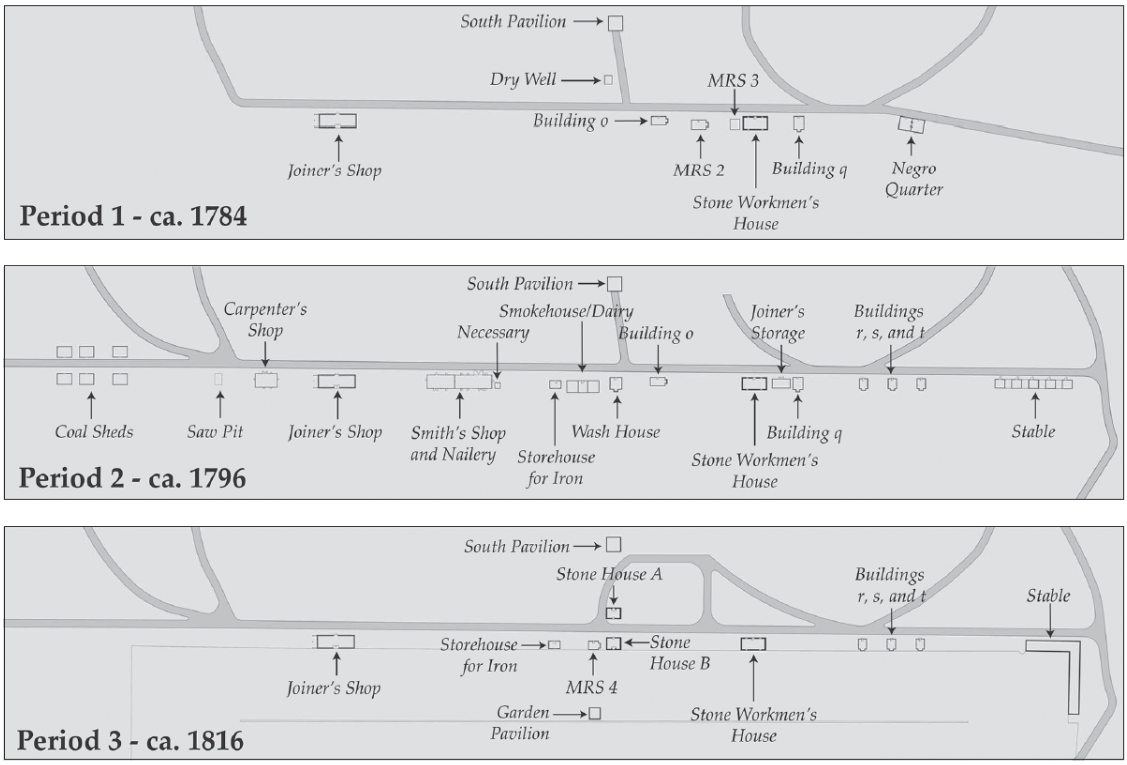


Figure 79: To aid visualization and clearly communicate landscape change over time, the project team organized their visualization around three main periods in Mulberry Row's physical development. By comparing these three periods, visitors to Monticello may observe how Mulberry Row changed to suit mercurial Jefferson's vision for his plantation as it evolved through his lifetime. Image by Gardiner Hallock and RenderSphere, LLC.

Implementing the Picturing Mulberry Row Project

The project team followed a three-step process for digitally reconstructing Mulberry Row that first involved the production of two-dimensional construction drawings based on the analysis, then the creation of three-dimensional digital models, followed by the texturing of the digital models to produce photorealistic renderings. The digital reconstruction of four buildings in particular – the Joiner's Shop, the Negro

Quarter, the Nailery / Blacksmith Shop, and the Stone Workmen's House – is illustrative of the overall methodology and range of workflows employed for the project.[702]

Joiner's Shop:

While limited documentary evidence has been recovered for the circa-1780 joiner's shop, the physical remnants of its foundation and chimney served as the primary source for its digital reconstruction. The chimney was a particularly rich document, as it retained evidence of the unconventional integration of the building's framing directly into the chimney masonry. Based on this rich evidence base, project designers were able to make reasonable inferences about the size and locations of key structural members for their building model.[703]

Before undertaking modelling, however, the project team found it necessary to comprehensively document the chimney and foundation ruins for further analysis. For this purpose, they employed high-resolution photogrammetry to capture point cloud enabling the development of a richly detailed and accurate 3D model. This model enabled researchers to design a reconstruction that adhered to real dimension and details captured in the model relating to ceiling heights, post sizes, plate sizes, and rafter angles.[704]

Prior archaeological research was also vital to the digital reconstruction. Archaeologists had successfully determined further key details about the building, including the exact dimensions of its footprint as well as the location of the entryway – all important details for the reconstruction. Primary documents drawn from the Jefferson

[702] Ibid.
[703] Ibid.
[704] Ibid.

Foundation's archives provided further details – a circa-1776 sketch by Jefferson revealed the locations of the building's windows, for example. Other structural details, such as wood shingle dimensions and the visual arrangement of window muntins, were derived from other personal documents related to Jefferson's amateur architectural pursuits at Monticello.[705]

The end result of the project team's synthesis of this documentary evidence was a richly detailed and historically accurate representation of the building, which exhibited a vernacular style and construction that has rarely survived to the present day.[706]



Figure 80: Final visualization of the Joiner's Shop. A chimney and portions of the foundation are the only relicts of this building that survive at Monticello today. Image by RenderSphere, LLC.

[705] Ibid.
[706] Ibid.

Negro Quarter:

The digital reconstruction of the negro quarter is based entirely on archaeological evidence. The project team derived the floorplan of the building from the location of several subfloor pits as well as a centrally located fireplace, both uncovered by archaeologists. When interpolated in plan view as an architectural drawing, the arrangement of these features suggests a two-room house type typical of slave dwellings in Virginia in the 18th and early 19th centuries. Surviving fired clay daubing suggested that the entire quarter, including its central chimney, had been constructed of logs and sheathed in six-inch riven clapboard siding. Other more granular details that could not be inferred from archaeological evidence were derived from other surviving vernacular-style slave dwellings found elsewhere in Virginia and the surrounding region.[707]

[707] Ibid.



Figure 81: Final visualization of the Negro Quarter. This building burned in 1790 and was eventually replaced by three 12’ x 14’ single family slave dwellings built of logs. Image by RenderSphere, LLC.

Nailery/Blacksmith Shop:

The digitally reconstructed nailery/blacksmith shop similarly began with evidence drawn from archaeological excavations that had revealed the locations of the building’s structural posts as well as the bases of the anvils. When the location and arrangement of these features was overlaid with Jefferson’s circa-1794 architectural drawings for the nailery, it became clear that he had not been drawing up plans for a new nailery but had in fact been designing renovations for an existing building. This realization yielded critical insight into the workshop’s structural skeleton as well as the locations of its windows and doors.[708]

[708] Ibid.

Having gained a sense of the workshop's architectural "grammar," architectural historians painstakingly designed the addition Jefferson had designed for the workshop. The locations of doors and windows were determined by cross-referencing Jefferson's drawings with their probable locations in the workshop proper based on archaeological excavations. Details such as the roof, framing, and exterior clapboard siding were based on precedent examples of similarly styled vernacular buildings of the same historic period. To communicate how the workshop's architecture changed over time with the addition of the new wing, the project team chose a slab material, rather than the shingles used for the main building, in order to visually distinguish the two.[709]



Figure 82: Final visualization of the Nailery/Blacksmith Shop. Archaeological evidence suggests that Jefferson employed enslaved boys between the ages of 10 and 16 in this building. In addition to being the site where these boys supplied labor for Jefferson's foray into domestic nail manufacturing, this building also functioned as their primary dwelling. Image by RenderSphere, LLC.

[709] Ibid.

Stone Workmen's House:

The most complete documentary evidence drawn from the Jefferson Foundation's archives corresponded to the stone workmen's house constructed for the enslaved and free craftsmen who lived and worked on Mulberry Row and implemented many of Jefferson's designs for the main house at Monticello. A circa-1775 architectural plan proved invaluable. This document provided not only a detailed floorplan but also a front elevation illustrating the approximate dimensions and massing of the surviving dwelling. The only discrepancy was in the number of windows – the circa-1775 plan proposed four windows for the building's façade, whereas the surviving building exhibits only two.[710]

Other characteristic features illustrated by the plan include what Jefferson called a "a roof with a Palladian derived 'pediment pitch," which he calculated by raising the height of the roof to two-ninth of its width. This classical roof pitch was an architectural detail that Jefferson employed throughout his life in other buildings he designed. Other documentation supplying evidence for the digital reconstruction of the stone workmen's house included a plat that Jefferson drew for a 1796 Mutual Assurance policy that recorded the building's dimensions and indicated that it had been clad in wood at the time.[711]

[710] Ibid.
[711] Ibid.



Figure 83: Final visualization of the Stone Workmen's House. This building was preceded by a log wash house and functioned as a dwelling for enslaved house servants and artisans employed by Jefferson to implement his architectural vision for Monticello. Image by RenderSphere, LLC.

Communicating Uncertainty

Research published by Dr. Earl Mark lends further insight into the modeling techniques used to digitally reconstruct the Negro Quarter, as well as the ways in which the project dealt with uncertainty in heritage visualizations employing precedent-based inference where gaps in the existing evidence base were present.[712] Mark's research draws attention to the uncertainties inherent even in the most seemingly factually-based decisions concerning digital reconstructions based on existing documentation and

[712] Mark, Earl. "Visualizing the Unknown in Historical Vernacular Architecture: Making Speculation from Archaeological Fragments Explicit." (2011). *RESPECTING FRAGILE PLACES* [29th eCAADe Conference Proceedings / ISBN 978-9-4912070-1-3], University of Ljubljana, Faculty of Architecture (Slovenia) 21-24 September 2011, pp. 868-874.

evidence – written documents are hundreds of years old, and archaeological findings suggest architectural form and detail but are by no means conclusive. In the case of the Negro quarter, no drawings or photographs exist to substantiate inference drawn from archaeological findings, the most revealing of which relate to the locations of postholes suggesting the arrangement of the dwelling's structural members. Archaeological evidence may lend insight into what may have existed below ground, but anything above ground would inevitably entail a significant amount of speculation.[713]

Speculative decisions concerning the form, style, and details of the Negro Quarter were largely based on precedent examples of similar vernacular slave dwellings found in Virginia in the 18th and early 19th centuries. Based on this precedent research, Ed Chappell, then Director of Architectural and Archaeological Research at Colonial Williamsburg, was able to complete a set of speculative drawings to be used as basis for the digital reconstructions. To generate a model of the building's clapboard siding, Mark employed parametric modeling, which algorithmically repeats a pre-defined pattern using a random number generator. The parametric modeling, in this case, was used to generate the "moderately curved edges and uneven surface[s]" of individual clapboards. The inputted variables can be modified to reflect speculations relating to irregularities and non-uniformities in the geometry of the logs and riven clapboards employed in the building's construction.[714]

[713] Mark, "Visualizing the Unknown in Historical Vernacular Architecture" (2011).
[714] Ibid.

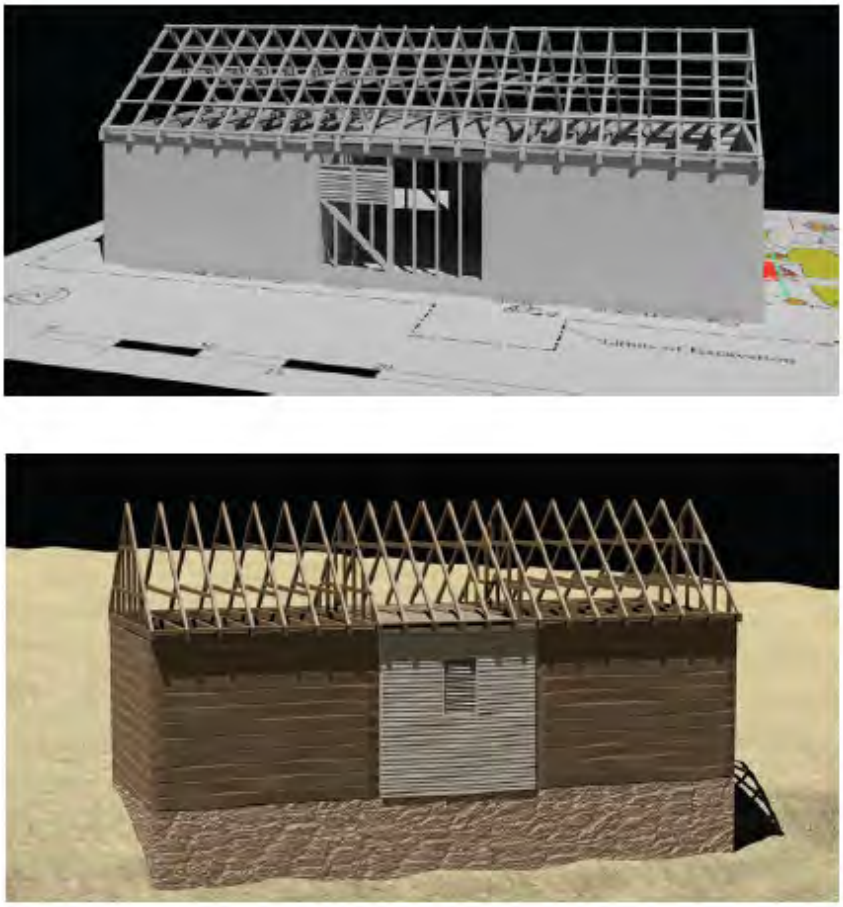


Figure 84: The preliminary model of the Negro Quarter accurately depicted the roof purlins, straight-cut log siding, and other architectural features, but did not adequately convey its roughened materiality. The use of parametric modeling, which employs algorithms to randomly generate variation in a model based on a set of user-selected inputs, helped to add this sense of materiality to the final visualization. Image by RenderSphere, LLC.

The exhibit developed to interpret the site expressly details the speculation that went into designing and executing the visualization and alerts visitors to the ongoing research efforts surrounding the Mulberry Row site as well as the range of evidence used to draw inferences from limited archaeological findings. In interpretive panels installed near the site of the dwelling, the final 3D rendering is juxtaposed against an archaeological sketch illustrating the arrangement of excavated features that ultimately

informed Hill's proposed floorplan. The interpretive panels are also quick to caution against the potential deceptiveness of photorealistic renderings and include a QR code that directs visitors to a web page offering a more detailed account of the speculative decision-making informing the visualization process as well as the evidence base on which these decisions hinged. Additionally, a blog was created expressly for the purpose of fielding visitor questions and comments regarding the visualization and gave the project team the opportunity to respond and dispel any potentially misleading notions regarding their findings.[715]

The interpretive panels developed to compliment the final visualization of the vanished buildings on Mulberry Row also make explicit researchers' divergent or contradictory lines of reasoning. One image included on the panel depicts two alternative views of the interior of the Smokehouse and Dairy structure, referred to by Jefferson as Building "M" in his insurance report on Monticello, as well as alternative framing and roofing systems. These alternatives are presented to viewers in terms of their relative plausibility – where the evidence supports one alternative over the other, the researchers make this explicit in the text accompanying their imagery. This approach is also employed to juxtapose final renderings against sketches of the archaeological findings and sites on which they are based.[716]

Through this approach to interpreting the relict landscape of Mulberry Row, the project team resisted the tendency to offer interpretation as a definitive account of the past in favor of presenting visitors with several lines of evidence and reasoning that still allow room for visitors' own conjecture. Further, the project team makes their own

[715] Ibid.
[716] Ibid.

thinking behind the visualizations they produced explicit to visitors. With all of the supporting evidence made explicit as well, visitors may follow the chain of evidence to reach conclusions in accordance with the project team, or they may draw their own conclusions. In this way, the interpretative interventions developed to disseminate the final visualizations successfully address uncertainty and speculation while allowing room for future research to inform and evolve what the current evidence base suggests, the speculations that the current evidence base supports. In this way, present interpretation maintains its relevancy while remaining open-ended and amenable both to visitor input and future research findings.[717]

The artifacts, objects, and other supporting materials recovered from archaeological investigations have all been meticulously dated, scanned, and curated into an online archive that is viewable online and has been integrated into the GIS database maintained for the Monticello site. The interpretive panels provide visitors with a direct link to this wealth of archived information, affording members of the public greater scrutiny in examining the reasoning and decision-making driving researchers' speculations. This level of attention to communicating uncertainty to visitors places the Picturing Mulberry Row Project well within the guidelines recommended by the London Charter.[718]

Individual Case Analysis (Case #4)

The Picturing Mulberry Row project offers an example of a unique collaboration among public and private organizations, academic researchers, and stakeholders that

[717] Ibid.
[718] Ibid.

closely resembles the efforts currently being undertaken to document and interpret the Northeast Community. In both cases, all of the resources and skills necessary to undertake the project are not concentrated in one person, but rather across numerous organizations. In this case, the actors involved included the Thomas Jefferson Foundation, the University of Virginia, RenderSphere LLC, and the descendant community tied to Mulberry Row; in the case of Simmons Row, these organizations would include the Town of Wake Forest's historic preservation staff, the Wake Forest Historical Museum, NC State University, and residents of the Northeast Community. The Town of Wake Forest has already taken the route of contracting much of the work relating to the rehabilitation of the Ailey Young House out to private companies and has collaborated with Dr. McGill's Cultural Resource Management class to undertake additional research vital to documenting the history of the Northeast Community. It is probable that such a broad-based multi-actor approach would be adopted for a project focusing on Simmons Row as well.

That being said, it should be immediately evident that the Picturing Mulberry Row project is highly technical, expert-driven, and required considerable investment of time, resources, and personnel. The use of high-resolution photogrammetry to capture a point cloud image of the chimney and foundation ruins of the Joiner's shop is one example. Additionally, in order to generate a model of the building's clapboard siding, Mark employed parametric modeling, which algorithmically repeats a pre-defined pattern using a random number generator. The code and procedure used to implement this method was developed by an outside consultant who was himself a computer programming specialist. Thus, the employment of this technique constitutes another

example of an expert-driven process that falls well outside the abilities of the average lay user. Although the specific software used to produce the final digital reconstruction of Mulberry Row is never mentioned in the published research on the project, it can be assumed that it was all costly, proprietary, professional-grade software with relatively steep learning curves.

Outsourcing the work to a firm that specializes in architectural visualization represents one way of prudently working around the learning curves involved, assuming the availability of funding. Indeed, for organizations with limited time, personnel, or resources commonly choose to outsource visualization work, particularly where the level of detail that an architectural visualization firm is capable of is a desired outcome. The Town of Wake Forest has already explored this option to a certain degree – the interpretive signage currently installed at the Ailey Young House site features a speculative illustration created by Sara Davis Lachenman of Four Over One Design, LLC that depicts the Ailey Young House featuring its original porch as well as an enclosed yard.[719] Further, much of the work of restoring the Ailey Young House has also been outsourced to various contractors.

[719] Outdoor interpretive panel, Ailey Young House, "The Architecture of the Ailey Young House," Wake Forest Historical Museum, Wake Forest, North Carolina.

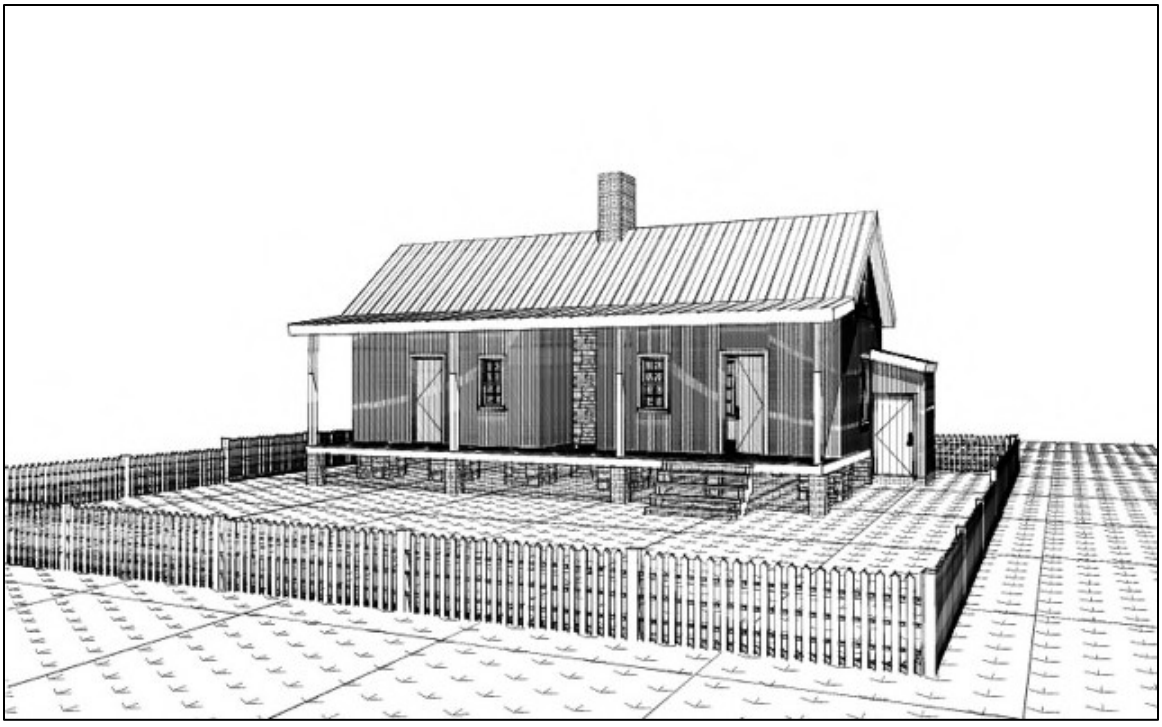


Figure 85: A preliminary model of the Ailey Young House conveys what it may have looked like prior to the fire that destroyed significant portions of it, most notably its porch. Note, however, the flat terrain and picture-perfect fence encircling the House. Neither feature accurately reflects historic ground conditions at the site. Thus, a viewer unfamiliar with the site would be misled into believing that these features existed when they are in fact artistic liberties. Image by Sara Davis Lachenman.

The drawback to this approach, however, is that it carries the same risk of misrepresentation that photorealistic heritage visualizations bear in other cases. Architectural visualization firms specialize in producing renderings with a high degree of both photorealism and artistic flair. The choice to contract with such firms must be accompanied by a robust strategy for communicating uncertainty in the resultant imagery. In order to remain in accordance with the principles of the London Charter, all inferences must be made explicit, all evidence on which such inferences are based made available for audiences to examine themselves, and detailed information concerning the decision-making and process undertaken to produce the image made clear and explicit.

Luckily, the Picturing Mulberry Row Project proves an excellent example of just such a robust and multifaceted strategy for communicating uncertainty that places this project well within the bounds of the London Charter. The underlying purpose of the strategy is to cue audiences into the decisions and process that resulted in the visualization they are viewing, as well as to give them access to the very same sources on which these decisions and inferences were based and empowering them to decide for themselves whether the inferences are justifiable or should be critically reconsidered. Further, by including multiple conflicting interpretations, the project presents itself as a pluralistic dialogue implying multiple interpretations, rather than as a single definitive account. The only element missing is a channel for audience members to directly contribute to this ongoing conversation. From this example, we may draw a set of "smart" practices: (1) Communicate uncertainty by making inferences and knowledge gaps explicit, the evidence on which all inferences are based freely available, and documenting paradata, i.e. detailing the decision-making and process used to arrive at the final visualization, (2) embrace pluralism and uncertainty by making instances in which multiple conflicting interpretations are possible explicit, and (3) open channels for audiences to directly participate in pluralistic dialogue.

The Picturing Mulberry Row project draws on a remarkably rich evidence base – decades' worth of archaeological evidence, including existing physical ruins, as well as Jefferson's personal notes and sketches were particularly invaluable. The artifacts, objects, and other supporting materials recovered from archaeological investigations have all been meticulously dated, scanned, and curated into an online archive that is viewable online and has been integrated into the GIS database maintained for the Monticello site.

This, in itself, supports the “smart” practice of making evidence freely available to users. Additionally, descendants of the enslaved residents of Mulberry Row were interviewed as a part of the Jefferson Foundation’s “Getting Word” oral history project. This is more evidence than is available even for Simmons Row, and permitted RenderSphere LLC, to make more evidence-based inferences than would have been possible otherwise.

Even so, the Picturing Mulberry Row team found it necessary to draw inferences based on other precedents of the same period, construction, and type - they did so only sparingly, however. Further, Mark is quick to point out that although archaeological evidence may lend insight into what may have existed below ground, visualizing anything that existed above ground inevitably entails a significant amount of speculation.[720] This is important to bear in mind in all cases where inferences are being drawn from archaeological evidence. A degree of speculation is always involved, hence there will always be a high degree of uncertainty. That being said, oral histories with local experts over one way of cross-referencing archaeological findings and other historical relicts in order to arrive at a more truthful account of a site’s physical development. Thus, there are two additional “smart” practices to derive here: (1) be sparing and critical when drawing inferences from archaeological evidence, and doubly so when speculating based on precedence, and (2) cross-reference documentary and archaeological evidence with oral testimony from local experts and descendant communities whenever possible.

Splitting the resultant visualization into different development periods is an effective strategy for illustrating and communicating change over time and dovetails with

[720] Mark, "Visualizing the Unknown in Historical Vernacular Architecture" (2011).

the National Park Service's usual approach to defining and analyzing cultural landscapes. Indeed, this is standard practice when writing physical histories for Cultural Landscape Inventories and Reports. It could be appropriate to adopt this approach for Simmons Row as well. Until a more definitive account of each dwelling's construction date can be achieved, however, this record remains incomplete. At best, the information presented in this thesis can offer perspective at the varying times at which different buildings and structures visible in the existing documentation disappeared from the landscape. In sum, further research is needed to adopt this approach to the physical development of Simmons Row.

While the potentialities of digital reconstruction are exciting, it is clear that the process is highly time and resource-intensive and demands considerable technical expertise. Further, a shortfall of the digital reconstruction approach is the degree to which it emphasizes built form. Photorealistic visualizations tend to skew audiences' attention toward the building as an architectural specimen, and away from the personal histories that lend the place its significance. To the degree that it does this, it fails to fulfill the promise of deepening audience experience and appreciation of the history ostensibly being preserved. On this note, it would seem that the exact approach adopted by the Picturing Mulberry Row team may not be appropriate for a project centering on Simmons Row. Even so, it exemplifies numerous lessons and "smart" practices that could nonetheless inform an approach to something similar.

Summary List of Applicable "Smart" Practices (Case #4)

- 4.1. Communicate uncertainty by making inferences and knowledge gaps explicit, the evidence on which all inferences are based freely available, and documenting paradata, i.e. detailing the decision-making and process used to arrive at the final visualization.
- 4.2. Embrace pluralism and uncertainty by accommodating multiple, sometimes conflicting interpretations.
- 4.3. Open channels for audiences to dialogue directly with the researchers, designers, and other traditional experts behind the project.
- 4.4. Be sparing and critical when drawing inferences from archaeological evidence, and doubly so when speculating based on precedence.
- 4.5. Cross-reference documentary and archaeological evidence with oral testimony from local experts and descendant communities whenever possible.

CHAPTER XI

CASE #5: THE NEW PHILADEPLIA AR TOUR

Introduction

The history of New Philadelphia and its founding figurehead, "Free" Frank McWorter, stands as a microcosm reflecting broader currents in American history, namely the legacy of slavery, the covert operations of the Underground Railroad, the saga of the American frontier, and the contentious settling of the American West. New Philadelphia's significance is further assured by its status as the first settlement in the United States platted and incorporated by a Black man.[721] Its founding thus also powerfully resonates with the history of Black placemaking and freedom-seeking during the Reconstruction era while challenging dominant narratives concerning Black agency and participation in Western expansion.

"Free" Frank McWorter was formerly enslaved before purchasing his freedom with proceeds from a saltpeter mining enterprise he had operated after hours and on his off days.[722] After moving from Kentucky to Illinois, McWorter purchased land, surveyed it, and began selling off the lots to other settlers, thereby founding the settlement of New Philadelphia in 1835. Pooling the profits from the land sales with the funds from his saltpeter mine, McWorter eventually purchase the freedom of his wife and children as

[721] Shackel, Paul. *New Philadelphia: An Archaeology of Race in the Heartland*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001, 38.
[722] Shackel, *New Philadelphia* (2001), 28-29.

well.[723] Through the mid-19th century, New Philadelphia grew into a modest-sized town of black and white residents, its population peaking at 160 around the end of the Civil War in 1865.[724] By the latter half of the 19th century, however, the town's population declined precipitously. Historians speculate that this may have been due to a racially motivated decision on the part of the Hannibal and Naples Railroad to bypass New Philadelphia when siting new stations and rail lines.[725] By the beginning of the 20th century, New Philadelphia had been abandoned, its buildings, streets, and infrastructure demolished and converted to farmland.[726]



Figure 86: Prior to the New Philadelphia AR project, site interpreters relied on on-site signage, brochures and other paper-based materials to fill in gaps in the visitor's experience owing to the absence of physical traces on-site. This kind of interpretive design situation can be exceedingly challenging, as visitors are hard-pressed to visualize the historic layout and physical qualities of the site without visual aids and thorough contextualization. Photo by Jonathan Amakawa.

[723] Ibid, 28-29.
[724] Ibid, 44.
[725] Fennell, Christopher C. "Damaging Detours: Routes, Racism, and New Philadelphia." *Historical Archaeology* 44, no. 1 (2010): 138-154.
[726] Shackel, *New Philadelphia* (2001), 18.

Much has been written about New Philadelphia, and PBS even produced an episode of its "Time Team America" series focusing on the town in 2009. On-site interpretation by the National Park Service, who now manage the site, has been a significant challenge, however, owing to the fact that nothing physically remains besides the landscape itself. As with many Black heritage sites, most of what is known about New Philadelphia today has been gathered through oral histories and fragmentary documentary records. Numerous archaeological excavations have also been conducted at the site. Even so, the site remains disembodied, barring a clear and direct association between interpretive content and the former settlement to which it corresponds.[727]

Envisioning the New Philadelphia AR Project

The New Philadelphia Association, a nonprofit historical organization comprised of local residents committed to preserving the New Philadelphia site, had early on proposed a mobile-based augmented reality app that could supplement their existing self-guided, thirteen-stop walking tours at the site with digital reconstructions of vanished buildings. In consultation with Claire Martin, the historian from the Illinois State Museum, the Association selected five stops on their existing tour as the focus for the prototype AR app. If the prototype seemed promising, the AR tour would be expanded to cover the remaining eight stops.[728]

The Association's proposal was a response to a number of factors. Though managed as a National Historic Landmark, New Philadelphia is also an active

[727] Amakawa and Westin. "New Philadelphia," (2018).
[728] Ibid.

archaeological site where issues relating to the impacts of historic preservation, interpretation, and visitor use on archaeological resources remain of primary concern to site managers. A proposal under consideration at the time the project was undertaken was the construction of physical "ghost" structures marking the locations of significant buildings in the community. The primary investigator for the New Philadelphia study argues that such an intervention risks disturbing the soil and potentially destroying artifacts and subsurface features. Mobile augmented reality, as an intervention requiring comparatively little physical infrastructure, is minimally invasive while enabling the visualization and interpretation of buildings and features long since vanished from the landscape.[729]

The project team ultimately proposed the use of target-based AR for their intervention, which would require the installation of small, simple signs at locations corresponding with the historic footprints of the various residences and key community buildings that made up New Philadelphia. This approach would enable a user to approach the site and view an augmented reality overlay triggered when the target marker on the sign came into view of their mobile device's camera. Once toggled, the application could project a 3D rendering of the vanished building or structure onto its historic location. Target-based systems offer a range of affordances that make them well-suited to this task. By using the target market for scale and positioning, the mobile device is able to register the precise location and scale with which to display the 3D renderings, allowing them to appear at the appropriate height and location on-screen. A disadvantage of the approach, however, is that the target image must remain in view in order for the virtual content

[729] Ibid.

display correctly. Despite this limitation, the project team proceeded to develop a target-based system for displaying a digitally reconstructed New Philadelphia. Two software tools, Qualcomm's Vuforia and the Unity3D game engine, were selected for the task.[730]

Implementing the New Philadelphia AR Project

The New Philadelphia AR Tour app is an outgrowth of an emergent form of historic site interpretation that leverages mobile augmented reality technology to enable visitors to directly experience the historic built environment while simultaneously overlaying digital content that helps to contextualize their surroundings. Where conventional interpretive signage may temporarily remove a visitor from their direct experience of the site, mobile augmented reality suggests the possibility of experiencing and contextualizing the site simultaneously.[731]

The app was created using a combination of the Unity3D game engine complemented by Vuforia's Unity AR software package, which enabled the project team to develop 3D renderings of vanished buildings and features that could be displayed on site using a target-based display system. This system relied on the installation of small, physical signs at stops along the original New Philadelphia walking tour, each of which bore the distinctive target marker that would trigger the models to display. The project was completed in three main phases: (1) Mapping, (2) Digital Reconstruction, (3) and Target-Based Display Design and Installation.[732]

[730] Ibid.
[731] Ibid.
[732] Ibid.

Step One: Mapping

The project team's first task was to map the historic layout of New Philadelphia onto the existing site in order to create a spatial template that could be used as a reference for locating and placing the building models. In order for the models to correctly display, a spatially accurate virtual map of New Philadelphia needed to be created that accurately denoted the locations of streets, residential and commercial blocks, house lots, and the historic footprints of individual buildings.

To accomplish this task, the project team synthesized an array of information within the Unity3D application development interface, including present-day aerial imagery from Google Earth and Google Maps, the original town plot map drawn by McWorter, and a survey map illustrating the archaeological investigations that had been carried out at the Louisa McWorter homesite. This virtual map, hosted within the Unity3D app development environment, would form the basis for the next step of the project: creating and accurately placing 3D models of the town's vanished buildings.

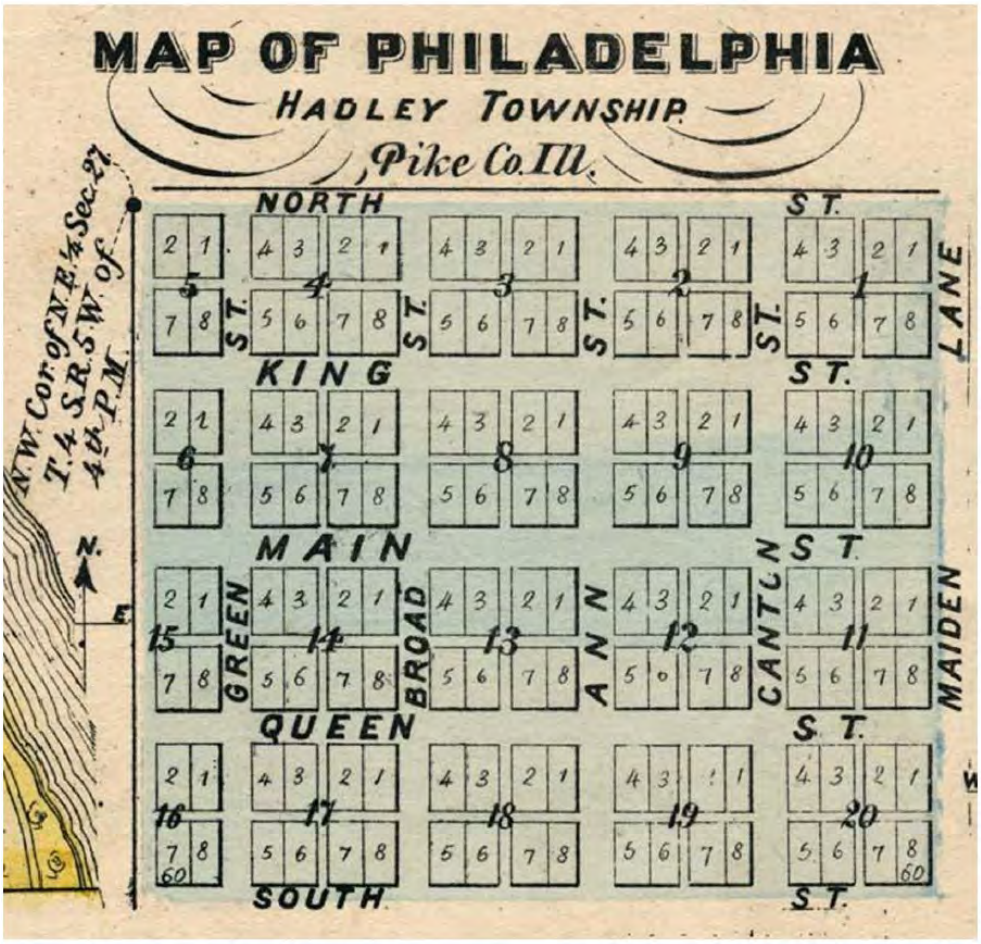


Figure 87: This circa-1972 plat of New Philadelphia illustrates the town's historic block, street and parcel layouts. This information was critical to both accurately positioning digital models within the virtual environment of Unity 3D and projecting them onto the correct location in physical space via the Vuforia AR application. Photo digitized and published by the University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign.

Step Two: Digital Reconstruction

The next step of the project entailed creating 3D models of vanished historic buildings and artifacts recovered from archaeological excavations at the New Philadelphia site in collaboration with historian Claire Martin and archaeologists from the Illinois State Museum. Digital reconstructions of vanished buildings were based on findings from prior archaeological investigations, a house sketch produced by a former

resident of New Philadelphia, and surviving buildings and structures of the same historic period located elsewhere in Illinois. This data was synthesized in order to generate what the primary investigator describes as "an informed yet hypothetical representation of how several buildings may have appeared in New Philadelphia."[733] Even with this evidence base, lack of historical documentation was a noted challenge of this phase of the project.

The most complete evidence available corresponded to the Louisa McWorter House and the New Philadelphia schoolhouse– as such, its final digital representation was the most detailed of the models created by the project team. The only building for which any kind of image was available to guide the project team's digital reconstruction efforts was the Louisa McWorter House. No blueprints or photographs survive of this building, however. The sole visual evidence available to suggest the historic appearance of this building was a sketch drawn from memory for the Illinois State Museum in 2012 by Lorraine 'Larry' Burdick, a former resident of New Philadelphia who had resided there in the 1920s and 30s.[734] While simplistic, the sketch is sufficiently detailed to reveal that the house was two-storied and featured a portico over its front door. The project team was also able to infer the number of windows that had been placed on the front façade of the house from this sketch.[735] In order to fill in the remaining details, such as the siding and roof materials, the project team drew inferences from other similar dwellings of the same period located elsewhere in Illinois. Though the appearance of the final model ultimately relied heavily on conjecture, its location could be precisely located based on prior archaeological investigations conducted in 2005 and 2010. This assured that the

[733] Ibid.
[734] Illinois State Museum. *The Living Museum* 73 (2012): 4-13.
[735] Amakawa and Westin. "New Philadelphia," (2018).

resultant model would be projected within a reasonable degree onto its approximate historic location, within the capabilities of the target-based AR system.[736]

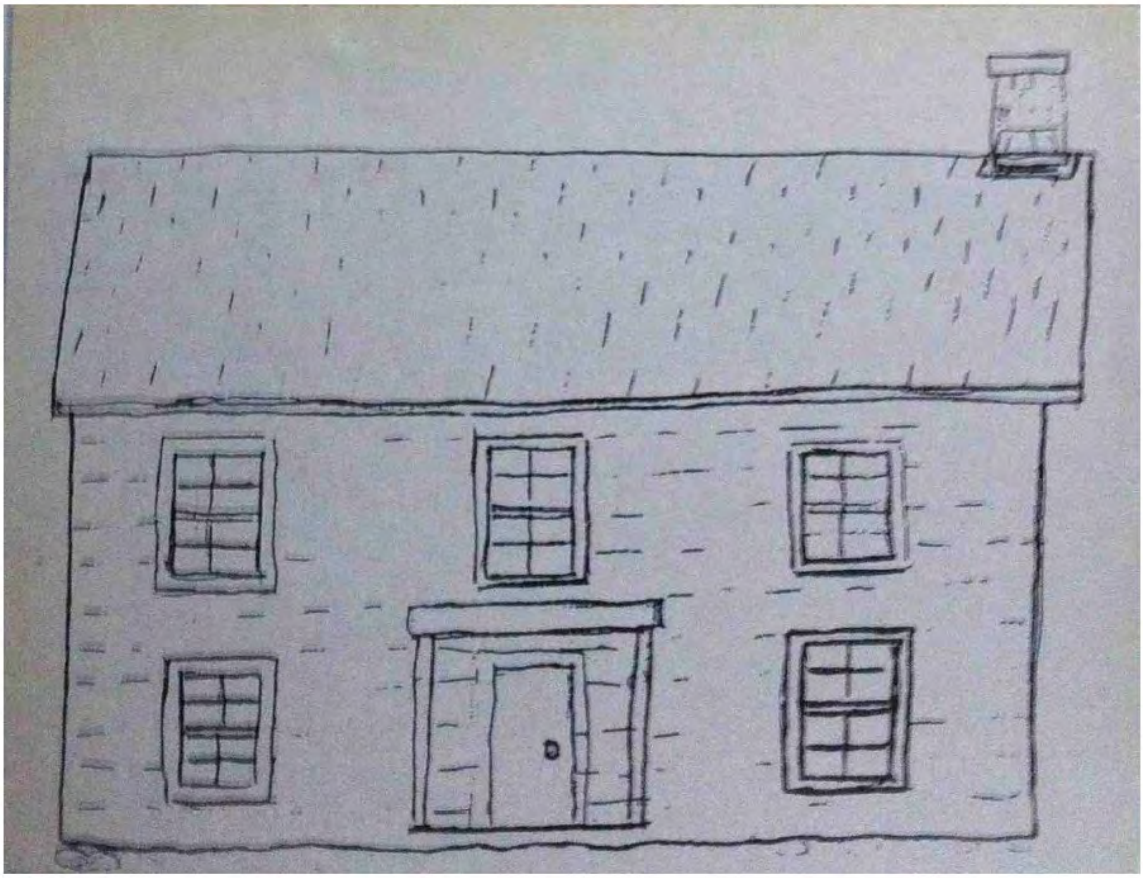


Figure 88: This sketch of the Louisa McWorter house by Lorraine 'Larry' Burdick, a former resident of New Philadelphia who had resided there in the 1920s and 30s, provided key architectural information needed for creating a 3D model of the building. In the absence of traditional archival sources, such materials often provided the only information available pertaining to vanished or relict historic landscape features. Image digitized and published by Pike County Historical Society.

The digital reconstruction of the New Philadelphia schoolhouse was based on even fewer records. Archival sources suggested that the town's school board had purchased a plot of land on which one Reverend Luce and Frank McWorter constructed

[736] Ibid.

the schoolhouse in 1848. Additionally, Larry Burdick, the former resident who sketched the Louisa McWorter House, recalled that the town had a schoolhouse for both black and white children and provided a sketch of the building that suggested it had been of a similar wood-frame construction to other schoolhouses in the region at the time.[737] Archaeological investigation conducted in 2005 and 2008 uncovered a slate board and pencils that may have related to the schoolhouse, but could not determine its approximate location. These same excavations also unearthed a single stone pier that the archaeological team in charge of the excavation speculated may have served as part of a building foundation.[738] In consultation with Claire Martin, the historian from the Illinois State Museum, the project team made the decision to represent the schoolhouse as standing on stone piers and to choose the pier site as the location on which to project the model through the AR app. While there is not enough evidence to definitively say whether or not the schoolhouse stood at this site, the primary investigator for the project argues that it was likely located somewhere within the surrounding lot, given the discovery of school-related artifacts like the slate board there. As no other evidence beyond Burdick' sketch existed to suggest otherwise, the project team made their best reasonable guess. To recreate the appearance of the schoolhouse, the team based their model on images of one-room schoolhouses found elsewhere in the Midwestern American frontier dating to the same time period.[739]

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[737] Agbe-Davies, A. "Block 8, Lots 1-2: Searching for the African-American School House." In *2008 Archaeology Report*, edited by C. Fennel (2008). Web. Accessed June 6, 2022. http://faculty.las.illinois.edu/cfennell/NP/2008ReportMenu.html; Agbe-Davies, Anna S., and Claire Fuller Martin. "'Demanding a Share of Public Regard': African American Education at New Philadelphia, Illinois." *Transforming Anthropology* 21, no.2 (2013): 103–121.
[738] Shackel, *New Philadelphia* (2001), 131.
[739] Fuller, W. E. *One-Room Schools of the Middle West*. Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1994.

The project team repeated this process of conjecture for several other buildings likely to have stood at the New Philadelphia site. Where certain buildings completely lacked documentation but could have reasonably been assumed to have stood within a particular lot, the project team chose to represent them as featureless "greybox" models lacking any suggestive materials or architectural detail. In this way, the project team communicated uncertainty and the level of documentation associated with building models while still allowing visitors to spatially orient themselves based on other, more detailed building models represented on-site.[740]

Step Three: Design AR System

To design the system of marker signs that would trigger the display of AR-enabled interpretive content, the project team collaborated with Ben Buchwald, a Boston-based software developer. The result of their collaboration was a system of five target marker signs installed at the precise locations of key historic buildings and structures along the visitors' walking route at the New Philadelphia site. Each of these signs featured a unique target marker which, when recognized by the camera on a mobile device, would trigger the application to display the AR content associated with the marker and, in turn, the site. Each marker was printed onto a 10" by 10" sign set atop a four-foot post. The scale and position of each sign served as a reference for the application, enabling it to project the associated building models at the correct dimensions and on their historic footprint. This type of precision was enabled through the careful placement of models within the virtual map created in the Unity3D app

[740] Amakawa and Westin. "New Philadelphia," (2018).

development environment. The end result was that visitors could approach each sign with their mobile device and experience virtual overlays of vanished buildings which appeared in their approximate historic location. The app also featured voice narration and a variety of other interactive content to make the experience more immersive.[741]



Figure 89: Target marker signs function not only to cue visitors in to the location of relict features in physical space but also, when viewed through the lens of a mobile device, trigger an AR application to project 3D models of vanished or relict features onto the site. Image by Jonathan Amakawa.

[741] Ibid.

Project Outcomes

By May of 2015, the project team had developed a prototype app that displayed a digital reconstruction of half of the town of New Philadelphia. The release of the app began with a beta version available for download from Google Play4 and can be used on Android devices. In September of 2015, an iOS version of the app was released. The app is still available for download and was last updated on September 5, 2021, as of this writing.[742]



Figure 90: The user interface for the prototype version of the New Philadelphia AR app not only displayed 3D models of vanished or relict historic buildings like the Louisa McWorter House, but also offered a "gamified" user experience by displaying digitized archaeological artifacts that visitors could "collect" as they explore the site. Also note the distortions in the positioning of the building models; this is an inevitable effect of the applications reliance on stable cellular network or Wi-Fi connections to operate. Image by Jonathan Amakawa.

[742] Studio Amakawa, "New Phil AR Tour," Google Play. Web. Accessed June 6, 2022. https://play.google.com/store/apps/details?id=com.amakawa.newphiladelphia&hl=en_US&gl=US.

The New Philadelphia AR Tour app enables on-site visitors to the New Philadelphia National Historic Landmark to view digital reconstructions of vanished buildings in their historic locations and to supplement their on-site experience with additional contextual information about the community and its inhabitants in real time. The digital reconstructions are accompanied by audio narrative and atmospheric sound effects, which add an additional immersive element to the interpretive experience – the digitally reconstructed schoolhouse exhibit, for example, features the sounds of children's play.

Other exhibits are accompanied by 3D animated characters acting out scenes drawn both from everyday life on the frontier and from pivotal moments in the town's history. At the tour's first stop, for example, visitors can observe an animated projection of a horse-drawn carriage clattering down what was formerly New Philadelphia's North Street – in this instance, viewers can draw an immediate connection between the route of the virtual carriage and the existing gravel road, revealing that the original route of North Main Street persists in the landscape today. At another stop, viewers witness a virtual confrontation between "Free" Frank McWorter and Reverend Christopher Sanborn Luce concerning Luce's failure to construct a seminary for the town.[743] As visitors navigate the site and trigger interpretive content, they can also collect virtual reconstructions of actual artifacts recovered during prior archaeological investigations. In this way, the interpretive experience is "gamified."[744]

[743] Amakawa and Westin. "New Philadelphia," (2018).
[744] Ibid.

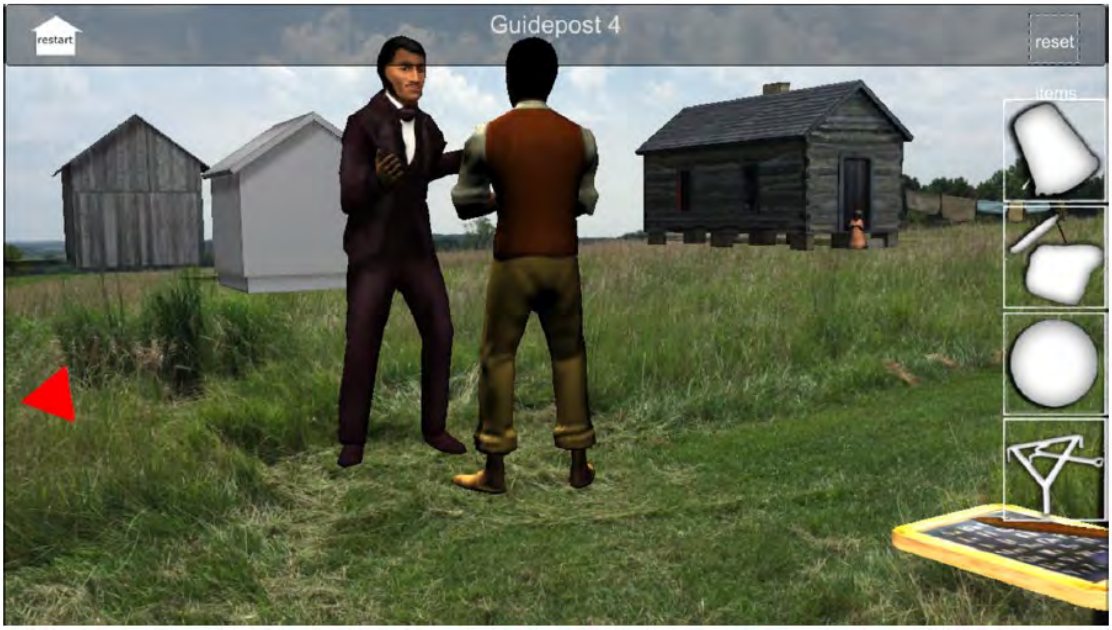


Figure 91: The project team also included 3D animations illustrating dramatized reenactments of key moments in New Philadelphia's history, such as this confrontation between the town's founder, "Free" Frank McWorter, and Reverend Christopher Sanborn Luce, who had failed to construct a seminary for the town. Image by Jonathan Amakawa.

