THE FRANKLINTON CENTER AT BRICKS:

CULTURAL LANDSCAPE CONSERVATION GUIDING FUTURE DEVELOPMENT

by

LAURA ELIZABETH SCHUETZ

(Under the Direction of Cari Goetcheus)

ABSTRACT

The Franklinton Center at Bricks, located in Edgecombe County in eastern North Carolina, has had its share of reinventions. From antebellum plantation to an agricultural, industrial, and normal school for rural African Americans to a rural life school and farming cooperative, this site continually adapted its landscape and associated structures as dictated by necessity. Few of the structures associated with the site's life as a school for rural African Americans remain, but the ways in which the landscape was altered to facilitate the schools' needs remain readily apparent. This thesis explores the roles of institutions occupying the site over time as related to African American education during the Jim Crow-era Southeast, the work of the American Missionary Association, cooperative farming, and the Civil Rights movement. Further, it addresses how these roles can influence future cultural landscape conservation and development at Bricks.

INDEX WORDS: Historic Preservation, Cultural Landscape, African American

History, Education, Development, Franklinton Center at Bricks, Brick Rural Life School, Joseph K. Brick School, Brick Junior

College, North Carolina, Edgecombe County

THE FRANKLINTON CENTER AT BRICKS: CULTURAL LANDSCAPE CONSERVATION GUIDING FUTURE DEVELOPMENT

by

LAURA ELIZABETH SCHUETZ

BA, American University, 2008

A Thesis Submitted to the Graduate Faculty of The University of Georgia in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree

MASTER OF HISTORIC PRESERVATION

ATHENS, GEORGIA

2013

© 2013

Laura Elizabeth Schuetz

All Rights Reserved

THE FRANKLINTON CENTER AT BRICKS:

CULTURAL LANDSCAPE CONSERVATION GUIDING FUTURE DEVELOPMENT

by

LAURA ELIZABETH SCHUETZ

Major Professor: Cari Goetcheus

Committee: James Reap

Cari Goetcheus Daniel Nadenicek Scott Messer

Electronic Version Approved:

Maureen Grasso Dean of the Graduate School The University of Georgia May 2013

DEDICATION

To all my best friends.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This thesis would not have been possible without the support of many people, both within and outside of the University of Georgia's College of Environment and Design. The thorough guidance of Cari Goetcheus, my major professor, was instrumental to the completion of this thesis, and Cari's own tireless work ethic encouraged me to push myself. Vivian Lucas, the current director of the Franklinton Center at Bricks, and her staff were enthusiastic about my work on the site from the start and provided invaluable support throughout the course of this project. The staffs of the Amistad Research Center at Tulane University, the North Carolina Collection at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, the State Archives of North Carolina, and the greater North Carolina Department of Cultural Resources were immensely helpful as I conducted historical research. The support of my family and friends kept me laughing through the long hours staring at a computer screen in Denmark Hall and my sustained diet of potato chips, Skittles, and black coffee.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	v
LIST OF TABLES	ix
LIST OF FIGURES	x
CHAPTER	
1 INTRODUCTION AND METHODOLOGY	1
Background	2
Thesis Question and Methodology	5
Thesis Organization	8
2 LITERATURE REVIEW	10
African-American Education in the Southeast	10
History of the American Missionary Association and its Role in	
African-American Education in the Southeast	19
Preservation of African-American Cultural Resources	25
3 THE FRANKLINTON CENTER AT BRICKS ACROSS TIME	34
Early History	34
American Missionary Association Management	38
Franklinton Center at Bricks Management	71
Existing Conditions: 2013	81

4	DEFINING SIGNIFICANCE, INTEGRITY, AND ANAYLSIS AND
	EVALUATION OF LANDSCAPE CHARACTERISTICS140
	Introduction140
	Landscape Characteristics Assessment
	Evaluation of Historic Integrity
	Summary of Overall Integrity
	Opportunities and Challenges
5	THE FRANKLINTON CENTER AT BRICKS MANAGEMENT175
	Embracing History
	Adaptation of Site to Current Uses
	Preservation Goals in 2013
	Plans for Development and Expansion
	Opportunities and Challenges
6	PROPOSED STRATEGIES
	Consequences of Inaction
	Recommendations and Proposed Strategies
	Ensuring future development is tied to the site's
	historic cultural landscape
	Protecting and maintaining all extant landscape characteristics that retain
	historic integrity
	Developing programming reflective of the site's historic uses193
	Summary of Recommendation and Proposed Strategies196
7	CONCLUSION 19

DEFEDENTARA		10
PHEFFENI HS	· ,	/ I W
		. \ / \

LIST OF TABLES

	Page
Table 1: Summary of integrity of location	163
Table 2: Summary of integrity of design	165
Table 3: Summary of integrity of setting	166
Table 4: Summary of integrity of materials	167
Table 5: Summary of integrity of workmanship	169
Table 6: Summary of integrity of feeling	170
Table 7: Summary of integrity of association	171
Table 8: Summary of overall historic integrity	172

LIST OF FIGURES

Page	e
Figure 1: Map illustrating the location of the Franklinton Center at Bricks within North	
Carolina	4
Figure 2: Portion of an 1864 map showing cluster of buildings associated with J. Garrett	
property, Fishing Creek, and nearby Enfield, NC	6
Figure 3: Portion of a 1905 map of Edgecombe County depicting cluster of buildings on	
the campus of Brick School	8
Figure 4: Map of Brick School by Wilson Inborden, ca. 1910-1915	9
Figure 5: Early photograph of Brick School, ca. 1900-1910	0
Figure 6: "Looking West from Brewster Hall, Joseph K. Brick School, Enfield, N.C."	
Postcard, ca. 1905-1915	0
Figure 7: "Looking East from Ingraham Chapel, Joseph K. Brick School, Enfield, N.C."	
Postcard, ca. 1905-1915	1
Figure 8: "Beard Hall, Joseph K. Brick School, Enfield, N.C."	
Postcard, ca. 1905-1915	1
Figure 9: "Benedict Hall, Joseph K. Brick School, Enfield, N.C."	
Postcard, ca. 1905-1915	2
Figure 10: Page from the scrapbook of Julia Inborden, daughter of Thomas Inborden,	
depicting the campus as it appeared in 1916	3
Figure 11: "Vespers Brick Junior College Bricks N.C." Postcard ca 1927 5"	7

Figure 12: Hand-drawn map, ca. 1934 to 1940, depicting extant buildings and structure	S
and farm delineations from the Brick Rural Life School era	. 66
Figure 13: Photograph of Brick Rural Life School sewing class students	. 67
Figure 14: 1952 map showing extant buildings and property lines for the Brick Rural L	ife
School	. 68
Figure 15: Photograph of the Model Schoolhouse from the	
Bricks Rural Life School era	. 70
Figure 16: Photograph of the interior of the Model Schoolhouse	. 71
Figure 17: "Rough Sketch of Campus: Franklinton Center"	. 80
Figure 18: North Road entrance, facing north.	. 83
Figure 19: North Road, facing west.	. 83
Figure 20: Teacher's Cottage, facing north.	. 84
Figure 21: Inborden House, facing north.	. 84
Figure 22: Pool and Bathhouse along North Road, facing northwest	. 85
Figure 23: Dining Hall, facing northwest.	. 85
Figure 24: Model Schoolhouse, facing northwest.	. 86
Figure 25: Hospitality House II, facing northwest	. 86
Figure 26: Hospitality House I, facing west-northwest.	. 87
Figure 27: Administration Building, facing west.	. 87
Figure 28: Judson King House from South Road, facing northeast.	. 88
Figure 29: South Road, facing east.	. 88
Figure 30: Road to railroad tracks and Forney house site, facing west.	. 89
Figure 31: A-frame Camping Shelter in camping area, facing north.	. 89

Figure 32: Road across railroad tracks to Forney property, facing west
Figure 33: Trees framing Former Forney house site, facing west
Figure 34: Successional growth surrounding Tobacco Barn, facing northwest
Figure 35: Successional growth surrounding Hay Barn, facing northeast
Figure 36: Old Bricks Cemetery, facing southeast
Figure 37: Map of Natural Systems and Features at FCAB
Figure 38: View of Fishing Creek
Figure 39: View southwest from the South Road of the FCAB campus
Figure 40: Drainage ditch running north-south parallel to U.S. Route 301
Figure 41: Young orchard and newly-planted garden on the north side of the campus core
Figure 42: Trees along the north side of the North Road which likely framed dormitory
buildings
Figure 43: Row of trees extending diagonally northeast across the north side of campus.
Figure 44: Mown edge and pine forest typical of campus core edge. (Photo by author,
2013)
Figure 45: Mature pine and young deciduous forest in camping shelter area
Figure 46: Chinaberry trees and successional growth along road extending to railroad
tracks and entering old Forney property
Figure 47: Trees framing former site of Forney house
Figure 48: Mown edge of Tobacco Barn clearing showing typical successional growth in
this area

Figure 49: Mature trees framing road trace which would have extended north from	
Benedict Hall	104
Figure 50: Large magnolia in campus core	104
Figure 51: South Road facing west showing remnants of former allee and row of pines	
delineating cultivated fields and the campus core	105
Figure 52: Extant mature trees in allee along South Road, facing east.	105
Figure 53: Extant mature trees in allee along North Road, facing west.	106
Figure 54: Mature trees in Old Bricks Cemetery	106
Figure 55: Map labeling primary Circulation Routes at FCAB.	109
Figure 56: Map showing Circulation Routes and historic road traces in campus core of	•
FCAB.	110
Figure 57: Map of extant Buildings and Structures at the FCAB.	118
Figure 58: South facade of Teacher's Cottage	119
Figure 59: South facade of Inborden House	119
Figure 60: West facade of Judson King House	120
Figure 61: South facade of Bathhouse and Pool	120
Figure 62: South and East facades of Dining Hall	121
Figure 63: South facade of Model Schoolhouse	121
Figure 64: West facade of Model Schoolhouse	122
Figure 65: East facade of Hospitality House I	122
Figure 66: East facade of Administration Building	123
Figure 67: Detail of north facade of One-room Auxiliary Building	123
Figure 68: South facade of Tobacco Barn	124

Figure 69: South facade of Hay Barn
Figure 70: South facade of A-frame Camping Shelter
Figure 71: East facade of Gable-front Camping Shelter
Figure 72: Map showing cluster arrangement at the FCAB
Figure 73: Map showing locations of small-scale features at FCAB
Figure 74: Brick piers flanking North and South Roads at the entrance to the FCAB 133
Figure 75: Government right-of-way marker located at the entrance to the FCAB property
via the South Road
Figure 76: North Carolina historical marker (1979)
Figure 77: Foundation stone remnant on former site of a Teacher's Cottage
Figure 78: Concrete slab foundation remnant in former location of outbuilding associated
with Inborden House
Figure 79: Brick pier foundation remnant of unknown origin, located in mown clearing
leading to Tobacco Barn
Figure 80: Concrete slab foundation remnant of unknown outbuilding located behind the
Administration Building to the west
Figure 81: Remnant of granite curb originally lining the old south road in front of
Benedict Hall
Figure 82: Capped wells and septic systems
Figure 83: Capped wells and septic systems
Figure 84: Map of potential archeological sites at FCAB

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION AND METHODOLOGY

I was first introduced to the Franklinton Center at Bricks, located in Whitakers, Edgecombe County, North Carolina, by my younger sister, Alison. She had just visited the Center as part of Hood College's Alternative Spring Break program, where students completed a service project on the site performing basic maintenance on some of the Center's historic structures. Alison mentioned the Center to me, and I was immediately curious.

Prior to beginning the Master of Historic Preservation (MHP) program at the University of Georgia (UGA), I worked at a youth development nonprofit in Washington, D.C., assisting at-risk youth in completing their post-secondary education goals. I came to the UGA MHP program interested in historic preservation from a city planning perspective, and the preservation of sites associated with minority history in urban areas especially appealed to me. Gradually, however, my focus shifted to rural and historic landscape preservation.

Presently, the Franklinton Center at Bricks functions as a conference, retreat, and educational facility for the United Church of Christ's Justice and Witness Ministries.

Educational programming focuses on rural justice, community development, environmental racism, and workers' rights on land that has seen many changes from slave plantation to epicenter for North Carolina Civil Rights. The history, mission, and current

needs of the Franklinton Center at Bricks reflect both my past and present interests, and this resulting thesis proved to be the natural confluence of those interests.

Background

The land upon which the Franklinton Center at Bricks is currently located has had many names and, with them, many divergent uses. Figure 1 shows the present layout of the Franklinton Center at Bricks and its location within North Carolina, with the railroad running through the property to the west, U.S. Route 301 bounding it on the east, and Fishing Creek bounding it to the north. The property functioned as a large plantation with numerous slaves under several owners until the Civil War, growing cotton and other crops. The property changed hands following the Civil War and was unsuccessfully farmed by Brigadier General Llewellyn Garrish Estes until the property was acquired by Mrs. Julia E. Brick sometime before 1890. She donated the property to the American Missionary Association in 1890, after which the site became home to several schools for African-Americans. The first, the Joseph K. Brick Agricultural, Industrial and Normal School, opened its doors in 1895. Similar to (though considerably smaller than) other American Missionary Association schools, including Fisk University, Hampton Institute, and Atlanta University, its purpose was to provide educational opportunities for the United States' African American population in the years following the Civil War and Reconstruction. Though it began specifically as a primary school for black rural youth, it grew to accommodate older students as well, becoming an accredited junior college in 1925. When the junior college closed in 1933, the site became the Brick[s] Rural Life School, a cooperative farm school providing agricultural education to tenant families.

Upon merging with Franklinton Christian College in the 1950s, the site became the center of the Civil Rights movement in Eastern North Carolina.

The name of the Joseph K. Brick Agricultural, Industrial and Normal School is reflective of the debate regarding African-American education following the Civil War, showing the order of importance Julia E. Brick placed on different types of education for blacks. The educational community as a whole was divided in its plans for black education, with leaders like Booker T. Washington favoring industrial education and W. E. B. DuBois favoring a classical education system equal to that of whites. The Brick[s] Rural Life School era exemplifies trends in cooperative agriculture in the United States begun during the Great Depression of the 1930s. Under the umbrella of the AMA, Brick Rural Life School directors brought former sharecroppers to live on the Bricks farm for terms of five years and taught modern agricultural techniques and farm management. The tenants would then leave Bricks farm prepared to purchase and manage their own land.

Though many sites associated with African-American education following the Civil War remain and continue to function as per their original purpose, a great deal have been lost, forgotten or rendered obsolete with the onset of public education and, later, desegregation. The American Missionary Association managed five black colleges in 1900, as well as 43 normal schools for black youth, and it was far from the only philanthropic or denominational group involved in African-American education at the time. No concrete numbers on extant AMA schools could be found, but the National Register of Historic Places online database lists just 270 black schools from all eras across the United States.

_

¹ James D. Anderson, *The Education of Blacks in the South: 1860-1935* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1988), 134.



Fig. 1: The above map illustrates the location of the Franklinton Center at Bricks within North Carolina as well as the current layout of the property. U.S. Route 301 runs north-south to the east; Fishing Creek bounds the property to the north and a portion of the western section of the property.

Thesis Question and Methodology

Though few of the structures associated with the site's life as a school for rural African Americans remain, the ways in which the landscape was altered to facilitate the schools' needs remains readily apparent. The central question of this thesis is: What was the role of the various institutions occupying the current site of the Franklinton Center at Bricks in African American education in the Jim Crow-era Southeast and how can that role influence future conservation, preservation, and development at the Franklinton Center at Bricks? The site is considered within several contexts, including the question of African American education immediately following the Civil War, the work of the American Missionary Association, African American higher education in the Southeast, cooperative farming, and the Civil Rights movement.

To provide context for the many iterations of the Franklinton Center at Bricks, a thorough literature review was necessary. A historical overview of African American education in the Southeast beginning prior to the Civil War in the 1830s and ending with desegregation in the 1950s and 1960s was accomplished through frequent trips to the University of Georgia library. The locations, purposes, funders, organizations, and building types/campuses involved in educating the freed black population were researched, as were the debates and subsequent changes within the movement.

That broader context for African American education allowed me to understand the American Missionary Association (AMA) and construct a historical overview of its role in African American education. In addition to reading several histories of the AMA and its relationship to African American education, a trip to Tulane's Amistad Research Center, where the AMA archives are located, proved necessary. There, I found

information ranging from the 1930s through the early 2000s pertaining to both the Bricks Rural Life School and the Franklinton Center at Bricks. The visit also provided me with insight into similar AMA programs in the South, a means for useful comparison to the Franklinton Center at Bricks.

The history of the Joseph K. Brick Agricultural, Industrial and Normal School, Brick Junior College, Brick Rural Life School, and the Franklinton Center at Bricks is contained within a number of primary source documents in the collection of the Franklinton Center at Bricks. It is also evaluated in several books documenting the history of black education in the United States, the history of the AMA, and the study of cooperative agriculture. The site currently occupied by the Franklinton Center at Bricks offers many clues to the property's past. Visits to the Franklinton Center at Bricks were helpful with respect not only to documenting existing conditions but for determining past site configurations as well.

To determine the historical relevance of the Franklinton Center at Bricks and place it within the context of the preservation of black history and, specifically, black educational history, it was necessary to review academic writings on the topic of minority cultural resource preservation. Additionally, I surveyed contemporary public and private programs geared toward minority cultural resource preservation and the preservation of black educational resources specifically in the southeastern United States.

Extensive historical research was required for the completion of this thesis. The Franklinton Center at Bricks is home to a multitude of resources concerning the site's past, including scrapbooks, photographs, maps, and associated documents. The records of the American Missionary Association, which merged with the United Church of Christ in

1999, are housed at Tulane University's Amistad Research Center and provided insight into both the mission and practical implementation of the Bricks Rural Life School and the Franklinton Center at Bricks as well as the management of the buildings and grounds associated with the site. Other archival information was found at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill through its North Carolina Collection, *Documenting the American South* [DocSouth] Collection and the Maps Collection.

Existing conditions fieldwork was accomplished during two visits to the site. In September 2012 and February 2013, I visited the site and made note of all extant features through extensive photography and ground truthing. Landscape characteristics were identified using the process laid out in the National Park Service Cultural Landscapes Inventory Professional Procedures Guide and included documentation of archeological sites, buildings and structures, circulation, cluster arrangement, constructed water features, cultural traditions, land use, natural systems and features, small-scale features, spatial organization, topography, vegetation, and views and vistas. This information was catalogued and organized and is presented through written description and photographs.

The site was analyzed and evaluated using the *National Register Bulletin 18: How to Evaluate and Nominate Designed Historic Landscapes* and *National Register Bulletin 30: Guidelines for Evaluating and Documenting Rural Historic Landscapes*. As this site had been evaluated for eligibility to the National Register of Historic Places several times prior to the beginning of my research, my analysis and evaluation focused on extant cultural landscape features. I determined which features retained historic integrity and should be considered as I provided preservation guidance on the site's tangible and

intangible historic resources such that their existence would influence future plans for development of the site.

Conservation strategies were proposed based on both extant historic resources and the intangible history of the site. Because the AMA-affiliated entities occupying the site all shared similar missions, it was important to incorporate those missions into any future plans for conservation or development. Sites with similar backgrounds such as Penn Center in South Carolina and the Tillery Community in North Carolina and their approaches to conservation were considered.

Thesis Organization

To provide the reader with a solid background in the history of black education in the United States, the history of the AMA, the history of the Franklinton Center at Bricks, and the history of the preservation of minority cultural resources in the United States, Chapter II begins with a Literature Review covering those topics. Chapter III provides an in-depth history of the site, including cultural/social history and detail regarding how different entities occupying the site shaped the landscape. Existing conditions are also addressed in Chapter III, with maps provided to illustrate how the site has changed over time. Chapter IV, Analysis and Evaluation, identifies extant landscape characteristics by era and evaluates the historic integrity of each landscape characteristic. Chapter V introduces the current management of the site and assesses efforts on the part of the Board of Trustees of the Franklinton Center at Bricks to address preservation issues at the site. Further, it also assesses proposed plans for development of the site and summarizes opportunities and challenges. Chapter VI, "Proposed Strategies," merges the information

gleaned from the analysis and evaluation of the site with current site management and offers recommendations regarding the tangible and intangible historic resources that should be retained. The consequences of inaction are also discussed. The strategies proposed are based on clear objectives regarding the preservation of the site's historic cultural landscape and offer a list a preservation priorities and techniques for addressing these priorities. Chapter VII outlines the conclusions of this thesis, including its place in African-American educational history, the roles of the various institutions which occupied the site, and proposed strategies for conservation and development moving forward.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

African-American Education in the Southeast

Pre-Civil War

Questions regarding how to integrate formerly enslaved Africans into American society emerged before the onset of the American Civil War in 1861 and the issuance of the Emancipation Proclamation in 1863. Schools predating the Civil War were often managed by "slaves and free persons of color," operating in relative secrecy and becoming more visible following the onset of the war.² They included the Pioneer School of Freedom, founded in New Orleans in 1860, and a small black school in Savannah which operated unbeknownst to whites from 1833 to 1865.³ Such schools run by black Americans were later known as "native schools," a term coined following the Civil War by the Freedmen's Bureau to refer to attempts to self-educate among the formerly enslaved population.⁴ The primary goal of these schools was literacy, teaching the black population in the South to read and write.⁵ That goal was particularly risky in the three decades preceding the Civil War as slave states passed laws criminalizing teaching slaves to read or write as well as against providing slaves with reading materials. Approximately five percent of the enslaved population could read by 1860 despite the penalties for

² Anderson, *The Education of Blacks in the South*, 7.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Ibid., 6.

³ Ibid.

possessing that ability, which included beatings and the prospect of having one's forefinger cut off.⁶

During the Civil War

Educational ventures were established during the Civil War (1861 to 1865) on the part of the United States government and northern benevolent societies, including both those with Christian missionary ties such as the American Missionary Association (AMA) as well as charitable organizations intended specifically for freedmen's aid such as the National Freedmen's Relief Association, the American Freedmen's Aid Commission, and the Pennsylvania Freedmen's Relief Association. As early as 1861, these northern benevolent societies began sending teachers south to educate newly freed African Americans.

One of the earliest ventures established by a northern benevolent society came in 1861 following a decree by Union Major General Benjamin Butler at Fortress Monroe, Virginia. The decree declared all slaves managing to reach Union lines would be considered "contraband" and not returned to owners, thus granted freedom. The AMA supported efforts to teach the large number of "contrabands" surrounding Fortress Monroe, and the Fort Monroe School was a direct predecessor of the Hampton Institute.

Government intervention in the education of newly freed slaves in the southern states began with the Port Royal Experiment. Union troop occupation of the Sea Islands of South Carolina began in 1861, and one of the first attempts at educating and managing the formerly enslaved population began shortly thereafter in 1862. President Abraham

-

⁶ Ibid., 16.

⁷ Mary Niall Mitchell, *Raising Freedom's Child: Black Children and Visions of the Future After Slavery*, (New York: New York University Press, 2008), 101.

⁸ Ibid.

Lincoln approved the Port Royal Experiment, a venture funded by freedmen's aid societies in northern cities. The intent was to "organize and oversee the labor of former slaves while teachers addressed the educational needs of the islands' freedpeople" and to serve as a blueprint for future "civilizing" missions. The educational component of the Port Royal Experiment was known first as Penn School and later as Penn Normal, Industrial, and Agricultural School. It closed in 1948.

Smaller schools were established by blacks during the Civil War as well. In Louisiana between 1860 and 1862, these private schools operated without the aid of the federal government or northern benevolent societies. Following Union occupation of New Orleans in 1863, the federal Commission of Enrollment oversaw the schools, ultimately resulting in a census of the black population of the Gulf states, plans to establish schools accordingly, and the creation of the Board of Education for those purposes. By 1864, the efforts, run by Major General Nathaniel P. Banks, reached "9,571 children and 2,000 adults, instructed by 162 teachers" in 95 schools. ¹² When the Freedmen's Bureau took control in 1865, pupils numbered 19,000. ¹³

Post-Civil War Reconstruction

The state of education in the United States in the South following the Civil
War was such that neither the poor white population nor the recently freed black
population had access to universal public education. The South's planter class did not

¹⁰ Ibid., 93-94.

12

⁹ Ibid., 93.

¹¹ "Promoting Sea Island History...Organizational History," Penn Center, accessed February 20, 2013, http://www.penncenter.com/.

¹² Anderson, Education of Blacks in the South, 9.

¹³ Ibid.

believe it within the state's purview to provide that service. According to James D. Anderson's *The Education of Blacks in the South, 1860-1935*, the planter class believed public education "violated the natural evolution of society, threatened familial authority over children, upset the reciprocal relations and duties of owners to laborers, and usurped the functions of the church." Former slaves were unique among the South's population in their desire to assure public education to all during this era, and "actively pursued the aid of Republican politicians, the Freedmen's Bureau, northern missionary societies, and the Union Army." This early period in the history of black education served to provide a foundation for universal schooling of the freed black population.

In addition to schools which operated within the system of the Freedmen's Bureau, established in 1865 to aid ex-slaves, and those operated by northern benevolent societies, many schools operated without government aid or northern funds. Ex-slaves consistently "initiated and supported education for themselves and their children and also resisted external control of their educational institutions." "Sabbath" schools were sponsored by local churches and focused on basic literacy during evening and weekend classes. Little is known about these primarily black-run schools as they were not recorded in the reports issued by the Freedmen's Bureau.

In 1868, the concept of industrial education took hold at Hampton Institute in Hampton, Virginia. Samuel Chapman Armstrong, the school's leader, developed a system of education "designed to avoid confrontations and to maintain within the South a

15 Ibid.

¹⁴ Ibid., 4.

¹⁶ Ibid., 32.

¹⁷ Ibid., 12.

social consensus that did not challenge traditional inequalities of wealth and power." ¹⁸ Industrial education, later championed by Hampton graduate Booker T. Washington and the method Washington employed at Tuskegee Normal and Industrial Institute, focused on education in the trades and used manual labor to impart the values of hard work on students. It also assured a subordinate role for blacks in the South. 19 Black industrial education expanded considerably during the 1880s, though in many instances it did not replace a classical education. ²⁰ The debate on industrial versus classical education continued into the early 20th century. W.E.B. DuBois' focus on the opportunity for a classical education and Booker T. Washington's desire for vocational training was indicative of a larger theme in the acquisition of civil rights for African Americans: "the distinction between pragmatism (Washington) and principle (DuBois)."21

The Rise of Public Education

In 1900, nearly 24,000 black students were enrolled in public or private normal schools, high schools, and colleges, and over 2,000 blacks were graduates of such an institution in the South. 22 However, adequate infrastructure did not exist to staff and maintain a public school system for all African-Americans. A shortage of teachers and subpar facilities meant approximately two-thirds of black children could not enroll in primary school. To solve this problem, steps were taken to train the large number of black teachers necessary to make public education a reality. ²³ In the first decade of the

¹⁸ Ibid., 33.

¹⁹ Ibid., 36.

²⁰ Ibid., 66.

²¹ Ibid., 145.

²² Ibid., 112.

²³ Ibid., 110.

20th century, this was accomplished through industrial schools adhering, at least on the surface, to the Hampton-Tuskegee educational model. By 1911, another alternative emerged in the county training school. The county training school model operated as a boarding school centrally located in a southern county where the first seven grades would be taught and three years of secondary courses trained "industrial teachers for the little country schools."²⁴

The lack of adequate public school facilities for black children was first addressed by the Negro Rural School Fund (also known as the Anna T. Jeanes Foundation), which supported supervisors of industrial teachers appointed by the county superintendent of education beginning in 1909. The Jeanes' teachers raised funds for new facilities and equipment.²⁵ Julius Rosenwald, a philanthropist and president of Sears, Roebuck and Company, initiated a fund to assist in the construction of schools for black children. In partnership with the Tuskegee Institute, the Rosenwald school building program built 4,977 schools between 1912 and 1932. The schools served 663,625 students throughout the program's existence. The schools were paid for in part by the black communities they served, with the balance supplied through a match grant from the Rosenwald Fund. The schools created through this partnership are notable for their innovative architectural style. From 1920 until 1931, the Rosenwald Fund published plans for community schools that built on earlier Tuskegee plans. These designs paid special attention to lighting and ventilation to ensure black students had access to adequate educational facilities. The Rosenwald program required its schools to be placed on a minimum of two acres, making

_

²⁴ Ibid., 138.

²⁵ Ibid., 153.

the schoolhouse the focal point on a small campus that might be surrounded by auxiliary structures and landscape features such as farm plots and practice gardens. ²⁶

Public secondary education for blacks was largely nonexistent in the South until after World War II. High schools available for southern whites trailed the number of facilities available in northern states until reaching parity in the mid-1930s.²⁷ Until about 1920, secondary education for blacks was handled chiefly through private institutions; in 1916, the former slave states were home to 58 public and 216 private high schools for blacks.

The right to higher education in the form of colleges and universities for African-Americans in the South was not guaranteed. Early colleges and universities established by northern benevolent societies were often a far cry from providing anything beyond a secondary education. The Second Morrill Act (1891), which provided funding for public colleges and universities for blacks, was an early commitment on the part of the federal government to black higher education. ²⁸ Southern states could not remove the opportunity for public higher education from black students given this outside commitment, but "white government attempted to limit the independence and influence of these institutions by fiscally starving them and by controlling the individuals (students, faculty, and administrators) who worked and studied at them." Southern whites decried higher education efforts outside of the Booker T. Washington Tuskegee model, which focused on industrial rather than "academic" education. By the 1920s, public higher

_

²⁶ Mary S. Hoffschwelle, National Trust for Historic Preservation, *Preserving Rosenwald Schools*, PDF, 2012, http://www.preservationnation.org/travel-and-sites/sites/southern-region/rosenwald-schools/additional-resources/PB_Rosenwald_final_revised2012.pdf, 7.

