Redignifying LaVilla:
Visualizing and Recentering Black Epistemologies in the Revitalization of LaVilla, Jacksonville, Florida

by

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Abstract
There is a need and desire for planners and designers to atone for racism and white supremacy in the field, and Reparative Planning as a theory and practice is a start. This thesis looks at recent revitalization efforts in LaVilla, a historic African-American neighborhood situated in Downtown Jacksonville, Florida as an example of reparative planning, with specific interest around the upcoming Lift Ev'ry Voice and Sing Park. The creation of Lift Ev'ry Voice and Sing Park signals a pivotal moment for Black Landscapes in the US South in which the City of Jacksonville is looking to use public space to acknowledge and preserve local Black history. As the downtown area transforms, there is a need for grounding revitalization in a reparative process that is informed by lived experience and local expertise. Drawing upon methods such as unstructured interviews, archival research, and visual inquiry, this thesis proposes scrapbooking as an innovative approach to activating archives and visualizing Black Epistemologies within the urban planning context. At the core of this project lies the argument that Black Epistemologies represent a legitimate expertise that is missing from revitalization efforts. Planners and other practitioners engaged in anti-racist, reparative work should embrace these epistemologies as a valuable resource to inform their understanding of the built environment from distinct cultural and historical perspectives.

Thesis Supervisor: Dr. Holly Harriel
Title: Associate Professor of Climate Justice, Democracy and Civic Engagement

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Preface

In creating this thesis as the conclusion of my time at DUSP, I thought it wise to revisit my initial reason for wanting to attend MIT. In my personal statement, I recalled the transition from the ordered grid and political ambiance of DC, where I spent summers with my father, to the green expanses and backyard tranquility of Jacksonville, where I lived with my mother. Despite the scenic contrasts, my intimate familiarity with Jacksonville from ages 5 to 17 exposed me to its challenges: limited public transportation, a sense of unease around law enforcement due to their ties to the Ku Klux Klan, and a lackluster downtown. The knowledge of my city from my lived experience made me want better for Jacksonville.

"*Though I critique Jacksonville and DC, I can not deny that I was shaped by these places and in many ways, they are a part of me. It is with a dutiful and hopeful love for the cities that raised me and love for people who deserve better places to live that I am pursuing a graduate program in City Planning at MIT.*"

That dutiful love has manifested in this thesis, which has allowed me to revisit my hometown with curious eyes and ears, seeking an understanding of LaVilla, a neighborhood I was familiar with but did not "know." Motivated by frustration at the neglect of cities in the US South in academic discourse, I chose to focus on LaVilla, a historically Black neighborhood in Jacksonville, Florida, to explore how history intersects with neighborhood revitalization.

In January 2023, I returned to Jacksonville to work with Downtown Vision Inc.–Downtown Jacksonville's Business Improvement District (BID)– as an impact and evaluation intern for their placemaking projects. Through this internship, I forged connections with the BID and the Jessie Ball Dupont Fund, a non-profit leading and financing placemaking initiatives in Jacksonville. During my time as an intern, I became especially attached to one of Dupont's projects, "Lift Ev'ry Voice and Sing Park" in LaVilla. Led by renowned landscape architect Walter Hood of Hood Design Studio, this park project received substantial funding and represented a commendable effort by the City of Jacksonville to acknowledge Black history through public spaces.

Beyond the park's design, I was fascinated by the matrix of stakeholders involved in developing it and their varied perspectives on LaVilla. Planners, residents, designers, historians, funders, and city leaders were collaborating to give LaVilla the recognition it deserves. As a Black woman and former resident of Jacksonville who spent some of her formative years singing in The Ritz Voices, a choir at The Ritz Theatre and Museum, one of the last remaining Black anchor institutions in LaVilla, I found myself at a unique intersection of planner and resident, insider and outsider. From this vantage point, I recognized the gap in knowledge between planners and residents. I came upon this research topic with a desire to explore this epistemological gap, understand the context that is missing in this park project, and offer solutions to validate and uplift the lived experience of Black residents of Jacksonville, to inform current and future neighborhood revitalization efforts.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

"But as our history assures us, Black people have built and shaped the American landscape in ways that we will never know. It is up to those of us in the field to continue to articulate and, most of all, develop a "prophetic aesthetic" to counter the colonial malaise so that we can remember and develop new futures form the power of the past."

– Walter Hood*, Black Landscapes Matter*

In recent years, urban planners and designers of the built environment have been responding to the call for antiracist practices and the imperative to incorporate Black history into public spaces. Collectives like BlackSpace and Design as Protest have been holding the profession accountable for the spatial harm it has inflicted on Black communities as well as creating new strategies to codesign with Black communities and center Black joy in the built environment(*Design As Protest*, n.d.). This reckoning within the planning field is timely and crucial, as Black histories, especially in the US South, are being systematically rewritten or erased within classrooms. In 2023, under the leadership of Governor Ron DeSantis, the Florida Department of Education revised the state social studies curriculum to suggest that enslaved Africans in America developed skills through enslavement that could benefit them personally.[1] Thoughtfully designed memorials, parks, streetscapes, and other public spaces provide an opportunity to combat such ahistorical narratives, especially in locations of historical or cultural significance.

The focus of this thesis is on the engagement of history in the revitalization of LaVilla and the centrality of specialized knowledge in neighborhood revitalization efforts. Through this research, I propose a process to prioritize the knowledge and experience of Black residents in Jacksonville as indispensable expertise. This expertise should be referenced by planning and design professionals who aim to apply their training to articulate anti-racist counter-narratives within the built environment.

[1] The benchmark clarification in the Florida's State Academic Standards for Social Studies says verbatim "Clarification 1: Instruction includes how slaves developed skills which, in some instances, could be applied for their personal benefit."

An example of a historically engaged public space is Lift Ev'ry Voice and Sing Park in Jacksonville, FL, honoring the life and legacy of the Johnson brothers and their most notable contribution to Black history: the Black National Anthem–Lift Ev'ry Voice and Sing. This park is a considerable effort in reactivating LaVilla, a historically Black neighborhood in Jacksonville that has never quite recovered from the many rounds of divestment and urban renewal. As planners and designers collaborate to establish this memorial in LaVilla as part of the developing LaVilla Heritage Trail, Black residents of Jacksonville have openly expressed their doubts about specific changes. Rather than assume the doubts are rooted in collective pessimism, these concerns ought to be interpreted as smoke signals that something formative is missing in this design process.

This quest to identify Black Epistemologies unaccounted for in the revitalization of LaVilla begins in Chapter 2, "Addressing Epistemological Gaps." In this chapter, I set the scene by providing the geographical and historical context of LaVilla, followed by an introduction to the theoretical frameworks that inform my conceptual framework of redignification. Chapter 2 concludes with an explanation of why scrapbooking was the selected method to formulate my theory, leading into a detailed discussion of the methodology used in Chapter 3, including the research design, data collection process, data analysis, and a note on reflexivity and the limitations of my methods. In Chapter 4, I delve into the four main findings that were revealed throughout my research and discuss the takeaways of this research in Chapter 5. I conclude my thesis with a call to action for residents and planners in Chapter 6. Following the conclusion, I provide appendices containing a glossary with the jargon and newly coined terms used throughout the thesis, and an appendix with photos of the scrapbook pages I constructed.

Chapter 2: Addressing Epistemological Gaps

"My aunt used to say,
'A heap see, but a few know.'"[2]

2.1 Contextualizing LaVilla: Past, Present and Future

Jacksonville, Florida is a sleepy, coastal city in Northeast, FL, and as the largest city land area wise in the contiguous US, it stretches over 874 square miles with the St. Johns River running through it (Explore Jacksonville Today, 2018). West of the river is Downtown Jax[3], which partially includes the neighborhood of LaVilla. LaVilla, also known as "the Harlem of the South," was the cultural anchor for Black musicians, singers, composers, and artists in Florida from the 1920s to the 1960s. However, in 1947, the I-95 expressway was proposed and built through LaVilla in the 1950s. After the enactment of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, several businesses in LaVilla shuttered due to competition from formerly White-only establishments, leaving many buildings vacant and vulnerable to urban decay. The drug epidemic inflicted further devastation upon LaVilla in the 1980s (Davis, 2017). In 1993, Mayor Ed Austin proposed The River City Renaissance plan, allocating millions of dollars to renovate Downtown Jacksonville (*The '90s Revitalization Project That Tore Through Jacksonville's Core*, 2017). While buildings were torn down with the promise of rebuilding to reinvigorate the area, this plan was not implemented in LaVilla.

The neighborhood was essentially destroyed, with only a handful of buildings restored. LaVilla today is an unmarked gravesite of African-American culture, where the memories of legendary jazz performances, Black-owned businesses, and mixed-use development that once provided opportunities for Black folks during the Jim Crow era lie beneath the ground. On the surface, most of those historic buildings have been demolished, and the remaining few that are

[2] In a subsection of "Black Feminist Thought" titled "Lived Experience as a Criterion of Meaning," Patricia Hill Collins references John Langston Gwaltney's book "Drylong: A Self Portrait of Black America." Collins uses this quote as an expression of Black Feminist Epistemologies.
[3] Jacksonville is often shortened and referred to as "Jax."

still standing and operating are The Clara White Mission, The Ritz Theatre and Museum, and LaVilla School of the Arts. This timeline of LaVilla, illustrating the rise and fall of a great African-American neighborhood in Jacksonville, helps us identify the legacy of structural harm that still impacts residents of Jacksonville today. After decades of broken promises from city leaders, something is finally happening in LaVilla, and this phenomenon should be examined carefully and critically, lest the bedrock history of African Americans in LaVilla be further erased.

Currently, the Downtown Jacksonville area is in a stage of significant development. According to the 2022 State of Downtown report, there are $5 billion dollars of major projects down the pipeline: $263 million of completed projects since 2021, $1.35 billion under construction, $2.69 billion in review, and $658 million proposed. Among these projects is the LaVilla Heritage Trail, an interpretive marker project designed to showcase the unique history of sites within LaVilla and associated individuals and events (The 2022 State of Downtown Report, n.d.). One notable stop on the trail is the Lift Ev'ry Voice and Sing Park, a .75-acre park currently under construction, designed by Hood Design Studio, an award-winning cultural practice merging landscape architecture, public art, and urban design based in Oakland, California. Initially funded with an investment of $3 million, this park is set to honor two of Jacksonville's most renowned residents, James Weldon Johnson and John Rosamond Johnson (*Lift Ev'ry Voice and Sing Park*, n.d.).

The Johnson brothers were born and raised in LaVilla in 1871 and 1873 within a middle-class family. Both were highly creative individuals; James wrote poems, and John composed music. They attended Stanton School, which was the first school for Black students in the state of Florida. In 1901, James assumed the role of principal at Stanton. When John composed a musical arrangement for James' poem 'Lift Ev'ry Voice and Sing,' a choir of 500 schoolchildren from Stanton School became the first to perform the song publicly in Jacksonville, commemorating President Abraham Lincoln's birthday (NAACP):

> *"Lift every voice and sing,*
> *Till earth and heaven ring,*

Ring with the harmonies of Liberty;
Let our rejoicing rise
High as the list'ning skies,
Let it resound loud as the rolling sea.
Sing a song full of the faith that the dark past has taught us,
Sing a song full of the hope that the present has brought us;
Facing the rising sun of our new day begun,
Let us march on till victory is won."

The hymnal spoke to a nation of African Americans working together to heal from the trauma of slavery, pursue liberation, and find hope through a deep faith in God. The song went on to become the Black National Anthem and was sung as a rallying cry during the Civil Rights Movement of the 1950s and 1960s. (NAACP)

While the Johnson brothers did not continue their careers in Jacksonville and moved to New York City in 1900 to pursue music and a political career, they are lauded as Black American heroes, which LaVilla and Jacksonville are proud to claim. Lift Ev'ry Voice and Sing Park (LEVS) is intended to be a destination for residents and visitors to learn about Jacksonville's history and participate in inclusive programming. (Lift Ev'ry Voice and Sing Park, n.d.) The park is located on the birth site of The Johnson brothers and features a raised lawn for seating, an illuminated Poet's Walk, a repurposed shotgun house and stage, and a small garden with sculptures of the brothers (Hood Design Studio, n.d.). This thesis looks at LEVS Park as a public space that begins to engage in Reparative Planning in LaVilla but fails to fully represent a contextualized LaVilla informed by Black Jacksonville residents' knowledge. The following sections further explore the tenets of Reparative Planning and its foundation in Black Radical Thought, including Black Feminist Thought.

Figure 1: Renderings of Lift Ev'ry Voice and Sing Park

Figure 2: Map of Downtown Jacksonville and the Eight Downtown Districts, 2022

Adapted from the 2022 State of Downtown Report.

