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**COMMON BEAUTY: HISTORY OF THE PHYSICAL FORM AND USES OF MOORE SQUARE**

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INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this report is to develop the history of Moore Square’s physical form and past uses from its origination in 1792 forward. This research is focused on what can be physically identified on the site today or through historical maps and photographs. The scope of work is focused solely on the Square itself and the portions of blocks that face the Square. How the historical events of the surrounding area impacted the Square are referenced only to the extent that their impacts can be seen, presently or historically, on the Square. This is not intended to be the definitive history of Moore Square, but an analysis of its physical elements, past and present.

The research presented here will inform the Moore Square Design and Public Process, an initiative that will be undertaken by a project team organized and led by the Raleigh Department of City Planning Urban Design Center and the Parks and Recreation Department. The initiative will include an Open Call for Ideas and a Juried Conceptual Design Competition. Both events will identify ways to enhance the Square’s capacity as a destination and, in that context, make Moore Square a stronger economic force in the city.
STUDY METHODOLOGY

Numerous methods of investigation were undertaken for the purpose of this study. This included traditional research methods such as examination of all available mapped, photographed, written, and oral histories related to the site. This research was conducted at the University of North Carolina – Chapel Hill Libraries, the North Carolina State Archives, the North Carolina State University School of Design Archives, Shaw University Archives, and the City Museum of Raleigh. Other sources included Hunter Associates, Inc. (property managers of the City Market), the North Carolina State University African-American Cultural Center, the American Society of Landscape Architects, Historic Landscapes Bibliography, National Park Service databases, and composite imagery available from online aerial/satellite imaging. In addition, numerous site visits were undertaken to inventory and measure the site and surviving historic elements. After analysis this information was used to develop a Historic Landscape Palimpsest.

By developing a Historic Landscape Palimpsest, a method to identify periods of a landscape’s life by way of overlay mapping, specific periods of use in the life of Moore Square were identified. Using this method, all known data from historic maps, photographs, text, and oral histories was mapped both visually and textually. Following analysis, 5 Palimpsests, reflecting the Square’s periods of use, were identified for Moore Square. The data from each period was then used to develop a single layer map for each period. The 5 final layers were then combined into a single composite overlay to reveal significant historic landscape elements, their location in relation to each other, established contextual links, and their survival.

PERIODS OF USE

The 5 Palimpsests, or Periods of Use, as defined for the study are:

1792-1812: Origin
1812-1866: Institutional
1866-1914: Transitional
1914-1964: Commercial
1964-2009: Communal
William Christmas, surveyor and state senator from Franklin County, was appointed by representatives of the General Assembly to survey the area for the new state capital.

The Square was named in the 1792 in honor of Alfred E. Moore (B: May 21, 1755 – D: October 15, 1810), N.C. State Attorney General and U.S. Supreme Court Associate Justice. Moore also served as a Captain in the Continental Army (Capt., 1st North Carolina Regiment, 1775–77). He also helped found the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. His summer home, Moorefields, built around 1785 in Orange County, still stands and is listed in the National Register of Historic Places (Source: Supreme Court Historical Society).

The City of Raleigh was created in 1792 when the State of North Carolina purchased 1,000 acres from Joel Lane. The purchase was driven by a decision at the 1788 State Convention that a permanent and centrally located capital city was advantageous for the state. While some of the State’s larger cities were considered, Wake Cross Roads, later named Raleigh after Sir Walter Raleigh, was selected. The land was a forest of oaks at the time of purchase with a nearby courthouse and tavern.

The original plan for the City of Raleigh was drawn by surveyor William Christmas in 1792. Focused on the six-acre Union Square, which would house the State Capitol, the four-hundred acre tract was laid out in a grid with four four-acre squares anchoring each quadrant of the city. When the legislature adopted the plan later that year the squares were named after prominent state officials: Caswell Square after Richard Caswell, NC Governor (1776 – 1780); Nash Square after Abner Nash, NC Governor (1780 – 1781); Burke Square after Thomas Burke, NC Governor (1781 – 1782); and Moore Square after Alfred E. Moore, State Attorney General (1782 – 1791). These squares became the centers of Raleigh’s early residential neighborhoods.
The newly named Moore Square springs to life. A partially wooded site with open ground, it serves the newly-born city and its pioneering residents as common ground.