²⁷ Anderson, Education of Blacks in the South, 196.

²⁸ Kimberly S. Johnson, *Reforming Jim Crow: Southern Politics and State in the Age Before Brown*, (Oxford University Press, 2010), 146.

²⁹ Ibid., 148.

education for blacks began to move away from the Tuskegee model and toward a curriculum that valued academics in an effort to train future African American leaders.³⁰

The private colleges and universities for blacks built and managed by northern religious and benevolent groups during Reconstruction faced waning financial support during the 1920s, and the Great Depression hastened the closing of these institutions or relinquishing of control to the state. Jackson College in Mississippi, founded by the American Baptist Home Mission Society in 1877, was transferred to state control in 1934. 31 Similarly, one of the institutions dealt with in this thesis, Brick Junior College in Whitakers, North Carolina, was forced to close in 1933 due to a drastic reduction in available funding for the AMA.

Public investment in higher education in the South for both whites and blacks began in the 1920s in response to a dearth of "adequate graduate education and professional training" for the "South's best and brightest." The General Education Board, along with several philanthropic foundations, organized an initiative to focus on creating flagship schools in the South for whites and blacks embedded in a "comprehensive regional university system."³³

School attendance by black children in the South achieved parity with the attendance of southern white children by 1940, largely attributable to school construction campaigns such as the Rosenwald Fund.³⁴ Following World War II and the wave of uneven prosperity its resolution ushered in, the disparity between white and black schools

³⁰ Ibid., 147-148.

³¹ Ibid., 149.

³² Ibid., 172.

³³ Ibid., 173.

³⁴ Anderson, Education of Blacks in the South, 181.

throughout the South reached a new high.³⁵ "Equalization" efforts on the part of whiterun school leadership, which were manifested in the professionalization of the management of black schools, precipitated a push toward desegregation of southern schools.

The landmark U.S. Supreme Court case *Brown v. Board of Education* (1954) declared unconstitutional the establishment of separate schools for black and white students, overturning *Plessy v. Ferguson* (1896), which allowed state-sponsored segregation. *Cooper v. Aaron* (1958) further enforced the *Brown* decision, requiring states to enforce U.S. Supreme Court decisions regardless of whether they agreed with them. These decisions and the Civil Rights movement of the 1960s effectively ended government-sponsored segregation and the segregated school systems which generated the institutions discussed in this section.

Associated Literature

More information on the subject of African American education in the United States can be found in incredible detail in several volumes. James D. Anderson's *The Education of Blacks in the South, 1860-1935* provides an excellent background in the subject, the changing purposes and goals of black education over time, and the major funders and organizations associated with it. For an in-depth look at the motives, both public and private, behind the education of African Americans before, during, and after the Civil War, Mary Niall Mitchell's *Raising Freedom's Child: Black children and visions of the future after slavery* is useful. Other helpful works include Ronald E. Butchart's *Northern schools, southern Blacks, and Reconstruction: freedmen's*

³⁵ Johnson, *Reforming Jim Crow*, 143.

18

education, 1862-1875 (1980) and Schooling the freed people: teaching, learning, and the struggle for black freedom, 1861-1876 (2010); Clara Merritt DeBoer's His Truth is Marching on: African Americans Who Taught the Freedmen for the American Missionary Association, 1861-1877; Donald G. Nieman's African Americans and education in the South, 1865-1900; and Kimberly S. Johnson's Reforming Jim Crow: Southern politics and state in the age before Brown.

History of the American Missionary Association and its Role in

African-American Education in the Southeast

The American Missionary Association (AMA) was established in 1846 by a coalition of abolitionist missionary organizations at the Second Convention on Bible Missions. The Union Missionary Society, Western Evangelical Missionary Society, and the Committee for West Indian Missions were all absorbed into this new organization. Its earliest missions operated across the world, in Hawaii, present-day Thailand, and Egypt. Missions associated with the abolition of slavery spanned North America and included those for runaway American slaves in Canada and liberated slaves in Jamaica as well as support for abolitionist churches in the northern United States.³⁶

The onset of the American Civil War provided the AMA with the opportunity to educate contrabands, or slaves who had escaped to Union lines using facilities confiscated by the Union army.³⁷ Its first venture to this end was at Fortress Monroe, Virginia, in September 1861. Throughout the Civil War, the AMA followed Union forces

_

³⁶ "American Missionary Association archives addenda, 1849-1991: Biographical Note," Amistad Research Center, accessed February 20, 2013,

 $http://www.amistadresearchcenter.org/archon/index.php?p=collections/findingaid\&id=28\&rootcontentid=1\\1993\&q=franklinton.$

³⁷ Ibid.

closely, resulting in classes frequently disrupted by cannon fire. ³⁸ Schools were established as soon as the military situation allowed, and the close following of Union forces resulted in a pattern of work by the AMA that mirrored Union progress, from Virginia to the Carolinas, Washington, D.C., and eventually westward to Missouri and Tennessee. ³⁹ Their efforts expanded as the war progressed, with 15 teachers working in Virginia and South Carolina in 1862 and 83 teachers across the southern and western states in 1863. ⁴⁰ When the war ended in 1865, the AMA had 250 teachers and missionaries at work. ⁴¹

Following the Civil War, the AMA redoubled its efforts to educate the freedmen and women. By 1866, teachers and missionaries numbered 353 – by 1868, there were 532. AMA commissioned teachers made up nearly one third of all teachers working in the South as reported by the Freedmen's Bureau in 1867. 42 Of the 84 schools in Georgia run by northern benevolent societies, 76 were established by the AMA. Students of all ages participated in AMA schools during this period. 43 The AMA ran elementary or "common" schools, normal schools, and colleges (which functioned during Reconstruction as secondary schools). These efforts combined reached nearly 39,000 students in day and night classes in June 1867.

-

³⁸ Joe Martin Richardson and Maxine Deloris Jones, *Education for Liberation: the American Missionary Association and African Americans, 1890 to the Civil Rights Movement* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2009), xi.

³⁹ Clara Merritt DeBoer, *His Truth is Marching On: African Americans who taught the freedmen for the American Missionary Association*, *1861-1877* (New York: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1995), 6.

⁴¹ Joe Martin Richardson, *Christian Reconstruction: the American Missionary Association and Southern Blacks*, 1861-1890 (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1986), 37.

⁴² DeBoer, *His Truth is Marching On*, 5.

⁴³ Richardson and Jones, *Education for Liberation*, 28.

Common schools were generally in isolated rural areas and connected with churches. 44 Though the AMA operated 51 common schools in 1891 45, they were never at the heart of the organization's mission. Rather, the AMA sought in this period to prepare teachers "to meet the increasing demand of the public schools both in rural communities and in towns." ⁴⁶ By 1905, the AMA operated only 16 common schools (this number increased to 23 in 1907 due to AMA assisting in administration of several public elementary schools). 47 The AMA held a firm belief in public education. Its policy following Reconstruction was to close its primary and secondary schools as public entities proved able to manage the education of African Americans themselves. In the American South, these efforts moved slowly on the part of local and state governments, and the AMA ran schools there as late as 1946. To the extent the AMA was able to close its primary and secondary schools, newly available funds were used to bolster its postsecondary schools. 48 To assist in the efforts of public authorities, the AMA frequently gave its school facilities to public entities committed to providing free education for black students. 49 Evidence of this phasing-out of common schools is found in a 1909 history of the AMA in which it noted some of its early achievements in African American education. In the 20 years preceding the publishing of this history, the AMA "increased its normal and graded schools from fourteen to forty-four, its corps of instructors from 218 to 476, and the pupils under instruction from 8,492 to 14,429."50

⁴⁴ Ibid., 1.

⁴⁵ Ibid.

⁴⁶ Ibid., 4.

⁴⁷ Ibid., 13.

⁴⁸ "Biographical Note."

⁴⁹ Richardson and Jones, *Education for Liberation*, xvii.

⁵⁰ Augustus Field Beard, *A Crusade of Brotherhood: a history of the American Missionary Association* (Boston, The Pilgrim Press, 1909, 1970), http://hdl.handle.net/2027/uc1.\$b689780, 277.

Similar to its policy on common schools, the AMA desired to close its secondary schools as quickly as possible, believing education to be a public responsibility. However, state and local agencies were slow to establish and maintain public black high schools, and the AMA kept such schools open longer. ⁵¹ As noted by Richardson and Jones in *Education for Liberation:* "The AMA and other organizations created normal and secondary schools for blacks because the southern states would not." ⁵²

The AMA believed in equality in education from its inception and "its task would be incomplete until blacks had access to all levels of education." Establishment of colleges and universities for African Americans was a priority for the AMA beginning with the end of the Civil War. Between 1866 and 1869, the AMA chartered seven colleges and contributed to the founding of Howard University. These schools included Fisk University, Talladega College, Straight University (now Dillard), Atlanta University, Hampton Institute (now Hampton University), Tougaloo College, and Berea College. College-level instruction was not offered at the aforementioned institutions in the early years of their operation. Rather, the majority of students focused on primary work initially, and the schools added normal and college curriculums as the progress of their students dictated. This happened more quickly at schools located within population centers, like Fisk in Nashville, Tennessee. Rural institutions such as Talladega generally progressed more slowly. 54

The educational philosophy behind the AMA's schools did not hinge on the industrial versus classical education debate. The organization did not believe in the

⁵¹ Richardson, *Christian Reconstruction*, 123.

⁵² Richardson and Jones, *Education for Liberation*, 16.

⁵³ Ibid

⁵⁴ Ibid., 128.

implementation of one strategy at the expense of another. Fisk, Atlanta, and Straight Universities "emphasized teacher training and a classical education, while Hampton became one of the most outstanding industrial schools."55 Leaders of these schools frequently felt allegiance to one style of education over the other, but the AMA supported both. AMA colleges had a number of issues with which to contend during Reconstruction, including financial constraints, changing leadership, white hostility, lack of population prepared for college level training, and a shortage of teachers. However, the positive impact of these colleges on the black population in terms of opportunity for higher education was immeasurable. Joe M. Richardson, in his book Christian Reconstruction: The American Missionary Association and Southern Blacks, 1861-1890, is quick to point out that many white schools of the period also suffered from limited faculties and scare equipment.⁵⁶ In addition to providing teacher training and other employment opportunities for African Americans, the AMA's early colleges "demonstrated to a skeptical nation that blacks were as capable of higher education as any other people."57

Organizational Structure

The AMA existed as such from 1846 through 1934, when it became part of a new organization, the Board for Homeland Ministries, resulting from the merger of the Congregational and Christian Churches. Despite the Board for Homeland Ministries' independent higher education programming, the AMA was allowed to maintain autonomy in its own programming for some time. In 1957, another merger between the

⁵⁵ Ibid., 135.

⁵⁶ Ibid., 139.

⁵⁷ Ibid., 140.

Congregational and Christian Churches and the Evangelical and German Reformed
Churches resulted in the formation of the United Church of Christ. The AMA became a
part of the Division of Higher Education and the American Missionary Association under
the umbrella of the United Church Board for Homeland Ministries at this time. The
Council for Higher Education of the United Church of Christ began administering AMA
schools in 1963. The Division of Higher Education was eliminated in 1985, becoming the
Division of Christian Education and the American Missionary Association. The United
Church Board for Homeland Ministries absorbed the financial endowment of the AMA in
1987, retained since the founding of the organization in 1846. Currently, the Justice and
Witness Ministries Division of the United Church of Christ carries on the "ministries of
prophetic service and action formerly conducted by the Division of the American
Missionary Association of the United Church Board for Homeland Ministries." 59

Franklinton Center at Bricks

The AMA-affiliated educational institutions that operated on the current site of the Franklinton Center at Bricks included the Joseph Keasbey Brick Agricultural, Industrial and Normal School (1895-1925), Brick Junior College (1925-1933), and the Brick[s] Rural Life School (1933-1954). These institutions closely mirrored the strategies and policies of the AMA through time, though each managed to be unique within the AMA. The history of these institutions and the ways in which they altered the landscape are discussed at length in Chapter III.

⁵⁸ "Biographical Note."

⁵⁹ "Constitution and Bylaws," United Church of Christ, accessed February 20, 2013, http://www.ucc.org/about-us/constitution-of-the-ucc.html.

Associated Literature

In addition to information on the American Missionary Association gleaned from the broader canon of literature dealing with the history of black education in the United States, two histories dealing specifically with the American Missionary Association were useful as background. Joe Martin Richardson's *Christian reconstruction: the American Missionary Association and Southern Blacks, 1861-1890* (1986) and *Education for liberation: the American Missionary Association and African Americans, 1890 to the Civil Rights Movement* (2009) gave insight into the AMA objectives across many eras and throughout many projects.

Preservation of African-American Cultural Resources

United States

The preservation of African American cultural resources in the United States began in earnest in the 1960s. The Civil Rights Movement and the sociopolitical environment that spawned it generated increased interest in and awareness of these resources at a time when the United States as a whole was codifying its approach to historic preservation. ⁶⁰ Earlier efforts in black heritage preservation can be traced to the Jamestown Exposition of 1907, where a congressional allocation of \$100,000 was used for the construction of a "Negro Building," dedicated to African heritage at Jamestown. ⁶¹

The National Park Service (NPS) acquired three properties associated with black history in the United States prior to the passing of the National Historic Preservation Act

⁶¹ Ibid., 20.

⁶⁰ Heather Lynn McDonald, "The National Register of Historic Places and African-American Heritage" (master's thesis, University of Georgia, 2009), 19.

(NHPA) in 1966. The first was George Washington Carver National Monument in Diamond, Missouri, in 1943. The NPS added the Booker T. Washington National Monument in Hardy, Virginia in 1956 and the Frederick Douglas home in Washington, D.C. in 1962. ⁶² In the years following the NHPA, the NPS added and managed more black heritage sites of varying designations. A 1972 survey designed to increase the number of National Historic Landmarks associated with black history yielded 85 properties added to the list. Such efforts by the NPS resulted in increased visibility of black history sites and, with the 1976 bicentennial, many private forays into the preservation of that history by nonprofits and community organizations emerged. ⁶³

Gradually, both private and public historic sites began interpreting African

American history within the national history context. Colonial Williamsburg included slavery in its representation of a colonial city beginning in the mid-1980s, reconstructing slave quarters and, by 1994, re-enacting a slave auction. At Civil War battlefields, the NPS modified its interpretation to include slavery.⁶⁴

Survey efforts by the NPS were continued through the 1980s and 1990s, and Congress encouraged further preservation of African American resources. The *National Underground Railroad Network to Freedom Act* of 1998 was the result of a 1990 study by the NPS ordered by Congress to determine the best way to address the preservation of the Underground Railroad. In 1995, Congress passed the *Historically Black Colleges and Universities Historic Building Restoration and Preservation Act*, which authorized

_

⁶² Ibid., 21.

⁶³ Ibid., 22.

⁶⁴ Ibid., 25.

⁶⁵ Ibid., 25-26.

preservation and restoration grants for historic buildings at historically black colleges and universities.

The preservation of African American cultural resources is a continual challenge within the United States despite the efforts summarized above. Heather Lynn McDonald's 2009 thesis, *The National Register of Historic Places and African American Heritage*, addressed deficiencies within the National Register nomination process, describing the process as daunting and difficult for laymen to complete – a problem when the field of historic preservation is staffed primarily by people of European-American descent yet "only the cultural group in which the resource was created and cultivated can truly perceive its historical significance." 66

The National Trust for Historic Preservation's "African American Historic Places Initiative" was created in 2002 to "explore the specific challenges that African American historic places face." The initiative resulted in the "Working Inventory of African American Historic Places in the U.S.," a database of more than 7,000 sites significant in black heritage. The initiative also determined a set a challenges specific to African-American Historic sites, including "a difficulty with sites that have to deal with uncomfortable issues," "a lack of a network or association for professionals in the field" specific to preservation of African-American resources, issues with the complicated nature of securing historic designations, and "a general lack of knowledge about the existence of a number of African American historic sites" necessitating a need for "more

_

⁶⁶ Ibid., 38.

⁶⁷ Jeffrey A. Harris, *African American Historic Places Initiative: State of Affairs Paper*, PDF, 2004, http://www.preservationnation.org/forum/african-american-historic-places/additional-resources/NTHP-African-American-Historic-Places-Initiative-State-of-Affairs-Paper-2004.pdf, 1.

of a concerted effort to go out into the field to identify African American historic sites and determine their significance."⁶⁸

Preservation of sites associated with minority history as a grass roots movement and the influence of that movement on federal preservation programs is well-articulated in the compendium of essays, "Cultural Diversity and Historic Preservation," edited by Antoinette J. Lee. An early example is the Weeksville Project, begun in 1968 upon information being uncovered regarding a 19th century African-American settlement in central Brooklyn known as Weeksville. The organization formed to take on the task of preserving this neighborhood was the Society for the Preservation of Weeksville & Bedford-Stuyvesant History. The successful preservation of houses associated with Weeksville and the broad state and federal support the project garnered were important to demonstrating preservation as a powerful tool with benefits to "both affluent and modest communities in America."

Southeast

Preservation of African American cultural resources in the Southeast United
States varies greatly among states and is mostly accomplished through State Historic
Preservation Organizations (SHPOs). The Black Heritage Council of the Alabama
Historical Commission formed in 1984, and currently hosts educational workshops and an annual preservation form as means to educate citizens of the need to preserve black

⁶⁸ Ibid.. 8

⁶⁹ Joan Maynard, "The Weeksville Project," in "Cultural Dviersity and Historic Preservation," ed. Antoinette J. Lee, *CRM* 15, no. 7 (1992), accessed February 25, 2013, http://crm.cr.nps.gov/archive/15-7/15-7-all.pdf.

history and culture. The Georgia African American Historic Preservation Network (GAAHPN) was established in 1989, and a full-time African-American programs coordinator position within the Georgia Department of Natural Resources was created by the Georgia State Legislature in 2000. Georgia's African-American program was the first of its kind in the United States, and it focuses on providing assistance "to anyone interested in preserving Georgia' African-American historic resources through presentations, site visits, and *Reflections*," a "periodical featuring African American resources and stories from across Georgia." The South Carolina African American Heritage Commission was established in 2001, and Louisiana's 2011 visioning plan for historic preservation and archaeological conservation in the state pays considerable attention to sites associated with black history.

Educational Resources in the Southeast

The National Trust for Historic Preservation has been actively involved in the preservation of Rosenwald Schools since the organization named Rosenwald Schools to its list of America's Most Endangered Historic Places in 2002. Since then, the National Trust has organized the Rosenwald Schools Initiative. In 2012, the National Trust held the first National Rosenwald Schools Conference at Tuskegee University and revised its publication *Preserving Rosenwald Schools*. In addition to providing a history of the Rosenwald program, the publication includes guides for identifying and preserving these schools across the South.

.

⁷⁰ "Black Heritage Council," State of Alabama Historic Preservation Office, accessed March 7, 2013, http://www.preserveala.org/blackheritagecouncil.aspx/.

⁷¹ "African American," Georgia Department of Natural Resources Historic Preservation Division, accessed March 7, 2013, http://georgiashpo.org/historic/african_american.

In addition to surveying and documenting Rosenwald Schools, the Georgia State Historic Preservation Office has several other initiatives aimed at the preservation of buildings and landscapes associated with African American educational history. Equalization schools, common in Georgia between 1952 and 1970, were constructed in African American communities by the State School Building Authority to stave off challenges to the "separate but equal" doctrine. The surveying and documenting of equalization schools in Georgia began in 2010. Similar efforts are also underway in South Carolina. The Georgia SHPO is also involved in the preservation of Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCUs) and earlier common, normal, and industrial schools throughout the state. ⁷²

In South Carolina, Penn Center provides a close parallel to the Franklinton Center at Bricks as a former normal, industrial, and agricultural school for African-Americans cum community center. Penn Normal, Industrial, and Agricultural School closed in 1948, became Penn Community Services Center shortly thereafter, and served as a site for retreat and strategic planning by Civil Rights groups like the Southern Christian Leadership Conference in the 1960s. It became known as Penn Center in the early 1980s and has since acted "to preserve the unique history, culture, and environment of the Sea Island through serving as a local, national and international resource center, and by acting as a catalyst for the development of programs for self-sufficiency." The Penn Center describes itself as "an agency linked to the past and connected to the future." In terms of preservation of important African-American cultural resources, Penn Center was an

_

⁷² "African American: Schools," Georgia Department of Natural Resources Historic Preservation Division, accessed February 20, 2013, http://georgiashpo.org/historic/african_american#schools.

^{73 &}quot;Promoting Sea Island History...Organizational History."

⁷⁴ Ibid.

early case of listing on the National Register of Historic Places. It was listed in September 1974 and the Penn School Historic District was designated a National Historic Landmark in December of that year. In addition to preserving its own tangible and intangible heritage, Penn Center programming reaches out to the Sea Islands community to encourage them to preserve and maintain "their land and cultural practices in the midst of environmental changes" as well.⁷⁵

Dorchester Cooperative Center (DCC), located in Liberty County, Georgia, is another institution that closely paralleled the history of Bricks. It operated as a school, Dorchester Academy, until 1940 when the AMA closed the school and began focusing more attention on the surrounding community. The DCC used the buildings and grounds of Dorchester Academy, operating the Dorchester Federal Credit Union on the site and providing farming assistance, financial advice, and voter registration help to black community members. It also figured prominently in the Civil Rights movement. Similar to Bricks, many of Dorchester's campus buildings were torn down in the 1940s. One of the sole remaining structures from the school's campus is a 1934 boys' dormitory, listed on the National Register of Historic Places and as a National Historic Landmark due to its association with the Citizenship Education Program of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) which ran from 1956 until 1970. Dorchester Academy currently functions as a museum, and restoration efforts for the dormitory have been underway since 1997.

⁷⁵"Collection, Documentation, Preservation and Dissemination: Public Programs," Penn Center, accessed February 20, 2013, http://www.penncenter.com/.

⁷⁶ Richardson and Jones, *Education for Liberation*, 92-95.

⁷⁷ "Dorchester Academy Boys' Dormitory," National Historic Landmarks Program, accessed February 25, 2013, http://tps.cr.nps.gov/nhl/detail.cfm?ResourceId=483240175&ResourceType=Building.

In North Carolina, a smaller AMA-associated community is attempting to preserve its heritage through environmental activism. The Tillery Resettlement Farm was one of only 15 African American resettlements projects undertaken under President Franklin Delano Roosevelt's New Deal Resettlement Agency (later the Farm Security Administration). Rocated roughly 120 miles from Bricks, the AMA provided rural life education to the community's residents at the same time it operated the Bricks Rural Life School, also using the same staff. The Tillery community center and co-op were partially maintained through the AMA. The group Concerned Citizens of Tillery (CCT), seeks to preserve the black agricultural heritage of Tillery and works toward environmental justice for communities of color.

Associated Literature

Useful chronologies of the preservation movement and the preservation of minority cultural resources were found in Heather Lynn McDonald's 2009 master's thesis, "The National Register of Historic Places and African American Heritage," and Antoinette J. Lee's 1992 *CRM* article, "Cultural Diversity and Historic Preservation." Further research on regionally-specific African-American cultural resource preservation efforts was difficult to find, and this literature review relied heavily on Web sources and information available on government Web sites for the Southeast states. While a great many resources are available regarding the history of African-American education in the South and the history of the American Missionary Association, little published information regarding the preservation of AMA funded educational institutions, including

⁷⁸ "Remembering Tillery: Our Land, Our Community," Concerned Citizens of Tillery, accessed February 20, 2013, http://www.cct78.org/history-house.html.

their buildings and grounds. Background on sites such as Penn Center, Dorchester

Academy and Dorchester Cooperative Center, and the Tillery community was gleaned
from those wider histories. Information regarding those sites and their 2013 incarnations
and approach to historic preservation was gleaned from their respective Web sites.

CHAPTER 3

THE FRANKLINTON CENTER AT BRICKS ACROSS TIME

Early History

Pre-history through Antebellum Plantation Era (1826 to 1865)

While the area of North Carolina in which the current Franklinton Center at Bricks is located was once home to the Tuscarora and Croatan American Indian tribes, little is known at present regarding how this specific site may have been shaped by early inhabitants. White settlement began in the 1600s when this area was part of Province of Carolina, a proprietary colony, and the 60-mile wide portion of the colony running the entire shared boundary of present-day North Carolina and Virginia became known as the "Granville District" in 1744 after its proprietor and was known as such until after the American Revolution.

The property now associated with the Franklinton Center at Bricks is the remaining acreage of an early 19th-century plantation owned by Mason Wiggins, a successful farmer in the State of North Carolina. Wiggins pieced together 1,365 acres in Edgecombe and Nash counties between 1826 and 1836. 79 Wiggins sold the property, along with 43 slaves, to Francis Garrett and his brothers in 1857. In 1863, Joseph John Garrett owned the property now associated with the Brick School. He also owned 75 slaves at that time who presumably worked on what would become the Brick farm.⁸⁰

⁷⁹ Nancy Van Dolsen, "National Register of Historic Places Registration Form," (Unpublished Manuscript, 2011), "Historical Narrative, Education and Ethnic Heritage/Black Context." ⁸⁰ Ibid.

How This Era Shaped the Landscape

An 1864 map from the Chief Engineer's Office of the Confederate States of America, Army, Department of Northern Virginia depicts eastern North Carolina. The land located at the intersection of Fishing Creek and the Wilmington and Weldon Railroad near present-day US Route 301 is noted as belonging to "J. Garrett." The map [Fig. 2] denotes buildings only with small squares, of which there are approximately 11 in the area attributed to J. Garrett. These squares likely refer to the 20 slave houses owned by Garrett in 1863. The variegated line to the west of these squares in Fig. 2 represents the railroad, then known at the Wilmington and Weldon Railroad. The double line to the east of these squares is in the same location as the current U.S. Route 301, and the road running southwest-northeast below these squares is present-day Moore Farm Rd, where later tenant houses are known to have been located. Fishing Creek passes east-west through the map.

A cemetery, still in use and currently known as the "Old Bricks Cemetery," also likely dates to this period. There are 96 marked graves in the cemetery postdating the antebellum plantation era, but a number of unmarked, uniform depressions indicate the presence of older graves as well.

A railroad line running through the property was completed in 1840, part of the Wilmington and Weldon railroad line, which connected the two North Carolina cities with 161.5 miles of track. In 1900, the railroad "became part of the Atlantic Coast Line

⁸¹ Confederate States of America, Army, Dept. of Northern Virginia, Chief Engineer's Office, *Map of a part of eastern North Carolina: from a map in progress: compiled from surveys & reconnaissances made under the direction of A.H. Campbell, in Chg. Top. Dep. D. N. Va.* (1864), Multimedia, from the North Carolina Collection at the University of North Carolina,

http://dc.lib.unc.edu/cdm/singleitem/collection/ncmaps/id/888/rec/2.

⁸² Van Dolsen, "Historical Narrative," 2011.

railroad system which merged into the Seaboard Coast Line in 1967" (and eventually CSX).⁸³



Fig. 2: Portion of an 1864 map showing cluster of buildings associated with J. Garrett property, Fishing Creek, and nearby Enfield, NC. (Map of a part of eastern North Carolina: from a map in progress: compiled from surveys & reconnaissances made under the direction of A.H. Campbell, in Chg. Top. Dep. D. N. Va. (1864), from the North Carolina Collection at the University of North Carolina)

_

⁸³ Harry McKown, "This Month in North Carolina History: March 1840 – Wilmington & Weldon Railroad," UNC University Libraries, accessed February 20, 2013, http://www.lib.unc.edu/ncc/ref/nchistory/mar2006/index.html.

Post-bellum Plantation Era: 1867 to c. 1895

Union Brigadier General Llewellyn Garrish Estes allegedly passed through Edgecombe County during the final days of the Civil War, "seeking to tie up the Confederate forces in the city of Richmond, and thus end the war." One of twelve regiments which started north to achieve this end, General Estes took a route through eastern North Carolina, where he is believed to have asserted "that he liked this particular location so well that after the Civil War shall have closed, he would come back here and buy a farm." In 1867, Estes bought the 1,129.5 acre plantation previously belonging to the Garrett family.

At some point during General Estes' ownership of the farmland he became unable to pay his debts. Julia Elma Brick, widow of Joseph Keasbey Brick of Brooklyn, New York, came to his aid. Some sources indicate Joseph Brick was a friend of the Estes' family, while earlier sources refer to Brick as General Estes' uncle. Brick loaned Estes the money necessary to repay his debts. When Estes proved unable to repay the Bricks, the farm landed in Julia Brick's possession. ⁸⁶ The exact year of this transfer of ownership is unknown.

⁸⁴ Thomas Sewell Inborden, "History of Brick School" (Photocopy of 1937 document from the collection of the Franklinton Center at Bricks).

⁸⁵ Ibid.

⁸⁶ Ibid.

