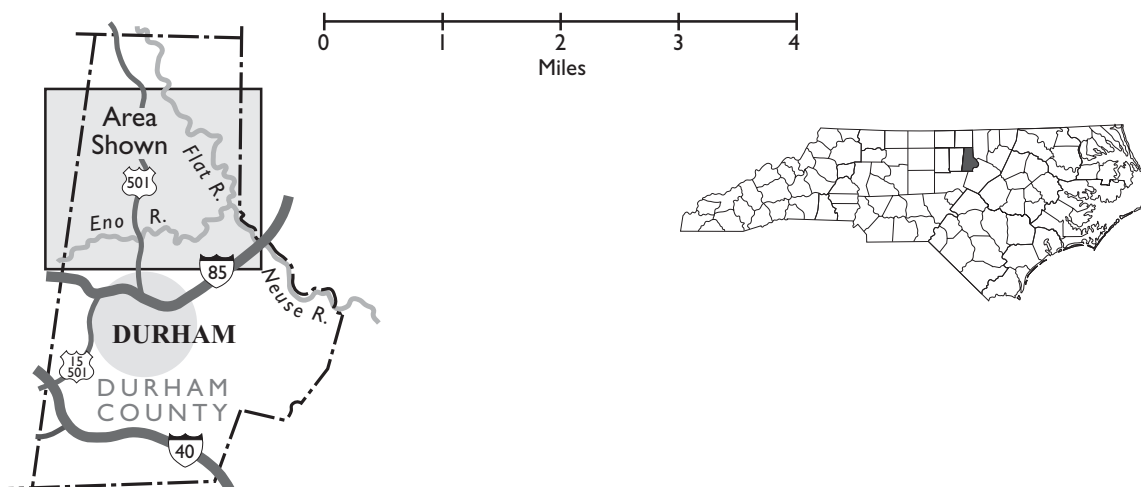
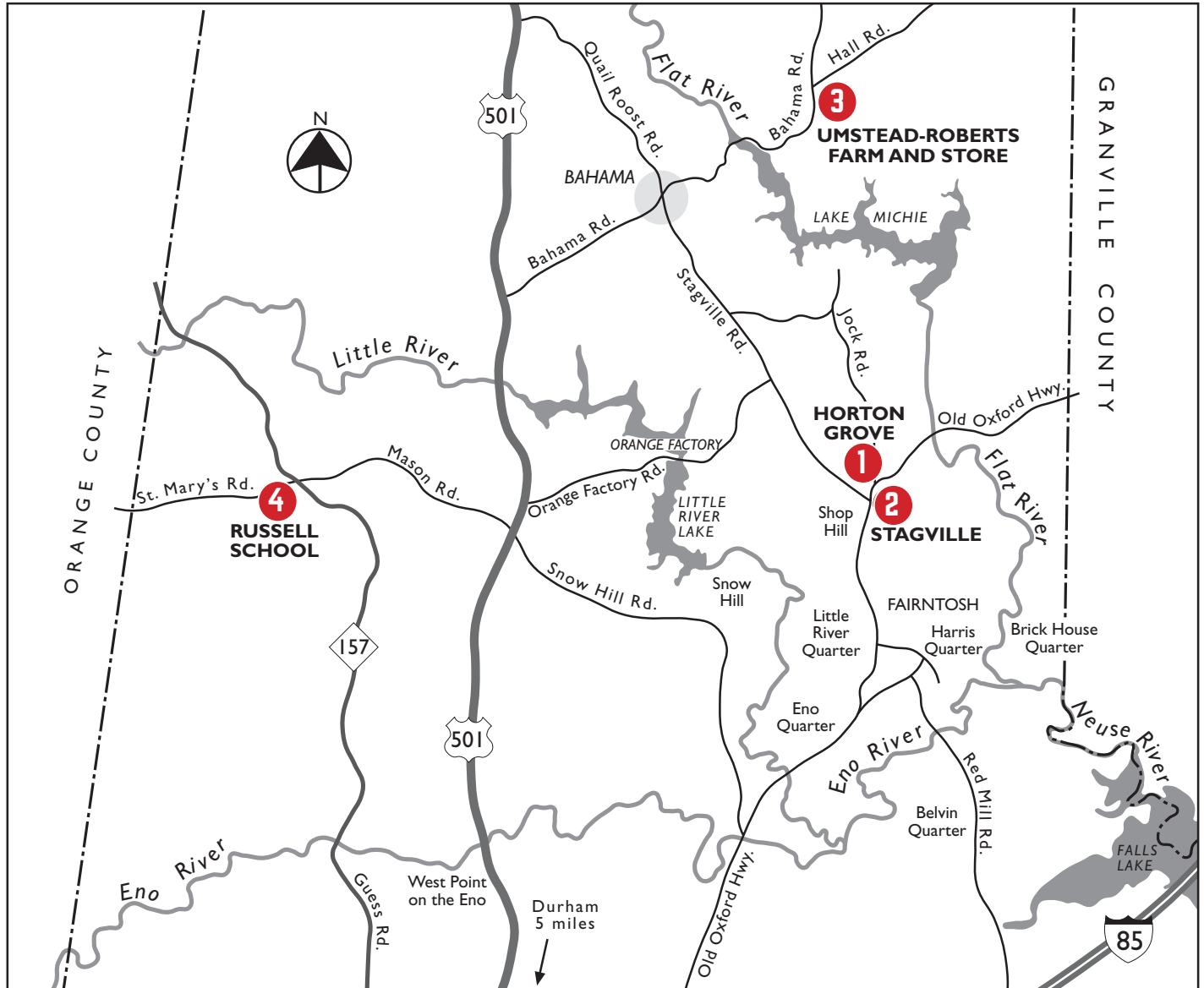


FROM FARM TO FACTORY IN DURHAM COUNTY AND THE CITY OF DURHAM



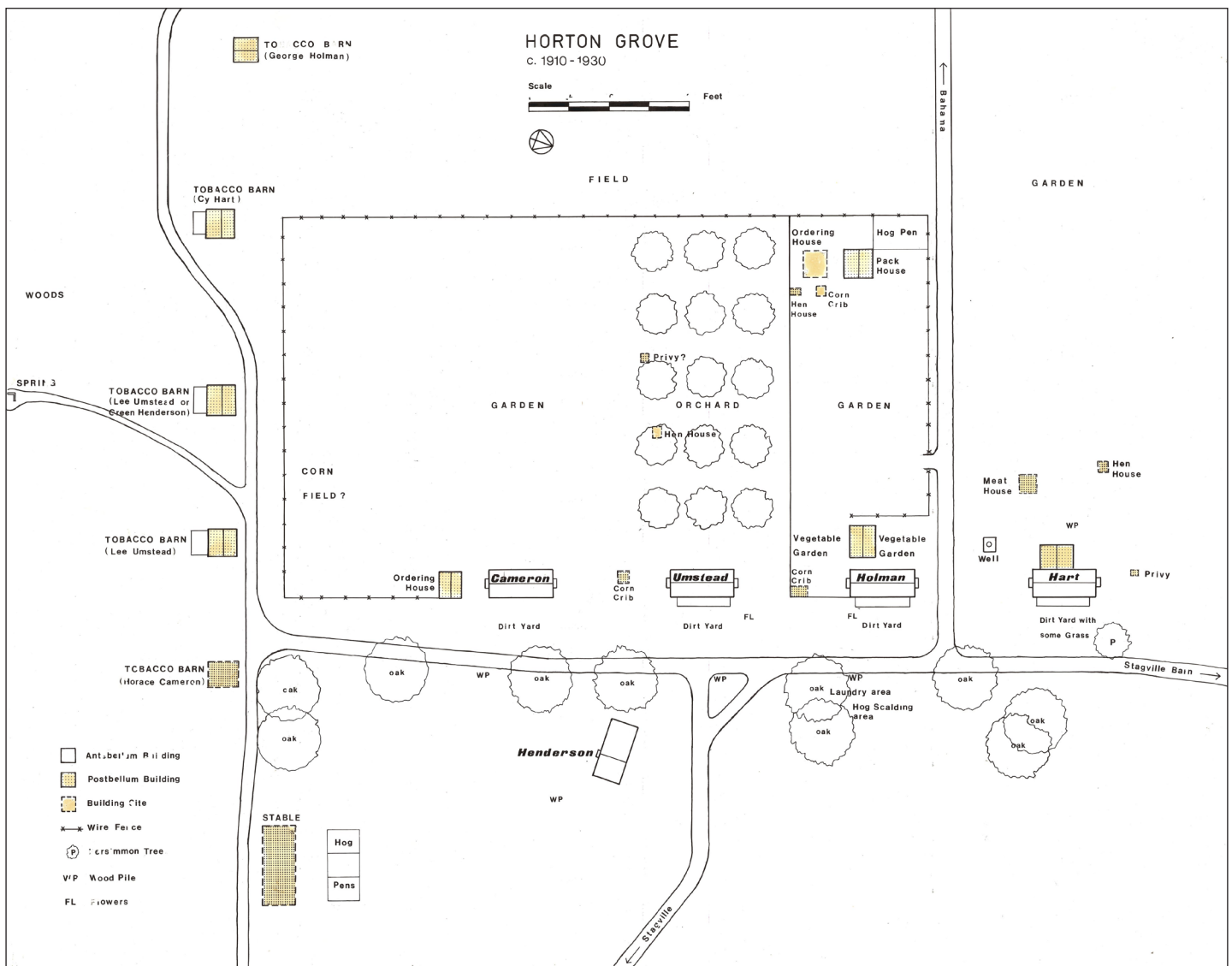
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MAP OF NORTHERN DURHAM COUNTY TOUR SITES



Two plantation centers of the immense Bennehan-Cameron holdings here—Horton Grove and Stagville—have been preserved as a State Historic Site, while the formerly agricultural land that once extended for miles around them has been developed. There are two representative landowners' houses of the early national period, but most striking are the unusual examples of late antebellum buildings at Horton Grove: four 2-story frame slave dwellings and a massive, frame stable/barn that constitute a remarkable survival from antebellum plantation life and the decades that followed. Although thousands of rural slave quarters once existed in the state, few still stand, and none rival these in size and substance. The extensive Cameron family plantations once had several centers with slave dwellings, agricultural buildings, and other structures in proximity to the fields; many of these buildings continued in use and survived into the mid to late 20th century but have been lost in recent decades.

Despite the survival of Cameron family records including lists of enslaved people, no documents have been found to indicate the names of the enslaved individuals or families



Horton Grove site plan. Carl Lounsbury and George McDaniel, 1980.

who lived in these four dwellings. Far more is known of the white family, especially the men, including planter Paul Cameron, who developed and operated the plantation and took pride in building substantial quarters and a stable that was the largest in the county. In addition, oral histories have recorded information about the families who lived here in freedom into the 20th century.¹

Buildings

The buildings at Horton Grove embody Paul Cameron's sense of himself as a progressive planter, however oxymoronic that phrase might seem today. Among the wealthiest men and largest planters in North Carolina, he was a supporter of railroads, education, and industrial development, and he took a strong interest in "scientific" farming and in an 1854 address to Orange County agriculturalists promoted the picturesque "rural architecture" popularized by A. J. Downing. A member of the state agricultural society, he subscribed to southern agricultural journals that advocated substantial and sanitary housing to safeguard the health of enslaved people. In contrast to many planters who built rude slave quarters and sometimes replaced them every few years for health reasons, Cameron wanted sturdily built houses as a means of reducing disease; his correspondence notes frequent improvements to the slave quarters on his plantations. The examples at Horton Grove were among several similarly built slave dwellings on Cameron's land, but these are the only ones that survived beyond the 1980s.

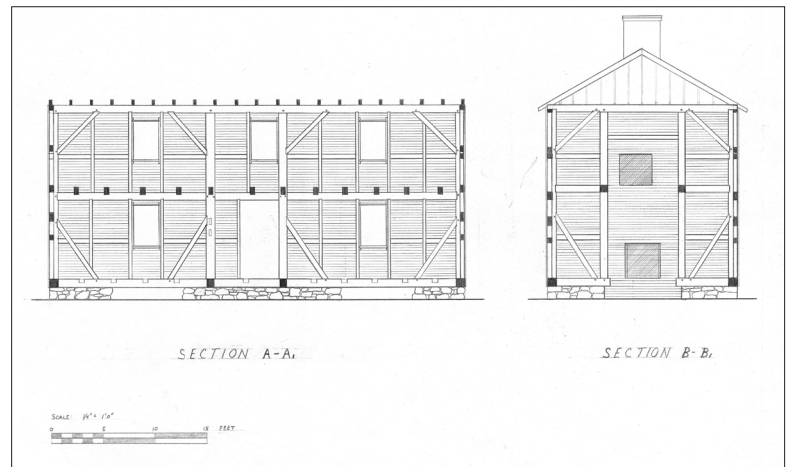
The four surviving slave dwellings at Horton Grove, which date from ca. 1859-1860 according to dendrochronology, are constructed of timber frame infilled with brick nogging, which provided insulation and possibly discouraged rodents. Although this technique is rare in the state, it also appears in the earlier 19th-century kitchen at the Cameron family's Fairintosh Plantation and it was used in other Cameron plantation buildings now lost. At three of the houses, vertical board and batten cover the exterior walls, a treatment perhaps inspired by A. J. Downing's promotion of the material in the picturesque mode; the sawn wood was also readily available from local sawmills. A remodeling of the house at the east end of the row in the late 19th or early 20th century entailed the application of horizontal weatherboards.



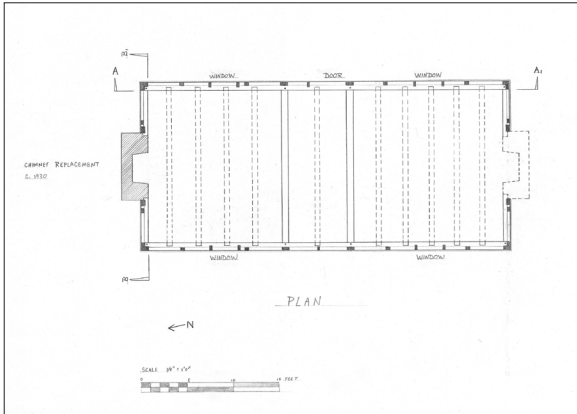
Horton Grove complex. Photo: Bill Garrett, 2013.



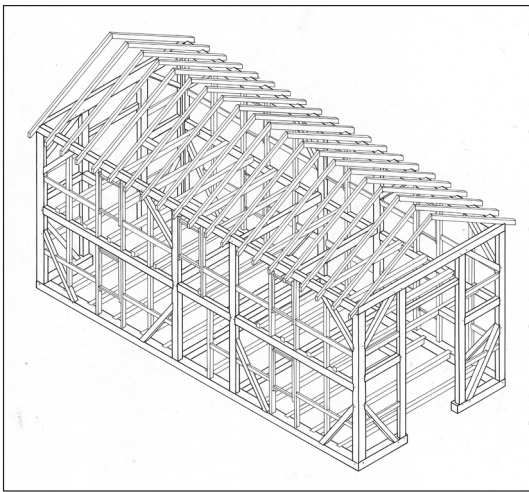
Horton Grove complex. Photo: Bill Garrett, 2013.



Sections, Horton Grove slave house (Holman House). Drawing: Carl Lounsbury and Susan Lounsbury, 1981.



Plan, Horton Grove slave house (Holman House).
Drawing: Carl Lounsbury and Susan Lounsbury, 1981.



Framing, Horton Grove slave house. Drawing: Carl Lounsbury, 1980.

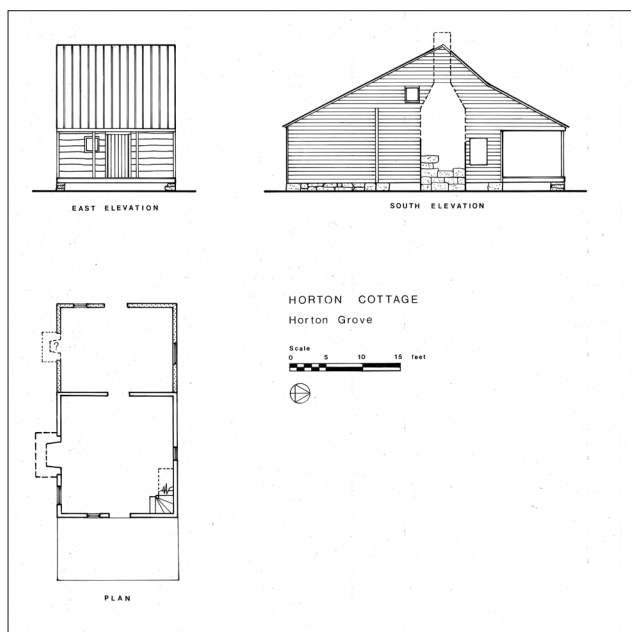
Each dwelling contains a center stair passage flanked in each story by two rooms which measure 17 by 17 ½ feet. The rooms are heated by brick chimneys and have plank floors, with the first floor level a few feet above the ground—a contrast with some slave quarters set close to the ground or with earthen floors. The inside walls were simply whitewashed. It is believed that each of the four rooms served as a dwelling unit for a family: the front windows in the first story were originally doors into the first-floor units, while the central door led to the upstairs units.

After freedom came, the four-unit buildings were converted to single-family tenant houses and minimally upgraded with interior sheathing or ceilings, mantels, and probably glass windows instead of shutters. Their use in freedom, far longer than the brief period as slave dwellings, is an important chapter in the history of the rural South.

Located in the same complex, and possibly used for a time as a slave dwelling, is a much earlier house known as the Horton Cottage, built in the late 18th or early 19th century, probably for the farm family from whom Paul Cameron's uncle, Thomas Bennehan, acquired the property in 1823. Built of plank construction covered in weatherboards, it is topped by a steep gable roof that extends to shelter the front porch. It has one main room plus a rear shed and an attic reached by a corner stair. Indicative of its early owner's status is the neat if plain workmanship including planed interior sheathing and beaded ceiling joists.

The so-called "Great Barn" at Horton Grove is among the largest and most imposing antebellum agricultural buildings still standing in the state. In September 1860, Paul wrote to his father-in-law, Thomas Ruffin, a fellow advocate of progressive agriculture, "I have a great wish to show you the 'best stables' ever built in Orange [County] 135 feet long covered with cypress shingles at a cost of \$6 per thousand." His comment correlates with the building's dendrochronology date of 1859-1860.

The large frame barn and stables consists of a central hip-roofed block and flanking lower sections, built of hewn and pit-sawn timbers and covered in board and batten—"V. [vertical] w/boarding," as Cameron called it, which was milled locally. A central entrance opens into a runway that intersects an aisle running the full length of the building. The heavy roof structure, with a modified queen post truss system, is a tour-de-force of the carpenter's craft. Although enslaved workers doubtless accomplished much of the work of hewing



Elevations and plan, Horton Grove cottage. Drawing: Carl Lounsbury and George McDaniel, 1980.

and sawing the timbers and raising the heavy frame, no evidence has yet surfaced as to the identity of the black or white master craftsmen who planned and managed the construction of the large and complex building.

A short distance away, the Stagville Plantation House built for merchant-planter Richard Bennehan and his wife Mary Amis—Paul Cameron’s grandparents—survives at a site that once included numerous agricultural buildings and slave quarters. The conservatively finished frame house, constructed in two clearly defined stages, illustrates the relatively modest early houses of most planters in the area.

The older (right-hand) section (ca. 1790) a single story tall with an attic and follows a hall-parlor plan—a standard form during the 18th century. It was probably built by local house carpenter Martin Palmer. In 1799 Richard Bennehan, who by that time owned nearly 4,000 acres and 42 adult slaves, built a more formal, 2-story side addition containing a passage and a large entertaining room. Both parts of the house have robust but not ornate late-Georgian finish including such high-quality carpentry as molded window and door sills. Nearby is a family cemetery. The visitor center is a modern structure for the operation of the State Historic Site. Over the years, the plantation house has been altered, including its chimneys. Its representative form and scale and its relationship to Horton Grove, however, remain intact.

History

Located between the Little River, which is a tributary of the Eno River, and the Flat River, which joins the Eno to form the Neuse River, the well-located Stagville Plantation including Horton Grove was part of the more extensive Bennehan-Cameron plantation lands in several counties. These had been assembled by Paul Cameron’s grandfather, uncle, and father, as well as himself, in a pattern of property consolidation common in the antebellum era, though seldom on such a large scale.

When Paul Cameron’s grandfather, Richard Bennehan (1743-1825), arrived in the area from Virginia in 1768 to work in a store beside the road that followed the great trading path from Petersburg, Virginia, to Georgia, there were numerous small and middle-sized farming operations in the locale, including those of such families as the Staggs and the Hortons whose names stayed with the land. Until Durham County was formed in 1881, this area was part of Orange County, of which Hillsborough is the county seat.



Horton Grove "Great Barn." Photo: Bill Garrett, 2013.



Horton Grove "Great Barn" framing. Photo: Bill Garrett, 2013.



Stagville Plantation House. Photo: Bill Garrett, 2013.

Seeking opportunity beyond that he had found in Virginia, Bennehan began to buy land and slaves, and in 1777 he married wisely, to Mary Amis (1756-1812), a member of a leading planter family in northeastern North Carolina who brought several slaves to the marriage. Richard continued to increase his property, including buying land from the Stagg family strategically located on the old road. He established a successful store there, and soon he and Mary built a home nearby at what they called the Stagville plantation. Like Richard, his son Thomas Bennehan (1782-1847), who resided at Stagville, continued to expand the holdings, including a nearby Horton family's farm in 1823, which became the plantation center known as Horton Grove. Over the years, the Bennehan and Cameron families' enslaved farm workers produced diverse crops, including corn and some cotton for home use and tobacco and especially wheat for sale. The plantations also included a sawmill and other operations.

Richard gave to his son-in-law, Duncan Cameron (1777-1853), who wed Rebecca Bennehan (1778-1843) in 1803, a neighboring tract that became the core of the Fairntosh plantation. Duncan, a Virginia-born lawyer of Scots ancestry who became a banker as well as a planter, expanded his fortune to become one of the richest men in the state. Duncan and Rebecca Cameron's son Paul tried the practice of law but found his calling as a planter. He too married well, to Anne Ruffin (1814-1897), daughter of prominent Hillsborough jurist and agriculturalist Thomas Ruffin. Rather than being divided among many heirs, much of the family fortune in land and slaves would funnel into Paul's hands and earn him the reputation of the wealthiest man in the state.

Several years before Paul built the slave quarters and stable at Horton Grove, he had inherited the Stagville plantation (including the old Horton farm) and other property from his unmarried uncle, Thomas Bennehan. He and his siblings, whose holdings he managed, also inherited extensive property from their father Duncan Cameron. Paul and his wife and children made their home at the Fairntosh plantation as well as in Hillsborough. At its height, Paul Cameron's property in North Carolina encompassed some 30,000 acres and as many as 900 enslaved people. In 1860, after sending many slaves to his plantations in Alabama, Paul owned about 600 people in North Carolina.