2.2 Reparative Planning, Black Epistemologies and Redignification

Rashad Williams, an Assistant Professor of Race and Social Justice in Public Policy at the University of Pittsburgh, coined the term Reparative Planning to describe the implementation of redress policies at the urban scale (Williams, n.d.). Reparative planning draws from various strands of Black radical thought, such as Black nationalist, Marxist, feminist, abolitionist, and environmental justice movements (Williams & Steil, 2023). Its aim is to repair relationships damaged by injustice and advance social and spatial transformation rather than simply returning to a pre-injustice state. Williams outlines five key principles of reparative planning: the creation of Black spaces of joy, redistribution of wealth, the establishment of new democratic institutions, promotion of climate resilience, and engagement in reflective collective action. For the purpose of this thesis, I am choosing to focus on the concept of "reflective collective action" as a central tenet of reparative planning, hoping to provide a tangential tenet of reparative planning through the theory I propose. In "The Past We Step Into and How We Repair," a journal article by Rashasd Williams and Justin Steil[4] (2023), they expand on what a commitment to reflective collective means:

"Major systems of oppression are interlocking, and reparative planning must struggle consistently against intersecting ideologies of domination. A commitment to participatory, reflective, non-hierarchical collective action that addresses the intersectional nature of multiple oppressions, challenges political violence, and empowers people who are not part of economic and political elites is essential."

Williams and Steil propose that in order to create healthy, vibrant, and joyful Black futures in the United States, planners and those working in the built environment must be committed to recentering people who have been disempowered from decision-making and pushed further into

[4] Justin Steil is an Associate Professor of Law and Urban Planning in the Department of Urban Studies and Planning at MIT.

the margins because of their intersecting identities: such as being poor **and** a non-English speaker, gay **and** disabled, Black **and** a woman. This framework builds on the scholarship of Kimberle Crenshaw (1989), a leading critical race theory scholar who introduces intersectionality as a way to describe the multidimensionality of Black women's experiences. The multidimensionality and power of Black women's knowledge is studied by Patricia Hill Collins, a social theorist and author of *Black Feminist Thought*.

"*African American women have developed a distinctive black woman standpoint and have done so by using alternative ways of producing and validating knowledge.*"

As articulated by Collins, Black feminist epistemologies operate as alternative ways of producing and validating knowledge, emphasizing the distinctive standpoint developed by African American women (Collins, 2000). These epistemologies challenge dominant paradigms and provide valuable insights into marginalized perspectives, enhancing our comprehension of social dynamics and spatial relationships. Black Feminist Thought and reparative planning intersect as theories and frameworks, particularly emphasizing the central role of Black people's knowledge, expertise, and experiences. They aim to activate these resources to effect changes that authentically reflect the needs and aspirations of Black communities.

To address the epistemological gap in the revitalization of LaVilla, there is a need to explore alternative methods of "producing and validating specialized knowledge" that can be delivered to The Planner and The Designer, especially those who are visitors operating from the scope of dominant knowledge. In response, I propose this concept of *redignification*[5] as a solution and process that validates, materializes, translates, and applies specialized knowledge for the purpose of creating historically and culturally relevant public spaces.

[5] Denotes the process of reinstating or enhancing the dignity, honor, and authenticity of an individual, location, or item. See full definition in Appendix A: glossary.

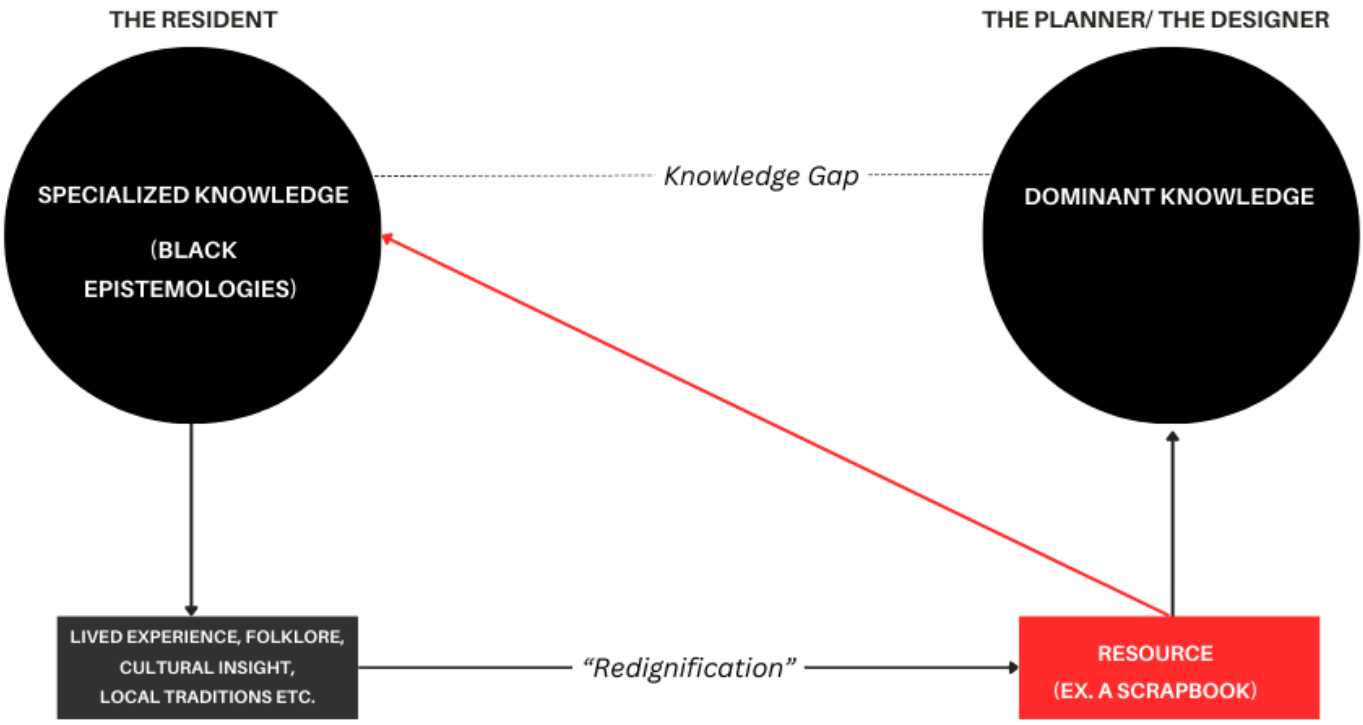


Figure 3: Redignification Conceptual Framework

This conceptual framework depicts the flow and transformation of knowledge that occurs under the concept of redignification. Redignification serves as a parallel solution addressing knowledge gaps between residents and planning professionals.

Redignifiaction, though not a word belonging to the English dictionary, comes up as the Spanish word "redignificación" in contemporary research as a process of restoring the dignity of those who have been victims of violence or human rights violations (Recursos para generar la redignificación, 2012). One publication from Comisión de Derechos Humanos de la Ciudad de México–or The Human Rights Commission of Mexico City–defines redignificación as "the possibility of going from the position of helplessness and helplessness (feeling a victim) to a position of person capable of being responsible for your recovery." (2012)

To best understand redignification and its place in urban planning, it is essential to grasp dignity as a foundational concept. Dignity has undergone widespread criticism, unpacking, and

reconceptualization within contemporary philosophy and ethics. Scholars have questioned its clarity, relevance, and practical utility across moral, philosophical, legal, and social contexts. Suzanne Killmister, recognizing the ambiguous usage and lack of a universal definition of dignity, endeavors to develop her theory around it (2020). In *Contours of Dignity*, Killmister proposes three interconnected "strands" of dignity: personal, social, and status dignity. She argues that these strands collectively contribute to a comprehensive understanding of dignity, where personal and social dignity is earned and subject to appraisal respect, while status dignity is conferred based on social membership and necessitates recognition of respect (Killmister, 2020). According to Killmister, human dignity can be lost or undermined. When examining neighborhoods like LaVilla, which have been viciously torn in two by highways, destroyed and flattened by multiple rounds of urban renewal, and continuously disinvested in, these violations can be best summarized as acts of indignity.

Suppose indignity epitomizes the past transgressions of urban planners who enacted spatialized racism through redlining and segregation. In that case, future planners must strive for atonement through the restoration or re-establishment of dignity, a concept I term *redignification*. Redignification, as I define it, entails restoring or enhancing the dignity, honor, and authenticity of a person, place, or thing. Within the context of reparative planning, this term encapsulates deliberate efforts and actions taken to revive the worth, respect, and intrinsic value of a place, emphasizing its significance within human experiences and interactions.

In their work "The Past We Step Into and How We Repair It: A Normative Framework for Reparative Planning," Rashad Williams and Justin Steil (2023) underscore the importance of Black Radical Traditions in reparative planning. They emphasize the role of the Black Radical Tradition in shaping a collective consciousness informed by historical struggles for liberation and stress the imperative to redefine history on one's own terms (Williams & Steil, 2023). As an extension of Williams and Steil's scholarship on reparative planning, I endeavored to anchor redignification in Black Radical Traditions. Drawing inspiration from the practices of Black individuals deeply attuned to context, history, and dignity, I decided to create a scrapbook as a resource and manifestation of Black Epistemologies.

2.3 Scrapbooking for Dignity

Scrapbooking boasts a long history dating back to the Middle Ages. During this time, individuals utilized Bibles to document family history, while commonplace books served as repositories for copying and rewriting information (*The History of Scrapbooking*, n.d.). Notably, American writer Mark Twain was renowned as an avid scrapbooker, credited with inventing a self-pasting technique for the craft (Garvey, 2020). By the mid-19th century, scrapbooking had become a popular preservation activity in the United States. However, within the African-American context, it transcended mere preservation; it evolved into a means of crafting and reclaiming powerful narratives about Black life.

The life and legacy of Frederick Douglass and his family are preserved in eight scrapbooks compiled by his children, known as "The Douglass Family Scrapbooks" (Frederick Douglass Family Scrapbooks, n.d.). One of these volumes contains over six pages of family birth and death records. These scrapbooks and the historical records they contain are significant because the legacy of slavery has often erased self-knowledge and lineage. Like many enslaved individuals, Frederick Douglass was denied knowledge of his birthday, his father's identity, and was separated from his mother and sisters (Frederick Douglass Family Scrapbooks, n.d.). For African Americans, the ability to document their own history represents a radical act of self-preservation, legacy-building, and political resistance.

Scrapbooking remained a vital methodology within the Black Radical Tradition during the early to mid-twentieth century (Hayes, n.d.). In "Black Radicals and the Politics of Writing," Brent Edward Hayes, a professor and literary critic at Columbia University, highlights figures such as Hubert Harrison and Alexander Gumby as Black Radical intellectuals with significant scrapbooking practices. Harrison, a labor organizer known as Harlem's first soapbox orator, engaged in a scrapbooking practice that involved clipping articles and collecting ephemera, sometimes in solitude and at other times publicly borrowing scrapbooks from colleagues or visiting New Jersey to peruse scrapbooks on particular topics (Hayes, n.d.). Similarly, Alexander Gumby, a queer scrapbook-maker and host of Harlem Renaissance salons, referred to his "History of the Negro in Scrapbook" as "The Unwritten History" of the United States due to the

neglect of African Americans by contemporary historians (Osborne, n.d.). Gumby recognized a gap in knowledge about Black life that could be visually expressed and preserved through scrapbooking. Similarly, my research revisits the Black Radical Tradition of scrapbooking as a curatorial, archival, and research method that can address epistemological gaps between The Resident and The Planner.

Chapter 3: Methodology

"Ah come to collect some old stories and tales and Ah know y'all know a plenty of 'em and that's why Ah headed straight for home."

– Zora Neale Hurston, *Mules and Men*, pg 8

3.1 Introduction to Methodology

Considering the history of LaVilla and the uniqueness of Jacksonville as a city, I needed to use qualitative research to explore the nuances of this place and capture the perceptions, experiences, and rich insights of the people of Jacksonville. Using grounded theory as an approach supported the use of field notes, interviews, and archival research–which I will interchangeably refer to as observing, asking, and compiling– to materialize Black Epistemologies and develop a theory around redignifiaction. Grounded theory, as introduced by Barney G. Glaser and Anselm L. Strauss in their book "Discovering Grounded Theory," is an approach to developing theory that is "grounded in data systematically gathered and analyzed (Strauss & Corbin, 1994)." In developing redignification as a theory and process to centralize Black Epistemologies in the revitalization of LaVilla, I employed a multimethod research design that unfolded across three phases.

In the following sections, I further explain my research design, the data collection process across three phases of discovery, investigation, and validation, and the tools used for data analysis. Following data analysis, I examine my own bias and personal influence in the reflexivity section, followed by the limitations of my methodology and a conclusion.

3.2 Research Design

This research aims to address and propose solutions for the epistemological gap between The Planner and The Resident. As a researcher who exists at the intersection of Planner and Resident, I designed this research to allow me to lean into these identities rather than see them as limitations. This qualitative research was exploratory and, at times, “casual” in nature, so I relied on a grounded theory approach as a rigorous approach to qualitative research. This approach involves various methods such as participant observation, interviewing, and collection of artifacts and texts. Central to grounded theory is constant comparative analysis, where researchers iterate between data collection and analysis to develop a theory (Glaser & Strauss, 1967). Therefore, in my research, as my investigation narrows and increases in rigor, I toggle between data collection and analysis, specifically during the process of scrapbooking, which I elaborate on throughout this chapter. The process begins with generative questions leading to theoretical sampling in which the data I receive guides me to the next set of data that I seek, which are expressed in the following section on data collection.