Perhaps most impactfully, visitors can also view an animated train billowing smoke as it passes by on the Hannibal and Naples Railway, vividly illustrating how tantalizingly close the greater economic opportunities afforded by the railroad had been and the day-to-day demoralization that the railroad's decision to bypass the town must have inspired in its residents. As such, the AR tour functions not only to retain visitor attention and provide an engaging on-site interpretive experience, but also functions as a tool for provoking visitors to reflect on the day-to-day experience of New Philadelphia residents.[745]

[745] Ibid.



Figure 92: Board members of the New Philadelphia Association, as well as “Free” Frank descendant Gerald McWorter, had the opportunity to field test the prototype New Philadelphia AR app in the final stages of the project. Image by Jonathan Amakawa.

Mobile-based augmented reality technology is constantly evolving, and each system’s capacity to track users’ location and pinpoint the intended location for virtual objects continues to improve. In the seven years that have passed since the New Philadelphia AR Tour was first released for Android and iOS devices, these capacities have markedly improved. At the time of the project’s inception, however, the project had utilized the most-up-to-date target recognition software available – the alignment of the digitally-reconstructed portions of New Philadelphia with its historic location was thus as precise as could be achieved with the available technology.

The installation remains in use today, demonstrating the lasting efficacy of mobile-based AR for providing an engaging and immersive interpretive experience that overlays virtual representations of vanished landscape features atop their historic

locations in real-time. The successful implementation of this project bodes well for future experimentation and application of this methodology toward other sites similarly marginalized by the authorized heritage discourse, where the capacity exists to adopt it. Barriers to implementation such as the digital divide, skills gaps accompanying modeling tools and methods, and the need for a robust evidence base remain a considerable issue, however.

Individual Case Analysis (Case #5)

The authors of the New Philadelphia study define a digital reconstruction as "a contextualization that visualizes an interpretation."[746] In basing a digital reconstruction on the available documentation and evidence relating to a vanished building, structure, or landscape feature, the resultant model becomes a visual representation reflecting the veracity of the available source material and representative of the current scholarly understanding of the site – what Favro calls a "knowledge model."[747] The resultant model thus is not a representation of the original object but rather represents the current state of knowledge about that object – in other words, it is always an interpretation of the available source materials, an artists' representation. As such, it is as representative of the particular artist's interpretation of the source material as it is of the material itself.[748] This definition is worth adopting for the purposes of interpreting Simmons Row, and thus constitutes the first "smart" practice to be derived from this project.

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[746] Ibid.
[747] Favro, Diane. "In the Eyes of the Beholder: Virtual Reality Re-creations and Academia". In: L. Haselberger and J. Humphrey (eds.) *Imaging Ancient Rome: Documentation, Visualization, Imagination*. Journal of Roman Archaeology Suppl. Series, 61 (2006). Portsmouth: *Journal of Roman Archaeology*, 321–334.
[748] Westin, Jonathan. "Inking a Past; Visualization as a Shedding of Uncertainty." *Visual Anthropology Review* 30, no. 2 (2014): 139–150.

Researchers must be wary of presenting knowledge models without making their limitations clear and explicit to the audience. Indeed, in many cases digital reconstructions are presented without qualification or transparency into the process used to produce them. As such, they often play a role in cementing particular interpretations, first impressions, that become difficult to dislodge later on. This is partially a function of human cognition, as the economist Kate Raworth explains in her book *Doughnut Economics*. Using the example of the classic supply and demand chart, as well as the charts used to illustrate economic growth as expressed, measured in GDP, Raworth illustrates the power of image and visualization to both inform and mislead by cementing first impressions that become difficult to challenge later on. First impressions are powerful; they influence the way we perceive things and can be incredibly hard to dislodge. [749] Information that has been presented visually is even more powerful in this regard. As visualizations carry great potential to communicate an incredible amount of information in a short time, so to do they carry great potential to mislead the public.[750] This is an incredibly important limitation that extends well beyond the scope of this study – indeed, it is the limitation that applies most directly across all cases involved. As such, recognizing this limitation constitutes another "smart" practice.

The rapidly increasing capacity for photorealism exhibited by current rendering and 3D modeling programs lends digital reconstructions thoroughly convincing

[749] Raworth, Kate. *Doughnut Economics: Seven Ways to Think Like a 21st Century Economist.* White River Junction, Vermont: Chelsea Green Publishing, 2017, 10-13.
[750] Spicer, Dick. "Computer Graphics and the Perception of Archaeological Information: Lies, Damned Statistics and... Graphics." *Computer Applications and Quantitative Methods in Archaeology* (1988): 187–200; Shapiro, M. A., and D. G. McDonald. "I'm Not a Real Doctor, But I Play One in Virtual Reality: Implications of Virtual Reality for Judgements About Reality." In *Communication in the Age of Virtual Reality*, edited by F. Biocca and M. R. Levy, 2323–2323. Hove: Routledge, 1995; Klynne, A. "Reconstruction of Knossos: Artists' Impressions, Archaeological Evidence and Wishful Thinking." *Journal of Mediterranean Archaeology* 11, no. 2 (1998): 206–229.

materiality and vividness that carries more potential to mislead and cement problematic first impressions of past landscapes. The increasing photorealism of heritage visualization technologies has necessitated further study into the ways in which uncertainty can and should be communicated through digital models, within the model itself. Methods explored have included fuzzy logic, explicit visual cues, incorporation of multiple conflicting interpretations, and the use of color gradation.[751] In the case of the New Philadelphia project, the project team opted to use greybox "monopoly house" models to represent buildings and structures without sufficient documentation to justify a more detailed representation. In implementing this strategy, they demonstrate another "smart" practice.

Including digital reconstructions in interpretive materials demands that heritage practitioners carefully consider the ways that audiences may receive the information being presented – as Westin cautions, "an unchallenged interpretation, incorporated into a large body of knowledge drawn upon by others, risks becoming a fact."[752] Representations powerfully affect understandings of history and culture.[753] This is a caution not only for heritage practitioners but also for the built design professions in general that graphic communication carries as much potential to mislead as it does to communicate and persuade. Indeed, it begs the question of what, exactly, practitioners

[751] Nicolucci, Franco and Sorin Hermon. "A Fuzzy Logic Approach to Reliability in Archaeological Virtual Reconstruction." *In Beyond the Artifact. Digital Interpretation of the Past*, edited by F. Nicolucci and S. Hermon (2010), 28–35. Budapest: Archaeolingua; Westin, Jonathan, and Thommy Eriksson. "Imaging the Sanctuary of Hercules Victor." *Archeomatica* 2 (2010): 58–62; Landeschi, Giacomo, Nicolo Dell'Unto and Daniel Ferdani. "Enhanced 3D-GIS: Documenting Insula V 1 in Pompeii". Proceedings of the 42nd Annual Conference on Computer Applications and Quantitative Methods in Archaeology *In CAA2014 21st Century Archaeology*, Paris, 2015, 349–360.
[752] Westin, Jonathan. *Negotiating 'Culture', Assembling a Past*. Gothenburg: Acta Universitatis Gothoburgensis, 2012.
[753] Smiles, Sam, and Stephanie Moser, eds. *Envisioning the Past: Archaeology and the Image*. Oxford: Blackwell, 2005.

aim to accomplish through graphic communications and calls into question the uncritical faith in graphic communication that remains embedded in the culture of these disciplines. Critically examining the value and need for this kind of graphic communication thus constitutes another “smart” practice.

While the spatial template on which the New Philadelphia model’s streets, blocks, and lots were based is reasonably accurate and helps to communicate the spatial organization, cluster arrangement, and general settlement patterns that characterized the town, it must be emphasized that they are still inferences drawn from the limited available documentary and archaeological evidence. The model is thus conjectural, not approximate. In cases where this approach is adopted, this must be made explicitly clear. This further substantiates the “smart” practice of clearly communicating uncertainty.

The authors make clear that the current app, at the time of writing, does not include a detailed, rigorous means of communicating uncertainty in the resultant visualization. The first phase of the project had focused on creating the spatial template, matching model locations and display to the correct corresponding location on the ground and designing a system of signage to enable to display. In their paper, the authors explain that future iterations of the project would enable users to select individual models and be able to learn about the source materials, inferences, conjectures, and design process on which the model is based, allowing them to “peek behind the scenes” into the model’s development and examine for themselves the veracity of the conjectures at play.[754] It is unknown at this time whether these changes have been implemented. Even so, the

[754] Amakawa and Westin. "New Philadelphia,” (2018).

guiding principle behind these future interventions further substantiates the “smart” practice of communicating uncertainty by making inferences explicit, the evidence on which these inferences are based freely available, and documenting paradata.

It is notable that the New Philadelphia team was working off even less evidence than is available for Simmons Row. On the one hand, they had the advantage of a base of extensive archaeological evidence derived from prior excavations. Archaeological investigations have been conducted at the Ailey Young House, but have not focused on Simmons Row per se, and excavations have been limited so far. Even so, prior archaeological work has mapped the locations of certain features, such as the locations of remnant piers from one of the dwellings. Adopting the New Philadelphia team’s approach, which based the location of their schoolhouse in their visualization off the location of a single stone pier that was never concretely tied to the original schoolhouse building, that the team inferred may have corresponded to the schoolhouse based on the location of a slate board, evidence reasonably associated with a schoolhouse, suggest that that the same approach to modeling Simmons Row could be taken. Even with the less extensive archaeological investigations that have taken place, a project team working on Simmons Row has the additional advantage of access to aerial and ground photographs, as well as extensive historical maps in the form of the Sanborn maps as well as the Arrington and Arrington maps from 1937. Historic aerials of the site in 1938 help to affirm the locations of their buildings and their relationships to one another. The New Philadelphia team just had McWorter’s plat, as well as site maps developed from the archaeological investigations, from which to work off of. As such, a project team

working on modelling Simmons Row would have more than sufficient evidence with which to create a spatial template using these materials.

A project team working on Simmons Row also has the added advantage of ground photos as well as an existing building, the Ailey Young House, in addition to other regional precedents of the same period on which to base things like architectural details and materials. The New Philadelphia team had far less – just two sketches drawn from memory, as well as regional precedents. Thus, while the Simmons Row project team would still need to draw inferences and rely on conjecture for parts of Simmons Row, they would not have to do so to the degree which the New Philadelphia team did. It is also worth noting here that the New Philadelphia team's reliance on a local memory in this instance further substantiates the "smart" practice of cross-referencing traditional historical documents and archaeological evidence with local experts' and descendants' first-hand testimony.

All of this suggests that a similar modeling process would be possible at Simmons Row. What seems less applicable, however, is the target-based augmented reality display system that the New Philadelphia team employs to display their digitized content. There is a simple difference of the characteristics of the two sites – the New Philadelphia site is located on an abandoned agricultural field, whereas there is far more that has been built on top of the space formerly occupied by Simmons Row. Where the New Philadelphia site is a bare open field, the Simmons Row site is now occupied by the western side of the Wake Forest Cemetery, as well as new buildings such as the Feggins & Feggins funeral home. Further, there is some possibility that the building footprints overlap with the existing sidewalk – North White Street has been expanded and paved, and it is likely

that the sidewalk crosses over what was formerly the front porch or entrance to many of the houses. This becomes evident when historic maps and aerials are georeferenced and then compared with existing conditions. This limits the degree to which a target-based display system that seeks to align building models to their historically accurate locations could be effectively employed – there simply is not as much room, and the buildings would overlap with existing features in a way that would likely be highly distracting and disorienting. It would not be useful to attempt to overlay a building model atop one of the large screening shrubs occupying the space where the Cookes formerly lived for example, nor would it be safe for people to be standing in the middle of the entrance road leading into the cemetery as they try to visualize one of the houses that had stood there. The end result would be that just two or three of the buildings could be effectively displayed, which would not be conducive to visualizing and interpreting Simmons Row as a whole.

Finally, there is the fact that the entire process is expert-driven. The researchers themselves highlight the ways in which "knowledge models" are as suggestive of the modelers' interpretation of evidence as it is of the evidence itself.[755] As such, the resultant visualization would be reflective of the modelers' view, more so than it would be of the community's. Further, the average layperson could not directly participate in any kind of co-authorship role beyond serving as an informant for oral history or other documentary evidence. Community agency and opportunity for co-authorship is thus limited in this case. Though open-source, in that ostensibly anyone could download and use the same tools that the project team did, following their process still entails

[755] Favro, "In the Eyes of the Beholder" (2006).

overcoming steep learning curves that could be intimidating to the lay user. Further, though freely available, it is still reliant on a skillset that a relative handful of technically-minded people have, that is not accessible to most lay users without considerable time and effort spent overcoming these initial learning curves.

The affordances of mobile-based augmented reality are certainly exciting, but ultimately not appropriate in this case. The process is replicable but would still rely on a degree of conjecture and inference that would necessitate extensive explanation of the decision-making behind the modeling process as well as an explicit statement of the limitations of digital reconstructions. Even so, there is great potential to cement an image of Simmons Row in people's minds that would become difficult to dislodge as more is learned about the site. In a way, it would be premature to make such an attempt –as the historical and landscape analyses presented in Chapters Three and Four reveal, there is far more to learn about Simmons Row. Further, perhaps the greatest limitation is simply the fact that a target-based system of signage such as that employed at New Philadelphia could only be implemented to a limited degree at Simmons Row without becoming invasive and disruptive to other site functions, such as the Cemetery. The placement of signs and display of material would be awkward, given the overlap of building footprints with the existing sidewalks. Thus, while possible in theory, it is not recommended that this approach be taken when it comes to visualizing and interpreting Simmons Row.

Even so, the New Philadelphia case is particularly informative of the possibilities of visualizations based on limited evidence. Further, their analysis of the limitations of the approach, as well as the limitations of digital reconstruction to accurately represent the past, is deeply informed and carefully considered. They provide some of the greatest

insight into the capacities of digital reconstruction to both represent and misrepresent the past. Further, they highlight the importance of communicating uncertainty, although they do not directly reference the London Charter. Nonetheless, their analysis is directly aligned with the principles of the London Charter. Their definition of digital reconstruction and their concept of knowledge models is important to understand the degree to which digital reconstructions actually represent the past. While the practices employed may only be replicable to a limited degree for Simmons Row, when taking the pragmatics of implementation into account, the theories on which the New Philadelphia AR Tour is based may nonetheless eventually find their expression in the proposed interpretive design strategy.

Summary List of Applicable "Smart" Practices (Case #5)

- 5.1. Understand that the end product of heritage visualization is necessarily "a contextualization that visualizes an interpretation," meaning that it will be as representative of the designer's particular interpretation of the source material as they are of the historic conditions they've aimed to recreate.
- 5.2. Recognize that heritage visualization carries with it a great potential to mislead owing not only to its capacity for photorealism but also due to basic characteristics of human cognition – namely, that first impressions are powerful and extremely difficult to dislodge.
- 5.3. Where possible, use clear visual cues to communicate uncertainty.

- 5.4. Critically reflect on what, exactly, the project team aims to accomplish through its graphic communications, and carefully consider whether photorealistic renderings are essential to that task.
- 5.5. Recognize that visual representations of the past are necessarily conjectural, especially when based on limited evidence, and make every effort to dislodge the notion that the resultant visualization approximates reality.

CHAPTER XII

CASE #6: THE ROSEWOOD VIRTUAL HERITAGE PROJECT

Introduction

Rosewood, Florida was a once-thriving Black town that was destroyed during a weeklong spree of racially motivated violence perpetrated by a white mob in 1923. The former townsite is located in Levy County, Florida, nine miles from the Gulf coast, and was established in the mid-1800s by both whites and blacks. By the early 1900s, Rosewood had grown to a majority-Black community and was deeply tied, both socially and economically, with the nearby town of Sumner.[756]

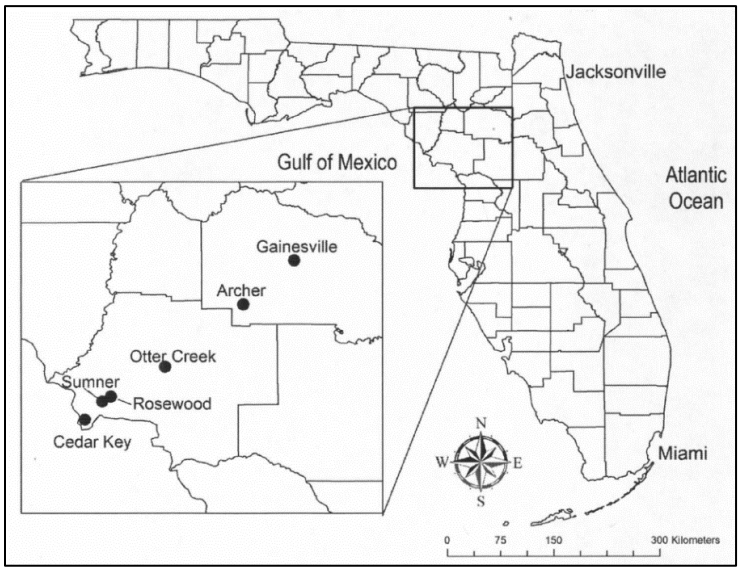


Figure 93: Rosewood and Sumner were deeply tied both socially and economically. This proximity and co-dependence is illustrative of the relations between similar racially-divided communities across the South and was an important factor in the eventual razing of Rosewood by a white mob in 1923. Map by Edward Gonzalez-Tennant.

[756] González-Tennant, "New Heritage and Dark Tourism," (2013).

On New Year's Day in 1923, a white woman residing in Sumner claimed that she had been assailed by a black man as cover-up for her extramarital affair. A white posse numbering in the hundreds quickly gathered and stormed Rosewood. After brutally murdering four black residents, the mob began systematically burning the town to the ground. As their homes turned to cinders, the women and children of the community took to the nearby swamps, where they hid until a train arrived well before dawn to ferry them away to other nearby towns such as Archer, Otter Creek, and the freedmen's enclave in Gainesville. The descendants of these refugees still reside there to this day. Reparations for the crime would not be delivered until 1994, well after most of its original victims had passed away.[757]

The tragic history of Rosewood remains an illuminative case study in the intersections of heritage and social justice. Further, the legacy of trauma inherited by the survivors of the massacre echoes similar traumas shared by marginalized people throughout the United States.[758] The Rosewood Virtual Heritage Project is an outgrowth of Gonzalez-Tennant's ongoing efforts to recover this marginalized history. Using a mixed-methods approach incorporating historical archaeology, geospatial analysis, oral history, and new heritage technologies, Gonzalez-Tennant has striven to make Rosewood's story available to a wide audience well beyond that of his colleagues in academia. Rather than another case of purely academic research, Gonzalez-Tennant's

[757] Ibid.
[758] Ibid.

goal is to shift the discourse surrounding this story to make the circumstances of Rosewood's destruction a matter of public knowledge.[759]

Implementing the Rosewood Virtual Heritage Project

For his work on the Rosewood Virtual Heritage project, Gonzalez-Tennant integrated three technologies: GIS, virtual world environments, and digital storytelling platforms. Using these technologies, he digitally reconstructed the landscape of Rosewood prior to its destruction in 1923. His process for undertaking this digital reconstruction followed five steps:

1. Collection and organization of supporting evidence
2. "Blocking out" the general layout of the digitally reconstructed Rosewood landscape
3. Addition of details to the "blocked out" Rosewood landscape model
4. Addition of textures to the Rosewood landscape model
5. Sharing of the resultant visualization via multiple digital storytelling platforms[760]

Step One: Collection and organization of supporting evidence

Gonzalez-Tennant's first task in undertaking his digital reconstruction of Rosewood was to utilize geographic information systems (GIS) software to meticulously map the plot boundaries described in the hundreds of deeds that correspond to known property owners residing in Rosewood over a period of over 50 years (1870—1930). As

[759] Ibid.
[760] González-Tennant and González-Tennant, "The Practice and Theory of New Heritage for Historical Archaeology," (2016).

Rosewood was isolated, rural, and never officially incorporated, no historic maps, plats, or city directories exist to suggest the spatial organization or cluster arrangements that characterized its layout, or the proximity of different resident's properties to one another. This represents a significant gap in the archives and is characteristic of the situation for Simmons Row as well, as no city directories exist for the Town of Wake Forest.[761]

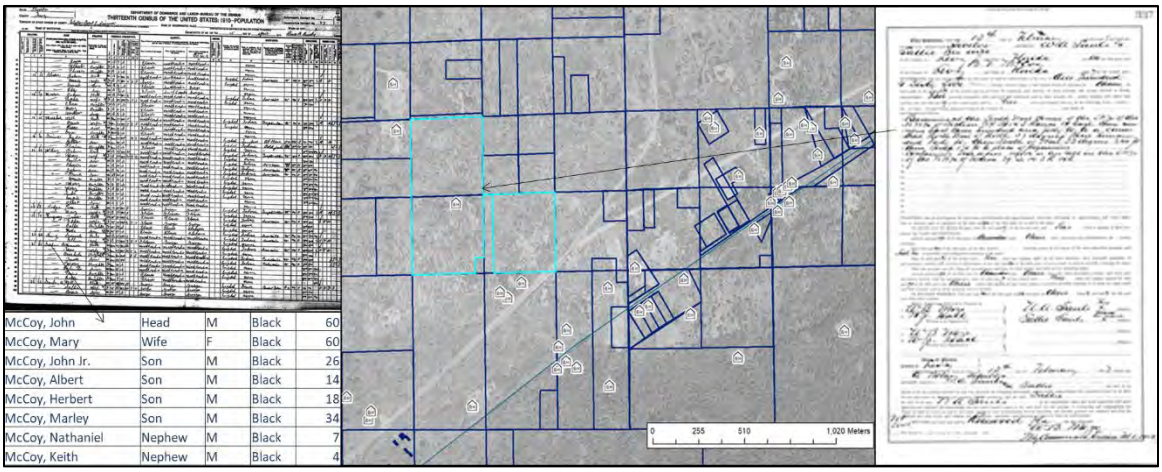


Figure 94: The absence of official maps or plat records forced the Rosewood project team to manually reconstruct historic property boundaries in and around Rosewood based on the boundary descriptions recorded in deed records. Residents' homesites and land holdings could also be triangulated based on their order of enumeration in historic Census data. Image by Edward Gonzalez-Tennant.

Drawing on the property descriptions listed in hundreds of deeds – a meticulous process requiring the deciphering of scanned handwritten documents – Gonzalez-Tennant extracted the metes and bounds for individual properties and mapped them using ESRI's ArcGIS software. The result of this effort was a historical GIS database containing records of property ownership and land transfers between the inhabitants of Rosewood encompassing its entire period of significance (1870 to 1930). Gonzalez-Tennant also

[761] Ibid.

integrated historic census data in order to provide a more holistic picture of the identities of individual inhabitants and their families. The resultant historical GIS database not only provides a spatial template for the digital reconstruction but also provides vital contextualization of the identities of Rosewood's inhabitants and the socioeconomic conditions under which they lived. The proposed locations of historic buildings and structures were ground-truthed with ongoing archeological investigations at the Rosewood site. With this spatial template and context, Gonzalez-Tennant had the supporting evidence to proceed to the next step of digital reconstruction – "blocking out" the models of individual buildings and structures and matching them to their historic locations.[762]

Step Two: "Blocking out" the general layout of the digitally reconstructed Rosewood landscape

The process of "blocking out" buildings began with the GIS-based spatial template that Gonzalez-Tennant developed in the first step. "Blocking out" refers to the generation of minimalistic 3D models of each building in SketchUp. These models were then placed upon their historic location within the spatial template generated in the first step. SketchUp allows users to upload CAD drawings, topographic profiles from Google Earth, and other geospatial data that allows the modeler to achieve historically accurate arrangements of landscape features. The resultant model can then be imported to other programs for further processing and final rendering. The "blocking out" of Rosewood was initially undertaken in SketchUp, arranged using topographic and aerial imagery

[762] Ibid.

from Google Earth, then eventually moved into 3DS Max for the next step of modeling.[763]

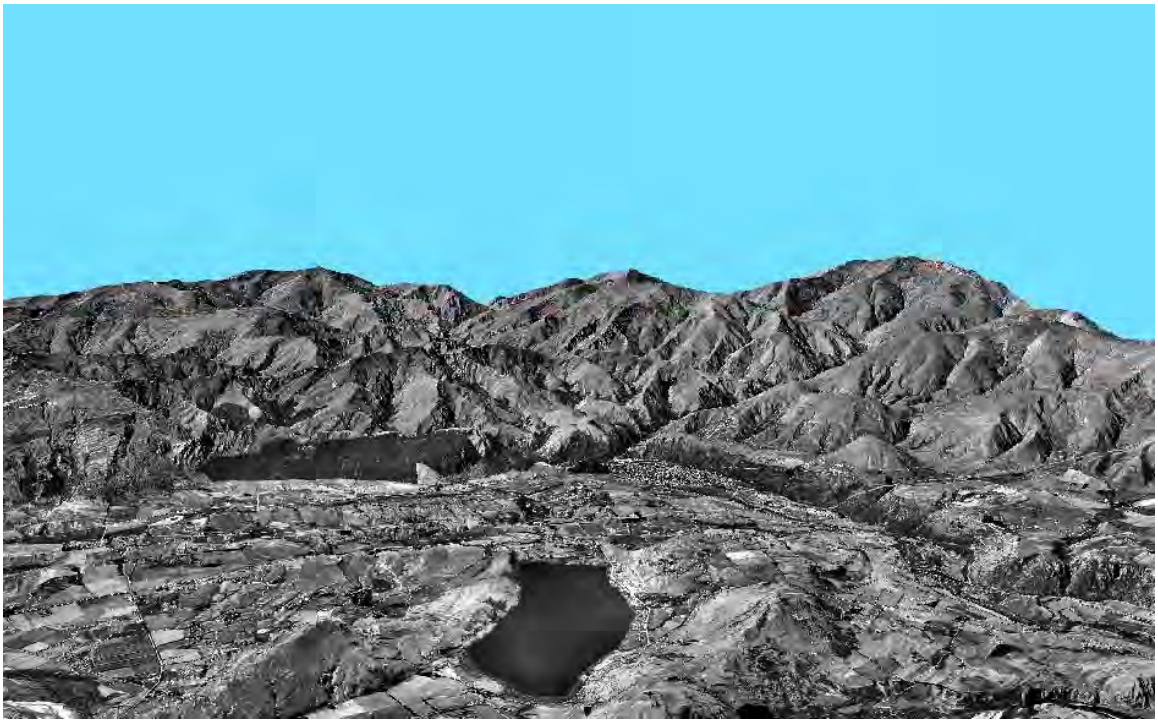


Figure 95: To recreate the terrain surrounding Rosewood, the Rosewood project team employed a method called “rubber-sheeting,” which involves draping historic aerial imagery atop topographic data imported from applications such as Google Earth into a 3D GIS environment. The result is a rough digital reconstruction of historic ground conditions – a base upon which 3D models of buildings and other landscape features can be situated. Image by Edward Gonzalez-Tennant.

Step Three: Addition of details to the “blocked out” Rosewood landscape model

Having “blocked out” the historic layout of Rosewood based on the evidence organized within the historical GIS database, Gonzalez-Tennant's next task was to add details to the several dozen 3D models representative of historic buildings and structures that had formerly constituted the physical footprint and infrastructure of Rosewood.

[763] Ibid.

HABS documentation of extant structures offered particularly detailed architectural information that proved vital to the modeling process and enabled the generation of spatially and architecturally precise digital reconstructions. Gonzalez-Tennant based the visual character of his models on a wealth of evidence synthesized from oral histories, property descriptions, and documentation of still-extant historic structures of the same period found elsewhere in central Florida. These models were initially generated using Autodesk's 3DS Max modeling software, which is free for educators and students to download and use. Gonzalez-Tennant then uploaded the resultant models to a virtual world environment generated within the Unity 3D game engine, also free to download and use.[764]

Step Four: Addition of textures to the Rosewood landscape model

Once the virtual world environment of Rosewood as it existed prior to 1923 was in place, Gonzalez-Tennant's' next task was to apply realistic, historically accurate textures to his 3D models. Accomplishing this task required the generation of a texture map, which is then directly applied to the 3D model. The textures themselves were generated from photographs of extant historic buildings and structures of the same period located elsewhere in central Florida that were of the same period of significance as Rosewood (1870-1930). These textures were refined in Adobe Photoshop before they were imported to Unity 3D or Autodesk 3DS and directly applied to the 3D models. Placing the textures on the 3D models was accomplished by assigned map coordinates that would match each texture to its corresponding surface on the models. While

[764] Ibid.

meticulous and costly in terms of time and labor required, the result of this process is remarkably realistic and details models that aid the communication of period-specific construction and materials. Once completed, each model is thereafter referred to as an asset, a term adopted from 3D artists and animators. In all, Gonzalez-Tennant's digital reconstruction of Rosewood necessitated the generation of over 40 individual assets encompassing dwellings, commercial buildings, a train depot, churches, and other community buildings and structures that had characterized Rosewood's built environment. This virtual world environment is maintained on a private server managed by Gonazlez-Tennant and is open for the public to access and explore at the project's website."[765]

[765] Ibid; González-Tennant, "Home," Rosewood Heritage & VR Project. Web. Accessed June 7, 2022. http://www.virtualrosewood.com/

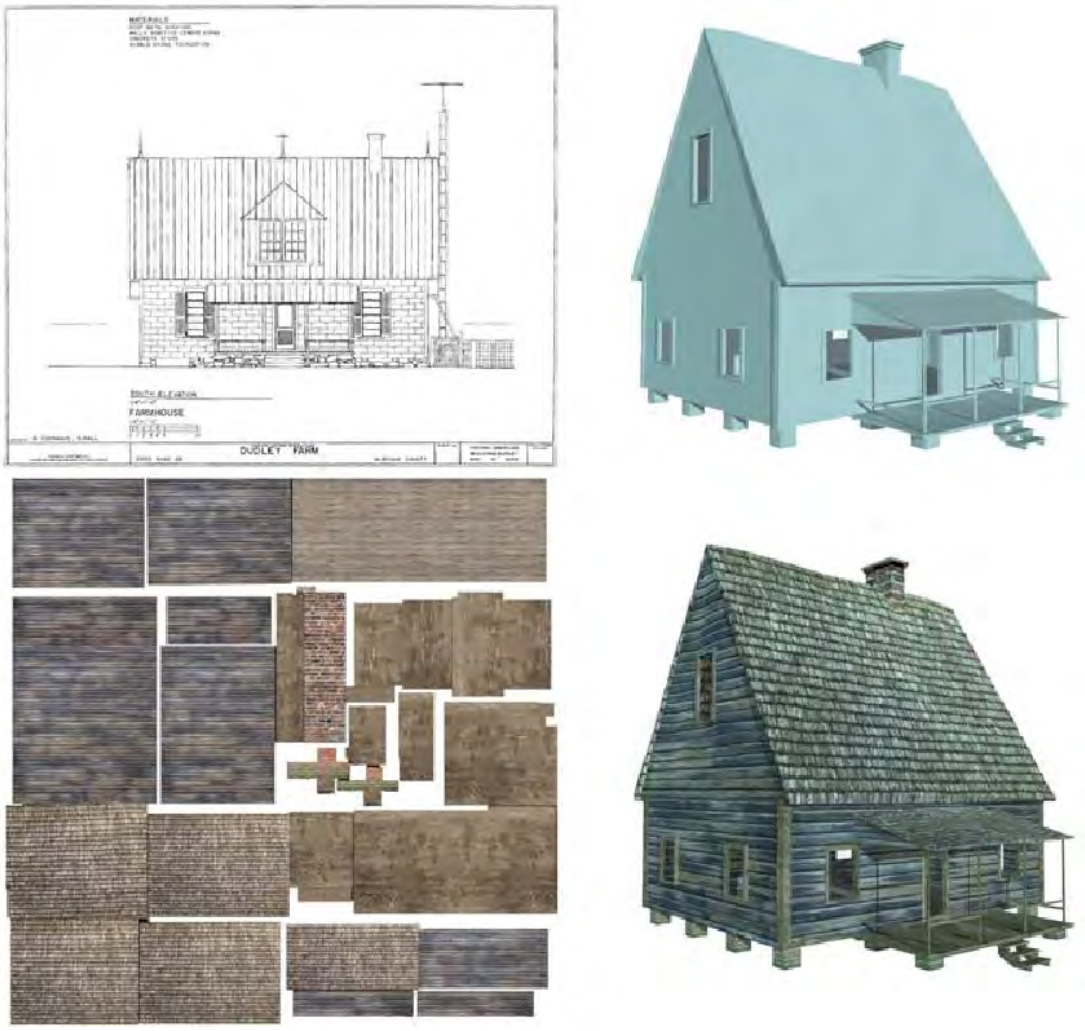


Figure 96: This diagram illustrates the process and results of Steps Three and Four of the Rosewood project team's modelling methodology. Historically accurate architectural features were first modelled in Blender based on detailed drawings recorded by the HABS program. Feature textures were then created in Photoshop and individually "mapped" onto their corresponding model surface in Unity3D. Image by Edward Gonzalez-Tennant.

Step Five: Sharing of the resultant visualization via multiple digital storytelling platforms

Having completed a digital reconstruction of Rosewood hosted within a virtual world environment, Gonzalez-Tennant's final task was to leverage a variety of digital storytelling platforms in order to disseminate the visualization and make it easily

accessible to a wide audience. In collaboration with descendants of the original inhabitants of Rosewood, Gonzalez-Tennant led the creation of a 26-minute documentary centering on their personal stories. Additionally, he also explored the use of the online world Second Life to create a virtual museum, called the Rosewood Virtual Museum, allowing users to explore the history and built environment of Rosewood in several ways. Though the Second Life platform could not support the full virtual world environment that Gonzalez-Tennant had created, he was able to utilize the platform's built-in world-building tools to design the virtual museum in the style of a repurposed home modeled on a dwelling that had existed in Rosewood. This dwelling is located next to a timeline illustrating the events leading up to the 1923 race riot. Additionally, the virtual museum also featured another more modern theater building in which visitors could view the digital documentary. The cost of maintaining a virtual world in Second Life was ultimately prohibitive, however, and the virtual museum was eventually discontinued in 2014. Gonzalez-Tennant is currently at work creating an updated replacement hosted on the Unity 3D platform.[766]

[766] González-Tennant and González-Tennant, "The Practice and Theory of New Heritage for Historical Archaeology," (2016).



Figure 97: Web applications like Second Life allowed the Rosewood project team to disseminate their research findings to a wide, often unconventional audience that would not have encountered their work otherwise. Image by Edward Gonzalez-Tennant.

Project Outcomes

The process that Gonzalez-Tennant undertook to generate a complete virtual world environment reflects a mixed-methods approach integrating GIS, 3D modelling, open-source game engines, virtual world environments, and digital storytelling to critically visualize Rosewood and better understand the ways in which its destruction remains relevant to present-day social justice issues. The completed digital reconstruction of Rosewood represents a massive, 2-square mile homespace that is emblematic of the place-based and spatial strategies for freedom-seeking and self-determination that free Black people pursued in the 19th and early 20th centuries. Such spaces are rare in themselves and important all the more for the fact that Black people rarely had the space or opportunity to exercise such autonomy under oppressive Jim Crow laws. The

immersive virtual world environment not only renders vanished landscape features visible to visitors but also allows them to move through and come to understand more experientially the complex webs and ties of kinship, range, gender, homeownership, and land tenure that undergirded life in Rosewood. As visitors explore this virtual historic built environment and admire the community and institutions that the residents of Rosewood built, it becomes all the more evident how the racially motivated violence that led to its destruction constituted an utter denial of these freedoms. In this way, the Virtual Rosewood Heritage project takes the destruction of Rosewood out of the abstract and confronts visitors with its lived reality and long-lasting implications, the ripples of which are still felt today.[767]



Figure 98: Edward Gonzalez-Tennant continues to update and expand the Rosewood Virtual Heritage Project to correspond with his ongoing archaeological research at the physical site of Rosewood and its surrounding communities. Image by Edward Gonzalez-Tennant.

[767] Ibid.

Individual Case Analysis (Case #6)

Game engines like Unity 3D enable modelers to easily share interactive versions of their visualizations with the public. From a modeling standpoint, the workflows these programs afford are intuitive compared to other industry-grade tools. More importantly, they allow modelers to transition static 3D models, such as those that Gonzalez-Tennant generated in 3DS Max, to immersive, interactive virtual world environments that afford users the ability to explore digitally reconstructed relict landscapes. These capabilities afford researchers a host of avenues for engaging the public in novel, creative ways, and open multiple avenues for further experimental research. Christopher Tilley, for example, proposes that researchers can use these technologies to undertake more phenomenological explorations of historic built environments as they were experienced in the past by the people who inhabited them.[768] While arguably at the outer range of the affordances enabled by new heritage technologies, it certainly stands that these methodologies enable a more experientially-oriented approach to interpreting the historic built environment and offers a range of possibilities for interpreting relict Black homespaces like Simmons Row. As such, leveraging the affordances of new heritage technologies to enable immersive, interactive experiences of the historic built environment constitutes the first "smart" practice to be derived from this project.

As Gonzalez-Tennant argues, the use of modeling programs is a central skillset for new heritage projects.[769] The skillset required to utilize these software tools remains prohibitively expert-driven, however, and beyond the capacity of the typical lay user.

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[768] Tilley, Christopher *A Phenomenology of Landscape: Places, Paths and Monuments*. Berg, Oxford, 1994.

[769] González-Tennant and González-Tennant, "The Practice and Theory of New Heritage for Historical Archaeology," (2016).

Gonzalez-Tennant does not explicitly detail the steps he undertakes to match models to their corresponding locations on the spatial template or to migrate his models into Unity 3D and match them to their corresponding locations. Research by Douglass at al. adopts a similar methodology and toolkit to that employed by Gonzalez-Tennant and explicitly articulates step-by-step workflows that modelers can undertake to accomplish these tasks. Their research suggests that the process of generating 3D models and migrating them into a virtual world environment, while supported by a growing community of users and body of documentation to support problem-specific troubleshooting, still requires overcoming initial learning curves that may be intimidating at best to new users, especially those unfamiliar with digital technologies. Gonzalez-Tennant himself acknowledges that the methods of new heritage remain beyond the scope and capacity of most trained archaeologists. [770] Further, while certainly a useful tool for those subsets of expert researchers who opt to use them, it falls short of the claims of democratizing knowledge that the proponents of these methods often claim when considered from the perspective of the lay user. The process is also time-consuming. For example, Gonzalez-Tennant estimates that the most current version of the Rosewood reconstruction took upwards of 600 hours to complete.[771]

Reliance on 3D modeling software to digitally reconstruct relict landscapes can also easily become cost-prohibitive, depending on the software utilized, and most commercial firms use entertainment industry-grade software requiring subscriptions that can easily run into the thousands of dollars. While free for college educators and students enrolled in design programs to download and use, Autodesk's 3DS Max, for example,

[770] Ibid.
[771] Ibid.

can cost upwards of $3,000 for an institutional subscription.[772] There are lower-cost options, such as Trimble's SketchUp, as well as free, open-source software tools such as Blender and Google Earth, all of which can just as easily be used in place of the software tools that Gonzalez-Tennant utilized in his approach.[773] Unity 3D, the game engine used to synthesize the models and recreated landscape into a complete virtual world environment, is also free and open-source with an extensive user base and body of documentation and technical support. Using such tools, modelers can achieve similar results to those achieved through the use of more expensive, industry-grade tools.

ArcGIS is another proprietary software with considerable associated costs. QGIS is an open-source alternative that could offer the same capabilities – an approach adopting this software has not been explicitly outlined in the published research, however, although Gonzalez-Tennant does maintain a YouTube channel on which he offers tutorial on how to use QGIS for the purposes of heritage visualization and archaeological research.[774] There is also an enormous body of documentation supporting the use of QGIS that lay users could also benefit from. Thus, leveraging open-source software tools with well-established user bases and bodies of documentation in order to bypass the barriers imposed by high-cost proprietary software constitutes another "smart" practice.

New heritage methods of scholarship and interpretation such as Gonzalez-Tennant's also engender novel collaborations between researchers and the public, particularly descendant communities and other stakeholders. On the Rosewood Virtual

[772] Ibid.
[773] Ibid.
[774] González-Tennant, "AnthroYeti," YouTube. Accessed June 7, 2022. https://www.youtube.com/c/AnthroYeti/featured.

Heritage website, for example, Gonzalez-Tennant has made transcripts of all oral histories recorded for the project and spreadsheets containing census data relating to all of the properties mapped for the project open and free to download. Landowners whose properties currently overlap with the historic footprint of Rosewood can use these resources not only to better understand the history of their properties but also to contribute to future research efforts. One landowner who had previously denied Gonzalez-Tennant and his archaeological research team has already changed his mind and allowed them access to a historic cemetery related to Rosewood as a result of the information that they've made available for example.[775] In this way, new heritage methods of visualization and interpretation are also supportive of more inclusive, community-centered archaeological research.

Maintaining the Rosewood Virtual Heritage Project requires ongoing ethnographic engagement – Gonzalez-Tennant returns to the site annually, for example, and is constantly updating his knowledge base.[776] Further, the technologies enabling new heritage visualization and interpretation are constantly evolving, necessitating upgrades, updates, and new versions to be developed on an ongoing basis. As such, constant experimentation, as well as vigilance regarding innovations and industry shifts in 3D modeling technologies and digital representation, is necessary in order to ensure the ongoing relevancy and operability of the projects such as Gonzalez-Tennant's. In a way, the period of experimentation that characterizes the early adoption of new heritage techniques can never end. Gonzalez-Tennant continues to update the Rosewood virtual world environment and is currently working towards remodeling the 3D assets he initially

[775] González-Tennant, "New Heritage and Dark Tourism," (2013).
[776] Ibid.

developed in 3DS Max using non-proprietary, open-source software such as Blender.[777] Ongoing explorations of such tools may help to address the issues of cost and accessibility affecting the adoption of proprietary technologies. While promising for Gonzalez-Tennant's work, this is a key consideration for a project team seeking to adapt his methodology toward an interpretive visualization of Simmons Row. Not only is the initial process of digital reconstruction time-intensive, but the resultant visualization also requires a considerable commitment of time and effort toward updating and maintaining it as its enabling technologies continue to develop. This suggests that making the effort to stay apace of ongoing developments in heritage visualization technology in order to keep projects up-to-date and accessible constitutes another "smart" practice.

The Rosewood Virtual Heritage Project demonstrates the level of detail achievable even in the absence of physical remains. It must be noted, however, that the digital reconstruction of Rosewood was possible only after several years' worth of archaeological research and considerable effort put into developing a geodatabase, recreating the metes and bounds for the settlement based on available land records. This is no small feat – deeds must be transcribed, metes and bounds derived and converted into shapefiles, then correctly georeferenced in relation to one another, all stored and organized as a geodatabase. This spatial template then had to be cross-referenced against years' worth of archaeological evidence gathered by Gonzalez-Tennant and his colleagues.[778] This is all to say that the Rosewood Virtual Heritage Project built upon years' worth of evidence that has not yet necessarily been compiled for Simmons Row.

[777] González-Tennant and González-Tennant, "The Practice and Theory of New Heritage for Historical Archaeology," (2016).
[778] Ibid.

Preliminary archaeological investigations have begun at Simmons Row but have focused exclusively on the Ailey Young House site with only cursory investigations of the area encompassed by the other dwellings on Simmons Row. This is available both through the GPR survey as well as the excavations conducted by New South Associates.[779] Even so, this is only two years' worth of preliminary investigations. Future investigations are planned for the other homesites encompassed by Simmons Row, namely those nearer to North White Street. Ground scatters of artifacts deposited and uncovered through erosion and stormwater flow, as well as building rubble from some of the dwellings nearer to North White Street, suggest that future archaeological investigations could bear significant yields and further information about the other families who lived there. This work remains to be done, however.

The advantage that researchers of Simmons Row have over Gonzalez-Tennant, however, is access to historic maps, aerial imagery, and ground photographs. None of these archival sources were available for Rosewood. A notable advantage that Gonzalez-Tennant had, however, was access to relevant HABS drawings.[780] On the other hand, an advantage of the Simmons Row site is the presence of at least one physical building – the Ailey Young House. In many ways, a team considering a similar approach to visualizing and interpreting Simmons Row has much more evidence to use. It is feasible, for example, to derive the metes and bounds for all land records associated with Simmons Row and creating a spatial template similar to what Gonzalez-Tennant created. Further,

[779] New South Associates, Inc., "Ground Penetrating Radar Survey and Selected Metal Detecting to Prospect for Historic House Artifacts and Features at the Ailey Young House (31WA1958**)," (2017); New South Associates, Inc. "Limited Archaeological Excavations at the Ailey Young House (31WA1958**)," (2019).
[780] González-Tennant and González-Tennant, "The Practice and Theory of New Heritage for Historical Archaeology," (2016).

rather than relying fully on conjecture for building models, modelers have the advantage of both ground photography and a surviving precedent – the Ailey Young House – on which the base building models.

There are notable disadvantages and drawbacks that must be taken into account, however, namely Gonzalez-Tennant's reliance on industry-grade software requiring considerable technical expertise. Gonzalez-Tennant himself notes that not all trained archaeologists will have access to this kind of software toolkit, much less have developed the technical expertise required to use it properly.[781] It is clear that there is a growing body of literature and research supporting the democratization of this skill and toolset, as indicated by Douglass et al's research – but there is far more work yet to be done.[782] For the time being, it is difficult to see how this approach could be applied beyond the context of specialized academic research undertaken by teams of PhDs and their graduate assistants. The work can technically be undertaken by an individual researcher, but this individual would need considerable expertise as well as access to the requisite software and the time and bandwidth to prioritize the project.

The use of digital videos and self-producing documentaries holds additional promise for democratizing knowledge production. During Juneteenth celebrations, members of the Northeast Community have submitted self-authored digital videos shot with cell phones of younger family members interviewing their older relatives and asking them what they most value about the Northeast Community. There is a high likelihood that a documentary along the lines of what Gonzalez-Tennant produced for the Rosewood Virtual Heritage Project could be possible for Simmons Row. Indeed, the Wake Forest

[781] Ibid.
[782] Douglass et al "Virtual Reconstruction as Archaeological Observation," (2019).

Historical Museum has already shot a series of oral history videos featuring various older Black women who grew up under Jim Crow in the Northeast Community.[783] An additional benefit of digital storytelling over traditional documentary filmmaking is its cost-effectiveness and accessibility. Gonzalez-Tennant argues that modern filmmaking and other more traditional forms of media follow an "industrial logic" emphasizing large-scale and intensive production, expensive equipment, and specialized labor). Self-recorded digital videos, on the other hand, offer a "postindustrial" storytelling platform that is not governed by the same logic. Gonzalez-Tennant argues that this potential as an "emancipatory form" of media is "literally hardwired into its very structure."[784] As such, positioning participants as co-authors by actively incorporating self-authored digital content into interpretive interventions constitutes another "smart" practice.

In conclusion, Gonzalez-Tennant's overall theoretical framework appears practical to the visualization and interpretation of Simmons Row in terms of qualifying what constitutes new heritage and designating specific criteria by which to judge a design approach as such. Certain elements of his approach, such as the process of deriving metes and bounds and recreating property boundaries from land records, may indeed be worthwhile to undertake in order to better understand patterns of land tenure on Simmons Row. The overall process of digital reconstruction, however, does not seem as necessary. While the evidence base is certainly there, in some respects, the time, expertise, and resources required would likely exceed the organizational capacity of the personnel and institutions involved in researching and preserving Simmons Row – namely, Wake Forest

[783] "Oral History Film Clips," Wake Forest Historical Museum Blog. Posted July 18, 2013. Accessed June 3, 2022. https://wakeforestmuseum.org/2013/07/18/oral-history-film-clips/.
[784] González-Tennant and González-Tennant, "The Practice and Theory of New Heritage for Historical Archaeology," (2016).

Historical Museum, the Historic Preservation program of the Town of Wake Forest, and NC State University. NC State may be able to support such a project, but if Gonzalez-Tennant's work is any indication, it would require grant funding, ongoing research commitments, and considerable commitment of time, effort and resources toward maintaining, updating, and adding to the project over time.

In sum, it is questionable whether this approach would be appropriate and sustainable if applied to Simmons Row. While the affordances and capabilities involved are certainly impressive, it is important to consider the explicit goals of the Northeast Community Story Map and the Northeast Community History Project in order to determine whether or not the amount of effort and resources required to pull off a project of this scale is justifiable or necessary. Further, any project team involved in such effort must take careful account of its own organizational capacity and make an honest assessment of its ability to meet the technical demands of such a project. This constitutes another "smart" practice.