After the Civil War brought freedom, Paul Cameron was forced to negotiate new arrangements with formerly enslaved people to farm his land. Initially he sought to replicate the conditions of slavery as nearly as possible, but the freedpeople refused to comply, and eventually new arrangements were made. Even after the war, Paul continued to be one of the wealthiest men in the state. His son Bennehan Cameron inherited the Fairntosh and Stagville plantations, where tenant farmers and farm managers produced diverse crops including tobacco and Bennehan engaged in stock raising and horse racing.

Although many of the former Cameron slaves left, others and their descendants continued to reside at Horton Grove and other nearby sites into the 1940s and beyond. White tenants occupied some former slave quarters elsewhere on the plantation, but at Horton Grove, the postwar tenants were black families farming tobacco. Several tobacco curing barns once stood in the complex.

Stagville Plantation, like Fairntosh, retained its rural character and many of the plantation buildings until the late 20th century, when most of the area was developed as Treyburn, a planned unit development of industrial complexes, a golf course, residential subdivisions, and a school. A small portion of the Stagville plantation, including the Horton Grove complex, was transferred to the state as a State Historic Site, which has become a locus for African American history interpretation and celebrations.

A short distance west of the Stagville plantation and not available for viewing is the Fairntosh plantation house and outbuildings built for Duncan Cameron in the early 19th century and later the home of Paul Cameron and his descendants. For information on Fairntosh, see <http://www.hpo.ncdcr.gov/nr/DH0001.pdf>.

See Catherine W. Bishir, *Horton Grove National Register nomination*, 1978; Jean Bradley Anderson, *Piedmont Plantation: The Bennehan-Cameron Family and Lands in North Carolina* (1985).

Questions

The form of the large Stable/Barn is apparently unique in North Carolina. Do you know of possible sources for its design or comparable examples?

What changes can you observe in the former slave dwellings reflecting their use over nearly a century?

What preservation issues do you see concerning the treatment of these houses? Should they simply be maintained or should they be restored to the probable appearance of earlier times?

What issues are involved in the public interpretation in sites that represent slavery? How do you think they should be addressed? How have these issues and responses changed over time?

How best to represent a history in which the principal white figures are well identified but most of the black participants remain anonymous?

Should the interpretation of the site focus on its history during slavery times or also treat later periods?

How can the recording project of the 1970s be employed to enrich interpretation of the site today?

Stagville Plantation, including Horton Grove, has become a center for African American interpretation and, especially, seasonal and family celebrations. What do you think of such sites becoming sites of memory and celebration?

Note

1. In the 1970s, historian George W. McDaniel interviewed many of the older residents of the area who recalled life there during the late 19th and early 20th centuries, and he and Carl R. Lounsbury recorded the surviving plantation buildings. They learned the names of many of the residents from the 1890s through the 1940s, especially the 1920s and 1930s, located sites of their activities, and identified land uses (see site plan). See George W. McDaniel and Carl R. Lounsbury, "Recording plantation communities: report on the architectural and historic resources at Stagville [1980]," NC State Historic Sites at <http://www.hpo.ncdcr.gov/surveyreports/Lounsbury-McDaniel-1980-StagvilleReport-OCR.pdf>.

The Umstead Farm and Post Office/Store epitomize two classic components that prevailed in the rural Piedmont landscape of the late 19th century and much of the 20th: the small to medium-sized farmstead and the country post office/store. We will visit a 20-acre portion of the original 120-acre farm.

Throughout the state's history, much of the landscape was dominated by small farmsteads, complemented by such rural institutions as country churches, stores, and post offices. These served as gathering places and the lifeblood of communication for families when life on the farm was often an isolated existence.

Although a few pre-Civil War examples of modest farmsteads survive, they are few and far between, and antebellum stores and post offices are rarer still. What still characterizes the rural landscape in many areas are examples from the decades just after the Civil War. They exemplify the vernacular custom of continuing familiar forms and plan while incorporating selected innovations. Many, like this example, employ construction materials produced by the rapidly proliferating sash and blind factories and other industrial plants, which made frame and brick construction cheaper than in earlier times and often supplanted traditional log construction. The Umstead Farm and Post Office/Store show several phases of construction including renovations over the years, all typical of their eras.

The farmstead of about 120 acres and the post office were established and continuously owned by a single family until 2012. Much of the complex was built for Dewitt C. Umstead (1837-1919), a prominent farmer whose German ancestors, the Umstats, had settled in the area in the 18th century. After D. C.'s death, the farm was owned by subsequent generations of the family, who made various changes to the house and added and removed outbuildings. (See “**Family History**” below).

D. C. Umstead Store and Flat River Post Office (ca.1880?)

Located at a strategic position at the junction of the Bahama and Hall roads, the single-room, front-gabled frame building looks for all the world like an ordinary barn, but it has an important history as a store and post office believed to have been in use by at least 1882, when D. C. Umstead took over the operation. There had been a post office identified as Flat River since the 1850s, but the age of the present building is not clear; a handwritten inscription of

“Mail. . . May 9th 10 11 12th 1882” confirms its use as a post office by that time. The dual usage as store and post office was not unusual. The little building, incorporating hand hewn timbers and doors, retains such characteristic features as secure hardware on doors and window shutters and remnants of shelving, while the separate, secure room to the left of the entry fulfilled postal rules that “other business must be kept separate and distinct from that of the post-office.” Other construction details may provide dating clues.



D. C. Umstead Store and Flat River Post Office. Photo: Heather Slane, 2014.

Although the salary of postmaster for such an operation was only about \$25 a year, the position was a prestigious one, and having the post office in the general store boosted business. In the days before Rural Free Delivery, which was not inaugurated until 1902, rural residents had to collect their mail at the post office, which naturally became a community hub and regular meeting place. D. C. Umstead ran the store and the post office from at least 1882 to 1890. He was succeeded by his brother-in-law, Nathaniel H. Parker, and by his son, Rayner Umstead, who served from 1896 until the post office was closed in 1903 along with most of the local country post offices when RFD began. How long the store continued is not clear. Before long, probably ca. 1910, the little building was converted to a stable and feed barn. For years, its status as a post office was all but forgotten, despite its one-time importance to community life.

D. C. Umstead House (ca. 1877, 1887, ca. 1930, ca. 1957, 2015)

The frame house built for farmer D. C. Umstead and his family typifies a form seen throughout the Piedmont and beyond. It is a classic example of what many call an “I-house”—two stories tall, one main room deep, and in this case three bays wide. Like many of its contemporaries, the house has a center-passage plan and a rear ell, here a gabled, single-story ell at the southeast. Families used the first-story rooms in such houses in various ways, including parlor and dining room, sitting room and parlor, or parlor and bedroom, with a dining room in the rear wing.



D. C. Umstead House. Photo: Heather Slane, 2014.

This house type, the form of choice for thousands of moderately prosperous farmers and others for many decades, was as Michael Southern has written, a “symbol of economic achievement and social respectability in a democratic agrarian society” (“The I-House as a Carrier of Style in Three Counties of the Northeastern Piedmont” in Doug Swaim, *Carolina Dwelling*, 1978). As Southern observes, its height and breadth presented an impressive face to the road and its plan allowed for cross ventilation. Houses of this form had been built before the Civil War for relatively wealthy owners, but with the post-Civil War proliferation of less expensive, mass-produced building materials, they became affordable for a wider range of people. The Umstead house, like many others of this form, also displays a distinctive decorative feature of the post-Civil War era, a front central roof gable that gives a stylish, vertical flair to the roofline. Possibly derived from mid-19th-century pattern books by A. J. Downing and others, it was overwhelmingly popular from the postwar years into the early 20th century and, like the front porch, often boasted a bit of decorative millwork.

Umstead family tradition asserts that the house was built about 1877, but there was more to the story: Umstead was of sufficient local prominence that the Durham *Tobacco Plant* reported on June 22, 1887, “Mr. D. C. Umstead, of Flat River, will commence the rebuilding of his dwelling-house in a few days, and we may predict the seeing of a handsome dwelling, if rumor is correct as to one of your Durham contractors.” What the “rebuilding” entailed is not known.



D. C. Umstead House stair. Photo: Heather Slane, 2014.



D. C. Umstead House mantel. Photo: Heather Slane, 2014.

Both the exterior and the interior of the house show multiple generations of change characteristic of common practices. Many original elements survive, including the typical late 19th-century windows and doors. Over time, the originally weatherboarded walls were altered and covered; the chimneys were rebuilt; the rear ell was built or rebuilt; and a series of porches were constructed to shelter the front entrance. Inside, walls and ceilings received new coverings in fairly recent times, but the highly decorative stair in the central passage and some of the mantels remain intact and continue to evoke the earlier character of the house. The present owners restored much of the late 19th-century fabric and enlarged the rear wing in 2015.

Domestic and Agricultural Outbuildings

The farm complex comprises a typical range of secondary structures spanning its long period of occupancy. Most are single-story, gable-roofed buildings of frame construction covered with weatherboards or later materials, along with 5V metal roofs. Probably the oldest is the Kitchen (ca. 1877), believed to have been built about the same time as the dwelling and standing just south of it. It is finished inside with flush wood sheathing. A small enclosure at the northeast corner of the building served as a pantry and is accessed by a door with beveled battens.

The oldest extant agricultural buildings date from around 1900 and are situated near the Store and Post Office. They are the Corn Crib, a front-gabled structure with horizontal sheathing with gaps for air circulation, and an Implement Shed, a frame building set on a massive hewn log sill upon a stone foundation. Also near the store is a Well, probably dating from the 19th century and updated ca. 1957. Additional farm buildings to the northeast on an adjacent property originally part of the farm (and not accessible to our tour) include frame and log tobacco barns, a frame shed, and a 2-story frame building used for ordering and stripping tobacco, all built between ca. 1900 and ca. 1930.

Arranged in a row behind the house are several structures that date from ca. 1930, after the acquisition of the farm by the Roberts family. These include a Garage; a windowless structure of uncertain purpose; a Chicken Coop; a Tobacco Pack House with open shed-roofed bays; and a shed which has carriage bolts suggesting it might have served as a mobile farm stand. Near the pack house are a Pump House and Well installed in the 1980s.

Family History



D. C. Umstead House outbuildings. Photo: Heather Slane, 2014.

In the 1790s, the Umstat family, who joined the many families of German descent who came to North Carolina from Pennsylvania during the mid-18th century, obtained several tracts on both sides of the Flat River and along Dial Creek, including at least two mill sites and several hundred acres. The property descended in the Umstat—soon Umstead—family, whose members became prominent in the area. DeWitt C. Umstead (1837-1919), began farming about the time he married Rebecca Lunsford in 1857, on land he rented from his father,

Squire Umstead (1812-1867), the great-grandson of John Umstat. During the 1860s, Rebecca died at age 21, leaving her husband with a young daughter. D. C. served for a time in the North Carolina Light Artillery.

In 1865, the widower D. C. Umstead married Sophronia Parker (1840-1921) and the couple began a family together. By 1870 the U. S. Census listed D. C. as a married farmer with three children, real estate worth \$300, and a hired hand in the household. He had likely inherited the farm from his father, who died in 1867. Engaging like most of their neighbors in diversified agriculture, the Umstead family produced wheat, corn, oats, butter, potatoes, and tobacco (1,000 pounds of that cash-producing leaf) and owned \$150 worth of livestock—all of which placed the family in the ranks of middling farmers. He gradually acquired additional farmland. By 1880, the farm was producing more tobacco along with other crops, and he and Sophronia had seven children living at home, ranging from age 13 down to a baby, plus Jesse Cameron, a black farm laborer aged 35.

The Umsteads' relative prosperity and growing family likely encouraged them to build the 2-story frame house—family tradition says 1877—which was nicely finished with a decorative porch and entrance, and a fine staircase. By 1900, the children were grown and most of them had moved away, leaving D. C. and Sophronia and two unmarried children (Bessie and Wiley), a grandson, and Sophronia's brother, Nathaniel Parker, at home. After the deaths of D. C. in 1919 and Sophronia in 1921, their children Bessie and Wiley stayed there for a time, but in 1928 sold the farm to their sister May's husband, David B. Roberts. David rented the place to his sons DeWitt Baxter and Louis, who lived there for several years and probably executed some renovations and built the outbuildings of ca. 1930. Baxter, who married Aretta Stem (1909-1978) in 1936, inherited the place from his father in 1937 and Louis moved elsewhere. Baxter and Aretta modernized the house, and did so again in about 1957—surely she insisted on amenities beyond what the two bachelor brothers had found acceptable—including adding a new kitchen ell and installing indoor plumbing. Upon Baxter's death in 1986, his elderly sister, Dr. E. Marie Roberts (1916- 2010), inherited her grandfather's farm and had renovations made for rental of the place. In time, it was neglected and became overgrown, and buildings were damaged. Such a saga has doomed many an old family farmstead. In this case, however, the present owners, who acquired the farm in 2012, were committed to restoring and renovating it for renewed use.

See Heather Slane and Emily Wallrath, D.C. Umstead House and Store, National Register of Historic Places nomination, 2014.

Questions

Family tradition gives a construction date of ca. 1877, but a newspaper article reported a planned “rebuilding” in 1887. What evidence do you notice to clarify the story?

On many farms, the domestic and agricultural outbuildings were arranged informally, but their layout was seldom truly random. What considerations do you think shaped the configuration of the complex over time? (True, some of the outbuildings are missing.)



Russell School. Photo: Ruth Little, 2009.

Russell School, built in 1926-1927 to serve local black elementary school children, offers a representative and perfectly preserved example of one of the most important building types in the early to mid-20th century South: the Rosenwald school.

The modest frame building, located next to Cain's Chapel Missionary Baptist Church, was one of 18 Rosenwald schools erected in Durham County in the early 20th century. More than 5,300 were built from Maryland to Texas. North Carolina had the most in any single state, approximately 820, including 18 teacher's homes and 11 shop buildings. The schools were constructed from standardized plans and with support from the Rosenwald Fund,

established in 1917 by Chicago philanthropist Julius Rosenwald, head of Sears, Roebuck and Company, who was committed to improving black education in the American South. They also served a second intended purpose as community centers, providing space for a wide variety of events and adult education after normal school hours. During the most intensive years of Jim Crow, Rosenwald schools helped transform countless black communities (mostly rural) and black students' lives.

The problems the Rosenwald Fund sought to address were severe. There was a desperate shortage of schoolhouses for black children in the South, and most of those that did exist were poorly built and severely underfunded. Public education was segregated by race. Many rural counties spent little on public education and the funding for schools for black children fell far short of that for white students. (In later years, some states inaugurated "equalization" programs to support the notion that "separate" could indeed be "equal.")

Julius Rosenwald, who became president of Sears in 1909, grew interested in black education after reading Booker T. Washington's book, *Up from Slavery*. He met Washington in 1911 and soon became a trustee of Tuskegee Institute. With Washington's encouragement, Rosenwald began to make grants to black colleges and schools, and in 1917 he formally established the Rosenwald Fund. Responding to the volume of applications, in 1920 he set up an office in Nashville, Tennessee, headed by a school administrator with expertise in schoolhouse design.

The Fund provided matching money for building the schoolhouses (usually no more than 20 percent), requiring local governmental and private financial support to demonstrate local commitment as well as to maximize results. The fund also supplied plans for different sized schools, plus written information on how to build the schools to ensure efficient use of space, natural lighting, and comfort. Most of the schools were small to medium-sized frame structures, but some were larger and built of brick. For students and their families accustomed to small, dark, often ill-heated and crowded schoolhouses, the new schools were marvels of modernity.

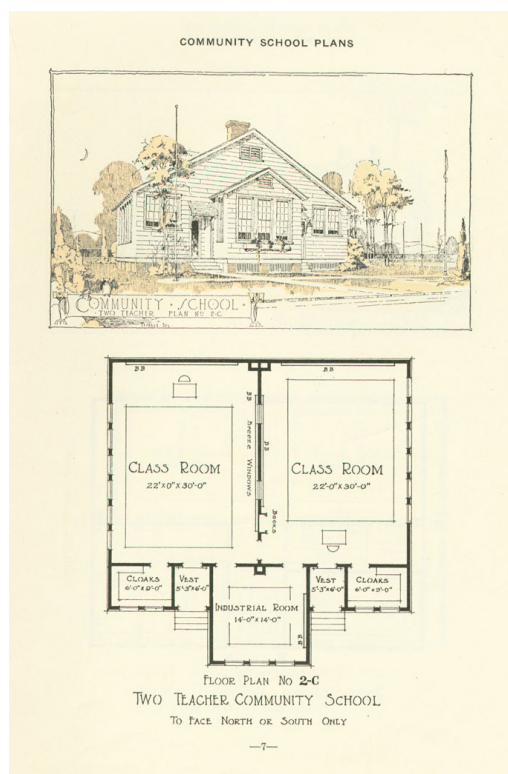
Durham County was a prime candidate for Rosenwald aid. There were numerous rural public country schools for white children in the decades after the Civil War, but none for black children until near the end of the century. In 1902 the county had 34 white and 17 black public schools, most of them one or two-teacher buildings including several built of logs. In 1916 the state public school inspector reported of Durham County, “in no other county did I find the school houses upon the whole in such an inferior condition as I find them in this county for the colored school children.” Among the one-room schools he saw was the old Russell School, located several miles from the present location.

Between 1921 and 1930, the Rosenwald Fund awarded money to 18 Durham County schools that raised the required matching funds. For the new Russell School, a local citizen donated a 2-acre tract of land beside Cain’s Chapel Church to the local board of education for the school. Cain’s Chapel had been established in the 1890s by local black families including some associated with the Cain and Cameron family plantations. Local supervisors selected Floor Plan 2-C from the 1924 Rosenwald catalog—a design for a two-teacher school with a north-south oriented site. (The Fund considered orientation important, to provide the maximum amount of natural light for the students.) The construction cost was \$3,695, of which the local school system contributed \$2,725, local black citizens \$270, and the Rosenwald Fund \$700.

Students came from homes within a radius of five to six miles from the school on foot or by horse or wagon, fitting in their schooling among their farm and home chores. The school year began in the fall after the tobacco harvest and ended at spring planting time. Teachers boarded with local families, including Lillie Rogers, who taught at the school during its entire history. A school bus was provided in 1940.

Although many Rosenwald schools in North Carolina continued in operation into the 1960s and beyond, in 1945, the Durham County education board sold the school to Cain’s Chapel Church. The students were transferred to other schools including the consolidated, brick Little River School four miles away. Church and community leaders organized to maintain and operate Russell School as a community center; while the old frame Cain’s Chapel Church was replaced with the present brick church in the 1950s, the congregation worshiped in the schoolhouse.

Russell School perfectly exemplifies the carefully devised Plan 2-C for a two-teacher school, with only a few adjustments made by the local builders. It is symmetrical in plan, with a front projection flanked by entrances into the two classrooms. The front bay contained the well-lighted industrial room where students could learn mechanical and farming or domestic skills, depending on their gender. (Rosenwald schools emphasized vocational or “industrial” training over purely academic classwork, which was viewed dimly by some African American education advocates.) The two classrooms, mirror images of one another, have long banks of tall, double-hung windows along the outer walls. Each classroom has a coat closet and a chalkboard and



Julius Rosenwald Fund two-teacher plan, facing north or south only. <http://www.historysouth.org/twoteachind/>



*Russell School interior with folding doors between classrooms pulled open.
Photo: Ruth Little, 2009.*

was heated by a stove vented by a front, central chimney. Although some larger Rosenwald school plans contained a separate large meeting room, in this plan, the partition between the classrooms was hinged to allow the two classrooms to be joined as a single large space. The finish throughout typifies the period and is neat and workmanlike, using standard mass produced materials—"German" siding on the exterior, simple doors and windows, pine floorboards, and narrow beadboard on the interior walls and ceilings. The cream-colored interior walls with light brown wainscot and trim likewise carry out the Rosenwald recommendations.

Although many Rosenwald schools have been lost or severely altered, Russell School stands

essentially as built and as it served local students for nearly 20 years. Minimal changes were made to adapt it to its present use as a community center operated and cared for by the Cain Chapel congregation. In 2002, Rosenwald schools were identified by the National Trust among the nation's "most endangered properties." Since 2000, the North Carolina State Historic Preservation Office (HPO) has been assisting communities all across the state to preserve this heritage. More than 30 Rosenwald schools in North Carolina have been listed in the National Register of Historic Places and 38 more have been identified as eligible.

*See Ruth Little, National Register nomination, 2009 (<http://www.hpo.ncdcr.gov/nr/DH2212.pdf>.)
See also <http://www.hpo.ncdcr.gov/rosenwald/rosenwald.htm>.; K. Todd Johnson, "Rosenwald Fund," (<http://ncpedia.org/rosenwald-fund>); and Kyle Obenauer and Claudia Brown, "Rosenwald Schools in North Carolina" (<http://www.hpo.ncdcr.gov/nr/NC04.pdf>)*

Questions

Rosenwald schools were built during the decades of rigid Jim Crow segregation in the rural South. How do you explain the present-day widespread attention and affection for these schools by black as well as white citizens following the changes of the late 20th century after *Brown v. Board of Education* (1954)?

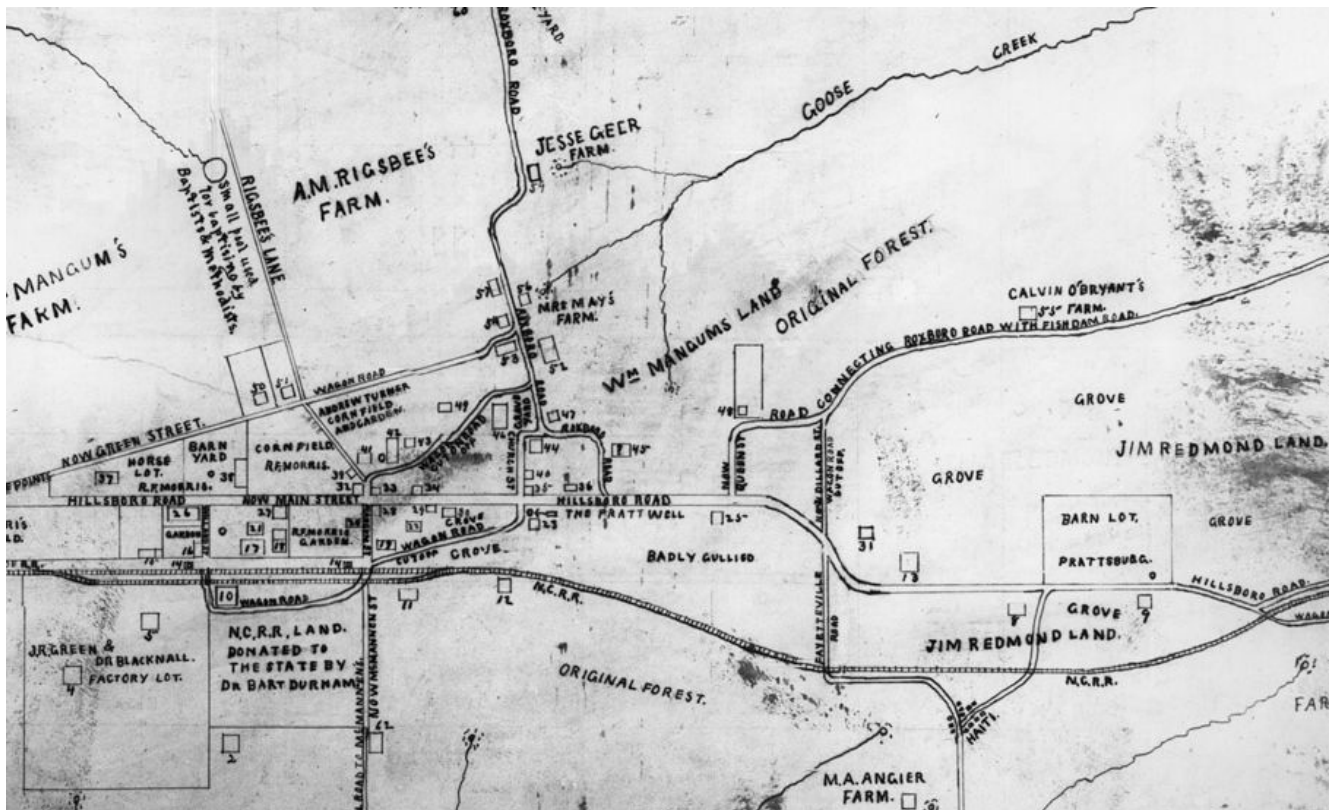
National Register nominations often designate the "level of significance" of Rosenwald schools as "local." Is this appropriate for buildings that exemplify such an important national phenomenon?

