

DAVIS, MONICA T. M.F.A. Tracing Changes and Revealing Culture: A Study of Shotgun Houses in the East Wilson Historic District, 1988-2019. (2022)
Directed by Dr. Asha Kutty. 86 pp.

The story of the rise and fall of the shotgun house as an architectural form in the United States is, in many aspects, a story of the African American experience, from slavery through Reconstruction to the coming of Jim Crow, the Great Migration, and dawn of freedom in the modern post-World War II era. In this history of trials and tribulations, the shotgun house has often stood as a contemporaneous testament to the struggle of a people for dignity and a place in the American social, economic, and cultural landscape. The shotgun houses and its people who have regarded East Wilson as their sanctuary and black cultural landscape, understand the significance of this architectural typology.

The intent of this three-phase sequential mixed methods study is to assess the retention of historic character in the East Wilson Historic District listed on the National Register of Historic Places in 1988. The first phase is a qualitative investigation of field survey data that documented the material and architectural integrity of the remaining 90 shotgun houses in the East Wilson Historic District. Findings from this qualitative phase were coded and thematically mapped to determine how the district's architectural integrity and cultural significance changed since nominated to the National Register of Historic Places in 1988. The second phase is a qualitative investigation of six separate streetscapes in the East Wilson District to determine changes over time in their character by collecting archival photographs from the North Carolina State Historic Preservation Office, field survey data, and current photographs on-site in the neighborhoods. Findings from this qualitative phase were documented to determine how the district's historic character changed through comparisons of archival and current photographs. The third phase

maps patterns of demolition, infill, ownership, architectural and material integrity, and investment through a G.I.S. mapping platform.

TRACING CHANGES AND REVEALING CULTURE: A STUDY OF SHOTGUN HOUSES
IN THE EAST WILSON HISTORIC DISTRICT, 1988-2019

by

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A Thesis

Submitted to

the Faculty of The Graduate School at
The University of North Carolina at Greensboro

in Partial Fulfillment

of the Requirements for the Degree

Master of Fine Arts

Greensboro

2022

Approved by

Dr. Asha Kutty
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DEDICATION

To the community members of the East Wilson Historic District. Thank you for allowing me to enter your homes and sit on your front porches. Thank you for your honesty and your willingness to be transparent.

APPROVAL PAGE

This thesis written by Monica T. Davis has been approved by the following committee of the Faculty of The Graduate School at The University of North Carolina at Greensboro.

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I am grateful for the endless support of the Department of Interior Architecture at the University of Greensboro. Specifically, to my committee members: Dr. Asha Kutty, for your continuing encouragement and support. Thank you for investing your time and dedication to the community members of the East Wilson Historic District by including this black cultural landscape in your front porch study. Dr. Torren Gaston, thank you for your expertise and knowledge of African American culture and the black experience. And finally, this thesis, and my passion for Historic Preservation, would not be possible without the extensive guidance and encouragement of, Jo Ramsay Leimenstoll. You have truly been a blessing to me professionally and personally. I am confident in this field because of your unwavering support.

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CHAPTER I: INTRODUCTION

"Although shotgun houses are small, were inexpensively built, and generally, lack amenities, they have been praised for their architectural virtues, which include the ingenious use of limited space and decoration such as gingerbread trim and brightly painted exteriors. They represent a unique African American contribution to architecture in the United States" (Vlach, 1976, p.51).

"Our sense of stability in our world is rooted in place, our memories are embedded in place, and our identity is defined by place." (Mayes, 2014, p.12)

Shotgun houses ("shotguns") are the most widely acknowledged expressions of African American architectural design in the United States. They are New World constructions, rooted in indigenous African architectural and spatial traditions and influenced by American Indian and European building techniques (Vlach, 1975). The place of shotgun houses in local and national social history justifies proactive preservation efforts to save and adapt the remaining shotgun houses in cities across America. These indisputably historic homes have important stories to tell about the social, economic, political, cultural, and demographic histories of their particular local communities; histories that would be lost, perhaps irretrievably, if these last shotgun houses are left to decay and disappear. Historic preservationists and local communities are adapting their existing stock of shotgun houses as a form of revitalization and providing middle-income housing opportunities. These historic architectural house forms are being adapted into artist studios and affordable housing solutions.

In North Carolina, shotgun houses were the predominant house type in numerous cities at the peak of the twentieth century. The largest and most intact shotgun houses were found in the East Wilson Historic. The district was listed on the National Register of Historic Places in 1988, and when listed, it was the largest working-class of African Americans in North Carolina. Approximately 200 houses have been demolished in the East Wilson Historic District since 1988. Like many African American historic districts, East Wilson has faced blighted housing, lack of economic development, and economic decline.

My research will reveal the changes within the shotgun houses' visual character and the neighborhood's cultural heritage. In addition, it will shed light on the systemic inequality, the disinvestment of low-income Black communities, and the prevention of generational wealth through home-ownership opportunities. The intent of these findings is not to criticize but to invoke conversation that will offer awareness to stimulate change in East Wilson.

The intent of this three-phase sequential mixed methods study is to assess the retention of the historic fabric and cultural heritage of the shotgun houses within the East Wilson Historic District. The first phase is a qualitative investigation of field surveys conducted of the 90 remaining shotgun houses to document their current architectural shape and form, historical fabric, conditions, and occupancy. Findings from this phase are decoded and mapped utilizing G.I.S. to reveal patterns and correlations of the remaining shotgun houses. The second phase maps demolitions, new construction, and the concentration of incompatible infill by color-coding the East Wilson Historic District archival map. The third phase is a qualitative investigation of six East Wilson case studies to determine changes over time in their visual character by collecting archival photographs from SHPO and field survey data and current photographs on-

site in the neighborhoods. Assessing the preservation of historic character in redevelopment areas through visual analysis has not been extensively explored or documented in the literature.

Preserving African American places is vital in showing the richness of African Americans' life, history, and architecture. Systematically black neighborhoods have been obliterated because of systemic racism, segregation, disinvestment, displacement, and more. Brent Leggs, Executive Director of the African American Cultural Heritage Action Fund, states, "When years of divestment and poor maintenance leave primarily African American neighborhoods with vacant and dilapidated buildings, public officials and citizens often seek a quick solution by razing the deteriorated structures and destroying the neighborhood's soul. As historic structures age, the challenges of preserving them and neighborhoods they anchor multiply" (NTHP, 2020, p.3). It is crucial to investigate the conditions of historic structures to assess their viability to be preserved rather than demolished. This investigation will help both planners and preservationists alike understand the impact of disinvestment or redevelopment on the historic character of neighborhoods on the National Register of Historic Places in terms of changes to the historic buildings and streetscapes, but also the impact of demolition, infill, and additions to the historic character of the neighborhood as a whole.

This mixed-methods study embeds quantitative data analysis within a qualitative analysis in order to define the variables, create theory, and provide for a stronger overall analysis. Given this framework, the questions of this thesis are: How has the visual character of the shotgun houses in the historic district changed since nominated in 1988? What visible physical changes to the shotgun house streetscape in the historic district occurred since nominated in 1988? How has the ownership of the shotgun houses in the historic district changed since nominated in 1988?

CHAPTER II: LITERATURE REVIEW

In support of this study's objective, the literature review addresses the architectural form of the shotgun house, and its context within East Wilson, historic preservation, and neighborhood development. The literature review is divided into five sections that together address these areas of scholarship. These sections include 1. The Shotgun House, 2. East Wilson Historic District, 3. The Power of Place and Historic Preservation, and 4. Community Revitalization. The first and second themes consists of an in-depth understanding of the historical significance of the shotgun house, including the history of the shotgun house, the importance of the shotgun in the black cultural landscape, and the emergence of the shotgun house in the East Wilson Historic District. The third theme will explore why old places are significant for people and elaborate on how old places offer a sense of place and legacy for future generations. Historic Preservation encompasses current ethics and best practices for maintaining buildings for multiple reasons and the potential approaches for the shotgun house due to its historical significance. The fourth theme will discuss how community revitalization could be used to highlight the historical significance of a community and provide resources to foster the existing community.

The Shotgun House

In 1976, John Michael Vlach wrote, "The shotgun house is, moreover, the central building type in the development of an Afro-American architecture" (Vlach, 1976, p. 47). Vlach traced the roots of the shotgun housing type from Africa to the Caribbean to the United States. Vlach states, "The links are not simple and direct. The story behind the shotgun involves long migrations, the conduct of the Atlantic slave trade, the rise of the free black communities, the development of vernacular and popular traditions in architecture, and the expansion of growth of

American industrial needs" (Vlach, 1976, p. 47). The prototype of the shotgun was successively built-in urban Haiti and entered the United States via New Orleans.

The oldest shotgun house documented in the Notarial Archives of New Orleans was sold in November of 1833 in the French Quarter on Bourbon Street. This detail alone suggests that the shotgun house type has existed in America for nearly 180 years.

The shotgun moniker is derived from the anecdote that if one fired a shotgun through the front door, the pellets would pass cleanly through the house and out the back door. The name describes a wide variety of narrow homes where the rooms are aligned in a single row without the use of an interior hallway. The most recognizable shotgun form is the shotgun singles, which form the basis of the general housing type. Urban shotgun singles are usually set on rectangular lots with narrow street frontages. Nearly all early shotguns were wood frame construction and most were raised on brick or cement block piers. The front porch was the shotgun's contribution to the broad field of African American architecture, which also provided shade from the sun and encouraged interaction between neighborhoods (Vlach, 1976).

The homes are often set back slightly from the front property line and sometimes behind an ornamental cast-iron or white picket fence. In New Orleans, the homes were often constructed directly atop the front property line, forcing a small stoop or steps to spill onto the sidewalk.

These steps were originally built of wood but were later replaced with concrete.

The varying facades of shotgun houses yield an interesting stylistic dialogue. Most shotgun homes feature a front porch covered by a roof apron and supported by columns and sometimes brackets and lacy ornamentation. The front elevations were organized around the placement of the front door, which was generally set to one side of the façade. The door is adjacent to one or two window openings that range from simple standard size openings to

elaborate full-length casements fitted with six-over-nine pane sash. The side elevations, which often faced side alleys or were in close proximity to other shotgun homes, remained relatively plain. In cooler climates, chimneys were commonly built in the interior, allowing the front and middle rooms to share a fireplace opening in each room. The kitchen usually had its own chimney.

The shotgun is often recognized by its steeply pitched front gable roofline extending over a porch, but in some instances, the porches were covered by the hipped roof of the cottage. The hipped portion of the roof is supported by square wooden columns, with the roofline hidden by a generous entablature. During the 1880s and 1890s, local tastes shifted toward an exposed roofline for the porch overhang, which was then supported by a sequence of ornate machine-cut wood brackets. The style became more ornate in the 1890s when turned wood porch columns were used to support the front edge of the roof, and additional millwork ornament was added between the column capitals. On these later facades, the roof design commonly shifted from a hipped roof to a small gable section at the peak of the roof and a sloping apron beneath it that extended over the porch. The front porches of these houses were almost always decorated with railings, either set between the porch columns or between newel posts on those houses without porch columns. The railing balusters were generally cast-iron or turned wood.

The rooms of a shotgun house are lined up one behind the other. Typically, the living room is first, then one or two bedrooms, and finally a kitchen and bathroom in the back. Parents frequently slept in the first room and housed children in the middle bedroom in three-room shotguns. Early shotgun houses were not built with bathrooms. Instead, residents in shotgun communities often shared communal outhouses. In later years, part of the back porch was

converted to a bathroom, or a lavatory was added with a small hall before the last room of the house. Sometimes a restroom was added via a side addition built off the kitchen.

Figure 1. Shotgun House Floor Plan

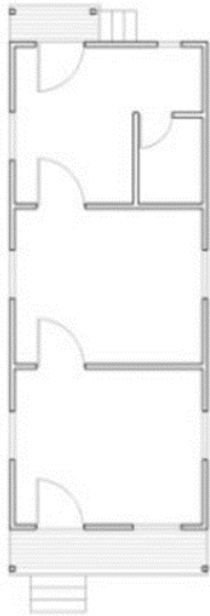
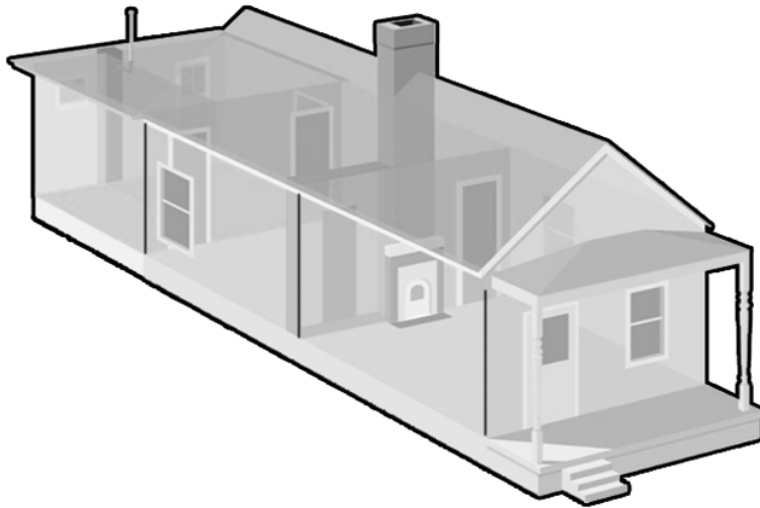


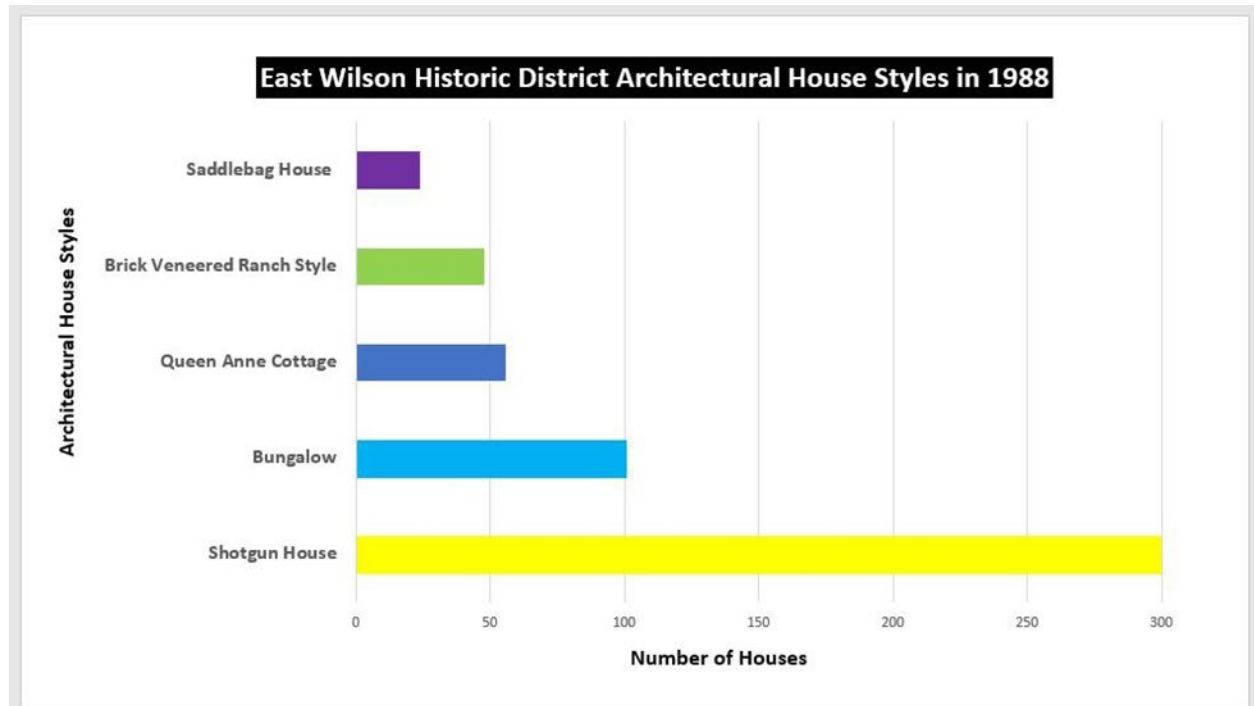
Figure 2. Axonometric Drawing of a Shotgun House



East Wilson Historic District

In North Carolina, shotgun houses were the predominant house type in numerous cities at the peak of the twentieth century. The largest and most intact shotgun houses were found in the East Wilson Historic District. The East Wilson Historic District was comprised of 1277 predominantly residential properties occupying 65 city blocks east of the Seaboard System Railroad tracks in Wilson. Of the 1277 buildings, structures, objects, vacant lots, and parks in the district, 868, or 68 percent, have been identified as contributing. The district is characterized by one and two-story frame dwellings, packed tightly together on 25 and 50-foot-wide lots. The district was listed on the National Register of Historic Places in 1988, and when listed, it was the largest working-class neighborhood of African Americans in North Carolina. The district is primarily composed of a rectangular grid of streets and lines with houses built between 1890 and 1940 for blacks primarily employed in Wilson's flourishing tobacco industry. The dwellings illustrated a variety of traditional Southern house types; however, shotgun houses were the most predominant architectural style (Mattson, 1988).

Figure 3. Architectural Styles in the East Wilson Historic District



East Wilson was mostly working-class like other African American districts of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Rental housing for the working people comprised the majority of the black working class, primarily the blacks employed in the tobacco industry. By the 1920s, the city of Wilson had grown into the nation's premier tobacco market center. As the population expanded in the district, the shotgun house type was erected in overwhelming numbers. Locally called the "end- way house," the long narrow front gable form, typically one room wide and three rooms deep (15 x 30 feet). The shotgun house was ideally suited to the narrow urban parcels and spread across the district in alarming numbers. Shotgun houses emerged in the early 1920s and then increased over the next decade, as illustrated in the Sanborn maps in Figure 4 and Figure 5. The 1922 Sanborn map depicts 331 shotgun houses, 31 percent of East Wilson's housing stock; no other house type was desired over such a long period (Mattson, 1988).