1792-1812
- Surrounded by residential uses
- 4 acre block (400’x400’) subdivided into 1 acre lots
- Undeveloped
- Serves as common open space
- Mix of woodland and open field
- Perimeter defined by colonial street grid

Moore Square anchored the city’s southeastern district. Bounded by Person, Hargett, Blount, and Martin streets, the Square was surrounded by one- and two-story frame residential dwellings for the majority of its first 100 years. The Square itself was basically an open space with groves of oaks, grassy areas, and footpaths criss-crossing the four acres. The lack of formal design in the Square was not uncommon for the time. Late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth century squares, or parks, were intended to serve as public gathering spaces - a public common. As such, these spaces were left unstructured to allow multiple uses like camping, rallies, markets and religious services.

Moore Square’s design during the early years supported these impromptu activities. Locals would meet there for picnics, walks, or other social gatherings. It was not uncommon for travelers to set up camp in the Square under the canopy of oaks. As the population of the city grew so did the demand for gathering spaces for religion, education, and politics.
BAPTIST GROVE

In 1814 a congregation of Baptists built a small frame building on South Person Street opposite Moore Square. Eight years later, in 1822, the church was moved onto the Square, where the congregation continued to meet for decades, giving the Square the nickname Baptist Grove. Maps and drawings differ on the location of the church, but most seem to place it along Hargett Street at the north end of the Square. The integrated Baptist congregation would continue to worship on the Square until 1859. Baptists were not the only denomination to worship on the Square. According to records held by the City of Raleigh Parks and Recreation Department, the Baptists were joined in 1826 by an Episcopalian congregation. These records indicate that the Episcopalians shared the frame church with the Baptists. An 1822 map labels the structure “Christian Chapel” reinforcing the idea that it may have served more than one congregation. There are no records to date when the Episcopalians left Baptist Grove, but the completion of the first Christ Church chapel in late 1829, just a few blocks northwest of Moore Square opposite Union Square, would suggest that the Episcopalians only worshiped on the Square for a few years.

In 1859 the break-up of the Baptist congregation into multiple segregated congregations ended religious activities on the square for twenty years. After a decades-long dispute over the ownership of the church, in 1879 the General Assembly ruled to allow the church to be removed from the site for use by a black congregation. The structure remained on the site for more than 20 years after this decision until it was moved to the Hayti suburb in southern Raleigh in 1896. In 1879 the Baptists returned to the Square, this time fronting it, with the construction of Second Baptist Church at the northwest corner of Hargett and Person streets. Following a second renovation in 1910, the church changed its name to Tabernacle Baptist Church, remaining at this location until 2001.
**Civil War 1861-65**

The buildings on site sit empty.

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**Early Integration 1840-59**

Square becomes home to area’s first integrated church when the Christian Chapel begins services for blacks and whites.

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**Military Drills 1844**

Military drills held in open space adjacent to school due to Mexican War.

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**1812-1866**

- First presence of structures
- Christian Chapel (40’x55’/west orientation/NW Lot)
- District School (40’x30’/west orientation/SE Lot)
- Woods define eastern edge
- Open space defines western edge
- Surrounded by residential (95%) and occasional institutional (5%)

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**EDUCATION**

During the nineteenth century all four of Raleigh’s perimeter squares were the sites of schools: Raleigh Academy, founded in 1801 on Burke Square; the 1858 North Carolina School for the Deaf, Dumb, and Blind, founded in 1849 on Caswell Square; and the Western Ward School, a district (public) school opened in 1858 on Nash Square. Moore Square’s educational service began in 1842 with the construction of the Eastern Ward School, also a district school. The Eastern Ward School was developed by the City of Raleigh as a companion school to the Western Ward School on Nash Square, each serving its local population. In 1844 the Eastern Ward School was changed to the NC Literary, Scientific, and Military Academy. Students were furnished with arms and equipment by the General Assembly and drills and military exercises were carried out on the Square. Due to increased enrollment a second, larger building was constructed on the Square in 1850. The Academy remained in operation until the Civil War when all structures on the Square were vacant.