DURHAM: A CITY OF THE NEW SOUTH

Our urban tours will highlight several of Durham’s industrial and civic landmarks as well as neighborhoods, which are discussed in the tour notes that comprise most of this guide. There is also much more that VAFers can readily visit on their own, including the Central Business District where our conference hotel is located. See “As Long as You’re Here,” at the end of this introduction.

Just a village by the railroad tracks in 1860, Durham moved rapidly through phases of urban development to a New South tobacco boomtown by 1880; a city of substantial institutions and imposing architecture in the early 20th century; a period of decline and destruction; and most recently an era of new growth to a population of some 230,000 people. Many cities show the succession of one generation of building after another, but in Durham the saga was unusually compressed, and each generation eliminated much of what had preceded it.

While several of North Carolina's principal towns and cities were developed according to some type of grid plan, Durham supposedly grew up along cow paths, resulting in its informal street patterns, which were further complicated by mid-20th-century street realignment, urban renewal, and freeway construction. Broad settlement patterns reflected racial dimensions, especially the development of southern and southeastern Durham as a predominantly black area from soon after the Civil War. Yet in contrast to some cities in the state where the mixed uses, races, and classes of the 19th century gave way to more and more segregated and identifiable zones or quadrants in the 20th century, in much of Durham the sorting out of uses and classes reflected variations in the hilly terrain, with the "better" uses occupying the higher elevations and others often quite nearby on lower ground. Thus, exploring Durham's urban



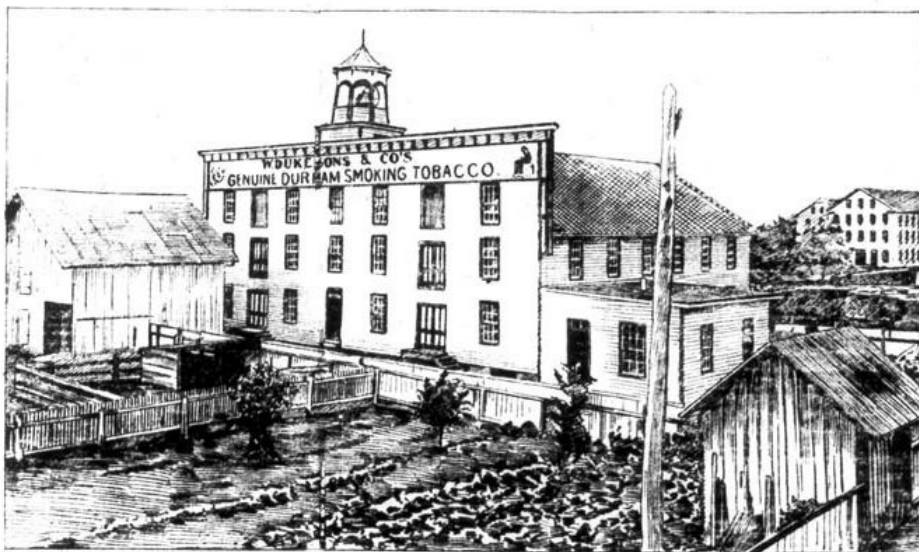
A section of Lewis Blount's map of Durham ca.1867, drawn from memory in 1923. Map: Courtesy of the North Carolina Collection, Durham County Library.

geography may differ from the experience found in many cities shaped by grid plans, Beaux Arts axes and zones, and clearly defined areas of different uses and status.

A Brief History of Durham

Note: The following account is extracted and updated from Bishir and Southern, *A Guide to the Historic Architecture of Piedmont North Carolina*, courtesy of the University of North Carolina Press. For an excellent digital resource depicting Durham's history through photographs of the city over the years, including many buildings now lost, see Open Durham at <http://www.opendurham.org/>.

Born of the railroad and tobacco manufacturing, Durham moved rapidly through phases of urban development from a raw whistle-stop village of modest frame buildings to a bustling New South boomtown of boldly eclectic forms to an early to mid-20th century city of substantial institutions and elegant Beaux-Arts influenced architecture, including downtown buildings, university campuses, and expanding early suburbs. It grew from 250 people shortly after the Civil War to 18,000 people in 1910 and 52,000 by 1930, ranking third after Charlotte and Winston-Salem.



First factory of W. Duke, Sons & Co. Image: Courtesy of NCOAH.

During the mid to late 20th century, the city witnessed a period of outward movement, downtown decline, urban renewal, and freeway construction, which brought the destruction of many of the principal landmarks of the previous eras, especially the most vivid architecture of the late 19th century. Beginning in the late 20th century, however, and especially in the early 21st century, a combination of economic and social factors, coupled with strong local leadership, has brought extensive renewal and repurposing projects almost unimaginable several years ago. In 2010 Durham had a

population of about 230,000. Although Durham reads in part as an industrial city of the late 19th and early 20th centuries, it is equally a repurposed city of the present day.

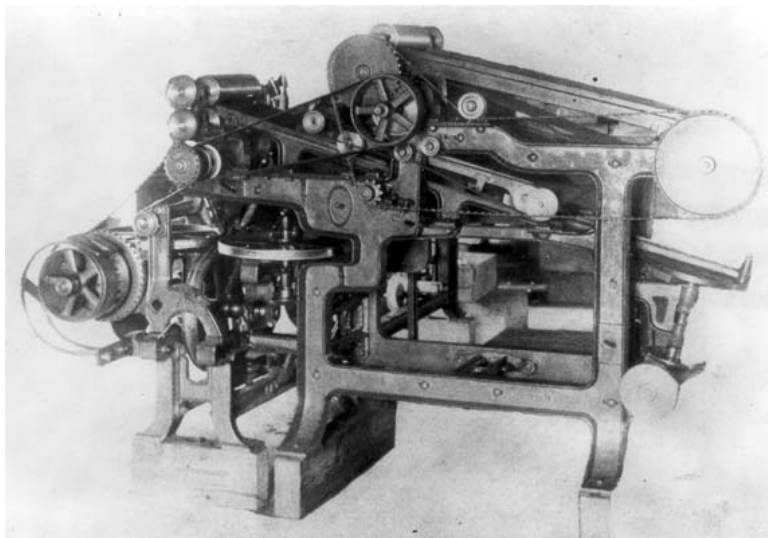
The village of Durhamville Station grew up in the 1850s around a stop on the North Carolina Rail Road (NCRR) and was named for landowner Bartlett Durham. By the onset of the Civil War, it had a depot, some frame houses and stores, and a small tobacco factory. Its saga of phenomenal growth began at the end of the war when soldiers plundered the factory's smoking tobacco and found it so tasty that upon returning to their homes across the country, they flooded manufacturer John R. Green with orders for "that good Durham tobacco," which was later patented as Bull Durham.

Well located on the railroad adjoining the northern Piedmont's Old Belt bright leaf tobacco zone, Durham soon led the nation in production of smoking tobacco. Industrialists strengthened their position with additional rail connections in 1873 and 1890, and tobacco factories and sales and storage warehouses, which employed black as well as white men and women, made Durham an employment magnet. "Come on, we have room for all who come," trumpeted the local *Tobacco Plant* newspaper in 1881.

Thousands of people arrived to find work and opportunity. Ambitious men relocated from the countryside and smaller towns and a few from distant cities. Some became wealthy and powerful at a startling pace, many of them at notably young ages. The fast-growing industrial city supported an increasingly stratified but remarkably diverse and flexible social fabric. To be sure, the town shared racial hierarchies and tensions and, eventually, Jim Crow segregation with most of the South, but its opportunities and the attitudes of some of its key leaders differed from those in many southern communities. Not only did a new white elite emerge, including a few families of immense wealth rare in the state, but the city also gained fame for its unusually strong black elite and middle classes. Blue collar and white collar workers of both races worked in myriad occupations. The tobacco industry, which came first, employed black as well as white workers, as did the construction business, while cotton mills, which arrived somewhat later, employed almost exclusively white workers. Among both blacks and whites, numerous people who began their lives in manual labor, service employment, or trades took advantage of Durham's opportunities to move upward on the economic and social ladder, often with the encouragement of those who had already attained success. Many of the principal black leaders maintained supportive relationships with leaders of the white business community. Durham was also a social mecca, especially during tobacco sales seasons, and in the early 20th century it developed a nationally renowned blues tradition.

From many competing tobacco manufacturers that operated in the late 19th century, eventually two giants emerged. W. T. Blackwell and Company, founded in 1870 as an outgrowth of John R. Green's firm and led by Blackwell and Julian S. Carr, made Bull Durham Smoking Tobacco the top seller in the nation. W. Duke, Sons, and Company was formed in 1878 by former tobacco farmer Washington Duke and his sons Benjamin N., James B., and Brodie, plus George W. Watts of Baltimore. To outstrip "the Bull," which dominated smoking tobacco manufacturing, in 1881 Duke turned to cigarette production, employing local white girls and women and Russian and Polish immigrants from New York to perform the exacting handwork of rolling the cigarettes. Within a few years James B. Duke revolutionized the business by replacing hand rolling with the Bonsack cigarette rolling machine, which he introduced in 1884. The company skyrocketed.

Both of these companies, like their contemporaries, began operations in plain, frame or occasionally brick buildings. They were part



Bonsack's cigarette machine. Photo: Courtesy of NCOAH.

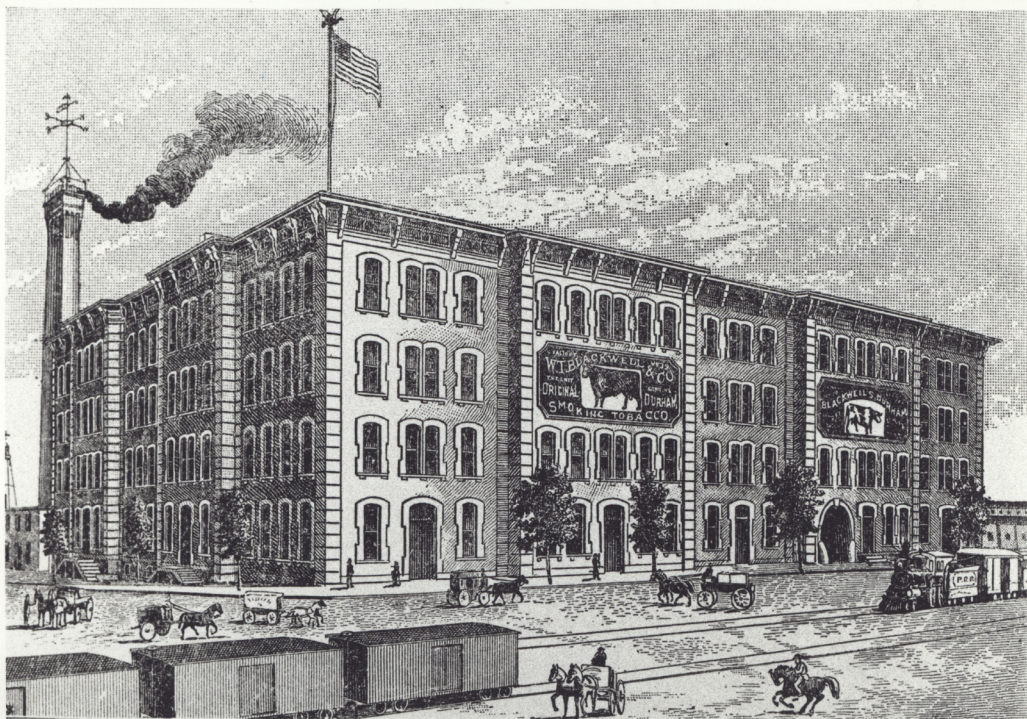
of an urban landscape dense with warehouses, large and small factories, and sales houses. Expressing their rising status and ambitions, both firms erected imposing new factories in ornate styles. Although the late 19th-century architecture of Durham comprised many robustly eclectic buildings, including downtown commercial buildings and opulent residences, almost all of these have been lost. Altered over the years, these late 19th-century industrial buildings are among the few standing reminders of the ebullient postwar architecture. Both were erected as 4-story brick edifices in elaborate Italianate style with massive signage. Replacing earlier wooden buildings, W. T. Blackwell and Company, which included Julian S. Carr, built the Bull Durham Factory beside the railroad tracks south of downtown in 1874, and in 1884 the Dukes built the W. Duke and Sons Cigarette Factory northwest of downtown. In both cases, the companies expanded their facilities as the business grew and changed.

Durham's history embodies the larger story of American corporate history. In 1890, James B. Duke formed the American Tobacco Company (ATC) and took over competitors in every area of production except cigars, including firms operating far beyond Durham in Winston-Salem, Richmond, and elsewhere. Although Julian S. Carr refused offers from the ATC, eventually the company acquired the Bull Durham operation as well. With offices in New York, where James B. Duke moved in 1884, the ATC developed into a giant "tobacco trust" before it was dissolved in 1911 by an anti-trust decision of the U.S. Supreme Court.

The companies that emerged from the breakup included Liggett and Myers (the name of a St. Louis firm the ATC had acquired in 1899) and a new American Tobacco Company, plus R. J. Reynolds of Winston-Salem and Lorillard, which had begun in New York. Durham thereafter jockeyed with Winston-Salem for primacy in tobacco production, including the increasingly popular and profitable cigarette business spurred by vast advertising campaigns. Popular brands manufactured in Durham included Chesterfield and Lucky Strike (LSMFT), which was in

1930 the top-selling brand nationally. In the mid-20th century, Durham manufactured about 25 percent of the cigarettes made in the nation.

Tobacco industrialists spun off their immense profits into a host of other industries and businesses. Both Julian S. Carr and the Dukes turned to major textile production in Durham and beyond. They coupled this with real estate development in Durham. Carr invested chiefly in the east and



W.T. Blackwell's Bull Durham Tobacco Co. factory. Image: Courtesy of the North Carolina Collection, Durham County Library.

south parts of Durham, including the Golden Belt Manufacturing Company and Durham Hosiery Mill. The Dukes—along with their associate William S. Erwin, an experienced cotton mill man who had previously worked with his kinfolk, the Holt family, in their Alamance County mills—concentrated mainly in north and west Durham. The Pearl Cotton Mill Village, begun by Brodie Duke, was one of many Duke textile projects including the Erwin Mills (beyond our tour) in West Durham. The Dukes, led by James B. Duke, also moved into hydroelectric power production, founding the Southern (later Duke) Power Company in 1905, which was headquartered in Charlotte and vastly expanded the Duke fortune. These industrialists and others formed banks, real estate firms, and insurance companies that boosted the city's wealth and growth.

Vital to Durham's identity was the North Carolina Mutual Insurance Company, established in 1898, and its affiliate, the Mechanics and Farmers Bank, established in 1907. Led by John Merrick, Aaron Moore, and Charles C. Spaulding, by the early 20th century the insurance company was the largest black-owned business in the nation. Along with the Mechanics and Farmers Bank, it made Durham's Parrish Street famous as the "Black Wall Street of America." Merrick, a former bricklayer born into slavery in Sampson County, N. C., became a barber, moved to Durham in 1880, established relationships with white leaders including Washington Duke, and became a successful businessman. Moore, a native of Columbus County, N. C., was educated at Shaw University in Raleigh and in 1888 became Durham's first black physician. Moore's nephew, Charles Clinton Spaulding, joined the firm in 1900 and spurred its growth. The business provided a unique base for black leadership and institutions and undergirded Durham's reputation as the "Capital of the Black Middle Class."

Durham's captains of industry also invested in the city's educational and social institutions. In 1892 the Dukes and Carr, all strong Methodists, joined others in providing land and money to bring Trinity College, a rural Methodist college, to Durham and support its growth; initially the college leadership had planned to move from its Randolph County site to Raleigh, but Durham's generous offers won the day. They and others aided in building and supporting black and white schools, hospitals, libraries, and churches. Present day North Carolina Central University, established in 1909 as a private school, grew into a state college with support from black and white benefactors. And in 1924, encouraged by Trinity College president William P. Few, James B. Duke donated millions to transform Trinity College into Duke University.

As it grew, and despite its informal plan, Durham shared in national patterns of development and land use, shifting from the 19th-century mix of housing and industry around the depot into separate industrial, commercial, and residential sectors, a trend that intensified after the creation of an efficient streetcar system in 1902. The Dukes, Carr, and other magnates built



100 block of W. Parrish St., the "Black Wall Street of America," 1922. Photo: Courtesy of Open Durham.

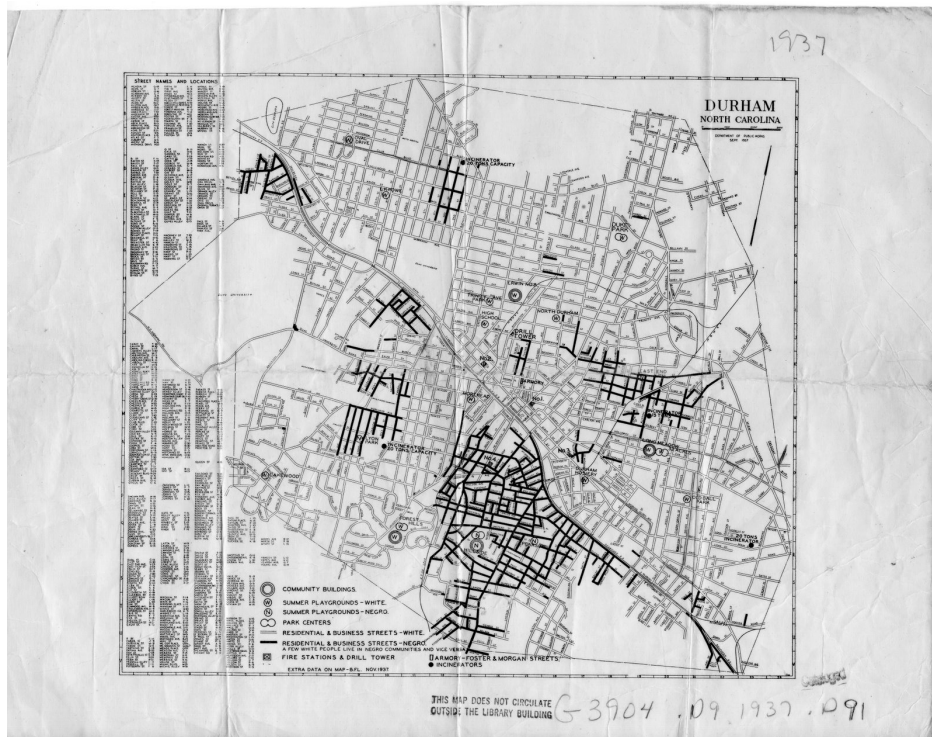


The Maples, ca.1910. Photo: Courtesy of the North Carolina Collection, Durham County Library.

fine residences in Durham, first within sight of their factories—houses now long lost—and then on elevated suburban sites in all directions, of which a few still stand. (James B. Duke, who had moved to New York in 1884, had mansions on 5th Avenue and in New Jersey and later in Charlotte.)

Southeast of downtown, the black community known as Hayti developed by the 1870s and by the early 20th century it was famed for its vibrant main street and commercial section. It was the home of leading black churches such as St. Joseph's A. M. E. Church. Most of the black elite built mansions on Fayetteville Street and nearby. Middle-class black neighborhoods concentrated around North Carolina Central University and Lincoln Hospital. Another, smaller, African American neighborhood developed west of downtown, where entrepreneur Richard Fitzgerald built his residence, The Maples.

West and north of downtown, Trinity College (now Duke University, East Campus) and Watts Hospital became centers of white middle-class neighborhoods. East Durham and West Durham emerged as communities around their textile mills. In several parts of the city, and especially in low-lying areas, there were streets or clusters of very modest residences; few of these have survived, due in part to the effects of urban renewal. Especially striking, as noted earlier, Durham has continued a varied urban pattern, with the elevation of the terrain a defining element between neighborhoods of very different character.



This 1937 street map by Durham's Bureau of Public Works shows racially segregated neighborhoods. The solid dark lines indicate streets occupied by African Americans. Hayti is at the bottom, just south of Main Street, which snakes from upper left to lower right. Map: Courtesy of Learn NC at <http://www.learnnc.org/lp/editions/nchist-recent/6242>.

Durham's architectural patterns encapsulated the city's rapid development. Plain and expedient buildings built around the depot were soon succeeded by the ambitious and ornate residences and factories, as well as churches and commercial and public buildings that displayed the late 19th-century's full range of eclectic, Italianate, Queen Anne, Romanesque, and Gothic Revival styles. Architects and builders drawn to the booming town, especially in the wake of fires, included Charles Norton, who built numerous edifices besides the Golden Belt Manufacturing Company Factory; William H. Linthicum, contractor for the Dukes' tobacco factory; Samuel Leary, architect of St. Joseph's

A. M. E. Church and the initial Main Building of Trinity College; and Byron Pugin (reputedly the natural son of the great English architect A. W. N. Pugin), whose work included a courthouse and various residences. One industrial and business leader after another built large houses, often in lavish Queen Anne style, including Washington Duke's mansion near the Duke factory of 1884, Benjamin Duke's grand house on Chapel Hill Street, the large Queen Anne-style residences of insurance

and banking leader John Merrick and physician Aaron Moore on Fayetteville Street in Hayti, and Julian S. Carr's two elaborate homes in eastern Durham. Essentially all of this energetically eclectic generation of architecture has been lost, except for key industrial buildings and a few less elaborate houses of the period, particularly on Holloway and nearby streets.

The early 20th century brought a full-scale rebuilding of the downtown in a more restrained, Beaux Arts influenced classical mode evoking a "city-like" image of sophistication and culture. (See "As Long as You're Here" below.) In addition to a growing number of local and regional architects and builders such as Frank Milburn and George Watts Carr, Durham clients employed architects from distant cities, including Boston's Ralph Adams Cram for two downtown churches and Philadelphia's Horace Trumbauer for Duke University; Julian Abele, a member of Trumbauer's firm, was the African American architect of Duke University, for whom the central quadrangle has recently been named. Builders as well as architects planned the hundreds of bungalows, foursquares, and myriad late Queen Anne and Colonial Revival-style houses that repeated popular national modes in the growing neighborhoods.