Because this research is focused on contextualizing LaVilla through the lived experiences of Jacksonville residents, I formulated four open-ended questions designed to invite storytelling from residents. These questions, featured below, were central in the data collection process and aimed to uncover insights into LaVilla's past, present, and future from the perspectives of Black Jacksons and other Jacksonville residents who hold specialized hyperlocal knowledge of LaVilla.

1. *What do you know about LaVilla?* This question seeks to address residents' relationship to LaVilla and their immediate knowledge of the neighborhood.
2. *What was LaVilla like in the nineties?* This question is specific to a particular time frame to provide context around LaVilla during its second round of urban renewal, specifically from the River City Renaissance Plan era. This decade was characterized by significant Black cultural influence in America, from music to fashion to television. In my experience, people often have strong attachments to this era, and this question is an opportunity for rich data.

3. *What do you know about Lift Ev'ry Voice and Sing Park?* This question gauges how involved and in-the-know Black residents, who have a relationship with LaVilla, are about the upcoming developments. It allows me to assess whether revitalization is happening in isolation or if there is community interest and involvement in the project.
4. *What do you hope to see LaVilla like in the future?* This question seeks to understand Black residents' hopes, dreams, and desires regarding LaVilla's future. The responses serve as indicators for where and how planners and designers could focus their efforts on revitalizing the neighborhood.

As mentioned, this research unfolded in three iterative phases, corresponding to my visits to Jacksonville from December 2022 to April 2024. Throughout these trips and in between, I engaged in numerous formal and informal conversations with various individuals, including family friends, colleagues at Downtown Vision (the business improvement district of Downtown Jax), Uber drivers, and anyone willing to discuss my interest in contextualizing LaVilla through the experiences of Black Jacksonville residents. For this thesis, I will focus on seven individuals with whom I interacted during these phases, as detailed in the subsequent data collection section.

The sampling method employed in this research encompassed purposive, snowball, and convenience sampling. Initially, I selected Mitch Hemann, the archivist at the Ritz Theatre and Museum in LaVilla, as my first interviewee. Although not a Black resident, Mitch's deep knowledge of local Black history and regular engagement with Black residents in LaVilla made him an ideal initial contact[6]. Mitch played a pivotal role in introducing me to Ennis Davis, a local historian who contributed to the Lift Ev'ry Voice and Sing Park project, as well as two other staff members at the Ritz who provided valuable insights for my research. One of these staff members had connections to my family through their church, and she encouraged me to speak with my grandfather, ultimately leading to interviews with my own mother and a longtime family friend

[6] Mitch and I engaged in numerous discussions about his positionality as a white archivist employed at a Black anchor institution. Each conversation was reassuring, as Mitch would recount anecdotes about visitors entering the Ritz, sharing their memories, and donating ephemera. He would then craft new exhibitions based on the evolving archive of Black Jacksonville history.

residing near LaVilla. Despite initial hesitations regarding potential biases in interviewing family members, the accessibility and convenience of these familial connections proved invaluable for interviews. Their insights significantly contributed to contextualizing LaVilla and provided additional archival resources not available at the Ritz.

While snowball and convenience sampling methods have inherent limitations, such as participants referring individuals similar to themselves, I found that leveraging connections within a community fosters trust, particularly in neighborhoods marked by distrust. In this research, my pre-existing relationships in Jacksonville, stemming from prior residency and internships downtown, facilitated recommendations for further interviews and conversations.

3.3 Data Collection

The table below outlines my data collection process, initiated in December 2022. This phased approach allowed me to reestablish connections with Jacksonville residents over time and build trust among local experts who possessed deeper knowledge of LaVilla beyond its heyday in the 1920s to 1950s. Each phase of data collection is built upon the previous one, enhancing rigor and yielding rich data. The terminology "observing, asking, compiling" reflects the grounded theory approach, which emphasizes iterative engagement with data.

Phase	*Data Collection Method*	*Description*
Phase 1 / Discovery	Observing	From December 2022 to January 2023, I interned at Downtown Vision Inc. (DVI) in Jacksonville. I attended the rendering reveal of Lift Ev'ry Voice and Sing Park, engaging in discussions about the park with DVI staff and local stakeholders. I learned about the removal of a controversial "Colored Waiting Room" bench from the original proposal.
Phase 2 / Investigation	Observing and Asking	From January 19th to 30th, 2024, I returned to Jacksonville to delve deeper into LaVilla's history. Despite not finding relevant materials at the Jacksonville Historic Society, I

		toured the Ritz and learned from Mitch, rebuilding my connection to the Ritz Theatre and Museum. I engaged in conversations with my mother, friends, and acquaintances, and Mitch shared archival images for further exploration.
Phase 3 / Validation	Observing, Asking, and Compiling	After receiving a travel grant from MIT, I returned to Downtown Jax to hold in-person conversations with stakeholders from April 9th to 14th. I also revisited archival images, constructing a scrapbook to aid in coding themes from conversations and photos.

Figure 4: Data Collection Table

The first phase of research, which I call the discovery phase, took place in January 2023 while I was an intern at Downtown Vision; this is when I first decided to focus on LaVilla. This decision stemmed from observations made during the rendering reveal of the Lift Ev'ry Voice and Sing Park at the Jessie Ball DuPont Center. Honored to be invited to the opening and eager to witness Walter Hood's work in my hometown, I attended with curiosity and excitement. During the meeting, I observed Jacksonville residents posing questions about gentrification in the area and how the park would impact housing. The design team respectfully addressed their role as storytellers using landscape to convey complex histories rather than solely leading community engagement as expected of urban planners. Notably, there were murmurs from the crowd each time Hood called Jacksonville "Jackson"' or pronounced LaVilla as "La-vee-yah," emphasizing the Spanish "*elle*" that had long been erased from the neighborhood's pronunciation as "Luh-vill-uh." I observed Black residents exchange skeptical glances at one another and heard expressions of doubt and frustration regarding the park's potential benefits for the neighborhood.

Unbeknownst to me at the time, observing the tension in that room marked the initiation of my research. The conversations about the park continued after the rendering reveal, spilling over into debriefs over lunch, the walk back to the office, and sharebacks with the Downtown Vision team. It was during these informal conversations that I learned about the original design for the park, which included a "Colored Waiting Room" bench—a nod to the history of segregation in Jacksonville. This proposal received negative feedback from the residents who were present, many of whom are third, fourth, and fifth-generation Jaxsons, keenly aware of the

history of and current reality of a segregated Jacksonville. While some may dismiss these informal, off-the-record discussions as mere gossip, part of recentering Black epistemologies involves earnestly considering and acknowledging the ways knowledge is shared and communicated. These remarks and conversations were informal and casual, which is true of the nature of Jacksonville. I call them the "scraps" that provided crucial context about residents' relationship with LaVilla and the process of revitalization in the neighborhood.

I returned to Boston that winter with the park still on my mind. There was a disconnect between the proposed park and the real LaVilla; I could see it and feel it, but I wanted to understand it. During my time between Jacksonville and Boston, I continued to nurture the relationships I had with staff at Downtown Vision and stayed updated on park development via LinkedIn and Instagram. After proposing the topic of addressing how history is engaged in the planning process for my qualitative research class, taught by Dr. Karilyn Crockett, I made a plan to return to Jacksonville and learn more about LaVilla, which led me to phase 2, the investigation phase.

In the second phase of research, I returned to Jacksonville with a narrowed curiosity and a goal to understand LaVilla within a context that seemed to be missing in the park design. I began implementing archival research into the process, as I found the same few stories of the Harlem of the South, Urban Renewal, and River City Renaissance online. To start, I reached out to the Jacksonville Historic Society (JHS) to schedule an appointment and visit the Archives[7] of The Jacksonville History Center, which oversees an archival repository with tens of thousands of items, including rare photographs, diaries, maps, manuscripts, and films relating to Jacksonville's history ("JHS Collections," n.d.). To my surprise, I was redirected from the Jacksonville Historic Society to The Ritz Theatre and Museum:

> *"Thank you for submitting a research request with the Jacksonville Historical Society. I have taken a look at your request, and I would be happy to see if our collections contain any relevant materials. Due to your request focusing on the LaVilla area, I suspect we*

[7] An Archives (often written with a capital A and usually, but not always, in the plural) is an organization dedicated to preserving the documentary heritage of a particular group. See full definition in Appendix A: Glossary

> *may not have many materials that would be relevant, as our materials on LaVilla are few. However, I would encourage you to reach out to the Ritz Theatre and Museum, which is located in the LaVilla neighborhood and has an archive that focuses primarily on LaVilla's history and the city's Black history.*" (E. Cottrell, personal communication, January 18, 2024)

Initially disappointed by the lack of resources available on Jacksonville's African-American neighborhood from the Jacksonville Historic Society, this redirection led me to contact Mitch Hemann, the Ritz Theatre and Museum archivist, who became a significant subject in my research.

The Ritz Theatre and Museum, once a movie house in LaVilla, was one of the four Black theaters in Jacksonville. In the 1950s, before people began spending leisure time at malls, Black Jacksonville residents would gather on the weekends to watch movies at the Ritz. It served as a vital 'third place'[8] in LaVilla until the late 1960s when desegregation prompted Black residents to explore other parts of the city that were previously inaccessible to them. Unfortunately, like many other anchor institutions in LaVilla, the Ritz Theater fell into disrepair and was boarded up in 1972. However, in the 1990s, a group of individuals organized fundraisers and successfully raised funds to preserve a portion of the building. In 1999, the Ritz reopened as the Ritz Theatre and Museum with the mission of bridging communities to the rich past, present, and future contributions and narratives of African-American arts and culture in Jacksonville (*About*, n.d.).

On April 11th, Mitch provided me with an extensive tour of The Ritz. One section of the museum functions as an art space, showcasing rotating exhibitions by local artists, and towards the rear of the museum lies the permanent exhibition, recreating historic Ashley Street, offering visitors a glimpse into LaVilla at its peak before desegregation. During the tour, I posed my main questions to Mitch, and after learning more about LaVilla from him, I delved deeper into my investigation, inquiring about Lift Ev'ry Voice and Sing Park. Mitch laughed softly and, choosing his words carefully, expressed his concerns as a historian about the park. He mentioned

[8] Third places host the regular, voluntary, informal, and happily anticipated gatherings of individuals beyond the realms of home and work (Oldernurg, 1989).

that the designers never visited the Ritz to learn about LaVilla, which immediately concerned me, given that the Ritz serves as the primary institution for all things related to LaVilla history. Additionally, Mitch voiced slight annoyance regarding the decision to relocate a shotgun house to the birth site of the Johnson Brothers. He reminded me that the Johnson brothers grew up middle class and did not reside in a shotgun house. In his opinion placing a random preserved house nearby was misleading and not representative of the Johnsons' lives.

Following my visit to the Ritz, Mitch graciously sent me 174 4 x 6 photographs from Qore Property Sciences of commercial and residential properties in LaVilla from 1994 to 1996 before demolition. The collection was arranged alphabetically and then numerically by street address. These archival photos set the scene for a LaVilla often forgotten or at least not talked about. Homes with boarded windows, abandoned buildings with overgrown yards, and crumbling porches. Through the archives, I was made a witness to the image of LaVilla post-urban renewal, post-desegregation, and amidst the implementation of the River City Renaissance Plan.

As evocative as the images were, it was clear that archival images could not speak on their own. Seeking to awaken the archives through unconventional and collaborative means, I spoke with Garnette Cadogan, an essayist and Distinguished Lecturer in Urbanism in the Department of Urban Studies and Planning at MIT, regarding an independent study to investigate archives and archival practices. In response, Garnette designed a course called The City and The Archives to unpack the archives in a classroom setting. The course description is provided:

The Archives and the City explores the obstacles to and possibilities of uncovering the multitudinous stories of Black lives and the landscapes they inhabit or shape. By asking what constitutes an archive in and for the city, and how to investigate, annotate, and delineate the contours of black life in the city, this course will focus on developing methods for interpreting archives from various sources. Participants will plumb the depths of extant archives or create new ones via nimble reconstitution or bold invention. The methods aim to produce rich narratives of city life as they uncover, unpack, assemble, interpret, analyze, and present archival research that will breathe life into stories at the heart of the thesis projects of participants. In a

salon-style exchange, participants will share the research problems motivating their plunge into the archives as they ask what archives are—and should be—available to properly research and narrate the city; we'll ask how the city shape archives and how archives shapes the city. Consequently, opened archives, new and old, will help open up a richer set of perspectives on the city.