The presence of education on the Square would return briefly after the Civil War when DL Hubard opened a private school in the former Christian church building. The school ceased use of the church structure sometime before it was sold in 1879. The Eastern Ward School building was never returned to educational use and was rented out as housing prior to its demolition (date unknown). Almost fifty years later education returned to Moore Square with the construction of Hugh Morson High School built opposite the Square at the northeast corner of Person and Hargett streets. Constructed in 1925 Hugh Morson High was an impressive brick building which was three-stories high and seventeen bays wide with a four-story central tower. The building served as both a high school and middle school before its demolition in 1955.
PERIOD: TRANSITIONAL

After their victory over the Confederate States of America Union Soldiers occupied the capital to prevent any attempts at uprising and to enforce efforts at Reconstruction. This included a billet (barracks) of African-American soldiers. They utilized the square as their sleeping quarters for 5 years, from 1865-1871, most likely using the old school and church structures that had been abandoned during the war (Source: Wake: Capital County of NC).

GROWING USES

The late-nineteenth to early-twentieth century in Raleigh was a period of significant growth and transition for the city. Where its first seventy-five years were a slow evolution from rural community to State Capital, the decades that followed the Civil War were defined by rapid growth, in population and physical size. This was largely driven by the state’s efforts to rebuild and improve the capital city and the expansion of its commercial sector.

Raleigh was occupied by Union forces on April 13, 1865. While the war ended that year, the presence of Union soldiers did not. A billet of African-American Union soldiers settled on Moore Square and remained there until 1871. The billet was the first organized use of the Square since the onset of the war when both the school and the church on the Square were vacated. In 1868 the soldiers were joined by the City Market. Previously located on a block of Hargett Street bounded by Wilmington and Fayetteville streets in a structure shared by the Market and Town Hall, the building was destroyed by fire in 1868. The Market was relocated to Moore Square in 1868 and remained at its temporary location until a new market was constructed in 1870 at Fayetteville Street and Exchange Place. The presence of the billet and the City Market deteriorated the physical condition of the Square as they had been its most intensive users since its creation. When, in 1871, the city asked the state, as owner of the Square, to make improvements, the state was resistant. The state responded to the city’s request by shifting the majority of physical decisions regarding maintenance, grading, plantings, and management of layouts to the city, but the state retained ownership (Public Laws of North Carolina, Regular Session, 1871, Chapter 205, page 369). The state was resistant to financing improvements on the Square because it was already involved in a number of public improvement projects to rebuild and improve the capital city. To finance these ventures
The Square becomes the city’s most popular park due to new commercial growth on nearby Hargett and Wilmington streets. Perimeter oaks are planted.

1899

A state bill entrusts the Square’s maintenance to the City of Raleigh. A more permanent path system, including islands with oaks, is laid down.

The expansion of the city’s central business district along Hargett and Wilmington streets in the 1870s and 80s would change the look and use of Moore Square. By the 1890s the Square had become one of the city’s most popular parks due to its proximity to an enticing range of retail offerings, saloons, eateries, blacksmiths, boarding houses and office space. The Square thrived as a central public resource through the remainder of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries and was witness to an ever-increasing shift of the surrounding area to commercialization. The environs saw significant physical shifts to provide facilities for these new uses, many of which remain today. Residential structures gave way to the construction of several of Raleigh’s most prominent structures of the time, including the Carolina Boarding House (1870), the Tabernacle Baptist Church (1879), Commercial National Bank (1912), and the Montague Building (1912). The announcement of the location of a new City Market, to be constructed at the south end of the Square in 1914, was the most significant and would have a lasting effect on the Square. Shortly after 1900 Raleigh’s Jewish population formed the Hebrew Sunday School, which met on an upper level of Mr. Rosenthal’s store at the corner of Wilmington and Hargett streets. Less than two decades later, in 1914, the group split and the House of Jacob was established on South East Street. These two locations, flanking Moore Square, suggest a significant Jewish population in southeast Raleigh in the early-twentieth century.

1866-1914

- Foot paths formalize as cross + diagonal walks
- Walks include 10’ wide islands + oaks 35’ on center
- Interior oaks dominate
- Perimeter oaks planted 50’ on center
- High branching oaks allow full view into and through site
- Surrounded by residential (80%) and commercial (20%)
City Market Opens

1914

The City Market opens across Martin Street from the Square. Pull-in parking bays are added on the south end of the Square to accommodate customers but soon find use as overflow booths where vendors sell products from the back of their trucks.