In the mid-20th century, Durham like Winston-Salem saw tobacco sales and production rise during the Great Depression and through World War II and for several years thereafter. Later in the century, however, for a multitude of reasons its tobacco and textile economy began to lose ground. Hundreds of jobs were lost. In the same period, Durham experienced a strong Civil Rights movement that included early sit-ins at downtown businesses and picketing at the Carolina Theatre (adjacent to our conference hotel) from 1961 to 1963, when the city's public facilities and most hotels and restaurants were integrated and school desegregation began. The city continued to



Washington Duke's Fairview, next to his factory, ca. 1890. Photo: Courtesy of the North Carolina Collection, Durham County Library.



Postcard view of downtown Durham, ca. 1910. Photo: Courtesy of the North Carolina Collection, Durham County Library.

experience racial unrest through the 1960s, particularly after the assassination of Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. in 1968, and full desegregation of Durham's schools did not occur until 1970. Outward movement from the center city was accompanied by urban renewal and freeway construction, which in the 1960s and 1970s destroyed many landmarks including the grand early 20th-century railroad depot and leveled most of Hayti and other African American neighborhoods. Black as well as white residents moved from their old neighborhoods farther past the former town limits.

In the late 20th century, shifts in manufacturing, corporate structures, and the tobacco market, coupled with the growth of Duke University and its medical center, changed Durham's image and motto from the "City of Tobacco" to the "City of Medicine." The last tobacco factory

in town closed in 2000. At the same time, Durham, along with Chapel Hill and Raleigh, became part of the revolutionary Research Triangle Park (RTP), which redefined the area with the establishment and stunning success of the research campus opened in 1959 on a 5,000-acre site just a few miles from Durham. The RTP comprises numerous national and international enterprises and employs some 50,000 workers. (Note: A post-conference tour includes a portion of the RTP.)

In recent years, despite the economic downturn near the end of the first decade of the 21st century, Durham has witnessed new growth, with research and high tech companies as well as education and medicine among the



1970s view of 1972 Burroughs Wellcome Building, Research Triangle Park. Photo: Courtesy of Open Durham.

mainstays of the economy. Like many cities, to be sure, Durham has its share of economic and social problems, including issues of crime and poverty which its leaders continually strive to resolve. It has a vibrant music and restaurant scene, plus a popular minor league baseball team—the Durham Bulls made famous by the 1988 movie "Bull Durham," which was shot at local locations including the old ballpark. (For a trailer, see <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=dnJFndf-Krg>.) As the most diverse of the Triangle cities that also include Raleigh, Chapel Hill, and Cary, Durham has a legacy of industry and education that creates a lively social and political mix and a body of architecture that expresses the vitality of the town tobacco built.

Especially noticeable for our VAF visitors will be the last few decades' efforts to reclaim and repurpose the buildings made redundant by the disappearance of the textile and tobacco industries. Durham has been the scene of some of the state's largest historic preservation tax credit and other renovation projects, supported by various combinations of private and public investment, and in many cases, long sagas of efforts to overcome obstacles. In many respects, central Durham not only has repurposed buildings; it has emerged as a repurposed city.

As Long as You're Here—Take a Walk!

A few zones of special architectural interest lie within walking distance of our conference hotel.

Please note that pre-conference walking tours of downtown and of industrial Durham, both led by Preservation Durham docents, are scheduled for Wednesday of the VAF conference. The following notes are aimed at VAFers creating their own walking tours.

**For those interested in the regional abundance of national architectural trends, the Central Business District, centered on Main Street, contains an especially strong collection of early 20th-century architecture showing Durham's employment of a range of local and national architects. Likely because cigarettes kept selling during the Great Depression, there are several notable buildings from the 1930s.

Highlights of the Central Business District include a characteristic Kress Building in glazed terra cotta tile (1933; Edward F. Sibbert, architect; 101 Main St.); the elegant Art Deco Snow Building (1933; Northrup and O'Brien and George Watts Carr, architects; 333 W. Main St.); two churches by the nationally known architect Ralph Adams Cram—St. Philip's Episcopal Church (1907; 403 E. Main St.) and Trinity United Methodist Church (1924; head of Church St.); and representative commercial buildings including the classically detailed Mechanics and Farmers Bank (1921; Rose and Rose, architects; 116 W. Parrish St.), originally the home of the North Carolina Mutual Insurance Company.

There are other notable neoclassical banks, public buildings, and skyscrapers in the principal flavors of the day—neoclassical and the more exotic Art Deco ziggurat mode that evokes the Empire State Building at the Hill Building (1935-1937; George Watts Carr and Shreve, Lamb and Harmon, architects; 111 Corcoran St.), now an upscale hotel and restaurant. Neighboring our hotel is the Durham Auditorium/Carolina Theater (1926; Milburn and Heister, architects; 211 Roney St.), a festive Beaux Arts edifice that enlivened the civic transformation of the 1920s and hosts myriad performances today. The verve of mid-century popular modernism appears in the Home Federal Savings Bank (ca. 1960; 315 E. Chapel Hill St.), another recent renovation as a hotel. More information on the downtown architecture appears in Bishir and Southern, *A Guide to the Historic Architecture of Piedmont North Carolina*.

**Within somewhat longer walking distance of the conference hotel, to the northwest and south, are the landmarks of the tobacco industry which are featured in our tour notes, for those who want to take a closer look than our tours permit.

**Another longish walk west of the Central Business District leads to an intriguing piece of the cityscape. Along the high ridge traversed by Chapel Hill Street, several industrial magnates built



"Bull Durham" movie poster, Orion Pictures, 1988.

their mansions with lavish grounds overlooking the city and its manufacturing districts. All of these were razed in the 20th century.

Two important mid-20th century edifices at the corners of Chapel Hill and Duke Streets occupy key sites. The Home Security Life Insurance Company Building (1958; Raymond and Rado, Milton Small and Joseph Boaz, architects) at the southwest corner, which required the demolition of several houses, is among the state's most notable examples of the Miesian style in a tall building. Of special historical as well as architectural interest is the massive, cantilevered tower of the North Carolina Mutual Life Insurance Headquarters (1966; Welton Becket and Associates, architects) at the southeast corner, which stands on an elevated site formerly occupied by Benjamin N. Duke's 1911 chateausque mansion, "Four Acres." (See <http://www.opendurham.org/buildings/four-acres-bn-duke-home> and <http://www.opendurham.org/buildings/nc-mutual-building-411-west-chapel-hill-street>.)

OVERVIEW OF DURHAM TOURS

As VAFers will quickly observe, the city of Durham presents a complex history and a complicated and often puzzling urban landscape. The city's architectural landscape, as will be discussed further below, has always been diverse and its street patterns informal. This has always given Durham its special character.

In the mid to late 20th century, and more recently as well, new routes and widespread demolitions complicated the picture, severing old connections and producing what strikes many observers—especially newcomers—as a fragmented cityscape.

It is beyond the scope of any tour to relate the full, rich story of Durham's urban landscape or to explain fully what once connected seemingly disparate places. If you are interested, the website <http://www.opendurham.org/> can help you reconstruct some of what once existed.

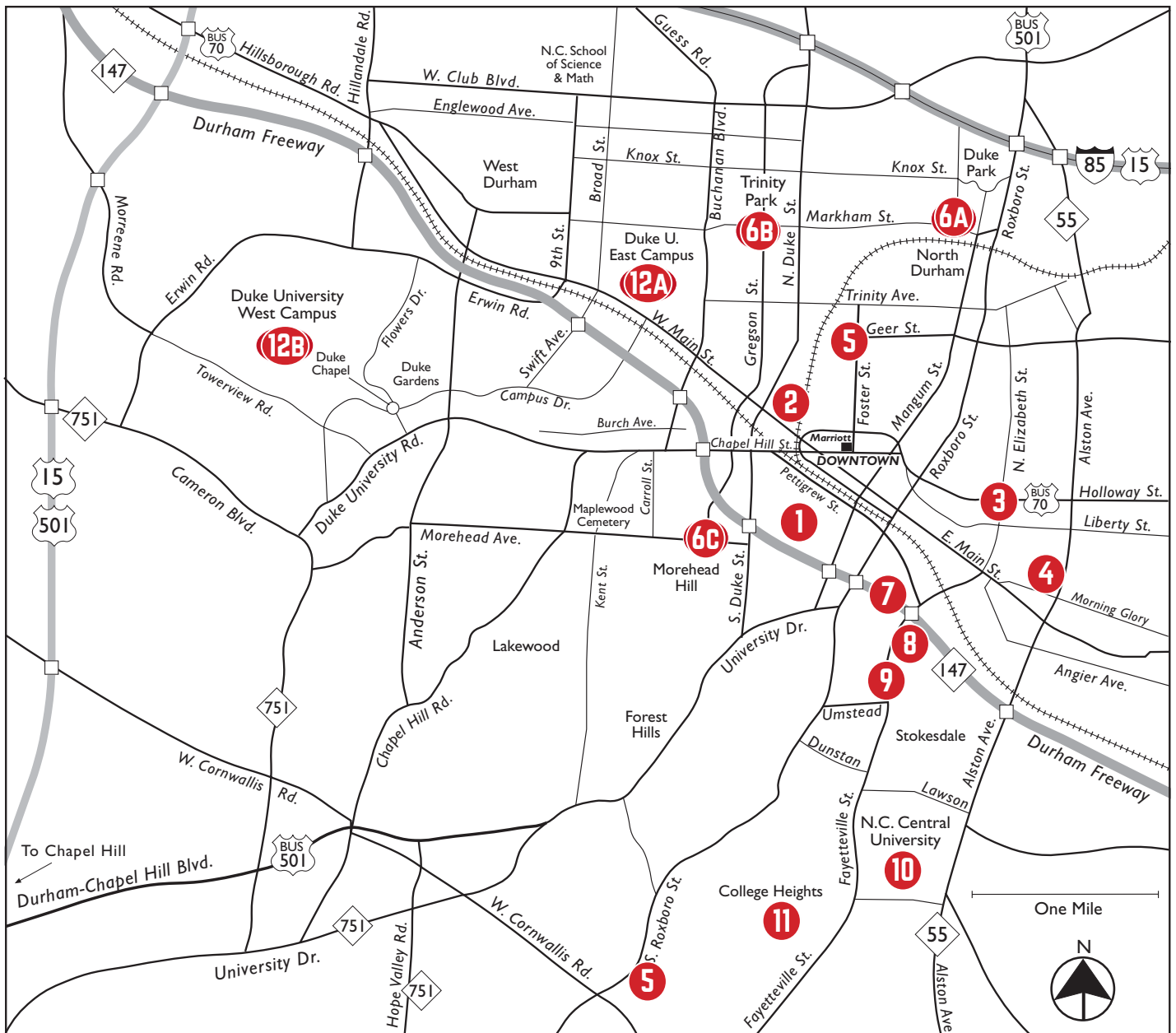
The purpose of our tours and tour notes is to provide a sampling of the diverse types of places that have made up the city over the years and to explain some of the threads of history—work, race, class, topography, industry, money, education, philanthropy—that have linked their stories.

On the **half-day tour** (the afternoon following the rural northern Durham County morning tour), we will highlight a few highly illustrative sites that depict principal facets of the city's history. These will include the Golden Belt Cotton Mill and its mill village; the extraordinary collection of American Tobacco Company/Liggett and Myers warehouses and factories; and St. Joseph's A. M. E. Church, the principal surviving landmark of Hayti, the original African American community that once defined southeast Durham.

The **all-day tour** will visit these landmarks but will provide a different experience by also viewing some of the diverse neighborhoods around, between, and beyond these sites, to suggest the stories of Durham residents of every race, class, and era. Among the themes emphasized will be the role of the hilly terrain in defining areas by class and use, even within short distances. This pattern is illustrated in both the Holloway Street neighborhood, which was historically white, and the Fayetteville Street neighborhoods, which were historically black. A related theme stresses the relationships—sometimes not obvious—of black and white neighborhoods to major employers such as tobacco and textile factories as well as the historically black and historically white colleges and other institutions. Yet another theme will address recent changes in these areas, including both the loss of historic fabric and, especially striking today, the repurposing of many industrial and institutional buildings and the renovation of residential areas after years of neglect.

Finally, as a complete change of pace for members of both tours who have puzzled over the irregular cityscape and may be thirsting for a dose of formal Beaux Arts order, our tours will stop at the center of the West Campus of Duke University, created by the extraordinary design of African American Philadelphia architect Julian Abele in the late 1920s, coupled with the stunning wealth that began with a tobacco factory at a whistle stop just a half-century earlier.

MAP OF DURHAM TOUR SITES



DURHAM, NORTH CAROLINA

- | | |
|--|--|
| 1 Bull Durham Complex, American Tobacco Company | 7 Southeast Durham |
| 2 Liggett & Myers Buildings, American Tobacco Company | 8 St. Joseph's AME Church |
| 3 Holloway Street | 9 Fayetteville Street |
| 4 Golden Belt Manufacturing Co. Complex & Village | 10 N.C. Central University |
| 5 Central Park | 11 College Heights |
| 6A North Durham | 12A Duke University East Campus |
| 6B Trinity Park | 12B Duke University West Campus |
| 6C Morehead Hill | |

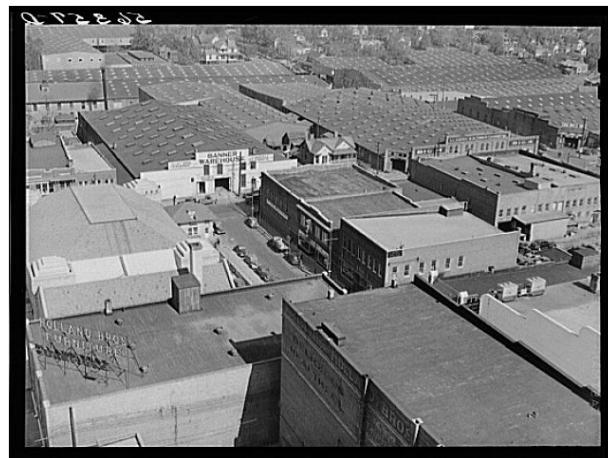
TOBACCO IN TOWN

Durham in the late 19th and much of the 20th century was a tobacco capital that grew from serving a local and regional market into a center for national and international production. Views of the city in those years depict the density of tobacco-related buildings and the diverse activities of those who worked there. Our tours will highlight a few of the surviving buildings that housed the industry and its workers, as well as the institutions the business helped create.

Farmers marketed their tobacco in various forms and through various methods—including taking to the road, as did Washington Duke—but the auction sales system of selling loose leaf tobacco prevailed when Durham was asserting itself as a tobacco capital. For many years, Richmond, Petersburg, and Danville, Virginia had dominated the region's tobacco sales market, along with smaller towns such as Milton, North Carolina. In the 1870s, however, W. T. Blackwell and other Durham manufacturers and entrepreneurs introduced tobacco sales warehouses in their town, soon presenting serious competition to the Virginia markets. By the 1880s, scores of covered wagons filled with tobacco poured into Durham from nearby counties. In the warehouses, each farmer's tobacco was laid out for buyers to inspect and an auctioneer conducted the bidding on each pile while the farmers waited to learn what their crop had brought.

The sales warehouses were long, low buildings with large doors and skylights. Farmers gathered around the warehouses to visit before and after the sales and, once they had their money in hand, spent some of it on necessities and a few niceties at Durham businesses. Other sales warehouses operated in many other North Carolina towns and cities, but in 1880 one survey showed Durham's market in top place with sales of 8 million pounds. Of Durham's once numerous sales warehouses, the last one left in 2015 was the Liberty Warehouse at Rigsbee Avenue and West Corporation streets: a portion of its façade is being incorporated into a redevelopment project.

Generally, the buyers of the tobacco were of two main types: dealers, who bought the tobacco for re-handling (including re-drying and packing) and resale to manufacturers near and far; and representatives of the manufacturers, who bought the tobacco from the farmer at the sales house rather than through



FSA Caption: Tobacco warehouse section of Durham, North Carolina. Photo: Marion Post Wolcott, October 1940, Courtesy of Farm Security Administration Collection, Library of Congress.



Parrish & Blackwell letterhead with tobacco warehouses, 1883. Image: Courtesy of the NCOAH. Source: Archives & History, Neg.#IV.74.3.326-7, Filename: A028

middlemen. The American Tobacco Company moved into direct purchase of the leaf—"Sold American!" was a common cry at auctions. To protect and age the tobacco, which American Tobacco workers had re-dried and packed into hogsheads, the company built a series of large tobacco storage warehouses such as the Watts and Yuille Warehouses (now Brightleaf Square) on South Gregson Street.

In large as well as small tobacco factories, the manufacture of smoking tobacco showed



Tobacco warehouse during auction sales in Oxford, Granville County, North Carolina, November 1939. Photo: Marion Post Wolcott, courtesy of Farm Security Administration Collection, Library of Congress

continuity along with change from the days when the Duke boys flailed and sifted the cured tobacco leaves and their sister, Mary, packed it into little cotton bags she had sewn. Increasing mechanization and expanding scale of production went hand in hand. (Production of plug, or chewing, tobacco was a different process for which Winston and other towns were best known; in Durham the focus was on smoking tobacco.) In 1880, the Bull Durham Factory was built to facilitate the process, with the drying room on the 4th floor. From there the dried leaves fell via chutes to the cutting room below and were transported to various locations for each stage of work before workmen loaded the boxes full of bagged tobacco onto railroad cars destined for distant markets.

Beginning in the late 1870s and 1880s, every aspect of production saw greater mechanization and eventually automation, as inventors developed a series of increasingly successful machines to enable workers to re-dry, shred, sieve, flavor, mix, and bag the valuable leaf more quickly. For a time, the small cotton bags for smoking tobacco were sewn by local women and girls, such as Mary Duke, in their homes. Tobacco manufacturers soon invested in cotton mills to produce the cotton fabric for the bags and eventually added factories to mass produce the bags to keep up with output and demand (see "Golden Belt Manufacturing Company Factories and Village".)

The scale of production also soared. Cigarette manufacturing, in particular, expanded rapidly after 1880, with the coinciding rise in the popularity of cigarettes nationally and internationally.



Tobacco Wagons, Trade Street, Winston-Salem, N.C. during a large leaf tobacco sale, ca.1922 Photo: Courtesy Durwood Barbour Collection of North Carolina Postcards, UNC-CH)

Although smokers often rolled their own using smoking tobacco, factory production of cigarettes had commenced in the mid-19th century in factories in New York, Maryland, and Virginia. Cigarette manufacturing in North Carolina began in 1881 when the Dukes hired white women and girls to roll cigarettes by hand, but from the beginning the Duke factory could not keep up with demand. Duke brought to Durham as expert rollers about 125 Polish or Russian Jewish men from New York, and by the end of the year the factory was producing 9.8 million cigarettes annually. In 1884, James B. Duke

introduced the Bonsack cigarette rolling machine into his factory to supplement the European hand-rollers. They objected but stayed at work until 1886, when the Dukes announced a reduction in pay for making cigarettes and most of the European workers returned to the north. The local newspaper noted, "Their places will be supplied by 'Natives' and machines." Production soared in the Durham factory and, in 1887, the company was filling orders of 2 million cigarettes daily.

Workers in the tobacco industry were more varied in race and gender than those in many manufacturing operations, such as the almost entirely white work forces in cotton mills, making Durham an employment magnet for blacks as well as whites. In antebellum years, enslaved men and women as well as whites had accomplished the handwork in early tobacco factories. That pattern continued in the industrialized postwar settings, with dozens of men and women identified in the federal censuses simply as "factory hands."

Conforming to the divisions in the larger society, jobs were segregated by race and gender, with a hierarchy in pay and the type of work: white men stood at the top of the pay scale and black women at the bottom. White men held management and supervisory positions. They also worked as mechanics to maintain the machinery and sometimes operated it. Black men handled the heaviest and dirtiest jobs, including carrying the hogsheads of tobacco into the factory and working in the flavoring department. Some also worked as stemmers, pulling woody stems from the tobacco leaves. Black women and girls worked at many jobs, especially in the leaf departments, including stemming, shaking, and grading the tobacco. Tobacco manufacturers specifically recruited white women and girls for the "clean" jobs of rolling and packaging cigarettes.

During the middle years of the 20th century, as automation increased, all of these jobs shifted from handwork to feeding and tending the machinery to accomplish each task. The factory was often uncomfortably hot and many departments were filled with tobacco dust and the deafening sound of machinery. The work was hard and the pay low, but as longtime tobacco factory worker Annie Jones put it, she liked the job because "I was getting a little pay every week. You know, on the farm, sometimes



FSA caption: Truckload of tobacco after being sold at warehouse is hauled to the cigarette storage warehouse, Durham, North Carolina. Photo: Marion Post Wolcott, November 1939, courtesy of Farm Security Administration Collection, Library of Congress.



FSA Caption: African American farmer talking with warehouse man about price he received at auction for his tobacco, Durham, North Carolina, November 1939. Photo: Marion Post Wolcott, courtesy of Farm Security Administration Collection, Library of Congress.



FSA Caption: Farmers must often wait overnight or for several days before their tobacco is sold at auction; they sometimes hang around in cafes or pool rooms, sleeping most anywhere, Durham, North Carolina. November 1939. Photo: Marion Post Wolcott, courtesy of the Library of Congress. <http://www.loc.gov/pictures/resource/fsa.8c11242/>

you didn't clear nothing; it was just a gamblin' life."

The tobacco factory workers in Durham, as elsewhere, made intermittent efforts at unionization. Both men and women were involved, with black women among the leaders. There were separate black and white tobacco workers' organizations as well as racially mixed ones. After a strike in the 1930s, union activities succeeded in improving some conditions and opening up previously all-white, better-paying positions to African American men and women, including work as drivers and foremen and jobs in the cigarette department. As the industry changed and grew more automated, some jobs vanished: the closing of the Liggett and Myers stemmery in the 1950s, for example, eliminated longstanding positions for many black workers.

When Liggett and Myers closed its cigarette operations in Durham in 2000, the city's tobacco industry effectively ended. Fortunately, the imposing and often grand brick factories and warehouses survived into the era of adaptive reuse. Intact interiors of Durham's tobacco-related industrial buildings, and those of its textile mills as well, are almost impossible to find due to their near universal conversion into offices, stores, apartments, and other enterprises.

For a vivid account of Durham tobacco workers' experiences, see Beverly Jones and Claudia Egelhoff, Editors, *Working in Tobacco: An Oral History of Durham's Tobacco Factory Workers* (1988). Much of the discussion here is adapted from Dolores Janiewski, "Durham's Tobacco Factory History: Lessons Learned," 1987, therein. See also Jean Bradley Anderson, *Durham*

County: A History of Durham County, North Carolina (Duke University Press, 1990); Robert F. Durden, *The Dukes of Durham, 1865-1929* (Duke University Press, 1975); Dolores Janiewski, *Sisterhood Denied: Race, Gender, and Class in a New South Community* (Temple University Press, 1985); and Nannie May Tilley, *The Bright Tobacco Industry, 1860-1929* (University of North Carolina Press, 1948).



Girls at Work in Fatima Cigarette Factory, Durham, North Carolina, ca.1905. Image: Courtesy of the North Carolina Postcard Collection, UNC-CH.