Figure 4. 1913 Sanborn Map

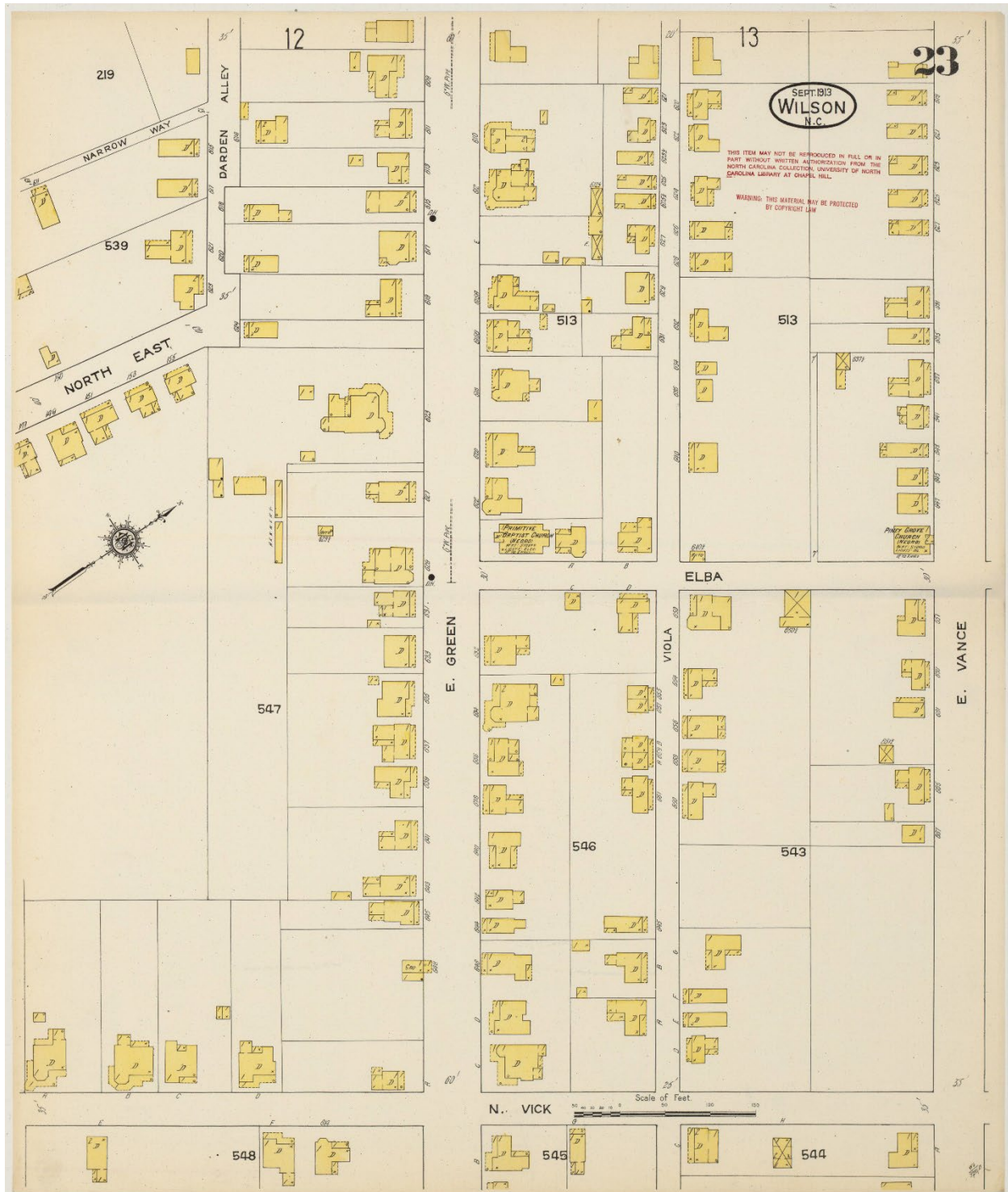
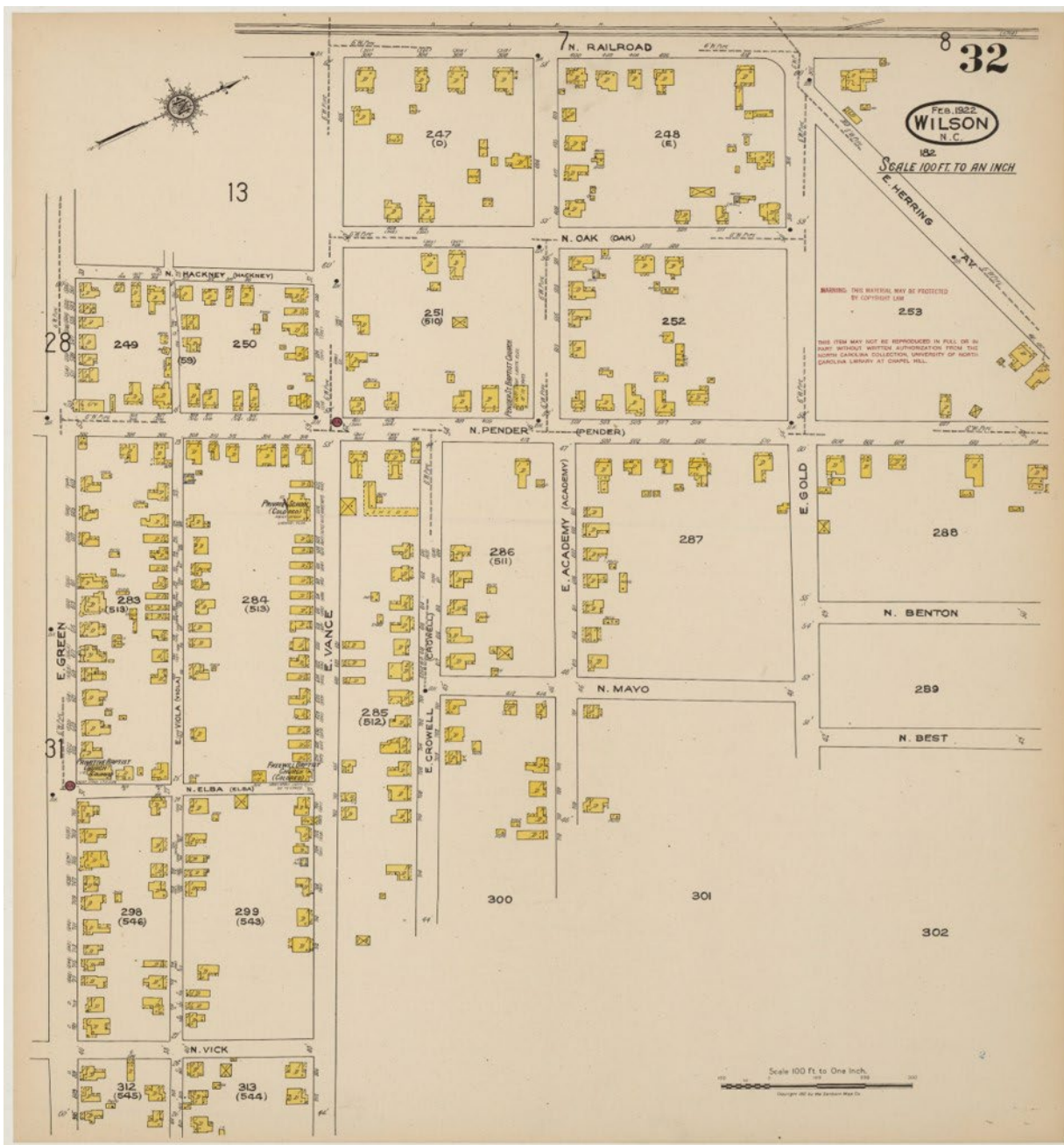


Figure 5. 1922 Sanborn Map



East Wilson's shotgun house types varied in their configurations. The most common version is the gable-end, triple pile form with a small back porch. The front entrance leads directly into the living room, followed by the bedroom, and kitchen to the rear. This house type

is illustrated in Figure 6, five turn-of-the-century examples are found along East Vance Street. The triple-pile shotgun built primarily in the 1910s is another popular version. The type consists of a main block two rooms deep and a gable-end kitchen wing to the rear. The alterations to the shotgun included porch posts and enclosed back porches; these adapted back porches housed bathrooms that were added between the 1930s and 1960s. The "double shotgun" appeared during the mid-1920s in small numbers. The interior space of the shotgun houses was purposeful to maximize space. The rooms were aligned in a single row without the use of an interior hallway. (Mattson, 1988)

Figure 6. Historic image of Shotgun Houses on East Vance Street circa 1988.



The Power of Place and Historic Preservation

Preservationist Tom Mayes started a blog in the Fall of 2013 entitled, “Why Do Old Places Matter?” as a forum to start a public conversation on the various aspects of preservation. He writes:

This series of essays will explore the reasons that old places are good for people. It begins with what I consider the main reason – that old places are important for people to define who they are through memory, continuity, and identity – that “sense” of orientation” referred to With Heritage So Rich. These fundamental reasons inform all of the other reasons that follow commemoration, beauty, civic identity, and the reasons that are more pragmatic – preservation as a tool for community revitalization, the stabilization of property values, economic development, and sustainability. The notion that old places matter is not primarily about the past. It is about why old places matter to people today and for the future. It is about why old places are critical to people’s sense of who they are, to their capacity to find meaning in their lives and to see a future (Mayes, 2014).

Mayes is speaking not only to the public but also to his academic contemporaries. The topics that he considers to be meaningful for the act of preservation include continuity, memory, individual identity, civic identity, beauty, history, architecture, sacred, creativity, learning, sustainability, community, economics, and ancestors (Mayes, 2015).

In 2014, Clement Alexander Price wrote,

I have confessed that I am a recent convert to the importance of preservation in my professional life as an academic and public historian. I have given thought to the deeper meaning of how, in subtle ways, the power of place, and a personal interest in preserving places and memories dear to me have shaped me and my contemporaries’ scholarship on the making and remaking of the nation (Price, 2014, p.23).

Price asserts that his power of place is grounded and begins with his maternal grandmother, Lillian White Spann, in his article titled, “The Path to Big Mama’s House: Historic Preservation, Memory, and African- American History” writes:

The fundamental methods of the preservation movement continue to spring from and tend to contribute to the designation and protection of properties associated with prominent, white, male architects and their wealthy clients, just as they did for most of the 20th century. The goals of the preservation movement have evolved. The historic preservation movement has shifted its efforts to include historical narratives, memories, places, and sites. Big Mamma’s House exemplifies why the contemporary historic preservation movement is intensely meaningful to the power of place and how it coincides with powerful memories (Price, 2014, p. 26)

The notion of the power of place suggests that place somehow has the potential to influence behavior, attitude, and beliefs. A sense of place has deeply shaped African American history and culture. A multifaceted range of African American communities and identities have formed and changed in all corners of the country and in turn influenced the regions around them. East Wilson is a place where culture is made, where traditions and histories are kept and lost, and where identities are created, tested, and reshaped over time.

History is part of what makes us distinctly human, and it has the capacity to deepen and enrich our conceptions of ourselves and of our place in the world. The European Charter of the Architectural Heritage states:

The past as embodied in the architectural heritage provides the sort of environment indispensable to a balanced and composite life. In the face of a rapidly changing civilization in which brilliant successes are accompanied by grave perils, people today have an instinctive feeling for the value of this heritage. This heritage should be passed onto future generations in its authentic state and in all its variety as an essential part of the memory of the human race. Otherwise, part of man's awareness of his own continuity will be destroyed (Council of Europe, 1975, pg.1)

In the book title, *Managing Built Heritage: The Role of Cultural Values and Significance*, Bond and Worthing states:

Historic buildings are a precious and finite asset, and powerful reminders to us of the work and way of life of earlier generations. The richness of this country's architectural heritage plays a powerful part in our sense of national identity and our enjoyment of our surroundings (Bond, Worthing, 2016).

According to Bond and Worthing -many feel powerless and excluded when the historical contribution of their group to society is not celebrated. Their personal heritage does not appear to be considered by those who make decisions. Worthing goes on to mention if the barriers to involvement are overcome, the historic environment has the potential to strengthen a sense of community and provide a solid basis for neighborhood renewal (Bond, Worthing,

2016, pg.57).

To black communities, the shotgun house served as a singular object that stood in clear and defiant contrast to the white aesthetic. The shotgun house is an external sign of difference, which was related to ethnicity as well as independence. African Americans could and did affect their own architectural environment with shotgun homes providing a necessary source of pride and sense of place.

Emerging preservation research demonstrates that the connections between people and place are involved. The acknowledgment of every place is important to retain an unfiltered history. Place creates a space to reflect, gaining a greater understanding of generating conversations about the past and future.

While historic preservation protects the historic, architectural, and aesthetic character and heritage of a community, it also provides a *sense of place and continuity*. In 1992, Richard L. Mattson wrote, “The examination of the historic architecture and other landscape elements of one (black) community is an important first step toward understanding the contours of black cultural landscapes as they evolved in southern cities” (Mattson, 1992, p.145).

In recognition of the value of America's cultural resources, Congress established the National Historic Preservation Act (NHPA) in 1966 sanctioning historic buildings to be utilized for the public benefit and to preserve the national heritage. Buildings, archeological sites, structures, objects, and historic districts all qualify as cultural resources according to the National Register for Historic Places. The East Wilson Historic District was nominated in 1988 to the National Register. The district represents the first of a few black communities in North Carolina that were scheduled for nomination under the Supervision of the Division of Archives and History. As black districts were being explored, the accumulating historical and architectural

data produced a depth of understanding concerning Afro-American cultural landscape (Mattson, 1988).

Community Revitalization

In 2010, Andrew Hurley wrote, “Historic preservation has enormous potential for enriching the urban experience. At its best, it not only invigorates local economies but strengthens communities by nurturing a deeper attachment to place, greater levels of social cohesion, and a collective agenda for local development” (Hurley, 2004, p.10). Historic preservation has become a catalyst for urban regeneration, but historic preservation has not been an unmitigated success. In short, it has fallen short in fostering stable and strong communities. Hurley highlights specific ways of how community revitalization could be used as a tool to highlight the historical significance of a community. He states, “Indeed, involving communities at the grass roots in the historical interpretation of their neighborhoods is empowering because the very act involves them in the production of that space” (Hurley, 2004, p. 53).

Project Row House

Project Row Houses occupies a significant footprint in Houston’s Historic Third Ward, one of the city’s oldest African American neighborhoods. The site encompasses five city blocks and houses 39 structures that serve as a home base to a variety of community-enriching initiatives, art programs, and neighborhood development activities.

Seven visionary African American artists working in Houston in 1993 recognized real potential in a block and a half of derelict shotgun houses at the corner of Holman and Live Oak. Where others saw poverty, these artists saw a future site for positive, creative, and transformative experiences in the Third Ward. Together they began to explore how they could be a resource to the community and how art, freed from traditional studio practice, could be an engine for social

transformation. In 1993, they transformed 22 houses and greatly impacted both a neighborhood and the black neighbors of this district.

For almost thirty years, the community they built has brought together groups and pooled resources to materialize sustainable opportunities for artists, young mothers, small businesses, and Third Ward residents, helping to cultivate independent change agents by supporting people and their ideas so that they have tools and capacity to do the same for others.

The programs at Project Row House impact under-resourced neighbors, young single mothers with the ambition of a better life for themselves and their children, small enterprises with the drive to take their business to the next level, and artists interested in using their talents to understand and enrich the lives of others. The organization's missions encompass art, community enrichment, and neighborhood development. Project Row Houses serves as an excellent example of community engagement practices utilizing the shotgun house.

North Carolina Shotgun Initiatives

Triad Cultural Arts a nonprofit in Winston Salem, North Carolina vision is to development of a local heritage site in Happy Hill, Winston-Salem's oldest Black neighborhood utilizing two shotgun houses. These architecturally significant structures are among the last remaining houses in the city. The restoration and rehabilitation of these two historic shotgun houses are that they and their landscape would serve as anchors for the Historic Tour of the Happy Hill Neighborhood. The public will have the immersive experience to understand the Black landscape and cultural heritage of the residents who occupied the Happy Hill community.

The West Side Community Land Trust is a nonprofit organization created by neighbors to organize and empower the West Charlotte community to preserve and develop their neighborhoods as a whole in the face of rapid reinvestment and subsequent displacement of long-

time residents. The West Side Community Land Trust has taken possession of two shotgun houses and has moved them to the West Charlotte's Lakeview community. The homes will undergo rehabilitation and become affordable housing for two future families.

Once huddled together behind the former AME Zion Church on 7th Street once sat two little houses with a big Charlotte history. Both homes once stood on Bland Street in a bustling community known then as "Blandville." But, after Charlotte's urban renewal efforts in the 1970s, they were the only two left when the City Council designated them as historic properties. In January 1986, the homes were moved to 7th Street to sit behind the Afro-American Cultural Center, which moved to Stonewall Street as the Harvey B. Gantt Center for African American Arts + Culture in 2009, leaving the houses behind.

Faltering substantially under decades of devastation and mass abandonment, neighborhood gentrification, and contemptuous urban planning, the pervasive shotgun which once blanketed innumerable neighborhoods, now only dots the vast American landscape. Standing firm nonetheless, these remaining humble abodes still evoke nostalgia for —the good old days when neighbors functioned like extended family members and communities provided critical social, emotional and economic support.

Given our current fascination with the production and evolution of African American vernacular spaces, our intrigue with small architecture in a world facing substantial environmental and population concerns, and our modern understanding and appreciation for the past, the shotgun floods our collective memory of how we as Americans made our society, and how we as families, struggled, survived - determined to create a better future.

After housing untold generations of people of African descent who, survived the transatlantic slave trade, American slavery, and a myriad of other types of oppression, thousands

of shotgun homes remain standing. They have morphed into a variety of forms giving rise to a unique language of architectural typology. Over time these homes have undergone a variety of changes to better adapt to the needs of the centuries of families they have served. Shotguns, inextricably tied to our past, seem certain to play a part in our future.

Shotgun homes remain on today's American landscape with thousands of homeowners and tenants living in them across the nation. They offer a viable solution to the housing shortage as they no longer symbolize the negative imaginary of the past. Given that many shotguns in neighborhoods were obliterated by the 1950s, many younger Americans have no knowledge of the housing type, or the negative stereotypes associated with it. Expanding architectural choices have recast the shotgun house as an affordable and attractive housing alternative. Quality built, small and affordable homes are desirable to both renters and buyers. These small homes that were once defined as symbols of poverty are now respected as innovative, practical and sustainable structures that serve as a symbol of cultural pride.