"Black Main Street" Emerges

1920s

An explosion in black owned businesses on Hargett St., along with the City Market, results in strong use of the park for social events.

1935

The Richard B. Harrison Library (Negro Library) opens facing the Square and foot traffic increases through the site.

SATURDAYS AT THE GROVE

"They had big groves out there, Moore Square, and you would see the wives or the mothers and children, they would spread a picnic and have the time of their life. You see, you did not have all this entertainment. People had to make their own fun. On Saturday, because they did not really have anywhere to go in particular, they would go and would sell around there. And just for an outing they would bring their picnic baskets and their food. In the Grove they had a fountain out there – you would step on a little old pedal and it would shoot water up. They did not have an electric pump."

- Rufus D. Hodges (Culture Town - Life in Raleigh’s African-American Communities)

AT THE HEART OF THE ECONOMY

The transition of Moore Square from residential enclave to commercial hub was solidified on October 1, 1914 with the opening of the City Market. The Market anchored the Square both physically and figuratively. Located in the center of the block on the south side of Martin Street between Blount and Person streets the Market faced north, looking out over the Square. The sheer size of the structure as well as the volume of patronage and product that circulated through it changed the focus of Moore Square from neighborhood gathering spot to city-wide destination. The City Market was a massive structure for its era. Consisting of more than 12,000 square feet, the one-story brick mission-style structure was constructed with wide eaves to shelter patrons. From its opening in 1914 up to World War II nearly two-thirds of Raleigh’s population visited the Market regularly. The market’s sales volume at the time was approximately 4.5 million dollars annually. Equally significant as its role as commercial engine was the fact that the City Market was integrated. The City Market, with its spill-over location at Moore Square, was one of few, if not the only, public facilities in the city that was integrated during the era of segregation. This influenced the development that came to the Square following the opening of the Market.

As the presence of City Market drew commercial development east along Hargett Street toward the Square, a large number of black-owned businesses lined Hargett, an area now historically referred to as Black Main Street. The attractive two- and three-story brick buildings constructed in the 1910s and 20s housed black grocers, retailers, barbers, pharmacists, physicians, lawyers, and real estate developers. At the heart of Black Main Street was the Lightner Arcade (destroyed), located on the south side of Hargett Street between Blount and Wilmington streets. Erected by Calvin Lightner in the early 1920s at
The Peak
1930s
Black Main Street reaches its peak, bringing social and economic growth to the Square, despite the Depression.

The Short Ride Down
1957
The Square finds itself surrounded by nearly half a million square feet of leasable and emptying space, a shuttered City Market, and a proposal to wrap it with parking lots.

1914-1964
- Maturing of interior oaks
- Impromptu paths linking surrounding uses appear
- Decline of cross form walk for pedestrians

a cost of $25,000, the Arcade provided a hub for African-Americans. The Arcade hotel was one of few hotels available to blacks between Washington, DC and Florida. Entertainers Cab Calloway, Duke Ellington, Count Basie, Don Reading, and others all stayed and performed at the Arcade.

In 1935 the Richard B. Harrison Library for blacks was opened by the Wake County public library – known then as the Olivia Rainey Library. The library was located in a storefront of the Delany Building on East Hargett Street. Harrison Library established itself as a central feature in local African-American culture, serving as a repository of black history and culture, and promoting black literature and music. Footpaths connecting the library to the City Market and residential neighborhoods southeast of the Square can be seen in aerial photographs and maps from the period. The presence of these paths reinforces the importance of these facilities in the community. The library was later relocated to the house previously occupied by Koonce Furniture at 214 South Blount Street before moving again in 1967 to its current location on New Bern Avenue.

The success of the Square and its surroundings declined after World War II. The rise of construction in suburban communities and the subsequent loss of residential populations in urban cores led to a decline in cities across the nation. When the City Market was closed in 1957 and later declared surplus by the city, the Square’s role as a commercial hub was diminished. The Civil Rights Act of 1964 also weakened the Square’s commercial vitality as integration dramatically affected the district’s black businesses and eventually Black Main Street dispersed.
PERIOD: COMMUNAL

Awaiting Renewal

1970s
As decline bottoms out, the Square finds itself home to occasional festivals in an attempt to renew interest in downtown.

1964

Revival

1980s
The Square attracts artists and their wares as the old City Market becomes home to Raleigh’s art colony.