Women workers sort tobacco on drying machines at Imperial Tobacco, Greenville, Pitt County, North Carolina, August 1956. Photo: Courtesy of the Daily Reflector Image Collection, ECU.



Tobacco processing, n.d. Photo: Courtesy of Special Collections Research Center at NCSU Libraries.



Tobacco worker moving hogsheads of tobacco, 1955. Courtesy of the Daily Reflector Image Collection, ECU.

Among the principal landmarks of Durham's industrial history, this massive industrial complex stretches south from the railroad tracks almost to the Durham freeway and illustrates key chapters in the city's history. In an unusually clear, linear, architectural chronology, the original 1874 tobacco factory—one of the oldest buildings in Durham—stands at the north end by the tracks, and successive additions reflecting the architectural trends of their eras line up behind it to the south. Immediately east and west of the plant were blocks of modest houses occupied by white tobacco factory workers while southward of the plant—before urban renewal and the Durham Freeway—stood extensive neighborhoods that were home to the many African American employees of the factory.

Buildings

The operation began with W. T. Blackwell and Company, which built in 1874 the ornate, 4-story, L-shaped Italianate-style Bull Durham Tobacco Factory at the northeast corner of the block, overlooking the railroad tracks to the north and Blackwell Street to the east. Its immense size for the times and its lavish architectural character proclaimed the company's success and

its ambitions. Its exuberant architecture also typified the city's bold and eclectic late 19th-century character, much of which was supplanted in the 20th century. Blackwell had a huge image of the trademark bull painted on the building, and he also installed a calliope that, as a Greensboro newspaper reported in 1876, "imitates the bellowing of the bull with all its variations to a dot. It can be heard for miles. . . . The effect on strangers who are not aware of the existence of an artificial bellow is remarkable."

When the initial Blackwell factory was erected in 1874, the manufacture of smoking tobacco popular with pipe smokers depended primarily on labor-intensive hand work by black and white men, women, and children, using techniques familiar from the small-scale home factories of antebellum times and providing skilled and unskilled work to many African Americans. Similar methods were used at the Duke family's operations and other tobacco factories of the day. Briefly stated, men unloaded the carefully selected piles of farm-cured tobacco bought at local auction houses and carried them inside; the leaves were redried and rehydrated; and workers sorted the tobacco and pounded it into granules suitable for smoking, sometimes added flavoring, placed the granules into bags or other containers, and prepared the containers for shipment by rail to distant locations. In 1880, the firm introduced cigarette production, which likewise began with handwork in manufacturing and packaging. Within a few years, this company as well as the Dukes and others invested in new machinery and methods that mechanized and eventually automated one task after another, vastly increased production, and supported the repeated expansions of the factory.

In 1880 the Blackwell firm added an L-shaped wing to the west end of the factory and extended the east wing as the first of many additions that would be constructed over nearly a century. With mechanized production that soon yielded 5 million pounds of smoking tobacco per year, the plant was described as the world's largest smoking tobacco factory. In time, cigarette manufacturing increased. After the Bull Durham Factory was purchased by the American Tobacco Company (ATC) in 1899 (see History), ATC constructed the south wing of the original Bull Durham Factory (creating its current square shape surrounding a courtyard) as well as four large warehouses and factory buildings in an ornate style akin to others of the day. (Around 1920, the original north wing and the entire east wing were reduced to two stories.) After the ATC trust dissolved in 1911, the reorganized company

added a sequence of three more austere factories at the southeast end, as well as the “Lucky Strike” smokestack of 1930 that still punctuates the city skyline. For an illustrated discussion of the phases of construction see <http://www.opendurham.org/buildings/blackwells-durham-tobacco-american-tobacco-co>.

History

In 1869, a few years before the W. T. Blackwell Company erected the Bull Durham Tobacco Factory, W. T. Blackwell (1839-1904) had joined in a partnership with two other early Durham tobacco manufacturers, including John Ruffin Green, who had patented the Bull Durham name and image for his tobacco, reportedly inspired by the bull’s head image on a jar of Coleman’s Durham brand mustard. Green died in 1869, and in 1870 Julian S. Carr (1845-1924) of Chapel Hill joined the firm when his father bought a one-third interest in it. Using the bright leaf and other tobacco grown by the region’s farmers, the operation was a resounding success. By 1872, the local *Tobacco Plant* boasted that Bull Durham was the nation’s most popular brand of smoking tobacco.

In 1883 Julian Carr bought Blackwell’s interest and launched a major advertising campaign to compete with the burgeoning Duke family tobacco empire. Among his strategies, Carr had artist Jule Korner paint giant advertisements for the company, complete with anatomically detailed images of the bull, on buildings across the nation, and supposedly placed letters of outrage in the local papers to attract public attention.

Carr resisted the efforts of the Dukes’ American Tobacco Company (est. 1890) to acquire his factory and sold it instead to the Union Tobacco Company. But in 1899 ATC acquired the factory from Union, thus placing the Bull Durham complex in the hands of Carr’s old rivals in the business. (Carr shifted his interests to textiles, such as the “Golden Belt Manufacturing Company Factories and Village” in eastern Durham.) ATC expanded the operations over the years and constructed new buildings, including those extending south and west from the original factory.

Along with smoking tobacco, Lucky Strike cigarettes – as many as 20 million per hour – were manufactured here, and the roar of the bull continued to mark the end of the work day. In the 1980s, American Tobacco ceased operations in Durham, leaving the fate of the complex in question. There were various proposals over the years.



View of American Tobacco Company plant with the Bull Durham Tobacco Factory in the foreground, ca.1926. Photo: Courtesy of the North Carolina Collection, Durham County Library.



Postcard of American Tobacco Company plant, ca.1935. Photo: Courtesy of North Carolina Collection, Durham County Library.



Restored W.T. Blackwell Factory, American Tobacco campus, 2008. Photo: Courtesy of Open Durham.

In 2002 Capitol Broadcasting Company acquired the property and began a multi-phased renovation and repurposing for mixed uses. The first section was opened in 2004 and others followed over several years. The renovation of the complex, now known as the American Tobacco Campus, is one of the state's largest historic redevelopment projects. The facades of the

1874 factory, some of them long concealed, were restored. Some of the ornate warehouses on the west side of the complex were replaced with a parking garage, the interiors of the main buildings were reworked, and landscape elements including a stream were installed in the center of the complex, but the powerful character of the architecture persists. Today the complex represents not only Durham's long history of tobacco manufacturing but the variety of ways in which the city has repurposed its industrial architectural legacy.

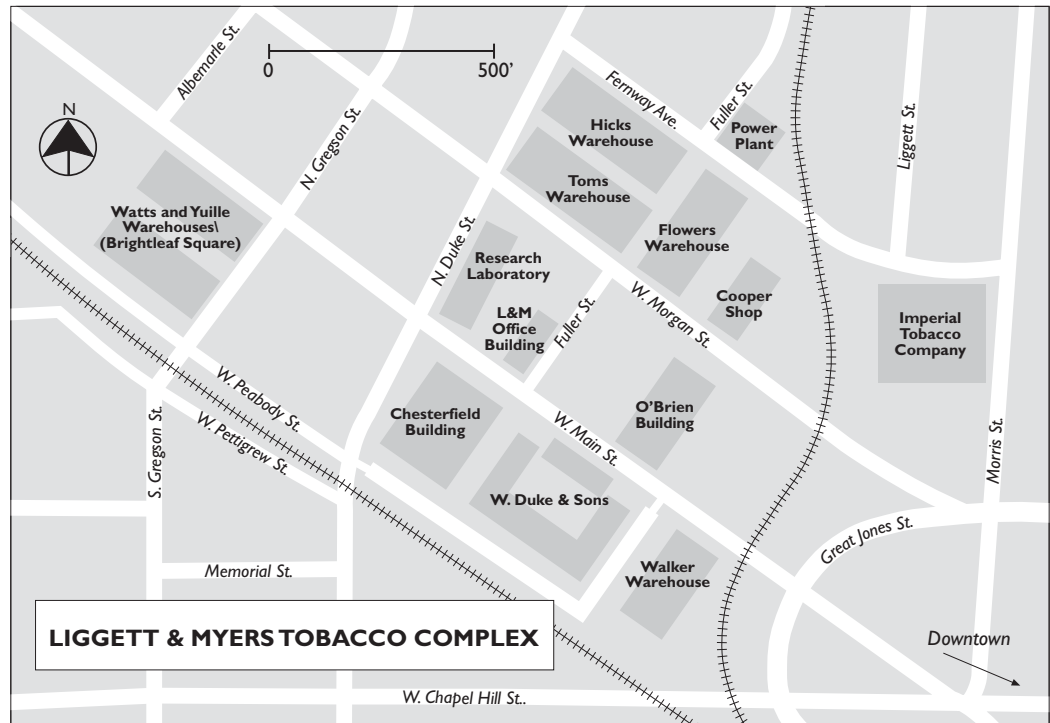
See Claudia Roberts Brown and M. Ruth Little, American Tobacco Company Manufacturing Plant, National Register nomination (2000).



Interior courtyard, American Tobacco Campus, 2008. Photo: Courtesy of NCOAH.

LIGGETT AND MYERS TOBACCO COMPANY (AMERICAN TOBACCO COMPANY) BUILDINGS 1880s-1940s 2

West of downtown Durham stands an immense complex of tobacco-related buildings that represent in monumental terms the stages of growth of the tobacco empire created by W. Duke and Sons. Although a few buildings that once stood in the area have been lost, here, as for much of Durham's unique legacy of industrial architecture, public policy and private entrepreneurship have combined over the years to repurpose these large and stoutly constructed buildings for new uses.



Our tour will lead us past several of these. VAFers are encouraged to make their own interior visits to “Bright Leaf Square” (Watts and Yuille Warehouses) and others with commercial uses open to the public.

Buildings

The best known of these buildings is the series of brick **Tobacco Storage Warehouses and Processing Buildings** built for the American Tobacco Company from 1897 to 1904 and then for Liggett and Myers (L&M) in the 1910s and 1920s. Their purpose exemplified the company's strategy for controlling the market and the process: the firm bought leaf directly from the farmers, and then stored it in 1,000-pound hogsheads under strictly controlled conditions to age for three to five years before being made into cigarettes.

To protect the incredibly valuable contents, and with threats of arson a reality, these purpose-built structures combined slow-burn or “mill” construction of thick brick walls, interior fire walls, very thick floors of hardwood or concrete, and fireproof metal shutters. The interior structures of the warehouses were sized and strong enough to hold the heavy



Watts and Yuille tobacco storage warehouses, 1978. Photo: Courtesy of Open Durham.

hogsheads. At the warehouses, a complex system of ventilation through chutes and stacks facilitated ventilation as needed. (About 15% of the stacks are functional; the rest are purely decorative.) Finally, these functional elements were rendered in a spectacular, castellated architecture displaying the brickmason's art and the status of the company. A great proportion of the bricks were manufactured by Durham African American brickmaker Richard Fitzgerald (ca. 1843-1918), whose factory produced over 2 million bricks in 1884 alone.

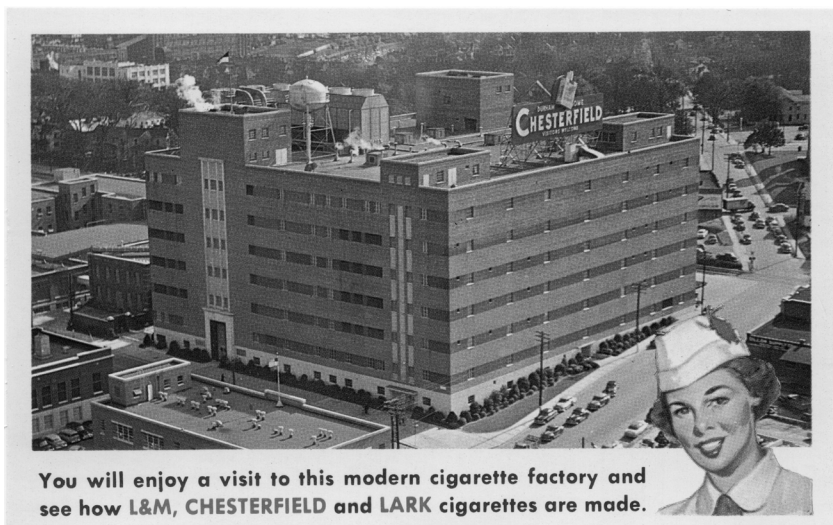
The design of the warehouses has not been positively attributed to a single architect. There is reason to believe that Col. William Jackson Hicks of Raleigh was involved in their initial planning and that Albert F. Hunt of Richmond, Virginia, drew the final plans. There also has been speculation that they were designed by architect Samuel Linton Leary of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, whom the Dukes had brought to Durham to design the main building of Trinity College.

Built year after year as needed, the warehouses and processing buildings are dated on their cornerstones and named for various company employees and associates. The most ornate ones in this area, built in the Romanesque Revival style for ATC, date from 1897 to 1904: Watts and Yuille Warehouses (905 W. Main St.), Hicks and Toms Warehouses (210 N. Duke St.), O'Brien Building (610 W. Main St.), and Walker Warehouse (601 W. Main St.). Those built for L&M in the 1910s and 1920s show more streamlined designs but still exhibit decorative brickwork (e.g., Flowers Building at 610 Morgan St. and Cooper Shop at 604 Morgan St.). By the 1930s and 1940s, L&M buildings such as the Office Building (700 W. Main St.) and Research Laboratories (710 W. Main St.) were erected in a minimalist melding of the Neoclassical and Moderne styles.

The **Chesterfield Building** (1948, 701 W. Main St.), located in the midst of the district on the former site of Fairview, Washington Duke's spectacular Queen Anne-style residence, reflects the growth and modernization of the industry and the company after World War II. It was built as the "New Tobacco Factory" near the "Old Tobacco Factory" that began as W. Duke and Sons (see below). It is a massive, 7-story building of austere modern style, with sheer red brick walls clothing a fireproof steel and concrete structure. Small windows punctuate contrasting bands of dark gray brick. Black marble frames the entrance. Its operations were state-of-the-art in its day,

and guided tours of the plant were part of a visit to Durham. After a period of vacancy and uncertainty, the Chesterfield Building is being extensively reworked for a new, multi-use facility; many new windows have been added, particularly on the east side that was originally a blank wall.

Immediately east of the Chesterfield Building and facing the railroad stands the original though much altered U-shaped **W. Duke and Sons Cigarette Factory** (1884 and later; 605 W. Main St.). It was built as an ornate 4-story building in Italianate



You will enjoy a visit to this modern cigarette factory and see how L&M, CHESTERFIELD and LARK cigarettes are made.

Liggett and Myers new cigarette factory on 1964 postcard. Photo: Courtesy of the North Carolina Collection, Durham County Library.

style and expanded over the years to form a U-shaped building. It was here that the Dukes introduced the Bonsack cigarette machine. About the time the Chesterfield Building—the “New Tobacco Factory”—was constructed, the “Old Tobacco Factory,” as it was then called, was reduced in height from four stories to two. After long disuse, it has been renovated for residential use.

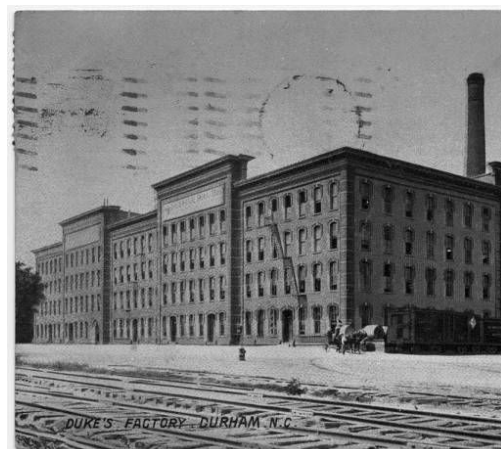
Just across the railroad line that marks the east edge of the ATC and L&M buildings is the **Imperial Tobacco Co.** (215 Morris St.), another large but later example of a Romanesque Revival-style factory. Built in 1916, it rivals the Duke-affiliated buildings in its scale and ornamental brickwork, curved and gabled parapets, and white stone accents. Like all of the surviving ATC and L&M buildings, it, too, has been rehabilitated.

History

W. Duke and Sons was founded in 1878 by Washington Duke, his sons Brodie, Benjamin N., and James Buchanan, plus partner George W. Watts. The Duke family had begun manufacturing as well as growing tobacco before the Civil War on their farm north of Durham. They sold it on “drumming” journeys across the state and, encouraged by the growing demand after the Civil War, moved to town by 1874. In 1878 Washington Duke sold his interest to Richard Wright of Franklin County, but the firm continued under the same name.

In 1881, rather than competing with W. T. Blackwell’s “Bull Durham” smoking tobacco, the Dukes switched to manufacturing cigarettes, which were already popular in Europe, but new in America, and ideal for the bright leaf tobacco grown in nearby Caswell and Granville counties. The company opened cigarette factories in Durham and New York in 1884, including the W. Duke and Sons Cigarette Factory beside the railroad at 600 Peabody Street. Initially W. Duke and Sons hired local white girls and women to perform the exacting work of hand-rolling the cigarettes. As demand increased, the company added about 100 Russian and Polish Jewish immigrants from New York. James B. Duke soon gambled on an investment in the Bonsack cigarette rolling machine. Perfected for Duke by mechanic William T. O’Brien, it automated the process and placed the company at the forefront of the business. The European cigarette rollers objected to the introduction of the machinery and the resulting reduction in their pay and soon left.

In 1890, James B. Duke formed the American Tobacco Company, a gigantic firm that acquired or eliminated competing firms and created a monopoly in the business. Duke also revolutionized the traditional tobacco sales process by buying the leaf directly from the farmers, rather than middlemen. This measure helped control prices, supply, and processing of the leaf—all under the aegis of the single company. In 1911, after long controversy and anti-trust legislation, the American Tobacco Company was broken up, with one of the newly separated companies retaining that name operating in the vast complex a few blocks to the southeast (see American Tobacco Company (Bull Durham) Complex) and another being Liggett and Myers, which continued through the century.



*Duke's Factory on early 20th-century postcard.
Photo: Courtesy of the North Carolina Collection,
UNC-CH.*



Liggett and Myers Power Plant. Photo: Courtesy of LoopNet.com.

The Imperial Tobacco Company Ltd. of Great Britain and Ireland, founded in 1901 by British tobacco manufacturers who wanted to counter the ATC's expansion into European markets, established its own leaf buying operation in the U.S. after ATC and Imperial agreed not to enter each other's

manufactured tobacco markets. By the late 1910s, Imperial Tobacco, which had become the largest cigarette manufacturer in the United Kingdom, was buying more American leaf than any other export buyer in the world.

Liggett and Myers operated in Durham until the year 2000, when the *Raleigh News and Observer* of September 10 carried a front page story headlined, "The last cigarette—The remaining cigarette factory in Durham closes its doors and a chapter in the city's history." By that time, a number of the older factories and warehouses, including Imperial Tobacco, had already been vacated, and historic preservationists, city economic development leaders, and entrepreneurs had been creating new uses for them.

One of the first "adaptive reuse" projects of Durham's industrial heritage came with the 1981 creation of the "Bright Leaf Square" shopping center in the Watts and Yuille Warehouses. Other reuse projects for a variety of businesses and residential purposes followed, often requiring many years of setbacks and new starts. The largest of these is West Village, which converted 11 of the buildings, including the large brick Power Plant (1926, 1938) on North Fuller Street. Today, like the American Tobacco Company (Bull Durham) Complex on the south side of downtown, this tobacco district is an economic as well as architectural and historical attraction that incorporates new construction among the re-purposed buildings.

See Claudia R. Brown, Bright Leaf Historic District National Register nomination (1999).

Question

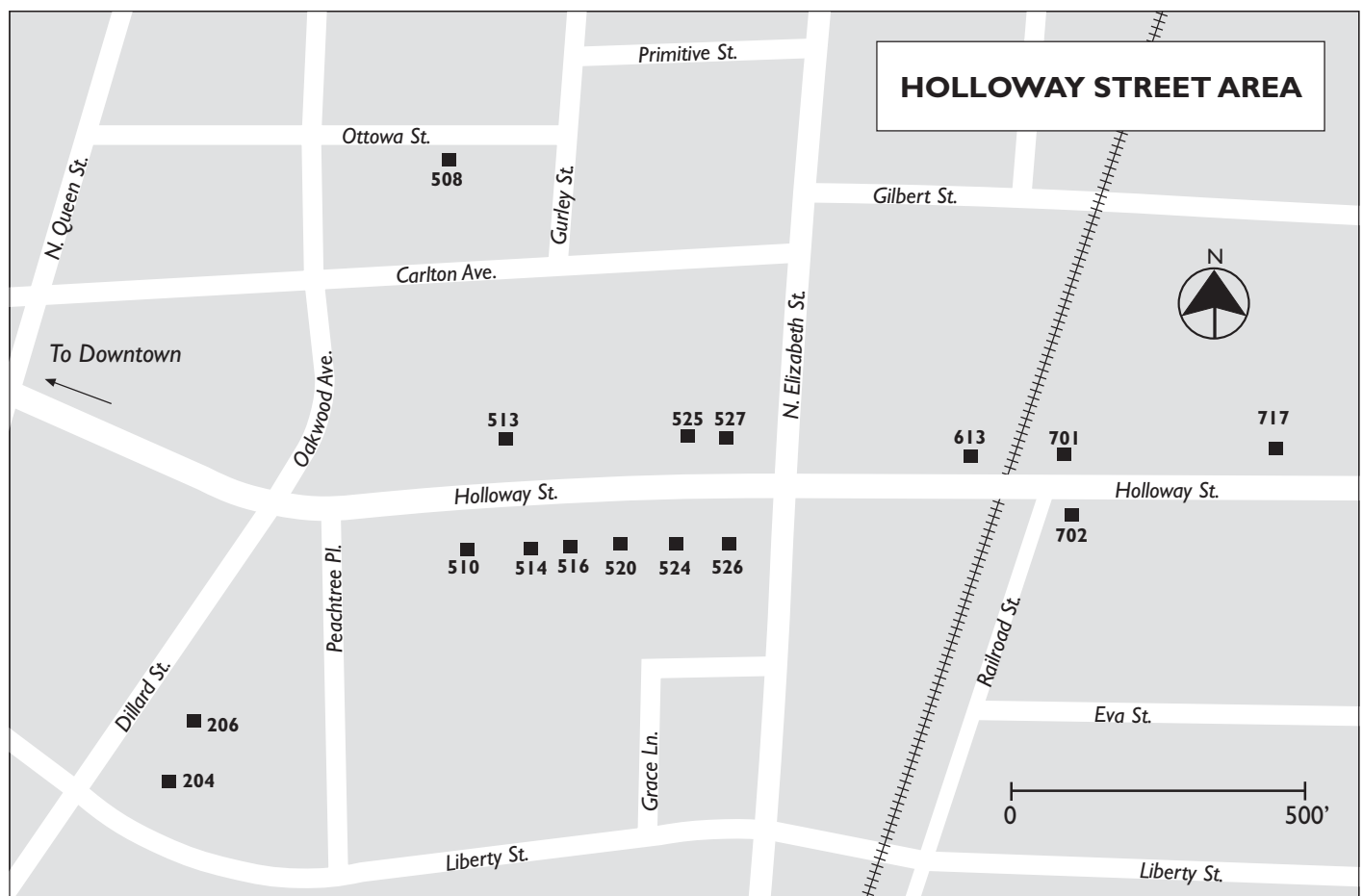
When workplaces such as tobacco factories are repurposed entirely, such as these in Durham, do they carry any aspect of historical memory for the people who once worked there and their descendants?