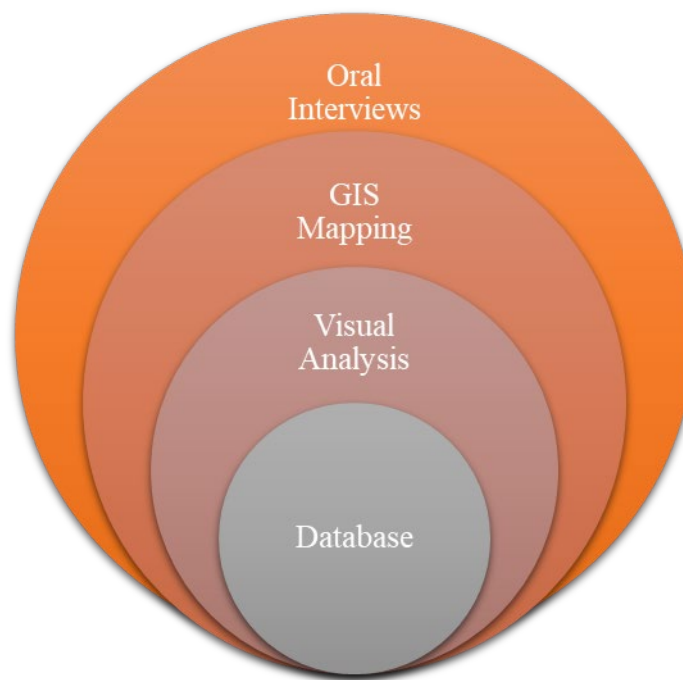
CHAPTER III: METHODOLOGY

This research project is an exploratory investigation in a sequential mixed method format. A sequential mixed methods strategy is appropriate when “quantitative data and results [are used] to assist in the interpretation of qualitative findings” (Creswell, 2014, p. 217). This mixed-methods study intends to document the changes to the shotgun houses and streetscape character over time in the East Wilson Historic District since it was listed on the National Register of Historic Places in 1988. My research findings highlighted only the shingle shotgun houses because they were more prevalent in the East Wilson Historic District.

A qualitative analysis that requires an inductive process of inquiry is ideal for this particular type of research where previous documentation does not exist. Because this type of study has not been done before, it is not clear what conclusions can be expected; therefore, a focus on interpretation and meaning is key. One of the strategies of inquiry for qualitative research is the case study. A case study “investigates a contemporary phenomenon (the “case”) in its real-world context, especially when the boundaries between phenomenon and context may not be clearly evident” (Yin, 2014, p. 2). Case study research is ideal for studying complex social phenomena, such as neighborhood change, in which a researcher is not able to control or manipulate variables (Yin, 2014). According to Yin, “the case study’s unique strength is its ability to deal with a full variety of evidence – artifacts, documents, interviews, and observations – beyond what might be in a conventional historical study” (Yin, 2014, p. 12). Using replication logic, the evidence from a multiple-case study design is often considered more compelling and robust.

The purposeful selection of case study sites is a key component of qualitative research in order to best select a subject with the desired phenomenon in question (Creswell, 2009). In order to be selected as an eligible case study for this thesis, the archival photograph of the East Wilson Historic district must have included streetscapes with clear documentation of the structure's exterior. The four phases of the study are described in detail below. Figure 7 explains the sequence of the steps that were undertaken.

Figure 7. Sequential Mixed Methods Strategy



Phase One: Architectural/ Historic Resource Survey

The National Register Nomination Form includes a general description of the district, justification for nomination to the National Register of Historic Places, and property descriptions of every structure within the district along with a determination of whether it is contributing or non-contributing to the historic character of the district. This form was the basis of research conducted in East Wilson.

Archival photographs were taken of the neighborhood to give a sense of the range of properties within the district at the time of listing to the National Register of Historic Places. The National Register form lists rationale for initial determination of historic character, and further provides a baseline of information for determining what has changed over the years when compared to current photos. The list of shotgun houses notated within the nomination form established the addresses for the database.

A database was generated utilizing excel spreadsheet of the remaining 90 single shotgun houses in the East Wilson District. (See Appendix A.) The database included street addresses, ownership, property values, ratio of rental versus owner-occupied culled from the following information from Wilson County Tax Records. The architectural/material integrity and condition of each single shotgun house. The date of construction, foundation materials, roof shape, roof materials, and ventilation detail of the front gable. The front elevation of the shotgun house was assessed in great detail by documenting the condition and material integrity of the front door and window. The front porch details and landscape were assessed and documented in the database. Additional notes were recorded if the house revealed architectural floor plan changes and significant notes from the National Register Nomination were included only if it revealed distinctive features or alterations. The list of abbreviations below is necessary to identify architectural language included in the East Wilson Historic District database.

Abbreviation Key:

Occupancy

R/O = rental/ occupied

V = vacant

O/O = owner occupied

Mtl. Intg. = Material Integrity

H = High need short definitions

M = Medium

L = Low

Cndt. = Condition

G = Good need short definitions

F = Fair

D = Deteriorated

R = Ruinous

Covering

SS > AS = Standing Seam metal roof replaced with asphalt shingles

W > AL = Wooden clapboards covered with aluminum siding

W > VL = Wooden clapboards covered with vinyl siding

Br Vn = Brick veneer added

Prim. Orig. Ext. Material = Primary Original Exterior Material

Vinyl = Vinyl siding

Alum = Aluminum Siding

Wd C = Wood clapboards

Mas. = Masonite

B&B = board and batten (is this wood?)

Br Ven = Brick veneer

Fdtn. = Foundation

CB = Concrete block

Br = Brick

CBP = Concrete block with Piers

BrP = Brick with Piers

CBL = Concrete block with Wooden Lattice

StSM = Stamped sheet metal covering

Roof

FG = front gable

SG = Side gable

Hip = Hip

FG SS = Front gable, standing seam metal

SG SS = Side gable, standing seam metal

Hip SS = Hip, standing seam metal

FG AS = Front gable, asphalt shingles

SG AS = Side gable, asphalt shingles

Hip AS = Hip, asphalt shingles

Vent. Det. = Porch Gable Vent

Yes

No

Shape = Original, Diamond, Rectangle

F.D. = Front Door

FDO = Front Door Original

FDR = Front Door Replaced

FDB = Front Door Boarded up

F.W. = Front Window

FWO = Front Window Original

FWR = Front Window Replaced

FWB = Front Window Boarded up

Pch. Rf. = Porch Roof

SR = Shed Roof

HR = Hip Roof

FG = Front Gable

Frnt. Pch. Det. = Front Porch Details

No = No details

ITP = Intact Turned Posts

EPSS = Engaged porch with side steps

UWP = Unpainted Wood Porch

PWP = Painted Wood Porch

CIPP = Cast Iron Porch Posts

PSS = Porch Side Steps

MR = Metal Railing

WP = Wood porch with 3 wood porch posts with railings

C = Porch Chairs Present

FV = Flower vases/planters around front porch

EP = Enclosed Screen Porch

MDPP = Metal Decorative Porch Posts

Site Am. = Site Amenities

No = None

F = Flowers planted in front yard

S = Shrubbery in front yard

OB = Outbuilding present

FE = Fenced in Front Yard

VG = Vegetable Garden

The information gathered for the database utilized several sources. Confirmation of the street addresses for the database was generated by driving through the East Wilson Historic District and locating the remaining shotgun houses and recording their addresses and cross

checking the addresses with the East Wilson Historic District National Register of Historic Places Registration Form.

The date of construction, architectural style description, if the property was contributing or non-contributing to the district when the nomination was completed was retrieved from the East Wilson Historic District National Register of Historic Places Registration Form.

The occupancy of the shotgun house was determined by fieldwork through observation and the existing condition of the property. The ownership and property values were retrieved from Wilson County Tax Record.

Once the shotgun houses were located, the current condition and architectural/material integrity of the exterior of each shotgun house was visually assessed from the public right of way utilizing the North Carolina State Historic Preservation Office Historic Property Field Data Form. (See Appendix B).

Phase Two: Geographic Information System Mapping Technology

G.I.S. (Geographic Information System) maps were created by student Jessica Miller, a graduate student in the Geography, Environment, and Sustainability Department specializing in Geographic Information Systems. The shotgun house database excel file was shared with the student. The excel data was imported to ArcGIS utilizing the City of Wilson base map that included the East Wilson Historic District attribute points.

Phase Three: Visual Analysis and Fieldwork

I obtained scanned archival photographs taken at the time of the 1988 nomination with the assistance of the NC State Preservation Office staff. I then selected representative archival photos for comparison and then photographed the current conditions of the shotgun houses and

several streetscape views from the same perspective as the archival National Register nomination photographs.

Phase Four: Oral Interviews

Three oral interviews with long term residents were conducted to gain knowledge of the interior alterations of the shotgun houses and the changes that have occurred within the neighborhood. It is only by investigating domestic space from the interior – and comparing information to ideals established on the exterior – that we can begin to understand how houses actually worked or presented true experiences of the built environment (Adams, 1995).

In the fall of 2019, I visited four local churches to recruit volunteers that I have, or my family has affiliations within the Wilson Community. A brief announcement was made at the beginning of each service stating my intent to speak to long-term residents that have or currently reside in the shotgun houses of East Wilson. I informed the individuals that my research will highlight the significance of the historic district and generate more understanding of the changes that have occurred over the past forty years. I stayed for the entire church service and provided a flyer with my contact information at each church.

Two interviewees were recruited in this manner. After I purchased five shotgun houses in the East Wilson Historic District, I became a part of the community. Community members that currently reside in the shotgun houses were excited to share their stories, so the remaining interviewee was recruited in this manner.

Each interviewee was asked ten questions to prompt memories of their experience of living in the shotgun house in the East Wilson neighborhood. The following questions approved through the IRB review board were asked. Interviews were conducted on front porches and inside the interviewee's shotgun residence.

1. What are your fondest memories of living or visiting in this home as a child, teenager, adult? Where in the house did, they take place? Who were the people there? What activities took place? Do you remember how space was arranged/decorated?
2. On a day-to-day basis, which space did you enjoy being in the most and why? Did this space provide privacy, interactions with others, if so, whom and what type of interaction? How were this space and furniture arranged, was there daylight provided by windows, and what smell do you associate with this space?
3. Which area of the house would you call the heart of the home and why? What activities took place in this area, with whom, and when? How were space and furniture arranged, was there daylight provided by windows, and what smell do you associate with this are?
4. How were the space allocated in the house? Which space belonged to whom? Which spaces were shared, and which spaces were private if any?
5. What modifications or updates have been made to the house? Which features of the house do you like best and which features would you like to change and why?
6. Does/Did this house or neighborhood provide a sense of community? What neighborhood events or gatherings do you remember
7. In your opinion, is there a need to preserve this historic district, celebrate, and why?
8. How was your house different from your neighbors and community?
9. What are your fondest memories of the neighborhood?
10. What is most significant about the East Wilson neighborhood?

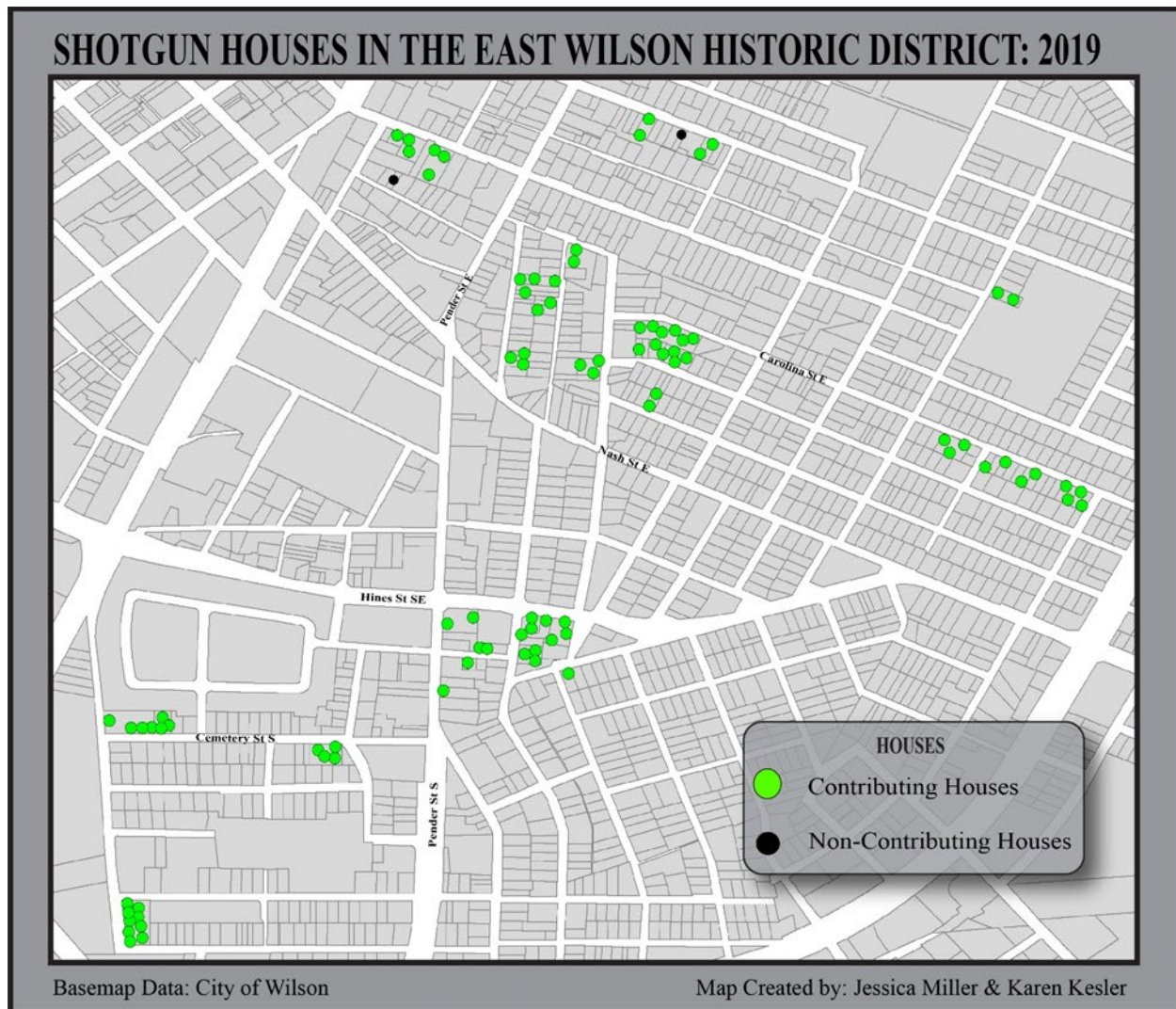
I examined and identified recurring themes, symbols, and motifs from my oral history interviews using paradigmatic analysis. Utilizing NVivo qualitative data analysis software, I

generated nodes, and then coded, directly from the data. After transcribing my interviews, I manually edited them and moved all material about a particular theme into “nodes,” which were arranged thematically. Such nodes included topics such as “black/white relationships,” “cultural heritage,” “proud to be Black,” “house,” “poor,” “front porch” among others. From there, I coded the interviews, highlighting key words, patterns, phrases, and moments where my participants go into detail about the importance shotgun house and the East Wilson community.

CHAPTER IV: ANALYSIS AND FINDINGS

The chapter provides an in-depth analysis to the research questions that were set forth at the beginning of this study. To address each question, it is divided into the following subsequent sections: Historic Architecture and Material Character Integrity, Visible Changes to the Historical Character, Ownership Patterns of the shotgun houses, and Oral interviews within the East Wilson Historic District. The information analyzed includes the remaining 90 shotgun houses, 88 contributing, and two non-contributing. Figure 8 illustrates the location of the remaining shotgun houses.

Figure 8: Shotgun Houses in the East Wilson Historic District



The Historic Architecture and Material Character Integrity addresses the first research question. The first research question was: How has the visual character of the shotgun houses in the historic district changed since nominated in 1988? 71% of the shotgun houses have high architectural and material integrity. The overall house form, roof shape, and front porch remain intact. Minor exterior changes include installing vinyl or aluminum siding and replacing standing seam metal roofing with asphalt shingles. Overall the original materials of the front door and

front window remain intact. A GIS map will illustrate areas within the district representing low, medium, and high architectural and material integrity shotgun houses.

The second research question was: What visible physical changes to the shotgun house streetscape in the historic district occurred since nominated in 1988? Overall, the original documented landscape across the historic district has remained intact. Concentrations of demolitions and infills were the most significant changes to the visual character. There were 301 shotgun houses in the East Wilson Historic District's inventory in 1988; 211 (70%) of the initially constructed shotgun houses have been demolished within the past 30 years. Maps of demolitions will address and provide a visual depiction.

The third question: how has the ownership of the shotgun houses in the historic district changes since nominated in 1988? 98.5 % of the shotgun houses are renter-occupied.

Oral interviews addressed the fourth research question: what modifications have been made to the interiors of the shotgun houses and the community's cultural heritage since nominated in 1988? The overarching themes extracted from the oral histories consist of community engagement, the importance of the front porch, and living in poverty. Still, the community was culturally rich and focused on the connotation of pride and belonging.

Historic Architecture and Material Character Integrity

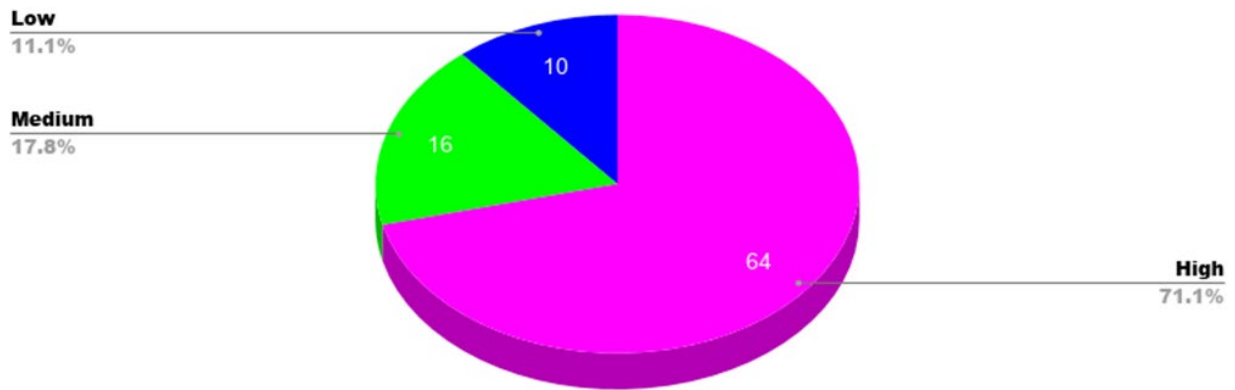
The first question of the thesis was: How has the visual character of the shotgun houses in the historic district changed since nominated in 1988? Based on the East Wilson Historic District National Register Nomination Form inventory list and the field survey Historic Property Field Data Documentation Form. No substantial change. The shotgun houses are generally intact and have retained their overall house form, original materials, roof shape, and front porch. Of the remaining 88 contributing shotgun houses, 64 (71.1%) retain high architectural and material

integrity. The high material integrity was categorized when the existing structure had retained its primary original exterior material, standing seam metal roofing, original front window, and front door. The high architectural integrity was categorized when the existing structure had retained the shotgun house form, original and simple front porch details, i.e., simple wood porch post or battered columns porch post.