Gonzalez-Tennant concludes: 'Ultimately, it does not matter which technology is used to bring the past to life. If the goal is to engage the public in meaningful and ethical reflection, then an engaged, ethnographic focus must remain an integrated part of any new heritage project."[785] It is worthwhile to bear this mind as we move toward a proposed strategy for visualizing and interpreting Simmons Row. It is easy to become preoccupied with novel technologies. This should never be the central focus of the project, however. Instead, practitioners should emphasize the adoption of tools and techniques that best result in an intervention the provokes genuine reflection upon the

[785] Ibid.

intended themes and inspires critical engagement with the dominant narratives that have characterized public understanding of Simmons Row. This constitutes the final “smart” practice to be derived from this project.

Summary List of Applicable “Smart” Practices (Case #6)

- 6.1. Leverage the affordances of new heritage technologies to enable immersive, interactive experiences of the historic built environment.
- 6.2. Stay apace of ongoing developments in heritage visualization methods and technology in order to keep project up-to-date and accessible.
- 6.3. Where practical, adopt open-source software tools with well-established user bases and bodies of documentation in order to bypass the barriers imposed by high-cost proprietary software.
- 6.4. Position informants as co-authors by actively incorporating self-authored digital content into the proposed interpretive intervention.
- 6.5. Critically reflect on the specific objectives and goals of the project and adopt the tools most conducive to meeting those ends and provoking genuine engagement with the intended interpretive themes.

CHAPTER XIII:

CROSS-CASE ANALYSIS

Introduction

Having undertaken the multiple case study, I will now aggregate the results using the cross-case analysis methodology outlined by Stake. The cross-case assertions derived from this analysis will articulate the broad goals, scope, and constraints of the proposed interpretive intervention.

Cross-case Analysis

In selecting a broad approach to the design situation, there are important practicalities relating to implementation that must be considered. Biazar and Roberts's, Brabec's, and Gonzalez-Tennant's work makes it clear that ongoing management of digital heritage interventions requires constant monitoring both of user activity and of ongoing developments concerning the enabling technologies involved. The outcomes of the Texas Freedom Colonies Project and the Gullah Land and Community Project also testify to the importance of maintaining an active web presence. The Texas Freedom Colonies Project maintains an active blog and frequently hosts virtual coffee talks, workshops, and lectures. Conversely, the Gullah Land and Community website has become relatively obscure. Notably, the Texas Freedom Colonies Project has an entire team supporting their ongoing outreach efforts, whereas the Gullah Land and Community

website today appears to be solely maintained by Brabec. This brings to light the personnel requirements that come along with maintaining this level of public presence online. In formulating a new heritage project, it is clear that each team also had to think carefully about myriad technicalities relating to server space, web hosting, software subscriptions, compatibility across platforms, and the accessibility of content across numerous types of devices.

Next, there appears to be a particular “supply chain” involved in the implementation of new heritage projects. Historians and archaeologists produce the evidence base that becomes the primary source material for the project. The project teams designing and implementing these interpretive interventions usually, in some way, then rely on someone with skill and experience in geospatial technologies to create a base map or spatial framework. This "base map” then becomes the foundational to the proceeding steps of implementation. From this base map, project teams can geo-locate content, or they can place models to serve as visual representations of their available evidence base and the inferences they have reasonably drawn from this evidence base. From this point, the resulting visualizations may be grouped generally into two types: model-based solutions whose principal product is a digital reconstruction, and map-based solutions whose principal product is a spatial narrative.

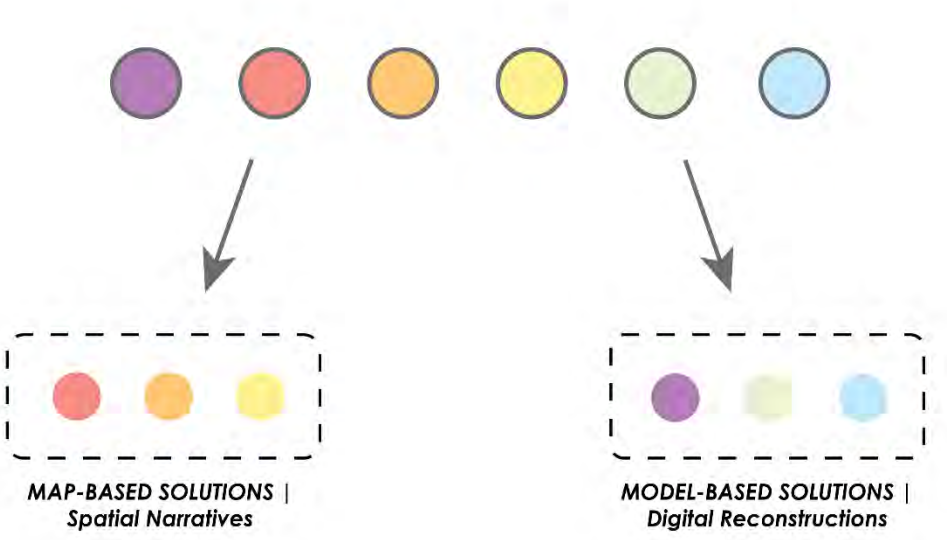


Figure 99: The six cases selected for the multiple case study can be grouped according to their respective design methodologies as well as their principal products. Diagram by Chris Robey (2022).

Both model-based and map-based solutions effectively accomplish the task of critical visualization, yet also carry a potential to mislead. Like maps and statistics, models are prone to lie when presented uncritically.[786] It is clear upon examining the processes undertaken by each of the project teams surveyed, however, that attempting a digital reconstruction introduces many more opportunities to introduce error. In essence, as each new step is undertaken, another layer of abstraction is introduced. This is analogous to the multiple levels of abstraction involved in processing DEM data in ArcGIS. Raw DEM data captured via satellite already abstracts from the Earth's surface, and each additional step of extrapolation and post-processing that the analyst undertakes

[786] Monmonier, Mark S. *How to Lie with Maps*. Second edition. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996; Huff, Darrell, and Irving Geis. *How to Lie with Statistics.* First edition. New York: W. W. Norton & Company, Inc., 1954; Denard, "A new introduction to the London Charter" (2016).

abstracts further and further from reality even as it lends greater clarity to a visualization of the original dataset.

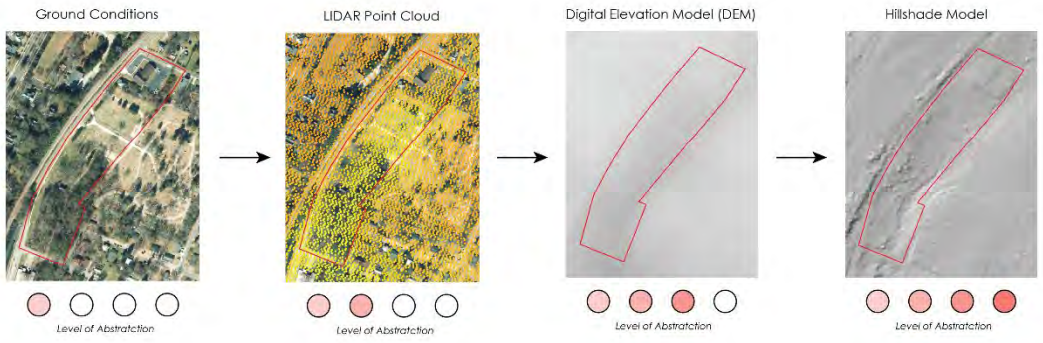


Figure 100: All forms of data visualization involve some level of abstraction. In GIS, each step of post-processing abstracts further and further from the original remotely-sensed data. In this case, the base dataset was a LIDAR point cloud captured via satellite. Map layers by Chris Robey (2022), data from Wake County Open Data and NC One Map.

This same principle applies to the digital reconstruction of cultural landscapes. At each step in the process, the designers involved are making conjectures about natural systems and features, spatial organization, land use, cluster arrangement, circulation, topography, vegetation, buildings and structures, views and vistas, constructed water features, small-scale features, and archaeological sites– indeed, every characteristic of the landscape they aim to represent. Notably, most of the cases in this sample focus almost exclusively on buildings in the landscape, with little attention paid to other landscape characteristics, thus entirely overlooking key aspects of each site's history and context. More importantly, however, in cases where there is limited evidence to begin with, as is especially the case with places like Simmons Row that have been relegated outside the

authorized heritage discourse, this reliance on conjecture introduces more and more opportunities to misrepresent histories that have already been marginalized.

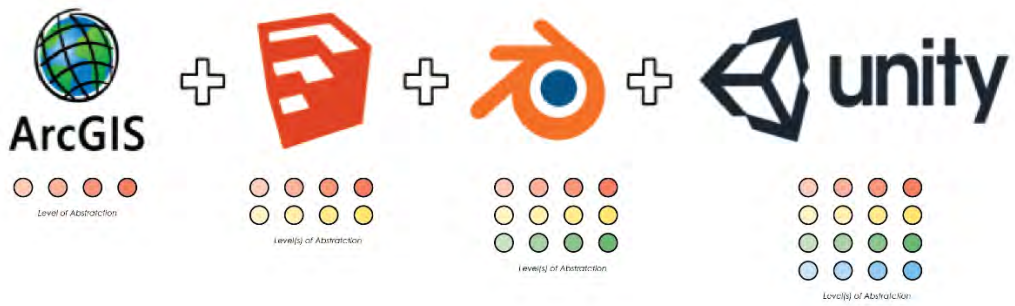


Figure 101: Every additional software tool employed in the process of digital reconstruction adds an additional level of abstraction both in degree and kind. Diagram by Chris Robey (2022), logos by Esri, Trimble, Blender 3D, and Unity 3D.

This is not to say that the effort isn't worth it. All three of the model-based solutions surveyed address instances in which every visible trace of the landscape in question is no longer extant. Digital reconstruction was necessary in these cases because there is nothing else left to interpret otherwise. In considering the application of similar methods to other situations, however, the project team involved must have a realistic picture of what is required to pull the project off while doing justice to the marginalized heritage that they are handling. As cutting-edge technologies like augmented and virtual reality become all the more accessible and commonplace in the design fields, it becomes all the more tempting to put the cart before the horse, so to speak. In failing to consider whether the tools we use to represent the past are adequately suited to the task at hand, and in failing to critically consider the exact purpose to which we aim to apply those

tools, we risk exacerbating the very patterns of cultural erasure these interventions are intended to address.

Model-based solutions require a considerable amount of technical expertise, including in-depth knowledge of GIS, 3D modeling, and digital rendering. In many ways, the skillset required parallels that of 3D animators and video game designers. Gonzalez-Tennant expressly draws on the methods of 3D animators for his digital reconstruction of Rosewood, and Amakawa – the lead author behind the New Philadelphia study – is himself a game designer who both practices and professes his craft. While mapping alone can still require considerable technical expertise, especially where software tools like GIS are employed, the three map-based solutions explored in this sample also demonstrate that map-based solutions focused on the capture and communication of spatial narratives can open considerable opportunities for participation by the lay public. In the case of the "Cellphone Diaries" project, everyday technologies like smartphones and Google Maps were employed to capture and communicate personal spatial narratives – memories and meanings tied to specific places in a collectively valued cultural landscape – that ended up exercising considerable influence over the discursive planning situation in which Chavis Park was embedded at the time. New media as well as traditional media technologies played a critical role in disseminating these place-based narratives to a wide enough audience to elicit tangible political outcomes and to shift the discursive planning situation in favor of community residents that might not have manifested otherwise. While the Gullah Land and Community Project was more expert-driven in regards to the way in which interpretive content was ultimately finalized and published, it still centered the perspectives of local experts and stakeholders that still ensured that they were

exercising considerable agency over the interpretive narrative being formulated about St. Helena Island. The Texas Freedom Colonies Project, while employing the very expert-driven approach of leveraging software tools like GIS to store and disseminate spatial narratives, is notable for the way in which it offers a channel for descendant communities to directly participate in the process of putting their communities on the map and shaping the narratives associated with them. In terms of both theoretical and practical approach, Boone and Roberts make the most effort to maximize stakeholder agency and center the voices of local experts.

The capacity for model-based solutions to misrepresent history is also exacerbated by the tendency of heritage visualization projects to emphasize photo-realism at the expense of scholarly integrity – the central concern that the participants in the creation of the London Charter sought to address.[787] The truth is that the application of the London Charter principles to the creation of digital reconstructions is still in its infancy. So, too, is the literature surrounding the communication of uncertainty, an essential task of the London Charter principles. Further, scholars and professionals have only just begun the degree to which the standards applied to the physical reconstruction of cultural landscapes, namely the Secretary of the Interior's Standards, can be integrated with the London Charter to produce rigorously documented and justifiable digital reconstructions.[788] The fact of the matter is that we currently have a more robust understanding, both among experts and lay people, of the ways in which maps and narratives can be unreliable representations of reality. This same understanding does not

[787] Denard, "A new introduction to the London Charter" (2016).
[788] Erdman and Payne, "Applying the United States Secretary of the Interior's guidelines for the treatment of cultural landscapes to digital landscape reconstructions," (2018).

yet seem to have penetrated popular and professional understanding of digital representation. Indeed, few practitioners seem to have invested the effort to document paradata and communicate uncertainty that ensures rigorous compliance with the London Charter, and the process of digital reconstruction as it is applied in situations involving relict cultural landscapes relating to marginalized heritage characterized by significant gaps in the archives entails a considerable degree of conjecture and inference that renders the resultant visualization ultimately unreliable.

In the end, when considering the best approach to take for visualizing and interpreting Simmons Row, it is important to re-consider the design situation to which the proposed intervention is to respond, and to rigorously consider whether the proposed intervention specifically suits, and addresses issues raised by the design situation. Most of Simmons Row is gone, but the Ailey Young House remains intact – this more than can be said of most of the other cases considered. Further, there are ground and aerial photographs – resources that the New Philadelphia and Rosewood projects did not have access to. Further, in considering the specific problem to be addressed, we find that rather than a matter of simple visualization, the issue at hand is fundamentally a narrative one with lasting discursive implications – a misattribution of agency resulting in the erasure of certain actors and their contributions. The map-based solutions explored through this sample demonstrate, overall, that they are well-suited to the task of facilitating this kind of narrative shift.

The end goal of the proposed intervention thus should be a particular kind of provocation – namely, to see and experience Simmons Row in a new way, and to see past the material conditions under which the people who dwelled there lived to see their lives

and collective contributions more clearly. In a way, knowing exactly what the demolished houses looked like doesn't ultimately matter – it matters only to the degree that it helps us to better understand lived experience, and the material condition is only one element of the full richness of Black homespace. Regarding the houses themselves, it is enough to know that they were there, that their construction was similar – but not identical – to that of the Ailey Young House, and that living in them was analogous to the Young family's day-to-day experience. What ultimately exercises a greater influence over the lasting significance of the site are the stories that the land still holds about the people who dwelled upon it. A critical visualization of Simmons Row that emphasizes these characteristics thus helps to render the invisible storyscape visible – that is, evident in a way that shifts people's understanding and perception of the site and its context. As such, it becomes evident that a map-based solution is better suited to the task of shifting discourse surrounding Simmons Row.

Even so, model-based solutions still yield insights that are relevant to the task at hand, most notably the way they demonstrate the importance of communicating uncertainty. At the heart of the idea of communicating uncertainty is a concern for scholarly integrity and transparency. These issues are no less important for a spatial narrative as they are for digital reconstruction, especially for a site characterized by as many gaps in the archives as Simmons Row. The fact of that matter is that inferences are necessarily made where such gaps exist. As Roberts reminds us, such gaps are all too common where Black history and the historic built environment intersect.[789] Where such inferences must be made, they must also be clearly and explicitly distinguished from

[789] Roberts, "The End of Bootstraps and Good Masters," 2020.

what can be substantiated as historic fact, and the evidence on which such inferences are drawn made explicit and transparent as well. This is the most important lesson to be derived from the model-based solutions.

The very proposition that Simmons Row was constructed by W.G. Simmons in 1875 and maintained as rental housing is an inference based on limited evidence. The estimated construction date is derived from the construction techniques and technology employed in the Ailey Young House, which is then applied wholesale to the rest of Simmons Row. Though there is documentary evidence of land sales between the Simmonses and the Black residents of Simmons Row and the rest of the Northeast Community, there is no such evidence to substantiate the idea of a tenant-landlord relationship between the two. And yet, the logic is clear – many residents of Simmons Row were listed as renting their property prior to land sales between them and the Simmons, and many more remained renters for the entirety of their residence in this part of the neighborhood. Many residents of Simmons Row rented before buying, and the Simmons owned the land at the time that they were renting the land that they lived upon at the time. Therefore, it is entirely reasonable to infer that these residents rented from the Simmonses. Still, no paper trail has been established – it is an inference, not a substantiated fact. Further, there is no evidence to suggest that any of the residents of the area known as Simmons Row actually referred to their homespace as such. As far as can be ascertained, the name “Simmons Row” is derived wholly from the note scrawled by the enumerator in the 1910 Census. Thus, we find that most of what has been known about Simmons Row to this point is yet another example of a necessary conjecture based on limited evidence that has been elevated to the status of accepted fact.

Part of revising the narrative of Simmons Row will consist of explicitly communicating the uncertainty underlying these assumptions The process of arriving at these inferences must be made clear and transparent, and the evidence on which they are based made freely available. The narrative, in the end, is not so much a fixed edifice as it is a living document consistently subject to change and revision. It is especially important to communicate uncertainty in order to prevent such misattributions of agency that tend to functionally erase or obscure the contributions of people of lesser means, notoriety and socioeconomic stature to the Simmons. This is the power relation at play that critical visualizations of Simmons Row might reveal.

Luckily, new heritage theory and practice clearly offer numerous strategies well-suited to the task. Participatory methods that empower stakeholders and make use of volunteered historical and geographical information, such as those demonstrated by Boone and Roberts, offer particularly good examples of the kinds of “smart” practices that would translate well to the Simmons Row design situation. As Brabec’s project represents the nearest example to the existing Northeast Community Story Map, it gives us a better sense of the affordances and limitations of the interventions already at play. Having chosen a general direction in which to proceed, we may now, finally, consider how the “smart” practices identified over the course of the multiple-case study might be applied to Simmons Row.

Summary List of Cross-Case Assertions

- Ongoing management of digital heritage interventions requires constant monitoring as well as an active online presence. This requires considerable organizational capacity over the long term.
- The successful implementation of digital heritage interventions hinges on careful consideration of the myriad technicalities relating to server space, web hosting, software subscriptions, compatibility across platforms, and the accessibility of content across different devices.
- There is a general "supply chain" involved in new heritage projects involving four discrete steps: (1) baseline research, (2) basemap creation, (3) geolocation of either narrative content or 3D models, and (4) delivering the resultant visualization to users.
- The six new heritage projects sampled for this research can be grouped into two general types: model-based solutions whose principal product is a digital reconstruction, and map-based solutions whose principal product is a spatial narrative.
- Both model-based and map-based solutions effectively accomplish the task of critical visualization, yet also carry a potential to mislead. Digital reconstructions introduce more opportunity for error, however.
- Digital reconstructions are worth the effort in cases where sites relating to marginalized heritage have been completely erased from the landscape. This is not the case for Simmons Row, however. Therefore, a digital reconstruction is not necessary.

- In failing to critically consider the use of new heritage technologies, we risk exacerbating the very patterns of cultural erasure they are intended to address.
- Model-based solutions require a considerable amount of technical expertise. Thus, they tend to be more expert-driven.
- While mapping alone can still require considerable technical expertise, especially where software tools like GIS are employed, map-based solutions still offer considerably more opportunities for stakeholder participation.
- Creating opportunities for co-authorship between stakeholders and designers adds a layer of accountability that would not be present otherwise. This accountability is a necessary precondition to shifting discourse through counter-mapping and the articulation of counter-narratives.
- The process of digitally reconstructing cultural landscapes relating to marginalized heritage entails a degree of conjecture that ultimately renders the resultant visualization unreliable without investing considerable effort in communicating uncertainty.
- The issue at the heart of the Simmons Row design situation is fundamentally a narrative one with lasting discursive implications. As such, a narrative and discursive shift is merited. Of the projects sampled, the three map-based solutions demonstrate methods that are best-suited to this task.
- The end goal of the proposed intervention thus should be to provoke visitors to see past the material conditions under which the residents of Simmons Row lived to see their lives and collective contributions more clearly.

- The lasting significance of Simmons Row is contingent on the stories of the people who dwelled upon it. Critically visualizing the site thus entails rendering this invisible storyscape visible.
- Interpreting Simmons Row necessarily involves a good deal of inference. Where such inferences must be made, they should be clearly and explicitly distinguished from substantiated fact, the process by which they were arrived at made transparent, and the evidence on which they are based made freely available.
- Communicating uncertainty is essential to preventing misattributions of agency and consequently erasing the memory and contributions of key actors. This, ultimately, is the power relation that a critical visualization of Simmons Row could reveal.
- Participatory methods that empower stakeholders and make use of volunteered historical and geographical information are representative of the type of “smart” practices that would translate well to the Simmons Row design situation.

CHAPTER XIV:

DESIGN SYNTHESIS, PT. I:

DERIVING STRATEGIC ELEMENTS

Design Synthesis – Procedure

In articulating the design situation, I established a set of evaluative criteria. In undertaking the multiple-case study, I derived a suite of applicable "smart" practices. In conducting the cross-case analysis, I articulated a set of propositions. Taken together, these elements help set the scope, general aims, and constraints of my interpretive strategy. With these elements in place, I can now proceed to the next stage of my methodology: synthesizing an interpretive strategy.

I will begin by integrating my suite of "smart" practices with Rahaman's conceptual framework for digital heritage interpretation to derive a set of strategic elements. Then, I will synthesize these strategic elements into an interpretive action plan by using the VMOSA strategic planning framework. Both tasks will be accomplished using the two-prong process of sensemaking and abductive reasoning that Kolko outlines in his definition of design synthesis.[790]

[790] Rahaman, "Digital heritage interpretation," (2018); Nagy and Fawcett, "Chapter 8, Section 1: An Overview of Strategic Planning or "VMOSA."; Kolko, "Abductive thinking and sensemaking," (2010).

Design Synthesis, Pt. I – Delimitations

Having determined that a model-based approach would not be appropriate in this case, several of the "smart" practices derived from Case #5 have become irrelevant. I have also already acknowledged the lessons to be drawn from these practices even if they do not directly translate to strategic elements of the proposed intervention. As such, "Smart" Practices 5.1., 5.2., 5.4., and 5.5. will not be considered in this synthesis. Further, in undertaking the multiple-case study and cross-case analysis, I have already fulfilled "Smart" Practices 5.4 and 6.5. Thus, these practices will also be omitted from this synthesis.

"Smart" Practice 1.1.

Employing a mixed-methods approach combining face-to-face ethnographic fieldwork with web-based crowdsourcing within the Simmons Row design situation means continuing to facilitate the Northeast Community History Project while also modifying the existing Story Map in order to enable a crowdsourcing approach similar to that employed by the Texas Freedom Colonies Atlas. This means leveraging ArcGIS Online's built-in Survey123 app to devise a system by which users can directly contribute to the map and submit volunteered historical and geographical information via a data submission form. This would also entail creating data submission forms as well as an accompanying licensing agreement designed to protect the rights and privacy of participants. Examples of both are available on the Texas Freedom Colonies Atlas website. The process of enabling these features for the Texas Freedom Colonies Project

specifically is extensively detailed in Biazar's master's project, "Participatory Mapping GIS Tools for Making Hidden Places Visible." The Atlas also sets a precedent for the accompanying web interface.

Enacting this practice would fulfill several considerations under the aspects of effective communication, embodied interaction, and dialogic interaction per Rahaman's framework. Crowdsourcing represents a method for actively integrating user contributions and connects to their experience by affording them to see their contributions reflected in the Story Map, thus becoming a part of the ongoing discourse around Simmons Row and the Northeast Community. In this same way, crowdsourcing opens a channel for users to share their own reflections and content. By opening an additional channel for user participation that makes the Story Map user experience more of an active dialogue, crowdsourcing also maximizes user interaction. Finally, in opening a channel between traditional and local experts, crowdsourcing enables collaborative meaning-making. In enacting this "smart" practice, we may thus derive the following strategic elements:

- Continue to facilitate the Northeast Community History Project
- Modify the existing Story Map integrating a Survey123-based crowdsourcing system that enables users to directly contribute to the map and submit volunteered historical and geographical information.
- Create both web-based and downloadable PDF data submission forms as well as an accompanying permission and licensing agreement designed to protect the rights and privacy of participants.

“Smart” Practice 1.2.

Making use of existing assets within the Simmons Row design situation means first assessing organizational capacity not only among the project team but also among the various organizations with a stake in the interpretation of Simmons Row in order to define scope and constraints based on the time, personnel, and resources available. Leveraging existing assets is an efficient and pragmatic strategy for working within these constraints in that it directs time, energy, and resources into improving existing channels rather than creating new ones when there isn’t necessarily a need.

Based on the design situation articulated in Chapter Five, relevant existing assets can be divided into existing digital interventions and existing in-person programming. Existing digital interventions include the Story Map, the Town’s virtual historic walking tours, the Wake Forest Historical Museum’s blog, both the Town’s and the Museum’s YouTube channels, the oral history recordings, the educational resources available through the Museum’s participation in the Humanities in Class Digital Library, and the Museum’s virtual class visits. Existing in-person programming includes the in-person walking tours facilitated by both Town and Museum staff, the Northeast Community Coalition’s annual Juneteenth celebration, the existing interpretive signage at the Ailey Young House site, and the Ailey Young House itself.

Enacting this “smart” practice would fulfill several considerations under the aspects of effective communication, embodied interaction, and dialogic interaction. This suite of assets represents both an array of existing content and a variety of channels for disseminating new content relating to Simmons Row. By adopting a crowdsourcing

approach and integrating this functionality into the existing Story Map, this particular asset becomes a way for users to share their own reflections and content. Digital storytelling platforms like the Museum blog offer a virtual space for reflection, while the Ailey Young House site itself offers a similar physical space. By seeking ways to leverage these channels as avenues for dialogic interaction, they may become more effective tools for promoting collaborative meaning-making among all stakeholders involved. In enacting this "smart" practice, we may thus derive the following strategic elements:

- Leverage existing assets, including existing digital interventions and in-person programming.
- Assess organizational capacity not only among the project team, but also among all partner organizations in order to define scope and constraints based on available time, personnel, and resources.

"Smart" Practice 1.3.

Providing a robust system of technical support and documentation and support could mean publishing downloadable technical bulletins with step-by-step instructions and pre-recorded tutorials, hosting both in-person and virtual training workshops, and maintaining channels for direct technical assistance and troubleshooting. Channels for direct assistance, in particular, could be provided via a designated email address or phone number.

Enacting this "smart" practice is responsive to the potential effects of the digital divide on the Northeast Community, and thus represents an example of a consumer-led

approach that eases the users' orientation to the site. Although the higher percentage of younger people implies a base of potential users who regularly use the Internet and would understand how to interact with digital heritage interventions, and the COVID-19 pandemic has forced the adoption of digital technologies among older demographics who may not have used the associated enabling technologies as heavily before, it should not be assumed that any proposed intervention will be readily adopted on these bases alone. Rather, the project team must account for the fact that some people may still be unfamiliar with using these technologies, hence the need for a robust system of support and documentation.

This "smart" practice also dovetails with the strategy of leveraging existing assets, namely by seeking ways to use existing channels to disseminate a variety of content relating to technical assistance and documentation – take, for example, Douglass et al's online tutorials for creating virtual reconstructions, which they have freely disseminated via YouTube.[791] A similar approach could be taken with either the Town's or the Museum's YouTube page.

The Texas Freedom Colonies Project team offers another useful precedent in that they have executed a robust system of technical support. It should be noted, however, that they have staff expressly devoted to this task. As such, enacting any of these proposed actions necessarily involves assessing for and allocating the needed organizational capacity. This is something for the project manager to consider in developing an approach to enacting this "smart" practice.

[791] "Virtual Reconstruction Tutorials," Center for Great Plains Studies, University of Nebraska, Lincoln. Web. Accessed June 9, 2022. https://www.unl.edu/plains/virtual-reconstruction-tutorials.

Enacting this “smart” practice would also fulfill several considerations under the aspects of embodied interaction and dialogic interaction. A robust system of support and documentation ensures that users are equipped to effectively participate in the intervention, thus maximizing user interaction. The same may be said of promoting collaborative meaning-making – users that have been equipped with the means to interact with the intervention may more effectively participate in dialogic actions like submitting volunteered geographical and historical information. In enacting this “smart” practice, we may thus derive several strategic elements:

- Consider developing and publishing downloadable technical bulletins with step-by-step instructions
- Consider developing and publishing pre-recorded tutorials videos.
- Design and host both in-person and virtual training workshop.
- Maintain channels for direct technical assistance and troubleshooting by providing via a designated email address and/or phone number.
- Assess organizational capacity available to commit to providing direct and indirect technical assistance.

“Smart” Practice 1.4.

Ceding authority and democratizing the knowledge production process implies a general commitment to (1) transparency regarding the process and chain of reasoning supporting inferences from limited evidence, (2) openness about where knowledge gaps exist in the evidence base from which historical interpretations are drawn, (3) cuing users

into how they might contribute toward filling these knowledge gaps, and (4) empowering them by supplying the means and know-how to do so.

Enacting this “smart” practice would fulfill several considerations under the aspects of effective communication, embodied interaction, and dialogic interaction. It opens the discourse concerning Simmons Row to new information and connects with user experience by soliciting and integrating contributions from sources not usually authorized by orthodox preservation theory. In this sense, it also promotes active participation and maximizes user interaction. It sets up challenges and tasks to complete by making knowledge gaps explicit, thus setting specific crowdsourcing targets. In doing so, it opens opportunities for collaborative problem-solving and meaning-making among multiple actors with different stakes in Northeast Community history. In implementing these considerations, the strategies and actions associated with ceding authority and democratizing the knowledge production process also enable the conditions for the Story Map to function as a virtual space for reflection and dialogue. As such, in enacting this “smart” practice we may derive the following strategic elements:

- Be transparent regarding the process and chain of reasoning supporting inferences from limited evidence.
- Be open about where knowledge gaps exist in order to set specific crowdsourcing targets.
- Make the evidence base from which historical interpretations are drawn freely available

- Cue users into how they might contribute toward filling these knowledge gaps by making them explicit and framing gaps in knowledge as opportunities for participation.
- Empower users by supplying them means and know-how to contribute meaningfully to filling gaps in the knowledge base.
- Solicit and integrate contributions from sources not usually authorized by orthodox preservation theory and practice.

"Smart" Practice 2.1.

Centering the voices of local experts is more of a discursive shift undergirding numerous actions rather than one action specifically. Enacting this "smart" practice begins with thinking critically about who and what is considered authoritative when it comes to telling the story of Simmons Row and the Northeast Community. Historians, preservationists, and other heritage professionals tend to look first toward the authorized documentary record. It is clear, however, that the Black experience is severely underrepresented via these channels. As such, it follows that we must turn to the oral testimony of local experts who, by virtue of their lived experience, can speak to those elements of the Black experience that are largely absent from the authorized documentary record in order to attain a discourse that better reflects that experience.

The acknowledgments page of the Northeast Community Story Map lists several exemplars of what local expertise in the Northeast Community looks like, including Geraldine Hall Taylor, Evelyn Jones, Dianne Laws, Tilda Caudle, George Marie Clanton, and Roger Shackleford. All are local residents who have spent the majority of their lives

in the Northeast Community and who continue to play vital roles in preserving their community's history, be it through generously offering their time and perspectives as informants by sitting for informal interviews and oral histories, leveraging their connections through the Northeast Community Coalition or their church congregations to connect researchers with other local experts in the community, consulting on the Ailey Young House restoration, or serving as sitting members of the Wake Forest Historical Association. In this capacity, these local experts act as placekeepers.[792] Their voices thus represent a vital existing asset – what cannot be recovered from the official record lies with them. Thus, in turning to them to fill the gaps we engage in what Orlando Fals-Borda called the critical recovery of history.[793]

Continuing to leverage this asset not only entails drawing on their experience to fill gaps in the documentary record but also, having been entrusted with their experiences, perspectives, and memories, making every effort to make sure that the authorized historical narrative of Simmons Row, as with the rest of the Northeast Community, of their neighborhood, may better reflect their collective experience. For Simmons Row specifically, this means recognizing that we are beholden to the descendants of the people who resided along Simmons Row to tell their story in a way that is truthful to their experience as possible. Notably, Dianne Laws is a direct descendant Simmons Row resident Genatus Dent. While his and his family's story fell outside the scope of this thesis, it is nonetheless essential, no less due to the fact that Genatus Dent is the only Simmons Row resident for whom a photograph has been

[792] Roberts, "The End of Bootstraps and Good Masters," (2020).
[793] Fals-Borda, "Some Basic Ingredients." In *Action and Knowledge*, (1991).

recovered.[794] Thus, in pinpointing local experts whose testimony might lead to a fuller picture of Simmons Row, Ms. Laws is an obvious first person to start with.

Although it does not cleanly integrate with Rahaman's framework, elevating and amplifying the voices of local experts may nonetheless be considered both as an organizing principle and an overall objective of the proposed interpretive strategy. As such, we may derive the following strategic elements:

- Critically consider who is "authorized" to determine how Northeast Community history is represented.
- Elevate and amplify the voices of local experts.
- Turn to the oral testimony of local experts who, by virtue of their lived experience, can speak to those elements of the Black experience that are largely absent from the authorized documentary record in order to attain a discourse that better reflects that experience.
- Consider these voices as an existing asset that is vital to engaging in the critical recovery of history.
- Having been entrusted with the experiences, perspectives, and memories of local experts, make every effort to ensure that the resultant counter-narratives reflect their collective experience.

[794] Wake Forest Historical Museum, "Philosopher and Preacher: James Robert Dent," Museum Blog (June 2, 2018). Accessed June 9, 2022. https://wakeforestmuseum.org/2018/06/01/philosopher-and-preacher-james-robert-dent/.

"Smart" Practice 2.2.

This "smart" practice can be enacted in several different ways, all of which represent a nexus of two strategic elements – leveraging existing assets and amplifying the voices of local experts. The first way follows the example of the Gullah Land and Community project's interview recordings as well as the Museum's existing corpus of oral histories and would entail recording professional-quality videos. This would require significant investment of time, skills, and resources, however. A less resource-intensive option would be to task participants in the Northeast Community History Project with capturing video recordings of interviews undertaken as a part of their research. While not the same as hiring professional filmmakers, the resultant content would be no less informative.

Both of these examples are more representative of the "industrial" model of digital storytelling articulated by Gonzalez-Tennant, however, in that they are predominantly expert-led and reliant on highly technical, resource-intensive methods.[795] An interesting approach that offers a possible alternative in line with Gonzalez-Tennant's heterodox digital storytelling model came about during the Northeast Community Coalition's 2020 Virtual Juneteenth celebration, which featured self-authored video recordings of some of older neighborhood residents being interviewed by their younger relatives, during which they articulated what they valued the most about the Northeast Community and what they would most like to see preserved. It is conceivable that a similar approach might be integrated as a part of a greater crowdsourcing effort, by which

[795] González-Tennant and González-Tennant, "The Practice and Theory of New Heritage for Historical Archaeology," (2016).

gaps in the documentary record are filled by local experts and their descendants themselves.

In all three cases, the resultant videos could be hosted via either the Town's or the Museum's YouTube channels. Further, as was done for the "Cellphone Diaries" project, this kind of content can also be geotagged and added directly to the Story Map or submitted as crowdsourced content. While the Story Map platform itself has only limited space for video uploads, videos hosted on YouTube can be linked to the map via hyperlinks.

Enacting this "smart" practice would also fulfill considerations under the aspects of effective communication and cultural learning. Namely, it would contribute to the variety of content associated with the Story Map and would help reveal symbolic meanings and associations between artifacts by lending the insider's testimony of the local experts whose voices are captured by this content. In enacting this "smart" practice, we may thus derive the following strategic elements:

- Leverage existing channels to create and disseminate digital storytelling like video interviews with local experts.
- Consider any of three ways of capturing video content: (1) professional-quality with trained technicians and specialized equipment, (2) research-quality with volunteer or student participants in the Northeast Community History Project captured with either specialized equipment or everyday, accessible tools, or (3) self-authored video interviews between local experts and their younger descendants captured with everyday, accessible tools.

- Host video content via either the Town's or the Museum's YouTube channels and use hyperlinks to link video content to the Story Map.

“Smart” Practice 2.3.

Through the process of creating the Story Map, several issues came to light, namely that the ArcGIS Story Map platform is limited in its ability to directly host digital content. The Story Maps platform was not designed to function as a web information system. It is a web-based multimedia storytelling platform but was never intended to serve the same purpose as a web information system. A similar issue affects the formatting of the geodatabases behind the content displayed through the Story Map. In general, GIS-based geodatabases are much better at storing and analyzing quantitative data than they are at accomplishing these same tasks for qualitative data. While this task is not impossible, it is usually only accomplished after considerable tinkering with their associated attribute tables. One way to overcome this shortcoming is to use hyperlinks to connect archival items to the geodatabase. This requires that archival content be hosted through a separate web information system that is secure and publicly accessible, however. Further, for the digital archive and the geodatabases associated with the Story Map to be compatible, they must share a common metadata standard.

An example of what this looks like in practice can be found in Wake County’s iMAPs, a public-facing GIS designed to connect users with property data associated with particular land parcels. iMaps enables users to view property data associated with particular parcels located through Wake County, North Carolina. Users can view and download a scanned PDF copy of the deed associated with the most recent land sale

involving the property. The deeds are not stored directly within the geodatabase; rather, users are accessing them by using the iMaps web interface. When they click "View," they are toggling a hyperlink that directs them to the scanned copy of the deed stored with the Wake County Register of Deeds, which is maintained as a separate database. The two databases are made compatible by the fact that they share metadata fields – the deed book and page numbers used to pull records from the Register of Deeds, for example, are also fields of the attribute table that organizes the data behind the iMaps applications.[796]

Toscano et al outline four main types of web information systems: content management systems (CMS), digital asset management systems (DAM), virtual research environments (VRE), and crowdsourcing-specific software solutions.[797] Each has its associated advantages and disadvantages – CMSs like Omeka, for example, are ideally suited to collecting, storing, and publishing web-based alphanumeric content, whereas DAMs like Arches are better suited to storing scanned images, 3D models, and other digital assets along with their associated metadata.[798] Advising on the specific web information system most appropriate for implementation goes beyond both the scope of this thesis and the expertise of this author. This brings to light the need to consult with library professionals to determine what web information system would be most appropriate to the proposed interpretive strategy. A library professional could also suggest an existing metadata standard appropriate to the proposed interpretive strategy or

[796] Wake County Government, "iMAPS Information," Geographic Information Service. Wen. Accesssed June 9. 2022. https://www.wakegov.com/departments-government/geographic-information-services-gis/maps-apps-data/imaps-information.
[797] Toscano, Maurizio, Manuel J. Cobo, and Enrique Herrera-Viedma. "Software solutions for web information systems in digital humanities: review, analysis and comparative study." *Profesional de la Información* 31, no. 2 (2022); Jiménez, Àngels. "Digital asset management: la gestión de la información multimedia en las organizaciones". *El profesional de la información*, vol. 12, no. 6 (2003), pp. 452-461.
[798] Ibid.

advise on ways to adapt the Northeast Community History Project's existing data collection template into a custom metadata standard that will enable maximum interoperability between the story map and its associated digital archive. It may even be advisable to include a digital archivist as a part of the project team, if the project manager determines that there is sufficient organizational capacity to afford this.

Finally, communicating uncertainty also necessitates that a procedure for tracking and recording paradata be integrated into the web information system and its associated metadata standard as well. The authors of the London Charter define paradata as "information about human processes of understanding and interpretation of data objects."[799] Tracking and recording paradata provides transparency behind the process, decision-making, and evidence used to justify inferences included in the authorized narrative about sites like Simmons Row, as well as a way for making knowledge gaps explicit. In practice, this could mean including brief descriptions of the chain of evidence and reasoning used to arrive at a particular interpretation of an artifact or relict landscape feature or comments on the research methodologies employed.[800] Lingering research questions and recommendations for further inquiry could also be recorded as a part of these entries as well.

Consulting with a library professional to select an appropriate web information system, metadata standard, and procedure for tracking and recording paradata is essential to enabling the Story Map to function as a spatialized archive. Thus, it constitutes a set of

[799] "Paradata," Glossary, London Charter for the Computer Based Visualization of Cultural Heritage, Web. Accessed June 9, 2022. https://www.londoncharter.org/glossary.html.
[800] "Principle 4 – Documentation," London Charter for the Computer-Based Visualization of Cultural Heritage. Accessed April 17, 2022. https://www.londoncharter.org/principles/aims-and-methods.html; Denard, Hugh. "A new introduction to the London Charter," (2016).

tasks that would be foundational to enabling almost every consideration under all four aspects of Rahaman's framework. In enacting this "smart" practice, we may thus derive the following strategic elements:

- Consult with a library professional to determine what web information system and metadata standard would be most appropriate for the proposed intervention as well as how to integrate procedures for documenting and recording paradata into the metadata standard.
- Work with a library professional to either select an existing metadata standard or develop a custom metadata standard based on the existing data collection template used by the Northeast Community History Project.
- Integrate web information system and metadata standard with the existing Story Map.
- Develop procedures for capturing and recording paradata as means of communicating uncertainty.
- Consider documenting paradata as brief descriptions of the chain of evidence and reasoning used to arrive at a particular interpretation of an artifact or relict landscape feature, comments on the research methodologies employed, and lingering research questions and recommendations for further inquiry.
- Consider including a digital archivist as a part of the project team if there is sufficient organizational capacity to do so.

“Smart” Practice 2.4.

In many ways, the existing assets listed under our consideration of “Smart” Practice 1.2. are an outgrowth of ongoing collaborations between organizations who have long held a stake in preserving Northeast Community history. As such, enacting this “smart” practice has less to do with forming new relationships or partnerships and more to do with coordinating more closely among existing assets and initiatives.

Introducing a crowdsourcing element to the story mapping projects presents an especially rich opportunity for collaboration among the Town, the Museum, the Northeast Community Coalition, NC State and Wake Forest University and directs existing assets toward fulfilling the map’s purpose as a spatialized archive. Thus, it offers an avenue toward fulfilling the stated vision and mission of the proposed interpretive strategy.

Working with local educators as well as residents of the Northeast Community to develop curricula and field experiences specific to Simmons Row offers another potentially rich opportunity for collaboration. With the Ailey Young House currently being considered for designation to the National Register of Historic Places, it is notable that sites that have been added to the register are a primary focus of the National Park Service’s place-based education program, Teaching with Historic Places (TwHP). TwHP units are developed by Park Service and SHPO personnel in collaboration with local educators and focus generally on fitting properties listed on the National Register within the broader patterns of American history traditionally covered in K-12 curricula. Once complete, all unit materials are made available for public download via a database

maintained through the TwHP website by the Park Service.[801] Developing a TwHP unit for the Ailey Young House and Simmons Row would thus supply content both for digital heritage interventions and in-person programming.

Based on these opportunities, we may derive the following strategic elements:

- Coordinate closely among existing assets and partnerships to direct resources toward enabling the Northeast Community Story Map to function as a spatialized archive.
- Leverage the integration of a crowdsourcing element into the Story Map as an opportunity to foster richer collaborations among Town and Museum staff, members of the Northeast Community Coalition, and researchers from NC State and Wake Forest Universities.
- Should the Ailey Young House be added to the National Register of Historic Places, consider developing a Teaching with Historic Places unit focusing on the Ailey Young House and Simmons Row in collaboration with local educators.

“Smart” Practice 2.5.

The actions associated with enacting this “smart” practice are mostly self-explanatory. Regularly updating web-based content helps to garner interest in the project as well as maintain its visibility and relevancy. Monitoring comments and responding directly to contributions or inquiries within a reasonable timeframe is fairly basic to effective communication. When people volunteer historical or geographical information

[801] National Park Service, "Teaching & Learning with Historic Places," Teaching with Historic Places. Last modified August 12, 2022. Accessed June 9, 2022. https://www.nps.gov/subjects/teachingwithhistoricplaces/index.htm.

relevant to a gap in the documentary record, making the effort to incorporate this information into content updates and credit the person who contributed it lets users see the tangible result of their contributions. Incorporating user contributions attained from crowdsourcing requires a system for vetting user contributions for veracity. Another basic affordance of social media and other new media technologies is their utility for promoting both in-person and virtual events, including lectures, walking tours, and public workshops. For some events, these platforms can even be used to facilitate virtual events, such as live streams. Effective use of these channels over the long-term merits a coordinated engagement strategy that not only incorporates schedules for content releases and updates but also develops protocols for monitoring for and responding to user feedback across all assets.

The Texas Freedom Colonies Project again offers a useful precedent in this regard. It is important to note, however, that there are additional considerations relating to organizational capacity that are worth bearing in mind. Namely, personnel need to be committed, and time allocated, to the task of monitoring social media and other platforms, publishing and updating content, monitoring comments and other forms of user feedback, and managing coordinated engagement campaigns. The Texas Freedom Colonies Project is able to effectively implement this “smart” practice because they have a sizeable project team with staff members expressly devoted to the task. As such, when thinking about how this might be applied to the Northeast Community Story Map, it is important to scale the engagement approach to the organizational capacity available to enact it.

Enacting this “smart” practice would fulfill considerations under the aspects of effective communication, embodied interaction, and dialogic interaction. Namely, it applies across the full range of multimedia content associated with implementing the proposed interpretive strategy, specifically aims to provide users with real-time feedback in response to their contributions and encourages users to use these available channels to share their reflections with each other as well as with researchers and other project team members. As such, we may drive the following strategic elements:

- Regularly update web-based content to garner interest in the project as well as maintain its visibility and relevancy.
- Monitor comments and respond directly to contributions or inquiries within a reasonable timeframe.
- When users contribute volunteered historical or geographical information, make the effort to incorporate this information into content updates and credit the original contributor in order to show users the tangible result of their contributions.
- Devise and implement a system for moderating user submissions and feedback from crowdsourced channels to ensure accuracy and appropriateness.
- Use social and traditional media channels to promote both in-person and virtual events, including lectures, walking tours, and public workshops in conjunction with other digital interventions.
- Develop a coordinated engagement strategy that not only incorporates schedules for content releases and updates but also develops protocols for monitoring for and responding to user feedback across all assets.

- Scale engagement approaches based on available organizational capacity.

“Smart” Practice 2.6.

Implementing this “smart” practice first assumes that geotagging is being employed as a tool for enabling interactive and immersive experiences of the Simmons Row site. The implementation of this strategy will be discussed in greater detail under “Smart” Practice 6.1. Using pop-ups and other tools alongside on-site flagging or signage to clearly demarcate public and private property on-site directly responds to the fact that the Northeast Community is an active neighborhood, and that Simmons Row is directly adjacent to Wake Forest Cemetery. Further, there are additional complications owing to the fact that not all of the land encompassed by Simmons Row is owned by the Town of Wake Forest – all of the lots south of the Ailey Young House, for example, are still privately owned, including the Johnson lot. Demarcating the boundaries of the Johnson lot in particular addresses a potential conflict with the consideration of encouraging exploration of the site by discouraging trespassing on private property.

Enacting this “smart” practice would fulfill considerations under the aspects of effective communication and cultural learning by addressing potential conflicts arising from user exploration of the site, thus minimizing disruption to the neighborhood and the Town Cemetery. As such, we may derive the following strategic elements:

- Use pop-ups and other locative media tools in conjunction with on-site flagging or signage to clearly demarcate public and private property.

“Smart” Practice 2.7.

Exercising caution in drawing attention to sensitive cultural resources responds directly to the fact that the Ailey Young House site is technically an active, exposed archaeological site. This, again, addresses a potential conflict with the idea of encouraging exploration. While users should be encouraged to explore the site and draw connections between its relict features, it is also imperative enabling these activities does not risk damaging archaeological resources that have not yet been investigated. The actual implementation of this “smart” practice relates more closely to the site’s ongoing management than it does with interpretation, specifically. As such, the specifics of implementation fall somewhat outside the scope of this thesis. Even so, interpretation can support management efforts by notifying visitors of the role they play in protecting the site and the responsibilities they assume by visiting it.

Enacting this “smart” practice would fulfill considerations under the aspects of effective communication and cultural learning. Namely, it assumes certain implicit restrictions on users’ freedoms – they are free to explore the site and draw connections between relict features, but they are not free to take from it what they will or to disturb archaeological sites. Protecting these resources ensures that future visitors are afforded a similar opportunity. As such, we may derive the following strategic elements:

- Exercise caution in drawing attention to sensitive cultural resources
- Leverage interpretive content and programming as an opportunity to remind users of the role they play in protecting and preserving sensitive cultural resources.

“Smart” Practice 2.8.

Past public archaeology workshops at the Ailey Young House site have been conducted to raise awareness about the Ailey Young House and its history, garner support for its restoration, and to make the activities of New South Associations transparent to local residents and other stakeholders. These past workshops are especially notable for the hands-on opportunities to engage in archaeological research and handle artifacts recovered from the Ailey Young House site that they afforded to members of the public. Public workshops also present an opportunity to remind the public to be respectful stewards of cultural resources. In a similar capacity, both in-person and virtual public workshops could be facilitated to raise awareness about the Story Map and Northeast Community History Project, garner interest in participating in ongoing crowdsourcing efforts, and training users in how to conduct property research, compile and summarize their findings, and submit their data for addition to the Story Map. As such, enacting this “smart” practice entails designing and implementing public workshops on an ongoing basis to achieve these ends as an essential element of a greater system of technical support and documentation.