How This Era Shaped the Landscape

Estes farmed the land much as it had been farmed prior to the Civil War. He grew cotton, corn, peaches, strawberries, and other fruits and vegetables. He shipped his products using a railroad track spur which passed through his property. ⁸⁷

American Missionary Association Management

Julia E. Brick Donates the Land: 1890-1895

Julia Brick approached a representative of Howard University, located in Washington, D.C., at the Clinton Avenue Congregational Church in Brooklyn, New York, following a speaking engagement on the topic of black education sometime prior to 1890. She informed him of the property she now held in North Carolina, and stated her wish to have Howard University operate a school for rural youth on the property. She later met with General Oliver Otis Howard, the namesake of Howard University, who directed her to the American Missionary Association (AMA). ⁸⁸ Julia Brick formally deeded the plantation to the AMA in 1890. ⁸⁹

How This Era Shaped the Landscape

While surveying the property prior to accepting Julia Brick's donation, the representative sent by the AMA noted the plantation to be rapidly deteriorating. Located on the property were "many old slave cabins" and only one structure deemed suitable for

٠

⁸⁷ Ibid.

⁸⁸ Ibid.

⁸⁹ "Brick Rural Life School (Bricks, N. Car.): Historical Note," Amistad Research Center, accessed February 20, 2013, http://www.amistadresearchcenter.org/archon/index.php?p=creators/creator&id=67.

use by a school. 90 The structure, likely the house associated with General Estes, burned several months before the arrival of the school's principal, Thomas Sewell Inborden, in 1895.⁹¹

Thomas Sewell Inborden Arrives: 1895

Thomas Sewell Inborden arrived at the farm that would become the Joseph K. Brick Agricultural, Industrial, and Normal School on August 1, 1895. 92 An 1891 graduate of Fisk University, he had been hired by AMA as principal of the new school. 93 Early preparations for the Brick School on the part of Inborden included visits to New York City to secure equipment necessary for the school's opening. He met Julia Brick for the first time in Brooklyn during this visit. Inborden cultivated a relationship with Brick, who grew increasingly interested in the Brick School. Though her original intention had been to donate the land and a small sum of \$5,000 to construct the school's first building, she greatly increased that commitment during the school's early years. Each of her visits to the school resulted in Brick providing additional funds to aid in construction of new facilities for the rapidly growing school. Brick's will left the net proceeds of and from her residuary property and estate to the AMA, specifically for Brick School. This resulted in an endowment to the school in the amount of \$150,000 upon her death in 1903. 94

⁹⁰ Augustus Field Beard, "Mrs. Julia E. Brick, Founder of the Joseph Keasbey Brick Agricultural, Industrial and Normal Institute, Enfield, North Carolina" The American Missionary v. 56 (1902): 142, http://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015075070295.

⁹¹ Inborden, "History of Brick School."

⁹² Thomas Sewell Inborden, "Two Autobiographies of Thomas Sewell Inborden," (manuscript in the collection of the Franklinton Center at Bricks, 1972).

⁹³ Willa Cofield Blackshear and Worth Long, "Brick School: Educating the Youth and Empowering the Community" (Media treatment, Funded by the North Carolina Humanities Council), 4. ⁹⁴ Inborden, "History of Brick School."

Inborden's autobiography paints a picture of the farm as one sorely in need of repair and "Christian influence" upon his arrival. Before the farm was cleaned up and made suitable as an educational facility, it was in need of considerable attention.

Inborden described sleeping his first night in an as-yet-uncompleted new building:

"I moved a dining-room table to an unfurnished room on the second floor where there were no windows or doors, just holes in the walls. On this table, I put my bed and slept. The snakes, cats, stray dogs, and worst of all a million mosquitoes took possession. The nights were made hideous by dog fights, cat squalls, screech of owls, and whippoorwills, and song of the mosquitoes and last but not the least, cursing and threats by drunken Negroes passing to and fro to chicken fights, gander fights, and what not..."

How This Era Shaped the Landscape

At the time of Inborden's arrival in August of 1895, one building, intended for use as an all-purpose educational facility, was under construction. ⁹⁶ This building was likely the original Benedict Hall, which burned in 1904 and was replaced by a building with the same name and location shortly thereafter. In his autobiography, Inborden mentioned that "stables, barns, [and] gin houses all were in bad repair." Inborden also noted 18 tenant houses on the farm at this time. It is not known for certain whether these agricultural buildings and related homes date from the Estes era or earlier to the Garrett era. Through colorful descriptions given by Inborden one can infer the property was in considerable disrepair.

⁹⁵ Inborden, "History of Brick School."

⁹⁶ Ibid

⁹⁷ Ibid.

Inborden took on the task of clearing land and making basic improvements to the farm upon his arrival:

"My first job was to buy a briar scythe to clear up the weeds and bushes; next to buy wrenches, shovels, pipes, pumps, and fill up all cesspools and put down sanitary pumps.",98

The old wells, according to Inborden, were the source of the diseases with which the current inhabitants were infected (malaria and typhoid):

"In these old wells, I found watermelon rinds, frogs, terrapins, snakes, and every sort of thing. Here is where these people caught their diseases."99

Improvements were also made along two miles of Fishing Creek, which bounded the property to the north. Dikes were built to halt flooding of the low ground. Elsewhere on the farm, ditches were dug, trees planted, and fences, roads, and bridges built. 100

Land ownership in the vicinity of the farm was entirely white during this period. 101

Joseph K. Brick Agricultural, Industrial, and Normal School: 1895-1925

The Joseph K. Brick Agricultural, Industrial, and Normal School opened on October 1, 1895. The year began with just one student enrolled and ended with 54 students enrolled, 13 of whom were boarders. 102 The school's name was reflective of

⁹⁸ Ibid.

⁹⁹ Ibid.

Blackshear and Long, "Brick School," 4.Inborden, "History of Brick School."

¹⁰² Blackshear and Long, "Brick School," 4.

Julia Brick's attitude toward education for African Americans, placing agricultural and industrial education before a "normal" or classical education. ¹⁰³

The faculty of Brick School was entirely black, a rarity at that time, and graduates of prestigious academies and universities such as Oberlin and Fisk. Though Brick School's name implied an emphasis on agricultural and industrial education, Inborden and other faculty members were intent on implementing a strong academic program. ¹⁰⁴ Inborden believed higher education was needed for all occupations and across all fields. Agricultural chemistry was taught to advanced students once they had mastered the basics of farm management. Similarly, Inborden did not undervalue manual labor. The curriculum required all students to take an industrial class. 105

The monthly cost of attending Brick School was eight dollars, and students not able to afford this tuition benefited from a work program. The work program was structured so as to allow students to have alternate work/school years. One year they worked during the day and attended school at night, while the following year the money they earned in the work program would pay for a year's tuition and the students could attend full-time day school. 106 Students supplied the bulk of the labor necessary to run Brick School. This included farming, building, livestock care, janitorial duties, canning, and sewing, among other tasks. 107

In addition to its educational functions, Brick School was also home to several tenant families. In 1909, the families numbered seven, and each farmed an average of 30

¹⁰³ Thomas Sewell Inborden, Jos. K. Brick Agricultural, Industrial and Normal School (New York, 190-?), http://hdl.handle.net/2027/loc.ark:/13960/t44q8nd2m.

¹⁰⁴Blackshear and Long, "Brick School," 7.

¹⁰⁵ Blackshear and Long, "Brick School," 9.
106 Blackshear and Long, "Brick School," 8.

¹⁰⁷ Inborden, "Jos. K. Brick."

to 45 acres. ¹⁰⁸ Rent was paid in the form of a specified amount of "lint cotton" (raw cotton fiber, ginned). Tenants signed a clause in their rental agreements agreeing they would not consume "intoxicating liquor except for medical purposes" and they would not commit any "violation of morality injurious to the farm, and no conduct which is not in harmony with the teaching of the school." Such a clause insured Inborden and Brick School would deal only with model tenants. Children of the tenant farmers attended Brick School, with 32 matriculating in 1900¹¹⁰ and 20 matriculating in 1909.¹¹¹

Brick School educated these tenant farmers alongside its students with regard to effective agricultural techniques. The Annual Farmers' Day was one such program. It consisted of several sessions throughout the day concerning agricultural education, finance, character, and the methods through which parents could make country life more appealing to their children. Speakers were both white and black. 112 One observer recalled a visit to one Farmers' Day by the owner of the plantation occupying the land prior to **Brick School:**

"...For the first time the old plantation owner, who had had some of these men and many of their fathers as his slaves, came to compare his farming experience with theirs as freedmen."113

By 1900, the school's enrollment reached 209 students, 100 of whom were boarders. 114 The highest enrollment at Brick School was 460 students, 260 of whom were

¹⁰⁸ Richardson, Christian Reconstruction, 258.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid.

¹¹⁰ Inborden, "Jos. K. Brick."

¹¹¹ Richardson, Christian Reconstruction, 259.

¹¹² Richardson, Christian Reconstruction, 263.

¹¹⁴ Inborden, "Jos. K. Brick."

boarders, though the exact year enrollment reached this number could not be ascertained. 115

How This Era Shaped the Landscape

This era of the property's development saw the greatest number of changes made both in terms of building construction and landscape design. Many of the farm buildings associated with the Estes and earlier eras were torn down during the early years of Brick School, believed to be "impregnated with typhoid fever and other germs" and not suited to the purpose of the school. Tenant houses on the property were rebuilt and repaired during the early years as well. 117

Improvements to the property happened at a steady pace and were predicated on need and the natural advancement of the institution. Within Brick School's first five years of operation, a spur track was constructed along the Atlantic Coastline Railroad which ran through the property to handle school freight (It is unclear whether this was indeed a new spur track or simply a repair of the spur track associated with General Estes' ownership of the property). An "aeromotor power mill" was added to pump water to the school buildings. ¹¹⁸

The campus' academic buildings were built of brick, while teachers' homes and agricultural and industrial outbuildings were typically built of wood. The source of the bricks used is not known, but Julia Brick's late husband (for whom the school was named) owned brick factories in New York City and northern New Jersey, possible

¹¹⁵ C. Rudolph Knight, "Bricks School," *The Daily* Southerner, October 19, 2011, http://dailysoutherner.com/localhistory/x2117286647/Bricks-School.

¹¹⁶ Inborden, "Jos. K. Brick."

¹¹⁷ Ibid.

¹¹⁸ Ibid.

sources for the material. The first building constructed was Benedict Hall, which acted as classroom space, dining hall, kitchen, and dormitory space for the small number of boarders and faculty. Benedict Hall burned in 1904. In 1898, Brewster Hall, a boys' dormitory, was completed using funds donated by Julia Brick (Brewster became a dormitory for college and upper class girls in later years). Following the construction of Brewster Hall, Julia Brick donated funds for a second boys' dormitory, Beard Hall, notable for its "shower baths." A new Benedict Hall was completed in 1905 and served as a girls' dormitory.

Ingraham Chapel, constructed using funds from both Julia Brick and her attorney, George Ingraham, was erected in the early 20th century. Its auditorium seated 1,000, and the building also housed five music rooms. In 1899 a frame classroom building known as Elma Hall was built. Elma Hall burned in 1914 and was replaced by the Administration Building, which burned in 1945. 121

The final two visits of Julia Brick to Brick School, before her death in 1903, also prompted the construction of a number of auxiliary buildings, including a modern barn, "fine large storehouse," additions to the girls' dormitory, a buttery, a windmill, and principal's residence. ¹²² Throughout Julia Brick's association with Brick School, she donated the funds necessary for nine new buildings and their furnishings. ¹²³

In addition to buildings discussed above, a Domestic Science Hall and Dining
Hall were constructed before 1917 as well. Elementary classes were held in the "Model
School" or "Model Schoolhouse," a small frame schoolhouse whose date of construction

45

¹¹⁹ Blackshear and Long, "Brick School," 5.

¹²⁰ Ibid., 6.

¹²¹ Th: d

¹²² Beard, "Mrs. Julia E. Brick," 143.

¹²³ Ibid.

is a matter of some dispute. Some sources place construction in the 1920s after Brick School added a junior college, while others place construction between 1910 and 1920.

The landscape associated with Brick School was also influenced greatly by Julia Brick. She ordered both ornamental and functional trees and plants for the school's walkways after hearing the school was going into the nearby woods to collect plants for this purpose. Eucalyptus, pepper trees, and other seeds were purchased by Julia Brick in California – specimens she thought would thrive in the climate of North Carolina. She also sent shrubbery from a nursery in New Jersey to augment that which the students were finding in the woods, indicating a desire on her part for a more formal landscape at the school. ¹²⁴

An 1898 description of the property found in *The American Missionary* further describes the landscape:

"The school farm is plentifully supplied with birds, wild ducks, turkeys, and deer... The land is very productive and the timber is of the best quality. Water is abundant and of the best one can desire; it is obtained at a depth of 12 to 20 feet. The climate is delightful and healthful. The school farm is amply supplied with a good quality of fruit trees." ¹²⁵

During the Joseph K. Brick School era, the land was molded into a formal campus plan. A 1905 map of Edgecombe County shows eight buildings associated with the central campus area of the property, organized in relationship to a main campus road. 126 Other internal roads (denoted by double dashed lines) run from this central area to other parts of the property, likely agricultural. [Fig. 3] A map drawn by Inborden's son, Wilson

_

¹²⁴ Inborden, "History of Brick School."

^{125 &}quot;Enfield School," The American Missionary v. 52 (1898): 124,

http://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015075069461.

Albert Pike and W. N. Brown, *Map of Edgecombe County, North Carolina (Albert Pike)* (1905), Multimedia, from the North Carolina State Archives via the University of North Carolina, http://www.lib.unc.edu/dc/ncmaps/interactive/MC_037_1905p.html.

Inborden, likely dating to between 1910 and 1915 shows the full evolution of the formal campus plan. [Fig. 4] Formal brick academic buildings and student dormitories were arranged along campus roads, and land was divided by use, with areas like "playground," "athletic field," "boys' campus," and "girls' campus" clearly marked. Agricultural and industrial areas are located outside of the central campus area, with agricultural land divided into pasture, poultry, and barnyard areas. Though the key to this map could not be located, the identities of many of the numbered buildings on this map have been determined [See Fig. 4 for detail]. Depictions of buildings and structures and other landscape features from this period from scrapbooks and postcards show the full extent of the central campus. Fig. 5 through Fig. 10, which include colorized postcards dating between 1905 and 1915 and a page from Julia Inborden's scrapbook, show the spatial relationship between campus buildings and structures from this era as well as campus vegetation, such as the cluster of mature trees surrounding Elma Hall and the allee planted along the northernmost campus road leading to Ingraham Chapel. [Fig. 6] Lampposts are visible along campus roads as well, visible in Fig. 9.

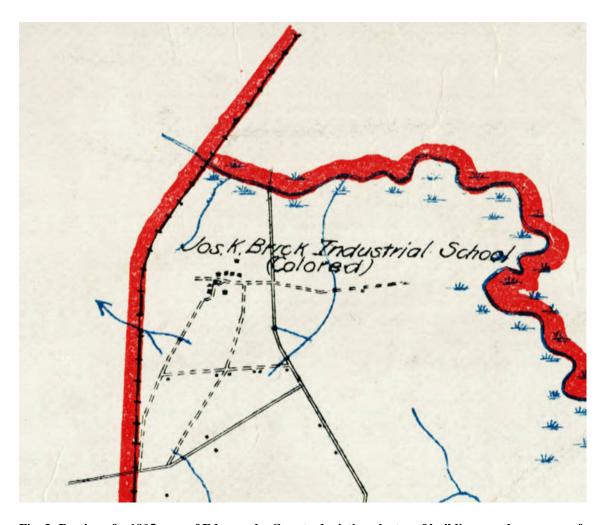


Fig. 3: Portion of a 1905 map of Edgecombe County depicting cluster of buildings on the campus of Brick School, as well as internal campus roads (double dashed lines) and public roads (double solid lines). The railroad and Fishing Creek intersect to the northeast. (*Map of Edgecombe County, North Carolina (Albert Pike)* (1905), from the North Carolina State Archives via the University of North Carolina)

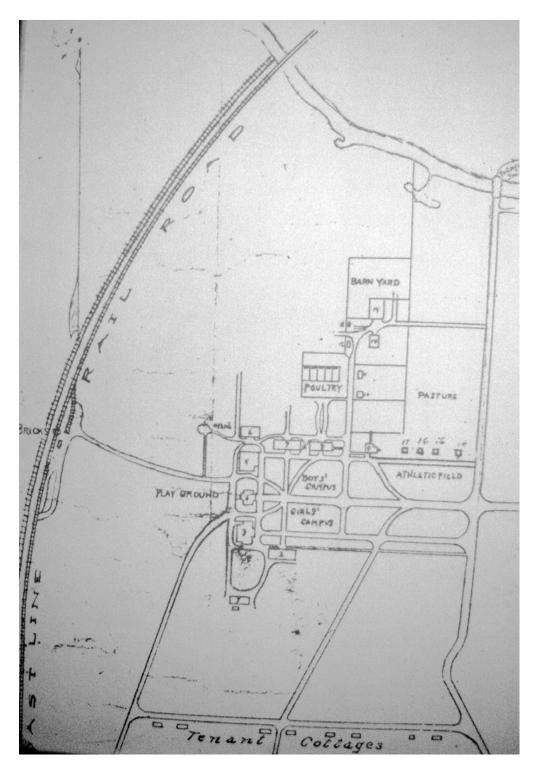


Fig. 4: Map of Brick School by Wilson Inborden, ca. 1910-1915. The cluster of buildings in the formal central campus area includes (1) the laundry; (2) Benedict Hall; (3) Dining Hall; (4) Elma Hall; (5) Ingraham Chapel; (6) Manual Training building; (7) Beard Hall; (8) Brewster Hall; (9) Inborden House; (14-17), Teachers' Cottages. Specialized agricultural areas are located north of the central campus, and tenant cottages are located to the south. The railroad track spur and accompanying depot building are shown to the west. (From the collection of the Franklinton Center at Bricks)

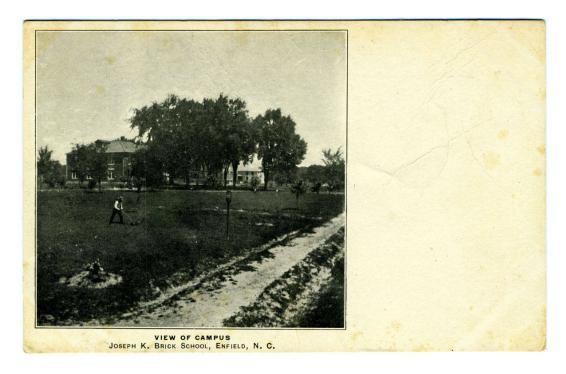


Fig. 5: An early photograph of Brick School, ca. 1900-1910. Manual training workshop (white building on right) and possibly Elma Hall (brick building on left) shown, as well as portion of intracampus road running north-south and connecting Benedict and Beard Halls. Field in foreground is being planted. (From the North Carolina Postcards collection, North Carolina Collection, UNC Chapel Hill)



Fig. 6: "Looking West from Brewster Hall, Joseph K. Brick School, Enfield, N.C." Postcard, ca. 1905-1915, shows Elma Hall, Ingraham Chapel, corner of Beard Hall, and the North Road and accompanying allee. Lampposts and pedestrian pathways associated with dormitory are also visible. (From the North Carolina Postcards collection, North Carolina Collection, UNC Chapel Hill)



Fig. 7: "Looking East from Ingraham Chapel, Joseph K. Brick School, Enfield, N.C." Postcard, ca. 1905-1915, shows Beard Hall, Brewster Hall, Inborden House, and the North Road. (From the North Carolina Postcards collection, North Carolina Collection, UNC Chapel Hill)



Fig. 8: "Beard Hall, Joseph K. Brick School, Enfield, N.C." Postcard, ca. 1905-1915, shows Beard Hall, and a portion of the North Road. (From the North Carolina Postcards collection, North Carolina Collection, UNC Chapel Hill)



Fig. 9: "Benedict Hall, Joseph K. Brick School, Enfield, N.C." Postcard, ca. 1905-1915, shows the rebuilt Benedict Hall and faces south. Lampposts are visible in foreground, as well as ornamental shrub plantings. (From the North Carolina Postcards collection, North Carolina Collection, UNC Chapel Hill)

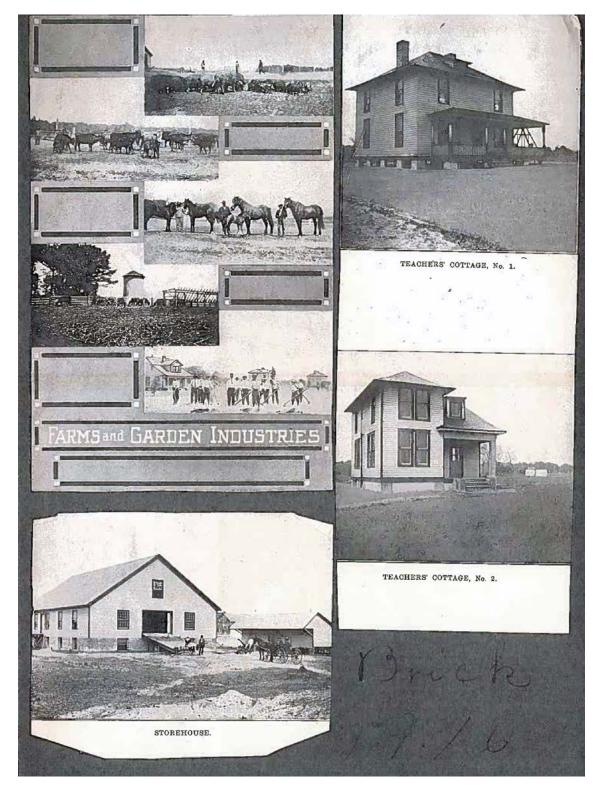


Fig. 10: A page from the scrapbook of Julia Inborden, daughter of Thomas Inborden, depicting the campus as it appeared in 1916. Clockwise from top right: the Teacher's Cottage (still present in 2013), another Teacher's Cottage, storehouse and smaller barn (likely still present in 2013), and a pamphlet advertising the school's farm and garden industries. (From the collection of the Franklinton Center at Bricks)

Brick Junior College: 1925 to 1933

In 1921, the State of North Carolina established its Negro Department of Education. The consequence of this meant more public elementary and secondary schools for the state's black citizens, and a call on the part of the state for private institutions like the Brick School to discontinue elementary work. A state survey of all Negro schools in North Carolina was completed in 1924, and the State Director of Negro Education recommended the Brick School become an accredited junior college by adding a grade to its curriculum each year. The American Missionary Association's Executive Committee, in consult with Inborden, who would become president of the college, and acting dean Dr. William H. Holloway, voted to establish the junior college. The Joseph K. Brick Junior College began college-level instruction on the site in the fall of 1925 with a class of 22 freshmen.

Brick Junior College was accredited by the North Carolina State Department of Education in 1927, and by 1928 enrollment in the junior college had increased to 37. The curriculum of the junior college incorporated many aspects of Joseph K. Brick Agricultural, Industrial, and Normal School's academic program. Courses of study offered included liberal arts or regular college work, pre-medicine, and teacher training. A 1928 federal project, the "Survey of Negro College and Universities," completed by a team from the U.S. Department of Education, commented on the school's facilities, which included classrooms, dormitories, and farm buildings. The team noted the buildings "showed the results of daily care and inspection," but that none of the

. .

¹²⁷ Blackshear and Long, "Brick School," 17.

¹²⁸ Ibid..18.

¹²⁹ Ibid

¹³⁰ Ibid., 19-20.

buildings met fire codes, a condition that the many fires throughout the history of the school made abundantly clear." ¹³¹ The junior college had a staff of seven members teaching English, French, mathematics, education, history, and science at the time the survey was conducted. ¹³² The AMA also maintained a high school and elementary school at Bricks throughout this period, and teachers from the junior college also taught in the high school. ¹³³

Enrollment in the junior college increased steadily during its period of operation but decreased in its final academic year, 1932-1933, to 90 students. The Great Depression had taken its toll on both the Brick School and the AMA. The Brick School's elementary and high school programs ended that year with 22 and 56 students, respectively. In the summer of 1933, the AMA announced the school would not reopen. ¹³⁴ The AMA lost 45 percent of its income as a result of the Great Depression. ¹³⁵ Frederick L. Brownlee, general secretary of the AMA from 1920-1950, contacted the General Education Board (GEB) in 1932 to solicit funds for the purchase of science equipment for Brick Junior College. He put forward the notion that Brick become a four-year college, but the GEB did not support the idea. Brownlee instead managed an agreement with the North Carolina State Department of Education whereby the State would support a free public high school on the site serving Edgecombe, Halifax, and Nash Counties if those counties would administer the schools. North Carolina was granted a lease on the buildings and

¹³¹ Ibid., 19.

¹³² Ibid., 20.

¹³³ United States Office of Education, *Survey of Negro Colleges and Universities. Prepared in the Division of Higher Education, Arthur L. Klein, Chief* (New York: Negro Universities Press [1929], 1969), 508. ¹³⁴ Blackshear and Long, "Brick School," 24.

¹³⁵ Ruth A. Morton Scrapbook, 1934-1950, Amistad Research Center at Tulane University, New Orleans Louisiana, Box 1, Folder 16.

equipment for one dollar, and the AMA agreed to pay partial salaries of some of the school's teachers and provide buses for the tri-county school. 136

How This Era Shaped the Landscape

Brick Junior College functioned primarily as an outgrowth of the Joseph K. Brick Agricultural, Industrial, and Normal School. When the federal team conducting the "Survey of Negro Colleges and Universities" visited in 1928, Brick Junior College owned 1,129 acres. The majority of the land was used for farming and rental purposes, with the exception of 50 acres used for the school's campus and 79 acres used "as a truck garden to supply the commissary of the school." Ten tenant farms were on the property at this time. The survey lists extant structures as "...7 main buildings used for school purposes, with seven houses and barns and 8 cottages." ¹³⁸

There is some indication that the model schoolhouse, often referred to as the "old primary school" or "old elementary school" was constructed in the 1920s to be used in conjunction with the Brick Junior College teaching program. No definitive records could be found on this or any additional building or structures that may have been built during the Brick Junior College era. The landscape of the Brick Junior College followed the land use patterns determined by the property's earlier incarnations. While the junior college did not have a gymnasium, it purportedly maintained four girls' and boys' tennis courts, three basketball courts, and volleyball and croquet grounds. ¹³⁹ Historic postcards show an outdoor vespers service taking place on the campus grounds during this era. [Fig. 11]

13

¹³⁶ Richardson and Jones, *Education for Liberation*, 83.

¹³⁷ United States Office of Education, Survey of Negro Colleges, 507.

¹³⁸ Ibid

¹³⁹ Blackshear and Long, "Brick School," 21.

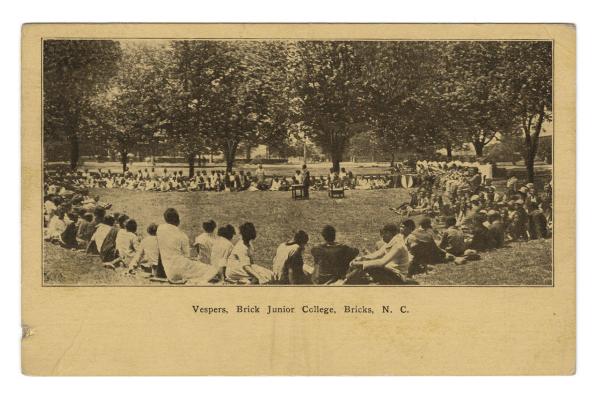


Fig. 11: "Vespers, Brick Junior College, Bricks, N.C." Postcard, ca. 1927, shows a group of students at a prayer service on the grounds of the Brick Junior College campus. Note fuller trees in this area as compared to earlier Brick School photographs. (From the North Carolina Postcards collection, North Carolina Collection, UNC Chapel Hill)

Brick[s] Rural Life School: 1933 to 1954

The Brick Rural Life School was established by the American Missionary Association on the site in 1934, following the closing of Brick Junior College the previous year. Neill A. McLean became director in 1936. ¹⁴⁰ It functioned broadly as a social center for the people of rural Eastern North Carolina, ¹⁴¹ and as an educational center focused on cooperative activities as related to farming and finance. ¹⁴²

¹⁴⁰ Richardson and Jones, *Education for Liberation*, 84.

¹⁴¹ Lewis W. Jones, "Social Centers in the Rural South" *Phylon* (1940-1956) 12, no. 3 (1951): 282, accessed February 20, 2013, http://www.jstor.org/stable/271644.

¹⁴² Nathan Alvin Pitts, *The Cooperative Movement in Negro Communities of North* Carolina (Washington: Catholic University of America Press, 1950), 24.

One of the earliest phases of the Brick Rural Life School program brought families from the area to live and work on the school's farmland. The program taught these families innovative farming techniques as well as the nuances of cooperative activity, and areas of concentration within the cooperative program included "livestock, soil improvement, wheat, molasses, and poultry." ¹⁴³ Families could stay no longer than five years. The program expected each family to "cultivate the land rented from the school as to accumulate over the five year period enough savings and credit to purchase and move to a farm of its own." 144 Refinements to the Brick Rural Life School in later years resulted in more specific requirements for farmers. In 1948, suggestions put forward for such requirements included requiring every farmer to keep a farm plan and record book, to properly rotate crops and keep a map showing this rotation, to have a balanced livestock and chicken program with proper pastures and a fertilizing system, to hold membership in the tractor service, to keep an adequate garden, to hold membership in the cooperatives and credit union, and to average savings of \$200 per year while at the Brick Rural Life School. 145

The Brick Rural Life School program was considered innovative in its adult education and financial education methods during its period of operation. ¹⁴⁶ In addition to hosting events for rural youth, including lectures and other entertainment, the school ran an economic rehabilitation program designed to guide rural blacks toward farm ownership. ¹⁴⁷ Leaders of the Brick Rural Life School successfully organized a credit union under a federal charter in 1936, the first such credit union for blacks in North

¹⁴³ Jones, "Social Centers of the Rural South," 282.