Of the remaining 88 contributing shotgun houses, the other 26 (28.9%) retain medium to low integrity. The medium and low material integrity was categorized when the existing structure's primary original exterior material has been replaced with vinyl or aluminum siding; the replacement of standing seam metal roofing with asphalt shingles or asphalt rolled roofing; the front window and front door have been replaced with non-wood materials. The medium and low architectural integrity were categorized when the existing structure was altered, including enclosed front porches, porch posts, and railing modifications. The pie chart below depicts the architectural and material integrity of the shotgun houses in the East Wilson Historic District (see figure 9).

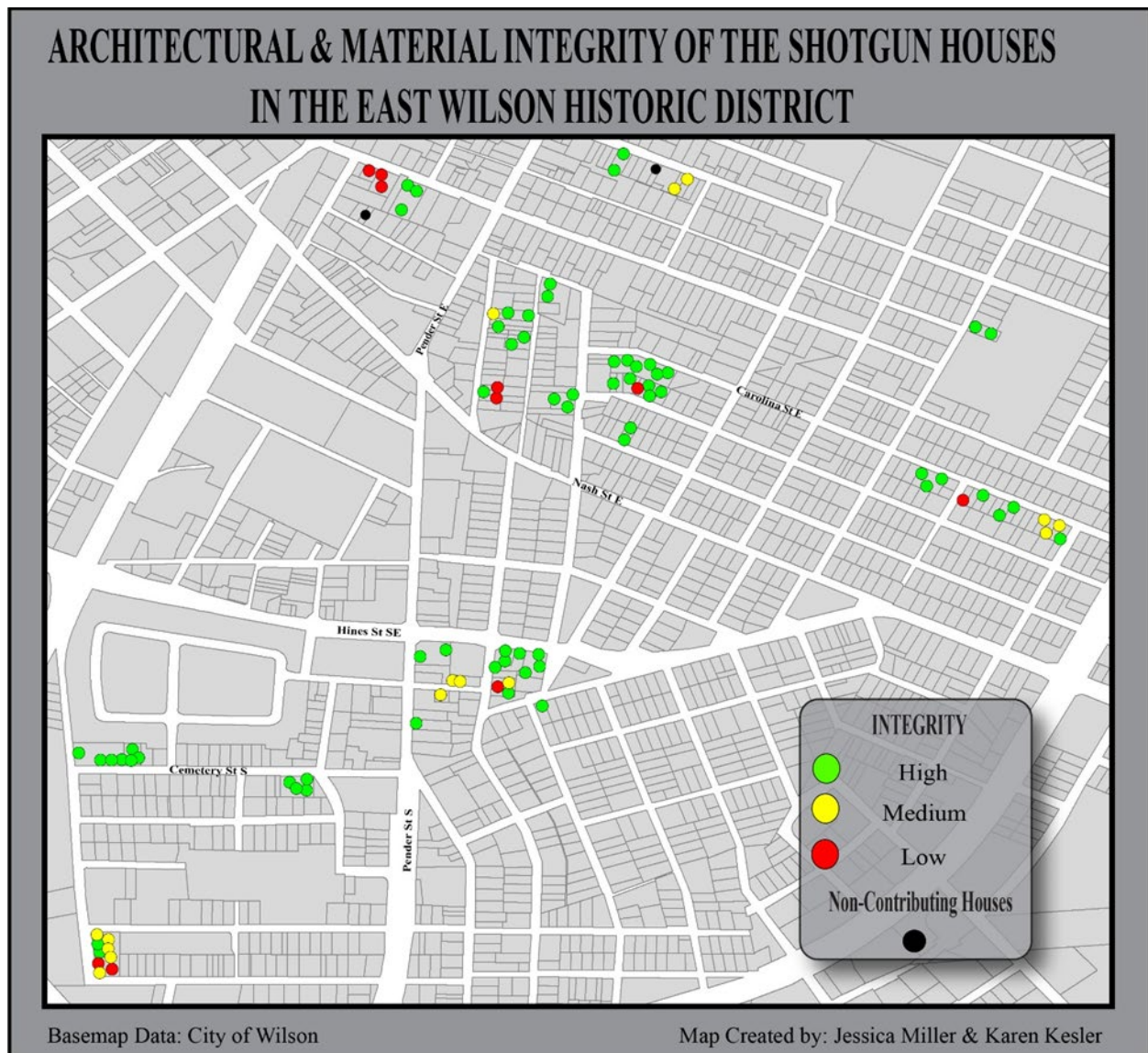
Figure 9: Architectural and Material Integrity of the Shotgun Houses in East Wilson

Architectural & Material Integrity - Shotgun Houses in East Wilson



In addition to the pie chart, the following series of GIS maps illustrates the shotgun houses' architectural and material integrity locations within the East Wilson Historic District. The existing structures that have medium to low integrity are clustered together within the district; this information was analyzed further and determined that these shotgun houses have the lowest property values within the district (see figure 10).

Figure 10: Architectural and Material Integrity GIS Map



The GIS maps Figures 11 and 12 below illustrate the primary original exterior material in 1988 and contrast those materials to the existing exterior material documented in 2019. In 1988, 70 (80%) of the remaining 88 contributing shotgun houses' primary original exterior material were wood clapboards, 8 (9%) were aluminum siding. The 1988 GIS map also depicts that vinyl siding was not used as the primary original exterior material when the houses were surveyed and

constructed in the early 1920s to late 1930s (see figure 12). The 2019 exterior wall material illustrates a resurgence of vinyl siding replacing wood clapboards. In 2019, 32 (36%) of the remaining 88 contributing shotgun houses' primary exterior were vinyl siding, 41 (46%) retained their primary original exterior material of wood clapboards. This information was analyzed and concluded that the visual character of the shotgun houses in the historic district has been retained with minimal substantial changes and high material integrity.

Figure 11: Exterior Wall Material in 1988 in East Wilson

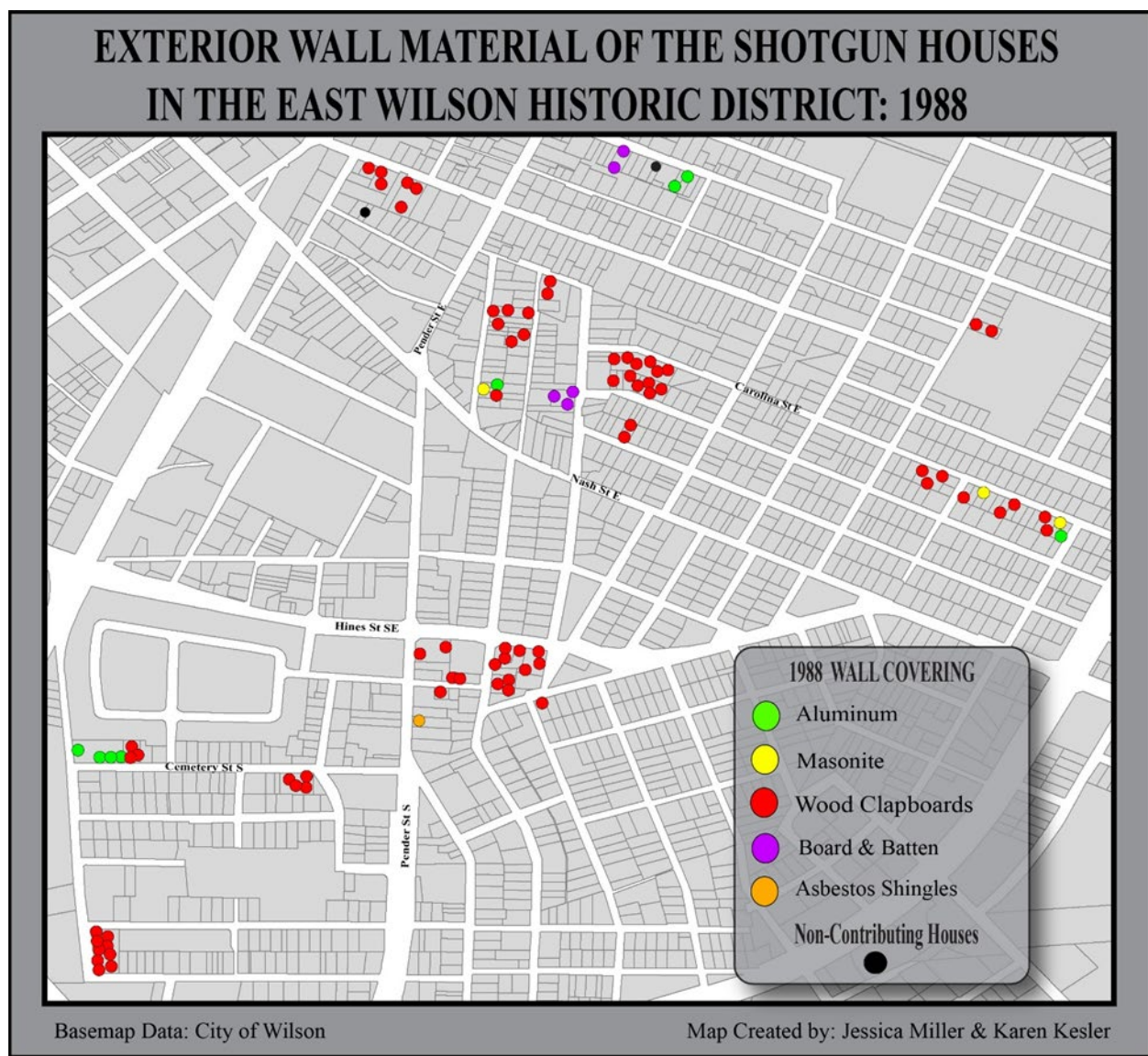
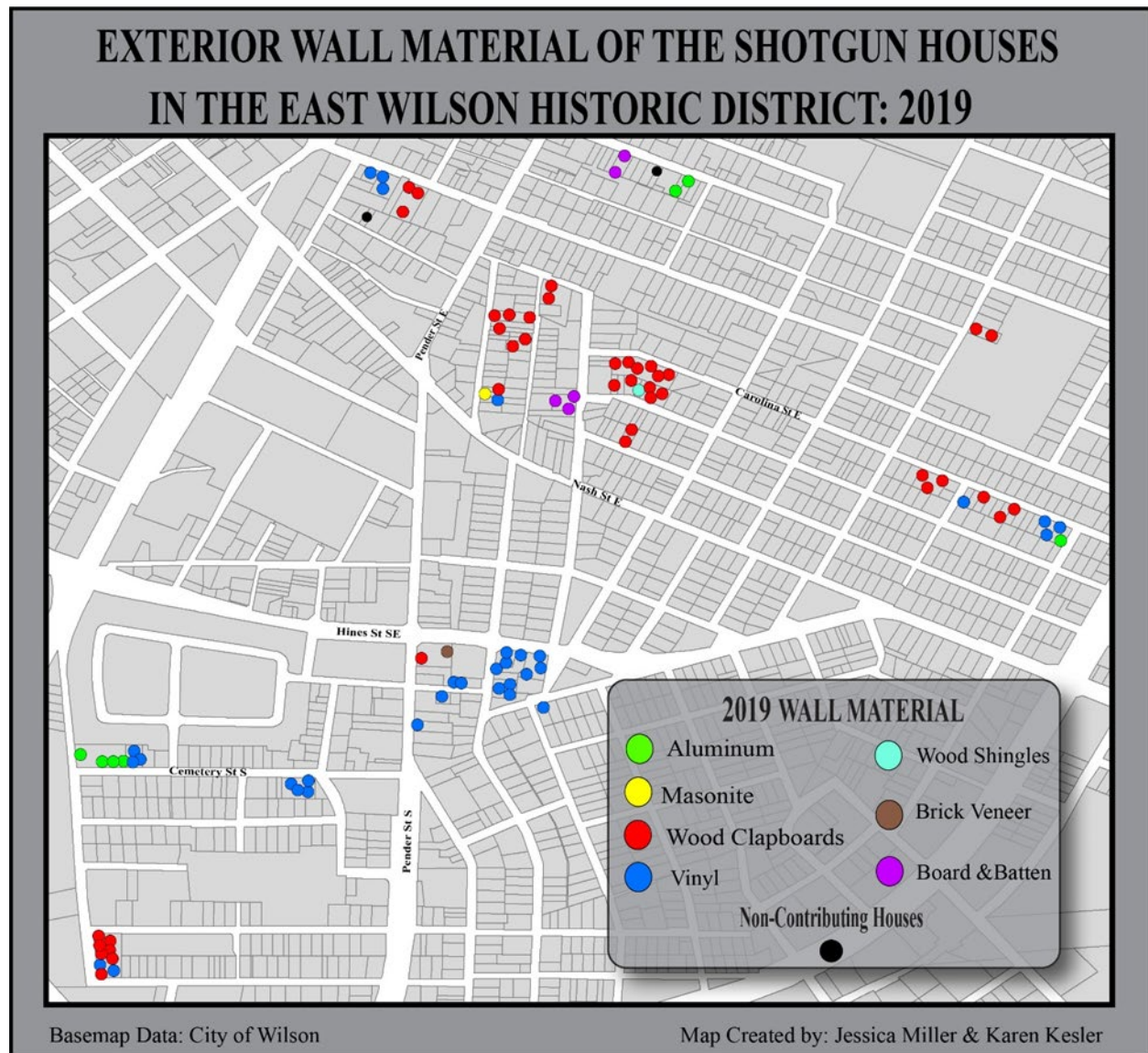


Figure 12: Exterior Wall Material in 2019 in East Wilson

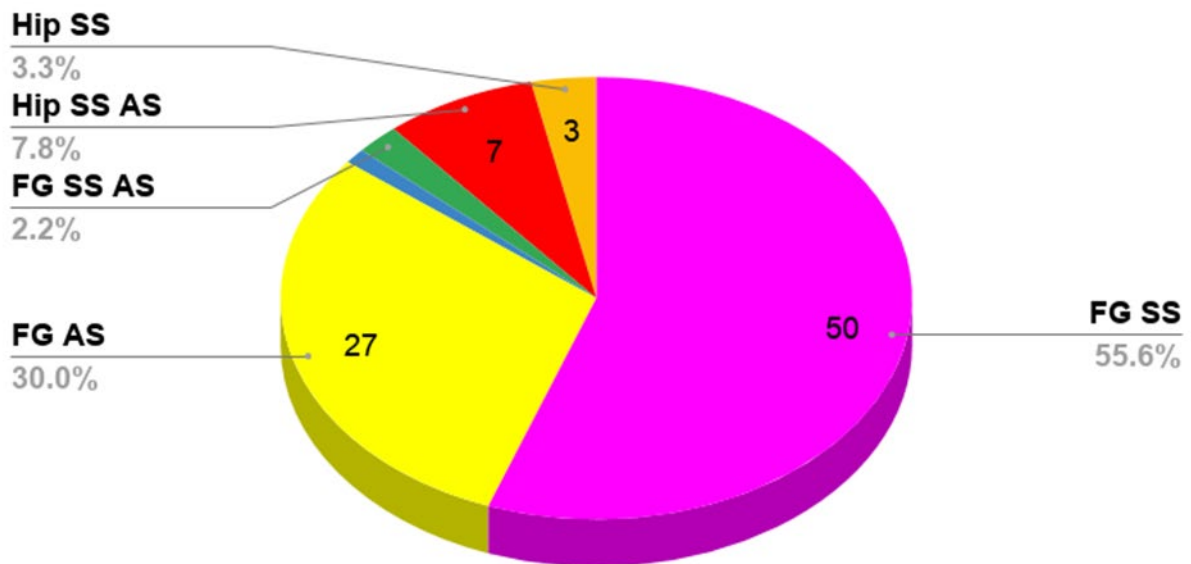


The high material integrity was categorized when the existing structure retained its primary original exterior material, standing seam metal roofing, original front window, and front door. Standing seam metal roofing was the original roof material when the houses were surveyed and constructed in the early 1920s to late 1930s. The pie chart Figure 13 below depicts the roofing material and front porch roof details of the 88 remaining contributing shotgun houses in

the East Wilson Historic District. In 2019, 53 (59%) shotgun houses have retained their original roofing material, and 27 (30%) original roofing material has been replaced with asphalt roof shingles. An insignificant number.

Figure 13: Front Porch Roof Detail and Material 2019 in East Wilson

Front Porch Roof Detail and Material East Wilson Historic District 2019



*Abbreviations Call Out Key:

FG SS: Front Gable Standing Seam

FG AS: Front Gable Asphalt Shingled

FG SS AS: Front Gable Standing Seam Asphalt Shingled

Hip SS AS: Hip Standing Seam Asphalt Shingled

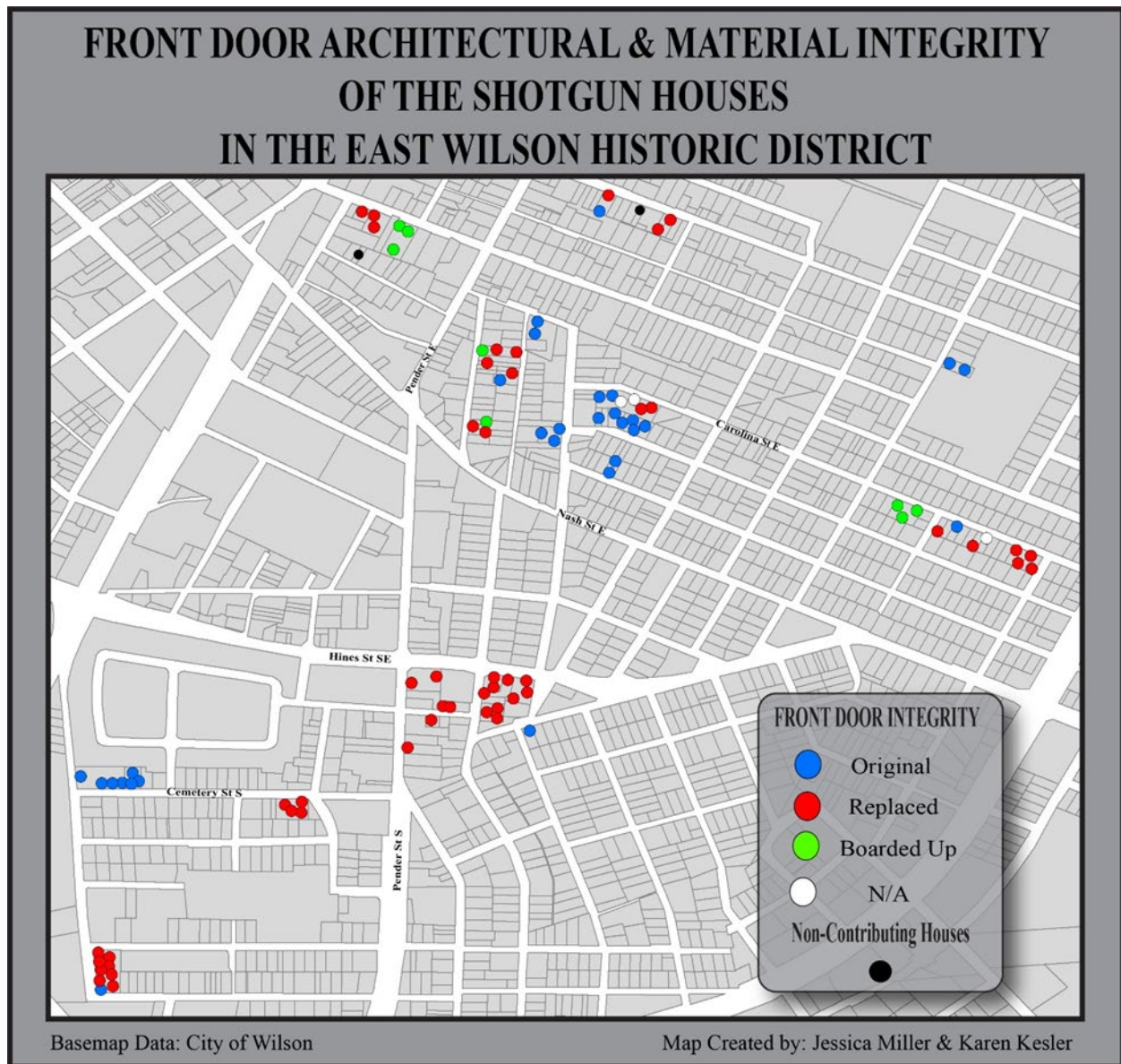
Hip SS: Hip Standing Seam

The retention of the original front door and the original front window was documented and analyzed to determine the architectural and material integrity of the remaining 88 contributing shotgun houses in the East Wilson Historic District. Based on historical images

recorded when the National Registration of Historic Places Nomination form was completed, the original front door material and configuration was a five-panel wood door. The original front window was four-over-four or one-over-one double-hung wood-framed window. The retention of these key defining features on the front façade is integral in the streetscape and landscape of the shotgun houses, contributing to the overall setting.