Within the residential area centered on Holloway Street, a variety of houses from the late 19th and early 20th centuries represent phases in Durham's history that have been erased from much of the city, including its prime examples of late 19th-century residential styles and types. Located immediately east of downtown Durham, it is one of the few surviving neighborhoods in town that, like many late 19th-century American neighborhoods, was built for a range of (white) social classes, a pattern that would give way to greater separation and homogeneity of streetcar and automobile-oriented suburbs in the early to mid-20th century. As was typical in North Carolina, most of the houses, of whatever size, were built as single-family dwellings, with only a few purpose-built duplexes. Over time, several became multi-family residences or boarding houses. After a mid- to late-20th-century era of severe decline and losses, the neighborhood has seen revitalization in recent years.

Houses of various sizes encompass the range of popular stylistic possibilities from more or less elaborate Queen Anne houses to bungalows and Colonial Revival adaptations, and they also demonstrate the myriad combinations of familiar vernacular types



Julian S. Carr's Somerset villa, ca.1888. Photo: Courtesy of the North Carolina Collection, Durham County Library.



such as the I-house with motifs from current styles. With the mansions of tobacco magnates long lost, this neighborhood has Durham's greatest surviving concentration of "high end" stylish houses of the late 19th and early 20th centuries. The neighborhood landscape also embodies Durham's typical relationships between the hilly terrain and the timing and status of buildings, with the usual preference for higher land. What is missing from its streetscape, especially the severance of the original links to the city's downtown, recalls the severe blows to Durham's architectural and social fabric in the late 20th century and the resulting lacunae in the architectural story.



Hackney-Markham House, 2011. Photo: Courtesy of Preservation Durham.

The Holloway Street area is a vestige of what was once Durham's most prestigious residential sector, which began in the 1860s on the eastern edge of the central business district. By the 1870s, Dillard Street at the heart of the area, where newly rich tobaccoists such as Julian S. Carr and E. J. Parrish built their villas, was called "Mansion Row." Development expanded and diversified during the 1880s and 1890s as the city grew and Durhamites built large and small houses that included Italianate villa types and opulent Queen Anne-style mansions, as well as vernacular house types and Queen Anne-style "cottages."

Residents of the 500-700 blocks of Holloway Street during the neighborhood's prime years of Durham's industrial growth encompassed a range of occupations. Predictably, many of the heads of household were employed by the textile and tobacco industries. Two executives at the "Golden Belt Manufacturing Company Factories and Village", for example, built their homes here, including Henry Wilkerson at **524** and Paul Crews at **526 Holloway Street**. Other residents included real estate developers, bankers and bank employees, teachers at Trinity College (later Duke University), and a variety of merchants and other entrepreneurs. By about 1920, the area was fully developed. Citizens wanting to build new houses had begun the move outward into suburban locations, leading to the gradual decline of the neighborhood.



527 Holloway Street. Photo: Claudia Brown, 2016.

In a familiar saga, expanding commercial development as well as sagging social status made inroads into the neighborhood. The initial blocks, including some of the grandest houses near the city center, survived into the 20th century, but in the 1960s, urban renewal and street widening destroyed almost all of the original part of the neighborhood from the 1870s and much from the 1880s. The continuum from downtown to neighborhood vanished, leaving Holloway Street and the areas nearby as lone reminders of those heady times.

Our walking tour highlights the neighborhood's variety of house types. Indicative of what once stood nearer downtown are two houses a short distance southwest on a fragment of the once prestigious **Dillard Street**. The Hackney-Markham House (1880s) at **204** is Durham's most ornate surviving Queen Anne-style residence, one of many that once adorned the city. The ca. 1908-1909 Thomas House at **206**, with its Ionic portico,



520 Holloway Street. Photo: Claudia Brown, 2016.

exemplifies the columned mansions favored by wealthy merchants and others at the turn of the century.

A sampling of architecture on **Holloway Street** comprises several Queen Anne-style residences in the 500 block, with one of the earliest being at **514**. Among the more elaborately decorated is the 2-story house at **527**, with the characteristic irregular form and roofline of the style. An especially grand version from the 1890s at **513**, and another from 1903 at **520** with the simpler form typical of its later date, show the era's frequent incorporation of Colonial Revival motifs into generally Queen Anne-style houses. The owner of the house at **510** went further, remaking a Queen Anne-style house in the 1920s or 1930s into a Colonial Revival-style residence. There are several 1-story examples—"Queen Anne cottages" some call them—such as **524 Holloway**, with high roofs and decorative porches. Especially numerous are simple 2-story houses of the familiar "I-house" format that feature



O'Brian's Store, 613 Holloway Street. Photo: Claudia Brown, 2016.



701 Holloway Street in 2007. Photo: Courtesy of Open Durham.



701 Holloway Street after start of rehabilitation, January 20, 2011. Photo: Courtesy of Open Durham.



701 Holloway Street after total failure of structural members, January 27, 2011. Photo: Courtesy of Open Durham.



701 Holloway Street near completion of reconstruction. Photo: Claudia Brown, May 2016.



Calvin O'Briant House. Photo: Bill Garrett, 2016.

characteristic late 19th or early 20th-century decorations in their porches and front central roof gables, such as the pre-1891 house at **525**.

Reflecting a widespread trend of the late 1890s and the early 20th century, some residents of Holloway Street increasingly favored simpler styles, especially the boxy, 2-story house type frequently called a “Four Square” or “foursquare” often with simple neoclassical detailing, such as the example at **516**. Similar houses occur in the 600 block of Holloway Street and on other streets lying northward that were developed in the early 20th century. A landmark in the 600 block is **O'Briant's Store** at **613**, a 2-story brick commercial building of ca. 1915 that recalls the corner stores once central to neighborhood life here and across the country.

Farther east across the railroad tracks, houses in the 700 block tend to be both more modest and more eclectic, typical of east Durham. Here houses are mostly traditional 1-story forms with minimal late Queen Anne detailing and Craftsman bungalows. Notable exceptions are the small mansard-roofed cottages immediately across the tracks at **702** and **701** and the I-house at **717**.

Elsewhere in the neighborhood, north of Holloway Street, most of the houses were built on rolling terrain platted in 1903 and 1906 and date from the late 1900s through the 1930s. Here the houses tend to be more modest in both their size and stylistic elements than those on Holloway Street. Most are Colonial Revival houses, Craftsman bungalows, and simple front-gable bungalows, interspersed with Queen Anne cottages. The house built ca. 1920 at **508 Ottowa Avenue** is typical of the area: a 2-story, 2-room-deep frame dwelling with a clipped front-gable roof and little embellishment beyond the simple columns supporting the front porch and a transom at the small picture window on the main façade.

See Claudia Roberts Brown, Holloway Street National Register District nomination (1984); and Heather Wagner [Slane], Holloway Street Historic District Boundary Increase (2007).

An Issue to Ponder

Consider the following observations by VAFer Heather Slane about the Holloway Street neighborhood and the recently expanded historic district which includes several blocks nearby: “The history of the neighborhood parallels larger trends in 20th- and 21st-century neighborhoods. One of the closest physically to downtown, it grew because of its proximity to downtown, with many residents working downtown and walking to work (before Durham's streetcar suburbs took off). With the growth of the suburbs and flight from downtown, the neighborhood suffered and declined in the late 20th century, but with renewed interest in walkability and the variety of housing sizes it offers (from large Victorians to small duplexes), it is illustrative of the vibrant neighborhoods that [new urbanists] have noted as the most desirable. Of course, this carries with it the discussion of gentrification . . . with property values tripling (or more!) in the last 5 to 7 years, but again, an example of larger trends.”

GOLDEN BELT MANUFACTURING COMPANY FACTORIES AND VILLAGE 1900-1930S

4

EAST OF NORFOLK AND WESTERN RAIL ROAD
AND NORTH OF MAIN STREET

The Golden Belt manufacturing complex is one of the most complete ensembles of textile-related architecture in Durham. It was part of what was once a dense and extensive urban landscape of textile and related factories, housing, stores, and churches in an area of eastern Durham developed largely by industrialist Julian S. Carr. Golden Belt's history (see below) also recalls the unusual relationship in Durham between the tobacco industry and textile production. Just as it was one of the last of Durham's textile mills to cease operations—in 1996—it is among the most recent to have been repurposed for new uses in a highly regarded project completed in 2008.

Buildings

The centerpiece of the Golden Belt complex is the immense, castle-like factory grouping. The long, 2- and 3-story brick factories built ca. 1900 feature the period's Romanesque-inspired character, with ornate brickwork, multiple towers, closely spaced arched windows, and roof monitors with clerestory windows that supply additional light to the rooms below. A tall smokestack is emblazoned "G B & CO." The oldest sections are of slow burn or "mill" construction with heavy timber interior supports and thick brick walls. The later structures have thinner brick walls and steel framing and include ca. 1920 additions with corbeled cornices and more austere additions of the 1930s.



Golden Belt Manufacturing Company on ca. 1910 postcard. Photo: Courtesy of the North Carolina Collection, UNC-CH.

Located east of the factory, Golden Belt's mill village (later known as the Morning Glory neighborhood), though reduced in recent decades, exemplifies the mill villages built by industrialists in urban settings as well as at more remote, water-powered sites such as Saxapahaw (Thursday tour). Laid out in a grid plan, the Golden Belt village developed in several phases and in the mid-20th century had more than 100 houses. These were built in two main campaigns.

The first, coeval with the mill's construction of 1900-1902, consisted mainly of 1- and 2-story frame houses that followed a few basic forms that varied with the position of ell and the presence of one or two front entrances. They typically have front porches and modest millwork decoration. These were evidently constructed by builder Andrew C. Mitchell,



1957 view of Golden Belt factory and village. Photo: Courtesy of Open Durham.



Golden Belt mill houses, Worth Street, 2008. Photo: Courtesy of Open Durham.



Late 1910s Golden Belt mill houses on Taylor Street. Photo: Claudia Brown, 1981.

whose April 20, 1900, contract with the Golden Belt Manufacturing Company stated that he would build 50 houses and 50 privies.

A second building campaign of the late 1910s corresponded with Golden Belt's expansion to produce cigarette packaging and cartons for the American Tobacco Company. Most of these are 1-story bungalows, located in the northern and western reaches of the village. Additionally five 1½-story bungalows were erected just east of the factory for high-ranking operatives. Their builder or source has not been identified; they might have come from a prefabricated building manufacturer such as the Aladdin Company that manufactured many mill houses which could be shipped by rail and quickly assembled on site.

A commercial area developed at the south edge of the village. It first consisted of frame buildings, which by 1930 had been replaced with more than a dozen 1- and 2-story brick commercial buildings along Main Street, mostly on the north side. They served both the Golden Belt neighborhood and Edgemont, the village associated with Durham Hosiery Mill to the south. The few commercial buildings on the south side of Main Street and about half on the north side

have been razed. Likewise, quite a few of the mill operatives' houses, particularly along Alston Avenue and the north side of Taylor Street, have been lost to demolition, mostly by various government entities as the houses were abandoned and deteriorated. Some of the residential lots have been redeveloped, others remain vacant. Despite these losses, a majority of the buildings remain in place to convey the development pattern of the village, and numerous houses have been rehabilitated.

History

In contrast to many towns where cotton manufacturing inaugurated industrial development, in Durham the early textile mills were associated with the previously established tobacco industry, and most were founded by leading tobacco industrialists including the Duke family and Julian S. Carr. The link was especially direct in the case of the Golden Belt Manufacturing Company, which tobacco magnate Carr began in the 1880s to manufacture pouches for the smoking tobacco he was producing.

Having made a fortune in tobacco, Carr had already begun to diversify his interests into textile manufacturing. As early as 1884 he had established the Durham Cotton Manufacturing Company in eastern Durham. In 1886 he supported inventor William H. Kerr's interest in

manufacturing little bags for tobacco, which had traditionally been hand sewn. Kerr developed a bag machine that produced thousands of bags a day which were then finished by hand. Carr and others incorporated the Golden Belt Manufacturing Company in 1887. Initially Carr had his bag factory in his W. T. Blackwell and Company Bull Durham Factory. After selling his tobacco business in 1898, Carr expanded further into textile production, erecting the factories and mill villages that spurred development in East Durham. Golden Belt and the Durham Hosiery Mill (see below) were among the most prominent of these.

Carr established the Golden Belt factory as a cotton mill and tobacco bag factory. The operation employed as many as 800 hands, plus hundreds more in the town and countryside who worked at home finishing and tying the little bags. The new facility was the largest in the South, and it would expand over the years. In 1910 the *City of Durham Illustrated* reported that Golden Belt's 350 part-time home employees in town included 200 engaged in "attaching the 'Bull Durham' tags" to the bags.

The *Durham Recorder* of April 16, 1900, ("our industrial issue") reported on developments in the local cotton industry, including several mills operated by the Duke family and their associates in West Durham. It also covered projects in East Durham, including the factories initiated by Julian S. Carr. A laudatory article featured the work of architect and builder Charles H. Norton (1857-1901) and showed drawings of "Buildings Erected by C. H. Norton." Among these were the Golden Belt Factory and the Durham Hosiery Mills for whom the builder had not been identified previously.

Norton was prominent among the architects and builders who arrived after a downtown fire and flourished during Durham's late 19th-century industrial boom. As the *Durham Recorder* related in 1900, Norton had come from Danville about 12 years before and quickly gained commissions for prestigious projects for leading industrial families including the Dukes, the Watts, and Carr. The newspaper noted that he often drew his own plans, but his projects also included buildings designed by other architects, such as the main building of Trinity College, the Durham County Courthouse, downtown churches and banks, and elegant residences for George Watts and others. Norton died unexpectedly in 1901 with projects (including the Durham Hosiery Mill) underway. Like much of Durham's architecture of his era, all of his buildings have been lost except for the Golden Belt and Durham Hosiery Mill factories.

The Golden Belt Manufacturing Company continued in operation into the late 20th century under various owners, including for a time the American Tobacco Company. Although it continued to make tobacco bags, by the late 20th century it was chiefly producing cigarette packages and cartons. In the 1950s, in a widespread pattern, the houses were sold to individual purchasers, often their occupants at the time, and many later became rental units.

In 1996 Golden Belt closed down its manufacturing operations, one of the last textile factories in Durham to do so. After a period of vacancy, most of the complex was acquired in 2006 by Scientific Properties, which has extensively renovated it for new, mixed uses with a focus on the arts and innovation. The architect was Belk Architecture of Durham. Opened in 2008, the Golden Belt campus has received numerous awards for brownfields redevelopment and for



sustainable and creative design. It is described as the largest LEED-certified historic renovation in the state.

Durham Hosiery Mill #1 (1900-1902, 803 Angier Ave.) still stands within sight of the Golden Belt complex. The magnificent 4-story mill is dominated by a 6-story tower and features large windows, a low gabled roof, and ornate corbeling. It too employs the heavy timbers, thick floors, and other fire-resistant measures of “mill” construction. A relatively early example of adaptive reuse for a Durham industrial building, it was renovated in the 1980s into its current

residential use. This mill, too, had its large village, known as Edgemont, most of which has been lost, leaving Golden Belt to help us imagine a much larger urban landscape and community of the early 20th century.

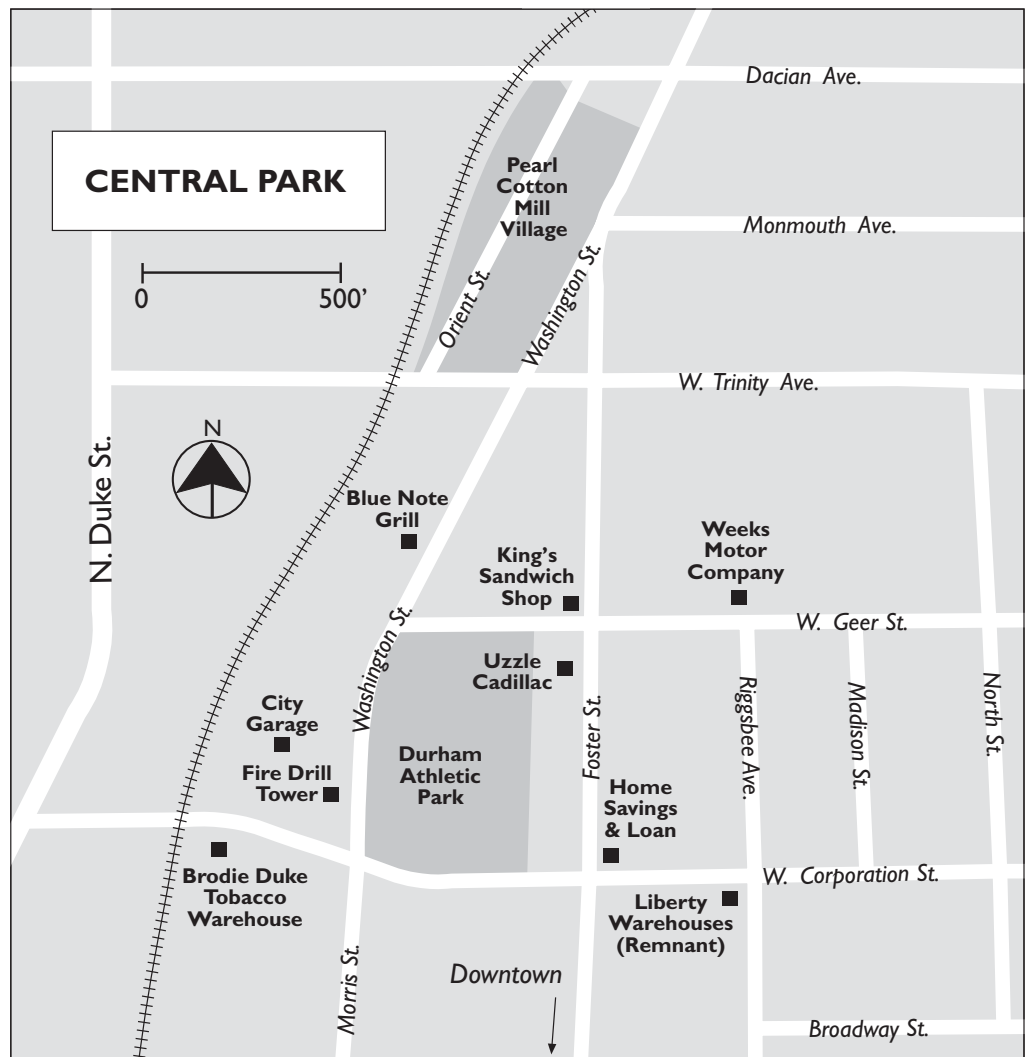
See Claudia Roberts Brown, Golden Belt Historic District National Register nomination (1984) and Andrew Stewart, additional documentation (2008), . For more information on the area's development since 1990, see the end of Open Durham's entry on the Morning Glory neighborhood, <http://www.opendurham.org/category/neighborhood/Morning-Glory#desc>.

Durham Hosiery Mill #1, 2007. Photo: Courtesy of Open Durham.

The all-day city tour's lunch stop at The Blue Note Grill puts us in the center of a collage of varied urban building types representative of several decades of commercial, light industrial, and entertainment uses that flourished in the zone just beyond the central business district now known as Central Park. Some of us may choose to linger at the café, others to saunter around the immediate area, and others to hoof it a few blocks to see a greater variety of buildings. Be selective: there isn't time to see it all. (Hint: the coolest thing is probably the **Durham Athletic Park**.)

As is true in much of Durham, both the slope of the terrain and the proximity to the railroad shaped development in the area; note the daylight basements in many of the buildings, taking advantage of the slope. Located north of the central business district and tobacco facilities and south of the Pearl Cotton Mill and its mill village, this area seems to have had a variety of small houses, as well as livery stables and other businesses, during the early years of the 20th century. Because of its proximity to the central business district, the city built a city garage and fire training tower here in the 1920s, and in 1933 installed a civic ball park. As Durham's residential development extended farther north and west, the area began to change in the 1930s to commercial and light industrial uses. The transformation was largely complete by the 1950s.

Located near The Blue Note are several mid-20th-century commercial buildings, including Moderne-style auto showrooms (e.g., **Weeks Motor Company building** at 408 W. Geer St. and the **Uzzle Cadillac** showroom at 619-21 Foster St.), two typical (and repurposed) gas stations, a bottling plant, a bakery, and numerous warehouses and light industrial structures. A locally beloved small building, representative of the many tiny buildings once prevalent in most towns, is **King's Sandwich Shop** (ca. 1950; 701 Foster St., at the corner of Geer St.). A vivid example of mid-century modernism appears in the





Weeks Motor Company. Photo: Ruth Little, 2012.



King's Sandwich Shop. Photo: Ruth Little, 2012.



Home Savings and Loan Bank. Photo: Ruth Little, 2012.



Durham Athletic Park, 2008. Photo: Courtesy of Open Durham.

Home Savings and Loan Bank (ca. 1959, 600 Foster St.) with its horizontal stonework and angled drive-through canopy.

The most famous spot in the area is the **Durham Athletic Park** (1939; 500 Washington St.), former home of the Durham Bulls minor league baseball team and famed as the setting of the movie “Bull Durham.” Built to replace an earlier civic ballpark destroyed by fire, it was designed by local architect George Watts Carr Sr. and funded by Durham financier John Sprunt Hill, members of families tied to the city’s business leadership. In 1957, the year the Bulls had their first black players, demonstrators unsuccessfully tried to integrate the ballpark on opening night; it would not be desegregated until 1963. The park’s distinctive round ticket office with conical roof and the intimate ballfield make it a favorite landmark even after the move of the team to a much larger facility to the south; it is still used for various purposes.

Just across the street from the ball park is another civic landmark, representing an urban type that seldom survives: the 6-story, brick **Fire Drill Tower** (1928; 501 Washington St.), designed by Durham architects Atwood and Nash, and behind it the former **City Garage** (1927) with Mission Revival-style details.

Immediately south, at the southwest corner of West Corporation and Liggett streets, is the **Brodie L. Duke Tobacco Warehouse** (1874, 321 Liggett St.), the oldest of the Duke family’s extant tobacco buildings. The plain, 2-story, brick building with segmental-arch windows and gable-on-hip roof was erected for Washington Duke’s eldest son, the first member of the family, in 1869, to move from out in the county into Durham to begin manufacturing tobacco. Brodie Duke built the warehouse the same year he merged his operation with his father and brothers’ W. Duke and Sons company.

Three blocks to the east on West Corporation, a portion of two walls at the corner of Rigsbee Avenue are all that remains of the **Liberty Warehouses**, the last of a dozen single-story, frame and brick tobacco auction houses that once dotted this area. The two brick walls and angled corner entrance are intended to lend character to the massive apartment building under construction, which is similar to much of the new development in the Piedmont’s cities.