In this study, I conceived the idea of creating a scrapbook to supplement the archival images provided by Mitch. Following in the likeness of Harlem Renaissance scrapbooker Alexander Gumby, I sought to use scrapbooking to resurrect lost histories of a place informed by residents' specialized knowledge. Following the framework of redignification, the scrapbook serves as a repository embodying Black Epistemologies. It has the potential to guide historically engaged planning and development projects in Jacksonville, such as The Lift Ev'ry Voice and Sing Park. I intended to facilitate a community scrapbooking session in Jacksonville, during which residents would bring their photos, and together, we would cut, paste, and reflect on their relationship with LaVilla. The inspiration for a community scrapbooking event stemmed from my memories of browsing photo albums and my mother's high school yearbook. She would explain associations between people, places, and activities, offering me an immersive glimpse into the past. However, due to time constraints, I postponed the community scrapbooking workshop and instead assumed the role of a listener and curator of stories shared with me through a series of interviews, marking phase 3 of my data collection process.

Figure 5: Photo of Scrapbooking Process

This third research phase built upon observation and inquiry and now included compiling a collection of archival images. I termed this phase the 'validation phase' because my goal was to conduct more in-person interviews while on-site and use my research questions to confirm, support, and validate my initial observations from the preceding phases and what I was discovering in the archival images.

I made a third trip to Jacksonville from April 9th to 14th with the generous support of the Department of Urban Studies and Planning. This time, I chose to stay at an Airbnb on Julia Street, in the heart of downtown. I was within a 20-minute walk from The Ritz; Lift Ev'ry Voice and Sing Park, and Downtown Vision Inc. During this phase, I was able to have a combination of structured and unstructured interviews with seven Jacksonville residents, all with varying levels of investment or interest in LaVilla and Downtown Jacksonville: 1) Mitch Hemann, archivist at The Ritz and colleague of Ennis Davis, 2) Ennis Davis, trained architect, urban planner, and one of the leading historians in Jacksonville, 3) Ms. Bernadette, one of the Ritz staff members and a longtime Bethel Baptist member, 4) Mr. Forman, another Ritz staff member who grew up in LaVilla, 5) Mr. Wallace, Ms. Bernadette's choir mate, a Bethel Baptist member, and my

grandfather, 6) Ms. Brill a fourth-generation Jaxson and family friend who attends church in LaVilla, and 7) Ms. Dee, a former Ritz Voices choir mom, and my mother.

Through conversations with Mitch, Ennis, Mr. Forman, Ms. Bernadette, Mr. Wallace, Ms. Dee, and Ms. Brill, alongside the archival images from Qore Property Sciences, I pieced together 'scraps'—both found and collected—to compose a scrapbook that offered a more comprehensive and contextualized view of LaVilla in the '90s. I believe that my position as an 'outside-insider,' which I expound on in the upcoming reflexivity subsection, positioned me well to curate themes in the scrapbook. I procured foundational scrapbooking supplies from a local Blick art supply store, including acid-free cardstock, a portfolio, removable double-sided tape, a glue stick, and acid-free construction paper. Subsequently, I sought supplementary ephemera to enrich the narrative and context of the scrapbooks. Mr. Wallace generously shared his collection of Bethel Baptist Yearbooks from 1988-1996 for me to scan, while 5 Points Vintage provided additional ephemera, such as postcards, a baby bible, a photo of the Cohen brothers' shop, a Hanson magazine featuring popular music artists in 1997, and a 1990s Gator Bowl Magazine.

3.4 Data Analysis

Over several days, I printed and cut out the most revelatory archival images, along with ads, articles, and pictures from the magazines I sourced, reflecting the conversations I had with residents. I utilized Are.na, a digital platform for connecting ideas and building knowledge, to house the archival photos. Are.na provided a digital format for me to analyze archival images. After importing all of the archival photos in Are.na I named them individually, by the street name according to the accession record[9]. An accession record is an internal set of data detailing an archives' acquisition, documenting legal and physical transfer, and supporting description, and the accession record that came with the archival photos from the Ritz had the building address and description for each photo (*SAA Dictionary: Accession Record*, n.d.). Are.na has a feature that enables users to connect "blocks" or pieces of data to other blocks and channels. I

[9] Accession sheet attached in appendix

used the connection feature to cross-reference archival photos to references, news articles, and field notes that I made throughout my research. Using the search feature in Are.na I was able to find recurring terms and themes in the data, including “boarded up, “two-story house,” and “trim,” all terms expressing the visual state of homes in LaVilla from 1994-1996.

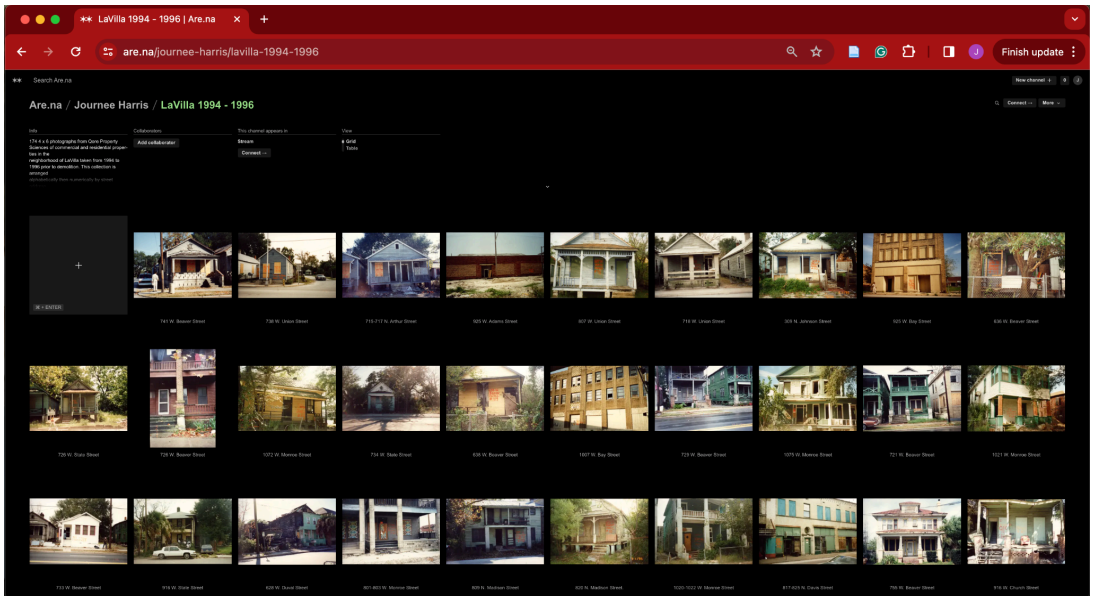


Figure 6: Screenshot of the Are.na Page

With a small sample of seven interviewees who shared rich, narrative-like information during our conversations, I bridged their stories on LaVilla with the extensive collection of archival images. Scrapbooking served as my data analysis method, encouraging a deliberate and thorough approach. I meticulously examined each photo, discerned recurring themes, and arranged them on cardstock, embellished with select decorative elements from a vintage store. This process aimed to analyze data while visually contextualizing a narrative about LaVilla in the 1990s.

Figure 7: Scrapbook Page with Archival Images of Shotgun Houses

3.5 Reflexivity

Before concluding this methodology chapter and moving on to my findings, it is important for me to take a moment to acknowledge my positionality, biases, and relationship to this research. As previously mentioned, I grew up in Jacksonville, FL, and my decision to center Black epistemologies in this research is directly related to my desire to elevate and validate the unique knowledge acquired from growing up Black in the South. In the past, my reflections on Jacksonville were shaped by what I did and did not have access to as a child and teenager in the city. However, while conducting this research, there was a delicate balancing act involved in connecting with some interviewees on shared points of frustration, such as the lack of nightlife and public transportation. I had to ensure that I maintained some neutrality to prevent the data collected from being skewed beyond my sampling choices and small sample size. Though in

many ways I was coming to this research with some knowledge in many ways, I had to decenter my experience as a former Jacksonville resident to recenter the experience of residents with a more current stake in the space. This research has challenged me to see Jacksonville through the lens of a planner, fostering a sense of curiosity and a desire to welcome solutions.

In undertaking this research, I aimed to leverage my identity as a Black woman from Jacksonville as an entry point to engage with residents. Additionally, I hoped to utilize my status as a graduate student to be taken seriously. However, I've come to realize that institutional affiliation can create a distance between the interviewer and the interviewee. Despite my intimate knowledge of Jacksonville as a former resident, this was often overshadowed by my role as a graduate student at MIT working on my thesis. In writing this thesis, my intention has been to embrace each aspect of my identity and use it to deepen my understanding of the topic at hand.

3.6 Conclusion

In conclusion, this qualitative research was uniquely designed to collect data through a mixed methods approach of observing, asking, and compiling. I utilized a three-phase data collection approach that mirrored the iterative process foundational to grounded theory. The discovery, investigation, and validation phases progressively increased in rigor and yielded a diverse range of data, including archival images, interviews, and field notes. These were analyzed through scrapbooking to create a more contextualized understanding of LaVilla.

This research was conducted within limited time and funding constraints, allowing only a surface exploration of Black Epistemologies in Jacksonville. Recognizing the challenges posed by the researcher-resident dynamic, trust-building emerged as a crucial aspect of the work. Given more time, I would have extended my stay in Jacksonville, immersing myself in various communities and conducting interviews with a broader range of individuals to gain deeper insights into LaVilla's history and culture. Additionally, I would have explored other institutions in LaVilla and Downtown Jacksonville, such as Bethel Baptist Church, the Clara White Mission, and LaVilla School of the Arts.

This methodology offers The Planner working on revitalization projects a unique approach to understanding a neighborhood through deep context and connecting with The Resident in a way that communicates dignity. This connection is best attained through trustworthy relationships. While The Planner may not have those relationships already established like I did or the time to be immersed as deeply as I was, using the three phases of discovery, investigation, and validation is an approachable way to begin immersion into a place. Referencing archives and encouraging communities to curate their history and stories through scrapbooks is a methodology that The Planner, interested in reparative planning, can use to center local knowledge and ensure historically engaged projects are responsibly contextualized.

Chapter 4: Findings

"I'm trying to give you something to take north with you,
along with all your great big dreams"

– Julie Dash, *Daughters of the Dust, 1991*

Most of my findings are visualized in the form of a scrapbook, located in Appendix B. However, during the construction of the scrapbook, I identified four distinct themes around automobiles, public space, recreation, and history. In the following subsections, four findings are made evident through select scrapbook pages supported by quotes and references from my interviews and conversations with residents in Jacksonville.

4.1 Finding #1

Cars are intricately tied to social life and access to public spaces for Black Jacksons.

Figure 8: Scrapbook Page with Archival Images of Cars and Car Ephemera

Vehicles came up frequently in this research: in the interviews, archival images, and in the observations and ephemera collected. This scrapbook page features a few archival images. The accession sheet in Appendix C describes the two archival images on the left as such:

> *(top) Exterior of a two-story duplex with a balcony and a sign depicting a black image of the continent of Africa and Malcolm X that reads Nile Valley.* (*bottom*) *Exterior of a light brown two-story house with dark brown trim and a balcony. There are five men sitting on the front porch. One car in the street and one car in the driveway.*

These porches and balconies depict a LaVilla that once had public and private spaces. They look underutilized from the images. However, one can infer that in the bottom image, those who are hanging out by the porch drove to that house and from somewhere else.

When I asked Mr. Forman what Black folks did in LaVilla in the 90s, he scowled his face, almost condescendingly. However, I had spent about 20 minutes speaking with him in The Ritz lobby and was able to pick up on his playful personality. I realized this facial expression meant he was about to offer what, to him, was the most obvious answer in the world: *"We didn't hang out here. LaVilla was to'e up![10]"* He told me people went to American Beach, Gateway Mall, and Regency Square Mall instead. While Gateway Mall was only 3 miles away, and a short car ride up I-95, and Regency Square Mall, across the river, approximately 8 miles away, American Beach, a historically Black beach north of Fernandina, was approximately 36 miles away from LaVilla. According to Mr. Forman, people would go to the beach and listen to music from their cars. In a following conversation, I asked Mr. Wallace what he knew about American Beach, and with very few words, he nodded and confirmed that this was where you could catch Black Jaxsons spending leisure time on the weekends. Though I grew up in Jacksonville and spent time in Jacksonville Beach, this was the first time I had heard of American Beach.

The small Black and white photo on the left of the page was collected from Ms. Dee. When she found this image, we were looking for pictures of beach life in Jacksonville. Coming

[10] "To'e up" or "tore up" is a way to say something was a mess, or ruined.

across this photograph of herself in Jacksonville in the 90s, she smiled and began to reminisce about her younger self. There was a feeling of nostalgia seeing herself hanging out of the roof of a car. A “coolness” that she was happy to remember. Additionally, that notion of coolness, leisure, and access to public spaces was also seen in one of the advertisements in the magazine that I sourced from 5 Points Vintage. The right page of the scrapbook features a Citgo advertisement with three cars in three scenarios. The advertisement reads, “Perfect for home runs, long drives, and quick passes.” Even in local magazines from the 90s, there was this culture around the car, which was the vehicle for social activity, leisure, and access to public spaces.