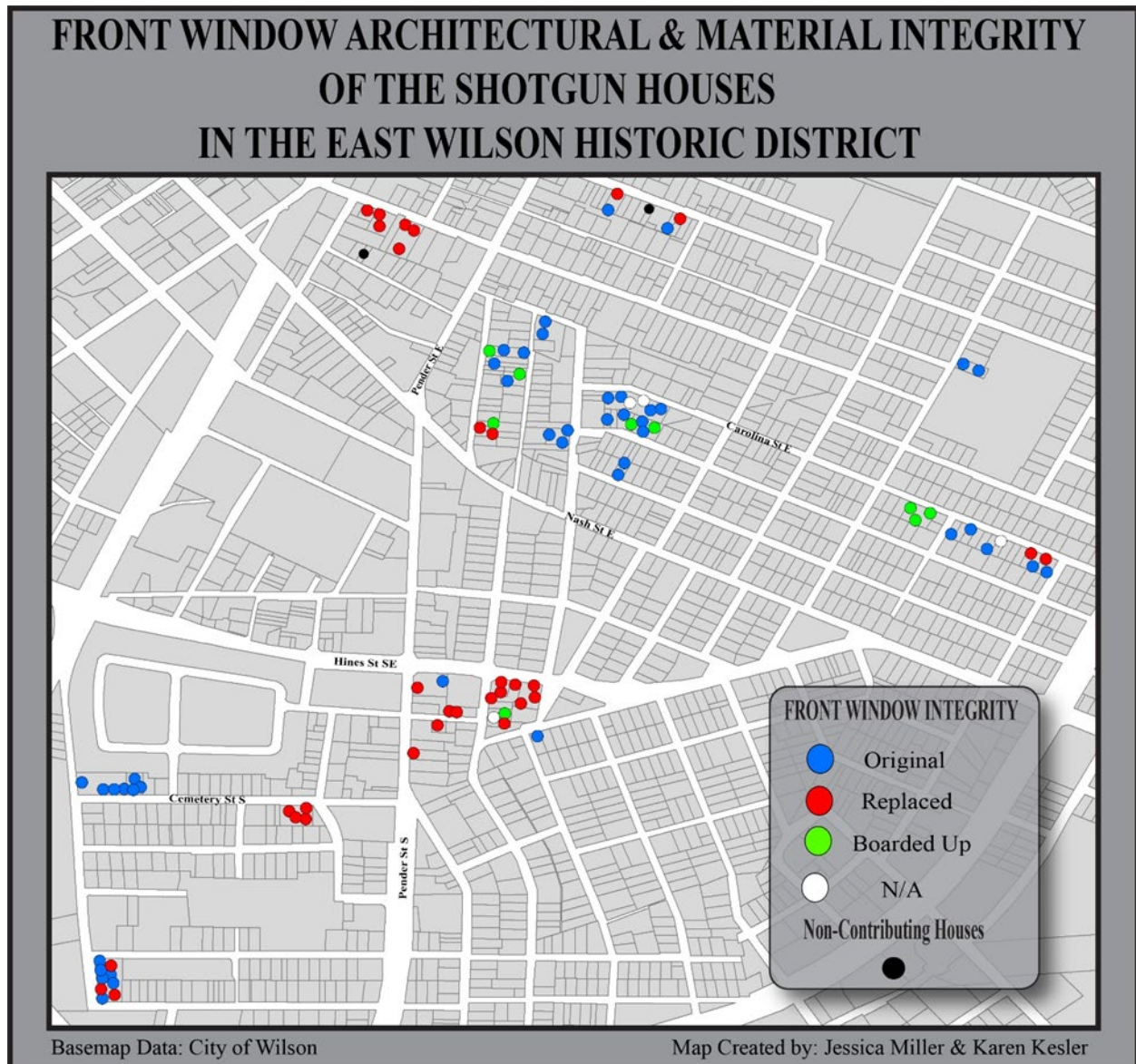
The GIS map figure 14 illustrate the retention of these original materials on the 88 remaining contributing shotgun houses. In 2019, 29 (33%) of the remaining 88 contributing shotgun houses had retained their original front doors, and 48 (55%) front doors had been replaced. The map also depicts that these changes have occurred in clusters within the district. Research further reveals that the clusters are in areas where the shotgun houses have seen a high level of rehabilitation, but the historical materials were not retained or utilized. The map reveals the vacant shotgun houses where the front door was not visible and boarded up appear in clusters. The vacancies and disinvestment within the shotgun houses in East Wilson are targeted in specific areas.

Figure 14: Front Door Architectural and Material Integrity in East Wilson



The GIS map figure 15 illustrate the retention of these original materials on the 88 remaining contributing shotgun houses. In 2019, 43 (49%) of the remaining 88 contributing shotgun houses retained their original front windows, and 32 (36%) front windows had been replaced.

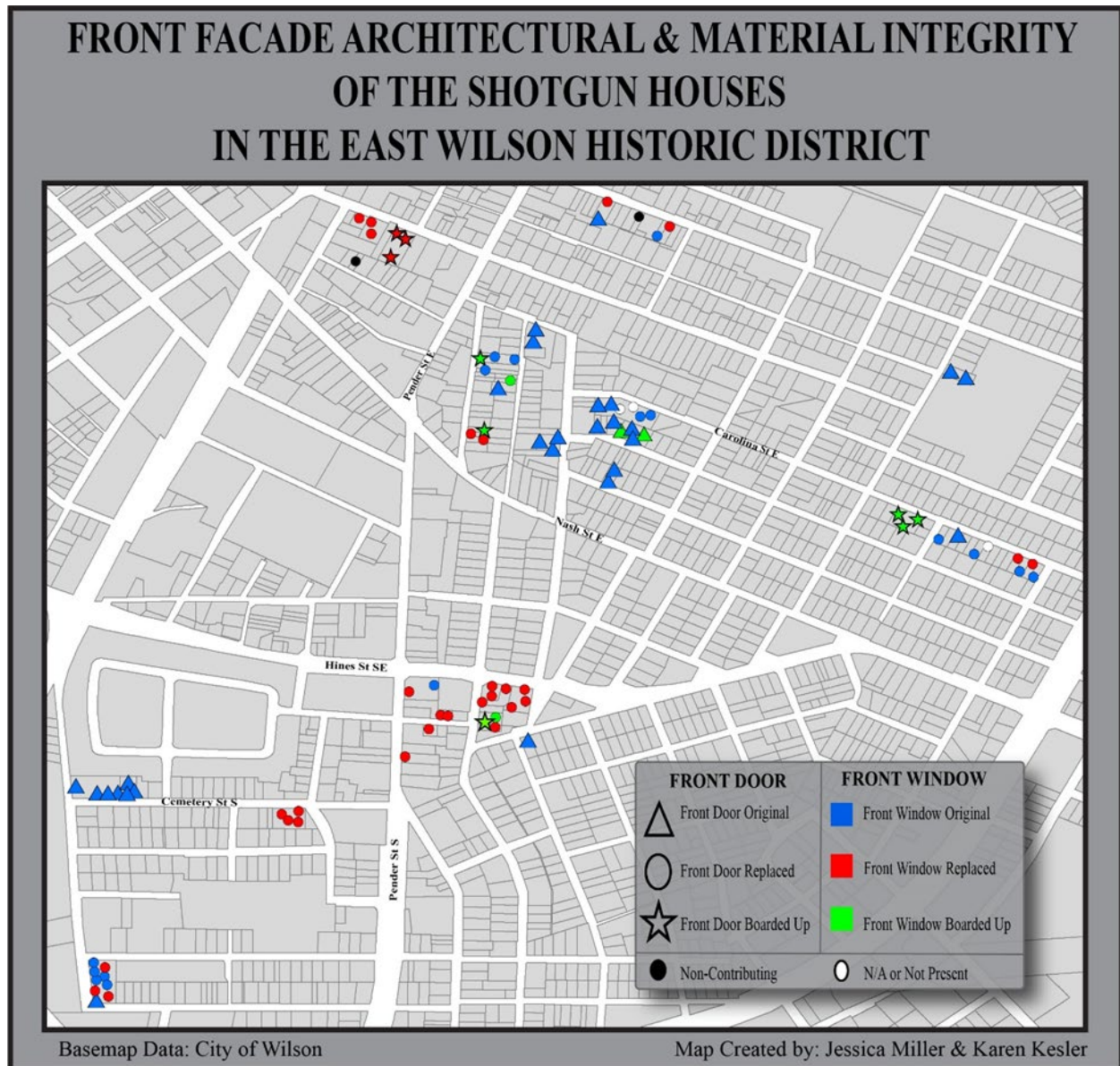
Figure 15: Front Window Architectural and Material Integrity in East Wilson



The GIS map Figure 16 illustrates the locations of the shotgun houses that have retained their original front door and original front window simultaneously. In 2019, 27 (30%) of the remaining 88 contributing shotgun houses had retained both their original front door and original

front window. The research does directly show that the original materials have been retained in clustered areas.

Figure 16: Front Façade Architectural and Material Integrity in East Wilson



The conditions of the shotgun houses in the East Wilson Historic District address the first research question: How has the shotgun houses' visual character changed since nominated in

1988? The condition is an assessment of the physical state of the property. In 2019, 77 (88%) of the remaining 88 contributing shotgun houses are in good and fair condition. The following images illustrate the determination that I used as a guideline to assign condition assessments.

Figure 17. 915 Washington Street, Wilson, NC.



Shotgun house that exhibits good condition. The exterior wood clapboards do not show areas of deterioration, and the foundation is sound. The original five-panel exterior wood door is intact.

Figure 18: 902 Wainwright Street, Wilson, NC.



Shotgun house exhibits fair condition. The aluminum siding does not show areas of deterioration. However, the simple wood porch posts need replacement and repainting.

Figure 19. 416 Green Street, Wilson, NC.



Shotgun house exhibits deteriorated condition. The exterior wood clapboards have several areas of deterioration. However, the stamped sheet metal foundation is intact and does not require extensive repair.

Figure 20. 901 Washington Street, Wilson, NC.



Shotgun house exhibits ruinous condition. The shed roof porch is in danger of collapsing because the end porch post has been removed.

The GIS map figure 21 illustrates the existing conditions of the shotgun houses in the East Wilson Historic District. The map depicts that the conditions of the shotgun houses are clustered in close proximity to each other. Research reveals that the clusters of fair, deteriorated,

and ruinous conditions are seen more in vacant shotgun houses. The vacancies and disinvestment within the shotgun houses in East Wilson are targeted in specific areas. The pie chart figure 22 illustrates the percentages of the conditions of the shotgun houses in the East Wilson Historic District.

Figure 21: Architectural and Material Conditions of the Shotgun Houses in East Wilson

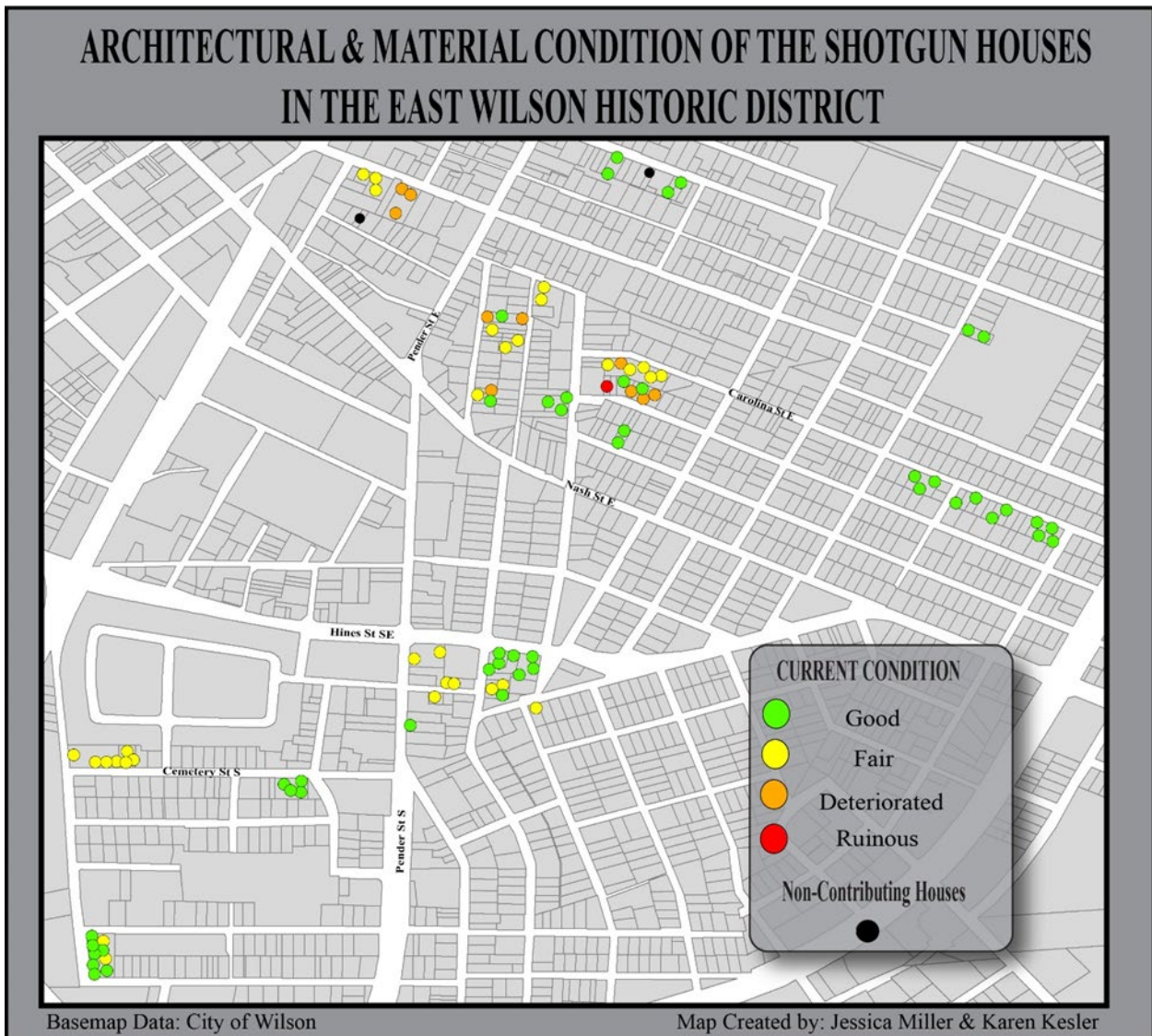
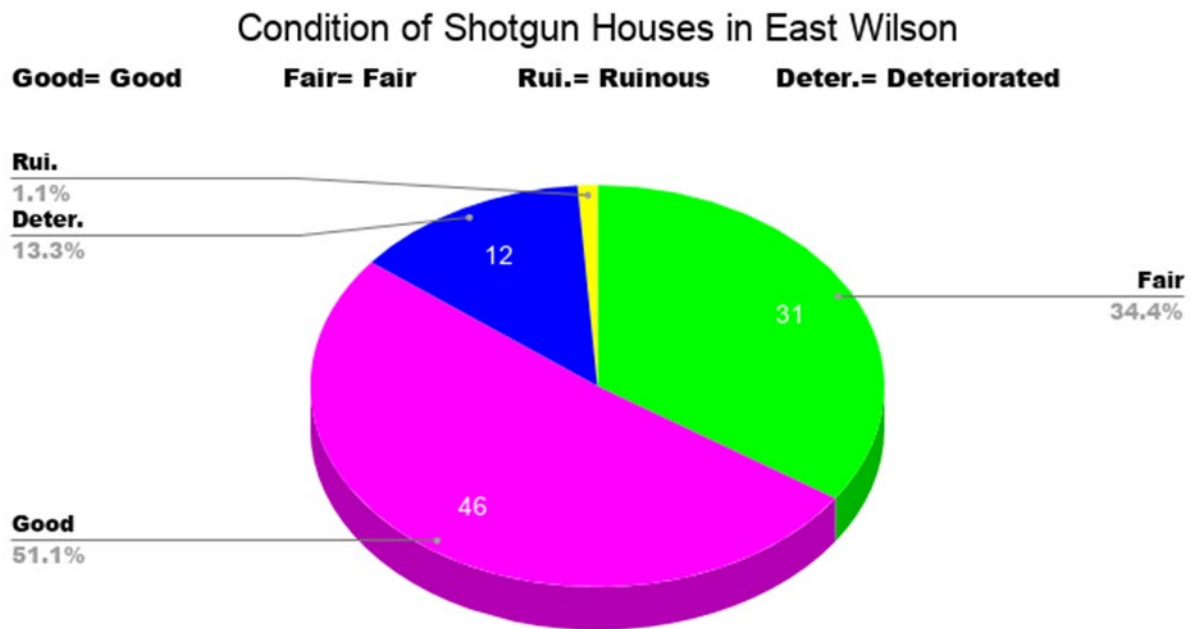