In the opposite direction from The Blue Note (to the north) the surviving mill houses of the **Pearl Cotton Mill Village** stand along

the 900 blocks of Washington and Orient Streets. The mill was another project of Brodie Duke. The factory is long gone except for a tower and smokestack surviving two blocks west within an apartment complex. Most of the two rows of mill houses on Washington and Orient streets date from the 1890s through about 1905. They are 2 stories tall in a “salt box”-like form and originally had double entrances for flexible use. Around 1920, a few 1-story bungalows were added. Almost all of the houses in the village have been altered over the years but retain the scale and rhythm, and something of the once isolated character, of the mill village.

See National Register nominations: M. Ruth Little, Foster and West Geer Streets Historic District (2013), ; Cynthia de Miranda, Liberty Warehouses Nos. 1 and 2 (2008), and Claudia Roberts Brown, Pearl Mill Village Historic District (1985).



Liberty Warehouses No. 1 and No. 2 during demolition, July 2014. Photo: Courtesy of Open Durham.



Brodie L. Duke Warehouse, 2007. Photo: Courtesy of Open Durham.



Pearl Cotton Mill Village, Orient Street. Photo: Bill Garrett, 2016.

EARLY 20TH-CENTURY NEIGHBORHOODS DEVELOPED FOR DURHAM'S WHITE MIDDLE CLASS

Around the turn of the 20th century, Durham developers and residents followed the nationwide trend toward suburban residential living, with streetcars encouraging the movement of the white middle classes into relatively homogenous neighborhoods whose sponsors emphasized a sylvan, safe environment that embodied the Jim Crow laws and customs of the “Progressive” era. Several neighborhoods that had begun to emerge in the 1880s and 1890s experienced strong growth during the first three decades of the new century due to their close proximity to the trolley lines running north-south and east-west through the center of town. They include North Durham, northeast of Central Park; Trinity Park and Trinity Heights, northwest of the business district; Burch Avenue and Morehead Hill, southwest of the business district; and Lakewood, developed in response to Lakewood Park, the amusement center built by the electric power company at the south end of their trolley line.

All of these neighborhoods exhibit an eclectic array of house types and styles, from modest 1-story frame houses with triple-A rooflines and prefabricated turned and sawn ornament at porches to large heavily ornamented Queen Anne-style dwellings, frame and brick Colonial and other period revival-style houses, and Craftsman bungalows. As seen elsewhere through the city, the most stylish houses tended to be built along the primary arteries, which usually followed ridgelines.

During the 1920s and the years that followed, Durham developers and residents continued the suburban trend established at the turn of the century. More spacious and luxurious white upper and middle-class suburbs extended outward, especially to the southwest where Forest Hills became the first true automobile suburb. Many of the houses of these later suburbs were architect-designed renditions of the popular Colonial Revival and Tudor Revival styles. (See Bishir and Southern, *Guide to the Historic Architecture of Piedmont North Carolina* for a selection of these early to mid-20th-century suburbs.)



During our tours of Durham, we will drive through portions of three of these neighborhoods: North Durham, Morehead Hill, and Trinity Park. All of these areas experienced varying degrees of decline in the mid-20th century as owner occupancy decreased and many of the larger houses were divided into apartments. They subsequently rebounded over the last forty years through an assortment of preservation efforts. (Note: We expect to drive past properties in bold.)

James S. Manning House, 2008. Photo: Courtesy of Open Durham.

North Durham

6A

Now known as “Old North Durham,” North Durham is one of the city’s earliest recognized suburbs. Conversion of farmland to residential tracts began here in the 1880s when attorney **James S. Manning** (911 N. Mangum St., ca. 1880) and printer Henry E. Seeman (112 W. Seeman St., early 1880s) had Queen Anne-style houses built for their families. (Manning’s house was featured in the movie “Bull Durham.”)

Residential development began in earnest in the late 1890s as the neighborhoods closest to Durham’s center filled and the city’s steady rapid growth produced a need for more housing. Construction proceeded northward to Trinity Avenue, mostly with 1- and 2-story, 1-room-deep frame houses adorned with standard millwork, but it was not until the first decade of the 20th century that development surged with the arrival of the north-south trolley line along North Mangum Street. Brodie L. Duke, oldest son of tobacco manufacturing pioneer Washington Duke, owned most of the land north of Trinity Avenue, and in 1901 he subdivided it and began selling building lots, just as he did in Trinity Park (see below). Brodie’s principal successes lay in real estate development rather than manufacturing; he owned extensive tracts north and northwest of the downtown.

For the next three decades, a steady pace of construction produced traditional house types, period revival-style houses, and bungalows, as well as small apartment buildings, churches, and a school. The most robust expressions of the various styles are found on North Mangum Street and Trinity Avenue. These include the **Archibald Currie Jordan House** (912 N. Mangum St., ca. 1910), with a gambrel-roofed portico supported by colossal Corinthian columns, and the **Thomas Davenport Wright House** (320 W. Trinity Ave., ca. 1930), typical of its time in its more “correct” emulation of its Colonial antecedents in its 2-story, double-pile plan with a gabled entrance porch. Some of Durham’s most imaginative renditions of the Craftsman bungalow are found in the 100 block of West Seeman Street, where five houses feature exaggerated flares at the peaks of their gabled roofs, unusually deep bracketed eaves, and porch supports of multiple elements emulating joinery.

Numerous foursquares, often with modest Craftsman detailing, also characterize North Durham. One of these is particularly notable as the home during the 1950s and 1960s of civil rights leader Floyd B. McKissick Jr. Also known as “Freedom House” and “Do-Drop Inn,” as civil rights organizers gathered here during the family’s residency, the **McKissick House** (1123 N. Roxboro St.) was a center of the local and state civil rights movement through Floyd McKissick’s activism with the NAACP and CORE. His wife, Evelyn Williams, initiated the lawsuit that eventually integrated Durham schools and their children were among the first blacks to enter the city’s traditionally white schools. Their oldest child, Jocelyn, participated in the state’s first sit-in, at Durham’s Royal Ice Cream in 1957, and later became a Freedom Rider.



House at 113 West Seeman Street. Photo: Bill Garrett, 2016.

Despite the racism and hatred through phone threats and hate mail that the McKissicks faced while living on North Roxboro Street in the midst of a white neighborhood, the family stayed and made their home the headquarters for NAACP and CORE activity in Durham until 1966, when Floyd McKissick became CORE's national director and the family began traveling across the country to raise funds for the civil rights movement.

North Durham began to decline in the mid-20th century as land uses and traffic patterns changed and homeownership decreased with out-migration to the newer suburbs (prompted in part by school desegregation), which led to the conversion of many of the larger houses to apartments. Since around 1980, that trend has reversed, first due to the establishment of Durham Neighborhood Housing services, which initially located in North Durham and assisted in rehabilitation and weatherization to promote pride in neighborhood appearance, and later through private efforts spurred by state and federal historic rehabilitation tax credits.

See Dan Freedman and Brent Glass, North Durham National Register nomination (1985).

Morehead Hill

6B

The inclusion of several houses built by some of Durham's wealthiest residents sets Morehead Hill apart from the other neighborhoods that burgeoned in the early 20th century. Some of the city's most successful industrialists built mansions at the northern and eastern reaches of this early suburb.

Many of the industrialists and financiers who established themselves in Durham during the boom decade of the 1880s built their houses west of the Southern Railway line in an area then known appropriately as West End. Here, the finest houses lined West Chapel Hill Street and the intersecting South Duke Street Benjamin N. Duke and W. T. Blackwell built large and richly appointed houses on West Chapel Hill Street, while newcomers George W. Watts, a partner of the Dukes, and Eugene Morehead, who established Durham's first bank, built their mansions on South Duke Street. The area south of Chapel Hill Street soon became known as Morehead Hill for Morehead's house located on the highest plot of land on this side of town.

Until the turn of the 20th century, most of the area that is now Morehead Hill remained William Gaston Vickers's farm. Vickers began subdividing his land as building lots in the 1890s, picking up the pace considerably when the new trolley line began service on West Chapel Hill Street in 1902. Unlike other major developer such as Brodie L. Duke, however, Vickers built approximately 100 rental houses along the streets he created in the northern and western areas of Morehead Hill. He also reserved part of his highest land for large building lots, mainly along Vickers Avenue, which appealed to a number of Durham leaders who had initially built on Dillard, Queen, and Holloway streets at the east edge of downtown and now sought more peaceful locales farther away from the factories.

The renewed building of lavish houses in Morehead Hill commenced in 1910 when attorney, banker, and philanthropist **John Sprunt Hill** began his opulent Spanish Colonial Revival-style house designed by Kendall and Taylor of Boston (900 S. Duke St.). **Greystone** (618 Morehead Ave.) followed the next year, a Chateausque-style house of granite and tan brick designed by Charlotte architect Charles Christian Hook for Mary Lyon (Benjamin Duke's niece) and her

husband James Stagg, who was Benjamin Duke's executive secretary. Ben Duke's second Durham house a few blocks away on Chapel Hill Street, Four Acres, was a similar design, also by Hook. (Hook also designed several buildings during the second phase of construction at Trinity College, now the East Campus of Duke University.) Of all the mansions built by Durham's industrialists between the 1880s and 1910s, only the Hill House and Greystone remain standing.

The construction of large, handsome period revival-style houses continued through the 1920s on Vickers Avenue and South Duke Street, among them several fully appointed Colonial Revival-style dwellings built for tobacco executives. A notable row of three houses on South Duke across from the Hill House includes the **Budd House** (903 S. Duke St., late 1920s), an especially fine English Tudor design by Raleigh architect G. Murray Nelson.

See National Register nominations: Claudia Roberts Brown, Morehead Hill Historic District (1985), ; H. McKeldon Smith and John B. Flowers, John Sprunt Hill House (1978); and J. Marshall Bullock, Greystone (1982).

Trinity Park



The relocation of Trinity College to Durham, completed in 1892, along with a rudimentary trolley system, encouraged real estate development nearby, led by some of Durham's early entrepreneurs. In 1901, about the time Durham businessman Richard H. Wright announced his new electric streetcar system, Brodie Duke platted and subdivided the Trinity Park neighborhood on his large tract on the east side of the campus. Construction of houses proceeded gradually through the teens, 20s, and 30s. As Brodie Duke surely intended, the Trinity Park neighborhood attracted white collar businessmen and women as well as college faculty and their families. Meanwhile, another neighborhood, "Trinity Heights," developed by Julian S. Carr and Richard W. Wright north of the campus, filled in more quickly than the sector east of campus. For several years, "Trinity Park" referred to the park-like Trinity College campus, rather than Brodie Duke's development, to which the name was eventually attached.

The grid plan of tree-lined streets features a representative range of early 20th-century house types and styles, including large Colonial Revival, Spanish Revival, and late Queen Anne



John Sprunt Hill House, ca. 1980. Photo: Courtesy of NCOAH.



Budd House, 2011. Photo: Courtesy of Open Durham.



Cranford-Wannamaker House, 2010. Photo: Courtesy of Open Durham.

residences as well as many bungalows, large and small, and cottage-type houses. There are also several notable small apartment houses. Julian S. Carr Junior High School and Durham High School anchor the southeast corner of the neighborhood where their combined campuses are now the Durham School of the Arts. Some of the neighborhood's buildings were architect-designed, but many were planned by local builders, several of whom have been identified. Five houses of the 1890s were built on the Trinity campus (reportedly according to plans ordered by mail from a New York City architect) and then moved to the neighborhood, but generally the neighborhood architecture dates from 1901 to 1940.

Some of the most notable buildings in Trinity Park are on West Trinity Avenue, including the Neo-Gothic Revival-style **Trinity Avenue Presbyterian Church**, designed by Rose and Rose Architects of Rocky Mount (927 W. Trinity Ave., 1925), and two of the houses moved from the college campus: the **Bassett House** (1017 W. Trinity Ave., 1891), with an unusual cross-gambrel roof and deep wraparound porch; and the **Cranford-Wannamaker House** (1019 W. Trinity Ave., 1891), with decorative half-timbering in the front gable and a medieval-looking 3-stage corner tower originally topped by an onion dome (removed ca. 1900).

Several landmarks of the neighborhood are on South Buchanan Boulevard, which runs along the east side of Duke's East Campus. These include the 4-story Neoclassical Revival-style **Erwin**



King's Daughters Home, 1950s. Photo: Courtesy of Open Durham.

Apartments (310 N. Buchanan Blvd., 1930), designed by Durham architect R. R. Markley, and the Colonial Revival-style **King's Daughters Home** (204 N. Buchanan Blvd., now an inn), designed by Milburn and Heister Company and featuring a monumental portico between two pedimented wings with modillion cornices and brick quoins.

During the mid-20th century, Trinity Park experienced the era's familiar out-migration and economic decline, but in an early and determined local preservation effort beginning in the 1970s, the neighborhood has regained its status and retained its character.

See Claudia Roberts Brown, Trinity Historic District National Register nomination (1986), and Ruth Little, expansion of Trinity Historic District National Register nomination (2004).

Development of southeast Durham as a primarily black residential and business area began in the late 19th century and continued into the early 20th. Soon after the Civil War, freed people settled on undeveloped land convenient to the tobacco factories where they found work. In time, blocks were laid out, houses built, churches established, and commercial sectors created. African American businesses, most notably the North Carolina Mutual Life Insurance Company and the associated Merrick-Moore-Spaulding Land Company (est. 1910), were active in developing the area and building houses for workers in tobacco and other industries.

In an article published in 1912, African American leader W. E. B. DuBois praised the accomplishments of the city's black citizenry in "The Upbuilding of Black Durham. The Success of the Negroes and Their Value to a Tolerant and Helpful Southern City" (<http://docsouth.unc.edu/nc/dubois/dubois.html>).

Much of the initial development focused in the area that became known as Hayti, located near the tobacco factories and the railroad. From the core area of Hayti, development extended southward in the early 20th century, encouraged by the establishment and growth of Lincoln Hospital and present **North Carolina Central University**. (Both institutions are still





Dunstan Street duplexes. Photo: Claudia Brown, 2016.

located on Fayetteville Street, the hospital now a medical clinic in a new facility, the university in buildings from various eras; see below.) A series of neighborhoods that ran together with no clearly defined boundaries took shape as land was platted and houses were built, primarily on speculation for rent or sale. West and southwest of Hayti, St. Theresa (now known as Southside) emerged, while Stokesdale rose south of Hayti, mostly east of Fayetteville Street, and “College Heights” (see below) developed west and south of the college campus.

As elsewhere in Durham, the size and status of houses vary with the elevation, with the more modest houses located in low-lying areas. With the steepest hills, St. Theresa tends to have the greater number of simple, plain houses. An especially dramatic view of the steep terrain and builders’ accommodation to it appears in a row of simple frame duplexes with porches and stairs, built about 1930, that form stair steps down the hillside on Dunstan Street. On the ridgeline marked by Umstead Street, however, houses are larger and more stylish. Here, the Classical Revival-style Hillside Park High School was built in 1922 according to a design by Milburn and Heister. Stokesdale, platted by a member of the Stokes family, whose land was purchased in the early 1920s for the second Lincoln Hospital (also designed by Milburn and Heister; no longer standing), together with College Heights occupy more gently rolling land and comprise a remarkably intact example of the early to mid-20th-century suburban neighborhoods developed by and for middle-class African Americans. Streets such as Lincoln, Dunbar, and Merrick retain numerous bungalows, Foursquares, period cottages, and other house types built for teachers, physicians, and other professional and business people.

In the later 20th century, in a pattern all too common across the nation, the Durham Freeway and urban renewal brought the destruction of the core of Hayti, leaving “St. Joseph’s A. M. E. Church” as its sole surviving landmark. Our tour takes us to St. Joseph’s and then southward along Fayetteville Street to North Carolina Central University and College Heights. Essential to understanding the context of the areas we will tour is a brief history of Hayti, a lost urban landscape.



Hillside Park High School. Photo: Jennifer Martin, 2013.

Hayti: a Brief History

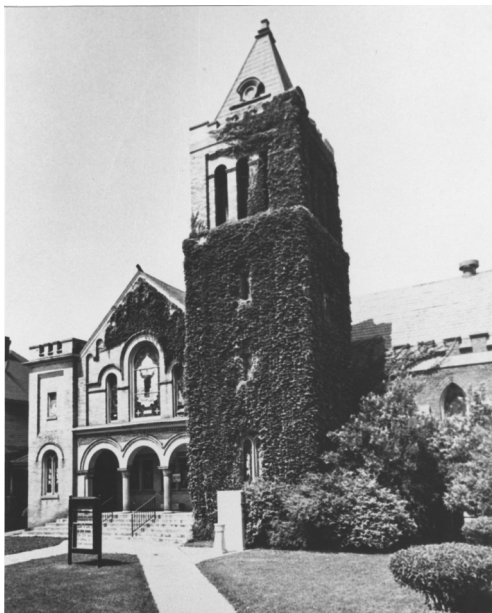
The central part of Hayti, which included Fayetteville Street north of St. Joseph's A. M. E. Church and the intersecting East Pettigrew Street just south of the railroad, occupied a large area now covered by the Durham Freeway and redevelopment that began in the late 20th century. The business blocks of Fayetteville Street were known as "Durham's Black Main Street." A second thriving business district on East Pettigrew Street, along the railroad, was known as "Mexico," the origin of its name long forgotten. The origin of the name "Hayti"—pronounced *'hay-tie'*—is also uncertain. Especially in the Jim Crow era of growing racial segregation after 1900, Hayti encompassed lively and popular districts featuring such institutions as the famed "Wonderland Theatre." (Contemporaneously with "Durham's Black Main Street," Parrish Street in downtown Durham—home to the Mechanics and Farmers Bank and the North Carolina Mutual Company—was called the "Black Wall Street.")

Residential sectors in old Hayti comprised a full range of classes including tradespeople and professionals, service employees, laborers, and their families, as well as members of Durham's "colored elite." Fayetteville Street, running along the ridge, was home to numerous leaders who built substantial residences there. Business and civic leader John Merrick, for example, resided for many years in the 500 block of Fayetteville Street in a handsome, towered residence in the Queen Anne style widely favored in Durham. Next door to the Merricks in 1910 were J. E. Shepard, the president of the "training school" (present NCCU) and his wife, Annie Day Shepard (granddaughter of Milton cabinetmaker Thomas Day), and their family. And next to the Shepards were Duncan Sparkman, a hack driver, and his family. Within the distance of a few households, the residents included nurses, ministers, seamstresses, laborers, wheelwrights, housecleaners, porters, and stemmers at the tobacco factories. The vast majority were natives of North Carolina.

Leading black citizens also maintained strong ties with local white leaders and gained support for substantial public schools and Lincoln Hospital, and they established illustrious social and cultural institutions along with such churches as "St. Joseph's A. M. E. Church" and White Rock Baptist Church. The latter congregation, formed in 1866, built a large Gothic-style sanctuary at the corner of Fayetteville Street and Mobile Avenue in the 1890s and enlarged and



Biltmore Hotel, Regal Theatre, and the Do-Nut Shop, three landmarks on E. Pettigrew St. in Hayti's business district known as "Mexico," 1940s. Photo: Courtesy of the North Carolina Collection, Durham County Library.



White Rock Baptist Church, 1950. Photo: Courtesy of the North Carolina Collection, Durham County Library.

remodeled it in the Romanesque Revival style in 1910. Hailed as one of the most progressive black neighborhoods in the New South, Hayti had 12,000 residents in 1939 and twice that in 1955. Historic photographs depict life there in the early to mid-20th century.

White Rock Baptist Church, like St. Joseph's A.M.E. Church, was a center of the civil rights movement in Durham. It was during a speech at White Rock Baptist Church on February 16, 1960, two weeks after the sit-ins at the Woolworth's lunch counter in Greensboro began, that Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. gave the rallying cry, "Fill up the jails." It was the first time that he advocated non-violent confrontation with segregation laws, saying, "Let us not fear going to jail. If the officials threaten to arrest us for standing up for our rights, we must answer by saying that we are willing and prepared to fill up the jails of the South."

The mid to late 20th-century destruction that altered the face of much of Durham hit Hayti full force. Virtually all of central Hayti, including the business districts and many residential blocks, was destroyed in the mid-20th century by urban renewal and clearance for the Durham Freeway that slashed through the neighborhood and uprooted hundreds of families and businesses. White Rock Baptist Church was razed in

1967. Many African American families, including the most prosperous and influential, moved farther southward to build new homes, and their congregations, including White Rock and St. Joseph's, built new churches in suburban locations.

The renewal that was promised by government leaders failed to materialize. Many Hayti residents who had been living in substandard conditions were relocated to sound, new housing, mostly in public housing projects on the fringes of Hayti, such as Fayette Place (razed in 2009 for a development that failed due to the Recession) immediately southeast of St. Joseph's A.M.E. Church. The few businesses that returned to the area were in small shopping centers. The result was isolation—isolated housing developments and isolated shopping centers that effectively destroyed Hayti's strong sense of community. For decades, many blocks sat overgrown and empty, traces of abandoned streets and obelisk street markers



LINCOLN HOSPITAL, DURHAM, N. C.

Postcard of Lincoln Hospital, 1924. Photo: Courtesy of the North Carolina Collection, UNC-CH.

serving as poignant reminders of the once vibrant community. Durham's black citizens harbored bitter feelings of betrayal as promised redevelopment failed to materialize, and it has only been in the last couple of decades that significant new development has occurred on the south side of the Durham Freeway.

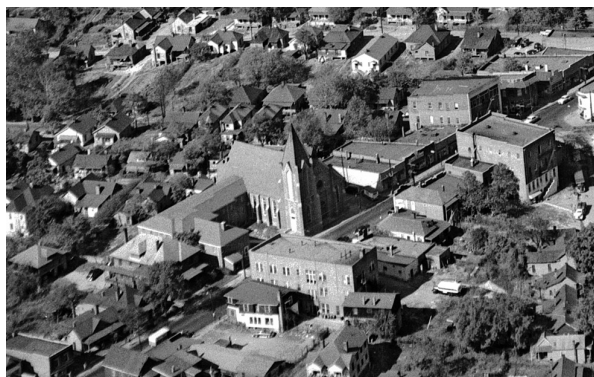
See Heather M. Wagner, Stokesdale Historic District National Register Nomination (2010); and Andre D. Vann and Beverly Washington Jones, Durham's Hayti, 1999.

The principal surviving landmark of the old Hayti neighborhood, this monumental brick church presides over the surrounding landscape. Built for a congregation founded shortly after the Civil War, it is now a cultural center.

Architect Samuel Leary planned an imposing edifice in a blend of Romanesque and Gothic Revival styles with touches of neoclassicism, producing a church of a scale and elaboration commensurate with contemporary local churches built for white congregations. A soaring tower with spire stands alongside the broad gabled front. Exemplary of the period, the sanctuary has a radiating auditorium plan with curving pews. Vivid finishes include stained glass and the polychromed ceiling of pressed metal. A notable feature is the front oculus of stained glass depicting benefactor Washington Duke.