Implementing this “smart” practice would fulfill several considerations under the aspects of effective communication, embodied interaction, and dialogic interaction. Public workshops represent a consumer-led activity that ensures ease of orientation by providing direct, hands-on training to project participants. In equipping participants with this knowledge, public workshops also promote active participation through contributing volunteered historical and geographical information and engaging in collaborative meaning-making and ongoing dialogue with local and traditional experts. As highly

interactive events in themselves, virtual workshops would also maximize user interaction and provide a space for users to engage with one another and share reflections. As such, we may derive the following strategic elements:

- Design and facilitate both in-person and virtual public workshops to raise awareness about the Story Map and Northeast Community History Project, garner interest in ongoing crowdsourcing efforts, and train users in how to conduct property research, compile and summarize their findings, and submit their data for addition to the Story Map.

"Smart" Practice 3.1.

Ensuring ease and accessibility of the proposed interpretive strategy's enabling technologies is relatively self-explanatory. In general, the more readily a tool or web interface can be adopted by a layperson, the better-suited it is to broad-based participatory efforts like crowdsourcing. As such, in integrating a crowdsourcing element into the existing Story Map, it is important that all software applications and web interfaces involved are simple and intuitive to use. This applies just as readily from the project team's end of things as does to user experience – for the intervention to be effective, it must be implementable by a non-expert staff with limited to no experience in digital visualization and interpretation. Conversely, users will not adopt what is not intuitive and easy to use. As such, if the project team wants to leverage crowdsourcing as a strategy for data collection, they need to make it easy for users to participate.

Implementing this "smart" practice fulfills a number of considerations under the aspects of effective communications, embodied interaction, and dialogic interaction, and

is foundational to an overall strategy that is mindful of the potential effects of the digital divide in the Northeast Community. Further, emphasizing ease of use and accessibility to a lay audience dovetails with providing extensive documentation and support. Thus, it adopts a consumer-led approach that ensures ease of orientation and enables almost every other functionality associated with promoting active participation, collaborative meaning-making, dialogue between traditional and local experts, and empowering participants as co-authors. As such, we may derive the following strategic element:

- In integrating a crowdsourcing function into the existing Story Map, ensure that all software applications and web interfaces involved are as simple and intuitive to use both from the user experience side and the design implementation side.

“Smart” Practice 3.2.

While geotagging is a key affordance of mobile-based devices, it comes with the caveat that positional accuracy may not always be the most reliable. Accounting for the effects of signal-related interference on mobile devices begins with acknowledging that there is no simple way to predict how signal strength will affect individual users, as they are likely to rely on any number of service providers. As such, this particular “smart” practice is intended mostly as a caution against over-reliance on mobile-based interventions, as these technical issues represent an ingrained source of uncertainty and error affecting both the veracity of volunteered historical and geographical information, and the likelihood that mobile-based interpretive interventions will be readily adopted by users.

Although implementing this “smart” practice does not relate to a specific set of actions, it does entail adopting a consumer-led approach that ensures ease of orientation. As mobile-based geotagging also affects elements of the proposed design strategy that enables immersive site exploration, user contributions, and multiple levels of user interaction, this “smart” practice also relates to their associated considerations by proxy. As such, we may derive the following strategic elements:

- Acknowledge that there is no simple way to predict how signal strength will affect individual users, as they are likely to rely on any number of service providers.
- Do not over-rely on mobile-based interventions, as their implicit technical issues represent an ingrained source of uncertainty and error affecting both the veracity of crowdsourced information, and the likelihood that mobile-based interpretive interventions will be readily adopted by users.

“Smart” Practice 3.3.

Ease and simplicity of use, robust systems of technical support and documentation, and the general acknowledgment that digital interventions can never supersede face-to-face interactions and experiences on-site all stem from a basic concern with accounting for the effects of the digital divide on the Northeast Community. Thus, this concern undergirds basically every element relating to the implementation of the proposed interpretive strategy. Underlying this concern is a basic caution not to ask “too much” of a digital intervention where its affordances do not support or supplement the desired result, or where non-digital interventions are more appropriately suited to the

task. The projects surveyed for the multiple-case study have made it evident that new media technologies can be wonderful tools for amplifying the voices of stakeholders and facilitating discursive shifts. What ultimately drives that shift, however, are people and the stories they tell. Thus, despite the novelties and affordances of new media technologies, we must be wary not to confuse means with ends, lest we risk isolating the very people whose voices we seek to amplify.

This "smart" practice does not fit easily into Rahaman's framework – indeed, in many ways it runs contrary to it. Even so, it is fundamental to almost every consideration in relation to effective communication. Further, as with "Smart" Practice 3.2., it relates to almost every other functionality of the proposed interpretive intervention by proxy. As such, we may derive the following strategic element:

- Accept that digital interventions can never supersede face-to-face interactions and experiences on-site.

"Smart" Practice 3.4.

In the case of the "Cellphone Diaries" project, supplying participants with the means of data collection and knowledge production literally meant supplying them with smartphones. This is not feasible for a broad-based crowdsourcing project. While the organizations involved in this effort may not offer the hardware and enabling technologies, per se, they can still provide the training, resources, and framing in order to establish the grounds for participation.

In terms of specific actions, this means developing technical guidance – documentation, tutorials, workshops – to teach people how to contribute to the Story

Map. Elements of this strategy are already evident in the North Carolina State Historic Preservation Office (NCSHPO)'s technical bulletin, "Genealogy of a House: Sources for Researching the History of Your House," which is directly linked to the Story Map website.[802] A more robust example of this strategy in practice can be observed in the series of tutorial videos developed and published by Douglass et al which guide users step-by-step through the process of undertaking a virtual reconstruction using open-source software tools and data.[803] It is conceivable that a similar series of tutorial videos might be developed with the aim of guiding users through the process of conducting property research and making direct contributions to the Story Map.

Investing in providing the training, technical assistance, and other resources necessary for users to effectively participate also entails making the necessary archival materials freely available. While offering detailed guidance on digital archiving goes beyond the scope of this thesis, other issues relating to fulfilling the Story Map's potential as a spatialized archive have already been discussed under "Smart" Practice 2.3. and will be further discussed under subsequent "smart" practices.

Implementing this "smart" practice fulfills several considerations under the aspects of effective communication, embodied interaction, and dialogic interaction. By meeting participants halfway by matching their willingness to participate with the means to do so, it adopts a consumer-led approach. By equipping users to participate in the crowdsourcing process, it also enables a host of functionalities associated with integrating

[802] North Carolina Department of Natural and Cultural Resources, "Geneagology of a House," Family History & Geneaology. Web. Accessed June 9, 2022. https://www.ncdcr.gov/resources/family-history-genealogy/house-genealogy.
[803] "Virtual Reconstruction Tutorials," Center for Great Plains Studies, University of Nebraska, Lincoln. Web. Accessed June 9, 2022. https://www.unl.edu/plains/virtual-reconstruction-tutorials.

user-submitted contributions, promoting active problem-solving, collaborative meaning-making, and dialogue, maximizing user interactions, and creating virtual spaces for reflection. As such, we may derive the following strategic elements:

- Supply participants with the means of data collection and knowledge production by providing the training, resources, and framing to establish the grounds for participation.
- Consider developing a series of YouTube tutorials with the aim of guiding users through the process of conducting property research and making direct contributions to the Story Map.

“Smart” Practice 3.5.

Supplying direct assistance is not always possible when facilitating large-scale crowdsourcing projects. Even so, as simple a solution as maintaining a phone line and email address specifically for user inquiries goes a long way toward providing as much direct assistance as possible. The greatest opportunity to do this, however, would be during virtual or in-person training workshops, when facilitators can work with participants individually.

Enabling networks of support among stakeholders is an anticipated outcome of the consideration of supplying the means of data collection and knowledge production through technical support and instruction. The idea is that every informed user then becomes a potential instructor themselves, who can pass on their knowledge to others close to them who would like to be involved in the project. This also touches on the

greater goal of supporting existing initiatives relating to the protection and promotion of Northeast Community history.

Either option involves a considerable commitment of personnel and time to the task of responding to user inquiries. As such, there are accompanying organizational capacity considerations involved that the project manager must take into account.

Implementing this “smart” practice fulfills several considerations under the aspects of effective communication, embodied interaction, and dialogic interaction. By directly responding to user inquiries and needs, it adopts a consumer-led approach. Like “Smart” Practice 3.4., it also enables a host of functionalities associated with integrating user-submitted contributions, promoting active problem-solving, collaborative meaning-making, and dialogue, maximizing user interactions, and creating virtual spaces for reflection by ensuring that users are equipped to participate in the crowdsourcing process. As such, we may derive the following strategic elements:

- Offer direct technical assistance by maintaining a phone line and/or email address for fielding user inquiries.
- During in-person or virtual workshops, work with users individually to troubleshoot technical issues.
- Commit personnel and time to fielding user inquiries and troubleshooting technical issues, assuming that there is sufficient organizational capacity.

“Smart” Practice 3.6.

Protecting participants' rights and privacy where volunteered historical and geographical information is involved begins with developing a permission and licensing

agreement that outlines the requirements and conditions for participating in the study, explains how users' information is used, including what elements of their submissions remain confidential, and reminds users of their rights to privacy at all stages of their involvement with the project. This permission and licensing agreement should be developed in conjunction with all data submission forms associated with the crowdsourcing effort. The Northeast Community History Project's IRB form provides one example on which to base this agreement.[804] Another useful example can be found in the Texas Freedom Colonies Project's online permission and licensing agreement, which is accessible through the Atlas website under the "Share Your Story" tab.[805]

Enacting this "smart" practice fulfills an important consideration under the aspect of effective communication. Namely, it adopts a consumer-led approach by prioritizing participants' rights and privacy. In enacting this "smart" practice as a part of the proposed intervention's administrative infrastructure, we may thus derive the following strategic element:

- Develop a permission and licensing agreement that outlines the requirements and conditions for participating in the study, explains how users' information is used – including what elements of their submissions remain confidential – and reminds users of their rights to privacy at all stages of their involvement with the project in conjunction with all data submission forms.

[804] McGill, Alicia. "Oral History Waiver." IRB form for HI/ANT 587: Cultural Resource Management, NC State University, Raleigh, NC, Spring 2020.
[805] Roberts, Andrea R. "Research Info and Permission and Licsensing Agreement," permission and licensing agreement for the Texas Freedom Colonies Project, Texas A&M University, College Station TX. Web. Accessed June 9, 2022. https://www.thetexasfreedomcoloniesproject.com/share-your-story.

“Smart” Practice 3.7.

Positioning participants as co-authors in order to amplify their discursive agency begins with enabling users to capture and share place-based narratives in their own voice. The “Cellphone Diaries” project demonstrates the ways that this can be accomplished with the aid of mobile technology. In the case of Simmons Row and the Northeast Community, this can be broadly accomplished by introducing a crowdsourcing element to the existing Story Map and designing it in such a way that it can accommodate a plethora of user-submitted content. Much of the specific design actions essential to enabling these functions relate to the ways that the web interface, data submission forms, and systems for data collection are conceived and implemented. Tying in with “Smart” Practice 3.1., for these channels to be effective they must also be approachable and intuitive to use. The various iterations of the Texas Freedom Colonies Project Atlas’s web interface, particular those elements relating to making direct additions to the web map, as well as the Project’s data submission forms provide a useful example in this regard.

In addition to accounting for how users can capture and submit content, positioning them as active participants in the articulation of counter-narratives relies on effective channels for disseminating their place-based narratives to a wide audience. The high degree of media attention that the “Cellphone Diaries” project received offers another case in point. As illustrated through “Smart” Practice 1.2., there are numerous existing new and traditional media channels beyond the Story Map by which users’ contributions may reach a wide audience.

Positioning participants as co-authors and maximizing their discursive agency are two fundamental affordances unique to the practice of new heritage. As such, enacting this "smart" practice thus supports almost every consideration and aspect of Rahaman's framework. Thus, in enacting this "smart" practice, we may derive the following strategic elements:

- Enable users to capture and share place-based narratives in their own voice by accommodating a wide variety of user-submitted content.
- Leverage the variety of existing traditional and new media channels available to the Town, Museum, NECC, NC State, and Wake Forest University to share users' place-based narratives with a wide audience.

"Smart" Practice 3.8.

Acknowledging that digital interventions will never supersede in-person, face-to-face interactions and on-the-ground experiences is not necessarily connected to any one set of specific actions. Rather, it represents an organizing principle that undergirds any number of actions that properly account for the limitations and constraints imposed by the digital divide. Thus, it relates to almost every other "smart" practice derived from the multiple-case study.

Like "Smart" Practice 3.3., acknowledging the limitations of digital interventions seems to run contrary to almost every consideration and aspect of Rahaman's framework, which derives from the assumption that digital heritage interventions enables immersive, interactive experiences that would not be possible otherwise. That being said, it arguably closely aligns with the consideration of adopting a consumer-led approach. By

considering from the outset that digital interventions as supplementary to in-person, face-to-face interactions and programming, we avoid asking "too much" of the proposed interpretive strategy and failing to account for the fact that over-reliance on digital interventions risks isolating a sizeable portion of stakeholders involved. As such, in enacting this "smart" practice we may derive the following strategic element:

- Accept that digital interventions will not supersede in-person, face-to-face interactions and on-the-ground experiences, and instead offer them as supplements to these interactions and experiences.

"Smart" Practice 3.9.

In this instance, enabling polyvocality is taken to mean opening discursive channels previously only available to traditional experts. As such, it is essential to the articulation of counter-narratives. Counter-narratives are not articulated by one authoritative voice alone but through the interactions of multiple voices. This is analogous to Peirce's basic proposition that truthful accounts of reality cannot depend on the inferences of single individuals. Rather, Peirce conceived of truth as an attenuation of multiple perspectives – "the median of many observations that gives the position of the star." Thus, the process of inquiry by which we arrive at truth, in Peirce's view, "is always communal."[806]

Enabling polyvocality in practice is also fundamental to broad-based citizen science efforts, such as the popular iNaturalist platform, and navigation apps like Waze, both of which leverage crowdsourcing to provide users with an accurate account of

[806] Menand, Louis. *The Metaphysical Club*. 1st ed. New York: Farrar, Straus, and Giroux, 2001, 369.

conditions on the ground in real time. In the case of iNaturalist, multiple observations of a particular animal or plant species in a given area become an accepted scientific observation once corroborated by a scientist. Similarly, Waze's ability to provide an accurate account of traffic and road conditions grows with the number of users contributing observations. McCafee and Brynjolfsson refer to these kinds of positive feedback loops as "network effects."[807] By introducing a crowdsourcing element to the Northeast Community Story Map, a project team could leverage similar network effects to arrive at historical accounts of sites like Simmons Row that better reflect the experience of local experts, descendants of the original inhabitants of Simmons Row, and Black residents of the Northeast Community more broadly.

Enabling polyvocality, as another fundamental affordance of new heritage technologies, undergirds almost every consideration and aspect of Rahaman's framework. Similarly, it relates to several objectives and strategies that have proven fundamental to the proposed interpretive intervention, including maximizing Black agency over narrative, engaging in the critical recovery of history, ceding authority and democratizing the knowledge production process. As such, in enacting this "smart" practice we may derive the following strategic element:

- Leverage network effects by enabling the community of users to corroborate and build consensus among themselves.

[807] Brynjolfsson, Erik, and Andrew McAfee. *The Second Machine Age: Work, Progress, and Prosperity in a Time of Brilliant Technologies*. First edition. New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 2014, 6; Weiss, Mitchell. *We the Possibility: Harnessing Public Entrepreneurship to Solve Our Most Urgent Problems*. Boston: Harvard Business Review Press, 2021, 120.

“Smart” Practice 4.1.

The purpose of communicating uncertainty is to cue audiences into the decisions and process that resulted in the content they are viewing, as well as to give them access to the very same sources on which the decisions and inferences behind the content were based, and empowering them to decide for themselves whether the inferences are justifiable or should be critically reconsidered.

The basic tasks essential to communicating uncertainty are stated in the wording of this “smart” practice, namely (1) making inferences and knowledge gaps explicit, (2) making all evidence freely available, and (3) documenting not only metadata but paradata. In principle, these tasks are analogous to Donella Meadows’s “Guidelines for Living in a World of Systems,” namely her insistence on exposing mental models “to the light of day” and honoring, respecting, and distributing information.[808] In practice, they are deeply entwined in the production and management of interpretive content itself. Making inferences explicit begins with the wording, imagery, and channels used to shape and share interpretive content. Making evidence freely available hinges on the implementation of a secure, publicly accessible web information system that is compatible with the existing Story Map. Documenting paradata suggests a need for explicitly integrating this action as a step in the research process both for traditional experts and crowdsourcing participants, as well as a specific concern to be raised when consulting with a library professional to select an appropriate web information system and metadata standard. Specifically, a procedure for documenting paradata needs to be integrated into this metadata standard.

[808] Meadows, Donella H., and Diana Wright. *Thinking in Systems: A Primer*. Edited by Diana Wright. White River Junction, Vermont: Chelsea Green Publishing, 2008, 194-195.

Accomplishing these tasks enables a host of other functions essential to the proposed interpretive interventions. For users to effectively take up the task of contributing to an emerging counter-narrative, they must know the grounds on which the current narrative is based. More importantly, in order to know how they might contribute, they must know where the existing gaps in the knowledge base are. Cueing the public in on a mystery also represents its own form of provocation – it means there's an opportunity for them to meaningfully contribute to the dialogue. In this way, it suggests what the critical recovery of history could look like in practice. These functions relate to a host of considerations across all four aspects of Rahaman's framework including setting up challenges and tasks for users to complete, openness to user contributions, communicating and connecting with users through artifacts, providing real-time feedback, and maximizing interaction by promoting collaborative meaning-making and dialogue between users, local experts, and traditional experts. As such, in implementing this "smart" practice we may derive the following strategic elements:

- Make inferences explicit in the wording, imagery, and channels used to shape and share interpretive content.
- Make evidence freely available by implementing a secure, publicly accessible web information system that is compatible with the Story Map.
- Integrate the documentation and reporting of paradata as a step in the research process both for traditional experts and crowdsourcing participants.
- Consult with a library professional to determine a procedure for documenting and reporting paradata.

“Smart” Practice 4.2.

Embracing pluralism and uncertainty is a necessary precondition to enabling polyvocality and so setting the grounds for the articulation of counter-narratives. Indeed, these are basic assumptions undergirding the idea that users can be participants in the discourse, not just passive consumers of an authorized narrative. They are also deeply tied to, and enacted through, the process of ceding authority and democratizing the knowledge production process. By including multiple conflicting interpretations, the project presents itself as a pluralistic discourse, rather than as a single definitive account.

Jane Addams, early pragmatist thinker and founder of the profession of social work, maintained that seemingly conflicting perspectives are not, in fact, separate, but rather are representative of the same “social compunction” that, through the democratic process, logically converges on the right outcome. Addams’s thinking deeply influenced another well-known pragmatist, John Dewey, who would go on to maintain that social divisions are momentary aberrations on the path toward achieving a common end.[809] It is by this same logic that a multiplicity of conflicting interpretations become a necessary precondition to arriving at counter-narratives that better represent the Black experience on Simmons Row and throughout the Northeast Community.

This “smart” practice relates most closely to the consideration of remaining open to new information as well as promoting active participation and collaborative meaning-making. Thus, it fulfills the aspects of effective communication, embodied interaction, and dialogic interaction. If we hold to Addams and Dewey’s contention that multiplicity

[809] Menand, *The Metaphysical Club*, 315-407.

and conflict precede the attainment of common ends, it follows that it is through the very action of including multiple conflicting interpretations that we set the conditions for collaborative meaning-making to take place. Thus, in enacting this "smart" practice we may derive the following strategic elements:

- Frame the project as a pluralistic discourse, as opposed to a single authoritative account, by incorporating multiple, sometimes conflicting interpretations.
- Accept a multiplicity of interpretations as a necessary precondition to the articulation of counter-narratives that better represent the Black experience on Simmons Row and throughout the Northeast Community.

"Smart" Practice 4.3.

Opening channels for direct dialogue between users, local experts, and traditional experts dovetails with the idea of leveraging existing assets. Under "Smart" Practice 1.2., we established that there is a broad range of existing channels by which dialogue between stakeholders can take place. Rather than introducing new channels, it is in aligning existing channels and directing them toward a common goal that this dialogue is able to take place in a way that supports the vision and mission of the proposed intervention.

Opening two-way channels between users and experts is another basic affordance of new heritage technologies. This is the fundamental premise behind making interpretive content interactive, as doing so enables interpretive interventions to function as a means of dialogue in themselves. As such, leveraging this basic affordance fulfills a host of considerations across the aspects of effective communication, embodied interaction, and dialogic interaction. Setting up challenges and tasks for users to complete is one function

enabled by two-way communication between designers and users. These channels also establish the basis for inviting user contributions and integrating them as an essential part of the intervention. This helps to promote active participation through problem-solving and collaborative meaning-making, and` sharing reflections. As such, establishing these channels fulfills a fundamental step in maximizing user interaction. In enacting this "smart" practice, we may thus derive the following strategic elements:

- Leverage existing channels to enable direct dialogue between all stakeholders, from end users to traditional experts to project designers.
- Align existing channels toward the common goal of articulating counter-narratives that better represent the Black experience on Simmons Row and throughout the Northeast Community.
- Leverage dialogic interactions as a basic affordance of new heritage technologies to enable interpretive interventions to function as a form of dialogue in themselves.

"Smart" Practices 4.4.

The Picturing Mulberry Row project demonstrates both the possibilities and limitations of drawing inferences from archaeological evidence and historic precedents, thus offering a "smart" practice that may offer both a way to enact the strategy of communicating uncertainty and a constraint undergirding the proposed intervention as a whole.

Implementing this consideration relates to all three considerations under Rahaman's aspect of cultural learning. Connecting with users through artifacts demands

that we do so critically, especially when we use them to draw connections between relict cultural landscape features. In adopting this kind of critical eye, however, users are empowered to understand these connections more clearly and to be better witnesses to the testimony of a relict site like Simmons Row. Critical consideration of the evidence on which historical claims are based, be they narrative or visual, thus represents a logical outcome of the overall strategy of communicating uncertainty.

In enacting this "smart" practice, we may find that it implies a strategic element in itself, namely:

- Be sparing and critical when drawing inferences from archaeological evidence, and doubly so when speculating based on precedence.

"Smart" Practice 4.5.

Oral histories with local experts offer one way of cross-referencing archaeological findings and other historical relicts in order to arrive at a more truthful account of a site's physical development. Implementing this "smart" practice proceeds from the acknowledgment that much of Black history is oral, rather than written. As such, it also closely aligns with "Smart" Practice 2.1. by positioning local experts as authorities, thus lending greater discursive agency and authorship. Adopting this stance also offers a way of addressing the uncertainties implicit in the authorized documentary record owing to the underrepresentation of Black experience.

Like "Smart" Practice 4.4., cross-referencing physical relicts with oral testimony closely relates to all three considerations under Rahaman's aspect of cultural learning. In a way, local experts' narrative testimony might be considered artifacts in themselves. In

communicating and connecting with users through stories, users are also drawn further into the site as a vessel for those stories. This is the basic connection distinguishing place-based narratives from other kinds of storytelling and is the fundamental premise behind critically visualizing Simmons Row by making its associated storyscape "visible." In enacting this "smart" practice, we may find that it implies a strategic element in itself, namely:

- Cross-reference documentary and archaeological evidence with oral testimony from local experts and descendant communities whenever possible.

"Smart" Practice 5.3.

Tracking and documenting paradata has been proposed as the primary way of communicating uncertainty. Few users are likely to be familiar with what paradata is and what its documentation entails, however. Another way to communicate uncertainty that aligns with documenting paradata and helps to make the concept more digestible to lay users is to use clear visual cues to indicate where knowledge gaps exist in representations of the dataset in question. Amakawa and Westin reference several ways of doing this, including color gradations and fuzzy logic. For the New Philadelphia AR app, they opt to use greybox "monopoly" houses to represent buildings and structures without sufficient documentation to justify a more detailed model. Bonenberger adopts a similar method in his digital reconstruction of Wheeling, West Virginia by employing a typology of building models organized by variable levels of detail corresponding to the level of documentation available for each building.[810]

[810] Bonenberger, "Historical GIS for Vernacular Architecture Surveys & Virtual Reconstruction of Urban Cultural Landscapes," (2020).

Similar strategies can be employed for map-based crowdsourcing projects. The Texas Freedom Colonies Atlas employs a very simple color grading system in the legend for the web map – blue points represent located and verified freedom colonies, red points represent freedom colony locations inputted by the public, green points represent freedom colony locations in need of further research, and grey points represent freedom colonies whose location has not yet been verified. As such, green and grey points represent areas for further intervention.[811] Other projects have employed similar strategies for indicating the veracity of crowdsourced content. iNaturalist, for example, denotes research-grade observations with a green flag. Research-grade observations, in turn, are verified through a data quality assessment that first rates the completeness of the observation based on whether it has been tagged with date, is georeferenced, includes photos or sound recordings, and whether it depicts a captured or domesticated specimen. Observations become research-grade when more than two-thirds of identifiers agree on at least the species-level taxon, indicating that the community of users who have observed and identified the species are in agreement. Thus, data quality control comes from within the community of users itself under this system.[812]

Similar strategies can be used to communicate uncertainty as it pertains to the level of documentation relating to the properties on Simmons Row and elsewhere throughout the Northeast Community. Indeed, the current Story Map already employs color gradation for this purpose. Yellow indicates parcels that have been fully

[811] "Atlas (Version 2.1)," Texas Freedom Colonies Atlas 2.1. Web. Accessed June 9, 2022. https://www.thetexasfreedomcoloniesproject.com/atlas.
[812] iNaturalist, "What is the data quality assessment and how do observations qualify to become 'Research Grade'?" Frequently Asked Questions. Web. Accessed June 9, 2022. https://www.inaturalist.org/pages/help.

documented by the Northeast Community History Project. Orange indicates properties that have been surveyed in the past but need additional research. A gradient of blue to tan indicates a range of potentially historic properties that have not been documented. Red indicates that the properties were assigned a construction date of 1901 – an arbitrary date assigned by the tax assessor to indicate properties of unknown but considerable age. Green outlines indicate vacant lots that may once have been the site of buildings that have since been demolished. Finally, solid green indicates Town-owned properties.[813] This same strategy could be employed even down to the level of detail for individual buildings. In adding the footprints of the demolished Simmons Row houses to the Story Map, for example, similar color grading system could be used to visualize the

[813] Town of Wake Forest, "Guide to Map Layers," Northeast Community Story Map. Web. Accessed June 9, 2022. https://storymaps.arcgis.com/stories/5cb948db5e564efe89cd9d1968946d2b.

various tiers indicating the level of documentation available for each building, similar to Bonenberger's strategy.

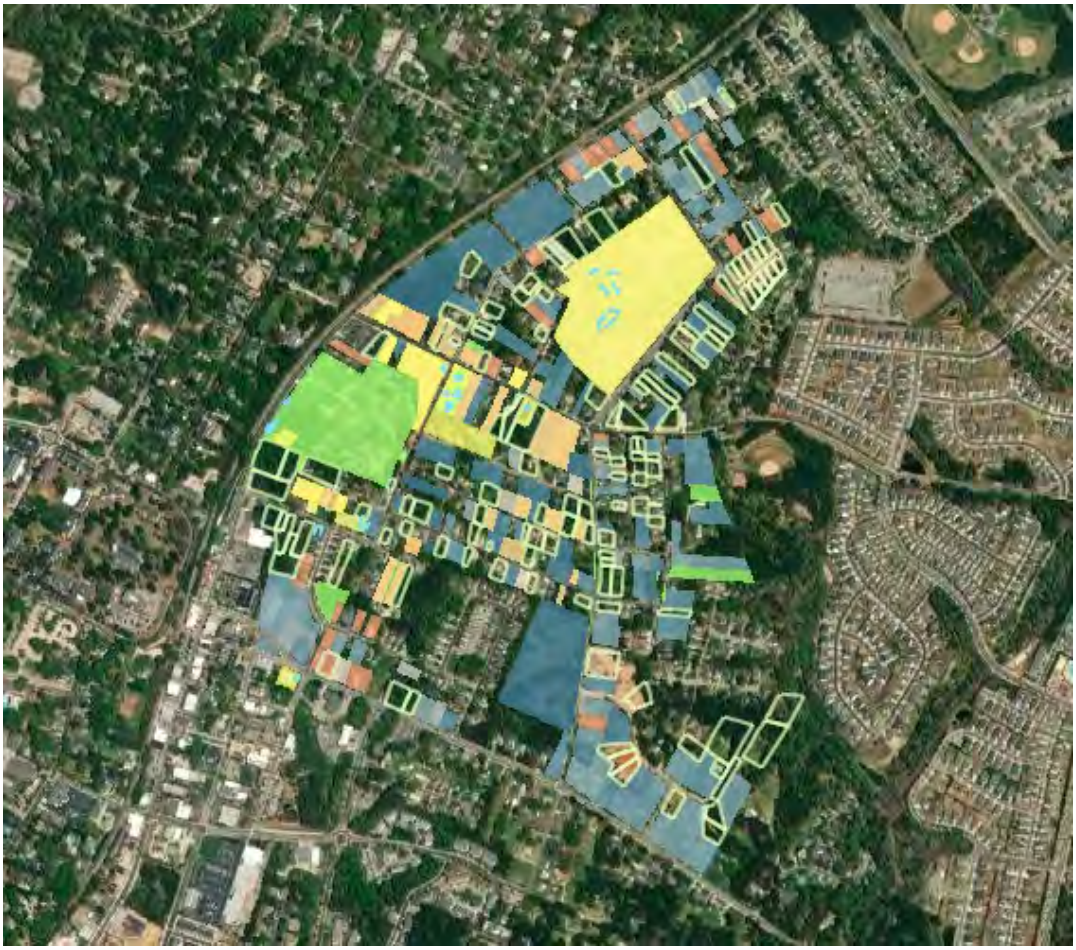


Figure 102: Incorporating simple visual cues like color grading to communicate uncertainty leverages a key strength of visual communication – namely, its ability to convey large amounts of information quickly – while directly addressing its capacity to mislead. Map by Chris Robey.

Enacting this “smart” practice would fulfill several considerations across all four aspects of Rahaman’s framework. It would set up tasks and challenges for users to complete by clearly indicating areas where they could contribute to existing knowledge gaps by adding their own volunteered historical and geographical information. Cueing users into the lingering questions relating to historic properties also functions as a way of

encouraging further exploration, be it on-site or through historical research. In enabling this kind of participation, users are also invited to take part in a collaborative, collective act of meaning-making that could ultimately shift the discursive situation toward an authorized narrative that better reflects the Black experience in the Northeast Community. In implementing this "smart" practice, we may thus derive the following strategic element:

- Use color grading, patterns, symbols, and other clear visual cues to communicate uncertainties within the visualization itself. Examples include the use of greybox "monopoly houses" to denote undocumented historic buildings, as in the New Philadelphia AR project, or the use of different colors to similarly denote varying levels of documentation, as in the Northeast Community Story Map.

"Smart" Practice 6.1.

All six of the cases make evident that one of the most important affordances of new heritage technologies is their capacity to take one-sided, static interpretive interventions like on-site signage and turn them into interactive, two-way channels for discourse. Of the map-based solutions considered, the Gullah Land and Community and Cellphone Diaries most clearly suggest the ways in which these affordances might be leveraged toward enabling immersive, interactive experiences of the historic built environment. These possibilities are most readily encompassed by the suite of technologies that Brabec refers to as locative media.

Boone and Brabec both explore the capacity of geotagging to tie place-based narratives to their corresponding geographic location. Another functionality that falls

under the auspices of locative media but which is not explicitly explored in either of these projects is geofencing. A geofence is simply a virtual boundary drawn around a geographic location in a GPS or GIS platform that is representative of a real-world geographic location.[814] One function that geofencing can enable that leverages the built-in capacities smartphones and other location-enabled devices is to trigger a notification and accompanying message or series of messages as a way of delivering mobile-based interpretive content. In the same way that a target-based system employed by Amakawa and Westin triggers the display of augmented reality media content, geofencing can trigger minimal-commitment notifications arousing curiosity to explore more in-depth content via other channels. In this way, the interpretive channel becomes two-way; data can be submitted via the same channels that content is delivered. This function represents one minimally invasive way of drawing user attention to site history while provoking further exploration via other channels.

Alkhafaji et al introduce a framework for designing smart and ubiquitous learning environments at outdoor cultural heritage sites and accompanying proof-of-concept demonstrating what this could look like in practice.[815] It is conceivable that a similar model could be integrated into the existing Town of Wake Forest app. While Alkhafaji et al's proof-of-concept features the use of smart eyeglasses as a kind of heads-up display (HUD), this is not necessarily required. What may be required, however, is the installation of hidden signal boosters in the Ailey Young House as a safeguard against the

[814] Rodriguez Garzon, Sandro, and Bersant Deva. "Geofencing 2.0: taking location-based notifications to the next level." In *Proceedings of the 2014 ACM International Joint Conference on Pervasive and Ubiquitous Computing*, pp. 921-932. 2014. https://doi.org/10.1145/2632048.2636093.
[815] Alkhafaji, Alaa, Sanaz Fallahkhair, and Ella Haig. "A theoretical framework for designing smart and ubiquitous learning environments for outdoor cultural heritage." *Journal of Cultural Heritage* 46 (2020): 244-258. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.culher.2020.08.006.

implicit instabilities of smartphone signal strength. It is unclear whether this would be in accordance with the Secretary of the Interior's Standards for the Treatment of Historic Properties, however.

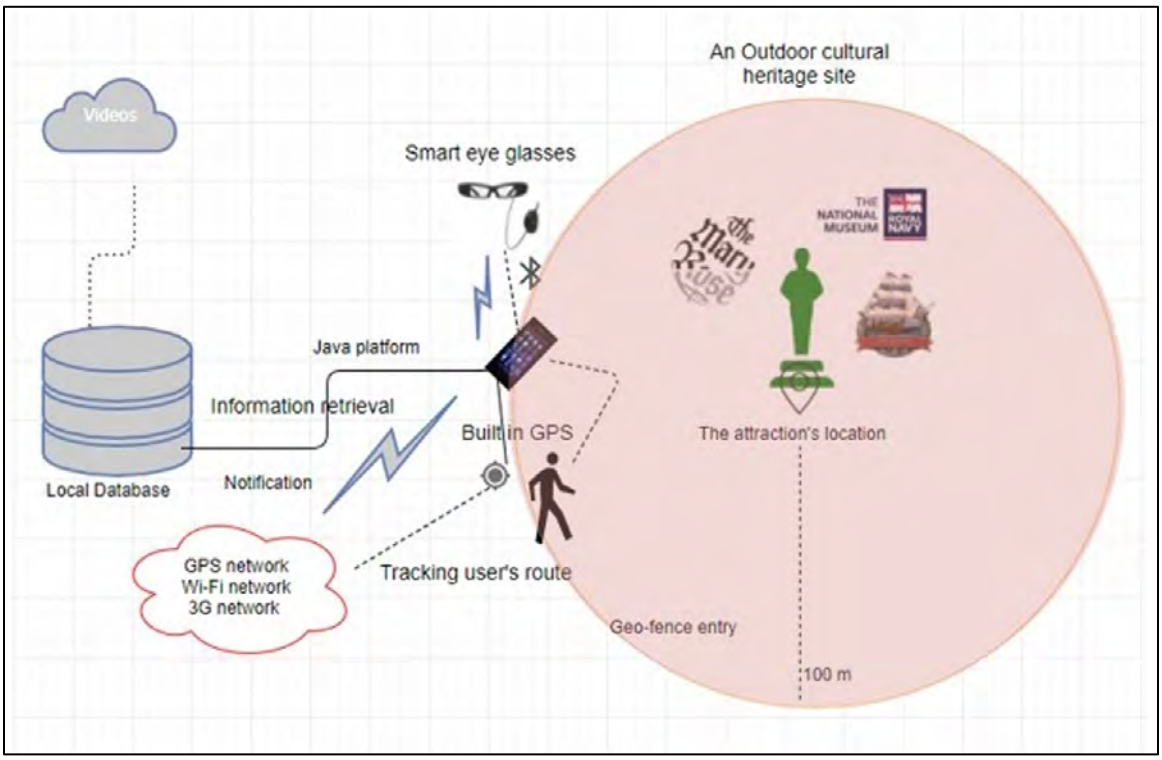


Figure 103: Alkhafaji et al's proof of concept for smart and ubiquitous outdoor learning environments at cultural heritage sites demonstrates how geofencing could be employed to augment visitors' on-site experiences with geotagged digital content along Simmons Row. Diagram by Alkhafaji et al.

The Picturing Mulberry Row project demonstrates a similar method by embedding small, minimally invasive signs or markers engraved with QR codes that trigger the delivery of interpretive content to users' mobile devices when scanned. This method is commonly employed across multiple sectors and accomplishes the same function as geofencing. Regarding implementation, it would only require the installation

of the physical markers, rather than additional Wi-fi-boosting infrastructure in the Ailey Young House.

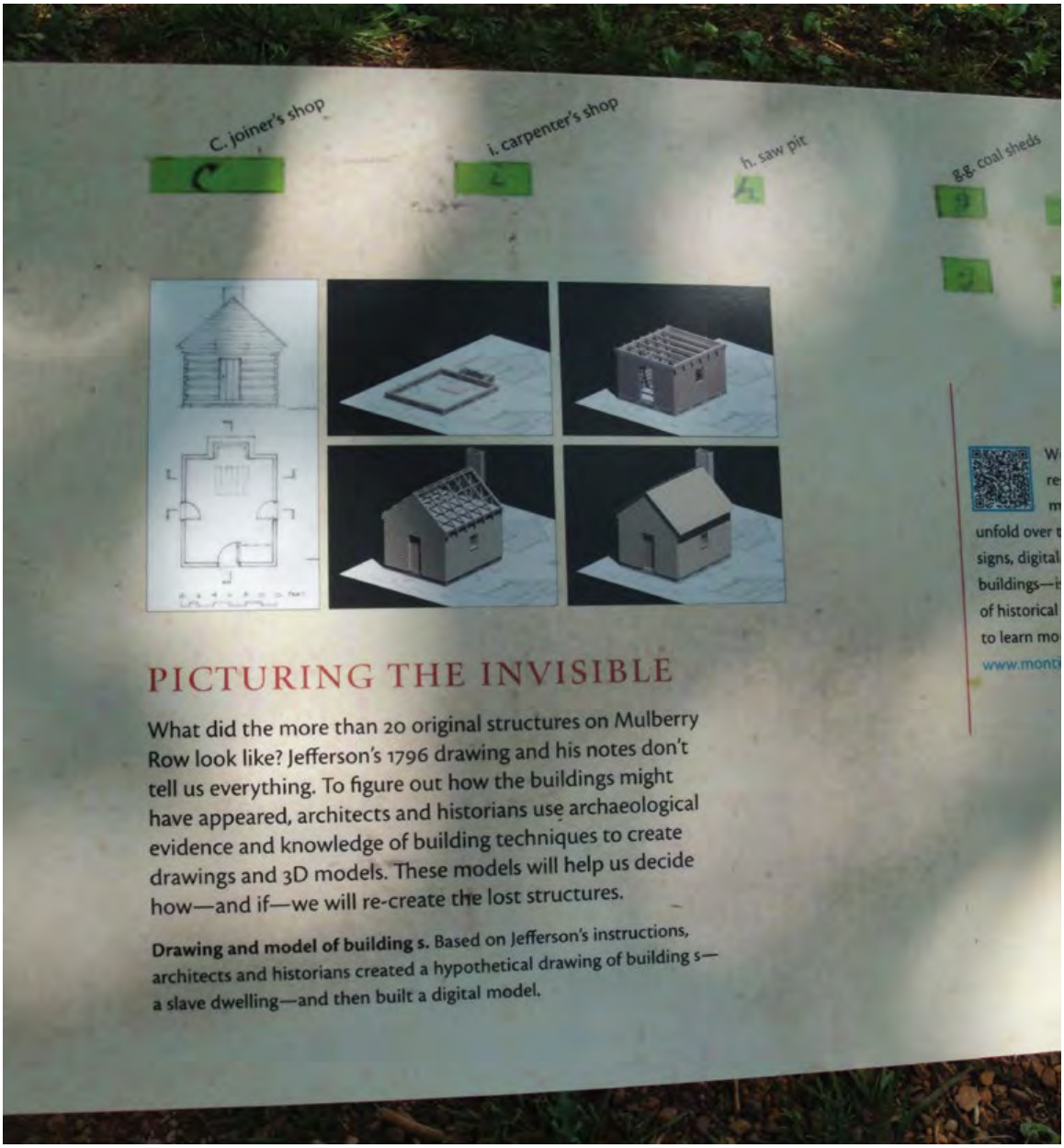


Figure 104: A less involved method for connecting digital content to place is the incorporation of QR codes into on-site signage. By scanning the code with their mobile device, users can access additional content relating to the site. Photo by Earl Mark.

In either case, environmental conditions such as sun glare and precipitation can make viewing smartphone screens for extended periods outdoors difficult and tedious, so this application is not ideal for delivering the same kind of in-depth content that something like a browser-based story map can.

Kaufman introduces the idea of "storyscape" to illustrate the idea of the ways that the built environment becomes punctuated and animated by the values, significances, meanings, and stories that people ascribe to it.[816] When considering the task of critical visualization in context of Simmons Row and the Northeast Community, the goal of any intervention aiming to accomplish it should be to make this invisible storyscape "visible" to audiences. Thus, where mobile-based solutions are proposed, the idea should not necessarily be to draw people further into their mobile devices. Rather, it should be to trigger a brief moment of provocation – a subtle change to the way that the user perceives and experiences the landscape around them, by which they come to understand the meaning of storyscape not as an abstract construct, but as a felt reality. In this way, the user may become aware of the stories that have been hiding in plain sight all along and led to the realization that while buildings on the landscape come and go, stories persist so long as there are people around to remember and recount them.

Such moments of provocation present a critical opportunity, in that they may spur the user to explore further by touring the Ailey Young House, visiting the Wake Forest Historical Museum, attending a historical walking tour, or browsing the Story Map. In this way, such minimal-commitment interventions can also help to bolster the effectiveness of the Ailey Young House, as a physical relict, and the Story Map, as a

[816] Kaufman, "Chapter 2: Protecting Storyscape" in *Place, Race, and Story* (2013).

virtual heritage intervention, as portals through which users can experience Northeast Community history. As such, leveraging the affordances of new heritage technologies to enable these experiences fulfills a range of considerations cross all four aspects of Rahaman's framework. Through offering a variety of locative media content, such interventions reveal the symbolic meanings and associations between physical relicts, promote collaborative meaning-making, maximize user interaction, and create spaces for users to share reflections. In implementing this "smart" practice, we may thus derive the following strategic elements

- Trigger immersive, interactive moments of provocation through the use of either geofencing or QR codes.
- If opting for geofencing, consider installing a hidden signal booster in the Ailey Young House to decrease the likelihood of signal interference, so long as this is in accordance with the Secretary of the Interior's Standards for the Treatment of Historic Properties.
- If opting for QR codes, install small, unobtrusive markers engraved with the QR codes along the sidewalk near each of the Simmons Row house sites.

"Smart" Practice 6.3.

Toscano et al note in their paper that "[d]ata, particularly in disciplines that study the past, do not tend to become outdated […] It is not the same for [web information systems (WIS)], which belong to a continuously evolving environment, strictly dependent on the technologies available and used at a given time." While their article offers a review of numerous WIS that could be applicable to the Northeast Community Story

Map, they also note that any review of the current state of technological developments in a given sector provides only a brief snapshot that may just as readily go out of date in a year's time.[817] Thus, staying apace of current developments in the enabling technologies relating to the proposed intervention starts with consulting with a library professional who can advise on the WIS that is not only most appropriate to the stated vision and mission of the intervention, but also has the longest and most reliable "shelf life."

Issues related to the need for constant updates and upgrades in light of ongoing technological advancements are also pertinent given the current Story Map's reliance on the Esri's Story Maps platform. The Story Map platform has already been updated once, necessitating that projects created under the old platform be migrated to the new version and prompting Esri to develop a series of technical bulletins relating to this transition.[818] Although the current Northeast Community Story Map is hosted on the most up-to-date version of this platform, it remains possible that future updates may render it obsolete, necessitating migration of the project at best and a complete redesign at worst. This pattern persists across all of the enabling technologies and platforms involved – within the past year, Wake County iMaps has updated its user interface, and geospatial professionals across all sectors are well underway towards adopting ArcGIS Pro in place of Esri's original ArcMap suite as their standard desktop GIS software.

In implementing this "smart" practice, the key point to bear in mind is that technology develops rapidly and will continue to do so on a seemingly ever-accelerating timeline year-by-year. Software solutions of all kinds have a limited shelf life. In

[817] Toscano et al, "Software solutions for web information systems in digital humanities," (2022).
[818] Evans, Owen. "Moving to ArcGIS StoryMaps," Esri's StoryMaps (March 14, 2022). Web. Accessed June 9. 2022. https://storymaps.arcgis.com/stories/472a6ddd582b40b58a5a6af2c30a4573.

developing a long-range strategy for employing them, especially for archival purposes, it is important to keep an eye to the horizon, so to speak, and be prepared when updates, upgrades, and other developments necessitate the need to pivot, be it by migrating of web-based projects to a new platform or completely redesigning them. In this sense, it is not the most novel or cutting-edge solutions that are most appropriate for the purpose of a project like the Northeast Community Story Map, but rather those solutions with the longest shelf life, most reliable user base, and most extensive networks of support and documentation available to aid these transitions.

As this “smart” practice relates to the ongoing accessibility and relevancy of the proposed intervention, it fulfills considerations under the aspects of effective communication while enabling almost every other consideration under the other three aspects. Namely, accounting for the long-term sustainability of digital interventions ensures that the variety of content they offer remains visible and available for users to take advantage of. Further, it adopts a consumer-led approach by keeping a finger on the pulse of ongoing technological developments, so to speak. Thus, in enacting this “smart” practice we may derive the following strategic elements:

- Keep apace of current developments in the proposed intervention's enabling technologies. Be prepared when updates, upgrades, and other developments necessitate the need to pivot, be it by migrating of web-based projects to a new platform or completely redesigning them.
- Consult with a library professional who can advise on the WIS that is not only most appropriate to the stated vision and mission of the intervention, but also has the longest and most reliable “shelf life.”

- In general, opt for software solutions with longer shelf lives, reliable and extensive user bases, and robust networks of support and documentation.

“Smart” Practice 6.4.

The adoption of open-source tools is constrained in this case by the strategy of leveraging existing assets – in leaning heavily on the existing Northeast Community Story Map, for example, the proposed intervention is already relying on proprietary software only available through an ArcGIS Online subscription. As such, implementing this “smart” practice relates mostly to the type of web information system adopted to support the Story Map as a spatialized archive. Toscacno et al’s paper reviews multiple open-source platforms well-suited to this purpose – some well-known examples are Omeka, Mukrutu, Drupal, and Arches.[819] This, again, is a decision best made in consultation with a library professional, who will also be able to advise on the specifics of installing, maintaining, and integrating this software with the existing Story Map.

Enacting this “smart” practice takes a consumer-led approach again by aiming to minimize project costs, resource commitments, and complexity of the project in terms of its implementation. In this sense, it also relates to ease of orientation – where previous “smart” practices have addressed this consideration from the user’s end, in this case, adopting open-source tools serves to make the project team’s implementation of intervention smoother and better suited to their ends. In enacting this “smart” practice, we find that it implies a strategic element in itself, namely:

[819] Toscano et al, “Software solutions for web information systems in digital humanities,” (2022).

- Where practical, adopt open-source software tools with well-established user bases and bodies of documentation in order to bypass the barriers imposed by high-cost proprietary software.

"Smart" Practice 6.5.

Integrating user contributions is a basic action for positioning users as co-authors – their submissions become a part of the interpretive content itself. The Texas Freedom Colonies Project and the "Cellphone Diaries" project are the two clearest examples of this from the case sample. Gonzalez-Tennant argues that this is an emancipatory action that empowers users to take control of the ways that their experience is represented.[820] The participants in Boone's study report feeling empowered to document and share their place-based narratives in their own voice, and to see their voice reflected in the resultant narrative. Overall, this implies a strategy that both garners user buy-in and empowers users to affect discourse in powerful ways.

In considering how a crowdsourcing element might be introduced to the Northeast Community Story Map, there are numerous other successful examples of crowdsourced cultural resource documentation projects beyond the narrow sample of cases considered for this thesis that are well worth drawing upon as precedents. Two municipal-level examples are the Austin Historical Survey Wiki and the City of Los Angeles's SurveyLA, both of which draw on volunteered geographical and historical information to accomplish city-wide historic resource surveys.[821] A regional-level example is the

[820] González-Tennant and González-Tennant, "The Practice and Theory of New Heritage for Historical Archaeology," (2016).
[821] Minner, Jennifer, Michael Holleran, Andrea Roberts, and Joshua Conrad. " Capturing Volunteered Historical Information: Lessons from Development of a Local Government Crowdsourcing Tool." In

Keweenaw Time Traveler, a public participatory historical GIS project facilitated by the Historical Environmental Spatial Analytics Lab (HESAL) at Michigan Technological University that empowers users as "citizen historians" engaged in researching and interpreting the history of Michigan's Copper Country.[822]

A basic set of functions unites each of these projects across their diverse geographic and historical foci, chief of which is the way they open channels for users to make direct contributions that can accommodate a wide variety of digital storytelling content. This, in turn, necessitates a system for vetting user contributions and moderating content submissions and comments. Enacting these systems requires a host of supporting actions that tie into the other "smart" practices that we've already discussed. Building a robust system of technical support and documentation supports user participation. Developing procedures for communicating uncertainty that make knowledge gaps explicit and specific opportunities for participation clear to users. Finally, developing procedures for rapidly responding to user feedback and integrating their contributions into the Story Map ensures that users see the tangible result of those contributions.