Figure 22: Architectural and Material Conditions of the Shotgun Houses in East Wilson



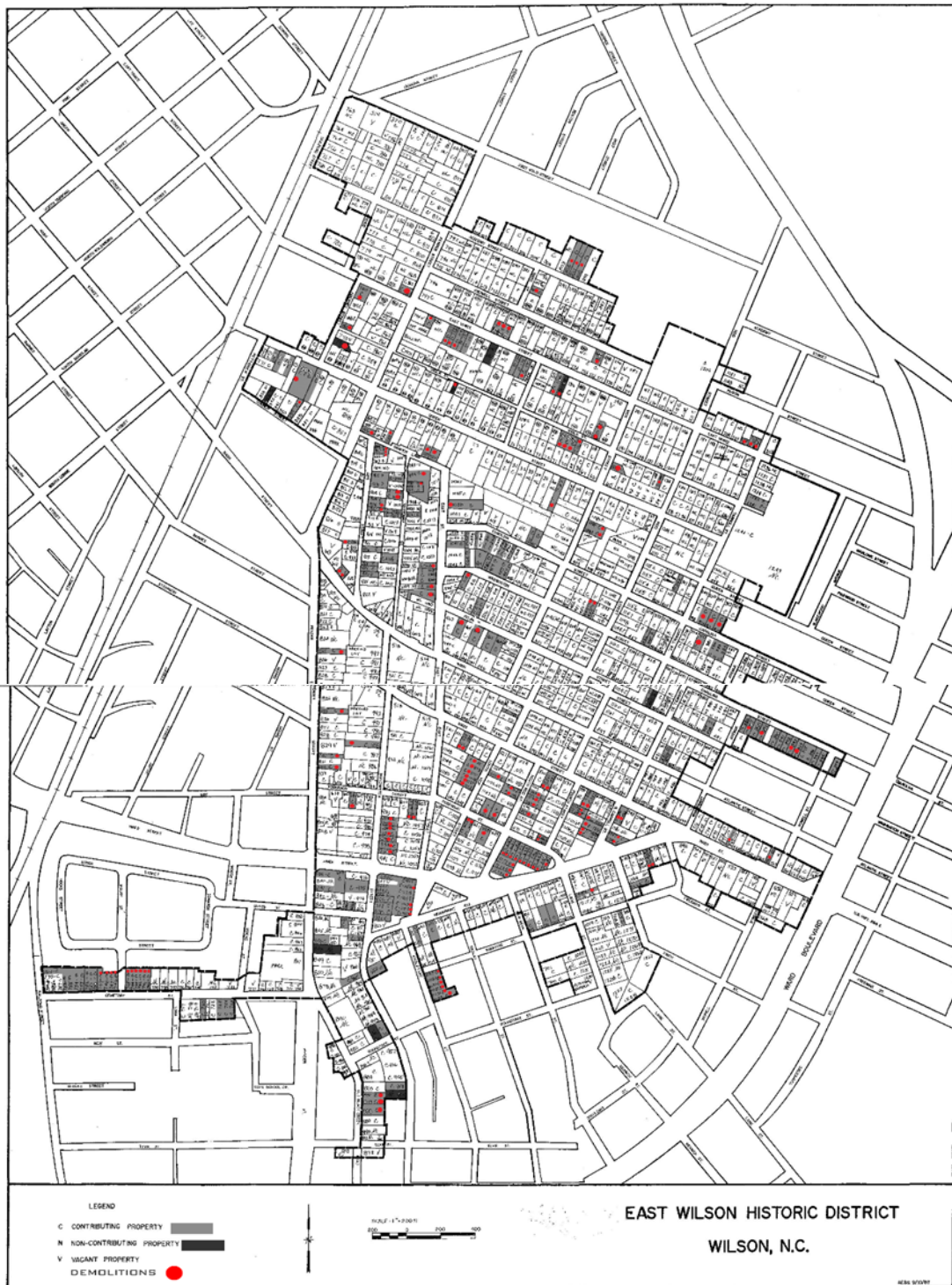
Visual Changes to the Historical Character

This section addresses the second question; what visible physical changes to the shotgun house streetscape in the historic district occurred since nominated in 1988? Demolition and incompatible infill are two significant changes to the neighborhood's visual character in direct conflict with preservation goals. There were 301 shotgun houses in the East Wilson Historic District's inventory in 1988; 211 (70%) of the initially constructed shotgun houses have been demolished within the past 30 years. The map below figure 23 was taken from the National Register of Historic Places Registration Form and it depicts the entire East Wilson Historic District. The parcels were shaded to illustrate the 301 shotgun houses (light grey illustrates the contributing structures, and dark grey illustrates the non-contributing structures) surveyed and documented in the 1988 nomination form. The shotgun houses that represent where demolitions

have occurred since 1988 are displayed in red. The map depicts that the demolitions occur in clusters throughout the district. The most concentrated areas of demolitions are located in the street boundaries of Nash Street, Roberson Street, South Vick Street, and Wainwright Ave.

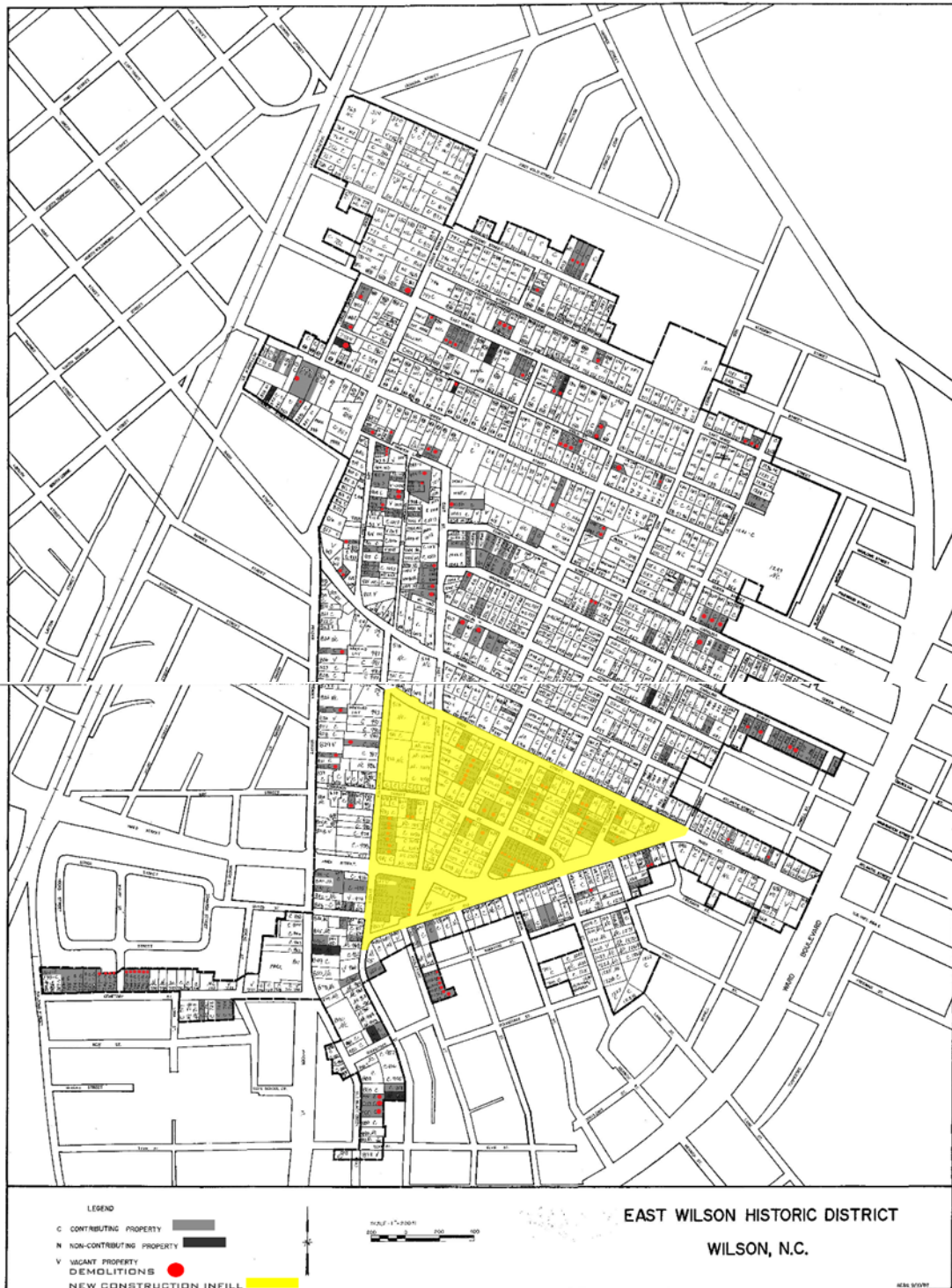
In 2012, Freeman Place was developed by the City of Wilson as an affordable housing community that offers energy-efficient single-family homes perfectly priced for first-time homebuyers. This plan contributes to the incompatible infill structures and is highlighted in yellow in map Figure 24.

Figure 23: 301 Shotgun Houses and Demolitions.



East Wilson Historic District 1988 Map taken from the National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form.

Figure 24: Non compatible new construction infill.



East Wilson Historic District 1988 Map taken from the National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form.

Through rehabilitation, the most notable investment areas were concentrated on Cemetery Street, the most extensive collection of existing shotgun houses on a single block. These properties are occupied, and their reinvestment signifies the importance of the existing shotgun housing stock within the district. The GIS map below figure 25, illustrates the shotgun houses located on the upper portion of Cemetery Street have the highest property values in the East Wilson District. The GIS map below figure 26, illustrates the rental ownership of the shotgun houses in the district. There is a clear and concise correlation between property values and ownership. The lowest property values located south of Pender Street are owned and managed by the Kentter Properties, LLC, illustrated with the cluster of royal blue dots. Another set of shotgun houses on Carolina Street possess low property values which is owned by Gray Bowie Jr., illustrated with the cluster of pink dots. This mere fact suggest that certain companies are not investing into the upkeep of their rental units and as a whole may not be interested in the architectural integrity of the East Wilson District shotgun houses. In contrary, Andrew Properties, Inc. owns the rehabbed houses on Cemetery Street, depicted on the GIS map which is illustrated with the cluster of red dots.

Figure 25: Property Values of the Shotgun Houses in East Wilson.

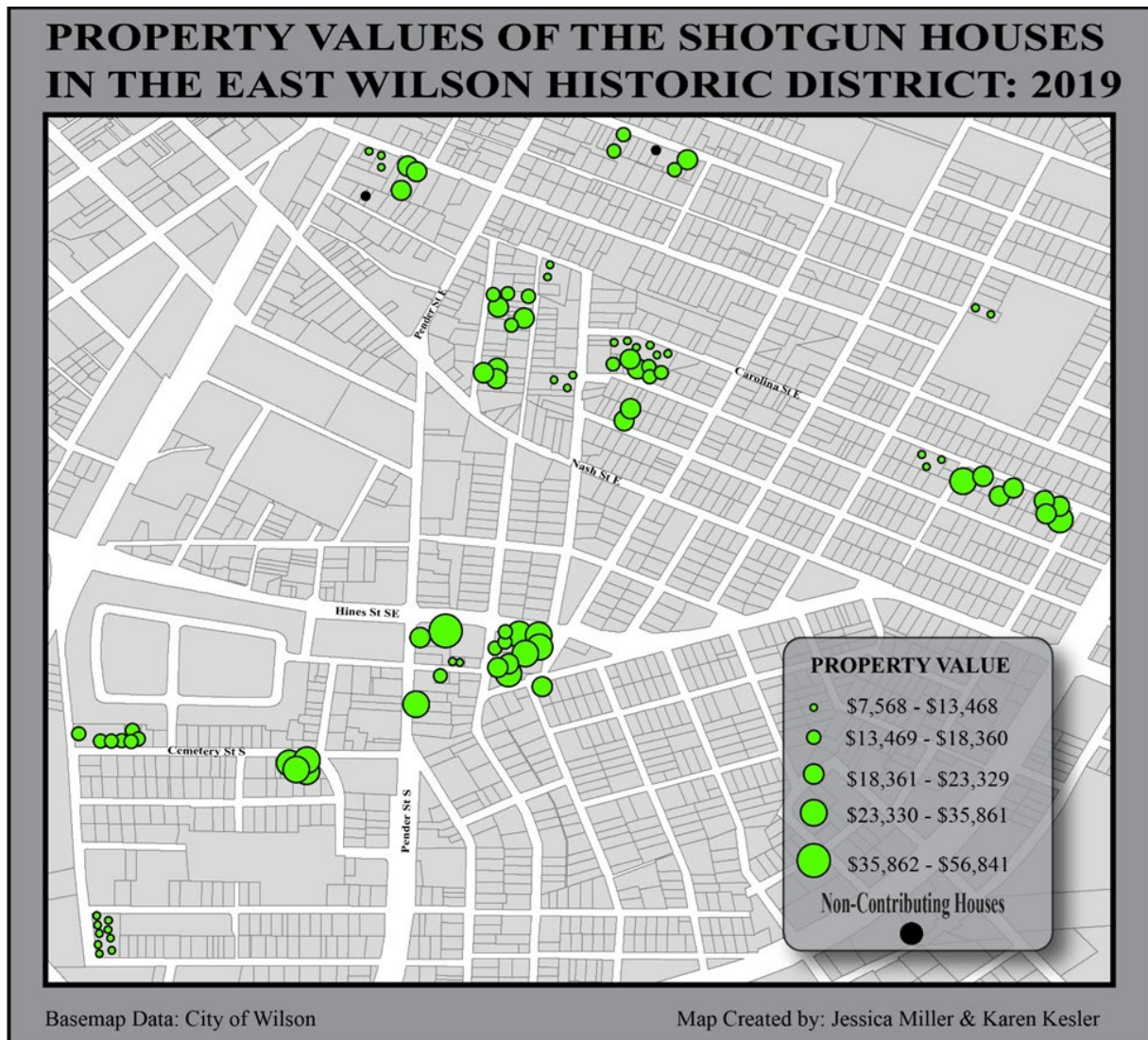
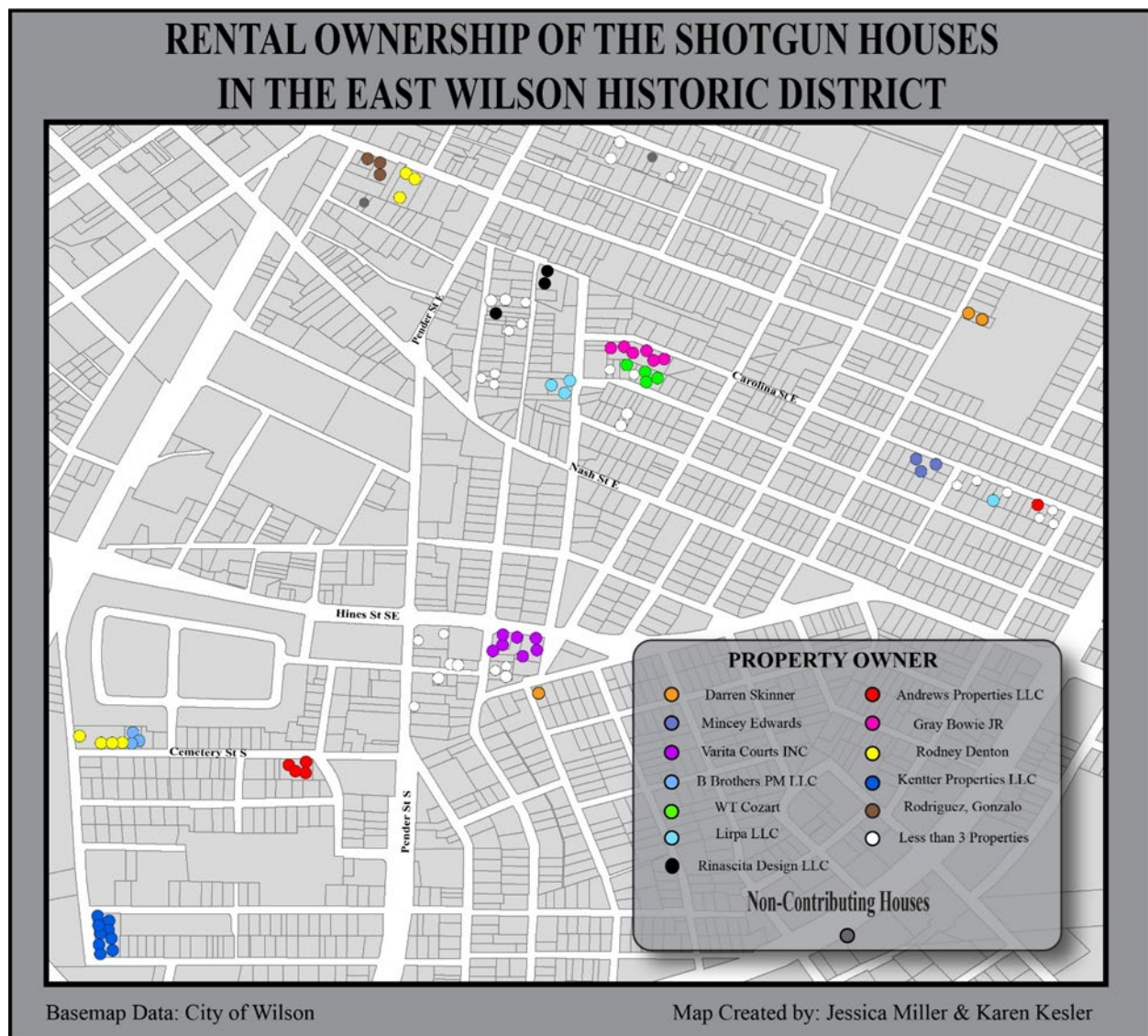


Figure 26: Rental ownership of the Shotgun Houses in East Wilson



Visual Analyses of the Archival Photos

The visible physical changes to the historic district's character of the shotgun houses since are nominated in 1988, to what extent and in what way has the historic character of the shotgun houses in the East Wilson Historic District changed visually since the 1988 National Register nomination? To answer this, a visual analysis of six streetscapes was conducted, and

based on the combined results of the photo analysis of six archival photos documented in East Wilson, the answer is that there is no substantial change. Overall, the visual character of the East Wilson Historic District as represented through the archival photograph record is relatively intact. However, there were two observations on how visual character changed over time through the photo analysis: either through investment in the district (preservation) or by disinvestment in the district (deterioration or demolition). Total disinvestment and revitalization through demolition, deterioration, and new construction infill across the East Wilson Historic District comes in at 70%, while the total preservation across the district is 30%.