Exploris + IMAX Premiere

1999

1983
Moore Square Historic District is listed in National Register of Historic Places.

1992
Moore Square Historic District is designated as a Raleigh Historic District.

1983, 1992
Moore Square Historic District is listed in National Register of Historic Places.

FESTIVALS

By the late 1960s to early 1970s the decline of Raleigh’s urban core was leveling out and efforts to revitalize the city had begun. The 1972 Odell Plan was the first in a series of plans that would focus on revitalization strategies for downtown Raleigh. Each of these plans involved either Moore Square or the City Market, if not both. The continued focus of efforts in and around Moore Square illustrated how integral the area was to downtown.

The first tangible efforts came with the creation of Artsplosure in 1979 and its first festival, held on the Square in 1980. The Moore Square Art District was created in the early 1980s to establish a community of artists in the available space surrounding the Square, defining the Square itself as a destination for art shows and festivals. This effort helped fill empty storefronts and created a new type of destination. The listing of the Moore Square Historic District in the National Register of Historic Places in 1983, followed by designation as a Raleigh Historic District in 1992, signified the importance of the Square in the context of the city’s history. The boundaries of the historic district are broader than the Square and its immediate surroundings, expanding north to Morgan Street, west to Wilmington Street, and south to Davie Street. This boundary further emphasizes the relevance of the Square outside of its footprint.

With the renewal of downtown Raleigh in the 1990s Moore Square became a location for celebrations and events that helped bring the community together. From music and art festivals to welcoming in the New Year the Square has become a place where the citizens of Raleigh gather to experience the culture and history of their city.
Purchased by a private developer in 1986, the City Market has become one of the city’s entertainment destinations with restaurants, retail shops and office space above. In 1989 Greenshields pub and restaurant opened in the City Market building, continuing the Square’s evolution into an entertainment venue. By the 1990s the Square was lined by a collection of restaurants, bars and retail shops in addition to galleries and artist workshops. Again, the City Market building had served as the anchor to this effort. The opening of Exploris Museum (now Marbles) and the adjacent IMAX theatre on the north side of the Square in 1999 introduced yet another entertainment-based destination opposite the Square.

In many ways, what is occurring on Moore Square today is a culmination of all the phases of its past. The lack of defined space on the Square continues to allow the user to re-create the space without radically altering the original design. The increase in housing units downtown is creating a larger population with a need for open space. While Tabernacle Baptist Church no longer worships in the 1879 structure, Unity Church of the Triangle now worships in the space. The opening of Exploris Middle School in 1996 and Moore Square Middle School at the southeast corner of Person and Martin streets in 2002 continued the Square’s educational link. And, in 2006 the Farmer’s Market returned to Moore Square every Wednesday in the late spring, summer and early fall.
SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

DESIGNED BY THE COMMUNITY

Over time the lack of a defined plan has allowed the park to evolve with its users and as the needs of the community require. For example, during the Institutional Period the need for group activities such as worship and education presented itself. The Square, a large and centrally located open space with no constructed hardscape to limit activities proved an ideal place to gather. Its open lawn allowed for recreation and drills that were part of the desired curriculum. These could be accomplished without restructuring of the square, allowing continued use as commons for area residents. Later the Commercial Period resulted in surrounding retail via the City Market and development of significant numbers of black-owned businesses on Hargett Street. The establishment of the Richard B. Harrison Library for Negros to the west of the Square and the Lightner Arcade (drawing notable black musicians) also emphasized the Square’s dominance as a social core. As the area grew into a major ethnic district the Square, centrally located, became a natural crossroads from one business to another. As users cut through the Square impromptu paths were created. These often became permanent, adding to the accessibility provided by existing walks. As businesses grew the pedestrian traffic in the Square became significant, to the point that it became a natural congregating spot along the way to somewhere else and as a result a resting and/or entertainment venue featuring picnickers, overflow vendors from the City Market, and street musicians. Again, this was not accomplished through a conscious site plan or designed landscape but by the users themselves, imprinting their behavior and attitudes upon the existing Square.