Taken together, these actions suggest a path toward enabling users to directly contribute to the Story Map in a way that elevates their discursive agency and enables users to articulate counter-narratives that better account for the Black experience in Northeast Community history. As such, in implementing this "smart" practices we find

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Geospatial Research: Concepts, Methodologies, Tools, and Applications, pp. 319-343. IGI Global, 2016; Bernstein, Ken, and Janet Hansen. " SurveyLA: Linking Historic Resources Surveys to Local Planning." *Journal of the American Planning Association* 82, no. 2 (2016): 88-91.

[822] Scarlett, Sarah Fayen, Don Lafreniere, Daniel J. Trepal, John DM Arnold, and Robert Pastel. "Engaging Community and Spatial Humanities for Postindustrial Heritage: The Keweenaw Time Traveler." *American Quarterly 70*, no. 3 (2018): 619-623.

that it implies a strategic element in itself as well as several substantiating elements, namely:

- Position users as co-authors by opening channels for direct contributions that can accommodate a wide variety of digital storytelling content.
- Develop and implement a system for moderating user submissions and feedback.
- Develop and implement a robust system of technical support and documentation to bolster user participation.
- Develop procedures for communicating uncertainty that make knowledge gaps explicit and specific opportunities for participation clear to users.
- Develop procedures for rapidly responding to user feedback and integrating their contributions into the Story Map so that they may see the tangible result of their contributions.

Design Synthesis Pt. I Summary

For this first stage of my design synthesis, I have articulated a set of strategic elements by integrating the suite of relevant "smart" practices derived from the multiple-case study with Rahaman's conceptual framework for digital heritage interpretation. From these strategic elements, I can now proceed to synthesize an interpretive action plan organized under the VMOSA strategic planning framework.

CHAPTER XV:

DESIGN SYNTHESIS, PT. II:

STRATEGIC ACTION PLAN AND EVALUATION

Strategic Action Plan – Introduction

Having undertaken the task of integrating the suite of "smart" practices with Rahaman's framework and deriving a set of strategic elements based on the VMOSA framework, I am now ready to synthesize a strategic action plan for implementing the proposed intervention.

Proposed Vision

The vision driving this intervention is of an open, evolving, spatialized archive of Northeast Community history that serves as an exemplar that other communities similarly marginalized by the authorized heritage discourse can draw upon.

Proposed Mission

The mission of this intervention is to provide an alternative means of documenting, preserving, and interpreting the history of the Northeast Community in lieu of a historic district through the creation of a spatialized archive. Through continued research and community engagement, we aim to continue improving this Story Map as a tool for sharing Northeast Community stories and making its vanished buildings and

landscapes visible again. As stated on the Story Map project website, "[p]arcel by parcel, we hope to continue sharing stories not only of the Northeast Community's historic built environment, but of the generations of residents who continue to pull the neighborhood together."[823]

Proposed Objectives

The proposed objectives of this intervention derive from Rahaman's conceptual framework for digital heritage interpretation. Recall that Rahaman's framework is organized under four objectives: user satisfaction, provocation/empathy, promotion of cultural learning, and multiplicity of historical perspectives.[824] Considered in light of the "smart" practices and propositions we have derived from our case examples, these objectives take on a new meaning. User satisfaction becomes maximizing Black agency over narrative in the Northeast Community; provocation and empathy become critically visualizing Simmons Row by making the invisible "storyscape" visible; promotion of cultural learning becomes engaging in the critical recovery of history; and multiplicity of historical perspectives becomes enabling the conditions for counter-narratives to emerge.

Thus, the four objectives of the proposed intervention are as follows:

1. Maximize Black agency over narrative in the Northeast Community
2. Critically visualize Simmons Row and other relict sites throughout the Northeast Community by making the invisible storyscape "visible."

[823] Town of Wake Forest, "V. Toward A Northeast Community Virtual Historic District and Archive," Northeast Community Story Map. Web. Accessed June 10, 2022. https://storymaps.arcgis.com/stories/5cb948db5e564efe89cd9d1968946d2b.
[824] Rahaman, "Digital heritage interpretation," 2018.

3. Engage in the critical recovery of Northeast Community history
4. Enable the conditions for the collective articulation of a counter-narrative history of Simmons Row and the Northeast Community

Proposed Strategies

The strategies derived from the first part of this synthesis are as follows:

1. Leverage existing assets.
2. Open two-way channels for user interaction.
3. Cede authority and democratize the knowledge production process.
4. Account for the limitations and constraints of digital interventions.

Proposed Actions (Strategy #1)

The actions derived from the first part of this synthesis that leverage existing assets are as follows:

- Coordinate closely among existing assets and partnerships to direct resources toward enabling the Northeast Community Story Map to function as a spatialized archive.
- Align existing traditional and new media channels toward the common goal of articulating counter-narratives that better represent the Black experience on Simmons Row and throughout the Northeast Community.
- Leverage the integration of a crowdsourcing element into the Story Map as an opportunity to foster richer collaborations among Town and Museum staff,

members of the Northeast Community Coalition, and researchers from NC State and Wake Forest Universities.

- Assess organizational capacity not only among project team but among all partner organizations in order to define scope and constraints based on available time, personnel, and resources.
- Scale scope, implementation, engagement, technical support, and other project elements based on available organizational capacity.
- Work with the Northeast Community Coalition to solicit user-submitted oral history interviews and other self-authored digital content. Geotag and actively incorporate these videos into the Story Map.
- Continue facilitating the Northeast Community History Project. Locate and conduct oral history interviews with descendants of Simmons Row residents. Integrate select sound bites into the Story Map.
- Consult with a library professional in order to determine which web information systems (WIS), metadata standard, and procedures for documenting paradata will enable the existing Northeast Community Story Map to function as a spatialized archive.
    - In selecting a WIS, consider not only most appropriate to the stated vision and mission of the intervention, but also has the longest and most reliable "shelf life."
    - In general, opt for software solutions with longer shelf lives, reliable and extensive user bases, and robust networks of support and documentation.

- Consider including a digital archivist as a part of the project team if there is sufficient organizational capacity to do so.
- Introduce minimal-commitment, non-invasive systems for triggering mobile-based, on-site moments of provocation to enhance both in-person and virtual historical walking tours facilitated by the Town and Museum and the Northeast Community's annual Juneteenth celebration.
- Amplify the voices of local experts as vital assets for engaging in the critical recovery of history that is underrepresented in the authorized heritage discourse.
    - Turn to the oral testimony of local experts who, by virtue of their lived experience, can speak to those elements of the Black experience that are largely absent from the authorized documentary record in order to attain a discourse that better reflects that experience.
    - Cross-reference documentary and archaeological evidence with oral testimony from local experts and descendant communities whenever possible.
    - Having been entrusted with the experiences, perspectives, and memories of local experts, make every effort to ensure that the resultant counter-narratives reflect their collective experience.
- Continue to leverage the Wake Forest Historical Museum blog as a digital storytelling platform for sharing content relating to Simmons Row and other relict sites throughout the Northeast Community, as well as a space for users to share reflections and contribute their own storytelling content.

- Leverage the variety of existing traditional and new media channels available to the Town, Museum, NECC, NC State, and Wake Forest University to share users' place-based narratives with a wide audience.
- Leverage the Town and Museum's YouTube channels as platforms for hosting digital videos – be they recorded interviews with local experts, user-submitted place-based narratives, or pre-recorded tutorials for submitting crowdsourced content – and linking them directly to the existing Northeast Community Story Map via embedded hyperlinks.
    - Consider any of three ways of capturing video content: (1) professional-quality with trained technicians and specialized equipment, (2) research-quality with volunteer or student participants in the Northeast Community History Project captured with either specialized equipment or mobile devices, (3) self-authored video interviews between local experts and their younger descendants captured with mobile devices.
- Should the Ailey Young House be nominated to the Register of Historic Places, consider developing a Teaching with Historic Places unit and hosting it through the Wake Forest Historical Museum via its participation in the Humanities in Class Digital Library.

Proposed Actions (Strategy #2)

The actions derived from the first part of this synthesis that open two-way channels for user interaction are as follows:

- Modify the existing Story Map by integrating a Survey123-based crowdsourcing system that enables users to directly contribute to the map and submit volunteered historical and geographical information.
    - Develop both web-based and downloadable PDF data submission forms
    - Develop a permission and licensing agreement that outlines the requirements and conditions for participating in the study, explains how users' information is used – including what elements of their submissions remain confidential – and reminds users of their rights to privacy at all stages of their involvement with the project in conjunction with all data submission forms.
- Introduce an interactive element to the Town and Museum's historic walking tours by implementing either a geofence or QR-code based system for triggering mobile-based moments of provocation.
    - If geofence-based, consider installing a hidden signal booster in the Ailey Young House to decrease the likelihood of signal interference.
    - If QR code-based, consider installing a sequence of small, unobtrusive markers engraved with QR codes along the sidewalk near where the demolished Simmons Row dwellings once stood and/or integrating QR codes into the existing interpretive panels at the Ailey Young House site.
- Regularly update web-based content to garner interest in the project as well as maintain its visibility and relevancy.

- Develop procedures for rapidly responding to user feedback and integrating their contributions into the Story Map so that they may see the tangible result of their contributions.
    - Monitor comments and respond directly to contributions or inquiries within a reasonable timeframe.
    - When users contribute volunteered historical or geographical information, make the effort to incorporate this information into content updates and credit the original contributor.
- Devise and implement a system for moderating user submissions and feedback from crowdsourced channels to ensure accuracy and appropriateness.
- Develop a coordinated engagement strategy that not only incorporates schedules for content releases and updates but also develops protocols for monitoring for and responding to user feedback across all assets.
- Leverage interpretive content and programming as an opportunity to remind users of the role they play in protecting and preserving sensitive cultural resources.
- Commit personnel and time to fielding user inquiries and troubleshooting technical issues, assuming that there is sufficient organizational capacity.
- Leverage existing channels to enable direct dialogue between all stakeholders, from end users to traditional experts to project designers.
- Leverage dialogic interactions as a basic affordance of new heritage technologies to enable interpretive interventions to function as a form of dialogue in themselves.

Proposed Actions (Strategy #3)

The actions derived from the first part of this synthesis that cede authority and democratize the knowledge production process are as follows:

- Be transparent regarding the process and chain of reasoning supporting inferences from limited evidence.
    - Make inferences explicit in the wording, imagery, and channels used to shape and share interpretive content.
- Be open about where knowledge gaps exist in order to set specific crowdsourcing targets.
- Integrate the documentation and reporting of paradata as a step in the research process both for traditional experts and crowdsourcing participants.
- Make evidence freely available by implementing a secure, publicly accessible web information system that is compatible with the Story Map.
- Empower users by supplying them means and know-how to contribute meaningfully to filling gaps in the knowledge base.
- Solicit and integrate contributions from sources not usually authorized by orthodox preservation theory and practice.
- Critically consider who is 'authorized" to determine how Northeast Community history is represented.
- Consider documenting paradata as brief descriptions of the chain of evidence and reasoning used to arrive at a particular interpretation of an artifact or relict landscape feature, comments on the research methodologies employed, and lingering research questions and recommendations for further inquiry.

- Supply participants with the means of data collection and knowledge production by providing the training, resources, and framing to establish the grounds for participation.
- Enable users to capture and share place-based narratives in their own voice by accommodating a wide variety of user-submitted content.
- Leverage network effects by enabling the community of users to corroborate and build consensus among themselves.
- Frame the project as a pluralistic discourse, as opposed to a single authoritative account, by incorporating multiple, sometimes conflicting interpretations.
- Accept a multiplicity of interpretations as a necessary precondition to the articulation of counter-narratives that better represent the Black experience on Simmons Row and throughout the Northeast Community.
- Use color grading, patterns, symbols, and other clear visual cues to communicate uncertainties within the visualization itself. Examples include the use of greybox "monopoly houses" to denote undocumented historic buildings, as in the New Philadelphia AR project, or the use of different colors to similarly denote varying levels of documentation, as in the Northeast Community Story Map.

Proposed Actions (Strategy #4)

The actions derived from the first part of this synthesis that account for the limitations and constraints of digital interventions are as follows:

- Develop and implement a robust system of technical support and documentation to bolster user participation.

    - Offer direct technical assistance by maintaining a phone line and/or email address for fielding user inquiries.
    - Consider developing and publishing downloadable technical bulletins with step-by-step instructions for submitting crowdsourced content.
    - Similarly, consider developing a series of YouTube tutorials with the aim of guiding users through the process of conducting property research and making direct contributions to the Story Map.
    - Design and facilitate both in-person and virtual public workshops to raise awareness about the Story Map and Northeast Community History Project, garner interest in ongoing crowdsourcing efforts, and train users in how to conduct property research, compile and summarize their findings, and submit their data for addition to the Story Map.
    - During in-person or virtual workshops, work with users individually to troubleshoot technical issues.
- When feasible and safe to do so under current public health measures relating to COVID-19, prioritize face-to-face interactions in order to reach people who might not otherwise have access to digital channels or who simply prefer in-person programming.
- Exercise caution in drawing attention to sensitive cultural resources through geotagging.
- Be sparing and critical when drawing inferences from archaeological evidence, and doubly so when speculating based on precedence.

- In integrating a crowdsourcing function into the existing Story Map, ensure that all software applications and web interfaces involved are as simple and intuitive to use both from the user experience side and the design implementation side.
    - Apply this same general principle to all digital interventions relating to the project.
- Do not over-rely on mobile-based interventions, as their implicit technical issues represent an ingrained source of uncertainty and error affecting both the veracity of crowdsourced information, and the likelihood that mobile-based interpretive interventions will be readily adopted by users.
    - Acknowledge that there is no simple way to predict how signal strength will affect individual users, as they are likely to rely on any number of service providers.
- Keep apace of current developments in the proposed intervention's enabling technologies. Be prepared when updates, upgrades, and other developments necessitate the need to pivot, be it by migrating of web-based projects to a new platform or completely redesigning them.
- Where practical, adopt open-source software tools with well-established user bases and bodies of documentation in order to bypass the barriers imposed by high-cost proprietary software.
- Accept that digital interventions will not supersede in-person, face-to-face interactions and on-the-ground experiences, and instead offer them as supplements to these interactions and experiences.

- Do not distract from on-site experience – trigger enough to provoke people to see the hidden history in their day-to-day environment. The broad goal of the intervention should be to animate the everyday by making stories hiding in plain sight “visible.”

Evaluation of Strategic Action Plan

In articulating the Simmons Row design situation, we articulated five evaluative criteria by which to assess the proposed intervention. Recall that in order for the proposed intervention to properly respond to the design situation, it must:

1. Align with existing policies and interventions implemented by the Town of Wake Forest, the Wake Forest Historical Museum, the Northeast Community Coalition, and their academic partners.
2. Leverage the upswell of local support for promoting and protecting Northeast Community history.
3. Properly account for the effects of the digital divide in the Northeast Community.
4. Problematize the authorized narrative of Simmons Row.
5. Create space for the articulation of counter-narratives by Northeast Community residents themselves, not just traditional experts.

The proposed strategic action plan aligns with existing policies and interventions in that it leverages existing assets that are a direct outgrowth of the preservation policies and interventions pursued by all stakeholders involved in the protection and promotion of Northeast Community History. Further, it leverages the local upswell of support for protecting and preserving Northeast Community History by offering a roadmap toward

opening direct channels for user participation, mainly through the introduction of a crowdsourcing function to the existing Northeast Community Story Map. The proposed strategic action plan accounts for the effects of the digital divide in the Northeast Community by acknowledging from the outset that digital interventions will not supersede in-person, face-to-face interactions and programming, and thus integrates proposed actions that have been scaled accordingly. Additionally, a critical element of implementing the proposed intervention will be building robust systems of support and documentation aimed at lowering barriers to participation linked to the digital divide. The proposed strategic action plan offers a path toward problematizing the authorized narrative of Simmons Row by articulating the conditions by which a counter-narrative history of the site might emerge through pluralistic discourse led by Northeast Community residents, local experts, and other key stakeholders themselves. Finally, the proposed action plan articulates the ways that stakeholders can leverage the affordances of new heritage technologies to create a supplementary digital space through which to articulate their counter-narratives that parallels with existing efforts within the Northeast Community.

As such, the proposed strategic action plan fulfills the evaluative criteria derived from the Simmons Row design situation, and thus offers a relevant, appropriate, and pragmatic roadmap by which a future project team may orient their efforts.

CHAPTER XVI:

CONCLUSION

Summary of Findings

Ujiji Davis helps us understand that, while there are many sites bearing the specific placename of a "Bottom," the Bottom goes beyond physical boundaries. She writes:

"At its core, the Bottom is a neighborhood, with neighborhood things, like homes, shops, families, schools, and churches. Throughout American history, the Bottom has faced particular scrutiny because of its concentrated black population, which was so often coupled with insufficient and inferior opportunities for housing, employment, and high quality of life. The Bottom does not exist in one place but in every place across the United States that shares these characteristics."[825]

Thus, the Bottom existed wherever African Americans claimed the space to exercise agency over their narrative, as Andre Taylor relates.[826] Davis also reminds us of the many ways in which these spaces have been relegated outside the authorized heritage discourse, and how when major physical changes sweep through these neighborhoods, when investment comes in, when towns seek to expand, when seemingly acting in their collective economic interests, these spaces are among the first to go. The cases surveyed

[825] Davis, "The Bottom," (2018).
[826] Foster and Taylor, "E. Juniper Avenue," (2020).

for this thesis affirm that these patterns persist wherever African Americans have claimed a space to call their own.

In case after case, what we are left with are relicts – fragments of past edifices that we stumble across well after their disappearance from the landscape. In a sense, they were never meant to last, because their inhabitants were constantly striving to move on to something better, to overcome their material circumstances to claim a life for themselves despite every opportunity to rob them of that chance. Anywhere African Americans struggled to claim space, a Bottom took shape.

When we look at the destruction of Seneca Village, another Bottom, we find an erasure at the heart of the profession of landscape architecture's greatest claim to fame.[827] This, in the end, is the most illustrative lesson applicable to the profession as a whole. Design firms value visualization skill because of its capacity to capture and hold our attention, and to convey a massive amount of information more quickly than other mediums. The visualization tools available to designers today carry enormous narrative power. People rely on first impressions – we are wired for them – and as such first impressions become extremely difficult to dislodge.[828] Given this, advanced visualization technologies carry as much potential to mislead as they do to communicate truthful representations of reality. When representing the past, it is thus worth asking ourselves whether it would be better not to produce an image at all rather than risk a conjecture becoming an accepted fact.[829]

[827] Davis, "The Bottom," (2018).
[828] Raworth, *Doughnut Economics*, 2017, 10-13.
[829] Westin. *Negotiating 'Culture', Assembling a Past*, (2012).

Renderings sell a compelling vision of an ideal future state. This is central to the way most design firms market themselves. When this same thinking is applied to representing the past, however, we find that, the same tools must be used far more cautiously, and in many cases are not up to the task. In attempting to sell a convincing vision, we also render certain actors invisible and rob them of agency in the same way that the erasure of Seneca Village did, and that the present narrative of Simmons Row does. Both constitute a kind of erasure, and while the circumstances may differ, the effect is the same. What starts as conjecture from limited evidence enters the discourse and becomes an accepted fact.[830]

As digital visualization technologies become capable of ever-greater levels of photorealism and immersion, we must caution ourselves against relying on them simply by virtue of their novelty. In uncritically adopting these technologies, we risk projecting an image of the past that ultimately obscures and erases as much as it reveals, thus perpetuating the same hubristic patterns that have threaded their way through much of their history.

[830] Ibid.



Figure 105: If used uncritically, new heritage visualization technologies can obscure as much as they reveal. Image by Chris Robey (2022).

Thus, it is not so much in the proposed set of tools and interventions that I have arrived at that I hope others will find a precedent, but in the process used to arrive at it and the lessons that this process has yielded. What is most cutting-edge is not always the best tool for the job. Rather, it is in thoroughly situating our approach to these design problems –in understanding the situation and the issue at hand, articulating not only existing but desired conditions, and formulating a strategy that makes use of the tools most appropriately suited to the task – that we may leverage new heritage technologies toward bearing proper witness to those first generations of African Americans who struggled claim a home ground from which to resist white supremacy post-Emancipation

and whose children would lay claim to the full rights of citizenship during the Civil Rights movement.

In humbling ourselves to the task at hand, we find that what is needed is a way to make their stories visible. And how else do you make a story visible, other than opening the space and opportunity to tell it?



Figure 106: Practitioners must critically reflect on the ultimate intent of their visualizations. Further, they must consider the degree to which their proposals serve to either bring marginalized histories to light or further obscure them. Image by Chris Robey (2022).

Revisiting the Research Question

I will return, finally, to the primary research question directing my inquiry:

How can the theory and practice of new heritage inform a methodology for interpreting relict vernacular landscape features in the Northeast Community of Wake Forest, North Carolina?

Through its employment of mixed methods, new media technologies, and a critical research agenda, new heritage theory does indeed offer a useful conceptual framework for envisioning interpretive interventions well-suited to the task of critically visualizing relict vernacular landscapes like Simmons Row. In reviewing a targeted sample of projects exemplifying the intersections of new heritage practice and the novel design situations that characterize these relict landscapes, it is also evident that new heritage offers an expansive toolkit from which the elements of these interventions might be selected.

The lasting efficacy of the intervention, however, lies in selecting the tools most appropriately suited to the task. Though novel design situations call for novel design solutions, practitioners must be wary of selecting a new heritage approach based on the novelty of the technologies it employs alone. Given the rapidly expanding photorealistic capabilities of technologies like AR and VR, and the growing allure of these technologies across both the private and public sectors – particularly among clients and funding institutions – this kind of techno-fetishization remains a persistent risk to our ability to critically represent and think about the historic built environment. In order to justly interpret sites elsewhere in the Northeast Community that, like Simmons Row, have been relegated outside the authorized heritage discourse, however, it is vital that practitioners critically reflect on the ultimate intent of their visualizations, and consider the degree to which their proposals serve to either bring marginalized histories to light or further

obscure them. Further, despite the considerable affordances of new media technologies, practitioners must consider that oftentimes what is most needed is as simple, and as daunting, as holding space for others' stories and bearing humble witness to them.

Implications for Federal and State Preservation Policy in the United States

Though the conclusions of this thesis pertain to the practice of new heritage visualization specifically, it is worthwhile to consider how shifts in the ways that practitioners approach the task of visualization may inspire a greater shift within the field of historic preservation and its supporting regulatory frameworks. Historic preservation in the United States is a policy-driven practice based on federal regulations introduced through the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966 – namely, the National Register of Historic Places, the Secretary of the Interior's Standards for the Treatment of Historic Properties, Section 106 reviews, and the Rehabilitation Tax Credit program. In all these policy-related interventions, the concept of historical integrity functions as a contingent factor determining not only which historic properties are formally recognized but also whether those properties are eligible to receive the financial and material investment needed to maintain their presence in the landscape. This has produced an overly rigid regulatory framework that privileges the property of a wealthy white elite at the expense of less privileged constituencies and histories. Consequentially, the orthodox understanding of historical integrity adopted by most preservation practitioners tends to prioritize built fabric over the meanings, values, and associations that make up people's felt connection to cultural landscapes. A parallel focus of this thesis, then, has been

articulating the need for a rigorous re-examination of preservation orthodoxy at the federal and state level, particularly where it supports existing integrity standards.

In theory, integrity determinations should be made by adhering to an objectively measurable and verifiable process. In practice, however, such determinations are far from clear-cut – rather, by and large they are left up to the subjective judgments of individual assessors. In a field whose community of practice is overwhelmingly white, this opens considerable room for the influence of subtle yet powerful and deeply ingrained biases to affect the assessment process.[831] As such, determinations of historical integrity tend to overlook or exclude people of non-dominant racial or ethnic identities.

Cultural resources associated with low-income people and people of color are highly dynamic and subject to change due to a range of systemic forces. As such, they rarely retain fully intact physical features reflective of their period of significance. In the eyes of orthodox preservationists, these properties thus lack integrity; the meaning conveyed through storytelling and memory is discounted as proof of significance. In this manner, determination of integrity, as enactments of AHD, have tended to "sideline" the values of most stakeholders while affirming those of heritage professionals who tend to privilege the built heritage of a wealthy, landed elite.[832] An unintended consequence of this tendency has been the establishment, in effect, of orthodox preservation policy as an instrument of white supremacy.

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[831] Wells, Jeremy C. and Chhaya, Priya. "A Guide to Becoming an Historic Preservation Professional: The Work You Can Do, What Employers Want, and Educational Considerations, " (n.d.) https://www.ncpe.us/wp-content/uploads/2019/06/Wells-A-Guide-to-Becoming-an-Historic-Preservation-Professional-r1.pdf. Accessed December 1st, 2021.
[832] Smith, *Uses of Heritage* (2006), 106.

White supremacy has been defined as "an institutionalized system that positions the power and legitimacy of White people's ideas, actions, and social positions above other racial and cultural groups." Characteristics of white supremacy include: (1) perfectionism, (2) the means justifying the end, (3) protection of power, (4) objectivity and measurability, (5) dominance of the written word in communication, (6) binary thinking, (7) paternalism, (8) fear of open conflict, (9) workplaces that reward individuals and not teams, and (10) a definition of "progress" that is synonymous with continual expansion.[833]

The characteristics of perfectionism, objectivity and measurability, the dominance of written documentation over oral and memory-based sources, and binary thinking are of particular relevance to the concept of historical integrity. Perfectionism manifests as the intolerance of any alteration not directly resonant with the original built fabric. Absolute objectivity is assumed through the entire assessment process, even as the final determination is left up to the individual practitioner's subjective judgement. The dominance of the written word manifests in the privileging of written archival sources over oral histories, intangible heritage, and memory-based preservation approaches and evaluations. Finally, binary thinking manifests in the either/or propositions that dictate the degree to which a property retains its historic integrity. The regulations that govern National Register nominations, as a case in point, authorize a heritage that is "primarily, if not exclusively majority White and property-based."[834] At system-scale, the effect of

[833] Jones, Kenneth and Tema Okun. "White Supremacy Culture," in *Dismantling Racism: A Workbook for Social Change Groups* (2011). http://www.cwsworkshop.org/PARC_site_B/dr-culture.html. Accessed December 9th, 2021.
[834] Smith, Laurajane and Natsuko Akagawa. (Eds.). *Intangible Heritage* (1st ed.). Routledge (2008). https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203884973.

this bias can be measured in part by the marked under-representation of non-white heritage in National Register nominations and local historic district designations.[835]

In order to achieve a more inclusive preservation practice that properly responds to people's values, the regulatory framework for historic preservation in the United States must be amended. Broadly, preservation policy must be revised in order to prioritize people over objects by supporting human-centered changes to historic preservation policy over practice centered on built fabric, enable a more flexible, less dogmatic approach to determining significance and integrity, and become more accepting of integrity arguments that don't seek unattainable standards for unaltered fabric and allow more of these arguments to focus on feeling and association.

The philosophical roots of this change lies in what Lucas Lixinski, a professor of international law at UNSW Sydney, has termed the heterodox approach to historic preservation.[836] As opposed to preservation orthodoxy, heterodox preservation practice is values-based, emphasizing ideas, feelings, associations and memories over built fabric. Heritage is not considered to be rare or unique but rather can be found everywhere – the most common, everyday place can thus be animated with meaning. As opposed to the expert-driven nature of orthodox practice, heterodox practice is stakeholder-driven and grassroots – local experts from the communities in which the site is located define what is significant, rather than traditional experts. Further, the authenticity of the site is not solely tied to built fabric. Instead, the resource derives its authenticity and integrity from its

[835] Desantis, *The Federal Role in Historic Preservation: An Overview* (2020).
[836]Lixinski, Lucas. "Between Orthodoxy and Heterodoxy: The Troubled Relationships Between Heritage Studies and Heritage Law." *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 21, no. 3 (2015): 203-214; Wells, Jeremy C. "Conservation today," (2015). Accessed December 3, 2021. https://heritagestudies.org/index.php/conservation-today/

cultural associations as well as its present use. Thus, continuity of use functions as a qualifying criterion all its own.[837]

There are several international heritage conservation policy documents that set a precedent for American preservationists to follow when seeking to implement a shift from orthodox to heterodox practice. Two key documents are the Nara Document on Authenticity and the Burra Charter. The Nara Document, published in 1994 by ICOMOS, established that the values ascribed to a cultural heritage site by "all its forms and historical periods" shall be the focus of conservation efforts.[838] Further, the Nara Document determined that function would factor into determinations of authenticity (i.e. integrity) as much as materials and design. Under the Burra Charter, the aim of historic preservation in Australia has shifted toward retaining the cultural significance of a place, with social and spiritual values considered as key determinants of significance alongside aesthetic and historic values. The charter identifies intergenerational equity as an organizing principle of heritage conservation in Australia and centers on the felt connections, the feelings, associations, values, and cultural connections of people as opposed to the built fabric of the place. The approach outlined in the Burra Charter also balances the views of traditionally credentialled professionals and invested laypeople with deep tacit knowledge alike.[839]

Social value is defined within the Burra Charter as “the associations that a place has for a particular community or cultural group and the social or cultural meanings that

[837] Wells, “Conservation today,” (2015).
[838] ICOMOS. “The Nara Document on Authenticity,” (1994). https://www.icomos.org/charters/nara-e.pdf. Accessed December 4th, 2021;
[839] Johnston, Chris. “What is Social Value? A Discussion Paper” (Canberra: Australian Government Publishing Service, 1992); Johnston, Chris. “Inhabiting Place: Social Significance in Practice in Australia,” APT Bulletin: Special Issue on Values-Centered Preservation (Vol. XLV, No. 2-3, 2014).

it holds for them." This is rarely given much weight, if any at all, in assessments of significance per U.S. preservation policy. Under the Burra Charter guidelines, places of social value derive their significance primarily from contemporary cultural use. As the Charter's authors write, "social value is about collective attachment to places […] these places are usually community owned or publicly accessible or in other ways 'appropriated' into people's daily lives."[840]

Culture is defined as an area of significance in the National Historic Preservation Act, yet the criteria for nominating properties to the National Register of Historic Places, among other policy-based interventions, do not address social value. The closest that U.S. preservation policy has come to accounting for social value is the process for designating Traditional Cultural Places (TCPs) as outlined in National Register Bulletin 38, first published in 1990.[841] TCPs are defined as properties that are "eligible for inclusion in the National Register because of its association with cultural practices or beliefs of a living community that (a) are rooted in that community's history, and (b) are important in maintaining the continuing cultural identity of the community."[842] Importantly, the publication of Bulletin 38 outlined a conceptual framework that recognized the importance of social value, defining culture as "the traditions, beliefs, practices, lifeways, arts, crafts, and social institutions of any community."[843] Under the TCP framework,

[840] Johnston, "What is Social Value?" (1992); Johnston, "Inhabiting Place," (2014).
[841] Taylor, Holly. "Recognizing the Contemporary Cultural Significance of Historic Places: A Proposal to Amend National Register Criteria to Include Social Value," (n.d.). Accessed September 10, 2020. https://www.academia.edu/28798017/Recognizing_the_Contemporary_Cultural_Significance_of_Historic_Places_A_Proposal_to_Amend_National_Register_Criteria_to_Include_Social_Value.
[842] Parker, Patricia L. and Thomas F. King. "National Register Bulletin 38: Guidelines for Evaluating and Documenting Traditional Cultural Properties" (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, 1990, revised 1998). https://www.nps.gov/subjects/nationalregister/upload/NRB38-Completeweb.pdf. Accessed December 8th, 2021.
[843] Parker and King, "National Register Bulletin 38," (1990).

assessments of integrity center on community relationships to and valuations of the place, rather than solely considering built fabric. Further, the period of significance for TCPs was extended to account for significance in the present. The recognition of TCPs was thus a critical step in the direction of recognizing social and cultural value in a manner paralleling the degree to which it is recognized in Australia under the Burra Charter.[844]

Unfortunately, TCPs have remained poorly understood and under-utilized to date. Compared to the traditional approach to evaluating integrity, evaluating the social and cultural value of a site is considered by many orthodox preservationists to be too cumbersome and nebulous to be practical. In comparison to the relatively straightforward process of assessing physical properties, the complexities and nuances of identifying and articulating the values and meanings that communities associate with those properties has left many preservationists struggling to integrate TCPs into their practice, even when they have every intention of doing so.[845] In a field largely defined by standardization and "best practice" thinking, lack of precedent further compounds the issue.

Indeed, assessing to whom a place is important and why requires an entirely different set of methodologies from the art historical-curatorial approach that most orthodox preservationists in the United States are familiar with. Specifically, integrating pragmatic social science-based methodologies offer a means of gathering the evidence base to support integrity and significance assessments based on social value.[846] The NPS's former Applied Ethnography program, developed in consultation with the anthropologist Setha Low, offers a useful precedent informing heterodox approaches to

[844] Taylor, "Recognizing the Contemporary Cultural Significance of Historic Places," (n.d.).
[845] Ibid.
[846] Wells, "Social Science Research Methodologies and Historic Preservation," (2014).

considerations of significance and integrity and the integration of ethnographic research methods to the assessment process. The program recognized the values, interests, and associations of "living people linked to the parks by religion, legend, deep historical attachment, subsistence use, or other aspects of their culture."[847] The program's Rapid Ethnographic Assessment Procedure (REAP) offers models and step-by-step procedures for integrating social value into NR Nominations which may be of use to practitioners with limited exposure to the kind of ethnographic methods needed to gather this information.[848] More recently, researchers with the Public Space Research Group (PSRG) at the City University of New York (CUNY), under Low's direction, have developed an abbreviated methodology called the Toolkit for the Ethnographic Study of Space (TESS) that provides a "snapshot" of the social dynamics at play in a public space at a specific moment in time, without the time and labor commitment needed to undertake a thorough REAP study.[849]

Building on Bulletin 38's conceptual framework, the addition of social value as a criterion under which to consider cultural properties would further expedite the shift toward a heterodox preservation approach, as well as reduce confusion and complications that have stalled the widespread adoption of TCPs. Evaluating integrity based on social value in these examples prioritizes location, feeling, association, and use, consistent with approaches to authenticity in the Nara Document.[850] As National Register eligibility in

[847] Roberts, Alexa. "Applying Ethnography in Park Management," Park Ethnography Program (2004). https://www.nps.gov/ethnography/training/TAPS/applying.htm. Accessed December 2nd, 2021.
[848] Taplin, Dana H., Scheld, Suzanne, and Low, Setha M. "Rapid Ethnographic Assessment in Urban Parks: A Case Study of Independence National Historical Park." *Human Organization* (2002) 61(1), pp.80-93.
[849] Low, Setha, Troy Simpson, and Suzanne Scheld. "Toolkit for the Ethnographic Study of Space (TESS)," a report of the Public Space Research Group, Center for Human Environment, The Graduate, Center, City University of New York (2019). Accessed July 10, 2022. https://www.greenflagaward.org/media/2146/tess_20191229-copy.pdf.
[850] ICOMOS, "The Nara Document on Authenticity," (1994).

the U.S. functions as a gateway for material considerations, resource investments, policy decisions affecting the allocation of funds and resources including Section 106 reviews, grants, and disaster assistance, it is critical that the field of preservation respond appropriately to what the public considers a historic place of significance

Preservationists can further draw from the approaches of Historic Urban Landscape (HUL) practitioners. Core to their practice is the concept of dynamic integrity, "a heritage quality that may be attributed to properties whose attributes are capable of expressing past and present meanings, and therefore values, in a context of change, without relying exclusively on records of memory." This idea emphasizes continuity in changing landscape contexts, accommodates complexity, and moves beyond attempting to control change in the historic built environment.[851]

The United States would do well to follow the example of Australia by amending its policies defining the criterion of significance to better account for social value as a criterion. Further, preservation policy in the United States should look beyond built fabric to accommodate the ways in which historic places reflect present-day cultural significance. If incorporated in US preservation laws, the approaches edified in Nara Document and the Burra Charter would address many of the problems in US preservation practice by allowing historical integrity to be defined in non-material terms, eliminating rigid periods of significance, and accepting ethnographic research methods in assessing, nominating, and accepting historic properties to the National Register.[852]

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[851] Silvio MZ, Rosane PL. "Dynamic integrity: a concept to historic urban landscape." *Journal of Cultural Heritage Management and Sustainable Development*. 2015; 5(1):82-94. https://www.proquest.com/scholarly-journals/dynamic-integrity-concept-historic-urban/docview/2121477690/se-2?accountid=14537. doi: http://dx.doi.org/10.1108/JCHMSD-03-2014-0009.

[852] Taylor, "Recognizing the Contemporary Cultural Significance of Historic Places," (n.d.).

As Holly Taylor, cultural resources consultant and Ph.D. candidate at the University of Washington, has emphasized, adding a social value criterion would not necessitate amendment of the National Historic Preservation Act but would instead require revisions to National Register eligibility criteria, bulletins, policy documents, and outreach materials.[853] These materials are not written in law – as quickly as they came to define preservation practice, they can be amended to allow preservation practice to shift, as it is these materials that are the primary drivers and determinants, the precedents, of preservation practice today that has led to the proliferation of orthodox patterns of thought and practice.

Critically, amending the eligibility criteria for inclusion on the National Register would be a step toward a more democratic preservation practice, as the authority to assess, nominate, and preserve historic properties would broaden beyond the realm of traditional experts to include "local experts" – that is, local everyday people possessing a tacit knowledge of place earned through long-term care and investment. Heterodox preservation policies recognize that people value places for the stories they hold. It is the job of preservationists, then, to evoke those stories and assure that they are not forgotten, and to retain those physical reminders that suggest the presence of those stories, even if those material remnants are humble and overlooked.

Implications for Local Preservation Policy in Wake Forest

While these suggestions speak to the broad-scale implications of a more human-centered approach to preservation in the United States at the national level, what could

[853] Ibid.

they mean for historic Black neighborhoods generally and the Northeast Community specifically? Throughout this thesis, I have placed marked emphasis on the fact that the Northeast Community has not received local historic district designation. I have based this emphasis on the assumption that, at the local level, the most impactful policies are often enacted through preservation ordinances requiring property owners to maintain the historical integrity of locally designated historic properties when undertaking renovations, repairs, or other physical changes. As my research findings suggest, a key element of critically visualizing relict landscapes is beginning with the issue at hand, considering the range of tools available to address the issue, and selecting the tool most appropriately suited to it. Under this same thinking, it is worth questioning the degree to which local historic district designation would even be the most appropriate policy tool to apply in the Northeast Community's case.

Michael reports that Northeast Community residents have expressed a desire for recognition of the historic significance of their neighborhood and celebration of their heritage.[854] Ongoing collaborations between Town staff and Northeast Community residents have emphasized realizing this goal through entrance and street signage, historical markers, walking tours, and integration into Town-wide wayfinding infrastructure. Additionally, the Town is in the process of updating their existing Historic Preservation Plan, through which they plan to work closely with the community to ensure that their wants and needs are properly accounted for. To date, however, Northeast Community residents have not explicitly requested local historic district designation.[855]

[854] Michael, Michelle. Email to author, May 15, 2022.
[855] Ibid.

Given this, it is questionable whether local historic district designation would, in fact, be the most desirable outcome for the neighborhood.

The recent designation of the West Downtown Historic District in Athens, Georgia offers a case in point. The district was first proposed in 2019 as a means of preserving Black heritage in the built environment of downtown Athens.[856] From this initial proposal to final approval of the district in 2020, however, there remained a group of local business owners and church officials vocally opposed to the designation, including Black business owners who had operated in the area for years. One of their chief criticisms of the proposal was the restrictions it would place on their ability to renovate, sell, or otherwise do with their property as they will.[857] Local historic district designation, in this case, may protect what preservationists consider to be the historic fabric of the district – namely, the outward appearance of its buildings. From the perspective of some area stakeholders, however, such a designation would constitute an infringement a curtailment of their property rights. It is conceivable that homeowners in the Northeast Community may react similarly to a proposal for designating their neighborhood as a local historic district. Recalling Taylor's emphasis on agency over narrative concerning land and home ownership, this may indeed deeply offend the sensibilities of community residents who take great pride in having a place to call their own, to do with as they will.[858]

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[856] Aued, Blake "New Historic District Could Protect West End of Downtown," Flagpole Magazine, November 18, 2019. Accessed July 10, 2022. https://flagpole.com/news/city-dope/2019/11/18/new-historic-district-could-protect-west-end-of-downtown/.

[857] Shearer, Lee. "Athens-Clarke commissioner OK western downtown historic district." Athens Banner-Herald, November 18, 2020. Accessed July 10. 2022. https://www.onlineathens.com/story/news/politics/county/2020/11/18/athens-clarke-commissioners-ok-western-downtown-historic-district/114980632/.

[858] Foster and Taylor, "E. Juniper Avenue," (2020).

Further, protecting historic fabric is essentially moot if the vitality of the community inhabiting it is compromised. The greater issue threatening community integrity in the Northeast Community, according to Michael, is gentrification.[859] Even with the kind of amendments to existing integrity standards that would enable more inclusive designations, expanding eligibility criteria still would not prevent gentrification or ameliorate its effects. Addressing this issue thoroughly goes well beyond the scope of this research. It would be irresponsible to conclude this thesis, however, without at least briefly addressing strategies to mitigate gentrification and the impacts of new development on vulnerable residents in the Northeast Community.

The African American Cultural Heritage Action Fund offers several examples of potential interventions in their October 2020 report, "Preserving African American Places: Growing Preservation's Potential as a Path for Equity."[860] These include enacting neighborhood preference policies to retain vulnerable residents, establishing community land trusts to ensure long-term affordability, offering property tax relief to homeowners at risk of displacement, negotiating community benefits agreements between neighborhood residents and developers, and codifying the protection of neighborhood character and affordable housing in new preservation zoning policies.[861] Other policy tools would not necessitate changes to existing zoning – for example, the original 2007 Northeast Community Plan proposes the institution of a Neighborhood Character Overlay

[859] Michael, Michell. Email to author, May 15, 2022.
[860] African American Cultural Heritage Action Fund. "Preserving African American Places: Growing Preservation's Potential as a Path for Equity." A report of the African American Cultural Heritage Action Fund completed for the National Trust for Historic Preservation (October 2020). Accessed July 10, 2022. https://forum.savingplaces.org/HigherLogic/System/DownloadDocumentFile.ashx?DocumentFileKey=b79b56d5-bbe8-028b-ca9b-157753bdefa2&forceDialog=0.
[861] African American Cultural Heritage Action Fund, "Preserving African American Place" (2022), 61, 85-90.

District (NCOD) rather than a local historic district. This would institute restrictions in lot size, setbacks, and coverage as well as building heights and design in ways predisposed toward preserving the appropriateness and long-term affordability of new developments without altering zoning.[862]

Another logical extension of my conclusion is seeking out even greater citizen participation in the design of preservation policy interventions. The City of Austin, Texas's recent efforts to develop an "Equity-based Preservation Plan," could be informative in this regard. Their efforts, detailed in a briefing published in March of 2022, specifically asks "How can citizens co-create preservation policies?" and emphasizes the amplification of local experts' knowledge and perspectives.[863] Further, under their current direction the plan's authors aim to change city-wide preservation policies to increase their relevancy to people of color and low-income communities.[864] Consulting with the City of Austin, or at least following their efforts as the Town undergoes its own Preservation Plan updates, would be an initial step in the right direction.

Cultivating greater citizen involvement in the co-creation of more responsive preservation policies necessarily involves coalition-building in order to amplify Black voices and agency in the heritage conservation process – another key strategy recommended in the "Preserving African American Places" report.[865] The

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[862] Town of Wake Forest Planning Department. "Northeast Neighborhood Plan" (2007), 23; City of Raleigh Planning and Development Department. "Character Preservation Overlay Districts," Historic Preservation Zoning. Accessed July 10, 2022. https://raleighnc.gov/zoning-planning-and-development/character-preservation-overlay-districts.

[863] City of Austin Preservation Plan Working Group. "Equity-based Historic Preservation Plan," a briefing to the Design Commission by the Preservation Plan Working Group, City of Austin, Texas (March 28, 2022). Accessed July 10, 2022. https://www.austintexas.gov/edims/document.cfm?id=379292.

[864] City of Austin Preservation Plan Working Group, "Equity-based Historic Preservation Plan" (2022).

[865] African American Cultural Heritage Action Fund, "Preserving African American Place" (2022), 65-66.

neighborhood's deep stores of social capital, longstanding history of mutual aid and community pride, and the present-day activities of the Northeast Community Coalition suggests not only great promise for implementing this strategy, but also a vital pre-existing social infrastructure necessary for building and sustaining momentum for this kind of coalition-building.

In implementing this strategy, local experts and community advocates could draw on the example of thought leaders like BlackSpace, a collective of Black designers and other built environment professionals devoted to nurturing grassroots design and heritage conservation interventions from within Black communities themselves. The organization has published a freely available playbook titled *Co-Designing Black Neighborhood Heritage Conservation* that details their year-long exploration into working with local residents of Brownsville, a neighborhood in Brooklyn "to document neighborhood memories, identify cultural assets and heritage values, and create space for local heritage conservationists to connect in their predominantly and historically Black neighborhood."[866] The insights and "smart" practices articulated in this playbook could further inform efforts to realize greater citizen participation in the process of updating the Town of Wake Forests' Historic Preservation Plan. Traditional and local experts alike could also do well to draw on the set of inclusive, human-centered vision articulated in the organization's *BlackSpace Manifesto,* which constitutes the ethical and theoretical "backbone" of their heritage conservation approach.[867]

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[866] BlackSpace. "Co-Designing Black Neighborhood Heritage Conservation: BlackSpaces | Brownsville." A report of the BlackSpace collective for public dissemination (2019). Accessed July 10, 2022. https://bit.ly/3ymnEwU.

[867] BlackSpace. "The BlackSpace Manifesto," About BlackSpace. Accessed July 10, 2022. https://www.blackspace.org/manifesto.

Reflection on Methodology

Given the stated scope, delimitations, and limitations of this thesis, I would argue that the methodology I have employed successfully fulfilled the purpose of a pragmatic social science research. From a philosophical standpoint, my entire research process has amounted to an extended exercise in abductive reasoning. Further, I have thoroughly employed the qualitative case study method for purpose of repertoire-building by drawing on examples of real-world new heritage projects that address similar situations to that of Simmons Row. The result is a strategic action plan that, arguably, responds directly to the Simmons Row design situation.

That being said, despite my emphasis on the primacy of engaging descendants and other key stakeholders directly and maximizing their agency over narrative, I have done very little of this in my own research. I did not conduct either formal oral histories or informal interviews as a part of my thesis research, instead drawing on prior oral histories and interviews where needed. The excerpts concerning George Marie Clanton's childhood were drawn from an informal interview that I facilitated with her during my internship with the Town of Wake Forest in 2020. The excerpts from Dianne Laws, on the other hand, were drawn from oral histories facilitated by Michelle Michael and Samantha Smith in 2016. Further, I did not directly consult Town or Museum personnel, nor did I reach out to NECC organizers. This noted lack of new stakeholder perspectives is, in the end, the greatest shortcoming of my research methodology.

Recommendations for Future Research on Simmons Row

The shortcomings I have noted, among other gaps identified over the course of my research, inform my recommendations for future researchers. I will conclude by outlining these recommendations in broad strokes.

- The most critical area for future research concerns identifying, contacting, and either formally or informally interviewing descendants, local experts, and other ley stakeholders with tacit, first-hand knowledge of Simmons Row in order to affirm, or dispute, the findings of this research. "Smart" Practice 4.5 – Cross-reference documentary and archaeological evidence with oral testimony from local experts and descendant communities whenever possible – applies just as readily going forward as it did during my design synthesis. Further, my historical reading and characterization of Simmons Row was never meant to be comprehensive – rather, it is intended to help start an ongoing conversation, and lead future researchers toward the right questions.
- The delimited study area for this thesis encompassed eleven parcels including these families' former landholdings as well as some of the homesites of the eight remaining families who rented dwellings on Simmons Row in 1910. There are four additional properties – namely 414 N. White Street, 420 N. White Street, 430 N. White Street, and 302 E. Juniper Avenue – that are yet to be surveyed. Further, the eight renters' families listed on Simmons Row in the 1910 Census – encompassing the Gregorys, Jefferyses. Jacksons, Dents, Burtons, Williamses, Locusts, and Whites – would be a prime subject of future research as well. Given that descendants Dent family still live in the Northeast Community today, as well

as the fact that Genatus Dent – the Dents' head of household in 1910 – remains the only Simmons Row resident aside from Allen Young for whom a photograph has been recovered, they would be an ideal family to follow up on.[868]

- While most of the dwellings within this study area have been identified and dated, little has been recovered regarding their specific architectural detail and form. Researchers better trained in architectural history and surveying than I may be better able to ascertain these details. As such, attaining a fuller architectural description of each dwelling that has since been demolished on Simmons Row still presents a rich area for further research. The individual property forms listed in Appendix A (p. 547) offer a place to start.
- Robin D.G. Kelley points to studies of the role of family units, and particularly the role of Black women, in the formation of identity and class-consciousness as a rich area for future research.[869] Black women, notably Ailey Young as well as Mariah Cooke and the other Trustees of the Golden Rule Tent Society, played a critical role in the development of Simmons Row both in terms of their familial commitments as well as in owning and conveying land themselves at a time when it was exceedingly rare for them to do so. As such, Kelley's recommendations present a rich opportunity for future social historical research on the inhabitants of Simmons Row. The presence of the Golden Rule Tent Society, in particular, connects Simmons Row to the broader patterns of women-led institution-building and mutual aid that has characterized the United Order of Tents' work throughout the South.

[868] Ancestry.com, *1910 United States Federal Census.*
[869] Kelley, "'We Are Not What We Seem,'" (1993).