The congregation of freed people was begun in 1869 by the Reverend Edian D. Markham. In a sequence experienced by many other congregations, they worshiped first in a brush arbor and then in a log building that also served as a school for freedmen. The congregation was known as Union Bethel for the original A. M. E. church founded in Philadelphia in 1787. With their own funds and gifts from industrialists Julian S. Carr and Washington Duke in hand, in 1890 the congregation began a fundraising campaign for a large brick church. The membership, which included many of Durham's leading people of color, had established strong relationships with a number of prominent white citizens, a pattern that would continue. The cornerstone was laid in 1891 for the church that was to be named St. Joseph's, at an event well attended by black and white citizens. Fundraising continued over the several years of construction. By the summer of 1894, the church was sufficiently complete for use and referred to as the "new" St. Joseph's church in Hayti.

The architect was Samuel Linton Leary (1863-1913), originally of Philadelphia, who had come to Durham in 1890 from Charlotte to design the Main Building for the new campus of Trinity College (later Duke University), sponsored by the Duke family. (See Samuel Linton Leary, <http://ncarchitects.lib.ncsu.edu/people/P000290>). Church history reports that the bricks for the church were fired in the brickyards of Richard B. Fitzgerald, a black man who came to Durham from Pennsylvania shortly after the Civil War and became a leading businessman. When Booker



Aerial view of St. Joseph's A.M.E. Church, 1940s. Photo: Courtesy of Open Durham.



St. Joseph's A.M.E. Church, 2008. Photo: Courtesy of Open Durham.



Sanctuary of St. Joseph's A.M.E. Church, 1975. Photo: Courtesy of NCOAH.

T. Washington visited Durham about 1900, he reportedly said, “In all my traveling I have never seen a finer Negro church than St. Joseph’s.” Along with the White Rock Baptist Church (also in Hayti, razed in the 20th century), St. Joseph’s was the church home to many of the city’s leading black citizens. Notable members of St. Joseph’s included John Merrick, founder of the North Carolina Mutual Insurance Company, and Dr. Stanford L. Warren, for whom the local public library is named.

In 1902, the *Durham Sun* of March 31 reported that St. Joseph’s had cost about \$14,000, of which all but \$2,000 had been settled. Fortunately, “Messrs. J. B. and B. N. Duke” [James B. and Benjamin N.] had recently stepped forward to donate the \$2,000 to wipe out the debt, “leaving the members of the church free again.” Over the years, the church hosted denominational conferences and notable speakers and held regular celebrations of the Emancipation Proclamation on January 1. With few exceptions, however – such as the 1920 memorial service of John Merrick (1859-1919) at which white industrialist Julian S. Carr was a featured speaker – events at St. Joseph’s seldom appeared in Durham’s white newspapers in the subsequent decades.

A Wedding at St. Joseph’s A.M.E. Church, 1899

Because of the prominence of its membership, events at St. Joseph’s appeared regularly in the Durham newspapers, especially in the late 19th century and the first years of the 20th century, before Jim Crow attitudes defined the social pages of the local white newspapers. On June 15, 1899, the *Durham Sun* reported on recent “beautiful marriages” in town, including a “most fashionable one” between Miss Ella Ray and J. L. Eagles, “solemnized among the colored elite of Durham in St. Joseph’s A. M. E. Church” which was “very appropriately decorated with evergreen trees and flowers.” The newspaper listed the numerous ushers – John Merrick, Prof. W. G. Pearson, J. E. Shepard, and Dr. A. M. Moore – and attendants, who constituted a who’s who of black Durham at the time, and it was also noted that the bride was a former teacher and “a large number of her white friends were present to witness the nuptials.”

St. Joseph’s continued to serve as a social as well as religious center for the Hayti neighborhood and many other black residents of Durham. In the mid-20th century, it was an important locus of the civil rights movement, as demonstrated by speeches made here in 1962 by NAACP head Roy Wilkins and CORE head James Farmer. The later 20th century brought the sweeping destruction of Hayti, with St. Joseph’s one of the few of its institutions to escape the wrecking ball. It was used for worship until the mid-1970s. The Durham Redevelopment Commission purchased the building, and the congregation erected a new church elsewhere in Durham. In 1975, the St. Joseph’s Historic Foundation was incorporated “with the intention of preserving the embellished old sanctuary and adapting it for cultural and civic events” and demolition was averted. After a long period of uncertainty and broad community support, the church was repurposed as the Hayti Heritage Center, a cultural center for the community. A full restoration of the building in 1999-2001 entailed the addition of a middle section to the balcony and other enhancements that allowed the sanctuary to serve as a true performance hall.

See Mary Alice Hinson and John B. Flowers III, St. Joseph A. M. E. Church National Register nomination (1976), .

South of old Hayti and beyond St. Joseph's A.M.E. Church, much of the post-1910 development survives along the southern blocks of Fayetteville Street, along with **North Carolina Central University**, **College Heights**, and several other mid to late 20th-century middle-class neighborhoods. The **1200-1400 blocks of Fayetteville Street** represent the most prestigious avenue of Durham's largest African American neighborhood as it expanded southward after about 1910. These blocks once formed a continuous whole with the street's northern blocks in old Hayti. As is true in many areas of Durham, the prime thoroughfare—Fayetteville Street—follows the ridge line, with the lower terrain filled with lesser buildings. With houses primarily from the early 20th century, this part of Fayetteville Street recalls some of the individuals and institutions that distinguished the early 20th-century neighborhood and suggests the architectural character of much that is lost. During the all day city tour, we will drive down Fayetteville Street on our way to NCCU and College Heights. Here are a few notable landmarks we will pass:

The **Medical Office Building** (1111 Fayetteville St., 1948) represents the important pattern of post-World War II African Americans' interest in modernist architecture. Built of yellow brick with flat-roofed rectilinear forms, it held the offices of physicians Leroy R. Swift and Robert P. Randolph for many years.

The **Stanford L. Warren Library** (1201 Fayetteville St., 1940), designed by architect Robert Markley in a red brick neoclassical style, stands at the southern edge of the old business district adjoining the residential area. Its origins in a Sunday school library organized in 1913 by Dr. Aaron Moore at White Rock Baptist Church, it is one of the oldest libraries in the state built for African Americans. The classicism continues within, including reliefs of classical figures in artistic and literary pursuits. A brick annex built to the rear in 1950 was connected with a wide "hyphen" that was expanded to the full width of the building in 1985. Warren, the donor of the site, was an African American physician, businessman, and civic leader who died as the library was nearing completion.

The **Dr. Joseph Napoleon Mills House** (1211 Fayetteville St., 1910s) exemplifies the many large and stylish residences built for Durham's black leaders in the late 19th and especially the early 20th century. Dr. Mills was on the staff of Lincoln Hospital (located one block south; demolished early 1980s) and associated with the North Carolina Mutual Insurance Company. He was one of many prosperous Durham citizens who built in the Queen Anne style with classical motifs typical of the early 20th century.



Medical Office Building. Photo: Claudia Brown, 2016.



Stanford L. Warren Library. Photo: Claudia Brown, 2016.



Dr. Joseph Napoleon Mills House, 2008. Photo: Courtesy of Open Durham.

The **Harris-Ingram House** (1213 Fayetteville St., 1910s) is one of several Craftsman bungalows in the neighborhood that was built from a Sears, Roebuck design. Whether it was prefabricated is not clear.

The **Pearson House** (1215 Fayetteville St., 1921), another Craftsman bungalow credited to Sears, Roebuck, was the home of Hayti pharmacists John Pearson and his wife. Known as “Miss Dyer,” she was one of the first licensed female pharmacists in the state.



Page's Grocery, 2008. Photo: Courtesy of Open Durham.

Page's Grocery (1304 Fayetteville St., 1930s) exemplifies the small store vital to neighborhood life in much of the 20th century. Its capacious porch recalls the store's social as well as commercial role.

The **J.C. Scarborough House** (1406 Fayetteville St., 1916) was built for the founder of Scarborough & Hargett Funeral Home. A large frame residence with a grand “Southern Colonial” portico, it is especially recognized for incorporating elements from razed buildings, including ornate mantels from Julian Carr's mansion. Established in 1905, Scarborough & Hargett soon became Durham's leading funeral home. J. C. Scarborough also was a director of Mechanics and Farmers Bank and founder, in 1925, of Scarborough Nursery Home, now Scarborough Nursery School, believed to be North Carolina's oldest licensed nursery school.



J.C. Scarborough House, ca.1980. Photo: Courtesy of NCOAH.

A major institution in Durham for more than a century, North Carolina Central University (NCCU) is the youngest of North Carolina's five historically black, state-supported universities. The campus has historic collegiate architecture from several eras, including Georgian Revival buildings of the early 20th century and later 20th century modernist structures by one of North Carolina's first African American architects.

In 1909 Dr. James E. Shepard founded the non-sectarian National Religious Training School and Chautauqua for the Colored Race. In 1923 it became a state normal school and in 1925 was renamed the North Carolina College for Negroes, the nation's first state-supported, four-year, liberal arts college for black students. The institution had the support of numerous black and white leaders in Durham and beyond. None of the campus buildings from the initial years still stand.

An extensive rebuilding for the four-year college began in the late 1920s, during a statewide campaign in higher education construction. The architects—Thomas C. Atwood in association first with Arthur Nash and then Raymond Weeks—were the same who had designed and supervised construction of an extensive expansion of the campus at the University of North Carolina. At both campuses, they designed in a conservative Georgian Revival style, using red brick and classical detailing. More than a dozen such buildings at the west end of the campus represent the two decades of growth after the school became the North Carolina College for Negroes in 1925. (See <http://ncarchitects.lib.ncsu.edu/people/P000236>; and <http://ncarchitects.lib.ncsu.edu/people/P000413>)



Postcard depicting Administration Building, Duke Auditorium, and Science Building at NCCU, ca.1950. Photo: Courtesy of the North Carolina Collection, UNC-CH.

The centerpiece of the older section of the campus is the **Clyde R. Hoey Administration Building** (1929), a symmetrical composition with an enriched entrance pavilion. In front of this building is a statue of founder and longtime president Dr. Shepard. The architects supplied related designs for such buildings as the **Alexander Dunn Hall** (1930) and **Annie Day Shepard Hall** (1930), the latter named for Dr. Shepard's wife, a granddaughter of Caswell County's famed free black cabinetmaker Thomas Day (see Northern Tour). Several buildings constructed under the auspices of the Public Works Administration continue the architectural theme, including two flanking the entrance drive: **B.N. Duke Auditorium** (1937, facing Fayetteville Street), named in honor of Benjamin Newton Duke, one of the school's major early benefactors; and **Albert Lewis Turner Hall** (now William Jones Building, 1937, facing the entrance drive).

A different and important architectural chapter in the development of the campus came in the later 20th century with the work of W. Edwards (Willie) Jenkins (1923-1988), one of the few African American architects practicing in North Carolina in the mid-20th century. Jenkins grew up in Raleigh, served in the U. S. Army (1943-1946), and graduated in 1949 in architectural engineering from North Carolina A&T in Greensboro. He soon found a unique opportunity for employment in the office of Greensboro architect Edward Loewenstein, which was probably the first white architectural firm in the state to employ a black architect. In Loewenstein's office and later in his own practice (after 1962), Jenkins worked primarily in modernist styles. Most of his projects were for African American clients including prominent Civil Rights leaders, churches, and schools. For him, and for his clients, modernist architecture reflected the post-war sense of hope and progress for a new era for black Americans.



Farrison-Newton Communications Building. Photo: Courtesy of NCCU.

Although much of Jenkins's work was in Greensboro, including numerous buildings at North Carolina A&T University, he also took commissions elsewhere including, in Durham, North Carolina Central University and White Rock Baptist Church (3400 Fayetteville St., 1977). His buildings at NCCU include the **Communications Building** (1976) and the **Law School** (1980).

The school has played an important role in the fight for civil rights. The struggle in Durham may be traced to 1935 when Dr. Shepard joined C. C. Spaulding in establishing the Durham Committee on Negro Affairs, which later would be a major force in the national sit-ins movement of the 1950s and 1960s. In 1942, the same year the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) was founded, black intellectuals met at the college to draft the Durham Manifesto for Civil Rights, which led two years later to the formation of the Southern Regional Council "to attain through research and action the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples of the region." Since the 1950s, many of the school's students, faculty, and administrators have promoted equality among the races through participations in sit-ins, picket lines, boycotts, and other forms of non-violent protest.

Over the last 20 years, NCCU has been undergoing a major expansion of its campus, extending east to South Alston Avenue and west across Fayetteville Street into the College Heights neighborhood, where Hillside High School and numerous houses have been demolished to make room for several new buildings. More recently the university has been acquiring property in the Stokesdale neighborhood on the north side of campus. The construction of a new School of Nursing entailed the relocation in 2010 of **Holy Cross Church** from 1400 South Alston

to the northwest corner of Fayetteville Street and Formosa Avenue. The Gothic Revival-style church completed in 1953 with the same ashlar exterior as the Duke University West Campus buildings now serves as NCCU's Centennial Chapel.

See Claudia Roberts Brown, *North Carolina Central University National Register Nomination* (1984), ; <http://ncarchitects.lib.ncsu.edu/people/P000349>; Samuel J. Hodges III, "Willie Edward Jenkins," in Dreck Spurlock Wilson, ed., *African American Architects, A Biographical Dictionary 1865-1945*, 2004); *Durham Civil Rights Heritage Project Time Line*, <http://www.durhamcountylibrary.org/exhibits/dcrhp/timeline.php>; and *Holy Cross Church*, Open Durham, <http://www.opendurham.org/buildings/holy-cross-church>.



Holy Trinity Church on the move, April 2010. Photo: Courtesy of Open Durham.

Although redevelopment has taken a toll in some areas, much of College Heights (also known as College View) remains largely intact. As the name suggests, College Heights grew in response to the designation of “North Carolina Central University” as a state-supported college in 1925. Like Trinity Park near Trinity College (Duke University), the proximity to a college drew faculty members and other middle-class residents to the neighborhood. The prestige of College Heights was enhanced by the cultural opportunities afforded by the neighboring college. Durhamites who grew up here and in Stokesdale on the north side of campus recall hearing addresses by nationally known figures and the performances of such vocalists as Paul Robeson and Roland Hayes. A number of residents belonged to the Algonquin Tennis Club, a social subsidiary of the North Carolina Mutual Life Insurance Company located nearby in the 1400 block of Fayetteville Street. It was recognized as southeast Durham’s most popular social and recreation spot of the 1930s and 1940s and its members were sometimes described as a new aristocracy.



Stanford L. Warren House. Photo: Claudia Brown, 2016.

Similar to many neighborhoods of its time and stature, College Heights has curving streets, emphasized by the hilly terrain. The east end of the neighborhood, close to Fayetteville Street, is lined by handsomely detailed bungalows and period cottages in the Spanish Mission, English Cottage, and Colonial Revival styles. The especially well-preserved **Stanford L. Warren House** (302 Pekoe Ave.) is a picturesque cottage with Tudor Revival elements built for a physician who was one of the founders of Mechanics and Farmers Bank and the namesake of the nearby public

library. Nearby neighbors included John Wheeler, president of Mechanics and Farmers Bank, and Edward N. Toole, owner of Toole Electric Company.

The neighborhood's expansion westward in the post-World War II period is evident in numerous large and nicely detailed Ranch houses, such as **2100 Otis Street**. The Ranch house at **129 Masondale Avenue** even incorporates elements of the neighborhood's Tudor Revival cottages. The tradition of ownership by Durham's most prominent businessmen and college leaders continued, with a number of College Park's post-war houses built for top executives of the North Carolina Mutual and department chairs and head coaches at the college. In contrast to the Ranch houses, the **Clyde and Eleanor Lloyd House** (126 Nelson St.) stands out as a late example of the International Style. Clyde Lloyd, a chauffeur and butler for a tobacco executive, built the house for his family according to plans he ordered from a popular magazine.



2100 Otis Street. Photo: Claudia Brown, 2016.



129 Masondale Avenue. Photo: Claudia Brown, 2016.



Clyde and Eleanor Lloyd House. Photo: Courtesy of Open Durham.

Duke University, one of the principal institutions of Durham, came into being as a result of the wealth, beliefs, and philanthropy of the city's leading industrialists, chiefly the Duke family. The university comprises two separate campuses a few miles apart: the **East Campus** and the **West Campus**. Both embody the Beaux Arts-inspired designs of the African American architect Julian Abele, the principal designer in Philadelphia architect Horace Trumbauer's office, who created a Georgian Revival-style East Campus and a spectacular Gothic Revival-style West Campus.



Trinity College entrance gates and the first Main Building, 1904. Photo: Courtesy of the North Carolina Collection, Durham County Library.

East Campus

12A

The East Campus occupies the 62-acre site donated to Trinity College in 1890, when Washington Duke, Julian Carr, and others succeeded in enticing the rural Methodist college from Randolph County to Durham. The initial Main Building (Washington Duke Building), designed by Samuel Linton Leary, the architect of "St. Joseph's A. M. E. Church", is long gone, but a few smaller buildings of the 1890s survive in altered form. During the early 20th century, additional buildings were constructed from designs by Charlotte architect Charles C. Hook; two of these tan brick, classically detailed buildings still stand as East Duke and West Duke, flanking the entrance drive and the seated statue of Washington Duke. These buildings were retained when Julian Abele redesigned this campus, as well as planned the West Campus for Duke University.



Ca.1940 postcard view of East Campus. Photo: Courtesy of the North Carolina Collection, UNC-CH.

The centerpiece of the East Campus is the symmetrical quadrangle in a quiet classical style, with red brick buildings that combine Georgian Revival and Jeffersonian motifs. Evoking the University of Virginia, these line a long green that terminates at the domed Baldwin Auditorium (1925-1926). For several years, the East Campus was the Woman's College of the university.

West Campus

12B

One of the most spectacular architectural vistas in North Carolina appears when you round the circle from Campus Drive and look along the great axis toward the 210-foot-tall Gothic Revival tower of Duke Chapel (1930-1932). As planned by Julian Abele with early input from both benefactor James B. Duke and college President William P. Few, the West Campus combines a generally symmetrical, hierarchically arranged Beaux Arts campus plan with a rich and sophisticated Gothic Revival architectural vocabulary.

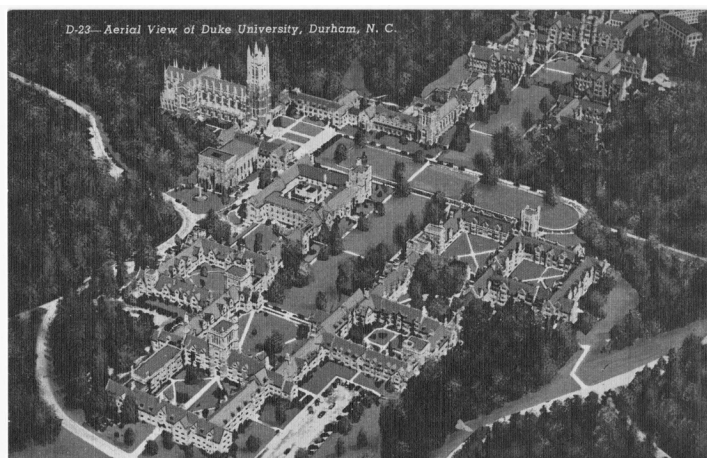
Flanking the long axis leading to the chapel, the central part of the campus has a series of quadrangles enframed by classroom, library, and dormitory buildings. Irregular forms and artful details often conceal their bulk and functional interiors; motifs from many periods of Gothic architecture combine with the consistent use of warm-hued and variegated stone from a local quarry.

The **Chapel** especially—a high, vaulted space in the full spirit of English Gothic—is well worth a visit. Built for a Methodist college, the chapel presents a fascinating adaptation of medieval traditions, including a small memorial chapel with recumbent figures of Duke family members and statues of church reformers and southern heroes flanking the main entrance. An 11-month restoration of the Chapel that began in May 2015 included replacement of the original roof and rehabilitation of the limestone ceiling.

History

During the late 1880s, when it became known that the Methodist, liberal arts Trinity College of Randolph County wished to move to a city, Raleigh was a strong contender, but Durham's Methodist ministers persuaded Washington Duke, Julian S. Carr, and others to offer generous funds and land in 1890, with the result that the school moved to Durham in 1892. Strong Methodists, the Dukes and Carr had always engaged in philanthropy for education and Methodist causes. Washington Duke gave \$100,000 on condition that the college admit women students, a rarity for white schools at the time. Benjamin Duke was directly involved in developing the initial campus.

In the 1920s, under the leadership of Trinity College president William P. Few, Trinity became a major beneficiary of James B. Duke and the Duke Endowment he created, which expanded the family tradition of philanthropy to an unprecedented new scale.



Ca. 1940 postcard view of West Campus. Courtesy of the North Carolina Collection, UNC-CH.



Duke Chapel. Photo: Courtesy of WUNC.org.

As the family fortunes soared with electric power production, at Few's urging Duke donated millions to transform the college into a university to be named for his father, Washington Duke. James B. Duke established the Duke Endowment in 1924 with the university one of several beneficiaries. Although he died unexpectedly in 1925, Duke had taken a strong role in planning the new campuses, including selecting the architectural firm of Horace Trumbauer and choosing the stone for the West Campus buildings. Although Duke never saw the Chapel completed, he had insisted from early days of planning that he wanted "a great towering church" that would dominate the campus and have "a profound influence" on the students.



Early in planning, James B. Duke had conferred regularly with Trumbauer and possibly with the firm's chief designer, architect Julian Abele. It is not certain whether Abele actually visited the project because of the indignities of Jim Crow laws in effect in the South at the time. His role has become better known over the years, however, and in 2016 the central square of the West Campus was named in his honor.

*See Marguerite E. Schumann, *Stones, Bricks & Faces: A Walking Guide to Duke University* (Duke University, 1976).*

Julian Abele, date unknown. Photo: Courtesy of blackamericaweb.com.

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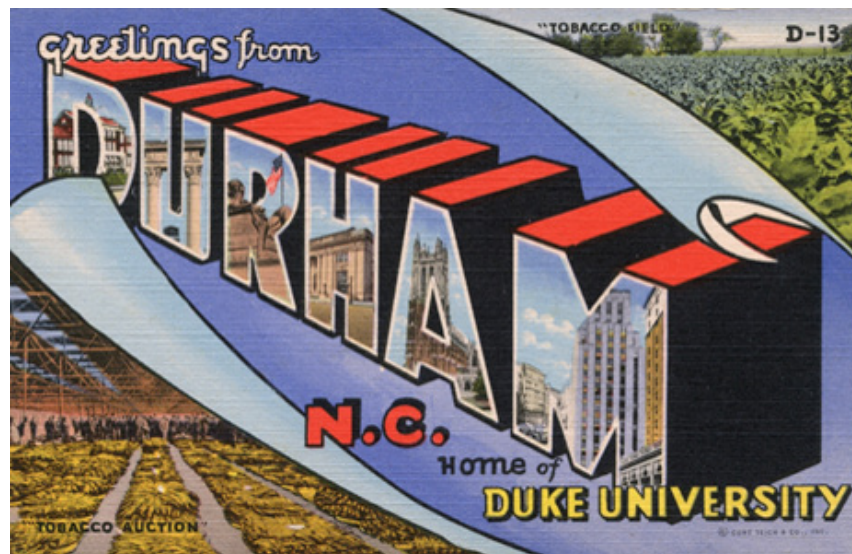
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Courtesy of North Carolina Collection, Durham County Library.