¹⁴⁴ Pitts, *The Cooperative Movement*, 24.

Memorandum of the Conferences of the Brick Rural Life School, 1948, Box 127, Folder 2

¹⁴⁶ Jones, "Social Centers of the Rural South," 282.

¹⁴⁷ Benson Y. Landis, *Rural Welfare Services* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1949), 102.

Carolina. 148 The program's participants owned and operated the credit union which allowed the school's tenants and neighbors to take out loans to assist in farm ownership without the aid of loan sharks. 149

The Brick Rural Life School program was involved in the North Carolina Council of Credit Unions and Associates in the late 1940s and contributed \$7,300 in the 1947-48 fiscal year (approx. 36% of the Council's operating budget), suggesting considerable clout was given to the school's program within the State of North Carolina. The Rosenwald Fund also contributed funds to the Brick Rural Life School program and, in turn, to the Council. 150

The Brick Rural Life School also spearheaded a health program for rural farm workers beginning in 1939. An agreement was made between the North Carolina State Health Department and the local people involved with the school's program whereby locals raised half the necessary funds, and the state would provide the other half. The amount, totaling \$2,400, compensated a full-time nurse for the Bricks community's rural residents and gave them access to medical services not previously available.

The health program, known formally as the Bricks Tri-County Health

Promotional Association, was seen by the school's leaders as an absolute necessity –

without these services, the entire program itself could not expect much success. The

nurse's office was centrally located in the community at the Brick School. 153

¹⁴⁸ Pitts, *The Cooperative Movement*, 24.

¹⁴⁹ Landis, Rural Welfare Services, 102.

¹⁵⁰ Pitts, The Cooperative Movement, 141.

¹⁵¹ Ibid., 25.

¹⁵² Ibid., 26.

¹⁵³ Ibid., 68.

The health program ran from 1942 to 1945 and operated on a membership basis with a fee structure for individuals, families, and organizations desiring to participate. 154 The great demand for health services among North Carolina's rural population throughout the state precipitated the end of the Bricks community-specific program, requiring the nurse to greatly expand her area of service. 155

The educational component of the Brick Rural Life School program was achieved through both formal and informal instruction. 156 Informal instruction included home visits by school leaders to discuss the merits of and need for cooperative activity in the rural context. That same message was also brought to social centers such as stores and churches. The 18-mile radius surrounding Bricks, home to 150 black families, was the primary target of this programming. ¹⁵⁷ The cooperative approach to farming proved very successful among the tenants at Bricks, and the ideas and methods adopted by the Bricks farmers spread throughout the region. A 1946 New York Times article chronicled the influence of Bricks, crediting it "with forming a twelve-county cooperative cannery, seven cooperative stores, two poultry associations, a cantaloupe market, two hospital medical associations, a sawmill, a gristmill, a burial association, and credit unions as far away as Chapel Hill." ¹⁵⁸ The Brick Rural Life School held a "short term school" most winters beginning in 1937. The short term school generally ran for six to eight weeks in the months of January and February and covered farming techniques and homemaking. It was not directed exclusively at the tenants residing on the Bricks farm. Rather, the

¹⁵⁴ Ibid., 69. ¹⁵⁵ Ibid.

¹⁵⁶ Ibid., 94.

¹⁵⁷ Ibid., 95.

¹⁵⁸ Richardson and Jones, *Education for Liberation*, 91.

community at large was encouraged to attend and board at the property for the duration of the short term school.

The Brick Rural Life School continued to operate after the Franklinton Center began using the campus, though it is unclear for how long it continued. McLean and his family resided on the property until at least 1954 (and possibly longer) during the transition period between the two organizations. ¹⁵⁹ In 1963, discussions on the part of FCAB leadership regarding "the farm arrangement which this administration inherited" centered on using the farm arrangement to demonstrate worthwhile farming practices to the community at large ¹⁶⁰, possibly indicating a similar arrangement to the formal program run by McLean still operated to some degree on the property.

How This Era Shaped the Landscape

Emphasis on new farming techniques contributed to changes to the landscape in this era. The credit union was instrumental in facilitating these changes:

"In their efforts to improve farming methods, the members of the group pooled their resources, obtained mainly from funds borrowed from the credit union, and purchased a tractor. With the necessary equipment, this tractor made it possible for the farmers to cultivate more land and to do it more efficiently than they had been able to do previously." ¹⁶¹

¹⁵⁹ Stanley, J. Taylor and Kathryn Turrentine papers, 1925-1984, Amistad Research Center at Tulane University, New Orleans, Louisiana, Box 30, Folder 8.

¹⁶⁰ American Missionary Association archives addenda, 1849-1991, Sub-Series 12: Brick Rural Life School, 1897-1984, undated, Amistad Research Center at Tulane University, New Orleans, Louisiana, Box 128. Folder 6.

Pitts, The Cooperative Movement, 25.

A cooperative store was constructed in 1938 to provide families in the area with necessary goods. Sometime shortly after 1944, the building burned. 162

By 1934, all land adjacent to Brick School was under black ownership. 163

Inborden's "History of Brick School," compiled and written in 1937, begins with a list of assets attributable to the school and its property (those assets not influencing landscape have been omitted):

1,129.5 acres of land

Permanent improvements valued at \$150,000.00

Touches three counties with 81,000 Negroes

Water supply excellent

First class railroad conveniences

Bisected by Coastal Plane Highway, running from New York to Florida

[This likely refers to present-day U.S. Route 301]

Soil adapted to good growth of all necessities common to this latitude Light and power facilities are unsurpassed anywhere in the United States

Lands well drained – No cesspools of infection

Splendid health and sanitary surroundings

Water stream bounds two sides which can be developed

A school plant with buildings and equipment unsurpassed in Eastern North Carolina¹⁶⁴

An undated map from the collection of Ruth A. Morton, the AMA's director of community schools from 1934-1950, labels the structures on site. [Fig. 12] Likely from the late 1930s, extant buildings include Ingraham Chapel, Inborden house,

Wiley/Rogers/Gordon houses (these are the three houses referred to as rental units in later years), Benedict Hall, the elementary school, McLean house (denoted in the location later

-

¹⁶² Ibid.

¹⁶³ Inborden, "History of Brick School."

¹⁶⁴ Ibid.

associated with Hospitality House I), and a store (denoted in the location later associated with the Administration Building). The map also outlines farm and campus roads associated with the Bricks Rural Life School, as well as student farmsteads and potential future locations for additional student farmsteads.

As early as 1941, questions arose as to how to deal with the aging buildings and structures associated with the early Brick School and Brick Junior College years. In 1941, a suggestion was made to raze all extant dormitories as well as Ingraham Chapel. By 1942, AMA leadership was requesting estimates on the cost of razing the dormitories. However, wartime considerations likely stymied such plans. There is no indication the plans were carried out at this time. A 1946 assessment of the physical needs of the Brick Rural Life School addressed the need for new farm units, new teacher residences, and a future campus layout that removed the need for multiple entrances to the campus and focused attention on one long parkway. "The Old Dormitory," likely Benedict Hall, is also addressed in this list of physical needs. It is noted as a dominating eyesore on campus, and the possibility of removing its third floor is raised. These plans as well do not seem to have been implemented at this time.

Considerable attention was paid to the tenant properties and associated farm buildings during the Brick Rural Life School era. Though these properties are no longer owned by the Franklinton Center at Bricks, they constituted a large part of the concerns of McLean and the AMA leadership. In 1948, efforts were undertaken to construct chicken houses, paint all farm buildings and the program's five farm houses, and establish permanent pasture with wiring and posts. In addition, a number of suggestions

¹⁶⁵ American Missionary Association archives addenda, Box 127, Folder 6.

¹⁶⁶ American Missionary Association archives addenda, Box 127, Folder 11.

were made toward establishing a more efficient use of the Bricks farm. Suggestions from this period that may have altered the landscape included: pasture for each unit, reestablishment of fields, adequate farm drainage, "stubble land beat in," the appropriation of a demonstration forest plot, the establishment of a better farm road system, campus orchard care, and ten fruit trees planted for each farm unit. ¹⁶⁷

That same year, the AMA had been lobbying the North Carolina Board of Education to locate a new Tri-County black high school on the Brick Farm property to replace the administration building which housed the original Tri-County high school that burned in 1945. The Board of Education ultimately decided to build a high school exclusively for Edgecombe County in nearby Battleboro, and the funds the AMA had intended to contribute to the new school were allocated instead for the construction of the Community House at Bricks. The Community House was intended as classroom space for the Brick Rural Life School. 168 It is unclear whether the Community House was built and where it was located if construction was completed, though there is some indication the funds were used to remodel the original Dining Hall. [Fig. 13] The Fellowship House ¹⁶⁹ (a name likely referring to the Community House) and Hospitality House were dedicated in 1949 and 1950, respectively. 170 Hospitality House was constructed on the approximate location of the McLean house as denoted in an early map [Fig. 12] associated with the Brick Rural Life School, and there is some indication the main block of Hospitality House is older and the dormitory wings were what was constructed in 1950. In 1950, the leadership of the Bricks Rural Life School considered demolishing

¹⁶⁷ American Missionary Association archives addenda, 1948, Box 127, Folder 2

¹⁶⁸ American Missionary Association archives addenda, Box 127, Folder 4

¹⁶⁹ Fellowship House is now known as the "Administration Building."

¹⁷⁰ Ruth A. Morton Scrapbook, Box 1, Folder 5.

Benedict Hall prior to the construction of Hospitality House, although the plan was not carried out. 171

A 1952 map of the Brick Rural Life School property lists seven extant buildings associated with program operation and leadership and seven houses associated with student farmsteads. [Fig. 14] Labeled buildings include Benedict Hall (indicated as "shop, post office, store"), Fellowship House, Hospitality House, Chapel, Elementary School, Inborden House (indicated as "director's residence"), and Teacher's Cottage. 172

Ruth A. Morton Scrapbook, Box 1, Folder 5.American Missionary Association archives addenda, Box 127, Folder 10.

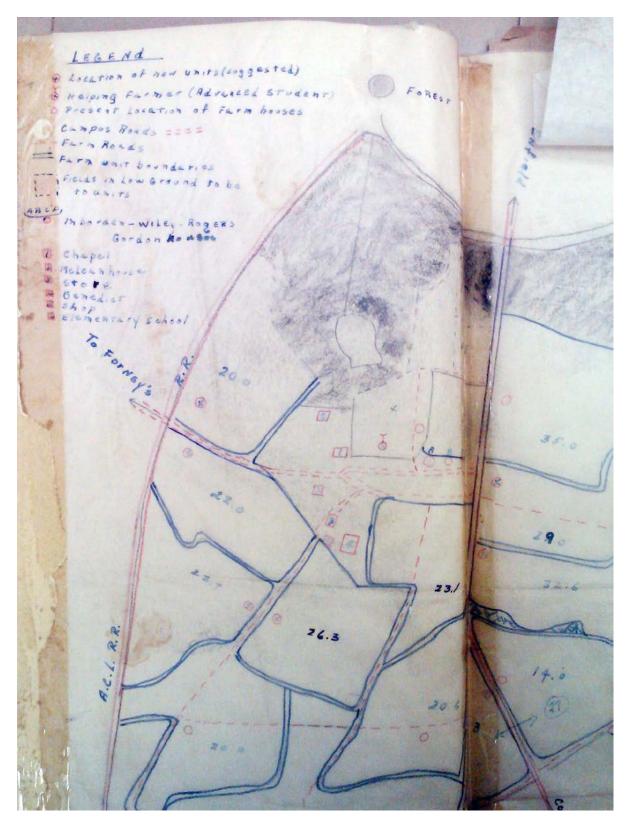


Fig. 12: Hand-drawn map, ca. 1934 to 1940, depicting extant buildings and structures and farm delineations from the Brick Rural Life School era. (From the Ruth A. Morton scrapbook, 1934-1950, Amistad Research Center at Tulane University, New Orleans, Louisiana)



Fig. 13: Photograph of Brick Rural Life School sewing class students with original Dining Hall (remodeled 1949) in background and Elma Hall in the distance. (From the Ruth A. Morton scrapbook, 1934-1950, Amistad Research Center at Tulane University, New Orleans, Louisiana)

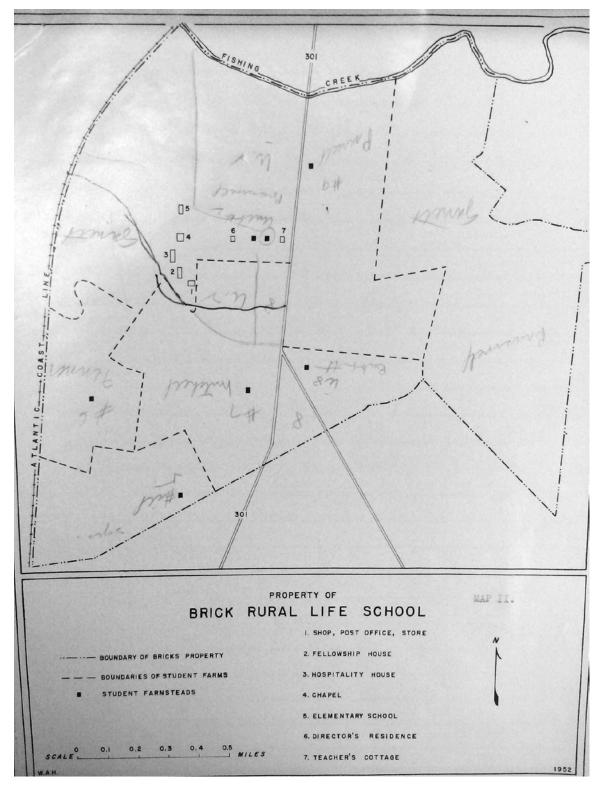


Fig. 14: 1952 map showing extant buildings and property lines for the Brick Rural Life School. Also shown are handwritten names of tenant families occupying individual farms on the property, including Garrett, Mitchell, and Babbitt. (From the American Missionary Association Archives Addendum, Amistad Research Center at Tulane University, New Orleans, Louisiana)

Public School: 1934 to 1956

A high school serving black students in Edgecombe, Nash, and Halifax Counties operated on the site concurrently with the Brick Rural Life School until the late 1940s. Following the closure of Brick Junior College in 1933 precipitated by a sharp decrease in funding during the Great Depression, the AMA sought to open a high school on the property funded by the North Carolina State Department of Education. In his 1946 book New Day Ascending, AMA General Secretary Fred L. Brownlee noted North Carolina "had progressed educationally much further than any of the southern states." The State Department of Education agreed to pay the salaries of the teachers at this public high school if the three associated counties would administer it. 174 Known as Bricks Tri-County High School, the school used some of the facilities associated with Brick School and Brick Junior College. The administration building was used for classroom space, and some students boarded in the dormitories given the long distances some students had to travel to reach the school. Records could not be found indicating the exact year the Bricks Tri-County High School closed, although it was likely following a fire in a primary academic building in the 1940s. A primary school also operated on the site using the frame schoolhouse. It continued to operate through the 1955-56 school year. [Fig. 15 and Fig. 16]

¹⁷³ Frederick Leslie Brownlee, *New Day Ascending* (Boston: The Pilgrim Press, 1946), 149. ¹⁷⁴ Ibid.. 150.

How This Era Shaped the Landscape

The high school did little to shape the landscape of the site. Though the AMA attempted to convince the North Carolina Board of Education to locate a new tri-county high school for blacks on the property following the burning of the administration building in the 1940s, the Board of Education decided instead to open a black high school for Edgecombe County specifically in Battleboro. 175



Fig. 15: Photograph of the Model Schoolhouse from the Bricks Rural Life School era, when it was used as a public elementary school. (From the Ruth A. Morton scrapbook, 1934-1950, Amistad Research Center at Tulane University, New Orleans, Louisiana)

70

 $^{^{\}rm 175}$ American Missionary Association archives addenda, Box 127, Folder 4.



Fig. 16: Photograph of the interior of the Model Schoolhouse from the Bricks Rural Life School era, when it was used as a public elementary school. (From the Ruth A. Morton scrapbook, 1934-1950, Amistad Research Center at Tulane University, New Orleans, Louisiana)

Franklinton Center at Bricks Management

Franklinton Center at Bricks: 1954 to present

The Franklinton Center at Bricks resulted from the merger of two distinct entities, the Franklinton Literary and Theological Institute, a Christian Church school incorporated in 1882 in Franklinton, NC, and the Brick School. The Franklinton Literary and Theological Institute became Franklinton Christian College in 1904 and functioned as a school for black youth until closing in 1930. In 1936, Franklinton Christian College began its new life as a conference and continuing education center, hosting the Young

People's Summer Conference, in-service training for Christian Church ministers, retreats, and church-related activities. It was incorporated as Franklinton Center, Inc. in 1946.¹⁷⁶

The Franklinton Center outgrew its facilities on the Franklinton College campus, and the AMA deeded 150.9 acres of the Brick property to Franklinton Center, Inc. in 1954. The merger, which was described as "uniting two Home Board ministries which have meant much to the area," resulted in the renaming of the center to the Franklinton Center at Bricks (FCAB). The mission of FCAB was compatible with the aims of the AMA and Brick School. 178

Ross W. Sanderson was the first director of FCAB, though he proved ineffective and was quickly followed by Dr. William Judson King. Under Dr. King and his wife, Ora, FCAB expanded its programming and became a haven for interdenominational and interracial cooperation during the late 1950s and 1960s. Early efforts under Dr. King mirrored many of the efforts spearheaded by McLean as part of the Brick Rural Life School. In 1960, 16 families lived in the Bricks community at large, with several families continuing to reside on the Bricks farm property specifically. For these farmers, the Franklinton Center provided regular worship services, regular church school, monthly church meetings, monthly community fellowship, pilgrim fellowship, and special weekly services at Easter and Thanksgiving. These services were in addition to programming encouraging better health practices, designated clean up weeks in collaboration with the North Carolina Department of Health, tobacco grading school under the leadership of the

¹⁷⁶ North Carolina Department of Cultural Resources, "Franklinton Center at Bricks."

¹⁷⁷ American Missionary Association archives addenda, Box 127, Folder 3.

¹⁷⁸ North Carolina Department of Cultural Resources, "Franklinton Center at Bricks."

United States Department of Agriculture (USDA), soil testing, the organization and implementation of drainage projects, and work with educational groups. ¹⁷⁹

The Civil Rights Movement and the war on poverty substantially influenced the activities of FCAB. Voter registration of local residents was a chief concern, as was a program designed to follow-up on the loan applications of veterans and African Americans to assure they were fairly processed. In 1962, FCAB hosted the first conference of the National Sharecroppers Fund (NSF), an important organization in the southern rural cooperative movement and civil rights struggle. FCAB also focused on ensuring students from impoverished families had access to postsecondary education. ¹⁸⁰

The Bricks National Alumni Association (BNAA) developed a relationship with Franklinton Center beginning in the late 1950s. In 1959, the BNAA expressed desire for the Inborden House to be used as a memorial and museum for Brick School. The first floor of the house was set aside for this purpose. As of 2013, the house was no longer used as a museum, though the exact date this program ended is unknown.

Dr. King and his family left FCAB in 1968. The FCAB presidents who followed him proved to have a more difficult time interacting with the Board of Trustees, and the mission of the Center lost some of its clarity. Throughout the 1970s, Reverend Ronald Morris attempted to grow the site through social programming, including camping and outdoor ministry and attempting to open a daycare in the primary school building. The Center was dormant for much of the 1980s, until the United Church of Christ determined the most effective way to manage the site would be to locate personnel from the national

-

¹⁷⁹ American Missionary Association archives addenda, Box 128, Folder 2.

¹⁸⁰ North Carolina Department of Cultural Resources, "Franklinton Center at Bricks."

¹⁸¹ American Missionary Association archives addenda, Box 128, Folder 2.

UCC office in 1987 on the site. An office of the Commission for Racial Justice was located on the site at the Center that year.

In 1992, the name "Franklinton Center, Inc." was formally changed to "Franklinton Center at Bricks, Inc." to more accurately reflect the property's layered history.

How This Era Shaped the Landscape

When the Franklinton Center moved to the Bricks campus, the AMA deeded the Board of Trustees of the Franklinton Center, Inc. the buildings associated with the Bricks campus as well as the portion of the property associated with the FCAB in 2013, approximately 150 acres. This land was bounded by Route 301, Fishing Creek, and the railroad. The southern boundary is not as clearly definable but likely included a portion of the fields currently located to the south of the main campus and extending along the line of the field until intersecting with the road which crosses the railroad. The AMA sold some of its timberland to a paper company and the rest to black farmers through the Farmers Home Loan Association. 183

The Franklinton Center, Inc. carefully detailed changes both actualized and proposed to the property through a yearly "Annual Report of the President of the Franklinton Center, Inc." and meeting minutes associated with the Franklinton Center, Inc. Board of Trustees annual meeting. During the short tenure of Ross Sanderson, it was decided no suitable president's home existed and one was constructed at the center of campus in 1954. In 1955, the meeting minutes mentioned discussion of workable plans

¹⁸² American Missionary Association archives addenda Box 127, Folder 4.

Richardson and Jones, *Education for Liberation*, 99.

for remodeling Ingraham Chapel, including a designated "Chapel Fund" to assist in the repair of windows, timbers, and brick veneer walls. ¹⁸⁴ By 1958, plans to remodel the chapel had been abandoned and bids for demolishing the structure were requested. ¹⁸⁵ The chapel was demolished and its basement filled in 1960. ¹⁸⁶

Following a 1959 agreement between the BNAA and the Board of Trustees, the first floor of the Inborden house was renovated to house a memorial and museum, and the second floor renovated as guest housing for small groups. The bell and some of the bricks from the demolished Ingraham Chapel were set aside to create a monument. ¹⁸⁷

The campus grounds were carefully managed throughout the 1960s under the tenure of Dr. King. Dead and damaged trees were removed yearly, and many new trees planted in their place. Grading, clean-up of unruly areas, and planting of grass were undertaken to "improve the appearance of the grounds." Clock operated lights were added to the campus in an attempt, in the words of Dr. King, to "reduce the use of our driveways as 'Lover's Lanes." Lanes."

In 1961, the notion of creating a master plan for campus was put forward by the Board of Trustees. ¹⁹⁰ [Note: Annual Reports and Board of Trustee Meetings were held in January to address the progress of the previous year and plan for the current year. For example, in 1961 Annual Report and Board of Trustees meeting addressed progress made in 1960 and planned for 1961.] The topic of whether to renovate or remove the "old elementary school" was broached. Also addressed at this meeting was the introduction of

¹⁸⁴ American Missionary Association archives addenda, Box 128, Folder 1.

¹⁸⁵ Ibid.

¹⁸⁶ Ibid., Box 128, Folder 3.

¹⁸⁷ Ibid., Box 128, Folder 2.

¹⁸⁸ Ibid., Box 128, Folder 3.

¹⁸⁹ Ibid

¹⁹⁰ Ibid.

the "ecumenical work camp" program in 1960. These work camps, which still operate today, provided the FCAB with labor for basic maintenance of its property. ¹⁹¹

Repairs to the old elementary school began in 1961, including strengthening of its base, roof repairs, and painting. The farmers began to use the building as a storage center for fertilizer and produce at this time. In the 1962 Annual Report, primary work completed on the grounds was listed as "the clearing up of the jungle behind the cottages on the land and the filling up of two large basements and a number of old wells and septic tanks which have remained open over nearly two decades." The Board of Trustees meeting addressed the idea of cleaning and renovating two cottages on the property, as well as discussed in further detail the specifics of what would be needed for a campus master plan. Specific language included the recommendation that "a long range plan for use of the Center should be developed by the Board of Trustees and President King as a guide in remodeling present buildings and locating new structures." 193

The Board of Trustees green lighted plans for a new dining hall at the 1963 Board of Trustees meeting. Suggestions made for that same year included rehabilitation of "the vacant building down on the corner" and improvements to the campus grounds in the form of trees, shrubs, and other repairs as memorials to donors. A landscape architect suggested the primary garden plot on the site be retired and a recreational site developed in its place. ¹⁹⁴

The campus master plan discussed in years previous resulted in a 1964 document titled "Rough Sketch of Campus, Franklinton Center," which showed proposed

¹⁹¹ Ibid

¹⁹² Ibid., Box 128, Folder 4

¹⁹³ Ibid

¹⁹⁴ Ibid., Box 128, Folder 5.

development of the property to adapt to its new uses. Existing structures denoted on the map include: Fellowship Hall (now "Administration Building"), Benedict Hall, Hospitality building, the "old primary school," President's home, two recreational areas, and four houses (labeled Inborden, Dickens, caretaker, and Gordon). Proposed construction included: a dorm, auditorium, chapel, parking, and three unspecified buildings. The plan is guided by symmetry, suggesting a desire on the part of Franklinton Center to return the site to its collegiate campus-like configuration. [195] [Fig. 17]

The remainder of alterations to the landscape at the Franklinton Center at Bricks throughout the second half of the 1960s pertain primarily to building and grounds maintenance. The exceptions include the completion of the new Dining Hall in 1967 and the construction of a pool and bathhouse in 1970.

Upkeep of the buildings and grounds plagued the FCAB throughout the 1970s. The leadership of the property had struggled with maintaining the campus since the early years of the Brick Rural Life School, though an apparent decrease in funding in the 1970s increased the difficulty in properly caring for the property. In the early 1970s, plans were put forward for construction of a camping area on the FCAB property, to be located in the woods northwest of Hospitality House I. ¹⁹⁶ The FCAB worked with the North Carolina Conservation Service to develop the site and determine where clearings should be located. The "old school house" was renovated in 1974 to serve as a daycare facility.

In 1976, FCAB director Reverend Ronald Morris completed a Revitalization Report for the Bricks campus. Extant facilities listed included: dormitory building (Hospitality House I), guest house (Inborden House), executive house (Judson King

-

¹⁹⁵ Map, "Rough Sketch of Campus"

American Missionary Association archives addenda, Box 128, Folder 15.

House), three rental houses, old school building, old post office building (Benedict Hall), administration building, dining hall, tobacco barn, pump house, barn, swimming pool, and bathhouse. 197

Records throughout the 1980s are spotty, but more in-depth records regarding the buildings and grounds re-emerge in the 1990s. Work camps continued to come to the Center during the 1990s and were used for both building and grounds maintenance. The first mention of historic preservation came in 1992, when a member of the Board of Trustees suggested creating a historic preservation committee operating separately from the buildings and grounds committee. Though this suggestion was not taken up at the time, it marks a shift in the view of the Board of Trustees to the site's layered history. Also in 1992, the Board of Trustees took up the idea of partnering with a group interested in promoting rural life and making it economically viable to host an aquaculture event on the FCAB property. It is unclear whether the idea came to fruition, but it demonstrates the FCAB's sustained commitment to rural families and environmental justice. ¹⁹⁸

The topic of historic preservation was broached again in 1994 along with a proposal for a development master plan. In 1996, a proposal to the Southern Conference Board of Directors outlines approaches for upgrading the property with increased usage as a goal. New construction suggested in this plan included the installation of basketball and tennis courts, a cultural arts center, an outdoor picnic area, a nature trail, and lighting

¹⁹⁷ Ibid., Box 136, Folder 14.

¹⁹⁸ Office of the Executive Vice President of the United Church Board for Homeland Ministries records, 1926-2000, Sub-Series 4: Thomas E. Dipko Administrative Files, Amistad Research Center at Tulane University, New Orleans, Louisiana, Box 219, Folder 1992.

the property for safety and security reasons. ¹⁹⁹ Of these, it appears only the outdoor picnic area and lighting features were realized.

In 1997, the FCAB acquired an additional 52 acres west of the campus across the railroad, the former location of the Forney farm. The FCAB was compelled to purchase the property after family members who had inherited the property proposed selling it to the hog processing or granite industries, either of which would have had detrimental effects on the Center. 200 What remained of Benedict Hall (following an earlier removal of the upper stories) was demolished between 1995 and 2002, as noted in North Carolina Department of Cultural Resources (NCDCR) reports. In 1998, the Board of Directors approved renovation of the first floor of the Inborden House and further discussed historic preservation as recommended by the NCDCR. This resulted in a decision to mothball the site's historic structures in preparation for rehabilitation, though several of the historic structures identified have since been demolished. ²⁰¹ In 2006, the FCAB built a new dormitory on the site, behind the location where Ingraham Chapel once stood. This building is now known as Hospitality House II.

¹⁹⁹ Ibid., Box 218, 1996. ²⁰⁰ Ibid., Box 218, 1997.

²⁰¹ Ibid., Box 218, 1998.