4.2 Finding #2

Adams Street once hosted a service and commercial business industry.

Figure 9: Scrapbook Page with Archival Images of Garages

Some of the archival images that I collected displayed garages and service centers in LaVilla. On the selected scrapbook page, there is a photo from 1996 of a white building and garage housing Helmco Cranes Hoists and Conveyors with a few cars in the lot. The second photo on the page from 1995 shows the exterior of a white building and garage housing a car detail shop. The shop says it does auto collision repairs, window tinting, custom painting, and mechanical repairs. In yellow font on the window of the building is an advertisement for "24KT GOLD ELECTROPLATING" services. Both buildings were located on West Adams Street in LaVilla.

When I used Are.na to look at other photographs of LaVilla under "West Adams Street," I saw another garage for the commercial printing business called Apex, as well as two other commercial buildings that were boarded up and one stucco commercial building that was under construction. According to Ennis Davis, West Adams Street was a commercial area that connected downtown Jacksonville and the LaVilla neighborhood with public markets, industry, and rail yards along Myrtle Avenue. One of the surviving businesses on this street is the Apex Printing Services, which is going on 60 years as a Wholesale-only to print and promo distributors business today. While the photos in the scrapbook depict an underutilized area, the sound structure of the buildings and the testimony of APEX surviving, suggest there was an opportunity for reuse and new investment in an already established commercial space rather than demolition that occurred under the River City Renaissance Plan enacted by Mayor Ed Austin.

4.3 Finding #3

The institutions of Football and the Church are also guardians of local history.

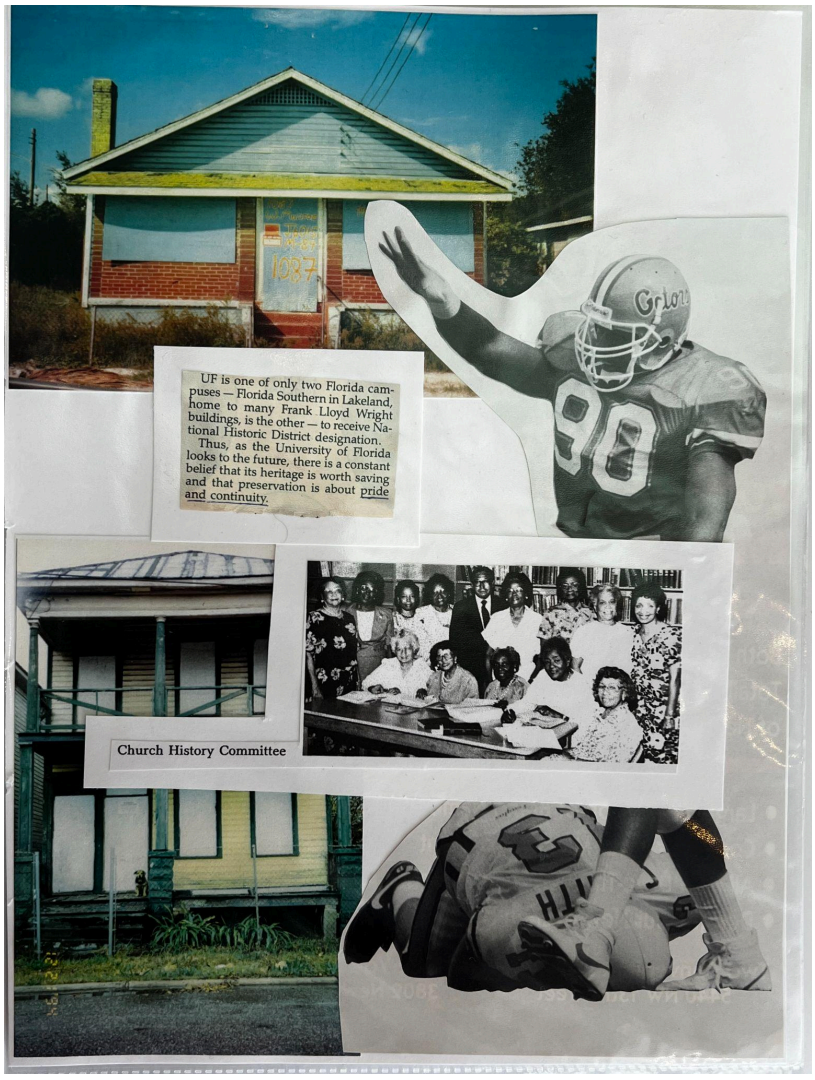


Figure 10: Scrapbook Page with Cutouts from Church Yearbooks and a Football Magazine

Sports play a pivotal role in Jacksonville culture. From church sports teams to the Jaguars, college football, and the longstanding tradition of hosting the Gator Bowl, sports unite people from all corners of the city, and football games are the time when Downtown Jacksonville is most integrated. This was revealed during my conversation with Mr. Forman and Ms. Bernadette at the Ritz.

"Before the Superbowl, people didn't come downtown….The Jaguars brought people downtown….Florida-Georgia weekend was when Jax was kickin."

Mr. Forman reminded me of the long-standing college football rivalry between the Florida Gators and the Georgia Bulldogs. The Florida-Georgia game has taken place in Jacksonville since 1933, 60 years before Jacksonville got its first NFL team, the Jacksonville Jaguars. Jacksonville was chosen as the location because the former Gator Bowl Stadium was easiest for both teams from Tallahassee, FL, and Athens, GA, to get to by train. After Forman spoke about the Florida-Georgia game, I searched for football ephemera at 5 Points vintage and found the official program from the November 10, 1990 Florida-Georgia Game. In the program was an article called "Florida Looks To The Future While Preserving Its Past." A blurb from the article reads:

"UF is one of the only Florida campuses–Florida Southern and Lakeland, home to many Frank Lloyd Wright buildings, is the other–to receive National Historic District designation. Thus, as the University of Florida looks to the future, there is a constant belief that its heritage is worth saving and that preservation is about pride and continuity."

In Jacksonville, Football is not just a sport but an Institution with traditions and a history that shape the city.

The Church is also an institution deeply intertwined with local history. I learned from my conversation with Ms. Bernadette that she and my grandfather, Mr. Wallace, served in the same choir at Bethel Baptist Church downtown. Bethel Baptist, also known as The Bethel Church, has over 14,000 members of their congregation and is pastored by Bishop McKissick Jr., son of the late Bishop McKissick SR., who pastored the church for 47 years from 1966 to 2013. Ms. Bernadette urged me to speak to Bishop Mckissick as she believed "he would be a good person to talk to about LaVilla." Bethel has served as the principal influence on the spiritual life of Jacksonville's black community and the city of metropolitan Jacksonville and surrounding areas

since 1868(Church, n.d.). This was affirmed when Mr Wallace shared several of his Bethel Baptist yearbooks from 1988-1996 for me to peruse through and scan. In the yearbook, I found that there were several committees and teams that members served on: the Decoration Committee, Family Showcase Committee, Church History Committee (photo featured in the selected yearbook), and the Archives Committee. Like the institution of football, the church is an institution that Black Jaxsons trust to tell their history and preserve their traditions.

4.4 Finding #4

Black Jaxsons do not talk about LaVilla in isolation but rather in reference to other places in Florida and the US.

Figure 11: Scrapbook Page with an Archival Image of a House Plastered with Shabba Ranks Promotional Posters

When I asked Ms. Brill about the history of LaVilla from her perspective, the first thing she told me was, “Well, some people call it the Harlem of the South.” She then began to recount some of the stories I had heard about Black artists performing in LaVilla in the 1940s. I found it

interesting that this moniker of "The Harlem of the South" was situating LaVilla in the South in reference to New York. This connection to other places outside of Jacksonville was underscored in my conversation with Ennis Davis. When I told him about the idea of scrapbooking and sourcing images to contextualize LaVilla, he supported the idea and shared that with the LaVilla Heritage Trail, he has had to explore archives outside of Jacksonville to learn about people who may have passed through Jacksonville during their time.

"We've got a ton of LaVilla images now, but to get them for the Heritage Trail Project, it was like, oh, you want James Weldon Johnson? All right. Their family photos and albums are held at Yale. So we've got to contact Yale. You know, A. Philip Randolph, you got to go to Chicago… Zora Neale, I mean, you got to Fort Pierce or Eatonville… And then you find out like, wow, this is a pretty impressive place that you just can't visualize today."

On a similar note, in my conversation with Forman, when I asked what kind of music people would listen to when they went to American Beach for leisure, I expected him to name local musicians or popular Florida rappers of the 1990s. I was surprised to hear him name Eric B and Rakim, and Public Enemy, popular rappers of the '90s from New York. I asked for clarification if there were any Florida rappers that were popular in Jacksonville in the '90s, to which he responded that sometimes Trick Daddy—an American rapper from Miami, FL—but for the most part, they listened to what everyone else listened to. This theme of LaVilla being connected to other places was further supported in the archives. In the selected archival image for this finding, a photo of the exterior of a two-story house with a balcony and a cinder block porch; the boarded-up doors and windows plastered with Shabba Ranks promotional posters. Shabba Ranks is a Jamaican dancehall artist, and in 1995 he released his album "A Mi Shabba." This archival image shows that the popularity of dancehall reached a soon-to-be-demolished LaVilla, further emphasizing that LaVilla was not isolated in its existence but had an established invisible network of culture connecting LaVilla to other places outside of Jacksonville.

Chapter 5: Discussion

"*As you enter positions of trust and power,*
dream a little before you think."

— Toni Morrison

5.1 Interpreting Findings

In the first finding from the research, I identified that cars are intricately tied to access to public spaces and the social life of Black Jacksonville residents. While conventional planning perspectives often view car ownership as an individualistic pursuit and an expression of self-regard, the findings suggest a deeper significance. LaVilla had been disinvested to the point of vacancy and peril, with boarded-up windows and rubble strewn about. Consequently, Black residents no longer had a safe neighborhood where they could enjoy leisure activities such as watching movies. They adapted to the systemic dismantling of an iconic Black neighborhood by seeking alternative spaces for joy, leisure, and play, such as the mall and the beach.

The manner of arriving at a public space was an integral part of the enjoyment. There was pride not only in owning a car but also in maintaining it, as it facilitated family outings to the beach, neighborhood barbecues, or tailgating at games. As conveyed in Finding 2, LaVilla had many garages and commercial buildings where people could get their vehicles serviced and detailed, indicating there was an economy around automobiles in the neighborhood. With a deeper understanding of Black residents' relationship to public spaces in LaVilla and Jacksonville, planners aiming to center Black epistemologies should contemplate how to reestablish a connection with LaVilla as a vibrant hub of social life and activity. How can the joy and cherished memories associated with visits to the mall or American Beach be translated into a new park built on the grounds of a fraught history? Although Lift Ev'ry Voice and Sing Park will serve as a memorial to the Johnson brothers, the data suggest that it should also be linked to the post-1920s realities of LaVilla.

The second finding from the research is that Adams Street was once a service and commercial business industry. And while LaVilla was called Harlem of the South, it is interesting that the memory or reputation attained wasn't also the “Black Wall Street of the South.” Before urban renewal, there was a commercial corridor in LaVilla, and many of the buildings were intact in the 90s when Mayor Ed Austin had them demolished. The data suggests that there was and still is a foundation for LaVilla to be an economically vibrant neighborhood again. This possibility was also alluded to in a conversation with Ennis. I asked him about some of the new townhomes, called Johnson Commons, that are being developed in LaVilla, directly across from where the finalized Lift Ev’ry Voice and Sing Park will be, and his response was that these houses are needed in order for residents to begin to introduce and sustain a mix of income in the neighborhood:

“*if you look into the history of the community [LaVilla], the community always had money. So, if you want the commercial districts to be vibrant again, you can't treat LaVilla like a sewer and dump nothing but cheap affordable housing in it where you're housing every concentrated version of poverty–which is basically like the project. So you can't do that either. You need to mix. Because that's what it was. This housing allows for people to come in and own a piece of the pie. Put some equity in the game*.”

While Hood Design Studio incorporated a small shotgun house on the birthsite of the Johnson brothers' home for the park, this design choice presents a misleading portrayal of both LaVilla and the Johnsons themselves. The brothers were raised in a middle-class household, residing in a substantial two-story home. While some archival photos depict one-story shotgun houses, many others depict larger, two-story residences. This distinction is significant because as revitalization efforts progress, it's crucial for residents and planners alike to remember the true essence of LaVilla. While it was undoubtedly a vibrant center for Black arts and culture, it was also a bustling hub of commerce, business, industry, and economic activity. Centering a future where wealth creation is prioritized for Black residents is intrinsically linked to the principles of reparative planning.