The visible physical changes to the historic character of the shotgun houses since nominated in 1988, incorporates the cultural heritage of the East Wilson Historic District. The use of the African American front porch is highlighted in the archival photos through the visibility of multiple seating options and hanging floral baskets.

Carolina Street Photo Analysis

Figure 27: 1210, 1212, 1214 Carolina Street East, Wilson, N. 1988 Archival Image.



Figure 28: 1210, 1212, 1214 Carolina Street East, Wilson, NC. 2020 Current Image.



1210, 1212, 1214 Carolina Street East, Wilson NC – Deteriorated and Vacant. Top Image, archival photograph. Bottom image, photograph taken Spring 2020. The material integrity of the shotgun houses illustrates the original standing seam metal roofs, original wood clapboards for the exterior material coverings, and stamped sheet metal foundations. Due to the current vacant occupancy the material and condition of the front door and front window are not able to be determine. The architectural integrity of the shotgun houses illustrates the original form and the original simple porch form. The archival photograph illustrates the use of the front porch and the sense of community. The landscape has changed significantly with the lost mature trees that is seen in the archival photograph. The current photograph due the current condition and vacant occupancy of the shotgun houses does not exhibit community engagement. Example of disinvestment in the district – deterioration.

Carolina and Wainwright Street Photo Analysis

Figure 29: 1300 Block of Carolina Street East, Wilson, NC. 1988 Archival Image.



Figure 30: 1300 Block of Carolina Street East, Wilson, NC. 2020 Current Image.



1300 Carolina Street East, Wilson NC – Rehabilitated, 1302 Carolina Street East, Wilson NC – Demolished, 1304 Carolina Street East, Wilson NC – Vacant. Top image, archival photograph. Bottom image, photograph taken Spring 2020. The material integrity of the shotgun house 1300 Carolina East has been altered, the photo comparison illustrates asphalt shingled roof, the exterior Masonite shingles covering has been replaced with vinyl siding. The front door has been replaced and the front wood window is original to its construction date. The decorative metal porch posts are still intact. The architectural integrity of the shotgun house illustrates the original form. The front gable vent which was covered by the wood shingles in the archival photograph is exposed and visible in the bottom current photograph.

The streetscape has been altered with the demolition of the shotgun house at 1302 Carolina Street East and the vacant occupancy and deteriorated condition of the shotgun house at 1304 Carolina Street East. The archival photograph illustrates the use of the front porch as living space for 1300. Note boarded up windows on 1304. Image also represents the only owner-occupied shotgun house in the entire East Wilson District which was for sale at the time of the photograph taken in 2020.

Carroll and Carolina Street Photo Analysis

Figure 31: Intersection Carroll and Carolina Street East, Wilson, NC. 1988 Archival Image.



Figure 32: Intersection Carroll and Carolina Street East, Wilson, NC. 2020 Current Image.



Intersection Carroll and Carolina Street East, Wilson NC – Demolished and Vacant. Top Image, archival photograph. Bottom image, photograph taken Spring 2020. Field Notes: Gone. The entire row of the shotgun houses has been demolished without new construction infill. The vacant land now serves as parking for vehicles. The streetscape and community have been altered significantly due to the demolition of the shotgun houses. Demolition without new construction.

Demolition changes the streetscape and rhythm in a neighborhood. Demolition without new construction leaves an empty lot that, best seen at the Intersection Carroll and Carolina Street East, goes from a streetscape of shotgun houses to a vacant space with parked cars. Incompatible infill or new construction can change the rhythm and material fabric of the neighborhood. New construction challenges the sense of place and orientation created by historic visual character by introducing new materials and different architectural typology.

Maury Street East and Cemetery Street East Photo Analysis

**Figure 33: Intersection Maury Street East and Cemetery Street East, Wilson, NC.
1988 Archival Image.**



**Figure 34: Intersection Maury Street East and Cemetery Street East, Wilson, NC.
2020 Current Image.**



Intersection Maury Street East and Cemetery Street East, Wilson NC- Demolished. Top image, archival photograph. Bottom image, photograph taken Spring 2020. Field Notes: Gone.

Approximately five shotgun houses have been demolished without new construction infill. The streetscape and community have been altered significantly due to the demolition of the shotgun houses. The comparison illustrates the visual impact of demolition without new construction.

Ash Street East Photo Analysis

Figure 35: 130-134 Ash Street East, Wilson NC. 1988 Archival Image.



Figure 36: 130-134 Ash Street, Wilson, NC. 2020 Current Image



132-134 Ash Street East, Wilson, NC- Deteriorated and Vacant. 130 Ash Street East, Wilson NC – Demolished. This photo does show slightly that a house has been demolished on the far right, but the significance of the photograph comparison illustrates that the two shotgun houses in the photo are still architecturally intact but in deteriorated condition and vacant. Top Image, archival photograph. Bottom image photographed taken Spring 2020.

The material integrity of the shotgun houses illustrates the original standing seam metal roofs, original wood clapboards for the exterior material coverings, and concrete foundation with brick piers. The single shotgun house at 132 Ash Street East front door material and condition cannot be determined because it is boarded up, but it has retained its original front wood window. The double shotgun house at 134 Ash Street East has retained its original front and screen door and original front wood windows. The architectural integrity of the shotgun houses illustrates the original form and the original simple porch form. Seating in the archival

photograph illustrates the use of the front porch as living space. The current photograph illustrates deteriorated current condition, vacant occupancy, and overgrown vegetation. The community and the streetscape have been altered significantly and left in a state of disrepair.

Cemetery Street Photo Analysis

Figure 37: 600 Block Cemetery Street East, Wilson, NC. 1988 Archival Image.



Figure 38: 600 Block of Cemetery Street East, Wilson, NC. 2020 Current Image.



600 Block Cemetery Street East, Wilson, NC – No Substantial Change. Top image, archival photograph. Bottom image, photograph taken Spring 2020.

The material integrity of this row of single shotgun houses illustrates their original standing seam metal roofs and original wood clapboards for the exterior material coverings, and stamped sheet metal foundations. The architectural integrity of the shotgun houses illustrates the original form and the original simple porch form. Detailed wood railings on the front porch are illustrated in the current photographs. The streetscape views of these shotgun houses in the archival photograph and the current photograph displays the architectural character and the ongoing occupancy /residential usage of the shotgun houses. The photographs illustrate the ongoing sense of community and the presence of people in the East Wilson Historic District.

Ownership Patterns

The third question: how has the ownership and occupancy of the shotgun houses in the historic district changes since nominated in 1988? 98.5 % of the shotgun houses are renter occupied. To address this, pie charts and GIS maps will be used.

Of the remaining 90 single shotgun houses, 88 contributing and 2 non-contributing, located in the East Wilson District in the Fall of 2020 there were 24 vacant and 66 occupied shotgun houses. This information illustrates that the majority of the shotgun houses are still being utilized as homes by the residents of East Wilson and is illustrated in figure 39 and 40.

Figure 39: Occupancy Status of Shotgun Houses in East Wilson

Occupancy of Shotgun Houses in East Wilson

V= Vacant O= Occupied

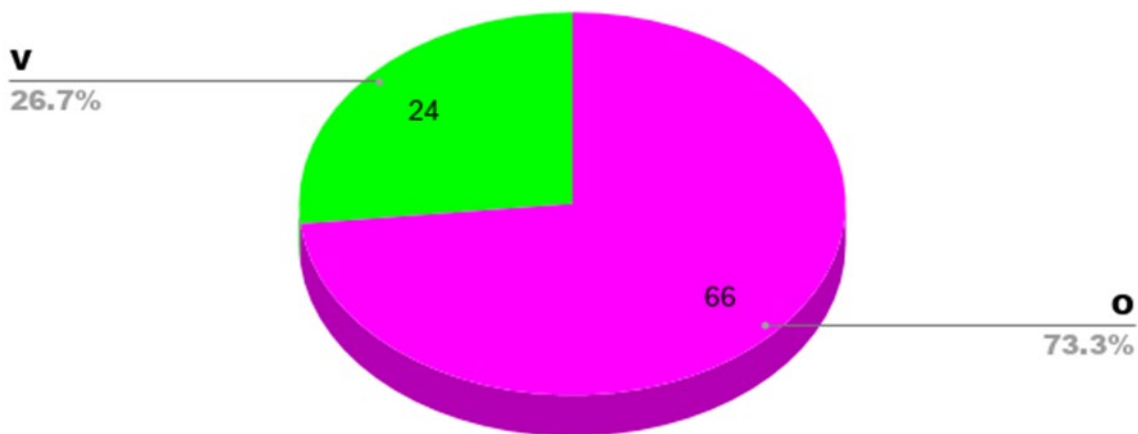
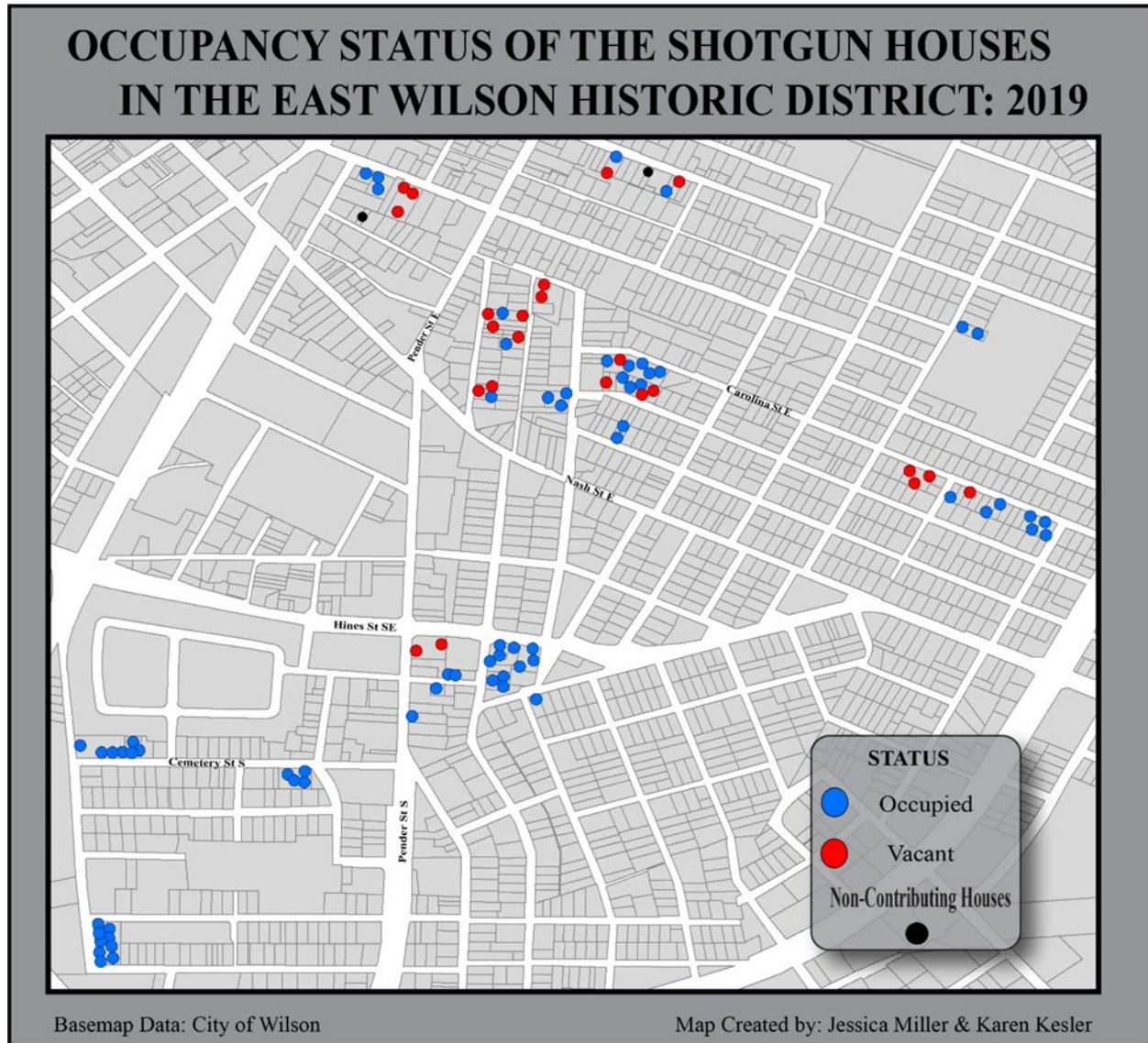


Figure 40: Occupancy Status of Shotgun Houses in East Wilson



Oral Interviews

Oral interviews addressed the fourth research question: what modifications have been made to the interiors of the shotgun houses and to the cultural heritage of the community since nominated in 1988? The overarching themes extracted from the oral histories consist of

community engagement and the importance of the front porch, living in poverty but community was rich, and sense of pride and belonging.

Community engagement and the importance of the front porch

The phase ‘community engagement’ and ‘front porch’ was a recurring theme in all three interviews. Interviewee 1: Charles Alston compared the vibrancy of the community in the 1980s when his grandmother and several other family members live on Ash Street. He shared vivid memories of his neighbors sitting on their front porches engaging in various activities that range from holiday parties to bible study sessions. The front porch created a sacred place for blacks in East Wilson and it served as an extension to their home. Interviewee 2: Nina Hooks lived in the shotgun house as a child and remember her parents’ hosting friends and families on their front porch. Alongside her siblings they would attempt to eaves drop on adult conversations but seemed to always get caught. She had vivid memories of walking home from school playing and shouting with school friends as each one of them disappeared into their shotgun homes. Interviewee 3: Marion Brown raised four children in her humble shotgun home during 1959-1964. She worked for a white family in the white section of Wilson and recalls special moments of walking home and being greeted by her family on their front porch. In the interview, she stated, “Our houses were so close together I frequently would shout to my neighbor from my kitchen window and ask for sugar.” The close density of this architectural typology created an unforgettable black neighborhood experience.

Living in poverty but the community was rich

The shotgun houses in East Wilson predominantly housed low-income black residents but the community was rich in cultural. The small-scale home enforced relationships and did not

lend to privacy. Interviewee 2: Nina Hooks shared a room with her four siblings while her parents slept in the front room of her childhood shotgun home located on Vick Lane which has been demolished. She has vivid memories of being cold on the back porch waiting for her mom to heat up her bath water, and her whole family compiling in one room to listen to the radio or watch the only station that came in clear on the black and white television. Ms. Hook's childhood was so fulfilled that she didn't realize until she was an adult how poor her family had been. Her classmates and neighborhoods all lived in similar conditions so what was viewed as the 'ghetto' to outsiders, was a home of laughter and love to many.

Sense of pride and belonging

The black experience can only be examined and understood in depth by engaging with blacks who occupy a particular space. We cannot be grouped as one culture or labeled at a first glance. As a black female that didn't have roots in the East Wilson neighborhood, I did not have the knowledge or understand the importance of this black landscape. Interviewee 1: Charles Alston, so eloquently explained how East Wilson cultivated his life, "Without this humble beginning and knowing where I am, where I come from, it helps me help me to become what I need to be. And I never forgot the thing that started me. And that's what society need to realize. Never forget the thing, forget your foundation." Mr. Alston was very proud to be an East Wilson resident and his shotgun home also served as a safe haven for all people. He hosts church meetings, therapy sessions, and card games on his front porch. His dedication to his community encompasses the pride he has embraced.

CHAPTER V: CONCLUSION

This thesis study revealed the saga of the East Wilson Historic District community and its shotgun houses. The findings are paramount in discussing the future of these humble homes and addresses the historical effects of marginalized populations in an urban setting. Preserving African American places is vital in showing the richness of African Americans, life, history, and architecture. Systematically black neighborhoods have been obliterated because of systemic racism, segregation, disinvestment, displacement, and more.

After 200 years in America, the shotgun house has finally met an age where mainstream society is reassessing its architectural priorities and realizing that bigger is not necessarily better. The shotgun, a housing style that was once known, at best, for its humble look and unconventional but efficient use of space and natural resources, is now being touted as possibly the new the face of sustainable living. An architectural style that offered a rung up the socio-economic ladder for newly emancipated families in the 19th century, now offers new life to blighted neighborhoods, new opportunities for first-time homeowners, and new prospects as a model of sustainable living.

Going beyond simple modifications to the traditional shotgun to increase its appeal for a modern lifestyle, architects are steadily redefining the scope, relevance, and possibilities of shotgun houses for both the affordable and affluent markets. Dozens of architects, influential purveyors of design, and a growing number of communities are blazing new paths to reshape the perception and seemingly limited concepts around the language of shotgun architecture. Recognizing that shotguns homes were once central to the lives of many Americans, new interpretations of shotgun design are facilitating opportunities to revive old shotgun communities

and rediscover the shotgun as a relevant, affordable and environmentally friendly housing solution within the American housing market.

Patterns of Investment and Disinvestment

Coding the field survey data collected and utilizing GIS maps to illustrate those findings reveals areas of concentrated investment and disinvestment in the East Wilson District.

Historically, this black community has been overlooked by many City Officials and investment opportunities. The maps created provide a visual component of these trends that can no longer be ignored. For example, clusters of low property values are concentrated along Carolina Street and Pender Street. These shotgun houses have retained their historic fabric, their material and architectural integrity is sound, but in contrary they are deemed insignificant.

Safe neighborhoods need continual investment to deal with issues that crop up over time, including infrastructure and building maintenance. A healthy balance occurs when investment is not inflationary or concentrated in only one section of the neighborhood.

Oral Interviews

Oral interviews conducted revealed the importance of preserving the cultural heritage of the black landscape, and at the same time revealed the interiors of the shotgun house have undergone minimum changes in the floor plan and in the aesthetics. The lack of interior changes can formulate several conclusions; blacks have been renting these homes for the past 30 years and do not possess the authority to alter the space they occupy; real estate companies do not have the desire to improve the current living conditions of the shotguns houses they manage; and residents to not desire interior changes.

The Revitalization of East Wilson

Conducting my own research for this thesis has given me the incentive to include East Wilson Historic District's shotgun houses into this promising national narrative of homeownership, sustainability, and community revitalization. Towards these ends I began two initiatives involving shotgun houses in East Wilson. In an ideal scenario between preservation and community development I foresee these efforts to not only revitalize and preserve the shotgun houses in east Wilson but also enable long term residents to stay in their neighborhoods and continue to have a pride of place.

Preservation work supported by the UNCG Field Methods in Preservation Technology and the establishment of a nonprofit organization that provides resources that contribute to homeownership. The non-profit organization will also serve as a community land trust to ensure the development of the land remains affordable. The goals of the community land trust, rehabilitation of the shotgun houses, and the revitalization of this black community can only succeed if there is considerable thought to estimate the amount of money that should be spent on the preservation efforts. If the preservation efforts cost too much it will be difficult for current residents to acquire homeownership despite all the economic gain.