- To date, no constructed water features associated with Simmons Row have been located. Boundary description in land records associated with the Simmons Row dwellings mentions at least one well, however.[870] Approximating the location of this well could be a worthwhile endeavor for future researchers, as it may account for the persistent saturation of the soils around the Ailey Young House site.
- Additional archaeological investigations of the three home sites located near the Ailey Young House should be conducted. Numerous artifacts are visible throughout the area encompassed by Simmons Row where it has not been redeveloped for cemetery lots. As such, the entirety of the undeveloped portions of this may be considered a site with high potential for yielding future archaeological information concerning the physical development and characteristics of Simmons Row.

Additional recommendations for future research relating to specific landowning families, parcels, and dwellings are outlined in the individual property forms compiled under Appendix A (p. 547).

[870] Wake County Register of Deeds. "M.E. Simmons to Trustees of Golden Rule Tent Society – No. 99" *Consolidated Real Property Index*, Book 136, Page 298, Raleigh, NC: Register of Deeds, 1896. Web. Accessed April 17, 2022.

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APPENDIX A

INDIVIDUAL PROPERTY FORMS

304 N. WHITE STREET (JOHNSON HOMESITE)

Parcel PIN Number (iMaps): 1841526502

Address(s): 300 N. White Street (Current)**;** 304 N. White Street (1926 to 1937); 200 N. White Street (1937 to 1946)

Year Built: Circa-1875

D**esign Style / Form:** Vernacular style, side-gable form with rear ell and front porch

Site Name: Johnson Homesite

Notable Structure(s): Two outbuildings

Past Uses: Single-family dwelling

Basic Description:

Little architectural information exists for this building aside from what can be inferred from Sanborn maps and historic aerial photography. Based on the Sanborn maps, it is evident that the house was wood-framed, single-story, and initially had a shingled roof.[871]

By 1926, the roof had been upgraded to a composite material. The front elevation of the house faced west toward North White Street and featured a front porch with a composite-roofed overhang.[872] 1938 historic aerial imagery suggests that the front porch was bordered by at least two shade trees.[873] 1959 aerials suggest that the house also had a

[871] Sanborn Fire Insurance Company. Map. Wake Forest, NC, June 1915, Sheet 4.
[872] Sanborn Fire Insurance Company. Map. Wake Forest, NC, April 1926, Sheet 5.
[873] UNC-Chapel Hill Libraries, USDA Historical Aerial Photos Collections. Wake County, NC 1938 [digital]. 1:20,000. BOP-13-99. State Archives of North Carolina, Raleigh, NC. April 23, 1938.

bare earth driveway or yard.[874] The house directly abutted the right-of-way and had little to no setback.

Between 1915 and 1926, two outbuildings were added to the property. Both outbuildings were sited just off of Spring Street and were single story, wood-frame in construction, and featured tin roofs. The front elevations of these structures faced south toward Spring Street and directly abutted the right-of-way. Like the Johnsons' home, both had little to no setback.[875]

Today, very little physical evidence of the Johnson homesite remains. The clearest indication that the house and its associated outbuildings one stood on the lot today is a sudden flattening of the grade between the undeveloped Mable-Beasley lot to the north and the Johnson lot. The concentration of greater periwinkle beginning at this dividing line and spreading south to envelope the entire lot further suggests prior disturbance related to the Johnson homesite. Additionally, there is a clear differentiation in canopy height between the two lots that is most visible when viewed from the east side of North White Street, across from its intersection with Spring Street. Finally, scarce fragments of cinder blocks and other building-related debris may still be found scattered throughout the site.

Summary of History:

The exact construction date for the Johnsons' house is unknown. The most likely construction date is circa-1875, around the same time that the Ailey Young House was

[874] UNC-Chapel Hill Libraries, USDA Historical Aerial Photos Collections. Wake County, NC 1959 [digital]. 1:20,000. BOP-6W-17. State Archives of North Carolina, Raleigh, NC. March 18, 1959.
[875] Sanborn Fire Insurance Company. Wake Forest, NC, June 1915, Sheet 4; Sanborn Fire Insurance Company. Wake Forest, NC, April 1926, Sheet 5.

constructed. The Johnson homesite consisted of a single dwelling and two outbuildings added between 1915 and 1926. Prior to its demolition, the buildings served as the Johnson family's residence for the entirety of its functional life.

Based on historic aerial imagery, the Johnson homesite appears to have been demolished between 1965 and 1971.[876] It was likely among the eight dwellings on North White Street that were condemned and demolished in 1967.[877]

For further information about the Johnson family and their residency at this property, see "The Johnsons at 304 North White Street" (pp. 106-113).

Chain of Title:

Table 2: Chain of Title for 300 N. White Street

Date Submitted	Date Recorded	Grantor	Grantee	Book #	Page #	Notes:
March 23, 1922	November 26, 1929	Willis B. Johnson	Rosa L. Taylor	579	332	Current owner listed as "Willis B. Johnson Heirs." Rosa L. Taylor daughter of Willis B. Johnson.
December 26, 1902	May 10, 1976	Mary E. Simmons	Willis Johnson	2400	398	Mary E. Simmons wife of W.G. Simmons and executrix of is estate.
August 19, 1865	June 29, 1897	Mary E. Simmons	Nellie Johnson	142	175	Nellie Johnson wife of Willis Johnson.

[876] EarthExplorer. File Name: "1VBBX00010053" [digital]. Scale unknown. 1-53. GS-VBBX. United States Geological Survey, Washington D.C. February 22, 1965; UNC-Chapel Hill Libraries, USDA Historical Aerial Photos Collections. Wake County, NC 1971 [digital]. 1:20,000. BOP-6MM-173. State Archives of North Carolina, Raleigh, NC. March 3, 1971.
[877] "Council to Seek Action on House; Fluoridation" *The Wake Weekly And The Youngsville - Rolesville Record*, Volume XXI, Number 19, p. 1, Thursday Morning, May 11, 1967.

Notes for Further Research:

Little other architectural information exists for this building aside from what can be inferred from Sanborn maps and historic aerial photography. If they exist and can be located, ground photographs of the Johnson home could provide additional details pertaining to the house's specific style and form.

Further, little else is currently known about the Johnsons' life at 304 N. White Street, aside from what can be inferred from census data, vital records, and other official documentation. Oral histories with living descendants may shed further light on the Johnsons and their lives on Simmons Row. Particularly interesting avenues for further research include Willis Johnson's relationship with "Doctor" Tom Jeffries as well as the possibility that he and his son taught bricklaying at the DuBois School.

Contacting living heirs would be a logical first step for either avenue of research. Diane Laws would be a good first contact, as she is related to the Johnsons.

References:

Ancestry.com. *1900 United States Federal Census* [database on-line]. Year: 1900; Census Place: Wake Forest, Wake, North Carolina; Roll: 1221; Page: 8; Enumeration District: 0152; FHL microfilm: 1241221. Provo, UT, USA: Ancestry.com Operations Inc, 2004. Web. Accessed April 17, 2022.

- *1910 United States Federal Census* [database on-line]. Year: 1910; Census Place: Wake Forest, Wake, North Carolina; Roll: T624_1136; Page: 13A; Enumeration District: 0131; FHL microfilm: 1375149. Lehi, UT, USA: Ancestry.com Operations Inc, 2006. Web. Accessed April 17, 2022.

- *1920 United States Federal Census* [database on-line]. Year: 1920; Census Place: Wake Forest, Wake, North Carolina; Roll: T625_1325; Page: 12A; Enumeration District: 149. Provo, UT, USA: Ancestry.com Operations, Inc., 2010. Web. Accessed April 17, 2022.

- *1930 United States Federal Census* [database on-line]. Year: 1930; Census Place: Wake Forest, Wake, North Carolina; Page: 7B; Enumeration District: 0065; FHL microfilm: 2341460. Provo, UT, USA: Ancestry.com Operations Inc, 2002. Web. Accessed April 17, 2022.

- *1940 United States Federal Census* [database on-line]. Year: 1940; Census Place: Wake Forest, Wake, North Carolina; Roll: m-t0627-02983; Page: 13A; Enumeration District: 92-86. Provo, UT, USA: Ancestry.com Operations, Inc., 2012.

- "Nellie A. Johnson." *North Carolina, U.S., Death Certificates, 1909-1976* [database on-line]. North Carolina State Archives; Raleigh, North Carolina; *North Carolina Death Certificates.* Provo, UT, USA: Ancestry.com Operations Inc, 2007.

- "Wallie Johnson." *North Carolina, U.S., Death Certificates, 1909-1976* [database on-line]. North Carolina State Archives; Raleigh, North Carolina; *North Carolina Death Certificates.* Provo, UT, USA: Ancestry.com Operations Inc, 2007.

"Boone Marker Event Postponed to Monday," *The News and Observer*, Sunday, June 14, 1936.

"Council to Seek Action on House; Fluoridation" *The Wake Weekly And The Youngsville - Rolesville Record,* Volume XXI, Number 19, p. 1, Thursday Morning, May 11, 1967.

EarthExplorer. File Name: "1VBBX00010053" [digital]. Scale unknown. 1-53. GS-VBBX. United States Geological Survey, Washington D.C. February 22, 1965.

"Real Estate Transfers," The News and Observer, Wednesday, November 27, 1929.

Sanborn Fire Insurance Company.

- Map. Wake Forest, NC, June 1915, Sheet 4.

- Map. Wake Forest, NC, April 1926, Sheet 5.

"To Unveil Tablet to Negro Janitor – Memory of Faithful Servant Will Be Honored at W.F. Finals." *The News and Observe*r, Wednesday, May 31, 1933.

UNC-Chapel Hill Libraries, USDA Historical Aerial Photos Collections. Wake County, NC 1938 [digital]. 1:20,000. BOP-13-99. State Archives of North Carolina, Raleigh, NC. April 23, 1938.

- Wake County, NC 1959 [digital]. 1:20,000. BOP-6W-17. State Archives of North Carolina, Raleigh, NC. March 18, 1959.

- Wake County, NC 1971 [digital]. 1:20,000. BOP-6MM-173. State Archives of North Carolina, Raleigh, NC. March 3, 1971.

Wake County Register of Deeds. “Mary E. Simmons to Nellie Johnson.” *Consolidated Real Property Index*, Book 142, Page 175, Raleigh, NC: Register of Deeds, 1895. Accessed April 17, 2022. http://rodcrpi.wakegov.com/Booksweb/PDFView.aspx?DocID=108085000&RecordDate=06/29/1897

- “Mary E. Simmons to Willis Johnson.” *Consolidated Real Property Index*, Book 2400, Page 398, Raleigh, NC: Register of Deeds, 1902. Accessed April 17, 2022. http://rodcrpi.wakegov.com/Booksweb/PDFView.aspx?DocID=491741&RecordDate=05/10/1976

- "Willis B. Johnson to Rosa L. Taylor." *Consolidated Real Property Index*, Book 579, Page 332, Raleigh, NC: Register of Deeds, 1929. Accessed April 17, 2022. http://rodcrpi.wakegov.com/Booksweb/PDFView.aspx?DocID=107173271&RecordDate=11/26/1929

Photo(s):

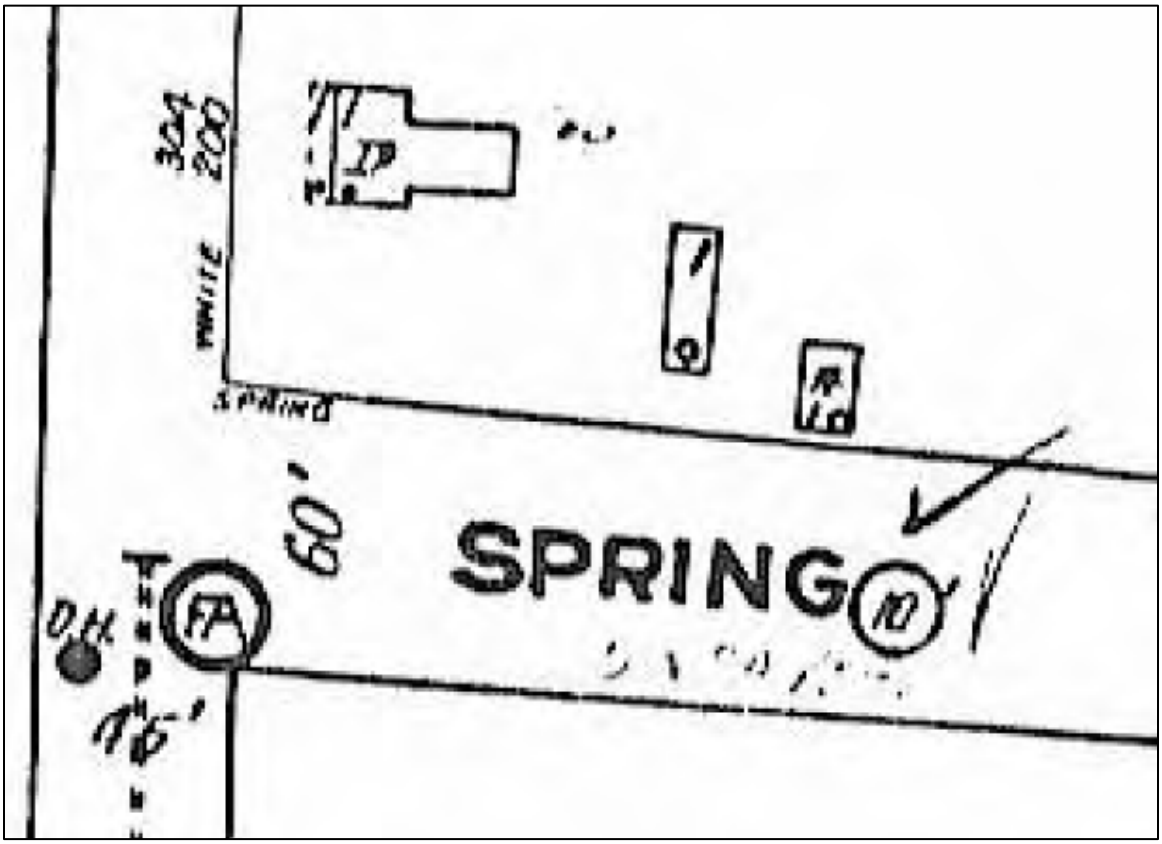


Figure 107: 304 N. White Street as depicted on the 1926 Sanborn map. Map by Sanborn Map Company, digitized by Town of Wake Forest Planning Department. Annotation by Chris Robey.



Figure 108: Evidence of prior disturbance relating to the Johnson homesite is evident in the high concentration of greater periwinkle and other invasive species on the left side of the frame. Less apparent is the differentiation in grade – between the right side of the frame, where there is less periwinkle, to the left side, where there is more, the terrain flattens noticeably. The dividing line between the two also bears traces of prior grading. Photo by Chris Robey (2021).



Figure 109: The differentiation in canopy height and vegetation type, as seen here across from the intersection of N. White Street and Spring Street is another visible sign of prior disturbance relating to the Johnson homesite. Photo by Chris Robey (2021).



Figure 110: Building debris such as this chunk of cinder block and mortar can still be found at the Johnson homesite and may be related to either the main dwelling or outbuildings that had formerly stood there. Photo by Chris Robey (2021).

428 N. WHITE STREET (GOLDEN RULE TENT SOCIETY LOT / HARTSFIELD DWELLING)

Parcel PIN Number (iMaps): 1841526807

Address(s): 312 N. White Street (Current); 428 N. White Street (1915 to 1936); 302 N. White Street (1937 to 1946)

Year Built: Circa-1875

D**esign Style / Form:** Vernacular style, shotgun form with front porch

Site Name(s): Golden Rule Tent Society Lot; Hartsfield Dwelling

Notable Structure(s): N/A

Past Uses: Tenant house; Single-family dwelling

Basic Description:

Based on the Sanborn maps, it is evident that this dwelling was single-story, wood-frame in construction, and initially featured a shingled roof.[878] The roof was upgraded to tin between 1936 and 1946.[879] The entrance to the dwelling faced North White Street and directly abutted the right-of-way, with little to no setback.

Ground photographs suggest that the dwelling was vernacular in style and of comparable construction to the Ailey Young House, albeit of shotgun rather than saddlebag form. The house appears to have had narrow four over four sash windows, clapboard siding, a front-gabled roof, and what appears to be a lower-level entrance,

[878] Sanborn Fire Insurance Company. Map. Wake Forest, NC, June 1915, Sheet 4.
[879] Sanborn Fire Insurance Company. Map. Wake Forest, NC, 1936, Sheet 5; Sanborn Fire Insurance Company. Map. Wake Forest, NC, 1946, Sheet 5.

potentially leading into root cellar or crawlspace. A steeply sloped roof covers this lower-level entryway. [880]

Summary of History:

The exact construction date for this dwelling is unknown. It is likely, however, that it was constructed at the same time as the Ailey Young House is believed to have been constructed – circa-1875. From 1896 to 1909, this lot belonged to the Golden Rule Tent Society, during which it may have served as tenant housing for lower-income residents of the East End.[881] In 1909, the Golden Rule Tent society sold this lot to J.B. Carlyle, Sr.[882] The lot stayed in the Carlyle family for over forty years. During this time Dora Hartsfield began renting the property from Dora Carlyle, wife of Irving E. Carlyle, who was J.B. Carlyle's son.[883] In 1954, Dora Hartsfield purchased the property and continued to live there until the house was condemned in 1967.[884]

This house was the subject of the June 29th, 1967 article in *The Wake Weekly* announcing Dora Hartsfield's displacement.[885] This article confirms that Dora's home was among the eight dwellings on North White Street that were condemned and demolished as a part of an apparent slum clearance effort. Today, little physical evidence

[880] "Displaced Person Must Soon Find New Home." *The Wake Weekly And The Youngsville - Rolesville Record*, Volume XXI, Number 26, p. 1, Thursday Morning, June 29, 1967.
[881] Wake County Register of Deeds. "M. E. Simmons to Flora Smith et al, Trustees" *Consolidated Real Property Index*, Book 136, Page 298, Raleigh, NC: Register of Deeds, 1896. Accessed June 15, 2022. http://rodcrpi.wakegov.com/booksweb/PDFView.aspx?DocID=108094352&RecordDate=05/14/1896
[882] Wake County Register of Deeds. "Emma Dent, et als Trustees to J. B. Carlyle" *Consolidated Real Property Index*, Book 235, Page 342, Raleigh, NC: Register of Deeds, 1909. Accessed April 21, 2022. http://rodcrpi.wakegov.com/booksweb/PDFView.aspx?DocID=107426093&RecordDate=01/26/1909
[883] "Displaced Person Must Soon Find New Home." *The Wake Weekly (*1967).
[884] Wake County Register of Deeds. "Dora V. Carlyle to Dora Hartsfield" *Consolidated Real Property Index*, Book 1172, Page 348, Raleigh, NC: Register of Deeds, 1954. Accessed April 21, 2022. http://rodcrpi.wakegov.com/Booksweb/PDFView.aspx?DocID=106657628&RecordDate=12/20/1954
[885] "Displaced Person Must Soon Find New Home." *The Wake Weekly (*1967).

of the house remains aside from scattered piles of bricks, fieldstone, and other building-related debris. This debris most likely relates to the house's piers, chimney, and fireplace. For most of the year, these debris piles are obscured by vegetation, including the volunteer patch of Canna lilies that have established themselves on the slope in front of the Ailey Young House.

For further information about the Golden Rule Tent Society and Dora Hartsfield's residency at this property, see "The Golden Rule Tent Society and Dora Hartsfield – Social History" (pp. 127-132).

Chain of Title:

Table 3: Chain of Title for 428 N. White Street (Golden Rule Tent Society Lot / Hartsfield Dwelling)

Date Submitted	Date Recorded	Grantor	Grantee	Book #	Page #	Notes:
April 26, 1968	May 24, 1968	Dora Hartsfield	Town of Wake Forest	1820	431	Dora Hartsfield the last known resident of Simmons Row. Displaced in 1967 after her home was condemned.
December 3, 1954	December 20, 1954	Dora V. Carlyle	Dora Hartsfield	1172	348	Dora V. Carlyle the wife of Irving E. Carlyle, initially rented the property to Dora Hartsfield.
March 23, 1953	March 23, 1953	Wachovia Bank	Irving E. Carlyle, et al	1117	548	Irving E. Carlyle the son of J.B. Carlyle, Sr.
January 25, 1909	January 26, 1909	Golden Rule Tent Society	J.B. Carlyle, Jr.	235	342	Emma Dent, Mollie Gregory and Mariah Cooke listed Trustees. J.B. Carlyle a professor at Wake Forest College, owned and lived in the Carlyle

						House (133 E. Juniper Ave.)
March 21, 1896	May 14, 1896	Mary E. Simmons	Golden Rule Tent Society	136	298	Flora Church, Emma Dent, and Ellie Lewis listed as Trustees.

Notes for Further Research:

Little else is known about the Golden Rule Tent Society's activities on North White Street. Similarly, little is known about the activities of the United Order of Tent Sisters of Wake Forest. Filling these gaps would be a rich contribution to Black women's history in Wake Forest. Living descendants of the Cookes, Dents, Gregorys, Churches, or Lewises may be able to provide further information.

Additionally, little is known about the Carlyle's initial interest in this property or what they used for over the course of their tenure. It is conceivable that J.B, and later his son, rented the property to Northeast Community residents as they Simmons are believed to have done. Interviews with living descendants of the Carlyles may yield further information.

Finally, additional research into Ms. Carlyle's life could yield further information about the outcome of her search for a new home following her displacement. Interviews with her living descendants could help to answer this question, as well as yield further details about her life on Simmons Row prior to her displacement.

References:

"Displaced Person Must Soon Find New Home." *The Wake Weekly And The Youngsville - Rolesville Record*, June 29, 1967.

EarthExplorer. File Name: "1VBBX00010053" [digital]. Scale unknown. 1-53. GS-VBBX. United States Geological Survey, Washington D.C. February 22, 1965.

Sanborn Fire Insurance Company.

- Map. Wake Forest, NC, June 1915, Sheet 4.
- Map. Wake Forest, NC, 1936, Sheet 5.
- Map. Wake Forest, NC, 1946, Sheet 5.

Wake County Register of Deeds. "Emma Dent, et als Trustees to J. B. Carlyle" *Consolidated Real Property Index*, Book 235, Page 342, Raleigh, NC: Register of Deeds, 1909. Accessed April 21, 2022. http://rodcrpi.wakegov.com/booksweb/PDFView.aspx?DocID=107426093&RecordDate=01/26/1909

- "M. E. Simmons to Flora Smith et al, Trustees" *Consolidated Real Property Index*, Book 136, Page 298, Raleigh, NC: Register of Deeds, 1896. Accessed June 15, 2022. http://rodcrpi.wakegov.com/booksweb/PDFView.aspx?DocID=108094352&RecordDate=05/14/1896
- "Wachovia Bank & Trust Company, Successor Trustee to Irving E. Carlyle, et al" *Consolidated Real Property Index*, Book 1117, Page 548, Raleigh, NC: Register of Deeds, 1953. Accessed April 21, 2022. http://rodcrpi.wakegov.com/Booksweb/PDFView.aspx?DocID=106710401&RecordDate=03/23/1953
- "Dora V. Carlyle to Dora Hartsfield" *Consolidated Real Property Index*, Book 1172, Page 348, Raleigh, NC: Register of Deeds, 1954. Accessed April 21, 2022. http://rodcrpi.wakegov.com/Booksweb/PDFView.aspx?DocID=106657628&RecordDate=12/20/1954
- "Dora Hartsfield to Town of Wake Forest" *Consolidated Real Property Index*, Book 1820, Page 431, Raleigh, NC: Register of Deeds, 1968. Accessed April 21, 2022. http://rodcrpi.wakegov.com/Booksweb/PDFView.aspx?DocID=106292289&RecordDate=05/24/1968

Photo(s):



Figure 111: 428 N. White Street as depicted in an aerial photograph taken in 1965, two years prior to its demolition. Image by USGS.

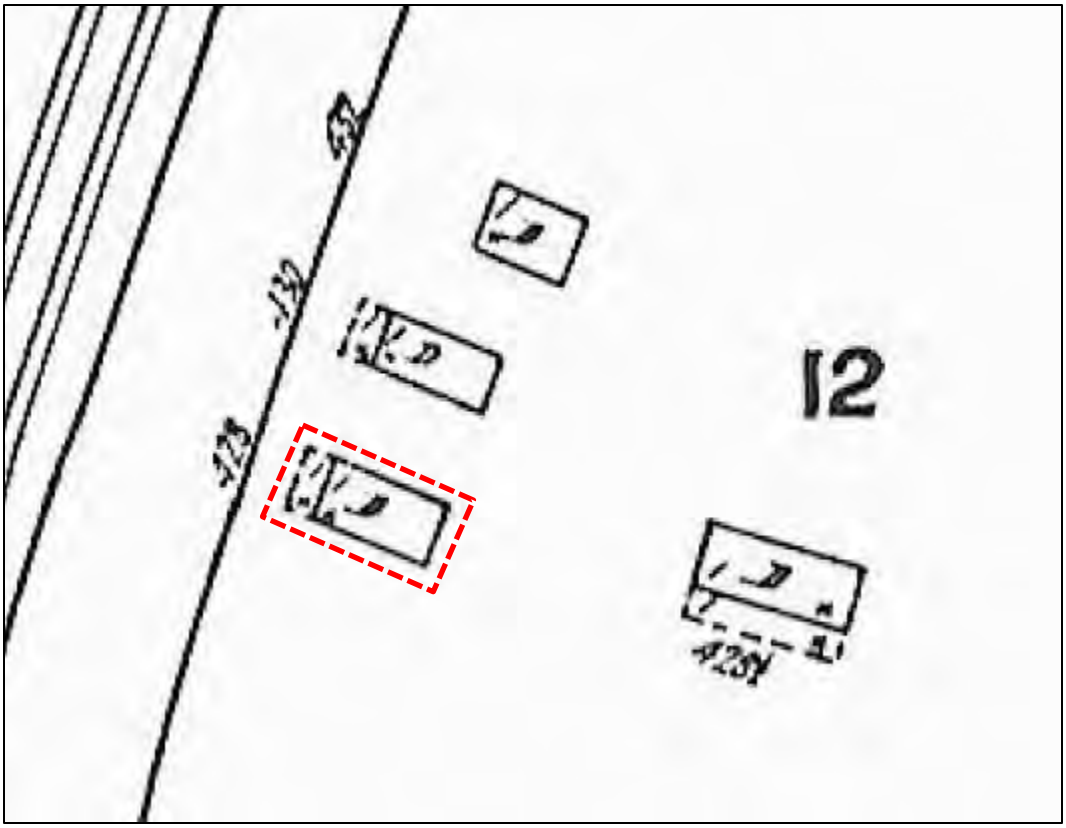


Figure 112: 428 N. White Street as depicted on the 1915 Sanborn Map for the Town of Wake Forest. Map by Sanborn Map Company, digitized by Town of Wake Forest Planning Department. Annotation by Chris Robey.



New Chamber of Commerce Directors in addition to Tommy Holding, are (l to r) John Lyon, Carlton Chappell, and Watson Smith.
—(Photo by Bob Allen)

Rear of Dora's Old House

Figure 113: The 1967 article in the Wake Weekly announcing the demolition of the houses on North White Street and displacement of Dora Hartsfield featured a photograph of 428 N. White Street. This is one of the rare photographs of the other homes long Simmons Row aside from the c. 1930 photographs housed in the ZSR Library. Photo of article by Chris Robey, original article housed in Wake Weekly physical archives.



Figure 114: Today, little remains of 428 N. White Street and its neighboring dwellings aside from scattered building debris and patches of volunteer Canna lilies, here pictured during winter dormancy. Photo by Chris Robey (2021).

428 ½ N. WHITE STREET (AILEY YOUNG HOUSE)

Parcel PIN Number (iMaps): 1841526894

Address(s): 320 N. White Street (Current); 428 ½ N. White Street (1915 to 1936); 302 ½ N. White Street (1937 to 1946).

Year Built: Circa-1875

D**esign Style / Form:** Vernacular style, saddlebag form with front porch

Site Name(s): Ailey Young House

Notable Structure(s): N/A

Past Uses: Tenant housing; Single-family dwelling

Basic Description:

The following architectural description is a summarization of architectural historian Ruth Little's preliminary structure report for the Ailey Young House, completed in 2009.

The house is oriented east to west, with its entrance facing the undeveloped Mable Beasley lot to the south. The house consists of two pens "constructed of circular-sawn lumber, including the 8 by 8-inch sills, assembled with machine-made square head nails and machine-made finish nails, and covered with board-and-batten siding."[886] Each pen measures approximately 18' 4.5" x 16' 5.5" and is supported by robust dimensional timber framing. According to Ruth Little, this combination of machine-produced lumber and

[886] Little, Ruth. "Ailey Young House, Wake County, North Carolina." National Register of Historic Places Form (Draft). Raleigh, North Carolina: Longleaf Historic Resources, prepared for the Town of Wake Forest (2009), 1-2.

nails and traditional timber framing methods exemplified in the Ailey Young House "is typical of mid-to-late nineteenth-century building technology when the practices of construction changed from pre-industrial heavy timber framing to industrial balloon framing."[887] Additionally, the Ailey Young House is a rare example of a saddlebag duplex that was converted to a single-family home.[888]

At the center of house is a stone chimney built of rough-quarried granite fieldstone and stacked brick. The house sits on hand-laid fieldstone piers, each measuring 36" wide and 42" high. Though heavily eroded, traces of sandy mortar are still evident in the masonry.[889]

The crawlspace beneath the house is notably high due to the site's sloping topography. Rectangular quarried single-stone piers also provide support at the center of the crawl space. Additional stone piers are placed at intervals along the outer sills of both pens.[890]

Each pen features a front door and narrow window opening on the south facade. Each outer gable end also has a window opening on the first story as well as the upper loft. The only remaining window sashes at the time of the preliminary structural survey was a four-pane top sash on the rear elevation of the east pen. It is likely that the house's other narrow window openings also held four-over-four sash windows. According to Little, wider openings on the rear elevations would have held six-over-six sash windows.[891]

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[887] Little, "Ailey Young House, Wake County, North Carolina" (2009), 2.
[888] Ibid, 27.
[889] Ibid, 2.
[890] Ibid.
[891] Ibid, 2-3.

A steep side gable roof spans both pens, with a chimney stack projecting above the roof at its center. The eaves overhang on front, rear, and sides, supported at front and rear by projecting rafters and on sides by projecting ceiling joists.[892] The roof is currently sheathed in tin, but had at one point been shingled, according to the 1915 Sanborn map.[893]

The house originally featured a large front porch with a shed roof that extended across the entire front elevation. At the time the Ailey Young House was re-discovered, this porch had collapsed. Remnants of the porch, including brick foundation piers and what appears to be a brick landing and walkway, are still evident, however.[894]

Historic aerial imagery taken in 1959 reveals what appears to be a small shed, or some other type of outbuilding, visible just southeast of the Ailey Young House. Today, this location is notably marked by a high concentration of refuse and other artifacts, including stockpiled building materials. Though some materials may have been placed here as stabilization work proceeded, other debris may be original to the homesite.

Summary of History:

The Ailey Young House is a one-and-a-half story, vernacular-style, saddlebag-type duplex consisting of two pens flanking a central chimney. The house's frame construction, as well as the context of the saddlebag house type within North Carolina's architectural history, suggests that the house was constructed circa-1875. The Ailey Young House has been designated by the Town of Wake Forest as a Local Historic

[892] Ibid, 3.
[893] Sanborn Fire Insurance Company. Map. Wake Forest, NC, June 1915, Sheet 4.
[894] Ibid, 3.

Landmark and has also been approved for the North Carolina Study List – the first step toward listing in the National Register of Historic Places.[895]

The west pen of the house was severely damaged by a fire set in the 1990s. The house has since undergone extensive stabilization and rehabilitation work, beginning with the stabilization of the foundation and first floor in 2016. In early 2020, the upper loft was stabilized and a new roof was installed.[896] Later that spring, a historic paint analysis revealed that the house had originally been painted pale-yellow using linseed oil paint. The house will soon be repainted using an appropriate replacement.[897] The Town of Wake Forest plans to open the house to the public in the near future to be used as an African American heritage site for interpreting and celebrating the history of the Northeast Community.[898]

Chain of Title:

Table 4: Chain of Title for 428 ½ N. White Street (Ailey Young House)

Date Submitted	Date Recorded	Grantor	Grantee	Book #	Page #	Notes:
July 18, 1988	July 20, 1988	Beverley Batham	Kathryn Y. Shepard	4309	479	

[895] Michael, Michelle. "Ailey Young House Preservation Plan." Prepared by Michelle Michael for the Town of Wake Forest Planning Department and Historic Preservation Commission, 5. Web. Accessed June 17, 2022.
[896] Michael, Michelle. "Ailey Young House." Historic Preservation, Department of Planning, Town of Wake Forest. Accessed June 17, 2022. https://www.wakeforestnc.gov/planning/historic-preservation/ailey-young-house.
[897] Buck, Susan L. "Optical Microscopy Exterior Paint Analysis." Prepared for Michelle Michael by Susan L. Buck, Ph.D. Conservator and Paint Analyst (April 20, 2020). Web. Accessed June 17, 2022. https://www.wakeforestnc.gov/sites/default/files/uploads/planning/ailey_young_house_paint_analysis_with_color_match_april_2020.pdf.
[898] Michael, "Ailey Young House Preservation Plan," 8; Town of Wake Forest Planning Department, "Northeast Neighborhood Plan Update." Wake Forest, NC: Town of Wake Forest Planning Department. Prepared in consultation with RHI, RKG, Timmons Group, and Public Participation Partners (P3), (November 2021), 42-43, 88-89. Web. Accessed May 31, 2022. https://online.flippingbook.com/view/370447640/.

February 12, 1954	February 25, 1954	Town of Wake Forest	Ailey Young Estate	1144	18	
August 1, 1951	August 1, 1951	Mary E. Simmons	Ailey Young	1073	352	
July 9, 1933	August 8, 1933	John W. Hinsdale w/ Comr.	Minnie Buffaloe	606	114	
August 19, 1899	August 9, 1902	Mary E. Simmons	Allen Young	174	29	
April 9, 1898	August 1, 1898	Mary E. Simmons	Allen Young	149	157	
August 23, 1895	March 14, 1896	Mary E. Simmons	Ailey Fowler Young	136	241	
September 15, 1856	October 15, 1856	John M. Brewer	William G. Simmons	24	638	
October 17, 1852	October 17, 1852	Samuel Wait and other Trustees, Wake Forest College	John M. Brewer	19	407	

Notes for Further Research:

Sherry Boyette has recently completed archaeological investigations of the brick landing uncovered by New South Associates in 2017 as a part of her master's research. She is currently in the process of finalizing her master's thesis and will likely publish her findings. Once her research findings are publicly available, they will contribute substantially to present understandings of the Young family's life at 428-1/2 North White Street, particularly as it pertains to the ways that the porch functioned as a multi-purpose space in their household.

References:

Buck, Susan L. "Optical Microscopy Exterior Paint Analysis." Prepared for Michelle Michael by Susan L. Buck, Ph.D. Conservator and Paint Analyst (April 20, 2020). Web.

Accessed June 17, 2022. https://www.wakeforestnc.gov/sites/default/files/uploads/planning/ailey_young_house_paint_analysis_with_color_match_april_2020.pdf.

Little, Ruth. “Ailey Young House, Wake County, North Carolina.” National Register of Historic Places Form (Draft). Raleigh, North Carolina: Longleaf Historic Resources, prepared for the Town of Wake Forest (2009).

Michael, Michelle. "Ailey Young House Preservation Plan." Prepared by Michelle Michael for the Town of Wake Forest Planning Department and Historic Preservation Commission, 5. Web. Accessed June 17, 2022.

- "Ailey Young House." Historic Preservation, Department of Planning, Town of Wake Forest. Accessed June 17, 2022. https://www.wakeforestnc.gov/planning/historic-preservation/ailey-young-house.

Sanborn Fire Insurance Company.

- Map. Wake Forest, NC, June 1915, Sheet 4.

Town of Wake Forest Planning Department, "Northeast Neighborhood Plan Update." Wake Forest, NC: Town of Wake Forest Planning Department. Prepared in consultation with RHI, RKG, Timmons Group, and Public Participation Partners (P3), (November 2021), 42-43, 88-89. Web. Accessed May 31, 2022. https://online.flippingbook.com/view/370447640/.

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- “John M. Brewer to William G. Simmons” *Consolidated Real Property Index*, Book 24, Page 638, Raleigh, NC: Register of Deeds, 1856. Accessed June 17, 2022. http://rodcrpi.wakegov.com/Booksweb/PDFView.aspx?DocID=108469076&RecordDate=10/15/1866.

- “Mary E. Simmons to Ailey Fowler Young.” *Consolidated Real Property Index*, Book 136, Page 241, Raleigh, NC: Register of Deeds, 1896. Accessed June 17, 2022. http://rodcrpi.wakegov.com/Booksweb/PDFView.aspx?DocID=108094011&RecordDate=03/14/1896.

- “Mary E. Simmons to Allen Young.” *Consolidated Real Property Index*, Book 149, Page 157, Raleigh, NC: Register of Deeds, 1898. Accessed June 17, 2022.

http://rodcrpi.wakegov.com/Booksweb/PDFView.aspx?DocID=108082145&RecordDate=08/01/1898.

- "Mary E. Simmons to Allen Young." *Consolidated Real Property Index*, Book 174, Page 29, Raleigh, NC: Register of Deeds, 1899. Accessed June 17, 2022. http://rodcrpi.wakegov.com/Booksweb/PDFView.aspx?DocID=107485209&RecordDate=08/09/1902.

- "John W. Hinsdale w/ Comr. to Minnie Buffaloe." *Consolidated Real Property Index*, Book 606, Page 114, Raleigh, NC: Register of Deeds, 1933. Accessed June 17, 2022. http://rodcrpi.wakegov.com/Booksweb/PDFView.aspx?DocID=107164700&RecordDate=08/08/1933.

- "Mary E. Simmons to Ailey Young." *Consolidated Real Property Index*, Book 1073, Page 352, Raleigh, NC: Register of Deeds, 1951. Accessed June 17, 2022. http://rodcrpi.wakegov.com/Booksweb/PDFView.aspx?DocID=106762855&RecordDate=08/01/1951.

- "Town of Wake Forest to Ailey Young Estate." *Consolidated Real Property Index*, Book 1144, Page 18, Raleigh, NC: Register of Deeds, 1954. Accessed June 17, 2022. http://rodcrpi.wakegov.com/Booksweb/PDFView.aspx?DocID=106686526&RecordDate=02/25/1954.

- "Beverley Batham to Kathryn Y. Shepard." *Consolidated Real Property Index*, Book 4309, Page 479, Raleigh, NC: Register of Deeds, 1988. Accessed June 17, 2022. http://rodcrpi.wakegov.com/Booksweb/PDFView.aspx?DocID=439532&RecordDate=07/20/1988.

Photo(s):



Figure 115: Oblique view of Ailey Young House, south and east façades. Camera facing northwest. Photo by Chris Robey (2021).



Figure 116: Oblique view of Ailey Young House, south and west façades. Camera facing northeast. Photo by Chris Robey (2021).



Figure 117: Oblique view of Ailey Young House, north and east façades. Camera facing southwest. Photo by Chris Robey (2021).

430 N. WHITE STREET (DUNN LOT, SOUTH DWELLING)

Parcel PIN Number (iMaps): 1841527953

Address(s): 0 N. White Street (Current); 430 N. White Street (1915 to 1937); 304 N. White Street 304 N. White Street

Year Built: Circa-1875

Design Style / Form: Vernacular style, shotgun form with front porch

Site Name(s): Dunn Lot (South)

Notable Structure(s): N/A

Past Uses: Tenant housing; Single-family dwelling,

Basic Description:

Based on the Sanborn maps, it is evident that the dwelling was wood-framed, single-story, and initially had a shingled roof.[899] Between 1936 and 1946, the roof was upgraded to either slate or tin.[900] The entrance to the dwelling faced North White Street and directly abutted the right-of-way, with little to no setback. Historic ground photos indicate that this house had a gabled roof, with the gable ends oriented east-west. The house's west facade faces North White Street and an asymmetrically arranged front door and narrow, shuttered window on the right. The front door appears to have been screened. The house was sheathed in clapboard siding and had a front porch that partially spanned the west façade. The porch also had a shingled shed roof. There also appears to have been

[899] Sanborn Fire Insurance Company. Map. Wake Forest, NC, June 1915, Sheet 4.
[900] Sanborn First Insurance Company. Map. Wake Forest, NC, 1936, Sheet 5; Sanborn First Insurance Company. Map. Wake Forest, NC, 1946, Sheet 5.

a picketed entry gate and wire or post fence. At the time that available ground photographs were taken – between 1930 and 1939 – this fence appeared to have collapsed.[901]

Today, little physical evidence of the house remains aside from scattered piles of bricks, fieldstone, and other building-related debris. This debris most likely relates to the house's piers, chimney, and fireplace. For most of the year, these debris piles are obscured by vegetation, including the volunteer patch of Canna lilies that have established themselves on the slope in front of the Ailey Young House.

Summary of History:

The exact construction date for this house is unknown. The most likely construction date is circa-1875, around the same time that the Ailey Young House was built. This house was situated on a .15-acre parcel of land owned by Nick and Amanda Dunn, who purchased the land from Mary E. Simmons.[902] After her husband's death in the 1920s, Amanda Dunn sold the lot to R. M. Squires, a white dentist, and his wife Ethel in 1929.[903] After her husband's death in 1956, Ethel Squires sold the lot to the Town of

[901] "View across North White Street of man in light suit standing near an item on the ground." Digital Collections, Special Collections & Archives, ZSR Library, Wake Forest University. Still image. Accessed April 22, 2022. https://wakespace.lib.wfu.edu/handle/10339/89704.
[902] Wake County Register of Deeds. "Mrs. M. E. Simmons to Nicholas C. Dunn." *Consolidated Real Property Index*, Book 149, Page 205, Raleigh, NC: Register of Deeds, 1897. Accessed April 17, 2022. http://rodcrpi.wakegov.com/Booksweb/PDFView.aspx?DocID=108082678&RecordDate=09/26/1898.
[903] Wake County Register of Deeds. "Amanda Dunn to R. M. Squires" *Consolidated Real Property Index*, Book 568, Page 298, Raleigh, NC: Register of Deeds, 1929. Accessed April 17, 2022. http://rodcrpi.wakegov.com/Booksweb/PDFView.aspx?DocID=107170193&RecordDate=04/09/1929.

Wake Forest, who acquired if for the purposes of expanded the Wake Forest Cemetery.[904]

The original house appears to have been vernacular in style and of shotgun-type construction, based on historic ground photographs.[905] It is unknown whether this house was the Dunn's primary dwelling. The 1910 Census lists two families – the Locusts and the Whites – as renting homes near the Dunns and the Youngs at that time.[906] As the other dwelling located on the northern part of the Dunn lot is smaller, it is possible that the Locusts and the Whites resided at 430 N. White Street, as the two-pen saddlebag layout would have been better able to accommodate multiple families. No documentation has been recovered to suggest a landlord-tenant relationship between these families and the Dunns or another party as of this writing, however.

Based on historic aerial imagery, it appears that this house was demolished between 1959 and 1971.[907] It was likely among the eight dwellings on North White Street that were condemned and demolished in 1967.[908]

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[904] Wake County Register of Deeds. "Ethel C. Squires to Town of Wake Forest" *Consolidated Real Property Index*, Book 1260, Page 83, Raleigh, NC: Register of Deeds, 1929. Accessed April 17, 2022. http://rodcrpi.wakegov.com/Booksweb/PDFView.aspx?DocID=106655686&RecordDate=11/26/1956.
[905] "View across North White Street of man in light suit standing near an item on the ground." Digital Collections, Special Collections & Archives, ZSR Library, Wake Forest University. Still image. Accessed April 22, 2022. https://wakespace.lib.wfu.edu/handle/10339/89704.
[906] Ancestry.com. *1910 United States Federal Census* [database on-line]. Year: *1910*; Census Place: *Wake Forest, Wake, North Carolina*; Roll: *T624_1136*; Page: *12B*; Enumeration District: *0131*; FHL microfilm: *1375149*. Lehi, UT, USA: Ancestry.com Operations Inc, 2006.
[907] UNC-Chapel Hill Libraries, USDA Historical Aerial Photos Collections. Wake County, NC 1959 [digital]. 1:20,000. BOP-6W-17. State Archives of North Carolina, Raleigh, NC. March 18, 1959; UNC-Chapel Hill Libraries, USDA Historical Aerial Photos Collections. Wake County, NC 1971 [digital]. 1:20,000. BOP-6MM-173. State Archives of North Carolina, Raleigh, NC. March 3, 1971.
[908] "Council to Seek Action on Houses; Fluoridation" *The Wake Weekly And The Youngsville - Rolesville Record*, Volume XXI, Number 19, p. 1, Thursday Morning, May 11, 1967.

Chain of Title:

Table 5: Chain of Title for 430 N. White Street (Dunn Lot, South Dwelling)

Date Submitted	Date Recorded	Grantor	Grantee	Book #	Page #	Notes:
July 5, 1956	July 5, 1956	Ethel C. Squires	Town of Wake Forest	1260	83	
September 15, 1936	September 21, 1936	Ethel C. Squires	P. H. Wilson, Trustee	725	568	
March 20, 1929	April 9, 1929	Amanda Dunn	R. M. Squires	568	298	
September 11, 1897	September 11, 1897	M. E. Simmons	Nick Dunn	149	205	

Notes for Further Research:

Two separate dwellings – 430 N. White Street and 432 N. White Street – appear to have been located on the parcel encompassed by the Dunn's holdings. It is unknown which of these dwellings served as the Dunns' primary residence. Further, it is possible that the Dunns may have rented one of these dwellings out to other tenants as an additional source of income. The documents analyzed for this research did not yield any further evidence to substantiate this hypothesis, however. It is possible that either longtime residents of the Northeast Community or living descendants of the Dunns may be able to provide further information about their lives on Simmons Row.

It is also unclear what the Squires' interest in the property might have been. It is possible that they, too, may have acquired the property in order to rent it out to other tenants. Further documentary research on the Squires, as well as interviews with their living descendants, may yield further information.

References:

Ancestry.com. *1910 United States Federal Census* [database on-line]. Year: *1910*; Census Place: *Wake Forest, Wake, North Carolina*; Roll: *T624_1136*; Page: *12B*; Enumeration District: *0131*; FHL microfilm: *1375149*. Lehi, UT, USA: Ancestry.com Operations Inc, 2006.

Sanborn Fire Insurance Company.

- Map. Wake Forest, NC, June 1915, Sheet 4.
- Map. Wake Forest, NC, 1936, Sheet 5
- Map. Wake Forest, NC, 1946, Sheet 5.

UNC-Chapel Hill Libraries, USDA Historical Aerial Photos Collections. Wake County, NC 1959 [digital]. 1:20,000. BOP-6W-17. State Archives of North Carolina, Raleigh, NC. March 18, 1959.

- Wake County, NC 1971 [digital]. 1:20,000. BOP-6MM-173. State Archives of North Carolina, Raleigh, NC. March 3, 1971.

"View across North White Street of man in light suit standing near an item on the ground." Digital Collections, Special Collections & Archives, ZSR Library, Wake Forest University. Still image. Accessed April 22, 2022. https://wakespace.lib.wfu.edu/handle/10339/89704.

Wake County Register of Deeds. "Mrs. M. E. Simmons to Nicholas C. Dunn." *Consolidated Real Property Index*, Book 149, Page 205, Raleigh, NC: Register of Deeds, 1897. Accessed April 17, 2022. http://rodcrpi.wakegov.com/Booksweb/PDFView.aspx?DocID=108082678&RecordDate=09/26/1898.

- "Amanda Dunn to R. M. Squires" *Consolidated Real Property Index*, Book 568, Page 298, Raleigh, NC: Register of Deeds, 1929. Accessed April 17, 2022. http://rodcrpi.wakegov.com/Booksweb/PDFView.aspx?DocID=107170193&RecordDate=04/09/1929.
- "Ethel C. Squires to Town of Wake Forest" *Consolidated Real Property Index*, Book 1260, Page 83, Raleigh, NC: Register of Deeds, 1929. Accessed April 17, 2022. http://rodcrpi.wakegov.com/Booksweb/PDFView.aspx?DocID=106655686&RecordDate=11/26/1956.

Photo(s):



Figure 118: 430 N. White Street is visible on the right-hand side of this c. 1930 photograph taken along Simmons Row. Photo digitized and published by ZSR Library. Annotation by Chris Robey.



Figure 119: Today, little physically remains of 430 N. White Street aside from scattered building debris, volunteer plantings like Canna lilies and privet, and encroaching invasives like tree-of-heaven. Photo by Chris Robey (2021).

432 N. WHITE STREET – (DUNN LOT, NORTH DWELLING)

Parcel PIN Number (iMaps): 1841527953

Address(s): 0 N. White Street (Current); 432 N. White Street (1915 to 1937); 306 N. White Street (1937 to 1946)

Year Built: Circa-1875

D**esign Style / Form:** Vernacular style, single-pen form

Site Name(s): Dunn Lot (North)

Notable Structure(s): N/A

Past Uses: Tenant housing; Single-family dwelling

Basic Description:

Historic ground photos reveal that the house was vernacular in style and single-pen in form. The building was wood-framed, single-story, and initially had a gabled roof clad with shingles. The entrance faced North White Street and almost directly abutted the right-of-way, with a minor setback. An unknown species of tree grew directly adjacent to the house's front entrance. The gable ends appear to have been oriented parallel to North White Street, rather than perpendicular to it. The main part of the building was sheathed in board-and-batten siding. There appears to have been a small extension added to the rear of the house. This extension had a steep shed roof and was sheathed in clapboard siding. A small set of steps lead up to a side entryway leading into the extension. The

house was situated on a steep slope and supported by what appear to be hand-laid fieldstone piers.[909]

Today, scarce physical evidence remains to suggest the presence of a former homesite. Prior archaeological investigations identified the remains of at least three brick piers that likely served as the house's foundation. Scatters of other building-related debris are still visible on the site as well. For most of the year, this debris is partially obscured by vegetation. In winter and early spring, when vegetation has died back, it is much more visible. Additionally, an elm is growing on the southeast corner of the house's former footprint.