The research's third finding indicates that football and the Church serve as custodians of local history. Through my investigation, I uncovered that delving into the histories of football and churches can provide valuable context for understanding the neighborhood. The Gator Bowl and Bethel Church have been integral to Jacksonville for generations, and the Black residents I interviewed frequently referenced football and church with a sense of familiarity and trust. If football stadiums and churches can aid residents in spatializing their memories of a place, then planners should leverage their archives to gain deeper insights into the neighborhood's history. In the context of revitalizing LaVilla, I urge planners to consider how these trusted institutions can be integrated into the park design, thereby fostering trust in a previously vacant space through the involvement of familiar and reliable entities. This might involve Bethel Baptist Church or another local church hosting outdoor worship services or the Jaguars organizing a scavenger hunt for children in Lift Ev'ry Voice and Sing Park.

The fourth finding from the research is that Black Jaxsons do not talk about LaVilla in isolation but rather in reference to other places in Florida and the US. In other words, LaVilla is a cultural port. Historically, it has been a place of connection, where Black art is cultivated before it departs out further into the world. When people Black residents talk about LaVilla, it is only a matter of time before they reference Harlem in New York, their Gullah kin in South Carolina, or even American Beach on the coast of Jacksonville. LavVilla has long been a cultural exchange partner, and to know LaVilla is to know that there is an invisible web of connections that extends from the neighborhood across the map. Although LaVilla has been targeted by racist policies of the 20th century, the neighborhood and those who were impacted by it have a mighty influence and resilient reach.

I always wondered why all the great artists who were reared in or came through LaVilla never stayed: Augusta Savage, Ray Charles, Zora Neale Hurston, James Weldon, and John Rosamond Johnson. But history reminds us that the oppression of Jim Crow was dangerous and soul-crushing, and the first Great Migration allowed Black Southerners to escape the racist South and relocate up north in the pursuit of living more freely (Sullivan, 2022). That, too, is a part of the reality of LaVilla. The "Harlem of the South" was initially demolished by racism: from Jim Crow laws to "urban renewal" to the development of I-95 that tore through the middle of

LaVilla. Racism prevented the neighborhood from being a long-lasting safe haven for Black artists and intellectuals.

When planning to revitalize LaVilla, the Planner committed to transforming LaVilla into a place for Black artists to stay and make a name for themselves in Jacksonville must utilize the framework of reparative planning. The collective harm committed against LaVilla requires collective repair (Williams & Steil, 2023). They should also consider what redignification may look like in LaVilla–what cultural insights can be further materialized through collective action to create culturally relevant and authentic public spaces? How can Residents reclaim and embrace LaVilla's history as a port for cultural exchange? How can Planners support that work? At the end of this research, I was left with these questions that I hope Planners and Residents can begin to work through together.

5.2 Limitations

There are two major limitations in this study that could be addressed in future research. First, the study utilized a small sample size. Due to time constraints and limited access, I conducted interviews with only seven individuals, and transcribed recordings were available for only two of those interviews. For the remaining five conversations, I relied on notes. While informal interviews are appropriate for a city like Jacksonville, known for its casual atmosphere, and for working in neighborhoods that have been extensively studied yet underserved, there is a risk of losing data when these casual conversations are not recorded. In the future, I would ensure to record even unscheduled, informal conversations with informed consent.

The second limitation of this study was the constrained time available. Originally, I intended to host a community scrapbooking workshop to test the collectivity of redignification in real-time. This workshop would require Black residents of Jacksonville to join me at a public library, bringing printed images from their personal archives, and I would guide them through the process of scrapbooking their memories of LaVilla together. However, organizing this workshop remotely from Boston, with limited time in Jacksonville, required more time to promote it on social media and spread the word. Building rapport and relationships with strangers or

individuals with whom you have been distanced cannot be rushed. Although I paced my relationship-building through the three phases of data collection–observation, investigation, and validation–there was still a lingering suspicion, as I was perceived as a seemingly random young lady seeking personal experiences in LaVilla for her MIT thesis.

Zora Neale Hurston identified this challenge in "Mules and Men," where she discussed her earlier experiences researching folklore (1935). Returning to Eatonville, Florida, her hometown, for her second ethnographic project as a student at Barnard, Hurston became acutely aware of the difficulty of her work:

"*Folklore is not as easy to collect as it sounds. The best source is where there are the least outside influences and these people, being usually under-privileged, are the shyest. They are most reluctant at times to reveal that which the soul lives by. And the Negro, in spite of his open-faced laughter, his seeming acquiescence, is particularly evasive. You see we are a polite people and we do not say to our questioner, "Get out of here!" We smile and tell him or her something that satisfies the white person because, knowing so little about us, he doesn't know what he is missing* (Hurston, 1935, xviii)."

Hurston needed several attempts and a fully immersive experience in her hometown to gather the stories she knew were absent from the field of anthropology at the time. Similarly, the process of collecting these "scraps" requires time and the establishment of trust. In the future, I would engage local churches to assist in establishing relationships with individuals who could contribute to the visual data collection curated in the scrapbook, as well as the narrative data collected through interviews.

5.3 Takeaways for the Planner

I conclude this research with two main takeaways for the Planner. To start, LaVilla is a neighborhood that has been isolated in experience through targeted efforts of divestment and destruction. When seeking to revitalize this neighborhood and others with a similar history, it is essential to repair that isolation by considering its relationship to other geographies, from the Everbank Stadium downtown to the Apollo Theater in Harlem, New York. LaVilla is best represented when contextualized by the people who have shaped its identity. Beyond scrapbooking, redignification should be explored in other ways to fully maximize the potential of learning from local knowledge that can create distinct connections that inform reparative planning and design. Consider applying these mobility, recreation, history and culture findings to Transit Oriented Development (TOD), public space interventions to address vacancy, and even arts and cultural planning.

Additionally, prioritizing local talent in the revitalization efforts of LaVilla and Jacksonville yields greater benefits. Residents are requesting individuals who grasp Black Epistemologies intuitively, eliminating the need for extensive clarification. There is a unique Southern Black Epistemology that can and should inform planning alongside Black communities in the US South (Gordon, 1990). While transplants and visitors can offer valuable contributions, they must be committed to learning and fully immersing themselves in the unique culture of cities like Jacksonville. LaVilla, a neighborhood let down by unfulfilled promises, necessitates steadfast dedication and consistent action.

Chapter 6: Conclusion

Lest our feet stray from the places, our God, where we met Thee,
Lest, our hearts drunk with the wine of the world, we forget Thee;
Shadowed beneath Thy hand,
May we forever stand.
True to our God,
True to our native land.

– James Weldon Johnson, "Lift Ev'ry Voice and Sing"

This research holds dual significance directly for The Planner and The Resident, and extends beyond. On one hand, The Planner occupies a unique position and responsibility to shape the built environment in a manner that validates the worthiness of individuals and communities. Addressing the economic, social, and environmental harms suffered by neighborhoods and landscapes is a noble endeavor that must be undertaken with input from experts intimately acquainted with the space.

This is a call to plan and design with dignity at the forefront.

On the other hand, this thesis recenters The Resident who has been shoved in the margins and historically excluded from holding institutional power, excluded from decision making and excluded from The Archives. Black experiences must be archived and archives must be contextualized by Black experience. I offer redignification a way to reposition Black residents as co-authors of a tale only they can tell, co-producers of a resource only they could make and experts of a field that they collectively define.

This is a declaration that specialized knowledge, Black Epistemologies, Black Feminist Thought, are necessary and worthy.

Appendices

Appendix A: Glossary

archives:

The word archives (usually written with a lowercase a and sometimes referred to in the singular, as archive) refers to the permanently valuable records—such as letters, reports, accounts, minute books, draft and final manuscripts, and photographs—of people, businesses, and government. These records are kept because they have continuing value to the creating agency and to other potential users. They are the documentary evidence of past events. They are the facts we use to interpret and understand history. (*What Are Archives?*,n.d.)

Archives:

An Archives (often written with a capital A and usually, but not always, in the plural) is an organization dedicated to preserving the documentary heritage of a particular group: a city, a province or state, a business, a university, or a community. For example, the National Archives and Records Administration in the United States, Bentley Historical Library at the University of Michigan, The Coca-Cola Company Archives, and The Archives of the Episcopal Church are all responsible for the preservation and management of archives (*What Are Archives?*,n.d.)

Archive as a site of containment, erasure, exclusion, violence and opportunity for progressive activist histories and actors (Crockett, 2021)

Black Epistemologies:

A natural derivative of African-American epistemology which is the study or theory of the knowledge generated out of the African-American existential condition, that is, of the knowledge and cultural artifacts produced by African-Americans based on African-American cultural, social, economic, historical, and political experience (Gordon, 1990)

Black Feminist Thought:

Black feminist thought consists of theories or specialized thought produced by African-American women designed to express a black woman's standpoint. (Collins, 1990)

Black Radical Tradition:

The continuing development of a collective consciousness informed by the historical struggles for liberation and motivated by the shared sense of obligation to preserve the collective being, the ontological totality. (Robinson, 2020)

Jaxsons:

People that hail from Jacksonville, FL.

The Planner:

Denoted with a capital 'P', The Planner embodies a trained expert proficient in city planning, possessing authority rooted in knowledge acquired from their educational institution Within this framework, 'The Planner' serves as a comprehensive designation encompassing a spectrum of professionals, including planners, designers, architects, and other stakeholders trained to shape the built environment through strategic design, policy implementation, and innovative programs.

The Resident:

Denoted with a capital 'R', The Resident signifies the community members residing in a specific locality. They possess intricate knowledge about their neighborhood or city, though they may lack formal training as a 'planner'. While the roles of The Planner and The resident are not necessarily mutually exclusive, for the purpose of this research, they are regarded as distinct entities.

Redignification:

Coined from the verb 'redignify' and inspired by the lexicon of Emily Dickinson, it denotes the process of reinstating or enhancing the dignity, honor, and authenticity of an individual, location, or item. (Harris, 2024, xx)

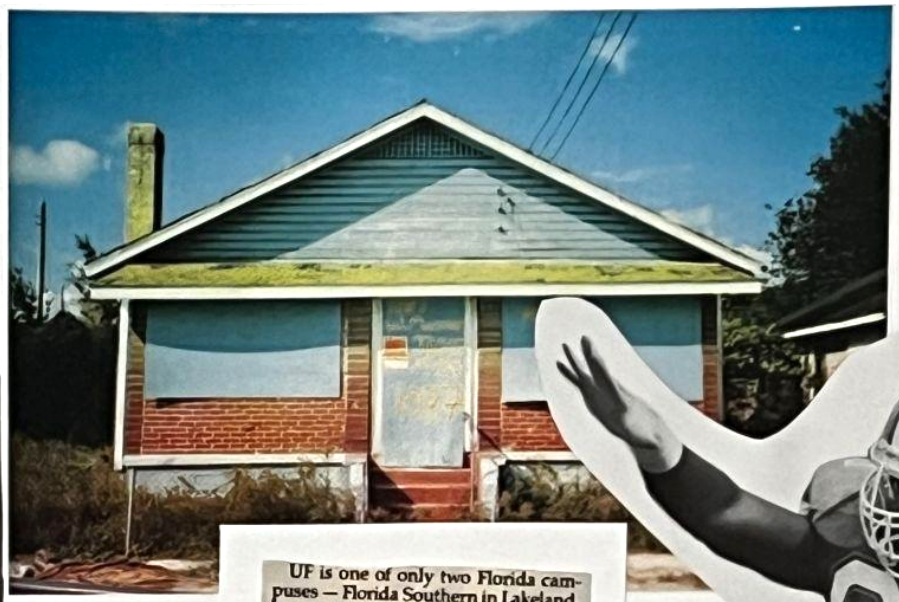
Reparative Planning:

A modern approach to city planning introduced by Rasahad Williams as a remedy to the historic tradition of racialized planning in America which is the public production of racialized space. Reparative planning offers a framework grounded in Black Radical tradition and offers an opportunity to focus on collective repair of collective harm. (Williams & Steil, 2023)

Scraps:

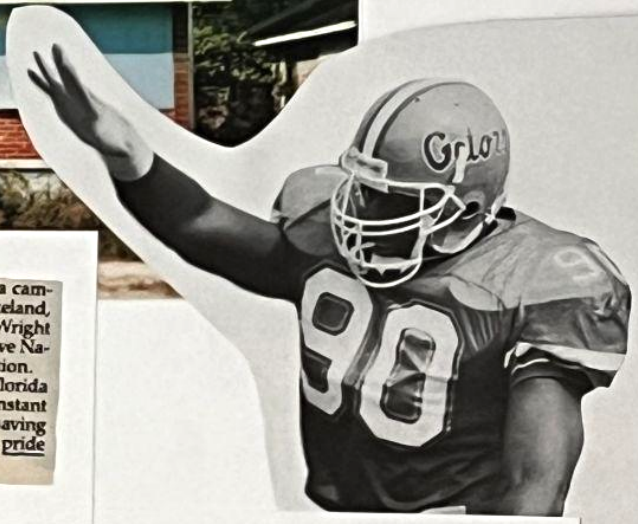
Fragments of data that are often overlooked or dismissed as insignificant, and are commonly discarded. These remnants can manifest physically as discarded materials like scrap metals or bits of paper, and they can also exist in intangible forms such as casual commentary, anecdotes, or isolated remarks.