Preservation work conducted by the field school program provided a laboratory experience for hands-on conversation practices. Students also had the opportunity to engage with the East Wilson community members. The celebration and attention to East Wilson and its shotgun houses have reclaimed the sense of pride for this African American Historic District.

Limitations

Field surveys served as the primary quantitative data collection and were completed throughout the entire East Wilson district. Safety for myself and others were my primary

concerned engaging with community members during the COVID 19 pandemic. Oral interviews were also conducted at the time of the COVID-19 pandemic. The challenges presented when trying to recruit individuals who were comfortable engaging with me on their front porches or inside their homes.

Future Research

An extensive in-depth analysis into East Wilson District and its shotgun houses provides a precedent that can be utilized when studying African American Historic Districts and the vernacular architecture on a neighborhood scale. The excel database created is a well-documented field survey tool that can be expound upon for future studies in East Wilson and can be utilized statewide.

The creation of the GIS maps and graphics could be potentially beneficial to the City of Wilson in developing an equitable approach to the revitalization efforts of this historical Black community.

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APPENDIX A: EAST WILSON HISTORIC DISTRICT SHOTGUN HOUSE DATABASE

St. Address	Occup.	Owner	Property Value	Mtl. Intg.	Cndt.	Ca. Date	Prim. Orig. Est. Mt.	Covering	Fdm.	Roof	Vent Det.	F.D. Rpt.	Wind. Rpt.	Pch. Rf.	Frt. Pch. Det.	Amenities	Plan Chg.	NR Notes
611 Cemetery St.	R/O	Denton, Rodney	\$17,263.00	High	Fair	1940	Alum	Alum	stamped sheet mt.	FG SS	None	FDO	FWO	FG	2 lawn chairs on front porch	None		
615 Cemetery St.	R/O	Denton, Rodney	\$17,263.00	High	Fair	1940	Alum	Alum	stamped sheet mt.	FG SS	None	FDO	FWO	FG	chair swing and flowers in vases	Flowers planted in front yard		
617 Cemetery St.	R/O	Denton, Rodney	\$17,263.00	High	Fair	1940	Alum	Alum	stamped sheet mt.	FG SS	None	FDO	FWO	FG	sofa and chair on front porch	None		
619 Cemetery St.	R/O	B. Brothers Property Management LLC	\$16,887.33	High	Fair	1940	Wd.C	Vinyl	stamped sheet mt.	FG AS	Yes/Rect.	FDO	FWO	SR	2 lawn chairs on front porch	None		
621 Cemetery St.	R/O	B. Brothers Property Management LLC	\$16,887.33	High	Fair	1940	Wd.C	Vinyl	stamped sheet mt.	FG AS	Yes/Rect.	FDO	FWO	SR	1 chair on front porch, 2 wood post on front porch repaired/not painted	None		
623 Cemetery St.	R/O	B. Brothers Property Management LLC	\$16,887.33	High	Fair	1940	Wd.C	Vinyl	stamped sheet mt.	FG AS	Yes/Rect.	FDO	FWO	SR	evidence of room addition on rear, fence garden in rear, shed on back, sided house. No chairs on front porch	None		
712 Cemetery St.	R/O	Andrews Properties LLC	\$25,846.40	High	Good	1940	Wd.C	Vinyl	Conc. Blk.	FG AS	Yes/Rect.	FDR	FWR	HR	unpainted wood porch in excellent condition, plants and lawn chairs on porch. Very inviting.	Great landscape in driveway, appreciation for front yard/gravel driveway for parking		
714 Cemetery St.	R/O	Andrews Properties LLC	\$25,846.40	High	Good	1940	Wd.C	Vinyl	Cnblk.	FG AS	Yes/Rect.	FDR	FWR	HR	unpainted wood porch in excellent condition, plants and lawn chairs on porch. Very inviting.	Great landscape in driveway, appreciation for front yard/gravel driveway for parking		
716 Cemetery St.	R/O	Andrews Properties LLC	\$25,846.40	High	Good	1940	Wd.C	Vinyl	Cnblk.	FG AS	Yes/Rect.	FDR	FWR	HR	unpainted wood porch in excellent condition, no plants or chairs on porch. Clean but not inviting.	Great landscape in driveway, appreciation for front yard/gravel driveway for parking		
718 Cemetery St.	R/O	Andrews Properties LLC	\$25,846.40	High	Good	1940	Wd.C	Vinyl	Cnblk.	FG AS	Yes/Rect.	FDR	FWR	HR	unpainted wood porch in excellent condition, no plants or chairs on porch. Clean but not inviting.	Great landscape in driveway, appreciation for front yard/gravel driveway for parking		

APPENDIX B: HISTORIC PROPERTY FIELD DATA FORM

North Carolina State Historic Preservation Office

HISTORIC PROPERTY FIELD DATA FORM

Circle your responses or write custom responses.

County: _____ Survey Site Number: _____ ER: _____
GIS: _____

Property Name: _____

Street Address / location description: _____

Town: _____ vicinity Ownership: fed state local private non-profit unknown

District / Neighborhood Association: _____ contrib non-contrib

Surveyor: _____ Date: _____

For Survey Update: No substantial change | change by alteration | change by deterioration | outbuilding loss |
rehabilitated | removed or destroyed | not found | no access | file missing | newly identified | needs research

Study List / DOE recommendation: eligible | not eligible Criteria: A B C D

Material Integrity: High | Medium | Low | N/A Gone

Condition: Good | Fair | Deteriorated | Ruinous | N/A Gone Location: Original Moved (year if known _____) Uncertain

Const. Date: ca. _____ Major Style Group: Georgian | Geo/Fed | Federal | Fed/GkRev
Greek Revival | Italianate | Gothic Revival | Queen Anne | Victorian – Other | 19th-20th c. traditional-vernacular |
Neoclassical Revival | Colonial Revival | Southern Colonial | Beaux Arts | Spanish Mission | Tudor Revival |
Rustic Revival | Craftsman/Bungalow | Period Cottage | Minimal Traditional | International | Moderne | Art Deco |
Misc. Modernist Standard Commercial/Industrial | Ranch | Split Level | Other _____

Construction: Timber frame | Balloon frame | Load bearing masonry | Masonry veneer | Log | Steel frame | Concrete |
Unknown | Other _____

Primary Original Ext. Material: Weatherboard (plain beaded molded novelty type unk.) | Batten | Wood shingles |
Exposed logs | Brick | Stone | Stucco | Pebbledash | Other _____

Covering: None | Aluminum | Vinyl | Asbestos Shingle | Later brick veneer | Metal | Paper | Undetermined

Height (stories): 1 | 1 ½ | 2 | 2 ½ | 3 | more than 3 (enter) _____

Roof: Side gable | Front gable | Triple A | Cross gable | Hip | Gambrel | Pyramidal | Mansard | Parapet | Flat
Other _____

Plan: Not Known | 1-room | Hall-parlor | 3 room | Side passage | Center passage | Saddlebag | Dogtrot | Irregular
Shotgun | Other _____

Core Form (domestic): 1-house | Single pile | Double pile | Foursquare | other _____

Design Source: _____ attributed | documented

Special Associations / Themes: _____

Outbuildings and landscape features (continue on back if necessary)

Use the back (blank) side of this sheet for field notes, sketches, and descriptions. Use additional blank sheets if necessary. Address primary
features like porches and chimneys when appropriate; make note of exceptional items such as high quality woodwork, masonry work,
decorative painting, original storefronts, and special architectural materials. April 2008; Revised Oct. 2012

APPENDIX C: ORAL INTERVIEW

Interviewee: Charles Austin III

Interviewer: Monica T. Davis

Date: September 2019

Length: 20:49

Start of Interview

Monica Davis: Today, I'm here with Mr. Austin. The date is September the 14th, and we're going to start the first interview. Please state your name for the record.

Charles Austin: Charles Ezekiel Austin III

MD: How long have you lived at this residence?

CA: I've been here since 2004.

MD: What are your fondest memories living here as a child, teenager, or adult?

CA: My fondest memory would be that umm, its hard to say. Sitting on my porch.

MD: Okay, and what do you like most about doing that?

CA: I can see everything that is going on. I can see what's going on in the community.

MD: When you sit on your porch are you normally alone, or do you have other relatives that come sit with you?

CA: Sometimes I am alone, but the majority of the time relatives come from all around just to sit on this porch.

MD: On a day-to-day basis, what space do you enjoy being in the most of and why?
What space in the house or outside do you enjoy most?

CA: My porch.

MD: Does this provide privacy or interaction with others? What type of interaction does your porch provide for you.

CA: Well, a lot of interaction with people in the community. They stop by and talk with me and share their problems. I just try to be a good neighbor to the community.

MD: Which area the house that you call the heart of your home and why?

CA: My kitchen because that's where I am at the majority of the time if am not on my porch. I'm in my kitchen

MD: Your space inside your kitchen, how is your furniture arranged? Do you just have a kitchen table or how is that space arranged?

CA: I got some of everything in there. I got a stove, kitchen table, microwave, some kind of stand, washing machine, refrigerator. I got a whole bunch of stuff.

MD: Do you have a window in your kitchen to provide daylight?

CA: Two windows.

MD: How are spaces allocated in your home? What space belongs to you and to your grandson and to who anybody else who lives in the space?

CA: Well, the front room his room (grandson) and the middle room is my room.

MD: Your kitchen and bathroom is in the back.

CA: Yes. It's in the back and Prince, I have a dog, his name is Prince. He's from room to room and he pulls his bed wherever he wants to. That's the best way to put it.

MD: I know you said previously that you told Antonio your dad lived in this shotgun house. (Single shotgun house beside interviewee home.)

CA: My grandmother.

MD: Do you know how long your grandmother lived there or when she moved into the area?

CA: I would say the late 80's.

MD: Did you come visit her at that time? So how is it different now versus when you used to come visit her in the late 80s.

CA: It was a lot more people in the neighborhood. This neighborhood here was pretty much family orientated. Grandma lived there and beside grandmother I had an Auntie. Down over where the fence is at there was an Auntie. The field beside the church on the opposite side was a cousin. Two cousins lived at the end of the street. It was houses over there. This is where we hung out. This was the hangout spot, the hangout spot. Where everybody, it was no pretense. You could be you and not be judged.

MD: At that time was the crime down?

CA: Now it was horrible. It used to be a drug house down there. But the diligence of the family we got them out of the community.

MD: So, what modifications or updates have been made to your house, if any, since you moved here in 2004?

CA: Nothing.

MD: What features do you like best in your house and then what features you would change and why?

CA: Central heat and air. But I would like to change the bathroom space. Which is good, but I would change. I would love to have tub, and things like that. Even though it's just a shotgun there is some modifications that can be done to bring it up. You can have a walk in. So, it's a lot

of things that people feel that's irrelevant, but it would really make a person love where they live.

MD: So, does this house neighborhood provide a sense of community for you?

CA: Yes.

MD: And what neighborhood events do you remember that gather around here in the 80s or even today? What events do they normally have around here, if any?

CA: Every June, we have my grandmother's birthday celebration. And it's here. When she lived there, it was in both of our back yards. But now it's still both of our back yards. But it's here. It's the hangout spot.

MD: So, doing that celebration where different foods would you have? What different activities, would you do for your grandmother.

CA: We cook, gossip, talk about folks, fuss, some cuss, drink. We do jump rope. I mean its things that you wouldn't think adults would do. We do 123 red lights, hopscotch. It's a time we come together to let our hair down.

MD: So, it's like being like a child, like bringing all those things back as an adult.

CA: And we get to fussing because some of them cheat. Mother may I, that's one of our main things that we love to play.

MD: And in your opinion is there needs to preserve this historic district and neighborhood and why you think that?

CA: Yes, because this land, when it was acquired, was through a lot of sweet, tears, and blood. A lot of the African Americans that came over here to be here, this was the best that we could do. And we made it was it is. Sometimes, even now we take our money and upgrade

houses where the landlord's feel like no, I've done what I need to do. There is a great sense of, I mean, I wish it is preserved I really do. Even though I don't want any neighbors.

MD: Do you think your house is different from your other neighbors in the community? Do you feel when your grandmother was here or when your aunts lived down the street? How was your house different from the rest of the people? Oh, I feel like you have a real sense of place on your front porch. You have plants out. So, I can tell the difference here.

CA: I took pride. I mean, they did too. Grandma had little flowers. But I took pride. It's not where you come from, it's where you're planted. You have to bloom where you're planted. And I came here from a divorce. So, I was broken when I come here, but I made it in my mind, hey, I'm going to make the best of it.

MD: And where did you move from, what other house did you live in? Was it a shotgun house?

CA: When I first came to Wilson, I was at 308 Pender Street, which it was two shotguns combined together. But prior to that, we have a home in Tarboro. In the sense it was kind of like a shock, not say shock, but it was a downgrade. It took me some getting used to. But I have opportunities to go other places. I can go back to Tarboro, but I love this house. I want my front porch screened it but that's it.

MD: To you what is most significant about this East Wilson neighborhood?

CA: This is our heritage. We have, knowledge is powerful, but knowledge without knowing your heritage is crippling. And a lot of people, because they make more money, they want to leave this area. But this is where the educators that made us who we are live here. It was a lady, who stayed down there is the first empty lot. Mrs. Smith. She was an educator back in the day. Down on the corner, at the first house, Mrs. Kerbow. Educators, they could have gone

somewhere else but because this is where they chose, and they took pride in it. If we take pride and say look, I will not tolerate this. I don't tolerate a whole lot of stuff. I call this police in a minute. I am not ashamed, and they know my number. It's a lot of history. It used to be a fish market in the cut there. Down on the corner, it used to be a little store.

MD: Do you know what years things started getting demolished if you can't think back, like, for instance, that fish market and what and what time frame did, like all the things that used to be here started like going away?

CA: I n the mid-eighties. That's when crime rate really got so bad. And a lot of people where like I'm out of here. I can't take it, you know, especially up here on Narrowway, East Robinson, Manchester. Things and stuff like that, you know, because as a part time job, I drove a school bus in this area, you know. It's a privilege, but it is such a such history, the Freeman houses, you look at these houses where Mr. Vick. These houses where African Americans work hard to become something. Now it's like we want to brush all over it likes it nothing. But this is our heritage. This makes us who we are. As a retired teacher I am proud to live over here on the East side. I am proud. So proud. I have children that have good jobs. You know, my brother/son that I raise, he's the fire chief. I have family on the fire force in Tarboro, have three engineers, and I think one is the architect in Charlotte. So, I mean, they all are around. But what I'm saying, though, without this humble beginning and knowing where I am, where I come from, it helps me help me to become what I need to be. And I never forgot the thing that started me. And that's what society need to realize. Never forget the thing, forget your foundation. Don't forget this. You know, it holds bittersweet memories. I had a cousin right over there by that pole. Car came through and hit him up in the air. He's autistic now. You know, he was a little child like my grandson. you know, and that's the thing. And for years we have tried to get speed bumps in this

neighborhood. Nothing because we on the East Side. But you go and Chelsea Drive and all those places it's (speedbumps) everywhere. And they cannot say because people were not living here. It does not matter if it's one person up here and people are coming through here. My child is just as important as the other. But we, we got to learn how to voice our opinion and who to voice them to. A close mouth doesn't get feed, but an open mouth will get some results.

MD: So, you have your garden on this side. So, what does that mean to you, having something that you can feed your grandson or, you know, how do you feel about that?

CA: It makes me feel good. It makes me feel good. I primarily started that garden back week because my father. My father got diagnosed with dementia and that helped him keep his mind off of things and stuff like that. And we've always from a childhood, we've always had a garden working. And that's something that he worked, nurtured for over 30 something years. And that is good because I'm able not only to feed my family, other people in the community, I can give you things, you know, not to everybody. here. But you know, to the elderly, it's my thing to the elderly. If you are homeless and I see you're striving to do something, I help you. I'm working with a couple now, it's nothing I won't do for them. You know, you can't look at a person and look at current situations and judge them. We're all just two steps away from being in the same predicament. Anything can happen to anything. But I love my garden. I love it. I love it.

MD: Going forth in the future. What things do you want to see change to this community and what ideas do you have to make it to improve it for your grandson growing up here? What things do you want to see changed?

CA: I want to see what I really want to see. Change is, I want more of a sense of a neighborhood. Oh, I would like more police involvement, more community involvement,

because they took the park off a Church Street and the church brought. It's no longer a park. So, and I would have to walk over to Caroline to take my child to just play on a swing or something. I think every neighborhood needs spots where children can be children. They need learning centers. They you know, it's a lot that we can do to make the neighborhood popping again. In a positive way and in a positive way, you know, and I've told anyone, I'm down with it. I mean, I do like the rest, but I can get the word out. But, yeah, I just in that sense, I do want to see more people. I want to keep these drug dealers out of the community.

MD: I have a question, so, you know, the houses, the Freeman Place Houses, they built all those houses. They did demolish a lot of shotgun houses and other historic houses to build new construction. What are your feelings about that? Do you have a certain point of view about how you feel about them doing that? Do you think was beneficial in a way?

CA: No, no it was not. Even on Manchester Street. They demolished all those old houses, the houses that they built. And I know for a fact, I have a friend who purchased one of those houses. The rooms are so little. You turn around, you hit a wall. So, I mean, you want to make them energy efficient because these houses here back in the 80s, they came through this, have the air conditioning things and got anybody, redid them or whatever. These were the first ones that were done. But they could have done it with the older houses because they are solid house. They just need a little facelift and some Botox, you know, and but we as a community, we won't rally together. We won't rally together to help those that need help. And it's a good thing to build these new houses. Yeah, they're good, but make them affordable so that people can afford them. There's no need to put these houses in what they consider an impoverished neighborhood and say they're low income and even with people with good income, can't afford it, it defeats the purpose. And they sit there, and they start being vandalized and then they're going, you don't need to put

money in the neighborhood. But no, you do this, you set this in motion by putting something here that you know, that no one could afford. But because, first of all, you probably got a grant and you had to do it to get your money after you get your money, you are done with it. And that's not cool. It's not cool.

MD: Did you know any people that has been displaced because of that, like people who was maybe currently living in these communities and over time they couldn't afford it anymore, so therefore they can't live in this area. Do you know anybody in that situation?

CA: I think Mother Phillips was like that, but I think her husband passed away or they divorced or something like that because now she's in one of the senior citizen houses. So, it's quite disturbing. You know, it's really disturbing. You know, you're moving everyone away from where they're familiar with. And that's not good, especially for elderly people. Not good at all.

MD: All right, thank you so much for your time. This is wonderful. Thank you.

CA: Thank you.