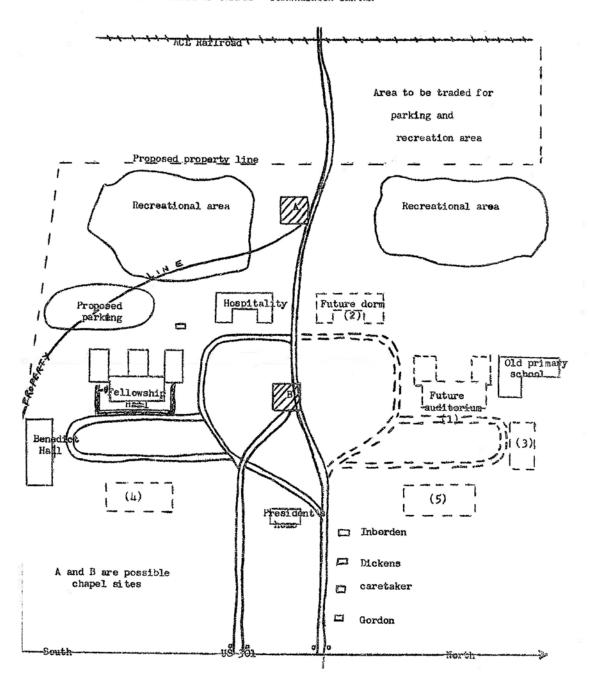


Fig. 17: "Rough Sketch of Campus: Franklinton Center." 1964 proposed campus plan. (From the collection of the Franklinton Center at Bricks)

Existing Conditions: 2013

Current Mission

The Franklinton Center at Bricks is currently home to an office of the United Church of Christ's Justice and Witness Ministries. Justice and Witness Ministries staffs the Franklinton Center at Bricks, and the current director and team leader is Vivian M. Lucas. It functions as a UCC conference, retreat, and educational center with a mission "to promote social transformation by empowering people through training, education, community development, and direct action." The current mission of the site is distinct from the work of its past entities, but mirrors those traditions in its work:

"We affirm our heritage in the Christian faith, lived out in the United Church of Christ, in our historic and various traditions. To fulfill this sacred mission we will: nurture the Spirit of Christ among us by embodying His love as we seek to do His will; work to eliminate racism, achieve racial justice, and realize racial reconciliation; preserve this institution's African American heritage while including all others who are oppressed; provide sacred space for persons to gather, reflect, and do their justice work." ²⁰³

Physical Conditions

Ongoing activities influencing the historic character of the Center include demolition of small, auxiliary buildings and the removal of dead trees and trees stumps from the property as well as renewed efforts at creating a master plan for the site. As of 2013, the FCAB is comprised of historic resources from each of its past iterations. The site's landscape characteristics include elements in each of the following categories, laid

²⁰² "About: Mission Statement," The Franklinton Center at Bricks, accessed February 20, 2013, http://www.ucc.org/franklinton-center/indexold.html.
²⁰³ Ibid.

out in the 2009 National Park Service *Cultural Landscapes Inventory Professional Procedures Guide*: natural systems and features, topography, spatial organization, land use, cultural traditions, vegetation, circulation, buildings and structures, cluster arrangement, views and vistas, small-scale features, and archeological sites. This section will present the site's existing conditions. Analysis and evaluation of the site and the degree to which it maintains historic integrity is discussed at length in Chapter 4, "Analysis and Evaluation."

The basic layout of the site is depicted in Fig. 1 [page 4]. To orient the reader to the site as it exists in 2013, the following photographs show the site as one would see it entering on the North Road and driving west, then exiting from the South Road and driving east [Fig. 18 through Fig. 29]. Also shown are areas lying outside of the campus core, including the former Forney house site [Fig. 30, Fig. 32, and Fig. 33], camping shelter area [Fig. 31], tobacco [Fig. 34] and hay barn [Fig. 35] areas, and the Old Bricks Cemetery [Fig. 36].



Fig. 18: North Road entrance, facing north. (Photo by author, 2013)



Fig. 19: North Road, facing west. (Photo by author, 2013)



Fig. 20: Teacher's Cottage, facing north. (Photo by author, 2013)



Fig. 21: Inborden House, facing north. (Photo by author, 2013)



Fig.~22:~Pool~and~Bathhouse~along~North~Road,~facing~northwest.~Dining~Hall~and~Model~Schoolhouse~in~background.~(Photo~by~author,~2013)



Fig.~23:~Dining~Hall,~facing~northwest.~Hospitality~House~II~and~Model~Schoolhouse~in~background.~(Photo~by~author,~2013)



Fig. 24: Model Schoolhouse, facing northwest. (Photo by author, 2013)



Fig. 25: Hospitality House II, facing northwest. (Photo by author, 2013)



Fig. 26: Hospitality House I, facing west-northwest. (Photo by author, 2013)



Fig. 27: Administration Building, facing west. (Photo by author, 2013)



Fig. 28: Judson King House from South Road, facing northeast. (Photo by author, 2013)



Fig. 29: South Road, facing east. (Photo by author, 2013)



Fig. 30: Road to railroad tracks and Forney house site, facing west. (Photo by author, 2013)



Fig. 31: A-frame Camping Shelter in camping area, facing north. (Photo by author, 2013)



Fig. 32: Road across railroad tracks to Forney property, facing west. (Photo by author, 2013)



Fig. 33: Trees framing Former Forney house site, facing west. (Photo by author, 2013)



Fig. 34: Successional growth surrounding Tobacco Barn, facing northwest. (Photo by author, 2013)

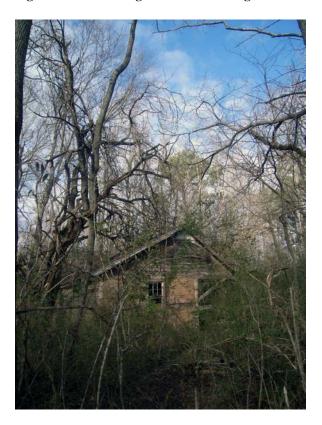


Fig. 35: Successional growth surrounding Hay Barn, facing northeast. (Photo by author, 2013)



Fig. 36: Old Bricks Cemetery, facing southeast. (Photo by author, 2013)

Natural Systems and Features and Topography

The natural systems and features of the region in which FCAB is located influenced the planning and development of the property. Edgecombe County, North Carolina is located in the coastal plains region of the state, and elevation within the county varies from 80 to 330 feet. Average annual precipitation is 38 to 55 inches with an annual air temperature of 59 to 70 degrees Fahrenheit. Natural systems and features specific to the FCAB site include Fishing Creek [Fig. 38], forming the northern border of the property, and a granite outcropping in the western portion of the property. The soil in the area is primarily Norfolk loamy sand and similar soils. ²⁰⁴ The topography is such that the campus core of the FCAB is fairly level, approximately 100 feet above sea level, sloping gently down toward Fishing Creek and rising slightly on the western side of the railroad tracks. The unpaved roads within the property have been graded so as to avoid flooding during periods of heavy rain, when the lower lying areas flood and retain the water.

The campus core is flat and has virtually no grade change throughout. Generally, land use of the site spreads out around the campus core, and fields are cultivated until the point where the gradual slope to Fishing Creek begins. Manmade alterations to the topography include swales and drainage ditches [Fig. 39 and Fig. 40], often located along the edges of fields and roads and nearby frequently used buildings to alleviate flooding. [Map, Fig. 37]

²⁰⁴ United States Department of Agriculture Natural Resource Conservation Service, *Web Soil Survey*, interactive map, 2012, http://websoilsurvey.nrcs.usda.gov/app/WebSoilSurvey.aspx.



Natural Systems and Features

Fig. 37: Map of Natural Systems and Features at FCAB.

94



Fig.~38:~View~of~Fishing~Creek,~which~forms~the~northern~border~and~part~of~the~western~border~of~the~current~FCAB~property.~(Photo~by~author,~2012)



Fig.~39: View~southwest~from~the~South~Road~of~the~FCAB~campus~showing~a~drainage~ditch~in~the~foreground~and~Administration~Building~in~the~background.~(Photo~by~author,~2013)



Fig. 40: Drainage ditch running north-south parallel to U.S. Route 301. (Photo by author, 2013)

Spatial Organization

Given the predominantly flat coastal plain upon which the site is located, the spatial organization of the FCAB is heavily influenced by the circulation routes bordering and passing through the property, including U.S. Route 301, Fishing Creek, and the CSX rail line, rather than being bounded by terrain. Also influencing current spatial organization are the historic roads and pathways moving through the property, small areas of slightly higher ground dictating building patterns, as well as the configuration of fields under cultivation which surround the campus.

The campus core is located along the North Road and South Road, perpendicular to U.S. Route 301, with large institutional buildings located on slightly higher ground.

Cultivated fields bound the campus core to the south and west and partially bound the campus core to the northeast. North and northwest of the campus core is a large forested area. Within the forested area are other small areas of human activity, including remnants of farm buildings to the north and a camping area to the west. Old Bricks Cemetery is located some distance from the current FCAB boundary, north of Moore Farm Rd. surrounded by successional forest.

Land Use

As of February 2013, roughly 239 acres of the former Bricks Farm are still owned by the FCAB. An office of the United Church of Christ's Justice and Witness Ministries is located on the site and manages the FCAB. Programming associated with the UCC primarily uses the campus core and facilities located in that area, including open space, land used for recreation, and group gathering spaces. The FCAB has recently modified a portion of the campus core north of the Pool and Bathhouse for use as a small orchard and created a garden northeast of the Pool and Bathhouse running parallel to the forest edge.

The FCAB rents its farmland. These rented parcels are located north of the campus adjacent to U.S. Route 301, south of campus adjacent to the South Road and extending to a farm road which intersects with Fred Coley Lane, and a portion of land between Fishing Creek and the railroad in the western portion of the property. Rented fields currently grow predominantly soybeans and cotton.

The Old Bricks Cemetery is located on slightly less than one acre of the FCAB property on a parcel no longer contiguous with the rest of the property. It is still active

and currently home to approximately 96 interments²⁰⁵ marked by headstones, along with several grave-sized depressions.

Cultural Traditions

Cultural Traditions evident in the landscape in 2013 include the both tangible and intangible. Evident tangible cultural traditions include the pattern of land division as pertaining to cultivated fields and the configuration of the campus core specific to its planning and design and it relationship to outlying agricultural areas.

Intangible cultural traditions, which break slightly with the accepted NPS definition of a cultural tradition yet provide a window into the motivations behind the site's other landscape characteristics, include the current management's emphasis on racial and social justice and addressing related issues in its programming.

Vegetation

Vegetation at the FCAB includes mature pecan, oak, persimmon, and pear trees in allees lining the North Road and the South Road into campus and planted in the yards and open areas on campus, often framing buildings.[Fig. 42, Fig. 49, Fig. 51, Fig. 52, and Fig. 53] These trees are not planted in a discernible order, their order likely having been determined by what was available at the time(s) they were planted. Several large magnolias are planted in the campus core as well. [Fig. 50] Ornamental plantings are found scattered throughout the property nearest extant buildings. Much of the unused portion of the landscape is successional forest. [Fig. 48] Some long leaf pines, likely

²⁰⁵ "Grave Search Results: Old Bricks Cemetery," Find A Grave, accessed February 20, 2013, http://www.findagrave.com/cgi-bin/fg.cgi?page=gsr&GScid=48300.

98

attributable to several attempts to grow timber on the property, exist within the successional forest. The mowing edge generally follows the trajectory of the buildings and circulation routes on campus. Pine, occasional chinaberry, and other assorted trees separate campus use from the adjacent agricultural fields.

A row of trees crosses a field near the Pool and Bathhouse, extending diagonally northeast and dividing the field. [Fig. 43] There is no clear reason for this row of trees and the division it causes in the contemporary landscape, suggesting they date to an earlier period when this piece of land was in cultivation. The woodland edge of the site is a mix of mature pine and young deciduous trees, perhaps pointing to the land's use for timber. [Fig. 44 and Fig. 45] The road which crosses the railroad tracks en route to the Forney house is lined on its north side, close to the tracks, with chinaberry trees. These chinaberry trees may indicate a home or other structure was once located along that portion of the road. [Fig. 46] Two mature trees frame the former Forney house site, which is elevated slightly from the tracks. [Fig. 47] Several mature trees shade the Old Bricks Cemetery along with assorted younger trees, including persimmon. [Fig. 54]

Recent changes to vegetation at the site include the installation of a small orchard of eight trees north of the Pool and Bathhouse, including winesap apple, granny smith apple, and red haven peach. [Fig. 41] A garden extends northeast of the orchard to the woods line, where the FCAB management grows seasonally appropriate fruits and vegetables, including broccoli, cabbage, sweet potatoes, and watermelon. Ornamental plantings are scattered around buildings currently in use, including the Administration Building, the Dining Hall, and the Hospitality House II. The grounds of the campus core are turf.



Fig.~41: Young~or chard~and~newly-planted~garden~on~the~north~side~of~the~campus~core~(non-contributing).~(Photo~by~author,~2013)



Fig. 42: Trees along the north side of the North Road which likely framed dormitory buildings. (Photo by author, 2013)



Fig.~43:~Row~of~trees~extending~diagonally~northeast~across~the~north~side~of~campus.~Date~and~purpose~unknown.~(Photo~by~author,~2013)



Fig. 44: Mown edge and pine forest typical of campus core edge. (Photo by author, 2013)



Fig. 45: Mature pine and young deciduous forest in camping shelter area. This area was likely in timber. (Photo by author, 2013)



Fig.~46:~Chinaberry~trees~and~successional~growth~along~road~extending~to~railroad~tracks~and~entering~old~Forney~property.~(Photo~by~author,~2013)



Fig. 47: Trees framing former site of Forney house, which burned in the late 1990s. (Photo by author, 2013)



Fig.~48: Mown~edge~of~Tobacco~Barn~clearing~showing~typical~successional~growth~in~this~area.~(Photo~by~author,~2013)



 $Fig.\ 49:\ Mature\ trees\ framing\ road\ trace\ which\ would\ have\ extended\ north\ from\ Benedict\ Hall.\ (Photo\ by\ author,\ 2013)$



Fig. 50: Large magnolia in campus core. (Photo by author, 2013)



Fig. 51: South Road facing west showing remnants of former allee and row of pines delineating cultivated fields and the campus core. (Photo by author, 2013)



Fig. 52: Extant mature trees in allee along South Road, facing east. (Photo by author, 2013)



Fig. 53: Extant mature trees in allee along North Road, facing west. (Photo by author, 2013)



Fig. 54: Mature trees in Old Bricks Cemetery. (Photo by author, 2013)

Circulation

Several prominent elements make up the circulation of the Franklinton Center at Bricks. U.S. Route 301 borders the property to the east. Currently, U.S. Route 301 constitutes the sole paved public road providing access to the grounds. Another current border and minor circulation route is Fishing Creek to the north, the border between Edgecombe County and Halifax County. Through the western side of the property runs the CSX Transportation railroad line.

Within the property is a system of unpaved roads and concrete pathways aiding in circulation. Two roads extend perpendicular into the property from U.S. Route 301. Though both are shown on a map as "Bricks School Lane," they will be denoted as the North Road and South Road for the purposes of this analysis. The North Road and South Road, each approximately 14 feet wide, provide the primary access into the FCAB campus, and parallel one another until reaching the core of the campus, where a semicircular loop connects them with spur roads to each of the main buildings. From the campus core, a road extends west across the railroad tracks.

A farm path, denoted as Fred Coley Lane, runs southwest out of the campus core and intersects with another farm road and terminates Moore Farm Road. Paved pathways within the campus core connect the Administration Building with the Dining Hall and the Dining Hall with Hospitality House II. Paved pathways also connect Hospitality House I with the Judson King House via the unpaved roads. Grounds management has created several mown paths to different areas of the FCAB. These pathways are a result of current management and provide only minimal access to unused buildings and structures.

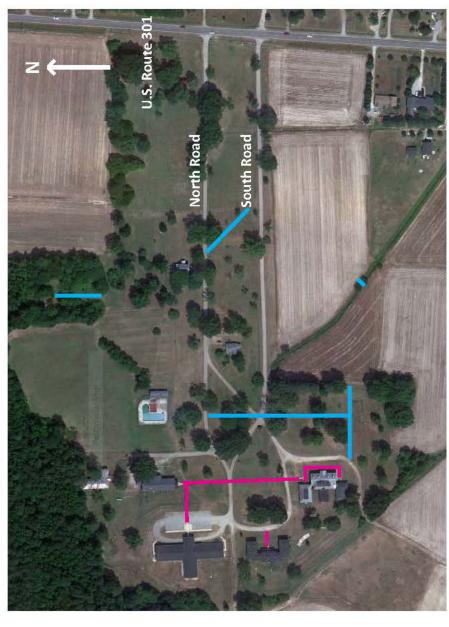
Several road traces exist throughout the site, corresponding with historic maps of the property. These road traces are made visible by the placement of vegetation and variations in grading on the otherwise flat land. All are discernible using aerial imagery. Two trails run north through the forested area of the property and terminate at Fishing Creek. One trail parallels the railroad line, and the other provides access from a rented field. [Maps, Fig. 55 and Fig. 56]



Circulation Routes

Fig. 55: Map labeling primary Circulation Routes at FCAB.

109



Campus core cirulation routes and historic road traces

Evident Historic Road TracePaved pedestrian pathways

KEY:

Fig. 56: Map showing Circulation Routes and historic road traces in campus core of FCAB.

Buildings and Structures

The site's extant buildings and structures include the Teacher's Cottage (ca. 1895), Thomas Sewell Inborden House (ca. 1895), Dr. William Judson King House (ca. 1954), Pool and Bathhouse (ca. 1960s), Dining Hall (ca. 1967), Model Schoolhouse (ca. 1910 to 1925), Hospitality House II (2006), Hospitality House I (ca. 1949, with possible older core), Administration Building (ca. 1895, remodeled in 1920s and 1940s), several stages/platforms used for events (ca. 2000s), a cinderblock Utility Building (date unknown), Tobacco Barn (date unknown), Hay Barn (date unknown, possibly dating to Brick School era), an Two (2) Camping Shelters (ca. 1970-80). They are described here in the order one would encounter them entering the campus from U.S. Route 301 and driving west on the North Road, then curving around the semicircle and exiting east via the South Road. Building and structures in outlying agricultural and recreational areas are described following those located in the campus core. [Map, Fig. 57]

The Teacher's Cottage is located on the north side of the property's North Road and is the building nearest the entrance. It is setback from the North Road approximately 60 feet. One of the first buildings on the Joseph K. Brick Agricultural, Industrial, and Normal School campus, it was built c. 1895 to house some of the school's teachers. It is a three-bay wide, two-story, double-pile frame house with a pyramidal roof. The roof has exposed rafter detailing. Currently, the house sits on concrete block piers. A one-story porch wraps around the south and east facades, and the porch roof is currently supported by a series of 4x4's, though documents as recent as 2011 note an intact balustrade and posts. Two to three additional teachers' residences once existed along the North Road; this house is the sole remaining. [Fig. 58]

Also located along the north side of the property's North Road is the Inborden House, the home of the first and longest-serving principal of the Joseph K. Brick Agricultural, Industrial, and Normal School. Inborden House is setback from the North Road approximately 47 feet. It is a two-bay, two-story, double-pile frame house on a brick pier foundation. A front-gable roof frames a third attic story clad in decorative shingles. The house retains its original four over four windows. The front door is surrounded by a transom and sidelights, and a door hood covers the entrance. Historic photographs of the house show a wraparound porch on the southeast corner of the building, though as of 2013 only a small portion of the original porch remains on the east facade. Inborden House has not been used as a primary residence since the Brick Rural Life School operated on the site. The first floor was used in the 1960s and 1970s as a museum and memorial to the Brick School and Brick Junior College. The most recent use of the house was as a spare sleeping quarters for small parties. [Fig. 59]

As one moves west toward the campus core the density of buildings and structures increases. The Judson King House, named for FCAB director Dr. William Judson King, was built c. 1954 to house the then director of the Franklinton Center. It is located between the North and South Roads running east-west through the property, and the house is oriented west, facing the campus' larger institutional buildings. The house is one-story brick veneer dwelling with a compound roof and designed in the minimal traditional style. It housed FCAB directors through the 1970s. As of 2013, it is used as spare sleeping quarters for small groups visiting the Center. [Fig. 60]

The next structure along the North Road is the swimming pool and accompanying bathhouse. Built in the late 1960s, the swimming pool and bathhouse have been used

since for the benefit of the local community. Currently, it is the only public pool within 20 miles and acts as one of the only remaining links between the community and the FCAB. The bathhouse is a one-story frame building with a side-gable roof. Within the bathhouse are men's and women's bath and shower facilities, an office, and a pump room. A shed porch roof on the western side of the building is supported by metal poles. The pool itself is located west of the bathhouse and is an L-shaped, in-ground structure with a depth of three to eight feet. It is surrounded by a concrete pad, which is in turn surrounded by a chain link fence. [Fig. 61]

Immediately west of the pool and bathhouse is the Dining Hall. Construction on the Dining Hall was completed in 1967. It is a long, low, one-story, concrete block building with a brick veneer in the Colonial Revival style. Entrances are on the east and south facades beneath pedimented gables, with a less prominent entrance off a small wing on the north facade. The area where the Dining Hall is located was once where Ingraham Chapel and a nearby manual training workshop were located, at the termination of the east-west axis formed by the North Road. [Fig. 62]

Immediately north of the Dining Hall is the Model Schoolhouse, a frame, four-room schoolhouse consisting of two blocks in an L-shape. The roofs of both blocks of the "L" are metal, but the roof of the southern-oriented block is standard metal panels, while the roof of the western-oriented block has a diamond-shaped pressed metal tile pattern. The southern-oriented block has a hip-roof and a one-story, pedimented gable-front porch. Two doors lead to classrooms on either side of this block. Banks of five windows run across either side of the doors on the south facade. Banks of three windows provide light into the classrooms in the block from the east and west. The western-oriented block

also houses two classrooms. Entrance to the classrooms is provided through separate recessed porches sheltered by hipped-roof hoods. Six windows on the western facade provide light to auxiliary rooms servicing the interior classrooms in this section. The classrooms are lighted by banks of seven windows on the eastern facade of this section. The Model Schoolhouse was used as a public elementary school through the 1955-1956 school year. ²⁰⁶ It was used in the 1950s and 1960s by the Bricks Farmers Co-op to store equipment and crops, and, in 1961, FCAB management repaired the roof, painted the building, and strengthened the building's underpinnings. ²⁰⁷ In the 1970s, plans emerged to use the building as a daycare center, although it is unclear if that use ever materialized. In 2012, the Model Schoolhouse was cleaned out and an attempt was made to mothball the building. [Fig. 63 and Fig. 64]

Located west of the Dining Hall is Hospitality House II, a dormitory and meeting facility built in 2006. It is a long, low, 13-bay building with a side-gable roof and a perpendicular wing bisecting the middle of the east (front) facade. The intersecting wing ends in a large, front-gable porte-cochere. The building is sheathed in brick and vinyl siding. Front-gable details on the north and south ends of the east facade punctuate the building. The dormitory and meeting facility is built in the former location of a Brick School era recreation area, and does not appear to have been the location of an earlier building or other landscape characteristic.

Just south of the dormitory and meeting facility is Hospitality House I, a dormitory dating to 1950. Hospitality House I consists of a two-story, five-bay block joined to two three-bay wings on either side by two hyphens recessed from the main

²⁰⁷ American Missionary Association archives addenda, Box 128, Folder 4.

²⁰⁶ C. Rudolph Knight, *The Education of a Generation: the Rosenwald Schools and Other African-American Schools in Edgecombe* County (Tarboro, NC: Perry-Weston Institute, 2012). 84.

block. The wings project forward from the main block. The main block, hyphens, and wings all have hip-roofs. The building is sheathed in a brick veneer. The entrance to the main block is through two large columns supporting a broken pediment. The door is flanked by sidelights and has a fanlight overhead. Each hyphen houses an additional pedimented entrance, smaller than the main entrance. Though the building was officially dedicated in 1950, a map dating to the late 1930s shows the director's residence located on this spot. A National Register nomination for the site from 2011, never submitted, suggests the dormitory may have been built up around a "small earlier core dating to 1927 that was the former President's Residence," referring to the president of Brick Junior College. This dormitory is located on the same north-south axis as Hospitality House II and is designated as a "playground" on maps dating to the Brick School era. [Fig. 65]

The Administration Building is located on the same north-south axis as the Dining Hall and just southeast of Hospitality House I. The Administration Building has been substantially remodeled since the Brick School era. The building's center section dates to c. 1895. It sits on a raised basement foundation, and six steps lead up to a pedimented portico. Three doors provide entrance to the building's dining hall and auditorium space. Two sets of paired windows flank the pedimented portico. Four dormer windows project from the side-gable roof. Flanking the center section and extending west are two recessed wings, each one-story and three-bays wide. A third, smaller wing extends west from the back of the center section. All three wings have hip-roofs. These wings, as well as changes to the front (east) facade of the center block likely date to the 1949 remodeling of the building during the Brick Rural Life School era. The dining hall and auditorium

-

²⁰⁸ Van Dolsen, "Inventory."

housed in the center section dates to the Brick Junior College era, and possibly earlier, as its exposed-truss ceiling is identifiable in a photograph from that era. The Administration Building was called "Fellowship House" or "Fellowship Hall" until the 1970s. [Fig. 66]

Behind the Administration Building to the west are three small, wooden stage platforms oriented southwest toward a small tree. These platforms were constructed in the 2000s, although the exact date is unknown.

Located nearby the campus core is the Utility Building, a small auxiliary outbuilding. It is a one-story, one-room cement block structure with a side-gable metal roof. Two doors on the north facade provide access to the building, at one time used from storage. Currently, the structure is surrounded by successional growth and inaccessible to all but the most adventurous. [Fig. 67]

Two structures remain in the former agricultural area north of Inborden House. A tobacco barn (date of construction unknown, but likely dating to the 1940s and used by the Bricks Farmers Co-op) used for curing tobacco, is located at the termination of a mown path. Half of the barn is brick, and the other half is cement block, a metal gable roof covers the entirety of the structure. A metal gable roof, supported by wooden beams, extends west from the center of the barn to provide shelter for farm equipment. The tobacco barn is surrounded by successional growth. It is not currently used. Northwest of the tobacco barn is a hay barn, accessible at the northernmost end of where the vegetable garden meets the woods line. The hay barn is a one-story frame building resting on brick piers and fieldstone with a side-gable roof extending over a recessed outside area used for storage. Two doors on the east facade provide access to the barn. The date of construction

for this building is also unknown, but it may date to the early Brick School era. [Fig. 68 and Fig. 69]

In a wooded area west of the campus core on the north side of the dirt road which crosses the railroad track are two frame camping shelters dating from the mid-1970s under FCAB management. Currently unused in in considerable disrepair, they were built in an effort to increase "outdoor ministry" opportunities at the FCAB. The eastern shelter is an A-frame building raised on wooden piers and resting on a wooden platform setback from a shallow deck. The one-bay wide shelter is clad in red-painted board and batten siding with a front-gable roof and extended overhang. A screen door provides access from the south facade. The western shelter, oriented perpendicular to the eastern shelter, is larger. It is raised on wooden piers and rests on a wooden platform and also is setback from a shallow deck. Entrance to the square, one-room structure is on the east facade. The building is clad in red-painted plywood. Screen strip windows round the building. A front-gable roof with extended overhang covers the building. Both camping shelters are in disrepair, and water collects underneath after heavy rain. [Fig. 70 and Fig. 71]



Locations of Extant Buildings and Structures at the FCAB

Fig. 57: Map of extant Buildings and Structures at the FCAB.



Fig. 58: South facade of Teacher's Cottage. (Photo by author, 2013)



Fig. 59: South facade of Inborden House. (Photo by author, 2013)



Fig. 60: West facade of Judson King House. Note landscape plantings. (Photo by author, 2013)

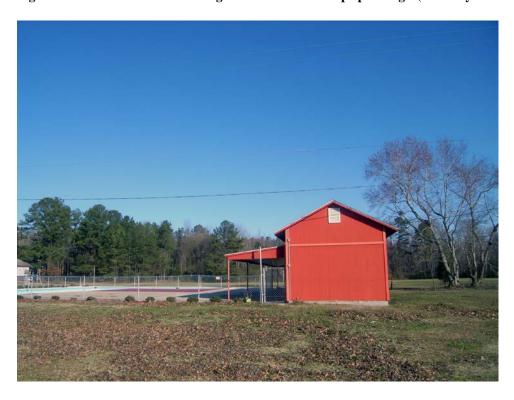


Fig. 61: South facade of Bathhouse and Pool. Note foundation plantings. (Photo by author, 2013)



 $Fig.\ 62:\ South\ and\ East\ facades\ of\ Dining\ Hall,\ Model\ Schoolhouse\ in\ background.\ (Photo\ by\ author,\ 2013)$



Fig. 63: South facade of Model Schoolhouse. (Photo by author, 2013)



Fig. 64: West facade of Model Schoolhouse. Note change is roof material. (Photo by author, 2013)



Fig. 65: East facade of Hospitality House I. Note large trees and gathering area. (Photo by author, 2013)



Fig. 66: East facade of Administration Building. (Photo by author, 2013)



Fig. 67: Detail of North facade of One-room Auxiliary Building. (Photo by author, 2013)



Fig. 68: South facade of Tobacco Barn. (Photo by author, 2013)



Fig. 69: South facade of Hay Barn. (Photo by author, 2013)



Fig. 70: South facade of A-frame Camping Shelter. (Photo by author, 2013)

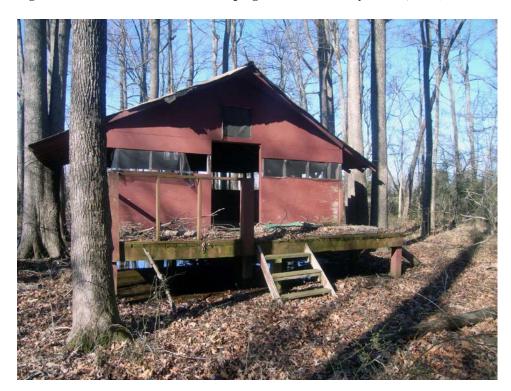
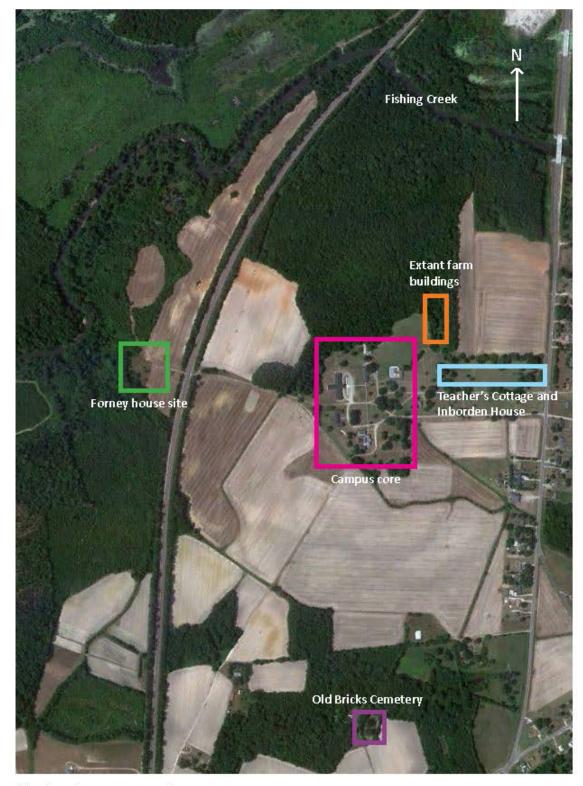


Fig. 71: East facade of Gable-front Camping Shelter. (Photo by author, 2013)

Cluster Arrangement

Cluster arrangement is visible in the relationships among the separate eras of management and development and associated land use. Organizational axes from the contemporary era and previous periods of management are readily apparent, and the current cluster arrangement of the FCAB site is an amalgamation of plans from the site's past uses, including the plantation era, the Joseph K. Brick Agricultural, Industrial, and Normal School era, the Bricks Rural Life School era, and the Franklinton Center at Bricks management era. A map showing current cluster arrangement at the FCAB [Fig. 72] illustrates the location of separate clusters within the FCAB, including the campus core, Teacher's Cottage and Inborden House, extant farm buildings, the Forney house site, and the Old Bricks Cemetery.