Appendix B: Scrapbook Pages

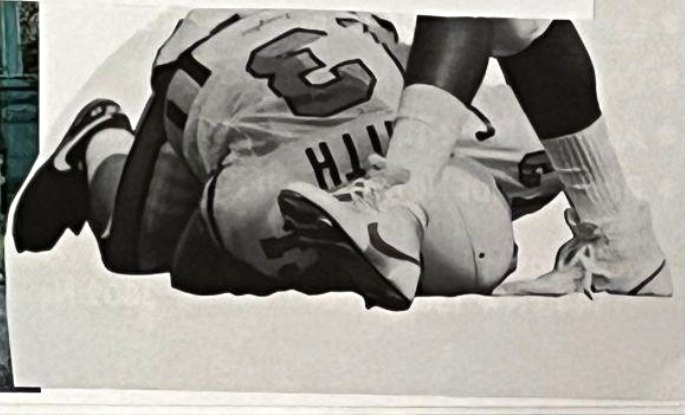


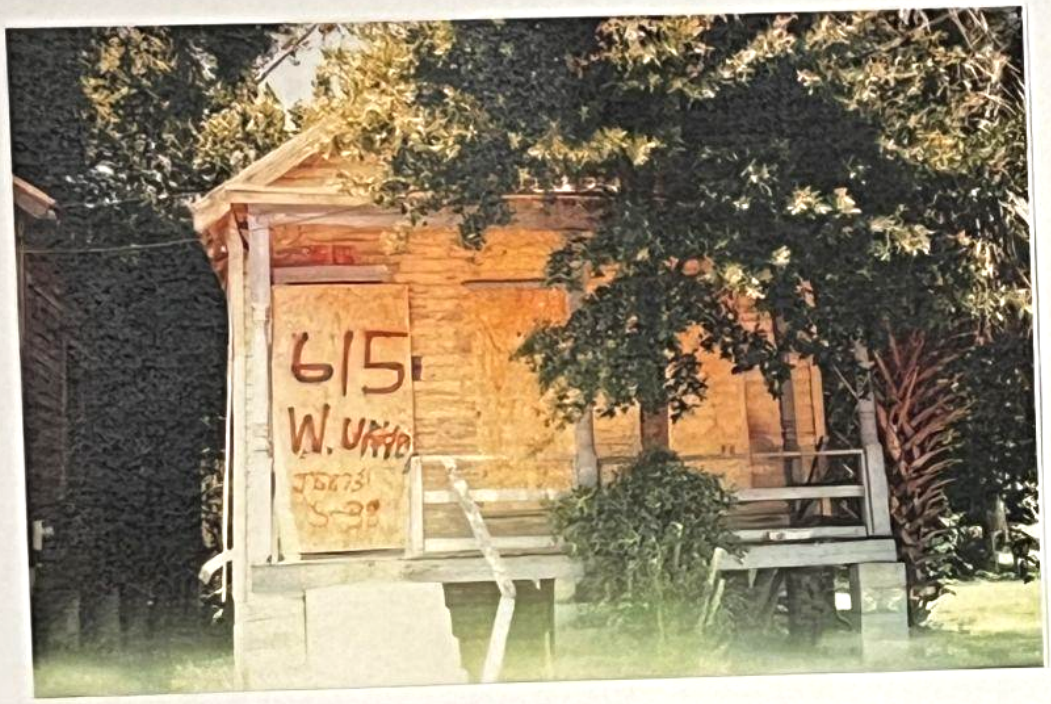
UF is one of only two Florida campuses — Florida Southern in Lakeland, home to many Frank Lloyd Wright buildings, is the other — to receive National Historic District designation.

Thus, as the University of Florida looks to the future, there is a constant belief that its heritage is worth saving and that preservation is about pride and continuity.



Church History Committee





always talk that a picture speaks a thousand words.

So, in a community like LaVilla, where you had so much, uh, urban renewal and demolition take place over a 50 to 60 year period, um, a lot of people today can't, they can't visualize even, you know, what this place was, uh, what the landscape was and as, you know, in this planning space. You know, if you don't know the past, it's really hard to plan for the future.

So when you, when you mentioned, like, a Lift Ev'ry Voice and Sing Park I know one of the big local pushbacks to the Hood design is moving the shotgun house to the birth site, of the Johnson brothers. And the reason is, is local people know that was not the East side. It wasn't Hanson town. It wasn't a working class community.

This is where the middle class black community was at during reconstruction. So, it was two story homes, big mansions that black people actually owned. But because all of that has been torn down, other than like the Mendez house on Monroe Street. The average person who visualizes a LaVilla today thinks, Oh, poor black people in shotgun homes.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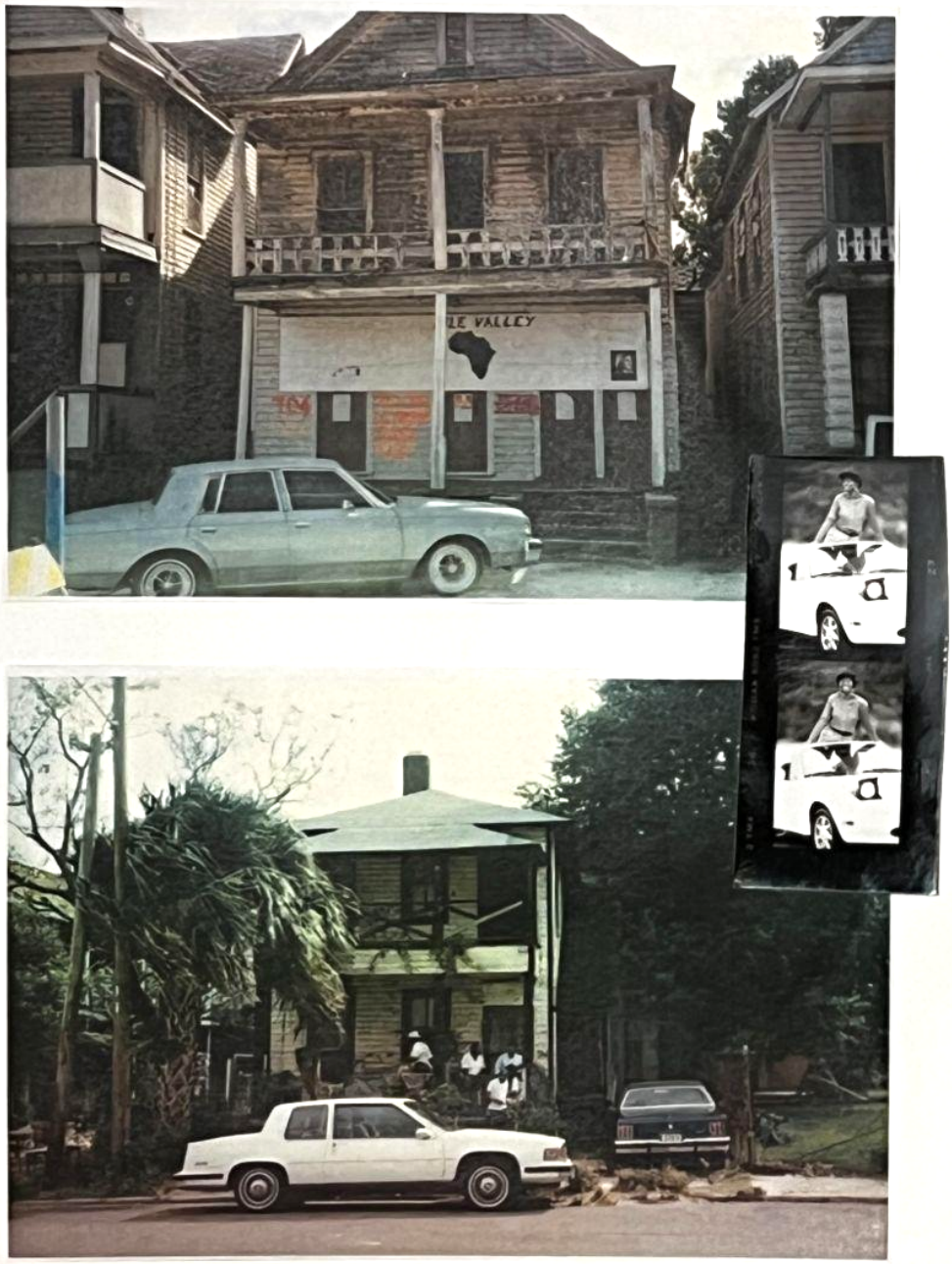

Archives Committee

Florida Looks To The Future While Preserving Its Past

While modern classrooms and high-tech laboratories are an integral part of the University of Florida campus, so too, is a six-block area set aside to recognize and preserve the splendor of the university's past.

"This part of our campus has been recognized for its architectural, historic and cultural significance by its listing on the National Register of Historic Places," said UF law professor Roy Hunt, who has served as chairman of the state's Historic Preservation Advisory Council. "It illustrates how special our campus is."

The National Register of Historic Places has recognized the historical significance of 21 UF buildings. Most of the buildings were built before 1925 and were designed by William A. Edwards, whose architectural style is known as "Collegiate Gothic." The campus historic district is bounded on the north by University Avenue, on the east by 13th Street, on the south by Stadium Road and on the west by North/South Drive.

"Most students and visitors alike are impressed with the 'sense of place' this campus has," said Hunt. "It makes the university more three-dimensional to know that Robert Frost often read his poetry in University Auditorium or William Jennings Bryan spoke to students in Floyd Hall," he said. The historic buildings offer architectural integrity to the campus environment and serve as a part of the heritage of the university and the state of Florida. To receive the prestigious National Historic Register designation, a building is usually at least 50 years old and has architectural, cultural or social significance. UF's buildings are recognized as having all three.

The importance of preserving the University of Florida's heritage has not been lost on the current administration, faculty or students. Most of the historic buildings have been restored and are currently used by faculty and students. Others are awaiting funds to restore them to habitable condition.

Intent on preserving the Collegiate Gothic look of the campus, the University of Florida's administration and campus planners have diligently tried to create a consistent and cohesive look by insuring that modern-day structures are compatible with the older buildings made of red brick and white stonework. Thus, when new buildings are constructed within the historic district or other campus boundaries, their presence is not jarring to the overall effect, but blends in with the existing campus architecture.

A land-grant university with a distinguished record of developing Florida agriculture into a national leader through research and extension services, the University of Florida has become one of America's truly distinctive universities. Now expanded into virtually every academic discipline, the University of Florida, along with Ohio State and the University of Minnesota, offers more academic programs on a single campus than any of the nation's other universities — public or private. Sixteen colleges and four schools offer UF students opportunity to major in almost any area.

In 1985, the University of Florida was admitted to the Association of American Universities (AAU), the most prestigious higher education organization in the nation. Comprised of the top 58 public and private universities in North America preeminent in graduate and professional teaching and research, the AAU invites only the best in higher education into its membership. The University of Florida is also ranked among the nation's 51 leading research universities as categorized by the Carnegie Commission on Higher Education.

University of Florida students, numbering 35,000, come from every county in the state, from every state in the union, and from more than 100 foreign countries. The quality of the student body at the Florida continues to grow each year. The 1989 freshman class had an average grade point average of 3.5 and an average SAT score of 1156 — more than 200 points above the national average. Ninety percent of entering freshmen are above the national mean of scores on standard entrance exams taken by college-bound students. UF ranks 4th in the nation among public universities in the number of entering National Merit and Achievement Scholars in attendance.

A distinguished faculty numbering 3,900 has been assembled from major universities from throughout the world to provide instruction and counseling to University of Florida students. Last year more than 1,800 UF faculty members were grant awardees and 70% of the faculty's grant proposals were successful, with more than $161 million in research and training grants acquired. Twenty-two faculty members have been selected to the National Academies of Science and/or Engineering, the Institute of Medicine or a counterpart in a foreign nation.

The Health Science Center, with its six colleges and its Shands Teaching Hospital as a major referral hospital for the entire state, is the site of expanding education and research activities. The Veterinary Teaching Hospital serves as the state's only major referral center for large and small animals.

The Institute of Food and Agricultural Sciences has Cooperative Extension offices in 67 Florida counties and operates 22 Research and Education Centers from Jay to Homestead. IFAS research and education programs bolster Florida's $35 billion-per-year food and agricultural industry, protect and enhance the state's natural resources and contribute to solving special problems of urban Florida.

The University of Florida is continuing its role as a statewide resource, providing the best in teaching, research and service to Florida citizens, but is seeking to expand its horizons as it functions in the "inner circle" of universities of national excellence.