IMPORTANCE AS HISTORIC LANDSCAPE

Moore Square retains significance as one of two remaining squares currently unbuilt upon from the 1792 William Christmas plan for the City of Raleigh and serves as an example of the Colonial-era town planning that Christmas used as a model. There appears to be no customary evidence (site plans, significant man-made elements, or noted relation to a historically significant designer) that Moore Square as it exists today is a Historic Designed Landscape. However, there seems to be evidence, via mapping, aerial photography, and oral histories, that the square is an Ethnographic Landscape due to its key location in a major ethnic neighborhood (Black Main Street) and the presence of a culturally significant plant community (oak grove used by the same residents). An Ethnographic Landscape is a place that a cultural group may define as meaningful due to its inextricable and traditional relationship to their local histories, cultural identities, or beliefs and behaviors (U.S. Dept. of the Interior, NPS/Cultural Resources Management Publication. Vol. 24, Issue 5/2001). Social factors such as class, ethnicity, and gender are often a force in defining the places and they may include unique vegetative communities or cultural elements.

In addition to its development as an Ethnographic Landscape the Square has significance as a Cultural Landscape of the City of Raleigh and has been the scene of numerous events and activities that are central to the day-to-day lives of citizens. These include religious, educational, military, political, and agricultural components, some of which have left their mark on the Square.

A PLACE OF CULTURE AND OF THE PEOPLE

“During the early thirties there was a variety of entertainment on Saturdays at the Grove, like Old Man Moe Watson and that string band, a black group of men that used to play the violins. Others played guitars and washboards. A little short doctor and another fellow named K.C. played the guitar. People would be around these groups like bees. They would give them a little money and the groups picked up good change like that too.”

- Rufus D. Hodge (Culture Town - Life in Raleigh’s African-American Communities)
SURVIVING HISTORICAL LANDSCAPE ELEMENTS

Through the creation of a composite overlay based on the 5 Palimpsests it is possible to define three key human impacts on the evolution of Moore Square that survive. Remnants of the three elements are still evident today and could be utilized as the genesis of any future design solution. The three historical landscape elements are:

- **Pedestrian Paths:** Impromptu paths created by the Square’s users over time. Most are the result of direct travel across the Square despite obstacles such as lawn or low plants. They provide keys to what surrounding businesses or activities the users were most utilizing. They also provide a time stamp that supports additional findings. For example, heavy use of impromptu or “cow” paths on the west side of the Square match almost perfectly with pedestrian tendency to cut from the City Market to the Richard B. Harrison Library and major Harrett Street businesses. The path development is parallel to the development of Hargett Street and surrounding environs into a major black business area. Fortunately, many of the paths have been saved as the Square has evolved. In addition, the location of the convergence of the 1910 walks remains, although altered.

- **Vegetative Cover:** Two levels of historic vegetative cover exist in the Square. The first is the interior stand of oaks. Average diameter at breast height (DBH) is 48-60”, consistent with mapping that dates their existence to the late 1800s to early 1900s. This interior cover provides a large primary canopy for the Square’s users and was present during its existence as an ethnographic landscape.
SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

The second is the perimeter streetscape; primarily oaks with an average DBH of 36-48”. This perimeter cover provides a large secondary canopy for the Square’s users and those passing by on the surrounding streets. They are spaced on average at 50’ on-center. Through aerial photography and on-site observation they appear to date from the 1910s. Some have suffered damage and been removed. Oral histories suggest that the interior stand of oaks was referred to as “The Grove” and was a prominent place of rest, recreation, and entertainment for Raleigh’s black community during the age of Black Main Street. None of these specimens appears to be listed on local, state, or national databases for historic and Champion Trees.

- **View Sheds:** Various histories of the Square strongly suggest that its openness in plantings has been a key element of its structure throughout its entire history. From initial use for education (drilling/recreation) to use in the age of the Black Main Street there has been a consistent stressing of open views or view sheds. For example, during the age of Black Main Street the use of oaks provided a high canopy with the ability for users to see clearly through the Square without obstruction; a relatively clear view was possible beneath the entire understory of the interior and perimeter oaks, uninterrupted by any known built structures. These open view sheds within the Square also extended to the surrounding streets and building facades (building masses). In combination with the very direct pedestrian paths radiating from the northeast and northwest corners to the middle of the south property line and retention of the original street grid, it becomes clear that the user’s vision would be focused on key architectural or cultural icons, such as Hugh Morson High School, the City Market central structure, or Hargett Street attractions. The view sheds opened the Square to Black Main Street and connected the entire Square and surrounding blocks into one visual and physical space.
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