Extant buildings in the campus core are clustered around the semicircular drive at the termination of the North Road and South Road. Extant teachers' homes, Teacher's Cottage and Inborden House, are arranged in a line along the north side of the North Road. Extant farm buildings, though currently surrounded by dense successional forest, extend in a line moving north, perpendicular to the North Road. Extant landscape characteristics at the Forney house site, such as large trees framing the former house location situated on higher ground, dense successional forest to the west behind the former, and the pattern of cultivated land are indicative of a typical tenant site during the Brick Rural Life School era. The gravesites and vegetation of the Old Bricks Cemetery are arranged informally, with some loose rows of gravesites and scattered vegetation. Headstones associated with these gravesites do not uniformly face east as is often the case in cemeteries.



Cluster Arrangement

Fig. 72: Map showing cluster arrangement at the FCAB.

Views and Vistas

The extant views and vistas at the FCAB site were engineered during the early development of the Joseph K. Brick Agricultural, Industrial, and Normal School beginning in 1895. These deliberately contrived sight lines on the property include those framed by what remains of allees planted during that early period on the North Road and South Road. Such vistas provide a sightline from U.S. Route 301 into the FCAB campus, as well as from the FCAB campus interior to that public road. Road traces within the property also point toward less obvious vistas, including one from the South Road to Inborden House, framed by trees on the North Road, and another from the visible road trace which would have run perpendicular to the North and South Roads through campus and provided vistas from Benedict Hall to Beard Hall and vice versa. Extant broad views on the property include those from the campus core toward cultivated fields and vice versa.

Small-Scale Features

Small-scale features throughout the site provide windows into its many eras of management. [Map, Fig. 73] The North and South Roads, the primary entrances to the property from U.S. 301, are flanked by brick piers with concrete caps, representative of the site's status in the community. [Fig. 74] The North Road is flanked by two piers, one each to the north and south, while the South Road is flanked by four piers, two north and two south, with the inner piers larger than the outer piers. The asymmetry of the entrance configurations suggests there was indeed a third road to the south, possibly with brick piers at the entrance to mirror the North Road. An early graduating class associated with

Brick Junior College donated the piers. Each has been repaired to varying degrees throughout the years. Located near the southernmost brick pier is a granite right-of-way marker of indeterminate age. [Fig. 75]

Also located at the entrance to the property from U.S. 301 is a modern sign welcoming visitors to the property. The red, wooden sign with light yellow lettering is secured between two brick piers of a different color and type than those at the entrance. It sits in a circular planting bed with several ornamental plantings and lighting for the sign. In the right-of-way between the North and South Roads is a North Carolina historical marker with a brief description of Brick School and Brick Junior College, originally cast in 1979. [Fig. 76] A brown Department of Transportation sign, also located in the right-of-way, directs drivers to "Franklinton Center at Bricks."

Throughout the landscape are scattered bricks, brick and stone foundation remnants, and granite curbs lining some of the roads, currently hidden beneath grass. The scattered bricks are found in areas where recent demolition has taken place, including in the northwest portion of the campus core near the Model Schoolhouse and Hospitality House II, as well as near the Inborden house, likely related to the demolition of an outbuilding. Aerial imagery offers a clear view of where early buildings might have been located through clear ghostings of building footprints. On the ground, remnants of brick piers and stone foundations are visible on the north side of the North Road in the probable locations of two teacher cottages [Fig. 77], Brewster Hall, and Beard Hall, all associated with the Brick School era. The concrete slab foundation of a demolished outbuilding can be found east of Inborden House [Fig. 78]. Remnants of a single brick foundation pier can be found on the path leading to the tobacco barn. [Fig. 79] Behind

the Administration Building to the west is another concrete slab foundation associated with an unknown outbuilding. [Fig. 80] Just southeast of the Administration Building lays the former location of Benedict Hall, which has the most obvious footprint and measures approximately 112 feet by 42 feet. Along portions of the roads winding through the campus core can be found granite curbs partially buried beneath the grass. The longest visible stretches of curb are located in front of the Administration Building running north-south and in front of the former location of Benedict Hall running eastwest. Another small portion of granite curb is visible in front of Hospitality House I running north-south. [Fig. 81]

Unused and capped wells and septic systems, streetlights, and utility poles are located throughout the property and their exact dates cannot be determined. [Fig. 82 and Fig. 83] Inborden noted a number of polluted wells upon arrival to the Brick farm and labored to fill and cap many of them. Those that exist today likely serviced no longer extant buildings dating from the Brick School era. Streetlights were installed at several intervals during FCAB management beginning in the 1950s. Working utility poles are located near extant buildings, while several unused poles, now swallowed by overgrown vegetation, are located near sites where buildings were formerly located. The Brick School was an early user of electricity in the region, and these utility poles could date from that era.

Several culverts and swales exist throughout the site to aid in drainage of the flood-prone property. At the right-of-way at the entrance to the site is a long drainage swale with culvert running north-south the length of the property along U.S. 301. Just inside the property, a swale runs from the North Road to the South Road. Within the

campus core are numerous swales located nearby frequently used buildings, including the Dining Hall and Hospitality House II.

Also scattered throughout the campus core are benches and picnic tables generally located near mature trees for shade. The picnic tables were added in 2011, and the benches were added in 2012.



Locations of Small-Scale Features at the FCAB

Culverts and swales
Contemporary welcome sig
DOT sign
Picnic tables and benches

Fig. 73: Map showing locations of small-scale features at FCAB.

Old utility poles

Capped wells and Septic

systems

Foundation remnantsGranite curb remnants

Right-of-way markerNC historical marker

Brick entrance piers

KEY:



Fig. 74: Brick piers flanking North and South Roads at the entrance to the FCAB. (Photo by author, 2013)



Fig.~75: Government~right-of-way~marker~located~at~the~entrance~to~the~FCAB~property~via~the~South~Road.~(Photo~by~author,~2013)



Fig. 76: North Carolina historical marker (1979), view facing east from FCAB property across U.S. Route 301. Note ornamental planting and wood edging. (Photo by author, 2013)



Fig. 77: Foundation stone remnant on former site of a Teacher's Cottage, Inborden House in background. (Photo by author, 2013)



Fig.~78:~Concrete~slab~foundation~remnant~in~former~location~of~outbuilding~associated~with~Inborden~House.~Photograph~taken~facing~north.~(Photo~by~author,~2013)



Fig. 79: Brick pier foundation remnant of unknown origin, located in mown clearing leading to Tobacco Barn. (Photo by author, 2013)



Fig. 80: Concrete slab foundation remnant of unknown outbuilding located behind the Administration Building to the west. (Photo by author, 2013)



Fig. 81: Remnant of granite curb originally lining the old south road in front of Benedict Hall. The Administration Building (in background) also has curb remnants in front of the building which would have lined the road. (Photo by author, 2013)



Fig. 82: Capped wells and septic systems can be found throughout the landscape. Pictured are two examples in the vicinity of Inborden House. (Photo by author, 2013)



Fig. 83: Capped wells and septic systems can be found throughout the landscape. Pictured are two examples in the vicinity of Inborden House. (Photo by author, 2013)

Archeological Sites

Archeological sites associated with the Franklinton Center at Bricks include areas where early buildings were located as determined by foundation ruins and the placement of buildings on historic maps. [Map, Fig. 84] The basements of several buildings on site were filled in once the buildings which sat on top of them were demolished. The area of the campus likely the original location of the farm buildings during the Brick School era may also provide archeological evidence. Numerous writings describing the site include reference to wells. The caps of some of these wells are visible today, while others are known to have been filled in and capped as early as 1895. As such, the archeological sites present on the property could be attributable to antebellum and postbellum plantation eras as well as to the early 19th century.



Potential archeological sites

Site of razed building where basement was filled
 Sites containing foundation ruins
 Capped wells

KEY:

Fig. 84: Map of potential archeological sites at FCAB.

CHAPTER 4

DEFINING SIGNIFICANCE, INTEGRITY, AND ANAYLSIS AND EVALUATION OF LANDSCAPE CHARACTERISTICS

Introduction

An analysis and evaluation of the existing conditions at the Franklinton Center at Bricks (FCAB) is necessary to move forward with plans for future conservation and development of the site. Chapter III identified existing resources, and this chapter will define the site's significance and assess its historic integrity to evaluate its eligibility for the National Register and the degree to which it retains historic integrity as specific to the needs of current FCAB management. This analysis and evaluation process was guided by the 2009 National Park Service *Cultural Landscapes Inventory Professional Procedures Guide* as well as the National Register Bulletins *How to Evaluate and Nominate Designed Historic Landscapes* and *Guidelines for Evaluating and Documenting Rural Historic Landscapes*.

Significance is assessed based on four National Register of Historic Places

Criteria: Criterion A, properties associated with events that have made significant

contributions to the broad patterns of history; Criterion B, properties associated with the

lives of persons significant in our past; Criterion C, properties embodying the distinctive

characteristics of a type, period, or method of construction; possessing high artistic

values; or representing a significant and distinguishable entity whose components may

lack individual distinction; and Criterion D, properties that have yielded, or may be likely

to yield, information important in prehistory or history. The site is historically significant under National Register Criterion A based on its place in African-American history in general and African-American education specifically as well as its importance to the region during the Civil Rights Movement. It is also significant under Criterion C given the site's historic landscape characteristics precipitated by the way in which various management eras manipulated the landscape.

The "period of significance" must also be determined for the site. Period of significance is defined as "the span of time when a property was associated with important events, activities, persons, cultural groups, and land uses or attained important physical qualities or characteristics." For the purpose of this evaluation, the overall period of significance of the Franklinton Center at Bricks is 1895 to 1969. Within that overall period of significance are three sub-periods: Brick School Era (1895 to 1933), Brick Rural Life School Era (1934 to 1954), and the Franklinton Center at Bricks (FCAB) Era (1954 to 1969). The end date 1969 was chosen to reflect the end of the site's association with the Civil Rights Movement and date of construction of the last known structure built during that era.

The historic integrity of the landscape characteristics must then be evaluated with regard to that period of significance. Landscapes characteristics at the FCAB include natural systems and features, topography, spatial organization, land use, cultural traditions, vegetation, circulation, buildings and structures, cluster arrangement, views and vistas, small-scale features, and archeological sites. Each contributing and non-contributing landscape feature within each landscape characteristic will be identified along with the sub-period of significance to which it is attributable. Each of the landscape

²⁰⁹ National Register Bulletin 30, 21.

characteristics will then be evaluated for integrity in the following areas: location, design,

setting, materials, workmanship, feeling, and association. Further, individual contributing

and non-contributing elements within each landscape characteristics category will be

evaluated to determine their specific integrity. It is those individual elements that are then

conserved and managed to collectively retain historic integrity of the site.

Landscape Characteristics Assessment

Natural Systems and Features and Topography

The site's natural systems and features and topography have not changed

substantially since the site's earliest sub-period of significance, the Brick School era

(1895-1933). This includes Fishing Creek, granite outcrops, and the site's overall

topography. The exact historic locations of manmade features affecting the site's

topography, such as drainage ditches and swales, are unknown. However, these manmade

topographic changes, used to drain otherwise easily flooded land, are consistent with

practices documented across all eras.

Individual Features: Natural Systems and Features and Topography

Contributing (Brick School Era):

Fishing Creek, granite outcrops, overall topography, drainage

ditches and swales

Contributing (Brick Rural Life School Era): N/A

Contributing (FCAB Era): N/A

Non-contributing: N/A

Spatial Organization

The same circulation routes which existed during the Brick School era, U.S. Route 301, Fishing Creek, and the railroad, exist today. Thus, these routes have informed spatial organization throughout the site's history. Though no concrete evidence is available showing the location of the large house which stood on the property during it's the antebellum and postbellum eras, it can be surmised the house would have faced the north-south route currently known as U.S. Route 301 and likely been located on high ground within the property. A road in the location of U.S. Route 301 is visible on maps of Edgecombe County as early as 1864 and likely earlier. The orientation of that house, which burned shortly after Julia E. Brick donated the property to the AMA, would have influenced the early building patterns of the Brick School, resulting in a general orientation of the campus in the direction of the road to the east rather than the railroad to the west. Development of the Brick School property likely took advantage of the large, buildable piece of flat land upon which the house would have been located. Fishing Creek, as the boundary between Edgecombe County and Halifax County, formed a natural boundary for the property as well. Expanded cultivation and building on the property primarily took place to the west, south, and east of the campus core (the Brick farm at one time stretched across U.S. Route 301). Similarly, roads within the property dating at least to the early years of Brick School have dictated development of the site under FCAB management, resulting in a consistent orientation of the campus core perpendicular to U.S. Route 301.

The spatial organization is also influenced by the location of cultivated fields relative to the designed landscape of the campus core. A comparison of a map of Brick

School from between 1910 and 1920, a 1940 USDA aerial photograph of the site [Fig.

85], and contemporary aerial imagery show a nearly identical relationship between

cultivated fields and the campus core, indicating spatial arrangement has remained much

the same since the Brick School era.

Individual Features: Spatial Organization

Contributing (Brick School Era):

Relationship of campus perpendicular to U.S. Route 301,

relationship of campus to surrounding agricultural fields and

Fishing Creek

Contributing (Brick Rural Life School Era): N/A

Contributing (FCAB Era): N/A

Non-contributing: N/A



Fig. 85: 1940 USDA aerial photograph of the property showing consistent spatial organization over time as compared to renderings ca. 1915 [Fig. 4, page 49] and contemporary aerial photographs from 2013 [Fig. 1, page 4].

Land Use

Since the founding of the Joseph K. Brick Agricultural, Industrial, and Normal School in 1895, land use has remained relatively consistent on the portion of the property still owned by the FCAB, roughly 239 acres. At its largest, Brick Farm consisted of 1,129.5 acres, the majority of which was under cultivation through the site's overall period of significance, even after individual parcels were sold. The decision of where to place the campus core of the property corresponded with the likely historic locations of houses located on the property during its time as a slave plantation. During the Brick School era, there were open areas designated for athletics and other forms of recreation within the campus core in addition to the land used for housing and institutional facilities. Outside of the campus core, land use was agricultural. Barns and pasture were located north of the teachers' cottages. To the east, south, and west was more land under cultivation, some of which was rented to tenant farmers. The Brick School grew peanuts, cotton, potatoes, cabbages, peaches, apples, pears, blackberries, strawberries, tomatoes, cucumbers, peas and other products in its program. Chickens, cows, horses, and mules were raised by students of the school. ²¹⁰ Timbering also took place at this time. In his history of the school, Inborden mentions the school having its own granite quarry, although the original location of this could not be ascertained. The Old Bricks Cemetery, believed to predate American Missionary Association involvement with the site, is still active and maintained regularly. Thus, the land use of that parcel has remained consistent since the Bricks School era.

During the Bricks Rural Life School era, use of the land became even more heavily agricultural, with portions of the campus annexed for cultivation. Land during

²¹⁰ Inborden, "History of Brick School."

this era was divided up among tenant families who had applied to live at Bricks for five years and learn modern farming practices, save money, and eventually buy their own farms. The boundaries of these farms were altered over time to ensure equity among the tenants. A USDA aerial photograph from 1940 clearly shows the division of these farms, all very similar to the current delineations. The same aerial shows what appears to be an orchard in the now open area west of the Model Schoolhouse and north of Hospitality House II. When the FCAB began management of the property in 1954, these farms were sold to tenant families in the community and several are still owned by those same families.

During the FCAB era, management documents suggest more land was put in timber in the 1960s and 1970s. The 1940 aerial [Fig. 85] shows a forested area southeast of where Fishing Creek intersects with the railroad and more forested area east of Fishing Creek on the west side of the railroad. Aerial imagery from 2013 shows a larger portion of this area as forested, though it no longer appears to be in timber.

Overall, land use in 2013 is consistent with that of the Brick School Era in terms of areas of agricultural, forested, and educational use. However, many of the early agricultural uses, such as the historic orchard and livestock grazing areas, are no longer used as such. Agricultural use of land today is primarily for cultivation of cotton and soybean.

Individual Features: Land Use

Contributing (Brick School Era):

Farming, Timber, Education, Recreation, Cemetery, Livestock

Grazing

Contributing (Brick Rural Life School Era):

Farming, Orchard, Timber, Education

Contributing (FCAB Era):

Farming, Timber, Recreation, Education,

Non-contributing:

Contemporary orchard and garden

Cultural Traditions

There are both tangible and intangible cultural traditions associated with the FCAB site across all eras of its history. Tangible cultural traditions such as the site's division of cultivated fields and the relationship between these agricultural areas and the campus core exist today much as they did during the Brick School era and the management periods that followed. The design of the campus core and its formal campus layout during the Brick School era is also evocative of traditional campus planning, though that planning ethic diminished considerably following the Brick School era. Though contemporary buildings are built in the campus core, they do not adhere to the formal campus layout of the Brick School era.

Photos from the scrapbook of Julia Inborden, daughter of Brick School principal Thomas Sewell Inborden, in the collection of the Franklinton Center at Bricks show a

mass baptism taking place in Fishing Creek. The photos likely date from between 1910

and 1920. There is no evidence suggesting this practice continues in Fishing Creek in

2013.

The site's intangible cultural traditions are among its best maintained landscape

characteristics. Broadly, the site has been associated with African American education

and racial justice since the founding of Brick School in 1895. That tradition has carried

through each era, first with the academic and industrial education provided to black

students of Brick School by the AMA, then by education in modern farming and farm

management for former sharecroppers provided by the Brick Rural Life School under the

auspices of the AMA. The FCAB served as a hub for civil rights organizing and activism

in Eastern North Carolina, concerned with fighting poverty and social inequality. These

cultural traditions continue in 2013. UCC Justice and Witness Ministries uses the site's

history in addressing rural justice, community development, environmental racism, and

workers' rights in a modern context.

Individual Features: Cultural Traditions

Contributing (Brick School Era):

Division of fields, design of campus core, African-American

education, mass baptism

Contributing (Brick Rural Life School Era):

Division of fields, racial justice, social justice

Contributing (FCAB Era):

Racial justice, social justice, Civil Rights

Non-contributing: N/A

Vegetation

The pattern of vegetation at the Franklinton Center at Bricks can be attributed to the Brick School era, when most of the vegetation was planted to enhance the formal

campus plan. In a 1937 document titled "History of Brick School" by Inborden, he

described the trees and shrubbery planted at the school, noting "elms, poplars of various

kinds, mulberry, pecans, blackwalnut [sic], etc."211 Though it is not known the exact

location of the trees planted during Inborden's management of the property, several

mature pecans, oaks, and black walnuts lining the North and South Roads into campus

are likely remnants of the allees along the main campus roads planted during the Brick

School era. Several more large pecans and other mature trees surround the Teacher's

Cottage. Nearer the campus core are mature oaks, planted to frame the landscape's early

buildings and line roads during the Brick School era. Historic depictions of the campus

core show mature trees in the inner campus core, suggesting these trees may date to the

postbellum period or earlier [Fig. 6, page 50].

During the Brick Rural Life School Era, more of the property was put into

cultivation and trees assumed to have been located along the old south road were

removed. Pines were planted in this period as a barrier between cultivated fields and the

campus core in the area of the former old south road.

_

²¹¹ Inborden, "History of Brick School."

In 1954, during the FCAB era, Hurricane Hazel caused considerable damage to

the campus' vegetation, resulting in many dead trees (the removal of which is chronicled

in yearly buildings and grounds reports to the FCAB Board of Trustees in the 1950s and

1960s). It is not known when and how many such trees were replaced. Mature vegetation

extant in 2013 likely dates from the Brick School era, while younger hardwoods and

pines likely date from the Brick Rural Life School and FCAB eras. Non-contributing

vegetation includes contemporary ornamental plantings and large areas of successional

growth, as well as the newly-planted orchard and garden.

Individual Features: Vegetation

Contributing (Brick School Era):

Mature trees in allees along North and South Road, mature trees in

campus core lining road traces, pecan, black walnut, and fruit trees

in vicinity of Teacher's Cottage and Inborden House, Mature trees

in Old Bricks Cemetery

Contributing (Brick Rural Life School Era):

Row of pines running perpendicular to South Road separating

cultivated area from Administration Building, chinaberry trees,

mature trees framing Forney house site

Contributing (FCAB Era):

Younger hardwoods in allees along North Road and South Road, pine forest

Non-contributing:

Ornamental plantings, Successional growth, contemporary orchard, contemporary garden

Circulation

Changes in circulation at the Franklinton Center at Bricks have changed little since the Brick School Era. In 2013, as in 1895, primary public circulation routes include U.S. Route 301, Fishing Creek, and the railroad. U.S. Route 301, once a major northsouth route on the Eastern seaboard, is visible on maps predating the Brick School era and contributed to the perpendicular orientation of the school's primary interior circulation routes to that route. Historically, the Joseph K. Brick Agricultural, Industrial, and Normal School had its own stop on the railroad, and the railroad served as a primary means of movement for the students and faculty of the school throughout the region. While the stop was still in use, there was a small depot building located along the track. A side track branched off from the main track for use by the school. Primary interior campus roads from the Brick School era included the North Road and South Road, as well as a third road south of the current South Road (distinguished here as "old south road."). A road also extended west from campus across the railroad tracks, providing access to the Bricks railroad stop, and another extended south to provide access from the tenant farms to the campus core. Secondary roads and pathways connected institutional

buildings in this era. Most of these circulation routes exist today and function as

originally intended or are evident as road traces, with the exception of the old south road.

The old south road was removed during the Brick Rural Life School era to expand

the area available for cultivation. It is unknown how this era altered interior circulation

routes apart from this instance. The FCAB era used the same circulation routes as

previous management eras but is believed to have added concrete pathways connecting

buildings remodeled in that era. Also possibly dating from this era are hiking trails

providing access to Fishing Creek from the campus core. These alterations remain in

2013.

Individual Features: Circulation

Contributing (Brick School Era):

U.S. Route 301, Railroad, Fishing Creek, North Road, South Road,

road leading across railroad tracks, road traces within campus

Contributing (Brick Rural Life School Era): N/A

Contributing (FCAB Era):

Paved campus pathways, hiking trails

Non-contributing:

Parking lot serving Hospitality House II

Buildings and Structures

Extant buildings and structures at the Franklinton Center at Bricks are equally representative of each sub-period of significance. Many of the buildings and structures from the Brick School era burned or were demolished in subsequent eras, and those remaining today from this era include the Teacher's Cottage, Inborden House, the center block of the Administration Building, the Model Schoolhouse, and possibly the Hay Barn, which is very similar in appearance to the small building located next to the storehouse in photographs from Julia Inborden's scrapbook. [Fig. 10, page 53] As a result, the appearance of the FCAB campus core as dictated by buildings and structures in the built environment bears only passing resemblance to the Brick School era. The area of the FCAB site due north of Inborden House was once home to a number of livestock and farm outbuildings. A map of the Brick School shows seven such buildings, and the Hay Barn and Tobacco Barn (which likely Brick Rural Life School era) are the sole remaining.

During the Brick Rural Life School era, the Administration Building and Hospitality House I were renovated and rebuilt, and the appearance of these buildings is much the same today as in the late 1940s and early 1950s when they were modified. No tenant farmhouses from this era exist on the land currently owned by the FCAB. Extant outbuildings from this era include the Utility Building and Tobacco Barn, and it is unclear how many more from this era may have existed between 1934 and 1954.

All buildings dating to the early FCAB era remain, including the Judson King House, Dining Hall, and Pool and Bathhouse. Also extant are those constructed after the period of significance, including the two camping shelters. Buildings and structures

constructed in the 2000s include Hospitality House II and the stage platforms. Neither have historic precedent in the landscape in their current location. However, the Brick School, Brick Junior College, and the Brick Rural Life School all held outdoor "Farm Day" festivities regularly, and speakers at these events are described as addressing the audiences from a stage.

Individual Features: Buildings and Structures

Contributing (Brick School Era): Teacher's Cottage, Inborden House, Model

Schoolhouse, Hay Barn

Contributing (Brick Rural Life School Era): Administration Building,

Hospitality House I, Utility Building, Tobacco Barn

Contributing (FCAB Era):

Judson King House, Dining Hall, Pool and Bathhouse

Non-contributing:

Hospitality House II, Stage Platform(s), A-frame Camping Shelter,

Gable-front Camping Shelter

Cluster Arrangement

The cluster arrangement of the FCAB site includes several areas – campus core, Teacher's Cottage and Inborden House, extant farm buildings, Forney house site, and Old Bricks Cemetery – resulting from plans for the site's past uses, including the plantation era, the Joseph K. Brick Agricultural, Industrial, and Normal School era, the Bricks Rural Life School era, and the Franklinton Center at Bricks management era. Early writing by

Brick School principal Thomas Sewell Inborden noted that a house existed on the property at the time it was donated to the American Missionary Association by Julia E. Brick. This house, which belonged to the Estes family and possibly predated them, was likely located near the area where the first institutional buildings on campus were constructed: Benedict Hall (demolished ca. 2000) and the original dining hall, now known as the Administration Building. The house was intended for use as a school building but burned prior to Inborden's arrival. Those early buildings, replacements for the house, were likely located nearby the original house site to take advantage of existing roads and pathways, thus forming the campus core. The rest of the campus developed relative to the location of the earliest buildings, with the North Road, South Road, and a third, no longer extant road south of the South Road leading to three prominent institutional buildings on campus and creating a framework around which the site developed. Dormitory buildings flanked the North Road and the old south road, and a row of teachers' houses lined the North Road into the campus core. Recreational spaces for students existed in green space within and just outside of the campus core.

Moving out from the campus core during the Brick School and Brick Junior

College eras were clusters of auxiliary buildings. A manual training shop existed close to
the Model Schoolhouse, and a frame laundry building existed close to the Administration
Building. North of Inborden House existed a cluster of farm buildings. Tenant houses for
farmers were located south of the campus across the cultivated fields.

Sometime following the closing of Brick Junior College, the old south road was eliminated and its use shifted to farmland. This influenced the spatial arrangement of the campus. Under Bricks Rural Life School management, the campus did not grow

substantially. Instead, older buildings on campus were remodeled and repurposed to serve

the needs of the Bricks Rural Life School, and buildings deemed unnecessary were

demolished. Planning efforts undertaken by FCAB management in the 1950s and 1960s

sought to reorient the campus around the campus core at the termination of the North and

South Roads. Though these plans were not fully implemented, they and future

development have resulted in a loose, asymmetrical clustering of institutional buildings

around the campus core. Two structures, a hay barn and a tobacco barn, exist outside of

the campus core in the location of the cluster of farm buildings dating to the Brick School

era.

Though cluster arrangement today differs slightly from the Brick School era that

spawned, the cluster arrangement of all subsequent management eras have their basis in

that early period. Burned or demolished buildings from the Brick School era in the

campus core resulted in minor reconfigurations in that area throughout subsequent

management eras.

Individual Features: Cluster Arrangement

Contributing (Brick School Era):

Campus core, extant farm buildings, Teacher's Cottage and

Inborden House, Old Bricks Cemetery

Contributing (Brick Rural Life School Era):

Campus core, Forney house site, Old Bricks Cemetery

Contributing (FCAB Era):

Campus core, Old Bricks Cemetery.

Non-contributing: N/A

Views and Vistas

The extant vistas at the FCAB site were engineered during the early development of the Joseph K. Brick Agricultural, Industrial, and Normal School beginning in 1895. When the AMA began developing the property for Brick School, there were few trees. Allees of trees planted along the extant North and South Roads and the old south road gave visitors controlled views of the school's grand buildings when seen from U.S. Route 301. Similarly, the converse was also true: the allees directed sight line across campus to the main road. Other roads within the campus dating to the Brick School era would terminate at prominent buildings such as the Inborden House. Trees along the roads would assist in framing this and similar vistas. As of 2013, many of these vistas are still intact. However, the buildings and structures they seek to frame are often not. The sole structure dating to the Brick School era which would have been framed at the end of a long allee is the Administration Building, but the road that led to it is no longer extant. Broad views across campus toward cultivated fields are similar to their earlier 19thcentury counterparts, though successional growth at the borders of the fields has slightly altered the field of vision.