Summary of History:

The exact construction date for this house is unknown. The most likely construction date is circa-1875, around the same time that the Ailey Young House was built. This house was situated on a .15-acre parcel of land owned by Nick and Amanda Dunn and appears to be one of two houses situated on this lot. It is unknown whether this house was the Dunns' primary dwelling; given the family's small size, however, this seems the most likely use for the building at the time that the Dunns owned the property.

Based on historic aerial imagery, it appears that 432 North White Street was demolished between 1959 and 1964.[910]

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[909] "View across North White Street of man in light suit standing near an item on the ground." Digital Collections, Special Collections & Archives, ZSR Library, Wake Forest University. Still image. Accessed April 22, 2022. https://wakespace.lib.wfu.edu/handle/10339/89704.

[910] UNC-Chapel Hill Libraries, USDA Historical Aerial Photos Collections. Wake County, NC 1959 [digital]. 1:20,000. BOP-6W-17. State Archives of North Carolina, Raleigh, NC. March 18, 1959; EarthExplorer. File Name: "1964 aerial_1" [digital]. Scale unknown. 2-17. GS-VAXD. United States Geological Survey, Washington D.C. March 17, 1964.

Chain of Title:

Table 6: Chain of Title for 432 N. White Street (Dunn Lot, North Dwelling)

Date Submitted	Date Recorded	Grantor	Grantee	Book #	Page #	Notes:
July 5, 1956	July 5, 1956	Ethel C. Squires	Town of Wake Forest	1260	83	
September 15, 1936	September 21, 1936	Ethel C. Squires	P. H. Wilson, Trustee	725	568	
March 20, 1929	April 9, 1929	Amanda Dunn	R. M. Squires	568	298	
September 11, 1897	September 11, 1897	M. E. Simmons	Nick Dunn	149	205	

Notes for Further Research:

Two separate dwellings – 430 N. White Street and 432 N. White Street – appear to have been located on the parcel encompassed by the Dunn's holdings. It is unknown which of these dwellings served as the Dunns' primary residence. Further, it is possible that the Dunns may have rented one of these dwellings out to other tenants as an additional source of income. The documents analyzed for this research did not yield any further evidence to substantiate this hypothesis, however. It is possible that either longtime residents of the Northeast Community or living descendants of the Dunns may be able to provide further information about their lives on Simmons Row.

It is also unclear what the Squires' interest in the property might have been. It is possible that they, too, may have acquired the property in order to rent it out to other tenants. Further documentary research on the Squires, as well as interviews with their living descendants, may yield further information.

References:

EarthExplorer. File Name: “1964 aerial_1” [digital]. Scale unknown. 2-17. GS-VAXD. United States Geological Survey, Washington D.C. March 17, 1964.

UNC-Chapel Hill Libraries, USDA Historical Aerial Photos Collections. Wake County, NC 1959 [digital]. 1:20,000. BOP-6W-17. State Archives of North Carolina, Raleigh, NC. March 18, 1959.

“View across North White Street of man in light suit standing near an item on the ground.” Digital Collections, Special Collections & Archives, ZSR Library, Wake Forest University. Still image. Accessed April 22, 2022. https://wakespace.lib.wfu.edu/handle/10339/89704.

Wake County Register of Deeds. “Mrs. M. E. Simmons to Nicholas C. Dunn.” *Consolidated Real Property Index*, Book 149, Page 205, Raleigh, NC: Register of Deeds, 1897. Accessed April 17, 2022. http://rodcrpi.wakegov.com/Booksweb/PDFView.aspx?DocID=108082678&RecordDate=09/26/1898.

- “Amanda Dunn to R. M. Squires” *Consolidated Real Property Index*, Book 568, Page 298, Raleigh, NC: Register of Deeds, 1929. Accessed April 17, 2022. http://rodcrpi.wakegov.com/Booksweb/PDFView.aspx?DocID=107170193&RecordDate=04/09/1929.

- “R. M. Squires to P. H. Wilson, Trustee” *Consolidated Real Property Index*, Book 725, Page 568, Raleigh, NC: Register of Deeds, 1929. Accessed April 17, 2022. http://rodcrpi.wakegov.com/Booksweb/PDFView.aspx?DocID=107101722&RecordDate=09/21/1936

- “R. M. Squires to P. H. Wilson, Trustee” *Consolidated Real Property Index*, Book 725, Page 568, Raleigh, NC: Register of Deeds, 1929. Accessed April 17, 2022. http://rodcrpi.wakegov.com/Booksweb/PDFView.aspx?DocID=107101722&RecordDate=09/21/1936

- “Ethel C. Squires to Town of Wake Forest” *Consolidated Real Property Index*, Book 1260, Page 83, Raleigh, NC: Register of Deeds, 1929. Accessed April 17, 2022. http://rodcrpi.wakegov.com/Booksweb/PDFView.aspx?DocID=106655686&RecordDate=11/26/1956.

Photo(s):



Figure 120: 432 N. White Street is visible on the left-hand side of this c. 1930 photograph taken along Simmons Row. Image scanned and published by ZSR Library. Annotation by Chris Robey.



Figure 121: Today, little remains of 432 N. White Street aside from scattered building debris. The tree growing in the middle ground, right of center frame has taken root directly atop a brick pier that formerly supported the rear of the dwelling. Photo by Chris Robey (2021).

438 N. WHITE STREET

Parcel PIN Number (iMaps): 1841538035

Address(s): 330 N. White Street (Current); 438 N. White Street (1915 to 1937); 312 N. White Street (1937 to 1946)

Year Built: Circa-1875

D**esign Style / Form:** Vernacular style, possible shotgun or single pen form

Site Name(s): N/A

Notable Structure(s): N/A

Past Uses: Tenant housing; Single-family dwelling

Basic Description:

This house was vernacular in style and appears to have been either shotgun or single-pen in form. What little architectural information can be gathered from Sanborn maps, combined with the scarce historic aerial and ground imagery depicting the property that is available, may lend further specific detail. Based on the Sanborn maps, it is evident that the dwelling weas wood-framed, single-story, and initially had a wood-shingled roof.[911] Between 1936 and 1946, the roof was upgraded to either slate or tin.[912] The entrance to the dwelling faced North White Street and directly abutted the right-of-way, with little to no setback.

[911] Sanborn Fire Insurance Company. Map. Wake Forest, NC, June 1915, Sheet 4.
[912] Sanborn First Insurance Company. Map. Wake Forest, NC, 1936, Sheet 5; Sanborn First Insurance Company. Map. Wake Forest, NC, 1946, Sheet 5.

438 North White Street appears to be partially visible in a ground photograph taken between 1930 and 1936.[913] It is inferred that the building whose entrance is partially visible on the right side of the frame in this image is 438 North White Street based primarily on the porch configuration. The building depicted in the image features a shed-roofed front porch that partially spans the west façade of the building. The shadow cast by a building visible in a 1959 aerial photograph of Simmons Row suggests a similar porch configuration.[914] The location of this building corresponds with the location of 438 North White Street. As such, it is inferred that the building depicted in both photographs is 438 North White Street.

Further architectural details can be inferred from the ground photograph taken in the 1930s. Based on this image, 438 North White Street appears to have had clapboard siding and a shingle roof. The house was oriented east-west, perpendicular to North White Street, with its entrance directly facing the road. Additionally, there appears to be either a small section of fence or a post-and-wire gate as well as what appears to be a laundry line out front.[915] Overall, the building exhibits construction methods and materials that are similar to those employed at 430 North White Street.[916]

Today, little physical evidence remains to suggest the former presence of a building at 438 North White Street. The site has largely been redeveloped as a Cemetery

[913] "View of man in black suit kneeling next to an item on the ground beside North White Street." Digital Collections, Special Collections & Archives, ZSR Library, Wake Forest University. Still image. Accessed April 22, 2022. https://wakespace.lib.wfu.edu/handle/10339/89679.
[914] UNC-Chapel Hill Libraries, USDA Historical Aerial Photos Collections. Wake County, NC 1959 [digital]. 1:20,000. BOP-6W-17. State Archives of North Carolina, Raleigh, NC. March 18, 1959.
[915] "View of man in black suit kneeling next to an item on the ground beside North White Street." Digital Collections, Special Collections & Archives, ZSR Library, Wake Forest University. Still image. Accessed April 22, 2022. https://wakespace.lib.wfu.edu/handle/10339/89679.
[916] "View across North White Street of man in light suit standing near an item on the ground." Digital Collections, Special Collections & Archives, ZSR Library, Wake Forest University. Still image. Accessed April 22, 2022. https://wakespace.lib.wfu.edu/handle/10339/89704.

expansion, most recently for the addition of a new columbarium and accompanying berm for diverting stormwater, and as such has been dramatically altered. The accompanying ground disturbance, compounded by the effects of erosion, have uncovered various artifact scatters similar to those found near the Ailey Young House featuring such items as buttons, metal joists, dishware shards, and other items relating to past domestic activates, however.

Summary of History:

The exact construction date for this house is unknown. The most likely construction date is circa-1875, around the same time that the Ailey Young House was built. Prior to its demolition, this dwelling likely served as a single-family home for most of its functional life and may have served as tenant housing for multiple families at various points as well.

Based on historic aerial imagery, it appears that 438 North White Street was demolished between 1965 and 1971.[917] The article in the June 29th, 1967 issue of *The Wake Weekly* announcing the condemnation and planned demolition of the eight remaining Simmons Row houses mentions a house near Dora Hartsfield's residence that had recently burned to the ground, and features a photo of the smoldering remnants of this house.[918] Based on the apparent location from which this photo was taken, it is

[917] EarthExplorer. File Name: "1VBBX00010053" [digital]. Scale unknown. 1-53. GS-VBBX. United States Geological Survey, Washington D.C. February 22, 1965; UNC-Chapel Hill Libraries, USDA Historical Aerial Photos Collections. Wake County, NC 1971 [digital]. 1:20,000. BOP-6MM-173. State Archives of North Carolina, Raleigh, NC. March 3, 1971.
[918] "Displaced Person Must Soon Find New Home." *The Wake Weekly And The Youngsville - Rolesville Record*, Volume XXI, Number 26, p. 1, Thursday Morning, June 29, 1967.

proposed that the remains depicted in this photo are those of 438 North White Street. As of yet, the cause of the fire that destroyed the building is unknown.

Chain of Title: N/A

Notes for Further Research:

A chain of title has not been established for this property, nor has a record of tenancy. Establishing a chain of title could be a good first step toward building an understanding of tenant and landlord relationships on Simmons Row. A 1924 plat illustrating the portions of W. G. Simmons's estate along North White Street indicates that the parcel 438 N. White Street was situated on remained in the Simmons family.[919] As such, it is possible that residents of the property rented from W. G. Simmons's descendants.

Similarly, establishing a record of tenancy could be a good first step toward understanding the lives of the tenant families who lived alongside long-time property owners like the Dunns, Cookes, and Youngs.

Additionally, it remains to be confirmed whether the brick chimney photographed for the 1967 Wake Weekly article was in fact a part of 438 N. White Street. Archaeological investigations of the site could reveal building foundations, scatters of building materials, and other evidence to either substantiate or disprove this hypothesis.

[919] Chappell, H. A. "The Dr. W. G. Simmons Estate Lots on White Street in Wake Forest, N.C. - Surveyed and Mapped for the Heirs" [map]. First Edition, Restored. 3"=100'. Wake Forest, N.C.: Wake County Register of Deeds, March 1924. Book of Deeds 1920, Page 248.

Archaeological investigations of the various ground scatters of artifacts that have been uncovered near the site could lend further insight into the lives of the property's inhabitants.

References:

Chappell, H. A. "The Dr. W. G. Simmons Estate Lots on White Street in Wake Forest, N.C. - Surveyed and Mapped for the Heirs" [map]. First Edition, Restored. 3"=100'. Wake Forest, N.C.: Wake County Register of Deeds, March 1924. Book of Deeds 1920, Page 248.

"Displaced Person Must Soon Find New Home." *The Wake Weekly And The Youngsville - Rolesville Record*, Volume XXI, Number 26, p. 1, Thursday Morning, June 29, 1967.

EarthExplorer. File Name: "1VBBX00010053" [digital]. Scale unknown. 1-53. GS-VBBX. United States Geological Survey, Washington D.C. February 22, 1965.

Sanborn Fire Insurance Company. Map. Wake Forest, NC, June 1915, Sheet 4.

- Map. Wake Forest, NC, 1936, Sheet 5.
- Map. Wake Forest, NC, 1946, Sheet 5.

UNC-Chapel Hill Libraries, USDA Historical Aerial Photos Collections. Wake County, NC 1959 [digital]. 1:20,000. BOP-6W-17. State Archives of North Carolina, Raleigh, NC. March 18, 1959.

- Wake County, NC 1971 [digital]. 1:20,000. BOP-6MM-173. State Archives of North Carolina, Raleigh, NC. March 3, 1971.

"View of man in black suit kneeling next to an item on the ground beside North White Street." Digital Collections, Special Collections & Archives, ZSR Library, Wake Forest University. Still image. Accessed April 22, 2022. https://wakespace.lib.wfu.edu/handle/10339/89679.

"View across North White Street of man in light suit standing near an item on the ground." Digital Collections, Special Collections & Archives, ZSR Library, Wake Forest University. Still image. Accessed April 22, 2022. https://wakespace.lib.wfu.edu/handle/10339/89704.

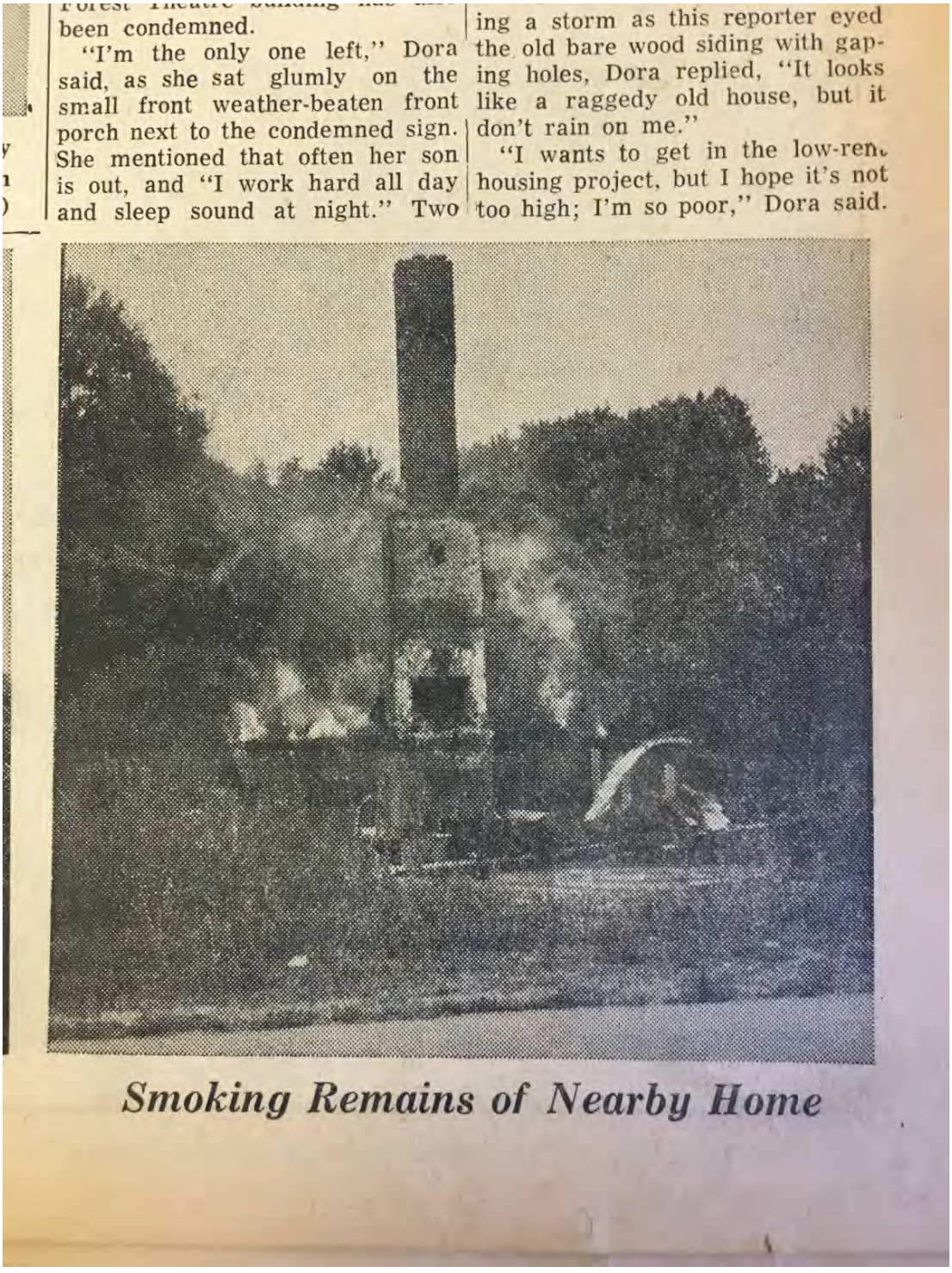
Photo(s):



Figure 122: Portions of the front porch and west façade of 438 N. White Street are visible in this c. 1930 photograph taken along North White Street. Image digitized and published by ZSR Libraries. Annotation by Chris Robey.



Figure 123: 438 N. White Street can be distinguished in this 1959 aerial photograph by the shadow cast by its front porch, visible off the northwest corner of the building. Image by USDA. Annotation by Chris Robey.



been condemned.

"I'm the only one left," Dora said, as she sat glumly on the small front weather-beaten front porch next to the condemned sign. She mentioned that often her son is out, and "I work hard all day and sleep sound at night." Two

ing a storm as this reporter eyed the old bare wood siding with gaping holes, Dora replied, "It looks like a raggedy old house, but it don't rain on me."

"I wants to get in the low-ren housing project, but I hope it's not too high; I'm so poor," Dora said.

Smoking Remains of Nearby Home

Figure 124: The 1967 article in the Wake Weekly announcing the demolition of the homes along North White Street and displacement of Dora Hartsfield also featured this photograph of what was presumably 438 N. White Street. The home been abandoned for a long time prior to the fire that eventually destroyed it. The cause of this fire remains unknown. Photo of newspaper article by Chris Robey, original article housed in Wake Weekly physical archives.



Figure 125: Today, little physically remains of 438 N. White Street aside from ground scatters of small domestic artifacts and building debris. Photo by Chris Robey (2021).

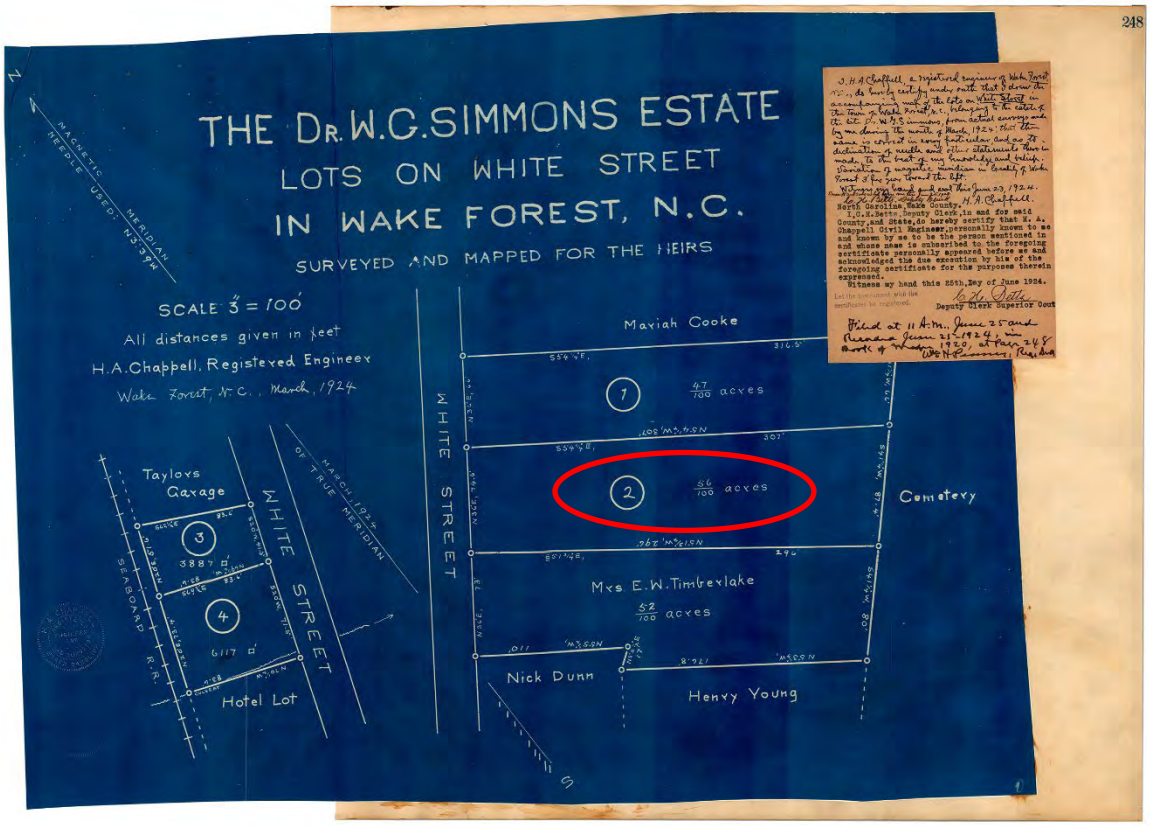


Figure 126: The former location of 438 N. White Street appears to line with the Tract #2 of the Simmons Estate lots depicted in this 1924 plat. Image digitized and published by Wake County Register of Deeds. Annotation by Chris Robey.

440 N. WHITE STREET

Parcel PIN Number (iMaps): 1841538035

Address(s): 330 N. White Street (Current); 440 N. White Street (1915 to circa-1930)

Year Built: Circa-1875

D**esign Style / Form:** Vernacular style, possible shotgun or single-pen form

Site Name(s): N/A

Notable Structure(s): N/A

Past Uses: Tenant housing; Single-family dwelling

Basic Description:

Based on the Sanborn maps, it is evident that the dwelling weas wood-framed, single-story, and initially had a wood-shingled roof.[920] Between 1936 and 1946, the roof was upgraded to either slate or tin.[921] The house was oriented perpendicular to the road with entrance facing North White Street. The entrance to the dwelling faced North White Street and directly abutted the right-of-way, with little to no setback.

This house appears to have been vernacular in style and either shotgun or single pen in form. A ground photograph taken between 1930 and 1936 depicts what has been inferred to be 440 North White Street in the middle ground.[922] Based on this photograph, it appears that the house had board and batten siding and six over six windows. It did not

[920] Sanborn Fire Insurance Company. Map. Wake Forest, NC, June 1915, Sheet 4.
[921] Sanborn First Insurance Company. Map. Wake Forest, NC, 1936, Sheet 5; Sanborn First Insurance Company. Map. Wake Forest, NC, 1946, Sheet 5.
[922] "View across North White Street of man in light suit standing near an item on the ground." Digital Collections, Special Collections & Archives, ZSR Library, Wake Forest University. Still image. Accessed April 22, 2022. https://wakespace.lib.wfu.edu/handle/10339/89704.

appear to have a front porch in the ground photograph.[923] The Sanborn maps depict the building with dotted lines near its entrance, usually used to denote a porch, however. It is possible that the building had a porch at a time that the 1926 Sanborn map was completed that had been removed by the time the ground photograph was taken.[924]

Today, little physical evidence remains to suggest the former presence of a house at 440 North White Street. The site has since been incorporated as an expansion to the Wake Forest Cemetery. The house site itself is today situated at the western edge of one of the newer cemetery lots. A screen of evergreen shrubs has been planted directly atop the spot where the house once stood.

Summary of History:

The exact construction date for this dwelling is unknown. It is likely, however, that it was constructed at the same time as the Ailey Young House is believed to have been constructed – circa-1875. The house is situated on land formerly owned by the Simmons family which was never sold to Black residents of the East End.[925] Prior to its demolition, this dwelling may have served as tenant housing for multiple families at various points throughout its functional life.

Based on Sanborn maps, historic aerial imagery, and historic ground photos, it appears that this building was demolished between 1930 and 1936. The house is visible

[923] "View across North White Street of man in light suit standing near an item on the ground." Digital Collections, Special Collections & Archives, ZSR Library, Wake Forest University. Still image. Accessed April 22, 2022. https://wakespace.lib.wfu.edu/handle/10339/89704.
[924] Sanborn Fire Insurance Company. Map. Wake Forest, NC, April 1926, Sheet 6.
[925] Chappell, H. A. "The Dr. W. G. Simmons Estate Lots on White Street in Wake Forest, N.C. - Surveyed and Mapped for the Heirs" [map]. First Edition, Restored. 3"=100'. Wake Forest, N.C.: Wake County Register of Deeds, March 1924. Book of Deeds 1920, Page 248.

on the 1926 Sanborn map, and is visible in the ground photograph, but does not appear in the 1936 Sanborn map, the 1937 Arrington and Arrington map, or the 1938 historic aerial.[926] As such, it is inferred both that the ground photographs was taken between 1930 and 1936, shortly before the building was demolished, and that the demolition took place during this same period as well, shortly after the photograph was taken.

Chain of Title: N/A

Notes for Further Research:

The exact construction date of this dwelling remains unknown. Similarly, the date of and circumstances behind its demolition remain unclear.

Additionally, a record of tenancy at 440 N. White Street has not been established. Learning about the various tenants who inhabited this dwelling over the course of its functional life would contribute to an understanding of the social history of working-class Black people in Wake Forest. Their situation was far more common than that of landowning families like the Dunns, Youngs, and Cookes. Such a record can be inferred by determining what families were living between the Dunns and the Cookes based on the Censuses between the years 1910 and 1940.

[926] Sanborn Fire Insurance Company. Map. Wake Forest, NC, April 1926, Sheet 6; "View across North White Street of man in light suit standing near an item on the ground." Digital Collections, Special Collections & Archives, ZSR Library, Wake Forest University. Still image. Accessed April 22, 2022. https://wakespace.lib.wfu.edu/handle/10339/89704; Sanborn First Insurance Company. Map. Wake Forest, NC, 1936, Sheet 5; Arrington & Arringotn. *Wake Forest, N.C.* 1st Edition. 1" = 200'. Wake Forest N.C.: Arrington & Arrington, September 1937, Revised June 1940, March 1943, December 1944, March 1949; UNC-Chapel Hill Libraries, USDA Historical Aerial Photos Collections. Wake County, NC 1938 [digital]. 1:20,000. BOP-13-99. State Archives of North Carolina, Raleigh, NC. April 23, 1938.

Similarly, no chain of title has been established for this property. The parcels it encompasses appear to have stayed in the Simmons family. Establishing a chain of title would help to determine exactly which Simmons descendants owned the property at what time, as well as how the property came to be owned by the Town of Wake Forest. Further, it is possible that the various tenants who inhabited this dwelling continued to rent from the Simmonses and their descendants after landowning families like the Dunns, Youngs, and Cookes acquired their property.

Archaeological investigations of the various ground scatters of artifacts that have been uncovered near the site could lend further insight into the lives of the property's inhabitants.

References:

Arrington & Arrington. *Wake Forest, N.C.* 1st Edition. 1" = 200'. Wake Forest N.C.: Arrington & Arrington, September 1937, Revised June 1940, March 1943, December 1944, March 1949.

Chappell, H. A. "The Dr. W. G. Simmons Estate Lots on White Street in Wake Forest, N.C. - Surveyed and Mapped for the Heirs" [map]. First Edition, Restored. 3"=100'. Wake Forest, N.C.: Wake County Register of Deeds, March 1924. Book of Deeds 1920, Page 248.

Sanborn Fire Insurance Company. Map. Wake Forest, NC, June 1915, Sheet 4.

- Map. Wake Forest, NC, April 1926, Sheet 6.
- Map. Wake Forest, NC, 1936, Sheet 5.
- Map. Wake Forest, NC, 1946, Sheet 5.

UNC-Chapel Hill Libraries, USDA Historical Aerial Photos Collections. Wake County, NC 1938 [digital]. 1:20,000. BOP-13-99. State Archives of North Carolina, Raleigh, NC. April 23, 1938.

"View across North White Street of man in light suit standing near an item on the ground." Digital Collections, Special Collections & Archives, ZSR Library, Wake Forest

University. Still image. Accessed April 22, 2022. https://wakespace.lib.wfu.edu/handle/10339/89704.

Photo(s):



Figure 127: 440 N. White Street is visible in this c. 1930 photograph taken along North White Street. By 1936, the building had been demolished and no longer appeared on Sanborn maps. Image digitized and published by ZSR Library. Annotation by Chris Robey.



Figure 128: Today, little physical evidence of 440 N. White Street remains aside from ground scatters of artifacts uncovered after heavy rains. Photo by Chris Robey (2021).

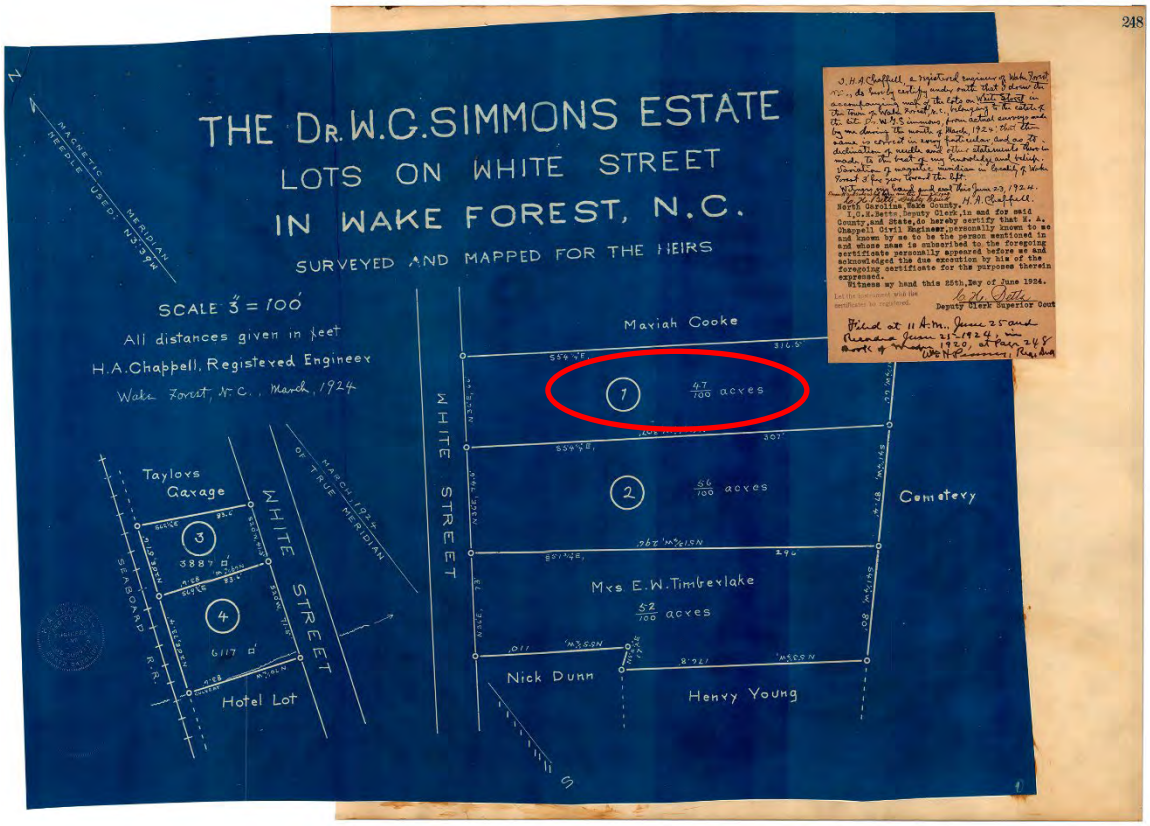


Figure 129: The former location of 440 N. White Street appears to line with the Tract #1 of the Simmons Estate lots depicted in this 1924 plat. Image digitized and published by Wake County Register of Deeds. Annotation by Chris Robey.

442 N. WHITE STREET (COOKE LOT, SOUTH DWELLING)

Parcel PIN Number (iMaps): 1841538192

Address(s): 340 N. White Street (Current); 442 N. White Street (1915 to 1937); 316 N. White Street (1937 to 1946)

Year Built: Circa-1877

D**esign Style / Form:** Vernacular style, side-gable form with rear ell and front porch

Site Name(s): Cooke Homesite; Cooke Lot (South)

Notable Structure(s): N/A

Past Uses: Single-family dwelling

Basic Description:

Based on the Sanborn maps, it can be inferred that the house was single-story and wood-framed.[927] The house also featured a front porch spanning the entire west façade, which faced North White Street. The entrance to the dwelling faced North White Street and directly abutted the right-of-way, with little to no setback. The dwelling also featured a rear ell consisting of a single story. This dwelling initially featured a wood-shingled roof which was upgraded to a composite material between 1936 and 1946.[928]

Little other evidence is available to suggest further architectural details. According to the Sanborn maps, the configuration and materials of the house changed little between 1915 and 1946, aside from the upgrade in roof material.

[927] Sanborn Fire Insurance Company. Map. Wake Forest, NC, June 1915, Sheet 4.
[928] Sanborn First Insurance Company. Map. Wake Forest, NC, 1936, Sheet 5; Sanborn First Insurance Company. Map. Wake Forest, NC, 1946, Sheet 5.

Today, little physical evidence remains to suggest the presence of a former homesite. The site has since been acquired by the Town of Wake Forest and incorporated as an expansion to the Wake Forest Cemetery. The property today is occupied by burial plots, and the spot on which the house formerly stood is completely covered by a screen of evergreen shrubs.

Summary of History:

442 North White Street may have been the main residence of the Cooke family. The house is locating on the southern portion of the lot formerly owned by Henderson and Mariah Cooke. Annie Elizabeth Cooke's account of her childhood confirms that this house was built circa-1877 by her father, Henderson Cooke.[929] The Cooke dwelling is notable for the fact that there is strong written documentation suggesting that it was Cooke who constructed the dwelling. To date, the construction of the other dwellings on Simmons Row has been attributed to W. G. Simmons. 442 North White Street thus represents a notable deviation from this narrative backed up by anecdotal evidence.

Annie describes the building as a three-room house" built "not of logs but of weatherboarding."[930] The 1915 Sanborn map depicts a dwelling at 442 North White Street that fits this description.[931]

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[929] "Life of Mrs. A. Elizabeth Cooke Weeks of the President of New Bern Collegiate Industrial Institute," in *Autobiography of Alfred Leonard Edward Weeks and Annie Elizabeth Cooke Weeks - Principal and Wife of the New Bern Collegiate Industrial Institute, New Bern, N.C.* {New Bern, N.C.: New Bern Collegiate Industrial Institute, circa 1900). Internet Archive e-book, 18-26. Accessed April 17, 2022. https://archive.org/details/autobiographyofr00week/page/18/mode/2up.

[930] "Life of Mrs. A. Elizabeth Cooke Weeks of the President of New Bern Collegiate Industrial Institute," in *Autobiography of Alfred Leonard Edward Weeks and Annie Elizabeth Cooke Weeks* (circa-1900), 24.

[931] Sanborn Fire Insurance Company. Map. Wake Forest, NC, June 1915, Sheet 4.

The house does not appear in the 1959 aerial photograph.[932] It can be inferred, then, that the house was demolished sometime between 1946, when it last appears in the Sanborn maps, and 1959.

Chain of Title:

Table 7: Chain of Title for 442 N. White Street (Cooke Lot, South Dwelling)

Date Submitted	Date Recorded	Grantor	Grantee	Book #	Page #	Notes:
May 1, 1956	May 24. 1956	James A. Shepard	Town of Wake Forest	1234	410	
September 1, 1952	September 11, 1952	Katheryn Young	W. G. Barnes, Trustee	1105	17	Young put property up as collateral after entering indenture with Barnes
May 25, 1950	August 26, 1952	Georgia E. Wyche, et al	Katheryn Young	1104	35	Georgia E. Wyche one of several Cooke heirs
November 10, 1888	January 22, 1888	W. G. Simmons	Henderson Cooke	104	719	

Notes for Further Research:

It can be inferred that 442 N. White Street was the Cooke family's main residence based on the size of the dwelling in comparison to 444 N. White Street, located on their north lot. This remains to be substantiated by further evidence, however.

Additionally, the circumstances behind the house's demolition are unclear. Additional scrutiny of the deed records between the years of 1946 and 1959 may yield further information.

[932] UNC-Chapel Hill Libraries, USDA Historical Aerial Photos Collections. Wake County, NC 1959 [digital]. 1:20,000. BOP-6W-17. State Archives of North Carolina, Raleigh, NC. March 18, 1959.

Annie Elizabeth's account of her childhood describes her family's farming lifestyle. Additional deed records in the Wake County Register of Deeds suggest further land transactions between the Cookes and the Simmons unrelated to either 442 or 444 N. White Street. It is possible that the Simmons leased land for the Cookes to farm nearby before selling it to them outright once they were able to pay for it. Further deed research is merited to substantiate this hypothesis, however.

References:

"Life of Mrs. A. Elizabeth Cooke Weeks of the President of New Bern Collegiate Industrial Institute," in *Autobiography of Alfred Leonard Edward Weeks and Annie Elizabeth Cooke Weeks - Principal and Wife of the New Bern Collegiate Industrial Institute, New Bern, N.C.* {New Bern, N.C.: New Bern Collegiate Industrial Institute, circa 1900). Internet Archive e-book, 18-26. Accessed April 17, 2022. https://archive.org/details/autobiographyofr00week/page/18/mode/2up.

Sanborn Fire Insurance Company. Map. Wake Forest, NC, June 1915, Sheet 4.

- Map. Wake Forest, NC, 1936, Sheet 5.
- Map. Wake Forest, NC, 1946, Sheet 5.

UNC-Chapel Hill Libraries, USDA Historical Aerial Photos Collections. Wake County, NC 1959 [digital]. 1:20,000. BOP-6W-17. State Archives of North Carolina, Raleigh, NC. March 18, 1959.

Photo(s):

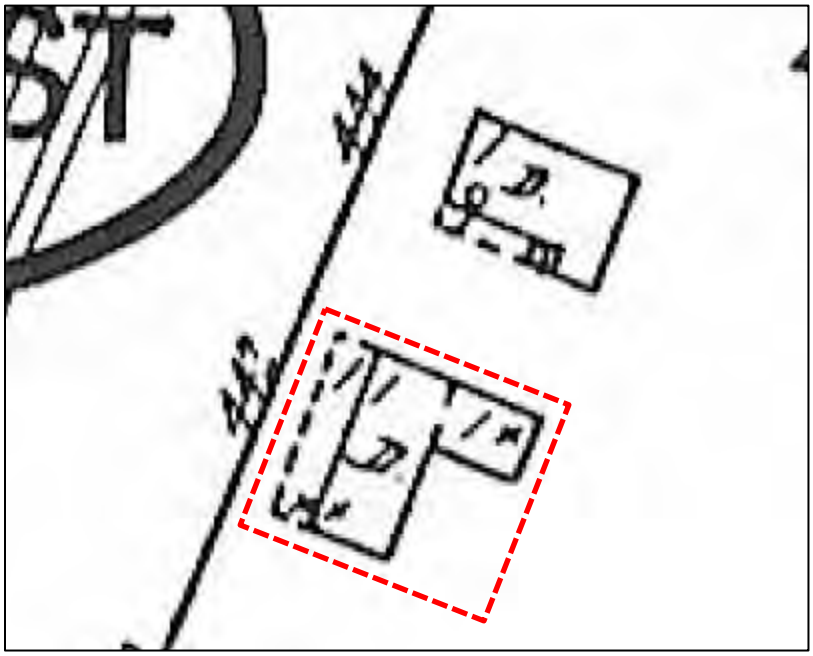


Figure 130: 442 N. White Street remained visible on the Sanborn maps for the Town of Wake Forest from 1915, as pictured above, through 1946. Map by Sanborn Map Company, digitized by Town of Wake Forest Planning Department. Annotation by Chris Robey.



Figure 131: Aerial photographs suggest that 442 N. White Street was demolished between 1946 and 1959. Image by USDA. Annotation by Chris Robey.



Figure 132: Today, the former site of 442 N. White Street has been incorporated into the Wake Forest Cemetery. The screen of tall shrubs visible at the center and left-hand side of the frame have been planted directly atop the dwelling's former footprint. Photo by Chris Robey (2021).

444 N. WHITE STREET (COOKE LOT, NORTH DWELLING)

Parcel PIN Number (iMaps): 1841539116

Address(s): 0 N. White Street (Current); 444 N. White Street (1915 to 1937); 318 N. White Street (1937 to 1946)

Year Built: Circa-1877

D**esign Style / Form:** Vernacular style, possible gable front form with engaged side porch

Site Name(s): Cooke Homesite; Cooke Lot (North)

Notable Structure(s): N/A

Past Uses: Tenant housing; Single-family dwelling

Basic Description:

The design style and form of this dwelling are likewise unknown, as no ground photos have been recovered. The building's footprint, as revealed by the Sanborn maps as well as historic aerial imagery up until 1959, suggests that the house was gable front in form.[933] Based on the Sanborn maps, it is evident that the dwelling was single-story.[934]

The entrance to the dwelling faced North White Street and directly abutted the right-of-way, with little to no setback. A slim porch spanned the south side of the porch with what appear to be stairs leading up to a minor extension containing the entryway to

[933] Sanborn Fire Insurance Company. Map. Wake Forest, NC, June 1915, Sheet 4; Wake Forest, April 1926, Sheet 5; Wake Forest, NC, 1936, Sheet 5; Wake Forest, NC, 1946, Sheet 5; UNC-Chapel Hill Libraries, USDA Historical Aerial Photos Collections. Wake County, NC 1938 [digital]. 1:20,000. BOP-13-99. State Archives of North Carolina, Raleigh, NC. April 23, 1938; Wake County, NC 1959 [digital]. 1:20,000. BOP-6W-17. State Archives of North Carolina, Raleigh, NC. March 18, 1959.
[934] Sanborn Fire Insurance Company. Map. Wake Forest, NC, June 1915, Sheet 4.

the house. This could have denoted the main entrance to the building, or it could denote a set of outside steps leading up to the loft, if there was a loft. Initially, the roof of the home was wood-shingled.[935] Between 1936 and 1946, the roof was upgraded to a composite material.[936]

Today, little physical evidence remains to suggest the presence of a former homesite at 444 North White Street. The site has been completed redeveloped as the primary entrance to the Wake Forest Cemetery. The spot on which the house formerly stood is now occupied by the southern portion of a half-moon drive leading to the primary driveway leading into and out of the Cemetery. Redevelopment has completely obliterated any further trace of the former homesite.

Summary of History:

The exact construction date for this dwelling is unknown. It is likely, however, that it was constructed around the same time as the Cooke's primary dwelling at 442 N. White Street circa-1877. This is also around the same time that the Ailey Young House was constructed, circa-1875. As the dwelling is located on the northern portion of the Cooke family lot, and Henderson Cooke is believed to have built 442 N. White Street, it is possible that Cooke also built 444 N. White Street as an additional dwelling on his property. If this is the case, the house would have been constructed between 1877, the year that Cooke built what has been proposed as his family's primary dwelling, and 1915, when 444 N. White Street first appears on the Sanborn maps.

[935] Ibid.
[936] Sanborn First Insurance Company. Map. Wake Forest, NC, 1936, Sheet 5; Sanborn First Insurance Company. Map. Wake Forest, NC, 1946, Sheet 5.

Prior to its demolition, this dwelling served as a single-family home for the majority of its functional life and may have served as housing for the Cookes' adult children. Following Henderson Cooke's death, this building may also have served as boarders' housing rented out by Mariah Cooke, then widowed. It is also possible that this house served as tenant housing for renters' families. Further research is needed to determine who may have inhabited the house over the course of its functional life.

The 1930 Census lists Mariah Cooke, then widowed, as living on White Street near Willis B Johnson with a Boarder named Wilmer Johnson.[937] It is possible that Wilmer Johnson was boarding at 444 North White Street at this time. No further evidence has been recovered to substantiate this inference at this time, however.

Based on historic aerial imagery, it appears that 444 North White Street was demolished between 1965 and 1971.[938] It was likely among the eight dwellings on North White Street that were condemned and demolished in 1967.[939]

Chain of Title:

Table 8: Chain of Title for 444 N. White Street (Cooke Lot, North Dwelling)

Date Submitted	Date Recorded	Grantor	Grantee	Book #	Page #	Notes:
November 12, 1967	November 13, 1967	Minnie Fort Battle	Town of Wake Forest	1793	255	

[937] Ancestry.com. *1930 United States Federal Census* [database on-line]. Year: *1930*; Census Place: *Wake Forest, Wake, North Carolina*; Page: *7B*; Enumeration District: *0065*; FHL microfilm: *2341460*. Provo, UT, USA: Ancestry.com Operations Inc, 2002.
[938] EarthExplorer. File Name: "1VBBX00010053" [digital]. Scale unknown. 1-53. GS-VBBX. United States Geological Survey, Washington D.C. February 22, 1965; UNC-Chapel Hill Libraries, USDA Historical Aerial Photos Collections. Wake County, NC 1971 [digital]. 1:20,000. BOP-6MM-173. State Archives of North Carolina, Raleigh, NC. March 3, 1971.
[939] "Council to Seek Action on House; Fluoridation" *The Wake Weekly And The Youngsville - Rolesville Record*, Volume XXI, Number 19, p. 1, Thursday Morning, May 11, 1967.

May 25, 1950	December 9,1951	Georgia E. Wyche, et al	James Battle	1084	479	Georgia E. Wyche one of several Cooke heirs
November 10, 1888	January	W. G. Simmons	Henderson Cooke	104	719	

Notes for Further Research:

444 N. White Street may have served as housing for the Cookes' adult children. Following Henderson Cooke's death, this building may also have served as boarders' housing rented out by Mariah Cooke. It is also possible that this house served as tenant housing for renters' families. Further research is needed to determine who may have inhabited the house over the course of its functional life.

The 1930 Census lists Mariah Cooke, then widowed, as living on White Street near Willis B Johnson with a Boarder named Wilmer Johnson. It is possible that Wilmer Johnson was boarding at 444 North White Street at this time. Further research is needed to substantiate this hypothesis, however.

References:

Ancestry.com. *1930 United States Federal Census* [database on-line]. Year: *1930*; Census Place: *Wake Forest, Wake, North Carolina*; Page: *7B*; Enumeration District: *0065*; FHL microfilm: *2341460*. Provo, UT, USA: Ancestry.com Operations Inc, 2002.

"Council to Seek Action on House; Fluoridation" *The Wake Weekly And The Youngsville - Rolesville Record*, Volume XXI, Number 19, p. 1, Thursday Morning, May 11, 1967.

EarthExplorer. File Name: "1VBBX00010053" [digital]. Scale unknown. 1-53. GS-VBBX. United States Geological Survey, Washington D.C. February 22, 1965.

Sanborn Fire Insurance Company. Map. Wake Forest, NC, June 1915, Sheet 4

- Wake Forest, April 1926, Sheet 5

- Wake Forest, NC, 1936, Sheet 5

- Wake Forest, NC, 1946, Sheet 5

UNC-Chapel Hill Libraries, USDA Historical Aerial Photos Collections. Wake County, NC 1938 [digital]. 1:20,000. BOP-13-99. State Archives of North Carolina, Raleigh, NC. April 23, 1938.

- Wake County, NC 1959 [digital]. 1:20,000. BOP-6W-17. State Archives of North Carolina, Raleigh, NC. March 18, 1959.

- Wake County, NC 1971 [digital]. 1:20,000. BOP-6MM-173. State Archives of North Carolina, Raleigh, NC. March 3, 1971.

Photo(s):

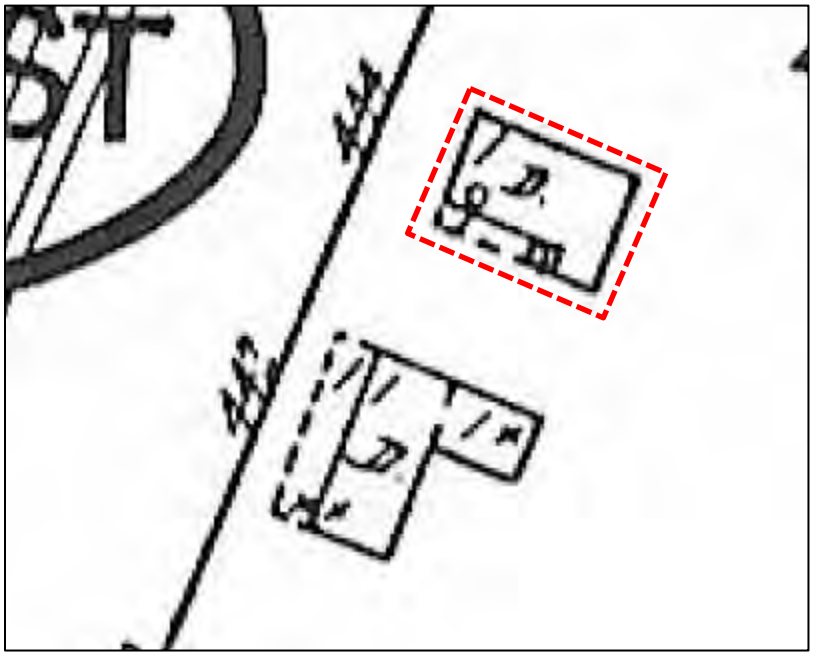


Figure 133: The footprint of 444 N. White Street, as illustrated in the 1915 Sanborn map for the Town of Wake Forest, suggests that the entrance to the house was positioned in its south façade, rather than directly facing North White Street. Map by Sanborn Map Company, digitized by Town of Wake Forest Planning Department.