Appendix C: Archival Accession Sheet

Accession Record

November 21, 2023 12:18 PM

Accession No	2023.6	**Status**	Accessioned
Source	Qore Property Sciences	**Primary Contact**	
Received As	Donation	**Receipt No**	
Received By		**Received Date**	
Accessioned By	Mitch Hemann	**Accessioned Date**	09/20/2023
Loan No		**Price or Value**	0.00
Address	3415 Kori Road Jacksonville, FL 32257	**Other No**	
Purpose			
Description of Items	174 4 x 6 photographs from Qore Property Sciences of commercial and residential properties in the neighborhood of LaVilla taken from 1994 to 1996 prior to demolition. This collection is arranged alphabetically then numerically by street address.		

Donors

Catalog Records - 174

	Object ID	Object Name	Title	Description
P	2023.6.1	Print, Photographic	801-803 W. Adams Street	Exterior of a brick two story building with a storefront for Currington's Rooming Houses.
P	2023.6.2	Print, Photographic	807 W. Adams Street	Exterior of a two story brick building painted blue.
P	2023.6.3	Print, Photographic	925 W. Adams Street	Exterior of a two story brick building.
P	2023.6.4	Print, Photographic	1001 W. Adams Street	Exterior of a white building and garage housing a car detail shop.
P	2023.6.5	Print, Photographic	1050 W. Adams Street	Exterior of a single story brick building.
P	2023.6.6	Print, Photographic	1062-1070 W. Adams Street	Exterior of a white building and garage housing Helmco Cranes Hoists and Conveyors.
P	2023.6.7	Print, Photographic	1065 W. Adams Street	Exterior of a one story stucco building under construction.
P	2023.6.8	Print, Photographic	1075 W. Adams Street	Exterior of a one story stucco building with an arched entrance.
P	2023.6.9	Print, Photographic	1078-1080 W. Adams Street	Exterior of a two story brick building with multiple storefronts.
P	2023.6.10	Print, Photographic	1111 W. Adams Street	Exterior of a one story white building with garage with the name Apex in red.
P	2023.6.11	Print, Photographic	715-717 N. Arthur Street	Exterior of a boarded up blue shotgun house duplex.
P	2023.6.12	Print, Photographic	721-723 N. Arthur Street	Exterior of a boarded up blue shotgun house duplex.
P	2023.6.13	Print, Photographic	644 W. Ashley Street	Exterior of a two story brick building commonly known as Genovar's Hall or the Lenape Bar. The second floor was once occupied by the Wynn Hotel.
P	2023.6.14	Print, Photographic	714 W. Ashley Street	Exterior of a two story building with multiple storefronts.
P	2023.6.15	Print, Photographic	973 W. Ashley Street	Exterior of a shotgun house with fading green paint.

	Object ID	Object Name	Title	Description
P	2023.6.16	Print, Photographic	977 W. Ashley Street	Exterior of a two story house with a front porch and a balcony. There is a small brown dog sitting on the porch.
P	2023.6.17	Print, Photographic	981-983 W. Ashley Street	Exterior of a two story house with a front porch and balcony.
P	2023.6.18	Print, Photographic	925 W. Bay Street	Exterior of a multi story brick building with boarded up windows and doors.
P	2023.6.19	Print, Photographic	1007 W. Bay Street	Exterior of a large three story brick building accented with checkered mosaic patterns.
P	2023.6.20	Print, Photographic	624 W. Beaver Street	Exterior of a two story white house with a tree in the front yard.
P	2023.6.21	Print, Photographic	626 W. Beaver Street	Exterior of a two story white house with green trim. There is a balcony on the second floor.
P	2023.6.22	Print, Photographic	632 W. Beaver Street	Exterior of a green house obscured by foliage.
P	2023.6.23	Print, Photographic	634 W. Beaver Street	Exterior of a house almost completely obscured by foliage.
P	2023.6.24	Print, Photographic	636 W. Beaver Street	Exterior of a dark colored house with a tree in the front yard.
P	2023.6.25	Print, Photographic	638 W. Beaver Street	Exterior of a yellow house with a boarded up door.
P	2023.6.26	Print, Photographic	719 W. Beaver Street	Exterior of a two story white house with boarded up windows and a large tree in the front yard.
P	2023.6.27	Print, Photographic	721 W. Beaver Street	Exterior of a two story green house with white trim. There is a balcony on the second floor.
P	2023.6.28	Print, Photographic	722-724 W. Beaver Street	Exterior of a brick two story building with a balcony on the second floor.
P	2023.6.29	Print, Photographic	725-727 W. Beaver Street	Exterior of a two story green house with a balcony on the second level.
P	2023.6.30	Print, Photographic	726 W. Beaver Street	Exterior of a brown two story house with a balcony on the second level. There is a clothesline on the balcony with clothes drying.
P	2023.6.31	Print, Photographic	729 W. Beaver Street	Exterior of one dark gray house and one green house. Both houses are two story with balconies.
P	2023.6.32	Print, Photographic	730 W. Beaver Street	Exterior of a house light colored house with boarded up door and windows.
P	2023.6.33	Print, Photographic	733 W. Beaver Street	Exterior of a white house with pink trim.
P	2023.6.34	Print, Photographic	734 W. Beaver Street	Exterior of a cream colored house with boarded up door and windows.
P	2023.6.35	Print, Photographic	736 W. Beaver Street	Exterior of a cream colored house with some discoloring.
P	2023.6.36	Print, Photographic	737 W. Beaver Street	Exterior of a house with peeling paint and boarded up door and windows.
P	2023.6.37	Print, Photographic	738 W. Beaver Street	Exterior of a white house with a man sitting on the front porch.
P	2023.6.38	Print, Photographic	740 W. Beaver Street	Exterior of a green house with boarded up door and window.
P	2023.6.39	Print, Photographic	741 W. Beaver Street	Exterior of a white house with boarded up door and windows. A man is standing on the sidewalk in front of a white car.
P	2023.6.40	Print, Photographic	755 W. Beaver Street	Exterior of a large white house with a red roof.
P	2023.6.41	Print, Photographic	759 W. Beaver Street	Exterior of a white two story house almost completely obscured by foliage.

	Object ID	Object Name	Title	Description
P	2023.6.42	Print, Photographic	801 W. Beaver Street	Exterior of a two story brick apartment building with a long porch and balcony.
P	2023.6.43	Print, Photographic	805 W. Beaver Street	Exterior of a light blue two story house with a white porch with a sign that reads Seaside Fish Market.
P	2023.6.44	Print, Photographic	829 W. Beaver Street	Exterior of a one story commercial building with a canopy. A sign above reads Pelican Liquors.
P	2023.6.45	Print, Photographic	903 W. Beaver Street	Exterior of a small one story brown building.
P	2023.6.46	Print, Photographic	957 W. Beaver Street	Exterior of a white shotgun house with peeling paint.
P	2023.6.47	Print, Photographic	959 W. Beaver Street	Exterior of a yellow one story house with peeling paint.
P	2023.6.48	Print, Photographic	961 W. Beaver Street	Exterior of a yellow shotgun house with peeling paint.
P	2023.6.49	Print, Photographic	963 W. Beaver Street	Exterior of a green shotgun house with peeling paint.
P	2023.6.50	Print, Photographic	324 N. Broad Street	Exterior of a two story cream colored brick commercial building with a storefront on the first floor. A sign above the door reads For Sale Edico and there's a barbershop next door.
P	2023.6.51	Print, Photographic	716 W. Church Street	Exterior of a two story duplex with a balcony on the second level.
P	2023.6.52	Print, Photographic	729 W. Church Street	Exterior of a white house with light blue trim.
P	2023.6.53	Print, Photographic	748 W. Church Street	Exterior of a shotgun house with plywood replacing a missing porch rail. The image is blurred.
P	2023.6.54	Print, Photographic	916 W. Church Street	Exterior of a two story house with boarded up windows, missing porch rails and a collapsing balcony.
P	2023.6.55	Print, Photographic	923 W. Church Street	Exterior of a green shotgun house with boarded up windows and door.
P	2023.6.56	Print, Photographic	925 W. Church Street	Exterior of a green shotgun house with boarded up windows and door.
P	2023.6.57	Print, Photographic	929 W. Church Street	Exterior of a green shotgun house with boarded up windows and door.
P	2023.6.58	Print, Photographic	939 W. Church Street	Exterior of a brick two story building with storefronts on the first level and apartments above. Two men are outside on the sidewalk and a retail sign reads Marys Tarvern (Mary's Tavern).
P	2023.6.59	Print, Photographic	139 N. Davis Street	Exterior of a one story brick industrial building with a sign that reads The Southern Piston Ring Co. and Southern Crankshaft and Engine Co.
P	2023.6.60	Print, Photographic	223 N. Davis Street	Exterior of a one story brick commercials building with a sign that reads Nita's Place.
P	2023.6.61	Print, Photographic	300 N. Davis Street	Exterior of a large three story brick building with a fire escape attached.
P	2023.6.62	Print, Photographic	708 1/2 N. Davis Street	Exterior of multiple two story commercial buildings. One of the storefronts has a sign the reads L and J's Diner.
P	2023.6.63	Print, Photographic	801-807 N. Davis Street	Exterior of a commercial building with multiple storefronts.
P	2023.6.64	Print, Photographic	802 N. Davis Street	Exterior of a two story brick building with a storefront below and apartments above. The sign above the door reads Your Variety Grocery.
P	2023.6.65	Print, Photographic	809-815 N. Davis Street	Exterior of several storefronts with boarded up windows and doors.
P	2023.6.66	Print, Photographic	814 N. Davis Street	Exterior of a one story commercial building that is believed to have once been Daylight Grocery.

	Object ID	Object Name	Title	Description
P	2023.6.67	Print, Photographic	816-824 N. Davis Street	Exterior of two storefronts with apartments above. The signs read Lu's Place and Hick's Place.
P	2023.6.68	Print, Photographic	817-825 N. Davis Street	Exterior of three boarded up storefronts.
P	2023.6.69	Print, Photographic	628 W. Duval Street	Exterior of a structure demolished to rubble and a two story green house next to it with major structural damage.
P	2023.6.70	Print, Photographic	638 W. Duval Street	Exterior of a two story house with a balcony. A man is standing on the street next to a white van.
P	2023.6.71	Print, Photographic	728-730 W. Duval Street	Exterior of a two story house with a balcony.
P	2023.6.72	Print, Photographic	732-734 W. Duval Street	Exterior of a two story white house with a balcony. A portion of a green house is seen next door.
P	2023.6.73	Print, Photographic	751 W. Duval Street	Exterior of a light green duplex with a balcony and boarded up windows and doors.
P	2023.6.74	Print, Photographic	763 W. Duval Street	Exterior of a small green storefront. The sign reads Green Front Tavern and Confectionary.
P	2023.6.75	Print, Photographic	763 W. Duval Street	Exterior of two story white house with a balcony. The address is the same as the Green Front Tavern, which suggests one of these addresses is inaccurate.
P	2023.6.76	Print, Photographic	822 W. Duval Street	Exterior of a one story house obscured by foliage.
P	2023.6.77	Print, Photographic	918-922 W. Duval Street	Exterior of a blue two story duplex with white trim and a balcony.
P	2023.6.78	Print, Photographic	924 W. Duval Street	Exterior of a blue two story duplex with white trim and a balcony. The windows and doors are boarded up and there is a makeshift basketball hoop mounted to a telephone pole.
P	2023.6.79	Print, Photographic	930 W. Duval Street	Exterior of a blue two story house with white trim and a balcony. The windows and door is boarded up and a portion of a matching house is next door.
P	2023.6.80	Print, Photographic	932-934 W. Duval Street	Exterior of a blue two story house with white trim and a balcony. The windows and doors are boarded up.
P	2023.6.81	Print, Photographic	1004-1006 W. Duval Street	Exterior of a dark two story house with boarded up windows and doors.
P	2023.6.82	Print, Photographic	1007 W. Duval Street	Exterior of a two story white brick building with green trim and a balcony. There is a storefront on the first level.
P	2023.6.83	Print, Photographic	1008-1010 W. Duval Street	Exterior of a two story house with a balcony.
P	2023.6.84	Print, Photographic	1016 W. Duval Street	Exterior of a white two story house with a balcony and boarded up windows.
P	2023.6.85	Print, Photographic	1026 W. Duval Street	Exterior of a green two story house with white trim and a balcony.
P	2023.6.86	Print, Photographic	1005 W. Forsyth Street	Exterior of a large two story commercial building taking up most of the block. There is a For Sale sign mounted on the upper level.
P	2023.6.87	Print, Photographic	735 N. Houston Street	Exterior of a white brick one story building with a loading dock.
P	2023.6.88	Print, Photographic	600 Jefferson Block	Exterior of a green shotgun house obscured by a tree in the yard.
P	2023.6.89	Print, Photographic	701 N. Jefferson Street	Exterior of a three story brick commercial building with multiple boarded up storefronts.
P	2023.6.90	Print, Photographic	710 N. Jefferson Street	Exterior of a grey shotgun house with an enclosed porch and a broken screen door.
P	2023.6.91	Print, Photographic	718 N. Jefferson Street	Exterior of a blue shotgun house with white trim and lattice work.

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