Individual Features: Views and Vistas

Contributing (Brick School Era):

Allees along North Road and South Road, road traces terminating

at prominent buildings, broad views from campus core to

agricultural areas

Contributing (Brick Rural Life School Era): N/A

Contributing (FCAB Era): N/A

Non-contributing: N/A

Small-Scale Features

Little is known about small-scale features on the FCAB property throughout each

of its sub-periods of significance. Information on these features is gleaned from

photographs and passing mentions in management documents. Small-scale features from

the Brick School era would have included lampposts and utility poles, as well as curbs

lining the primary circulation routes. Culverts likely also existed in this era. The Brick

Rural Life School era and FCAB era saw much the same in term of small-scale features,

with the addition of new utility poles and culverts. Records pertaining to grounds

management during the Brick School, Brick Junior College, Bricks Rural Life School,

and FCAB eras all make reference to the need for draining portions of the property,

though it is not known whether the current locations of these culverts and swales match

those dating to any of the aforementioned eras. Much of what exists in 2013 are small-

scale features acting as evidence of the former locations of larger buildings and structures

from the Brick School era, including brick and stone foundation remnants, granite curb

remnants, and capped wells and septic systems. Small-scale features post-dating the overall period of significance, including the North Carolina historical marker, DOT sign, scattered bricks, contemporary streetlights and utility poles, and contemporary picnic tables and benches, are non-contributing.

Individual Features: Small-Scale Features

Contributing (Brick School Era):

Brick entrance piers, brick and stone foundation remnants, granite curbs, old utility poles, capped wells and septic systems

Contributing (Brick Rural Life School Era):

Right-of-way marker, old utility poles, culverts, swales

Contributing (FCAB Era):

Old utility poles, culverts, swales

Non-contributing:

North Carolina historical marker, contemporary welcome sign, DOT sign, scattered bricks, streetlights, contemporary utility poles, picnic tables, benches

Archeological Sites

Archeological sites associated with the Franklinton Center at Bricks include areas associated with activity during the Brick School era and Brick Rural Life School era. No pre-historic archeological sites are known. There are few instances at the FCAB site where potential archeological sites have been disrupted. Apart from the construction of

the Dining Hall, which sits near the former site of Ingraham Chapel (the basement of

which was filled in after demolition in the early 1960s), the former locations of buildings

associated with the Brick School and Brick Rural Life School eras have been unaltered.

These potential archeological sites include known filled basements in the former

locations of Ingraham Chapel, Elma Hall, the Administration Building, and Benedict

Hall, as well as the former sites of Beard Hall, Brewster Hall, two teachers' cottages

formerly located between Inborden House and the Teacher's Cottage, and scattered

capped wells and septic systems. Sites formerly associated with tenant cottages from the

Brick Rural Life School era may also yield archeological evidence.

Individual Features: Archeological Sites

Contributing (Brick School Era):

Filled basements, areas containing foundation ruins, capped wells

Contributing (Brick Rural Life School Era):

Former sites of tenant cottages

Contributing (FCAB Era): N/A

Non-contributing: N/A

Evaluation of Historic Integrity

The FCAB is a dynamic landscape and has been since the establishment of Brick School in 1895. Therefore, it is difficult to prescribe a period of significance reflective of that frequent change in management. Rather, the landscape as a whole must be considered in three different sub-periods of significance within an overall period of significance from 1895 to 1969: 1895 to 1933, Brick School Era; 1934 to 1954, Brick Rural Life School Era; and 1954 to 1969, the Franklinton Center at Bricks (FCAB) Era. Each aspect of integrity will consider each landscape characteristic as related to each sub-period of significance. Overall integrity as related to each sub-period of integrity will then be assessed.

Location

The FCAB retains historic integrity of location across each sub-period of significance and the landscape characteristics associated with each sub-period. The site is located at the nexus of three predominantly rural counties in Eastern North Carolina: Edgecombe, Halifax, and Nash. Though the land surrounding the site has been developed since the Brick School era, it has been done in a way that complemented the early rural landscape. Much of the land surrounding the site is still used for agriculture. The core of the campus exists in the same area as it did when the Brick School was established in 1895, and its physical relationship to the adjacent fields has not been altered.

From the Brick School era the following landscape characteristics retain historic integrity: natural systems and features, spatial organization, land use, cultural traditions, views and vistas, and potential archeological sites. Vegetation, circulation, buildings and

structures, and small-scale features retain only partial integrity of location, as these characteristics were altered the most since the Brick School era, subject to natural deterioration, fire, demolition, and, in the case of circulation, the annexing of one historic road to provide more farmland during the Brick Rural Life School era.

Similarly, integrity of location is retained among most landscape characteristics from the Brick Rural Life School era. Buildings and structures, cluster arrangement, and small-scale features retain only partial integrity, as tenant cottages dating to this period were lost and cluster arrangement was altered in the campus core during the FCAB era. The FCAB era retains integrity of location across all landscape characteristics except small-scale features, about which little is known of this sub-period.

Table 1: Summary of integrity of location across each sub-period of significance and its associated landscape characteristics

Location

		Brick Rural Life	FCAB
Landscape Characteristic	Brick School Era	School Era	Era
Natural Systems and Features and			
Topography	Yes	N/A	N/A
Spatial Organization	Yes	N/A	N/A
Land Use	Yes	Yes	Yes
Cultural Traditions	Yes	Yes	Yes
Vegetation	Partial	Yes	Yes
Circulation	Partial	Yes	Yes
Buildings and Structures	Partial	Partial	Yes
Cluster Arrangement	Partial	Partial	Yes
Views and Vistas	Yes	N/A	N/A
Small-Scale Features	Partial	Partial	Partial
Archeological Sites	Yes	Yes	N/A

Design

Integrity of design is retained at the FCAB to varying degrees relative to each sub-period of significance. Each management era altered the design of the site to some degree. Landscape characteristics retaining sufficient integrity of design to the Brick School era include: spatial organization, circulation, and views and vistas. Partial integrity can be found in land use, cultural traditions, vegetation, buildings and structures, and cluster arrangement, all of which were modified to some degree by subsequent management eras. For example, a portion of the Administration Building dates to this era, but the building was substantially modified and enlarged during the Brick Rural Life School era. As little is known about small-scale features dating to this era, their historic integrity regarding design is nonexistent. It is also unknown whether manmade changes to topography from the Brick School era, such as drainage ditches and swales, match those extant.

Landscape characteristics retaining integrity of design specifically to the Bricks Rural Life School era include land use and buildings and structures. Changes affecting integrity of design at the FCAB regarding both land use and buildings and structures during the Brick Rural Life School era are still readily apparent in the landscape, with cultivated field patterns and buildings modified or constructed in this era remaining unchanged. Partial integrity of design is retained for cultural traditions, vegetation, and cluster arrangement, the features of which were modified in subsequent management eras. As with the Brick School era, little is known regarding small-scale features from this area, and it is assumed they do not retain integrity.

The FCAB era retains integrity of design in land use, circulation, buildings and structures, and cluster arrangement. Modifications to these features during this sub-period of significance are visible on the site in 2013. Partial integrity of design is retained in vegetation, as those features have deteriorated somewhat since the end of this period of significance. Small-scale features from this sub-period are also not well documented, and it is assumed most from this area do not retain integrity of design. Cultural traditions dating to this era are primarily intangible, thus integrity of design does not apply.

Table 2: Summary of integrity of design across each sub-period of significance and its associated landscape characteristics

Design

	Brick Rural Life			
Landscape Characteristic	Brick School Era	School Era	FCAB Era	
Natural Systems and Features				
and Topography	N/A	N/A	N/A	
Spatial Organization	Yes	N/A	N/A	
Land Use	Partial	Yes	Yes	
Cultural Traditions	Partial	Partial	N/A	
Vegetation	Partial	Partial	Partial	
Circulation	Yes	N/A	Yes	
Buildings and Structures	Partial	Yes	Yes	
Cluster Arrangement	Partial	Partial	Yes	
Views and Vistas	Yes	N/A	N/A	
Small-Scale Features	No	No	No	
Archeological Sites	N/A	N/A	N/A	

Setting

Integrity of setting is retained across all eras and their applicable associated landscape characteristics. All large scale features dictating the historic setting of the FCAB remain, such as primary circulation routes, spatial organization, cluster arrangement, natural systems and features, land use, and buildings and structures. Views and vistas at the FCAB retain only partial integrity of setting to the Brick School era, the

period the site's views and vistas were developed, due to changes in the configuration of cultivated fields on the site.

Table 3: Summary of integrity of setting across each sub-period of significance and its associated landscape characteristics

Setting

		Brick Rural Life	FCAB
Landscape Characteristic	Brick School Era	School Era	Era
Natural Systems and			
Features and Topography	Yes	N/A	N/A
Spatial Organization	Yes	N/A	N/A
Land Use	Yes	Yes	Yes
Cultural Traditions	Yes	Yes	Yes
Vegetation	Yes	Yes	Yes
Circulation	Yes	Yes	Yes
Buildings and Structures	Yes	Yes	Yes
Cluster Arrangement	Yes	Yes	Yes
Views and Vistas	Partial	Yes	Yes
Small-Scale Features	Yes	Yes	Yes
Archeological Sites	No	Yes	N/A

Materials

Given specific features of each landscape characteristic are attributable to at least one of the sub-periods of significance, materials of the site's built features necessarily retain integrity to at least one of the sub-periods of significance. Spatial organization, land use, cultural traditions, cluster arrangement, views and vistas, and archeological sites were not considered regarding integrity of materials.

Integrity of materials is retained in natural systems and features and extant small-scale features dating to the Brick School Era. Small-scale features from this time are primarily brick and stone foundation remnants once part of larger buildings and structures, and their materials have not been compromised. Partial integrity of materials from this era can be found in vegetation, circulation, and buildings and structures. Much

of the vegetation associated with this sub-period of significance is no longer extant, and buildings and structures dating to this era have been remodeled or otherwise modified, thus influencing their integrity of materials. Circulation routes retain integrity of materials with the exception of U.S. Route 301, which would not have been paved in 1895 at the time of the establishment of Brick School. Rather, U.S. Route 301 would retain integrity to either the Bricks Rural Life School or the Franklinton Center at Bricks eras dependent on the date the road was paved.

Partial integrity of materials is retained during the Brick Rural Life School era in terms of vegetation, circulation, and buildings and structures. Small-scale features from this era retain integrity of materials. Vegetation, buildings and structures, and Small-scale features retain integrity of materials to the FCAB era. Partial integrity of materials for features associated with the FCAB era can be found in the site's circulation, as paved pedestrian pathways dating to this period have deteriorated slightly.

Table 4: Summary of integrity of materials across each sub-period of significance and its associated landscape characteristics

Materials

Landscape Characteristic	Brick School Era	Brick Rural Life School Era	FCAB Era
Natural Systems and Features			
and Topography	Yes	N/A	N/A
Spatial Organization	N/A	N/A	N/A
Land Use	N/A	N/A	N/A
Cultural Traditions	N/A	N/A	N/A
Vegetation	Partial	Partial	Yes
Circulation	Partial	Partial	Partial
Buildings and Structures	Partial	Partial	Yes
Cluster Arrangement	N/A	N/A	N/A
Views and Vistas	N/A	N/A	N/A
Small-Scale Features	Yes	Yes	Yes
Archeological Sites	N/A	N/A	N/A

Workmanship

As with materials, integrity of workmanship at the FCAB is retained given specific features of each landscape characteristic are attributable to at least one of the sub-periods of significance and workmanship of the site's built features necessarily retains integrity to at least one of the sub-periods of significance. Spatial organization and archeological sites were not considered in determining integrity of workmanship. The integrity of workmanship of manmade changes to the site's topography throughout each of the sub-periods of significance in terms of drainage ditches and swales could not be determined, as it is unclear whether these features have been altered in each subsequent sub-period of significance.

Integrity of workmanship for the landscape characteristics attributable to the Brick School era includes circulation, views and vistas, and extant small-scale features. Partial integrity of workmanship for this era can be found in land use, cultural traditions, vegetation, buildings and structures, and cluster arrangement. Similarly only partial integrity of workmanship is retained across land use, cultural traditions, vegetation, buildings and structures, and cluster arrangement attributable to the Brick Rural Life School era. As the latest sub-period of significance, the FCAB era retains integrity of workmanship across all applicable landscape characteristics.

Table 5: Summary of integrity of workmanship across each sub-period of significance and its associated landscape characteristics

Workmanship

·	Brick Rural Life				
Landscape Characteristic	Brick School Era	School Era	FCAB Era		
Natural Systems and Features and					
Topography	N/A	N/A	N/A		
Spatial Organization	N/A	N/A	N/A		
Land Use	Partial	Partial	Yes		
Cultural Traditions	Partial	Partial	N/A		
Vegetation	Partial	Partial	Yes		
Circulation	Yes	N/A	Yes		
Buildings and Structures	Partial	Partial	Yes		
Cluster Arrangement	Partial	Partial	Yes		
Views and Vistas	Yes	N/A	N/A		
Small-Scale Features	Yes	Yes	Yes		
Archeological Sites	N/A	N/A	N/A		

Feeling

Integrity of feeling, as the "cumulative effect of setting, design, materials, and workmanship, 212 is at least partially retained across all eras and their associated landscape characteristics with the exception of small-scale features. The site retains its ability to convey the history of each of its distinct eras through the landscape characteristics and their elements attributable to each era. Institutional and vernacular buildings, designed and vernacular cluster arrangements and spatial organization, small-scale features associated with farm life or a school campus all provide windows to the site's history. However, not enough buildings remain from the site's earlier periods to truly convey the feeling of these eras specifically. Buildings and structures from the Brick School era retain only minimal integrity of feeling given the small number of extant buildings and

_

²¹² U.S. Department of the Interior National Park Service, *National Register Bulletin 30: Guidelines for Evaluating and Documenting Rural Historic* Landscapes, PDF, 1999, http://www.nps.gov/nr/publications/bulletins/pdfs/nrb30.pdf, 23.

structures from that sub-period. Similarly, buildings and structures from the Brick Rural Life School era retain partial integrity of feeling given the lack of extant tenant cottages which characterized that sub-period. Again, as little is known about small-scale features from each sub-period, that landscape characteristic likely does not retain integrity of feeling.

Table 6: Summary of integrity of feeling across each sub-period of significance and its associated landscape characteristics

Feeling

1 cci.iig			
Landscape Characteristic	Brick School Era	Brick Rural Life School Era	FCAB Era
Lanuscape Characteristic	Brick School Era	SCHOOLETA	LIA
Natural Systems and Features			
and Topography	Yes	N/A	N/A
Spatial Organization	Yes	N/A	N/A
Land Use	Yes	Yes	Yes
Cultural Traditions	Yes	Yes	Yes
Vegetation	Partial	Partial	Yes
Circulation	Yes	N/A	Yes
Buildings and Structures	Minimal	Partial	Yes
Cluster Arrangement	Yes	Yes	Yes
Views and Vistas	Yes	N/A	N/A
Small-Scale Features	No	No	No
Archeological Sites	N/A	N/A	N/A

Association

Integrity of association is the combination of all previous aspects of integrity: location, design, setting, materials, workmanship, and feeling. At the FCAB, it is retained across each of the site's sub-periods of significance and their applicable landscape characteristics. The site's two earliest sub-periods of significance, the Brick School era and the Brick Rural Life School era, retain only partial integrity of association in terms of buildings and structures and cluster arrangement, as these characteristics were modified during the subsequent management era. Contributing to the integrity of association to a

large degree is the site's cultural traditions. Management of the FCAB has been fluid since 1895. The AMA and, later, UCC, and the individuals who worked with those organized labored to create a place where African-Americans and other oppressed populations could flourish. All institutions occupying the site stressed education and leadership as a means to achieve racial and social justice for oppressed communities. That tradition continues today under the UCC's Justice and Witness Ministries. The site's more tangible landscape characteristics, including natural systems and features, spatial organization, land use, vegetation, circulation, and views and vistas, all serve to reinforce the integrity of association of the Franklinton Center at Bricks.

Table 7: Summary of integrity of association across each sub-period of significance and its associated landscape characteristics

Association

	Brick School	Brick Rural Life School	
Landscape Characteristic	Era	Era	FCAB Era
Natural Systems and Features			
and Topography	Yes	N/A	N/A
Spatial Organization	Yes	N/A	N/A
Land Use	Yes	Yes	Yes
Cultural Traditions	Yes	Yes	Yes
Vegetation	Yes	Yes	Yes
Circulation	Yes	N/A	Yes
Buildings and Structures	Partial	Partial	Yes
Cluster Arrangement	Partial	Partial	Yes
Views and Vistas	Yes	N/A	N/A
Small-Scale Features	No	No	No
Archeological Sites	N/A	N/A	N/A

Summary of Overall Integrity

Following review of each sub-period of significance, including the Brick School era, Brick Rural Life School era, and FCAB era, and the integrity of each era's applicable landscape characteristics, the historic cultural landscape of the Franklinton Center at Bricks was found to retain sufficient historic integrity across its full period of significance, 1895 to 1969. Each sub-period retained at least partial historic integrity across each of the seven aspects of integrity. The Brick School and Brick Rural Life School eras were both found to retain integrity of location, setting, and association, and partial integrity of design, materials, workmanship, and feeling. The FCAB era was found to retain integrity across all seven aspects.

Table 8: Summary of overall historic integrity across each sub-period of significance each element of integrity

Overall Integrity

Sub-period of Significance	Location	Design	Setting	Materials	Workmanship	Feeling	Association	Overall Integrity
Brick School Era	Yes	Partial	Yes	Partial	Partial	Partial	Yes	Partial
Brick Rural Life								
School Era	Yes	Partial	Yes	Partial	Partial	Partial	Yes	Partial
FCAB Era	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes

Opportunities and Challenges

The dynamic nature of the landscape at the FCAB makes it difficult to evaluate integrity of the landscape as a whole while taking into account each of its distinct eras.

As a fluid cultural landscape, the FCAB retains considerable integrity, and individual buildings and structures retain integrity to their respective era. That integrity breaks down as one tries to link the landscape to a specific era. However, despite the difficulties in

ascertaining to what era the site retains the most historic integrity, common themes run through the site with regard to its intangible qualities. Integrity of feeling and association allow visitors to look past these separate eras and view the landscape as a continuum. That said, the origin of the majority of the site's extant landscape characteristics retaining integrity lies in the Brick School era, 1895-1933. The extant buildings and structures, circulation, cluster arrangement, cultural traditions, land use, natural systems and features, small-scale features, spatial organization, topography, vegetation, views and vistas, and resultant archeological sites all spring from that early era. Modifications to these landscape characteristics during subsequent management eras shift the overall integrity to the latest sub-period of significance, the FCAB era.

The cultural landscape at hand provides numerous opportunities and challenges. Broadly, opportunities exist for future conservation and development in that there are many extant historic features easily relatable to the site's separate sub-periods of significance. The common traditions running through the site's distinct eras of management allow for ease of future conservation and development with regard to land use, buildings and structures, circulation, cluster arrangement, and spatial organization. More specifically, opportunities for restoration of historic landscape characteristics could be easily accomplished given comprehensive documentation of the site throughout its overall period of significance. Further, the intact feeling and association of the site provide the opportunity to carry on the traditions of the site's past through programming in addition to buildings and grounds maintenance and restoration

The chief challenge lies in determining to which sub-period of significance to rehabilitate the property and to what extent future conservation and development should

respect historic landscape characteristics from that sub-period. Specific to the current condition of the site's resources, many structures are in disrepair and need to be mothballed to stabilize their current levels of historic integrity. Extant vegetation provides only a minimal glimpse into the site's historic use of vegetation, and successional forest interrupts once clear views. Development of the site in the 21st century has not taken into account historic cluster arrangement and spatial organization. These challenges and their potential solutions will be discussed at length in the next chapter.

CHAPTER 5

FRANKLINTON CENTER AT BRICKS MANAGEMENT

In order to make sound recommendations for future conservation and development at the Franklinton Center at Bricks and to provide sound interpretation strategies for the site, it is important first to understand the past and present management of the site as well as the management's intended future plans. Early management of the site during the Brick School and Brick Rural Life School eras with few exceptions did not operate with the site's physical legacy in mind. When the Franklinton Center moved from Franklinton, NC to Bricks in 1954, they were aware of the need to maintain the Brick School and Brick Rural Life School legacies, both physical and cultural. The methods used to accomplish this and the effectiveness of these methods has varied considerably since 1954, but current management has expressed a renewed interest in preservation as the FCAB moves forward. This chapter provides a brief overview of past tangible and intangible preservation efforts, discusses the current position of FCAB management regarding historic preservation, details future development plans, and outlines opportunities and challenges for preservation at the FCAB.

Embracing History

The Franklinton Center at Bricks has proven itself dedicated to embracing its history, if not always to making developmental decisions in sync with preservation.

Multiple attempts at a National Register nomination, a documentary about the Joseph K.

Brick Agricultural, Industrial, and Normal School and Brick Junior College partially funded by the United Church Board for Homeland Ministries, and attempts at reusing some of the site's historic structures point toward this aim.

Attempts at National Register Nomination

The Franklinton Center at Bricks has been targeted for nomination to the National Register of Historic Places by the North Carolina Department of Cultural Resources (NCDCR) since 1984, when it was placed on the state's "Study List" of potential nominations as a result of a survey of Edgecombe County. The Study List Application for the Franklinton Center at Bricks was updated in 1995. Shortly after this update, a call was made for a reassessment of the integrity for National Register eligibility of the complex of buildings on the site. At that time, the NCDCR found:

"Buildings have integrity problems, but the whole 150.9-acre complex, with buildings and landscapes features representing the different phases of the school, is significant for African American education between 1895 and the 1950s. Boundaries should include the RR [railroad] and Forney House²¹³ [demolished] to the rear and cotton fields surrounding the complex (now rented to farmers but historically related to school and rural life programs)."²¹⁴

Following the 1995 assessment, the NCDCR contacted the Director of Administration and Institutional Relations of the Commission for Racial Justice at

²¹⁴ North Carolina Department of Cultural Resources, "Bricks School Study List Re-evaluation" (Unpublished memorandum from Debbie Bevin to Linda Harris Edmisten, 1995).

176

-

²¹³ As of 1995, the FCAB had not yet acquired the Forney property on the western side of the railroad tracks in Nash County. That property was acquired in 1997 but was at one point part of the original Brick Farm parcel.

Franklinton Center, Judye Thomas, and encouraged her to move forward with the National Register nomination process. A visit from NCDCR representatives in 1998 identified the specific buildings thought to be eligible for the National Register and encouraged the Board of Trustees to "mothball" those buildings.

It is unclear what happened on the preservation front for the next decade, but a National Register nomination was completed in September 2011 by Nancy Van Dolsen. Though the nomination was never submitted, the document again provides an assessment of the site's integrity as related to National Register eligibility. Van Dolsen's nomination classified the property as a district and included the land owned by the Franklinton Center at Bricks as well as farmland owned by private individuals and the Bricks Farmers Coop. One property owner later reneged on his agreement to participate in the nomination, and the nomination was tabled as a result. However, the characterization of the Bricks area as a district allowed all aspects of the site's past to be recognized:

"The boundary includes land historically associated with the school, which retains integrity, and which exemplifies the educational and agricultural history of the property. The historic boundary includes 411.75 acres which contains the extant primary buildings associated with the period of significance, agricultural lands that served as a teaching aid at the school during the period of significance, an historic cemetery, the historic circulation networks, including the drive, field lanes, and railroad, three farms that were sold during the period of significance to former tenant farmers as part of the school's mission, and the land and building associated with the Bricks Farmers Co-op."²¹⁵

²¹⁵ Van Dolsen, "Boundary Justification."

Documentary

The Brick School History Project, funded by the Rocky Mount Area Brick Club, the N.C. Humanities Council, the United Church Board for Homeland Ministries, and Delta Sigma Theta Sorority, Inc., worked throughout the 1990s to document the history of Brick School and Brick Junior College. Willa Cofield, director of the Brick School History Project, ultimately produced a 60-minute documentary on the school in conjunction with the Empowerment Project of Chapel Hill titled "The Brick School Legacy." The project began shooting in 1995 and was completed in 2002.

Adaptation of Site to Current Uses

Maintaining the property with respect to both its past and its future has been a concern of leadership at Bricks since T.S. Inborden was principal of the Joseph K. Brick Agricultural, Industrial, and Normal School, though the term "historic preservation" was not used in reference to the site until the 1980s at the earliest. Inborden is noted as desiring utilitarian buildings "without ginger cake frills" for the school in the hope that such buildings would be stylish for generations. ²¹⁶ Inborden himself was involved in preservation of black heritage, specifically identified in his participation at the 1909 Jamestown Expo and the "Negro buildings" showcasing black contributions at Jamestown.

Many of the buildings associated with Brick School and Brick Junior College were demolished in the 1940s, 1950s and 1960s. This move away from reuse of historic buildings is typical of the era, when urban renewal directives were responsible for the demolition of many older buildings across the country. Though the FCAB is located in a

²¹⁶ Inborden, "History of Brick School."

rural area, management of the site during the Brick Rural Life School era was overseen by AMA officers from major urban areas who may not have seen the value in the site's older buildings and may have been influenced by the urban renewal policies of the era. An equally plausible explanation for the tendency to demolish rather than preserve during those decades are limits on both need and funding. In the Brick Rural Life School and FCAB eras, there was not a demonstrated need for many of the site's larger buildings dating to the Brick School era. High maintenance costs and a dearth of need for these spaces may have made demolition the most plausible solution. Evidence to support this can be found in the construction and renovation of Hospitality House I and the Administration Building in the late 1940s. Rather than demolish extant buildings and begin anew, Brick Rural Life School management incorporated older structures into new buildings to serve the school's new needs. Attempts to refurbish and reuse the Model Schoolhouse began when the elementary school using the building left Bricks after the 1955-1956 school year. Development of land and reuse of buildings consistently took the path of least resistance. Unused, difficult to maintain buildings were typically demolished while land use remained consistent over time with respect to both agriculture and educational/civic functions. Between the closing of Brick Junior college in 1933 and 2013, at least nine large institutional buildings burned or were demolished. Several small outbuildings were also demolished.

Historic preservation emerged as a concern of the Board of Trustees in 1992, when it was suggested the Boards of Trustees form a Historic Preservation Committee separate from the Buildings and Grounds Committee. Though this change did not happen at the time, it signified a desire on the part of FCAB leadership to incorporate historic

preservation principles into the management of the Center. It was mentioned again in 1994, brought on by the Rocky Mount Area Brick Club and the Brick School History Project.

Following a visit from the historic preservation office of the NCDCR in 1998, the Board of Trustees began formally incorporating historic preservation into their strategic plan. Objectives relating to historic preservation put forward in the "Work Plan" component of a 1998 "Proposed Strategic Plan" included cleaning out and mothballing historic buildings in March 1998 and "rehabilitating" those buildings in September 1998.²¹⁷

Preservation Goals in 2013

The Franklinton Center at Bricks has an interest in the preservation of the site and the feasibility of relating the site's history to the Center's current mission. The programmatic focus of the facility includes "concerns such as rural justice, community development, environmental racism, and workers' rights." The current director of the Franklinton Center at Bricks, Vivian M. Lucas, has expressed a desire to make the Center a "destination site," and works with the Edgecombe County tourism council to determine strategies for increasing tourist traffic in this area of eastern North Carolina.

Lucas detailed a desire for a phased preservation plan for the site, including a long-range timeline for implementation, identification and prioritization of cultural assets

²¹⁸ "About," Franklinton Center at Bricks, accessed February 20, 2013, http://www.ucc.org/franklinton-center/about html

180

²¹⁷ Office of the Executive Vice President of the United Church Board for Homeland Ministries records, Box 218, Folder 1998.

center/about.html. ²¹⁹ Vivian M. Lucas (director, Franklinton Center at Bricks) in discussion with the author, September 2012.

which need to be preserved, and an assessment of the risks of not properly preserving the site's resources as well as the benefits of properly preserving those same resources.²²⁰

Plans for Development and Expansion

As of February 2013, no explicit plans have been made for the physical development and/or expansion of the FCAB. However, the FCAB, in partnership with the UCC's Justice and Witness Ministries, has several programmatic goals that have the potential to alter the landscape. These goals attempt to include the surrounding community as a stakeholder in FCAB's development, a factor that has diminished substantially since the end of the Bricks Rural Life School and the Franklinton Center's move to the site. One such programmatic goal is the implementation of the "Just Food Project," which seeks to address Edgecombe County's lack of healthy food options, high poverty rate, and poor health outcomes, where it ranks 96th out of North Carolina's 100 counties. This goal does not run counter to the site's historic resources, however.

Rather, it builds on the site's history of providing academic, industrial, and agricultural education as well as other forms of support for rural African American families.

Specifically, this program's activities would include:

"Operating a local Bricks Farmers' Market for local farmers, maintaining sustainable community gardening, along with training, mentoring, and networking opportunities, offering agricultural entrepreneurship training for small farmers, implementing a summer youth food and health justice program, offering hands-on education in healthy cooking, eating, and food preservation, providing education and

²²⁰ Ibio

.