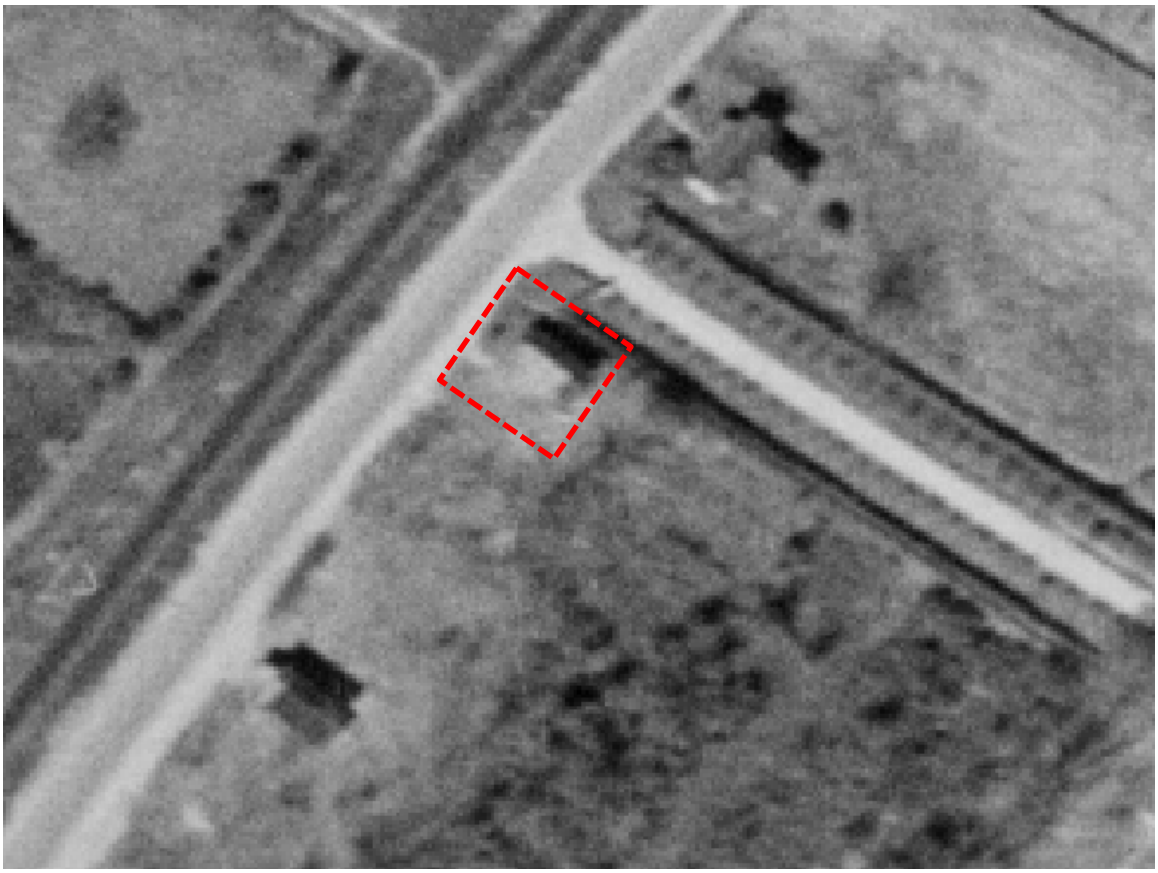


Figure 134: 444 N. White Street remained visible in aerial photographs through 1965. Here, it is depicted in 1959. By this point, its neighboring dwelling, 442 N. White Street, had been demolished. Image by USDA. Annotation by Chris Robey.



Figure 135: Today, nothing remains of 444 N. White Street. The building' formers footprint is now occupied by a portion of the entry drive for Wake Forest Cemetery and an adjacent screen of tall shrubs. Photo by Chris Robey (2021).

446 N. WHITE STREET

Parcel PIN Number (iMaps): 1841622963

Address(s): 400 N. White Street (Current); 446 N. White Street (1915 to 1926)

Year Built: Circa-1875

D**esign Style / Form:** Vernacular style, possible gable-and-wing form with rear porch

Site Name(s): N/A

Notable Structure(s): N/A

Past Uses: Tenant housing; single-family dwelling

Basic Description:

Little architectural information exists for 446 North White Street aside from what can be inferred from Sanborn maps. Based on the 1915 Sanborn map for Wake Forest, it is evident that the dwelling weas wood-framed, single-story, and initially had a shingled roof. This dwelling also featured a rear porch with a shingled, shed roof. This rear porch faced the Wake Forest Cemetery. Additionally, there was also a small single-story entry porch with a shingled shed roof. An ell projected from the south side of house, with an entryway leading into its west face. The front entrance to the dwelling faced North White Street and nearly abutted the right-of-way, with very little setback. [940]

Summary of History:

The exact construction date for 446 North White Street is unknown. It is likely, however, that it was constructed circa-1875, around the same time as the Ailey Young

[940] Sanborn Fire Insurance Company. Map. Wake Forest, NC, June 1915, Sheet 4.

House. Prior to its demolition, this house most likely served as tenant housing for up to two families. Further research is needed to determine who may have inhabited the house over the course of its functional life.

Based on the Sanborn maps, this dwelling was demolished between 1915 and 1926 and stood on the site now occupied by the Wake Forest Cemetery entrance gate and driveway.[941] The Town of Wake Forest acquired the land on which 446 North White Street was situated in 1915 from the Wake Forest Cemetery Association.[942] It is possible that the building was demolished in order to clear space for the construction of these entry features. Further research is needed to substantiate this possibility, however.

Chain of Title: N/A

Notes for Further Research:

A chain of title has not been established for this property, nor has a record of tenancy. Further research is needed to determine who may have inhabited the house over the course of its functional life. A complete record of tenancy opens the possibility for further research into the lives of short-term tenants on Simmons Row. Given that short-term tenancies were more common among the Black working class at this time, such a record could contribute substantially to an understanding of Black working-class life in Wake Forest during the Reconstruction and Jim Crow eras.

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[941] Ibid; Sanborn Fire Insurance Company. Map. Wake Forest, NC, April 1926, Sheet 5.
[942] Wake County Register of Deeds. "Wake Forest Cemetery Association to Town of Wake Forest." *Consolidated Real Property Index*, Book 298, Page 96, Raleigh, NC: Register of Deeds, 1915. Accessed June 21, 2022. http://rodcrpi.wakegov.com/booksweb/PDFView.aspx?DocID=107382702&RecordDate=05/03/1915.

It is likely that most residents of this property were tenants. Additional research is needed to determine who they would have been renting from, however. A complete chain of title could help to determine who may have owned the property prior to its acquisition by the Wake Forest Cemetery Association and subsequent conveyance to the Town of Wake Forest.

Additionally, the circumstances behind this building's demolition are unknown. It is possible that the building was demolished to clear space for the construction of the Cemetery entrance following the Town's acquisition of the property in 1915. Further research is needed to substantiate this hypothesis, however.

References:

Sanborn Fire Insurance Company.

- Map. Wake Forest, NC, June 1915, Sheet 4.
- Wake Forest, April 1926, Sheet 5.

Wake County Register of Deeds. "Wake Forest Cemetery Association to Town of Wake Forest." *Consolidated Real Property Index*, Book 298, Page 96, Raleigh, NC: Register of Deeds, 1915. Accessed June 21, 2022. http://rodcrpi.wakegov.com/booksweb/PDFView.aspx?DocID=107382702&RecordDate=05/03/1915.

Photo(s):

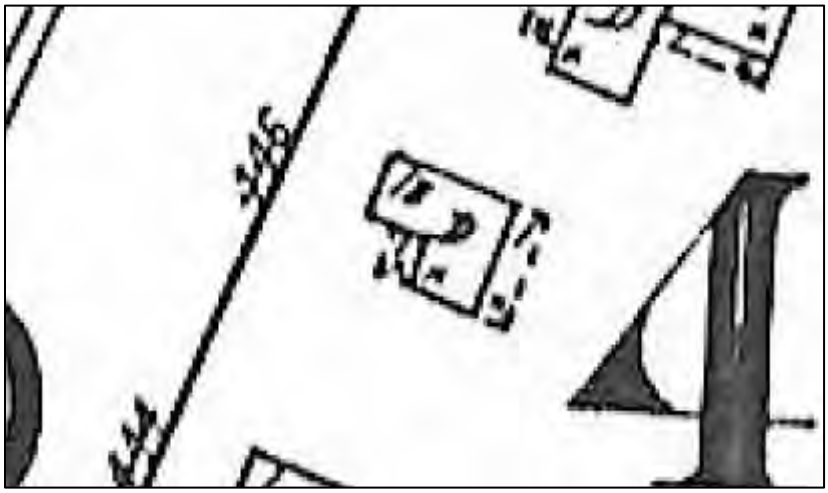


Figure 136: The only image available for 446 N. White Street is its depiction on the 1915 Sanborn map for the Town of Wake Forest. The building appears to have been demolished between 1915 and 1926. Map published by Sanborn Map Company, digitized by the Town of Wake Forest Planning Department.



Figure 137: Today, nothing remains of 446 N. White Street. The building's former footprint is now occupied by a decorative stone wall and archway at the entrance to the Wake Forest Cemetery. Photo by Chris Robey (2021).

448 N. WHITE STREET (GILL/ALLEN/THOMPSON HOMESITE)

Parcel PIN Number (iMaps): 1841630228

Address(s): 0 N. White Street (Current); 448 N. White Street (1915 to 1937); 402 N. White Street (1937 to 1946)

Year Built: Circa-1875

D**esign Style / Form:** Vernacular style, possible side-gable form with rear ell and front porch

Site Name(s): Gill / Allen / Thompson Homesite

Notable Structure(s): N/A

Past Uses: Single-family dwelling

Basic Description:

The design style and form of this dwelling are unknown, as no ground photos have been recovered. Based on the Sanborn maps, it is evident that the dwelling was wood-framed, single-story, and initially had a shingled roof.[943] By 1946, the roof had been upgraded to a composite material.[944] The dwelling also featured single-story front porch with a shingled shed roof. A rear ell extended from the east façade of the dwelling and featured an additional porch on its south side with a shingled shed roof. The front entrance to the dwelling faced North White Street and nearly abutted the right-of-way, with a minor setback. A small pathway framed by what appear to be small trees or large shrubs led to the front entrance.[945]

[943] Sanborn Fire Insurance Company. Map. Wake Forest, NC, June 1915, Sheet 4.
[944] Sanborn Fire Insurance Company. Map. Wake Forest, NC, 1946, Sheet 5.
[945] UNC-Chapel Hill Libraries, USDA Historical Aerial Photos Collections. Wake County, NC 1959 [digital]. 1:20,000. BOP-6W-17. State Archives of North Carolina, Raleigh, NC. March 18, 1959.

Today, little physical evidence remains to suggest the presence of a homesite at 448 North White Street. Since it was acquired by the Town of Wake Forest in 1961, the site has been completely redeveloped as an expansion to the Wake Forest Cemetery and is now covered by burial plots. The exact spot on which the house stood is now occupied by the north half of the half-moon drive leading into the Wake Forest Cemetery as well as a large screen of evergreen shrubs.

Summary of History:

The exact construction date for 448 North White Street is unknown. It is likely, however, that it was constructed circa-1875, around the same time as the Ailey Young House. The house was situated on a 1.04-plot and occupied its southwest corner, directly adjacent to the entrance to the Wake Forest Cemetery. It served as a single-family dwelling for multiple families over the course of its functional life.

The first family to inhabit 448 North White Street was the Gill. Joe Gill, the head of household at the time, is notable for his possible connection to the Trustees of the Olive Branch Baptist Church.[946] After the Gills defaulted on their mortgage on the property, it was next owned by the Allens who, prior to acquiring the property, had counted another resident of Simmons Row, Nick Dunn, as a member of their household in 1880.[947] The Allens next sold the property to the Thompsons. Bettie E. Thompson,

[946] Wake County Register of Deeds. "W.G. Simmons & Wife to Trustees Olive Branch Church." *Consolidated Real Property Index*, Book 283, Page 524, Raleigh, NC: Register of Deeds, 1879. Web. Accessed April 16, 2022. http://rodcrpi.wakegov.com/Booksweb/PDFView.aspx?DocID=107375555&RecordDate=05/15/1914.

[947] Ancestry.com and The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. *1880 United States Federal Census* [database on-line]. Year: *1880*; Census Place: *Wake Forest, Wake, North Carolina*; Roll: *985*; Page: *450B*; Enumeration District: *277*. Lehi, UT, USA: Ancestry.com Operations Inc, 2010. 1880 U.S. Census Index provided by The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints.

who is noted as the primary property owner, was the daughter of Henderson Young and sister to Allen Young, and thus had close family ties to the Young family on Simmons Row.[948] Betty's daughter, Ellen Powell, appears to have been the last person closely associated with the property, and had been a teacher at the early public school for Black children established across the street from Olive Branch Baptist Church.[949]

Based on historic aerial imagery, it appears that 448 North White Street was demolished between 1959 and 1964.[950] This is notable, as the demolition of this building predates the condemnation and demolition of the remaining Simmons Row dwellings in 1967.[951]

Chain of Title:

Table 9: Chain of Title for 448 N. White Street (Gill/Allen/Thompson Homesite)

Date Submitted	Date Recorded	Grantor	Grantee	Book #	Page #	Notes:
March 11, 1961	March 11, 1963	Ellen Thompson Powell, et al	Town of Wake Forest	1542	179	Heirs of Betty E. Thompson
September 13, 1898	May 19, 1903	Adeline and Edmund Allen	Bettie E. and Jack Thompson	174	534	

[948] Ancestry.com. "Bettie E. Thompson." North Carolina State Archives; Raleigh, North Carolina; *North Carolina Death Certificates North Carolina, U.S., Death Certificates, 1909-1976* [database on-line]. Provo, UT, USA: Ancestry.com Operations Inc, 2007.
[949] Ancestry.com. *1910 United States Federal Census* [database on-line]. Year: 1910; Census Place: Wake Forest, Wake, North Carolina; Roll: T624_1136; Page: 12B; Enumeration District: 0131; FHL microfilm: 1375149. Lehi, UT, USA: Ancestry.com Operations Inc, 2006.
[950] UNC-Chapel Hill Libraries, USDA Historical Aerial Photos Collections. Wake County, NC 1959 [digital]. 1:20,000. BOP-6W-17. State Archives of North Carolina, Raleigh, NC. March 18, 1959; EarthExplorer. File Name: "1964 aerial_1" [digital]. Scale unknown. 2-17. GS-VAXD. United States Geological Survey, Washington D.C. March 17, 1964.
[951] "Displaced Person Must Soon Find New Home." *The Wake Weekly And The Youngsville - Rolesville Record*, Volume XXI, Number 26, p. 1, Thursday Morning, June 29, 1967.

January 25, 1892	December 12, 1892	J. N. Holding, Mortgagee	Adeline Allen	125	120	Adeline Allen the highest bidder on the property after it was put up for public auction
December 1, 1888	January 16, 1889	Joe Gill	J. N. Holding	104	695	Mortgage agreement between Joe Gill and J.N. Holding; Gill later defaulted
November 10, 1888	January 16, 1889	W. G. Simmons	Joe Gill	104	694	

Notes for Further Research:

The exact construction date for 448 North White Street is unknown. Additionally, the design style and form of this dwelling are likewise unknown. It is possible that descendants of the Gills, Allens, and Thompsons may be able to provide further information about the architectural details of the house. Additionally, they may be able to offer further information concerning the circumstances behind the demolition of the house. Long-time residents of the Northeast Community may be able to supply this information as well.

Little else is known about the Allens and their ownership of the property. Few vital records relating to their whereabouts between the years of 1892 and 1898 have been recovered. A researcher more skilled in genealogical research may be able to recover further information concerning their lives on Simmons Row.

It is possible that Jack Thompson, also listed elsewhere as John T Thompson, was among the Trustees of the Olive Branch Baptist Church listed in the 1879 deed. Further

genealogical research, as well as interviews with living descendants, may be able to substantiate this hypothesis.

James's father was Silas Powell. It is possible that his father Silas was listed as "S. S." Powell among the Trustees of the Olive Branch Baptist Church. Further genealogical research, as well as interviews with living descendants, may be able to substantiate this hypothesis.

It is possible that, in selling her lot to the Town, Ellen specified that she be allowed to live out the rest of her life in the house she had lived in since she was a child. If this is true, then this house was inhabited more or less continuously from 1888 to 1963. Further archival research, as well as interviews with living descendants, may help to substantiate this hypothesis.

References:

Ancestry.com and The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. *1880 United States Federal Census* [database on-line]. Year: *1880*; Census Place: *Wake Forest, Wake, North Carolina*; Roll: *985*; Page: *450B*; Enumeration District: *277*. Lehi, UT, USA: Ancestry.com Operations Inc, 2010. 1880 U.S. Census Index provided by The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints.

Ancestry.com. "Bettie E. Thompson." North Carolina State Archives; Raleigh, North Carolina; *North Carolina Death Certificates North Carolina, U.S., Death Certificates, 1909-1976* [database on-line]. Provo, UT, USA: Ancestry.com Operations Inc, 2007.

- *1910 United States Federal Census* [database on-line]. Year: 1910; Census Place: Wake Forest, Wake, North Carolina; Roll: T624_1136; Page: 12B; Enumeration District: 0131; FHL microfilm: 1375149. Lehi, UT, USA: Ancestry.com Operations Inc, 2006.

"Displaced Person Must Soon Find New Home." *The Wake Weekly And The Youngsville - Rolesville Record*, Volume XXI, Number 26, p. 1, Thursday Morning, June 29, 1967.

EarthExplorer. File Name: "1964 aerial_1" [digital]. Scale unknown. 2-17. GS-VAXD. United States Geological Survey, Washington D.C. March 17, 1964.

Sanborn Fire Insurance Company.

- Map. Wake Forest, NC, June 1915, Sheet 4.
- Map. Wake Forest, NC, 1946, Sheet 5.

UNC-Chapel Hill Libraries, USDA Historical Aerial Photos Collections. Wake County, NC 1959 [digital]. 1:20,000. BOP-6W-17. State Archives of North Carolina, Raleigh, NC. March 18, 1959.

Wake County Register of Deeds. "W.G. Simmons & Wife to Trustees Olive Branch Church." *Consolidated Real Property Index*, Book 283, Page 524, Raleigh, NC: Register of Deeds, 1879. Web. Accessed April 16, 2022. http://rodcrpi.wakegov.com/Booksweb/PDFView.aspx?DocID=107375555&RecordDate=05/15/1914.

Photo(s):

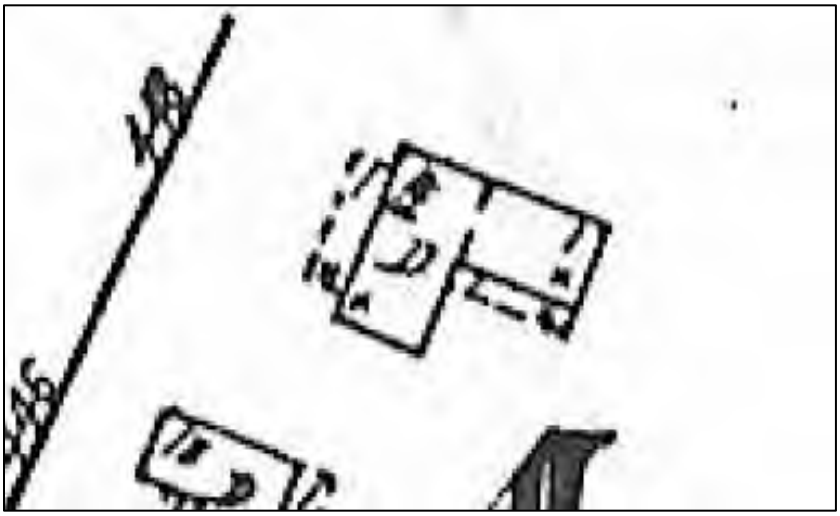


Figure 138: By 1915, 448 had grown to a building of significant stature among the other Simmons Row dwellings, with a rear ell and what appear to be two porches, one on the building's west façade and the other on the south façade. Map published by Sanborn Map Company, digitized by Town of Wake Forest Planning Department.

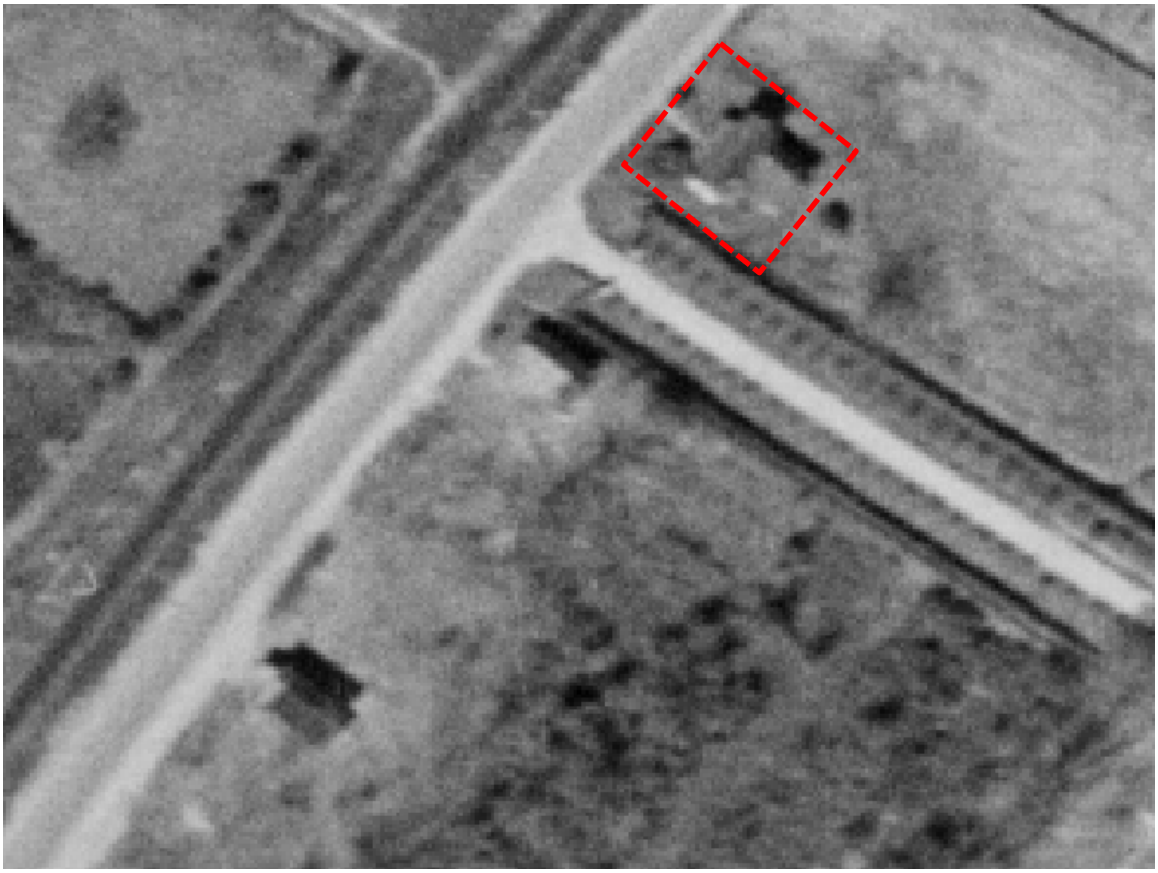


Figure 139: In 1959, 448 N. White Street was still visible in aerial photographs. Photo by USDA. Annotation by Chris Robey.



Figure 140: By 1965, 448 N. White Street had been demolished. This is notable, as the remaining dwellings on Simmons Row were not demolished until 1967. Thus, it cannot be counted among the houses condemned and razed at that time. Photo by USGS. Annotation by Chris Robey.

APPENDIX B: THE LONDON CHARTER FOR THE COMPUTER-BASED VISUALIZATION OF CULTURAL HERITAGE (2009)

DRAFT 2.1

7 February 2009

THE LONDON CHARTER

FOR THE COMPUTER-BASED VISUALISATION OF CULTURAL HERITAGE

Preamble

Objectives

Principles

Principle 1: Implementation

Principle 2: Aims and Methods

Principle 3: Research Sources

Principle 4: Documentation

Principle 5: Sustainability

Principle 6: Access

Glossary

PREAMBLE

While computer-based visualisation methods are now employed in a wide range of contexts to assist in the research, communication and preservation of cultural heritage, a set of principles is needed that will ensure that digital heritage visualisation is, and is seen to be, at least as intellectually and technically rigorous as longer established cultural heritage research and communication methods. At the same time, such principles must reflect the distinctive properties of computer-based visualisation technologies and methods.

Numerous articles, documents, including the AHDS Guides to Good Practice for CAD (2002) and Virtual Reality (2002) and initiatives, including the Virtual Archaeology Special Interest Group (VASIG) and the Cultural Virtual Reality Organisation (CVRO) and others have underlined the importance of ensuring both that computer-based visualisation methods are applied with scholarly rigour, and that the outcomes of research that include computer-based visualisation should accurately convey to users the status of the knowledge that they represent, such as distinctions between evidence and hypothesis, and between different levels of probability.

The London Charter seeks to capture, and to build, a consensus on these and related issues in a way that demands wide recognition and an expectation of compliance within relevant subject communities. In doing so, the Charter aims to enhance the rigour with which computer-based visualisation methods and outcomes are used and evaluated in heritage contexts, thereby promoting understanding and recognition of such methods and outcomes.

The Charter defines principles for the use of computer-based visualisation methods in relation to intellectual integrity, reliability, documentation, sustainability and access.

The Charter recognises that the range of available computer-based visualisation methods is constantly increasing, and that these methods can be applied to address an equally expanding range of research aims. The Charter therefore does not seek to prescribe specific aims or methods, but rather establishes those broad principles for the use, in research and communication of cultural heritage, of computer-based visualisation upon which the intellectual integrity of such methods and outcomes depend.

The Charter is concerned with the research and dissemination of cultural heritage across academic, educational, curatorial and commercial domains. It has relevance, therefore, for those aspects of the entertainment industry involving the reconstruction or evocation of cultural heritage, but not for the use of computer-based visualisation in, for example, contemporary art, fashion, or design. As the aims that motivate the use of visualisation methods vary widely from domain to domain, Principle 1: “Implementation”, signals the importance of devising detailed guidelines appropriate to each community of practice.

OBJECTIVES

The London Charter seeks to establish principles for the use of computer-based visualisation methods and outcomes in the research and communication of cultural heritage in order to:

Provide a benchmark having widespread recognition among stakeholders.

Promote intellectual and technical rigour in digital heritage visualisation.

Ensure that computer-based visualisation processes and outcomes can be properly understood and evaluated by users

Enable computer-based visualisation authoritatively to contribute to the study, interpretation and management of cultural heritage assets.

Ensure access and sustainability strategies are determined and applied.

Offer a robust foundation upon which communities of practice can build detailed London Charter Implementation Guidelines.

PRINCIPLES

Principle 1: Implementation

The principles of the London Charter are valid wherever computer-based visualisation is applied to the research or dissemination of cultural heritage.

1.1 Each community of practice, whether academic, educational, curatorial or commercial, should develop London Charter Implementation Guidelines that cohere with its own aims, objectives and methods.

1.2 Every computer-based visualisation heritage activity should develop, and monitor the application of, a London Charter Implementation Strategy.

1.3 In collaborative activities, all participants whose role involves either directly or indirectly contributing to the visualisation process should be made aware of the principles of the London Charter, together with relevant Charter Implementation Guidelines, and to assess their implications for the planning, documentation and dissemination of the project as a whole.

1.4 The costs of implementing such a strategy should be considered in relation to the added intellectual, explanatory and/or economic value of producing outputs that demonstrate a high level of intellectual integrity.

Principle 2: Aims and Methods

A computer-based visualisation method should normally be used only when it is the most appropriate available method for that purpose.

2.1 It should not be assumed that computer-based visualisation is the most appropriate means of addressing all cultural heritage research or communication aims.

2.2 A systematic, documented evaluation of the suitability of each method to each aim should be carried out, in order to ascertain what, if any, type of computer-based visualisation is likely to prove most appropriate.

2.3 While it is recognised that, particularly in innovative or complex activities, it may not always be possible to determine, *a priori,* the most appropriate method, the choice of computer-based visualisation method (e.g. more or less photo-realistic, impressionistic or schematic; representation of hypotheses or of the available evidence; dynamic or static) or the decision to develop a new method, should be based on an evaluation of the likely success of each approach in addressing each aim.

Principle 3: Research Sources

In order to ensure the intellectual integrity of computer-based visualisation methods and outcomes, relevant research sources should be identified and evaluated in a structured and documented way.

3.1. In the context of the Charter, research sources are defined as all information, digital and non-digital, considered during, or directly influencing, the creation of computer-based visualisation outcomes.

3.2 Research sources should be selected, analysed and evaluated with reference to current understandings and best practice within communities of practice.

3.3 Particular attention should be given to the way in which visual sources may be affected by ideological, historical, social, religious and aesthetic and other such factors.

Principle 4: Documentation

Sufficient information should be documented and disseminated to allow computer-based visualisation methods and outcomes to be understood and evaluated in relation to the contexts and purposes for which they are deployed.

Enhancing Practice

4.1 Documentation strategies should be designed and resourced in such a way that they actively enhance the visualisation activity by encouraging, and helping to structure, thoughtful practice.

4.2 Documentation strategies should be designed to enable rigorous, comparative analysis and evaluation of computer-based visualisations, and to facilitate the recognition and addressing of issues that visualisation activities reveal.

4.3 Documentation strategies may assist in the management of Intellectual Property Rights or privileged information.

Documentation of Knowledge Claims

4.4 It should be made clear to users what a computer-based visualisation seeks to represent, for example the existing state, an evidence-based restoration or an hypothetical reconstruction of a cultural heritage object or site, and the extent and nature of any factual uncertainty.

Documentation of Research Sources

4.5 A complete list of research sources used and their provenance should be disseminated.

Documentation of Process (Paradata)

4.6 Documentation of the evaluative, analytical, deductive, interpretative and creative decisions made in the course of computer-based visualisation should be disseminated in such a way that the relationship between research sources, implicit knowledge, explicit reasoning, and visualisation-based outcomes can be understood.

Documentation of Methods

4.7 The rationale for choosing a computer-based visualisation method, and for rejecting other methods, should be documented and disseminated to allow the activity's methodology to be evaluated and to inform subsequent activities.

4.8 A description of the visualisation methods should be disseminated if these are not likely to be widely understood within relevant communities of practice.

4.9 Where computer-based visualisation methods are used in interdisciplinary contexts that lack a common set of understandings about the nature of research questions, methods and outcomes, project documentation should be undertaken in such a way that it assists in articulating such implicit knowledge and in identifying the different lexica of participating members from diverse subject communities.

Documentation of Dependency Relationships

4.10 Computer-based visualisation outcomes should be disseminated in such a way that the nature and importance of significant, hypothetical dependency relationships between elements can be clearly identified by users and the reasoning underlying such hypotheses understood.

Documentation Formats and Standards

4.11 Documentation should be disseminated using the most effective available media, including graphical, textual, video, audio, numerical or combinations of the above.

4.12 Documentation should be disseminated sustainably with reference to relevant standards and ontologies according to best practice in relevant communities of practice and in such a way that facilitates its inclusion in relevant citation indexes.

Principle 5: Sustainability

Strategies should be planned and implemented to ensure the long-term sustainability of cultural heritage-related computer-based visualisation outcomes and documentation, in order to avoid loss of this growing part of human intellectual, social, economic and cultural heritage.

5.1 The most reliable and sustainable available form of archiving computer-based visualisation outcomes, whether analogue or digital, should be identified and implemented.

5.2 Digital preservation strategies should aim to preserve the computer-based visualisation data, rather than the medium on which they were originally stored, and also information sufficient to enable their use in the future, for example through migration to different formats or software emulation.

5.3 Where digital archiving is not the most reliable means of ensuring the long-term survival of a computer-based visualisation outcome, a partial, two-dimensional record of a computer-based visualisation output, evoking as far as possible the scope and properties of the original output, should be preferred to the absence of a record.

5.4 Documentation strategies should be designed to be sustainable in relation to available resources and prevailing working practices.

Principle 6: Access

The creation and dissemination of computer-based visualisation should be planned in such a way as to ensure that maximum possible benefits are achieved for the study, understanding, interpretation, preservation and management of cultural heritage.

6.1 The aims, methods and dissemination plans of computer-based visualisation should reflect consideration of how such work can enhance access to cultural heritage that is otherwise inaccessible due to health and safety, disability, economic, political, or environmental reasons, or because the object of the visualisation is lost, endangered, dispersed, or has been destroyed, restored or reconstructed.

6.2 Projects should take cognizance of the types and degrees of access that computer-based visualisation can uniquely provide to cultural heritage stakeholders, including the study of change over time, magnification, modification, manipulation of virtual objects, embedding of datasets, instantaneous global distribution.

APPENDIX – Glossary

The following definitions explain how terms are used within this document. They are not intended to be prescriptive beyond that function.

Computer-based visualisation

The process of representing information visually with the aid of computer technologies.

Computer-based visualisation method

The systematic application, usually in a research context, of computer-based visualisation in order to address identified aims.

Computer-based visualisation outcome

An outcome of computer-based visualisation, including but not limited to digital models, still images, animations and physical models.

Cultural heritage

The Charter adopts a wide definition of this term, encompassing all domains of human activity which are concerned with the understanding of communication of the material and intellectual culture. Such domains include, but are not limited to, museums, art galleries, heritage sites, interpretative centres, cultural heritage research institutes, arts and humanities subjects within higher education institutions, the broader educational sector, and tourism.

Dependency relationship

A dependent relationship between the properties of elements within digital models, such that a change in one property will necessitate change in the dependent properties. (For instance, a change in the height of a door will necessitate a corresponding change in the height of the doorframe.)

Intellectual transparency

The provision of information, presented in any medium or format, to allow users to understand the nature and scope of “knowledge claim” made by a computer-based visualisation outcome.

Paradata

Information about human processes of understanding and interpretation of data objects. Examples of paradata include descriptions stored within a structured dataset of how evidence was used to interpret an artefact, or a comment on methodological premises within a research publication. It is closely related, but somewhat different in emphasis, to “contextual metadata”, which tend to communicate interpretations of an artefact or collection, rather than the process through which one or more artefacts were processed or interpreted.

Research sources

All information, digital and non-digital, considered during, or directly influencing, the creation of the computer-based visualisation outcomes.

Subject community

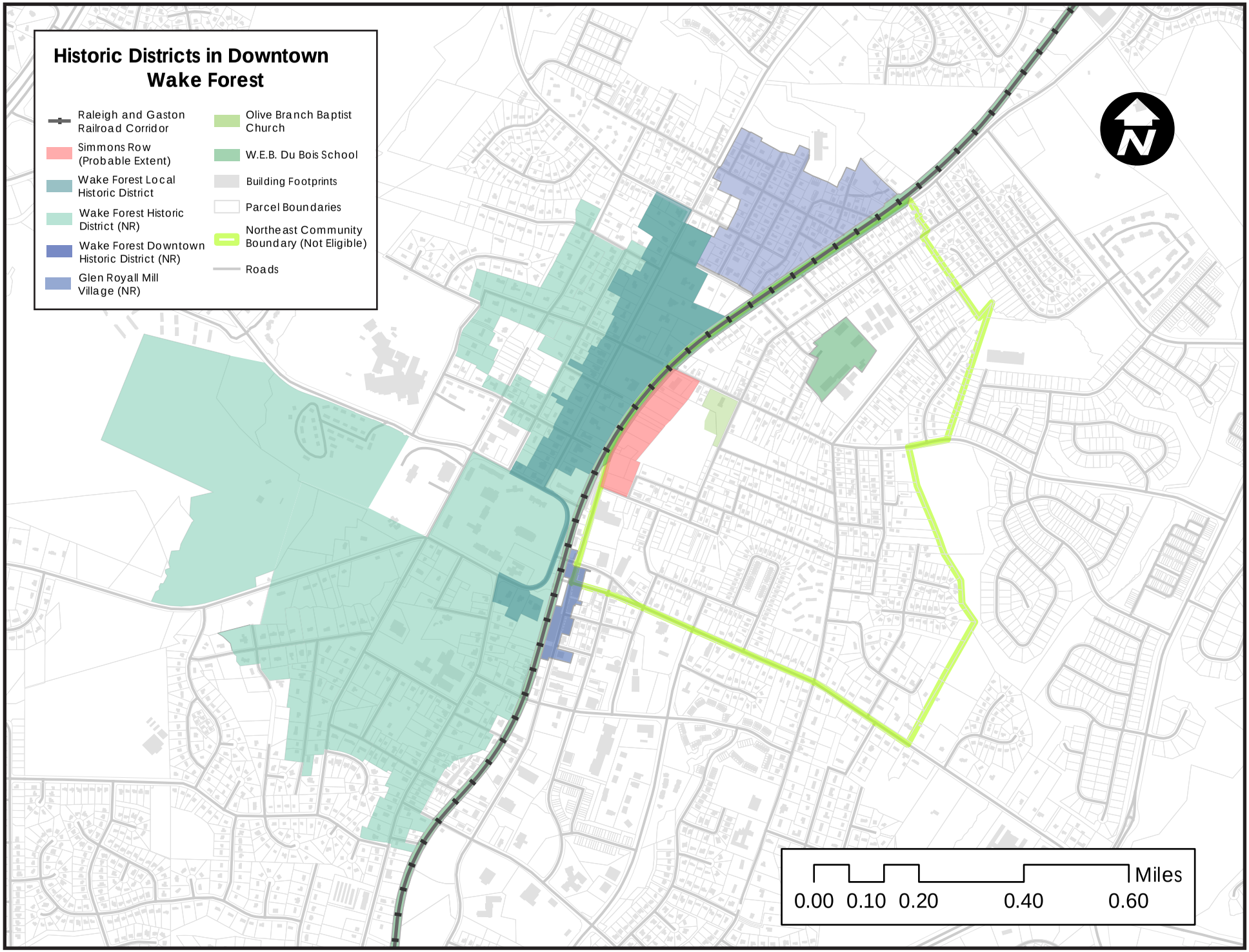
A group of researchers generally defined by a discipline (e.g. Archaeology, Classics, Sinology, Egyptology) and sharing a broadly-defined understanding of what constitute valid research questions, methods and outputs within their subject area.

Sustainability strategy

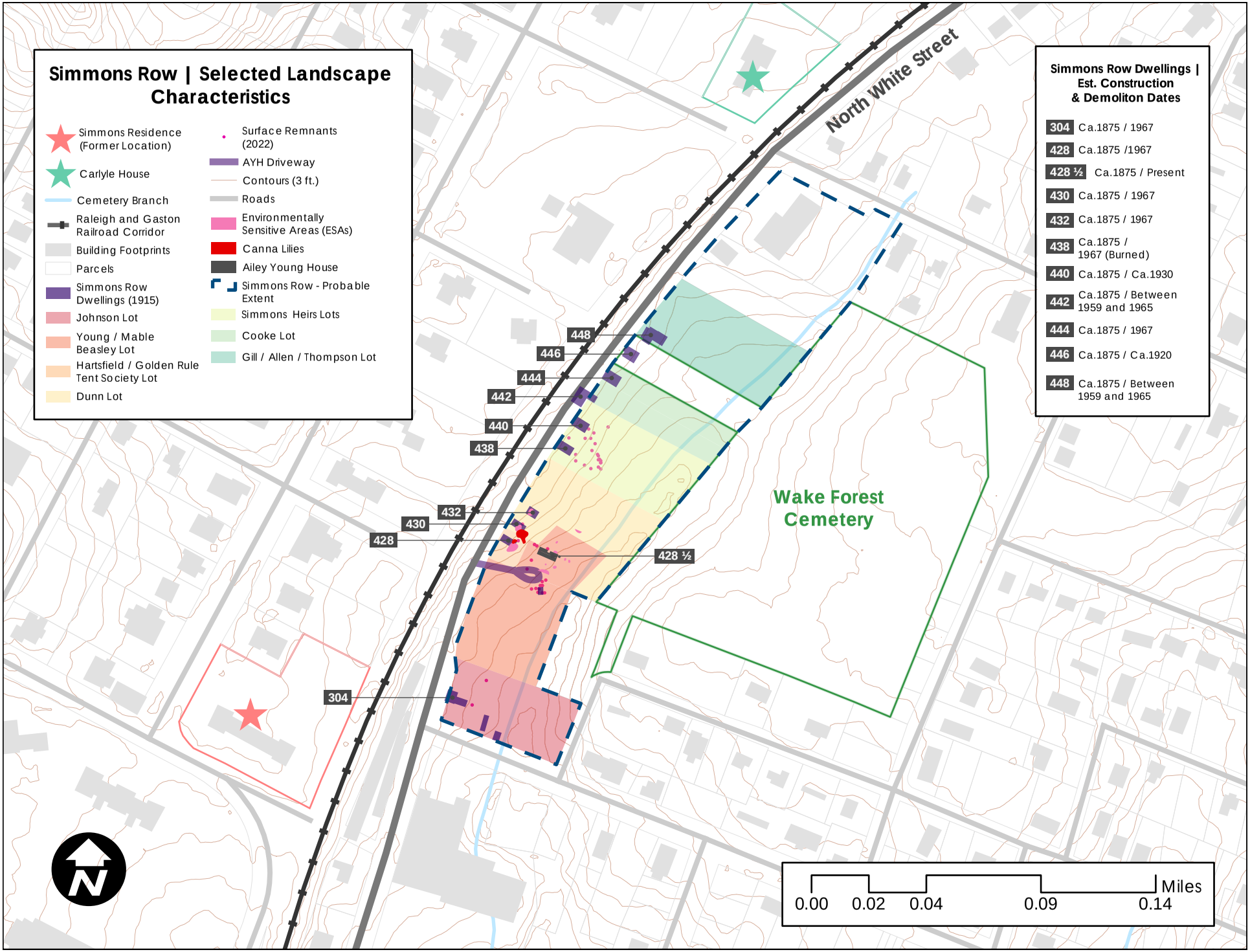
A strategy to ensure that some meaningful record of computer-based visualisation processes and outcomes is preserved for future generations.

Editor: Hugh Denard, King’s College London, 7 February 2009

APPENDIX C: MAP OF HISTORIC DISTRICTS IN DOWNTON WAKE FOREST


Historic Districts in Downtown Wake Forest
Raleigh and Gaston Railroad Corridor
Simmons Row (Probable Extent)
Wake Forest Local Historic District
Wake Forest Historic District (NR)
Wake Forest Downtown Historic District (NR)
Glen Royall Mill Village (NR)
Olive Branch Baptist Church
W.E.B. Du Bois School
Building Footprints
Parcel Boundaries
Northeast Community Boundary (Not Eligible)
Roads
N
Miles
0.00 0.10 0.20 0.40 0.60

APPENDIX D: MAP OF SIMMONS ROW – SELECTED LANDSCAPE CHARACTERISTICS


Simmons Row | Selected Landscape Characteristics
Simmons Residence (Former Location)
Carlyle House
Cemetery Branch
Raleigh and Gaston Railroad Corridor
Building Footprints
Parcels
Simmons Row Dwellings (1915)
Johnson Lot
Young / Mable Beasley Lot
Hartsfield / Golden Rule Tent Society Lot
Dunn Lot
Surface Remnants (2022)
AYH Driveway
Contours (3 ft.)
Roads
Environmentally Sensitive Areas (ESAs)
Canna Lilies
Ailey Young House
Simmons Row - Probable Extent
Simmons Heirs Lots
Cooke Lot
Gill / Allen / Thompson Lot
North White Street
Wake Forest Cemetery
448
446
444
442
440
438
432
430
428
428 ½
304
Simmons Row Dwellings | Est. Construction & Demoliton Dates
304 Ca.1875 / 1967
428 Ca.1875 /1967
428 ½ Ca.1875 / Present
430 Ca.1875 / 1967
432 Ca.1875 / 1967
438 Ca.1875 / 1967 (Burned)
440 Ca.1875 / Ca.1930
442 Ca.1875 / Between 1959 and 1965
444 Ca.1875 / 1967
446 Ca.1875 / Ca.1920
448 Ca.1875 / Between 1959 and 1965
0.00 0.02 0.04 0.09 0.14 Miles

APPENDIX E: MULTIPLE CASE STUDY AND CROSS-CASE ANALYSIS RESULTS

CASE #1	CASE #2	CASE #3	CASE #4	CASE #5	CASE #6
1.1. Employ a mixed-methods approach to data collection that combines face-to-face ethnographic fieldwork with web-based crowdsourcing.	2.1. Lend an insider's perspective to visitors unfamiliar with the cultural context of the site by elevating the voices of local experts.	3.1. When engaging the public in participatory documentation efforts, be sure that the tools involved are accessible and easy to use.	4.1. Communicate uncertainty by making inferences and knowledge gaps explicit, the evidence on which all inferences are based freely available, and documenting paradata, i.e. detailing the decision-making and process used to arrive at the final visualization.	5.1. Understand that the end product of heritage visualization is necessarily "a contextualization that visualizes an interpretation," meaning that it will be as representative of the designer's particular interpretation of the source material as they are of the historic conditions they've aimed to recreate.	6.1. Leverage the affordances of new heritage technologies to enable immersive, interactive experiences of the historic built environment
1.2. Where possible, make use of existing assets already employed by the Town of Wake Forest like Esri's ArcGIS Online platform.	2.2. Leverage existing channels for producing archival quality video recordings and other media centering the voices of local experts.	3.2. Recognize that the GPS-enabled affordances of mobile devices are limited by signal strength and other factors and that significant post-processing may be required.	4.2. Embrace pluralism and uncertainty by accommodating multiple, sometimes conflicting interpretations.	5.2. Recognize that heritage visualization carries with it a great potential to mislead owing not only to its capacity for photorealism but also due to basic characteristics of human cognition - namely, that first impressions are powerful and extremely difficult to dislodge.	6.2. Stay apace of ongoing developments in heritage visualization methods and technology in order to keep project up-to-date and accessible
1.3. Where web-based crowdsourcing is employed, be sure that a robust system for providing troubleshooting and other technical assistance is in place. Compliment this with detailed, step-by-step instructions and other downloadable resources.	2.3. Consult with a library professional to determine which web information system and metadata standard would be most appropriate for the project.	3.3. Account for the effects of the digital divide on stakeholders and project participants.	4.3. Open channels for audiences to dialogue directly with the researchers, designers, and other traditional experts behind the project.	5.3. Where possible, use clear visual cues to communicate uncertainty.	6.3. Where practical, adopt open-source software tools with well-established user bases and bodies of documentation in order to bypass the barriers imposed by high-cost proprietary software
1.4. Empower stakeholders to engage in counter-mapping and the articulation of counter-narratives by ceding authority and democratizing the knowledge production process.	2.4. Foster collaboration between like-minded institutions and organizations with a stake in the project.	3.4. Enable broad-based participation by directly supplying participants with the means of data collection and knowledge production.	4.4. Be sparing and critical when drawing inferences from archaeological evidence, and doubly so when speculating based on precedence.	5.4. Critically reflect on what, exactly, the project team aims to accomplish through its graphic communications, and carefully consider whether photorealistic renderings are essential to that task.	6.4. Position users as co-authors by actively incorporating self-authored digital content into the proposed interpretive intervention.
	2.5. Maintain a regular online presence by updating web-based content, monitoring comments on existing content, and engaging in ongoing traditional and social media outreach efforts to maintain project relevancy and visibility.	3.5. Supply participants with direct technical assistance, when possible, while enabling networks of support among stakeholders themselves.	4.5. Cross-reference documentary and archaeological evidence with oral testimony from local experts and descendant communities whenever possible.	5.5. Recognize that visual representations of the past are necessarily conjectural, especially when based on limited evidence, and make every effort to dislodge the notion that the resultant visualization approximates reality.	6.5. Critically reflect on the specific objectives and goals of the project, and adopt the tools most conducive to meeting those ends and provoking genuine engagement with the intended interpretive themes.
	2.6. For geotagged content, use pop-ups and other tools to clearly demarcate public and private property in order mitigate possible disruptions to the local community.	3.6. Where place-based personal narratives and other forms of volunteered historical and geographical information are involved, make every effort to protect participants' rights and privacy.			
	2.7. Exercise caution in geotagging or otherwise drawing attention to archaeological sites and other sensitive cultural resources.	3.7. Position participants as co-authors, not just informants, in order to amplify their discursive agency.			
	2.8. Leverage in-person opportunities like public archaeology workshops to further educate the public on how to conduct themselves when visiting sensitive cultural sites.	3.8. Acknowledge that digital interventions will never supersede in-person, face-to-face interactions.			
		3.9. Create the conditions for counter-narratives to emerge by enabling polyvocality			

Table 10: Relevant S.P.s are highlighted in green, irrelevant S.P.s are highlighted in red, and S.P.s that are not directly applicable but still yield valuable lessons are highlighted in yellow. *Table by Chris Robey (2022).*