²²¹ Vivian M. Lucas, "Just Food Project: Justice and Witness Ministries and the Franklinton Center at Bricks" (project brief, Franklinton Center at Bricks, 2013).

awareness information to help individuals take responsibility for their health and the health of their community, providing opportunities to improve health through activities such as swimming, walking, biking, dance classes, and other fitness experiences for all ages, and building effective partnerships with all stakeholders and providing opportunities for ongoing dialogue [to] maintain responsive, effective, and positive relationships and programming."²²²

Other programmatic plans include a renewed focus on literacy development to address the community's education issues and an expansion of recreation opportunities for the community on the FCAB property. Plans for physical development of the site are ongoing. The United Church of Christ's Church Building and Loan Fund has expressed interest in paying for a business development plan for the Franklinton Center at Bricks. The business development plan would include both the church and the surrounding community as stakeholders and use the past as a guide for how best to move forward.

Opportunities and Challenges

These initiatives and the aforementioned Just Food Project use the site's history as a guide for how to move forward, assisting in the preservation of the site's historic integrity in terms of feeling and association. Current management of the site is enthusiastic in its goals to maintain this cultural landscape. However, the implementation of such goals may disrupt or put additional stress on this cultural landscape's extant historic resources. The challenge comes in how best to direct these changes so as to retain overall historic integrity, as well as how to prioritize steps toward restoring the site's historic integrity in the face of limited funding and several different, but equally

²²² Ibid

important, eras of history. Further, the size and scope of the land and historic resources currently under FCAB management can make proper maintenance difficult. Proposed strategies for merging the site's historic resources with future development plans, both physical and intellectual, are discussed in the next chapter.

CHAPTER 6

PROPOSED STRATEGIES

Historic preservation is frequently addressed from a "how" perspective, focusing on the methods through which it can be accomplished. Perhaps more important, however, is the "why" of historic preservation – the motivation behind the preservation of historic resources and what a given group hopes to accomplish by preserving those resources. As any group moves forward with the historic preservation planning process, the motivation and ultimate preservation goals should be clear.

The Franklinton Center at Bricks (FCAB) is reflective of a rich history both in form and in spirit. It holds a place in the continuum of African American education in the South, in the history of African Americans in North Carolina, and in local historic significance to the Bricks community. Landscape characteristics from across all eras of management are readily visible on the site itself as well as in the surrounding community, once part of the massive "Bricks farm." The strategies laid out in this chapter provide the FCAB with a blueprint for managing its extant tangible and intangible historic resources and incorporating those resources into future conservation and development. Strategies are organized by objectives: ensuring future development is tied to the site's historic cultural landscape, protecting and maintaining all extant landscape characteristics that retain historic integrity, and developing programming reflective of the site's historic uses. These objectives and the activities proposed to meet the objectives will assist the FCAB in defining its motivation behind and goals for preservation.

Tangible resources include contributing archeological sites, buildings and structures, circulation, cluster arrangements, land uses, natural systems and features, small-scale features, methods of spatial organization, topography, vegetation, and views and vistas. Intangible historic resources include the site's cultural traditions; its commitment to racial equality and social justice.

Current management issues focus on the question of how best to direct changes in the landscape as a result of potential future programmatic changes, as well as how to prioritize those changes. New programmatic initiatives are reflective of the site's historic uses, but challenges will arise regarding how to manage these programs and the FCAB property in a way that allows the goals of the UCC's Justice and Witness Ministries and the Franklinton Center at Bricks to progress while maintaining the historic cultural landscape.

Consequences of Inaction

To combat these issues in site management, it is necessary to define a course of action to serve as guide for future conservation and development. Without such a guide, the Franklinton Center at Bricks risks losing its remaining historic cultural landscape resources. Loss of these tangible resources could affect the site's long term programmatic goals dealing with preservation of the legacy of Brick School, Brick Junior College, and Brick Rural Life School, as well as preserving the early history of the Franklinton Center at Bricks. Historic buildings and structures may fall victim to "demolition by neglect," or "the destruction of a building through abandonment or lack of maintenance." The same

_

²²³ "Demolition by Neglect," Connecticut Trust for Historic Preservation, accessed March 1, 2013, http://www.cttrust.org/index.cgi/1050.

phenomenon would also apply to other designed landscape features, such as vegetation, diminishing historic integrity of the collective resources in the process.

Further, as the FCAB moves forward with programs such as the Just Food Project, which link the site's historic cultural traditions with contemporary needs, the historic cultural landscape could be compromised just as easily as it could be enhanced. Specifically, knowing the site's past and planning with that past in mind would allow for and facilitate preservation of both the tangible and intangible. Disregarding the historic cultural landscape in the planning process could result in change to the landscape which compromises its historic integrity. Certain individual features associated with the site's broad landscape characteristics are at greater risk than others, even when dating to the same era. For example, Inborden House has substantial water damage to its interior and exterior necessitating immediate maintenance, while the pattern of cultivated fields at the FCAB has not changed significantly since at least the 1930s and is not threatened at this time. Failure to act to preserve this historic cultural landscape could also jeopardize future listing in the National Register of Historic Places. While this chapter cannot offer a detailed maintenance plan for each individual element, it will seek to outline a broad plan to assist in the preservation of these resources and demonstrate strategies for using these resources to further the current programmatic and management goals of the FCAB.

Recommendations and Proposed Strategies

To propose strategies for historic cultural landscape preservation at the Franklinton Center at Bricks, it is first necessary to establish clear objectives. These objectives are based on a thorough analysis and evaluation of the landscape characteristics of the site and the historic integrity of those characteristics. They include:

- Ensuring future development is tied to the site's historic cultural landscape
- Protecting and maintaining all extant landscape characteristics that retain historic integrity
- Developing programming reflective of the site's historic uses

Ensuring future development is tied to the site's historic cultural landscape Establishing a Preservation Policy

The Franklinton Center at Bricks and the United Church of Christ's Justice and Witness Ministries should adopt a coherent and comprehensive historic preservation policy for the buildings and grounds of the FCAB. Such a policy would place preservation as an essential tenet of buildings and grounds conservation and maintenance rather than an afterthought when planning for site expansion. A historic preservation policy should provide clear directives for how to move forward with preservation on the site as well as define motivations for historic preservation, ultimately fostering an environment where preservation is readily understood and anticipated. It would help lay the groundwork for future planning.

The Franklinton Center at Bricks, through such an internal preservation policy, could become a driving force for preservation in the Bricks community and the nearby towns of Whitakers and Enfield. Much of the land surrounding the present-day Franklinton Center at Bricks was once part of the "plant," or original acreage donated to the AMA by Julia Brick. Though this thesis covers only the property still associated with the FCAB, renewed efforts to preserve the community as a "district," as was attempted in the 2011 National Register nomination, could be bolstered by increased FCAB support of preservation efforts on its property and beyond.

Planning for the Future

To reach the objectives of ensuring future development is tied to the site's historic cultural landscape and protecting and maintaining all extant landscape characteristics that retain integrity, strategies for maintaining tangible and intangible cultural resources at the Franklinton Center at Bricks include crafting of and adherence to development and expansion plans which consider these historic resources. To accomplish this, it must be determined which era of the site's history provides the best physical outline for the site's needs in 2013 and beyond. Given the small number of historic structures remaining, the extent to which past campus configurations should influence future development of the built environment at the site remains a complicated question. The site may benefit the most by attempting to return the site to its Brick School Era configuration as it grows over time, making the site's history as an educational institution evident to even casual visitors, and perhaps prompting more interest in its history. However, the site also has a history of reuse and reinvention, adapting the landscape and associated structures to the

needs of the institution occupying it at any given time. The strategies and actions outlined here as part of the planning process offer a gradual approach to restoring a campus plan evocative of each of the site's management eras.

In addition to taking action on the preservation and rehabilitation of the site's existing historic resources as discussed in the next section, the Franklinton Center at Bricks should consider its historic cultural landscapes as it prepares to move forward and grow its programming and plan for future development. Policy and planning for historic cultural landscape preservation at the FCAB should take into account actions in the direct purview of FCAB management as well as actions on the local, state, and national levels.

The long range goals of this plan should be the aforementioned internal policy, regional support, and national recognition resulting in a return of the property to a self-sufficient campus with a layout similar to that of Brick School, enhancing its campus feel using existing infrastructure and revamped internal circulation routes, cluster arrangement, spatial organization, and vegetation. Rather than simply focusing on programmatic goals and the achievement of said goals, a comprehensive plan would seek to marry the tangible and the intangible to offer the most thorough and sustainable preservation of extant cultural resources while also meeting current needs.

In addition to the influence a preservation policy could have at the local level,

FCAB should also focus on state-level activities by reconnecting with the North Carolina

State Historic Preservation Office within the Department of Cultural Resources

(NCDCR). Given the NCDCR's demonstrated interest in the site over the past 30 years, it

could provide the FCAB with much-needed assistance in securing grants at the state level

and offer expertise on similar sites and preservation strategies within the region.

To secure national recognition of the FCAB, FCAB management should make a renewed push toward completing a National Register nomination. National Register status would afford the FCAB the opportunity to apply for federal preservation grants as they become available. In the past, programs such as the Save America's Treasures offered grants for "preservation and/or conservation work on nationally significant intellectual and cultural artifacts and historic structures and sites" to government entities and non-profit organizations through a matching-grant program. ²²⁴ The FCAB, given its place in African American educational history and association with the American Missionary Association, could potentially qualify as a nationally significant property in future iterations of such a program. Further, Penn Center, located on St. Helena Island, SC, is a National Historic Landmark District with a history closely paralleling that of the FCAB, and one dormitory associated with AMA management of Dorchester Academy in Midway, Georgia, is also listed as a National Historic Landmark. Currently, the National Historic Landmarks program of the National Park Service lists "American Civil Rights" as one of its "Theme Studies." The FCAB, given its similarity to both Penn Center and Dorchester Academy, could be ripe for National Historic Landmark designation as well.

²²⁴ "Save America's Treasures Grant Program," National Park Service, accessed March 1, 2013, http://www.nps.gov/hps/treasures/.

²²⁵ "National Historic Landmarks Program," National Park Service, accessed April 10, 2013, http://www.nps.gov/nhl/themes/themes.htm.

Protecting and maintaining all extant landscape characteristics that retain historic integrity

Preservation of the extant historic cultural landscape features at the FCAB should take place in stages to allow for historic integrity to be retained and to realistically accommodate the funding and time available for preservation under current FCAB management. First, the Center should institute a moratorium on physical changes to the landscape until a policy as well as a comprehensive conservation and development plan which takes into account the historic cultural landscape are in place.

Following a commitment to such a plan, the FCAB should stabilize and mothball unused historic buildings and structures. This includes Inborden House, the Teacher's Cottage, Tobacco Barn, Hay Barn, Hospitality Hall, Model School, the Auxiliary Building, and the Camping Shelters. Contributing buildings currently in use, including Fellowship Hall, the Dining Hall, and King House, should also be assessed for structural integrity and stabilized. After buildings and structures, small-scale features should take priority given their current poor conditions; land use, spatial organization, cluster arrangement, and circulation do not face the specific threats to historic integrity seen in the buildings and structures and small-scale features.

National Park Service Preservation Brief 31, "Mothballing Historic Buildings," outlines the process in detail, including proper documentation, stabilization, and mothballing of structures. Documentation consists of documenting and recording the building and preparing a condition assessment of the building. Stabilization includes structurally stabilizing the building, controlling pests, and securing the exterior envelope from moisture penetration. Mothballing entails securing the building from vandals, break-

ins, and natural disasters, providing adequate ventilation to the interior, securing mechanical systems and utilities, and developing a maintenance and monitoring plan. ²²⁶

Upon assuring the continued historic integrity of contributing buildings and structures, the FCAB should look toward rehabilitation of these buildings and structures as well as other contributing landscape characteristics as part of their long-term planning goals (the central tenets of the rehabilitation process are defined by the Secretary of the Interior's Standards for Rehabilitation, readily available to the public). These long-term planning goals should prioritize historic features most in danger of deterioration.

While the Franklinton Center at Bricks retains integrity as a historic cultural landscape across many landscape characteristics and their individual elements, its resources require varying degrees of maintenance to ensure future retention of that integrity. The FCAB may wish to pursue the development of partnerships with regional colleges and universities that have programs in historic preservation. The University of North Carolina at Greensboro has a program specializing in architecture conservation and Edgecombe Community College offers a degree and certificate program in historic preservation technology. Given the FCAB's unique cultural landscape resources, however, universities specializing in cultural landscapes at the graduate level should also be considered for partnerships. In the Southeast, this includes the University of Georgia, Savannah College of Art and Design, and University of Kentucky. Other graduate programs in historic preservation specializing in cultural landscapes in reasonable proximity to the FCAB include the University of Pennsylvania and the University of Delaware.

_

²²⁶ Sharon C. Park, "Mothballing Historic Buildings," National Park Service, accessed March 1, 2013, http://www.nps.gov/hps/tps/briefs/brief31.htm.

Internships resultant from such partnerships would allow necessary work retaining historic integrity of the site's buildings and structures to be done by qualified individuals. Ecumenical work camps, a standard method of maintenance at the FCAB, could be used for less specialized tasks with proper oversight.

Developing programming reflective of the site's historic uses

The objective connected with the site's intangible resources, developing programming that is reflective of the site's historic uses, revolves around the story of the site and its cultural traditions. The power of place should not be discounted when planning for the future of the Franklinton Center at Bricks, and the site's story is one of its best assets.

Traditions include racial equality and social justice, and all have been practiced since the Joseph K. Brick Agricultural, Industrial, and Normal School opened in 1895 under the direction of principal Thomas Sewell Inborden and the American Missionary Association. Forward-thinking programs have been de rigueur for every institution occupying this site. The Joseph K. Brick School and later Brick Junior College offered education opportunities to rural blacks at a time when public education was not typically available to that population. Those institutions also taught their students and the school's tenant farmers innovative farming techniques. The Brick Rural Life School built on the agricultural education provided at the Brick Schools and aimed to turn black sharecroppers into landowners in the region. The Franklinton Center at Bricks, under the direction of Dr. William Judson King, aided community residents in securing farm loans and overseeing voter registration during the Civil Rights era. Though the FCAB may

have lost some of its connection to the surrounding community and Edgecombe County since Dr. King's tenure, its current mission is reflective of the goals of the institutions preceding it. The FCAB already appears to be moving in a direction programmatically that would allow it to fully incorporate the site's intangible history, merging the wellestablished mission of the United Church of Christ's Justice and Witness Ministries with a level of community outreach paralleling that of the site's earlier institutions. Strategies for incorporating the site's past cultural traditions center around strategic partnerships and resultant projects with missions reflective of the site's history.

The Just Food Project discussed in Chapter 5 would carry on this legacy in a modern context and focus on sustainable agriculture and nutritional education as means to combat the health issues of high-risk populations in Edgecombe and neighboring Halifax County. Other goals of the project include initiatives designed to "enhance the viability, vitality, and sustainability of families, small farmers, and economic development projects."227 The community of Tillery, North Carolina, another AMAaffiliated rural life center, provides a model for this kind of activism in the region through the group Concerned Citizens of Tillery. Its mission, "To promote and improve the social, economic, and educational welfare of the citizens of Tillery and the surrounding community area through the self-development of its members," and accompanying vision of an "empowered, sustainable community that builds on our natural, historic and cultural resources to promote economic independence, a healthy and environmentally sound life, [and] the development of heritage and agricultural tourism that honors and celebrates the

²²⁷ Lucas, "Just Food Project."

spirit and fortitude of Tillery"²²⁸ closely mirrors that of the Franklinton Center at Bricks, and a relationship already exists between the two groups. The FCAB could also pursue civic engagement programs and programs geared toward literacy and closing the educational achievement gap.

Additionally, a large part of maintaining the site's cultural traditions is making retreat attendees, tourists, and casual community visitors aware of the site's past and communicating its powerful history. In 2012, the FCAB hosted about 5,000 guests, with 2,000 of those guests coming from the local area and 75-100 passing through as casual tourists. The remainder came for national conferences, retreats, and family events such as weddings and reunions. As of 2013, the Franklinton Center at Bricks has only a small interpretation program. A small exhibit in Fellowship Hall and a series of interpretive panels in the 2006 dormitory and meeting facility constitute the information available to visitors, and both are located inside locked buildings with minimal public access. The site lacks outdoor interpretive elements which would allow the public to actively engage with the history of the property. Outside interpretive elements could encourage public interest and interaction with history without interfering with the day to day activities of the FCAB. The Just Foods Project's desire to provide the community with increased recreational activities at the FCAB could work in collaboration with an outdoor interpretive scheme. Potential programming in civic engagement and/or literacy could use the site's history as part of the curriculum.

_

 $^{^{228} \}hbox{ ``Our Mission,'' Concerned Citizens of Tillery, accessed April 10, 2013, http://www.cct78.org/.}\\$

Summary of Recommendations and Proposed Strategies

The Franklinton Center at Bricks has many opportunities to build on its past to influence future conservation and development. Objectives and their associated recommendations and proposed strategies discussed in this chapter are outlined below:

- Ensuring future development is tied to the site's historic cultural landscape
 - o Establish a preservation policy
 - Develop development and expansion plans which consider historic resources
 - Use local, state, and national preservation programs to aid in the preservation of historic cultural landscape resources
- Protecting and maintaining all extant landscape characteristics that retain historic integrity
 - o Stabilize and mothball unused historic buildings and structures
 - o Stabilize historic buildings and structures in use and in need of repair
 - Stabilize deteriorating small-scale features
 - Plan for rehabilitation of buildings and structures, drawing on interns from local colleges and universities with historic preservation programs
- Developing programming reflective of the site's historic uses
 - o Build strategic partnerships with local, regional, and national groups and work with these groups to cultivate programming
 - o Use models for heritage preservation developed by similar sites
 - Determine appropriate interpretation program to increase heritage tourism to the site and better inform guests

CHAPTER 7

CONCLUSION

The Franklinton Center at Bricks' past and present provide a worthy blueprint for its future. The place of the Joseph K. Brick Agricultural, Industrial and Normal School, Brick Junior College, Brick Rural Life School, and the Franklinton Center at Bricks in the history of African-Americans both in North Carolina and in the United States is undeniable, but that history is in danger of being lost. The historic cultural landscape of the Franklinton Center at Bricks tells the story of its related yet varied uses, housing an elementary school, normal school, junior college, facilitating agricultural and industrial education, home to tenant farmers and the land they worked, and instrumental in the Civil Rights movement and the fight against poverty.

In evaluating the roles of the various institutions occupying the current site of the Franklinton Center at Bricks in African American education during the Jim Crow-era Southeast and determining how those roles might influence future conservation, preservation, and development at the Franklinton Center at Bricks it was determined the site retained sufficient history integrity across its overall period of significance, 1895-1969. However, only partial historic integrity was found to be retained for the Brick School era, 1895-1933, and the Brick Rural Life School era, 1934-1954. The latest subperiod of significance, the FCAB era, 1954-1969, retained the most historic integrity across all landscape characteristics.

The management history of the Franklinton Center at Bricks regarding preservation is one dictated by necessity. Throughout its overall period of significance, buildings and structures were demolished or replaced when their maintenance requirements became overwhelming or needs changed. Other landscape characteristics, including land use, spatial organization, cluster arrangement, vegetation, circulation routes, and cultural traditions were relatively unaltered site managers—across time. As of 2013, the Franklinton Center at Bricks is staffed by the United Church of Christ's Justice and Witness Ministries, and there has been a renewed push toward historic preservation and planning for the future with the past as guide.

Broadly, recommendations and strategies for the preservation of tangible and intangible resources associated with the historic cultural landscape of the site include:

- Developing a sound internal historic preservation policy
- Using a historic preservation ethic to guide future planning and site development
- o Prioritizing historic resource maintenance
- o Building local, state, and national partnerships to aid in site preservation
- o Developing programming reflective of the site's historic uses
- o Incorporating site history into the visitor experience through interpretive elements

These strategies, discussed in detail in Chapter 6: "Proposed Strategies," provide direction for the site regarding how to move forward while taking into account its rich history. Areas of further study necessary for the site to move forward with preservation

include in-depth structural analysis of extant buildings and structures from a historic preservation perspective and an evaluation of land use and opportunities for modifying current land use to more closely reflect historic uses such as timbering.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- "African American." Georgia Department of Natural Resources Historic Preservation Division. Accessed March 7, 2013. http://georgiashpo.org/historic/african_american.
- American Missionary Association archives addenda, 1849-1991. Amistad Research Center at Tulane University. New Orleans, Louisiana.
- Anderson, James D. *The Education of Blacks in the South: 1860-1935*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1988.
- Beard, Augustus Field. *A Crusade of Brotherhood: a history of the American Missionary Association.* Boston, The Pilgrim Press, 1909, 1970. http://hdl.handle.net/2027/uc1.\$b689780, 277.
- ---. "Mrs. Julia E. Brick, Founder of the Joseph Keasbey Brick Agricultural, Industrial and Normal Institute, Enfield, North Carolina." *The American Missionary* v. 56 (1902): 140-144. Accessed February 20, 2013. http://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015075070295.
- "Black Heritage Council." State of Alabama Historic Preservation Office. Accessed March 7, 2013. http://www.preserveala.org/blackheritagecouncil.aspx/.
- Blackshear, Willa Cofield and Worth Long. "Brick School: Educating the Youth and Empowering the Community." Media treatment, Funded by the North Carolina Humanities Council.
- Butchart, Ronald E. Northern schools, Southern Blacks, and Reconstruction: Freedmen's Education, 1862-1875. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1980.
- ---. Schooling the Freed People: Teaching, Learning, and the Struggle for Black Freedom, 1861-1876. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2010.
- Brownlee, Frederick Leslie. New Day Ascending. Boston: The Pilgrim Press, 1946.
- Confederate States of America, Army, Dept. of Northern Virginia, Chief Engineer's Office. Map of a part of eastern North Carolina: from a map in progress: compiled from surveys & reconnaissances made under the direction of A.H. Campbell, in Chg. Top. Dep. D. N. Va. (1864). Interactive Map, from the North Carolina Collection at the University of North Carolina. http://dc.lib.unc.edu/cdm/singleitem/collection/ncmaps/id/888/rec/2.

- DeBoer, Clara Merritt. His Truth is Marching On: African Americans who taught the freedmen for the American Missionary Association, 1861-1877. New York: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1995.
- "Demolition by Neglect." Connecticut Trust for Historic Preservation. Accessed March 1, 2013. http://www.cttrust.org/index.cgi/1050.
- "Dorchester Academy Boys' Dormitory." National Historic Landmarks Program.
 Accessed February 25, 2013.
 http://tps.cr.nps.gov/nhl/detail.cfm?ResourceId=483240175&ResourceType=Building.
- "Enfield School." *The American Missionary* v. 52 (1898): 124-125. Accessed February 20, 2013. http://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015075069461.
- "Grave Search Results: Old Bricks Cemetery." Find A Grave. Accessed February 20, 2013. http://www.findagrave.com/cgi-bin/fg.cgi?page=gsr&GScid=48300.
- "About." Franklinton Center at Bricks. Accessed February 20, 2013. http://www.ucc.org/franklinton-center/about.html.
- "About: Mission Statement." The Franklinton Center at Bricks. Accessed February 20, 2013. http://www.ucc.org/franklinton-center/indexold.html.
- "African American: Schools." Georgia Department of Natural Resources Historic Preservation Division. Accessed February 20, 2013. http://georgiashpo.org/historic/african american#schools.
- Harris, Jeffrey A. *African American Historic Places Initiative: State of Affairs Paper*. PDF, 2004. Accessed February 20, 2013. http://www.preservationnation.org/forum/african-american-historic-places/additional-resources/NTHP-African-American-Historic-Places-Initiative-State-of-Affairs-Paper-2004.pdf.
- Hoffschwelle, Mary S. National Trust for Historic Preservation. *Preserving Rosenwald Schools*, PDF, 2012. Accessed February 20, 2013. http://www.preservationnation.org/travel-and-sites/sites/southern-region/rosenwald-schools/additional-resources/PB_Rosenwald_final_revised2012.pdf.
- Inborden, Thomas Sewell. "History of Brick School." Photocopy of document from the collection of the Franklinton Center at Bricks, 1937.
- ---. *Jos. K. Brick Agricultural, Industrial and Normal School.* New York, 190-?. http://hdl.handle.net/2027/loc.ark:/13960/t44q8nd2m.

- ---. "Two Autobiographies of Thomas Sewell Inborden," Manuscript in the collection of the Franklinton Center at Bricks, 1972.
- Johnson, Kimberly S. *Reforming Jim Crow: Southern Politics and State in the Age Before Brown*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010.
- Jones, Lewis W. "Social Centers in the Rural South." *Phylon* (1940-1956) 12, no. 3 (1951): 279-284. Accessed February 20, 2013. http://www.jstor.org/stable/271644.
- Knight, C. Rudolph. "Bricks School." *The Daily Southerner*, October 19, 2011. Accessed February 20, 2013. http://dailysoutherner.com/localhistory/x2117286647/Bricks-School.
- ---. The Education of a Generation: the Rosenwald Schools and Other African-American Schools in Edgecombe County. Tarboro, NC: Perry-Weston Institute, 2012.
- Landis, Benson Y. Rural Welfare Services. New York: Columbia University Press, 1949.
- Lee, Antoinette J. "Cultural Diversity and Historic Preservation." CRM 15, no. 7 (1992). Accessed February 25, 2013. http://crm.cr.nps.gov/archive/15-7/15-7-all.pdf.
- Lucas, Vivian M. "Just Food Project: Justice and Witness Ministries and the Franklinton Center at Bricks." Project brief, Franklinton Center at Bricks, 2013.
- McDonald, Heather Lynn. "The National Register of Historic Places and African American Heritage." Master's thesis, University of Georgia, 2009.
- McKown, Harry. "This Month in North Carolina History: March 1840 Wilmington & Weldon Railroad." UNC University Libraries. Accessed February 20, 2013. http://www.lib.unc.edu/ncc/ref/nchistory/mar2006/index.html.
- Mitchell, Mary Niall. Raising Freedom's Child: Black Children and Visions of the Future After Slavery. New York: New York University Press, 2008.
- Morton, Ruth A. Scrapbook, 1934-1950. Amistad Research Center at Tulane University. New Orleans, Louisiana.
- "National Historic Landmarks Program." National Park Service. Accessed April 10, 2013. http://www.nps.gov/nhl/themes/themes.htm.
- North Carolina Department of Cultural Resources, "Franklinton Center at Bricks." Unpublished photographs and associated documents, Raleigh, NC, 1984-1996.

- "North Carolina Maps." University Library, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. Accessed March 10, 2013. http://www.lib.unc.edu/dc/ncmaps/.
- "North Carolina Postcards." North Carolina Collection, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. Accessed March 10, 2013. http://www.lib.unc.edu/dc/nc_post/.
- Office of the Executive Vice President of the United Church Board for Homeland Ministries records, 1926-2000. Amistad Research Center at Tulane University. New Orleans, Louisiana.
- Park, Sharon C. "Mothballing Historic Buildings." National Park Service. Accessed March 1, 2013. http://www.nps.gov/hps/tps/briefs/brief31.htm.
- Penn Center. Accessed February 20, 2013. http://www.penncenter.com/.
- Pike, Albert and W. N. Brown. *Map of Edgecombe County, North Carolina (Albert Pike)* (1905). Interactive map, from the North Carolina State Archives via the University of North Carolina. Accessed February 20, 2013. http://www.lib.unc.edu/dc/ncmaps/interactive/MC_037_1905p.html.
- Pitts, Nathan Alvin. *The Cooperative Movement in Negro Communities of North Carolina*. Washington: Catholic University of America Press, 1950.
- "Remembering Tillery: Our Land, Our Community." Concerned Citizens of Tillery. Accessed February 20, 2013. http://www.cct78.org/history-house.html.
- Richardson, Joe Martin. Christian Reconstruction: the American Missionary Association and Southern Blacks, 1861-1890. Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1986.
- Richardson, Joe Martin and Maxine Deloris Jones. *Education for Liberation: the American Missionary Association and African Americans, 1890 to the Civil Rights Movement.* Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2009.
- Rocky Mount Area Brick Club. "Answering the Cry for Life and Liberty: The Joseph Keasbey Brick School and Junior College, 1895-1933." Pamphlet provided by the Franklinton Center at Bricks.
- "Save America's Treasures Grant Program." National Park Service. Accessed March 1, 2013. http://www.nps.gov/hps/treasures/.
- "Standards for Rehabilitation." National Park Service. Accessed March 1, 2013. http://www.nps.gov/hps/tps/standguide/rehab/rehab_standards.htm.
- Stanley, J. Taylor and Kathryn Turrentine papers, 1925-1984, Amistad Research Center at Tulane University. New Orleans, Louisiana.

- United Church of Christ. "Constitution and Bylaws." United Church of Christ. Accessed February 20, 2013. http://www.ucc.org/about-us/constitution-of-the-ucc.html. United States Department of Agriculture Natural Resource Conservation Service. *Web Soil Survey*. Interactive map, 2012. Accessed February 13, 2013. http://websoilsurvey.nrcs.usda.gov/app/WebSoilSurvey.aspx.
- U.S. Department of the Interior National Park Service. *National Register Bulletin 30: Guidelines for Evaluating and Documenting Rural Historic Landscapes*. PDF, 1999. Accessed February 13, 2013.

 http://www.nps.gov/nr/publications/bulletins/pdfs/nrb30.pdf.
- United States Office of Education. Survey of Negro Colleges and Universities. Prepared in the Division of Higher Education, Arthur L. Klein, Chief. New York: Negro Universities Press [1929], 1969.
- Van Dolsen, Nancy. "National Register of Historic Places Registration Form." Unpublished Manuscript, 2011.