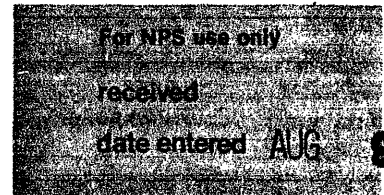


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National Register of Historic Places
Inventory—Nomination Form



See instructions in How to Complete National Register Forms
Type all entries—complete applicable sections

1. Name

historic Historic Resources of Durham (Partial Inventory: Historic Architectural Properties)

and/or common

2. Location

street & number The incorporated limits of Durham not for publication

city, town Durham vicinity of ~~Congressional district~~

state North Carolina code 037 county Durham code 063

3. Classification

Category	Ownership	Status	Present Use
<input type="checkbox"/> district	<input type="checkbox"/> public	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> occupied	<input type="checkbox"/> agriculture
<input type="checkbox"/> building(s)	<input type="checkbox"/> private	<input type="checkbox"/> unoccupied	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> commercial
<input type="checkbox"/> structure	<input type="checkbox"/> both	<input type="checkbox"/> work in progress	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> educational
<input type="checkbox"/> site	Public Acquisition	Accessible	<input type="checkbox"/> entertainment
<input type="checkbox"/> object	<input type="checkbox"/> in process	<input type="checkbox"/> yes: restricted	<input type="checkbox"/> government
<input type="checkbox"/> multiple resources	<input type="checkbox"/> being considered	<input type="checkbox"/> yes: unrestricted	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Industrial
	<input type="checkbox"/> N/A	<input type="checkbox"/> no N/A	<input type="checkbox"/> military
			<input type="checkbox"/> museum
			<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> park
			<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> private residence
			<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> religious
			<input type="checkbox"/> scientific
			<input type="checkbox"/> transportation
			<input type="checkbox"/> other:

4. Owner of Property

name Multiple Ownership (see individual property forms)

street & number

city, town _____ vicinity of _____ state _____

5. Location of Legal Description

courthouse, registry of deeds, etc. Durham County Courthouse

street & number

city, town Durham state North Carolina

6. Representation in Existing Surveys

title Architectural Inventory of Durham has this property been determined eligible? yes no

date 1980-1981 federal state county local

depository for survey records N.C. Division of Archives and History

city, town Raleigh state North Carolina

7. Description

Condition		Check one	Check one
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> excellent	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> deteriorated	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> unaltered	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> original site
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> good	<input type="checkbox"/> ruins	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> altered	<input type="checkbox"/> moved date _____
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> fair	<input type="checkbox"/> unexposed		

Describe the present and original (if known) physical appearance

A. GENERAL PHYSICAL DESCRIPTION OF DURHAM

Durham is the fifth largest city in North Carolina, with 100,831 residents (listed in the 1980 U.S. Census). It occupies forty-two square miles covering approximately one-seventh of Durham County's total area of 300 square miles. Durham's terrain is quite uneven, characterized by rolling hills and deep gullies along numerous creeks that meander across the city. Elevation above sea level varies from 220 to 410 feet, and averages 350 to 400 feet in central Durham where it often shifts as much as forty feet within a single block. The physical center of Durham is its Central Business District where the north Carolina Railroad Company's depot, which gave rise to the city, was built.

Durham's major traffic arteries create a network of railroad tracks and the highways. The railroad lines run through Durham in an east-west direction, forming the southern boundary of the Central Business District. One of the railroad lines, the Norfolk and Western, crosses the center of town with the other major lines and then swings away to create a complete loop around north central Durham. The East-West Expressway runs across Durham parallel with the principal rail lines. Other major thoroughfares are U.S. 70 Business which runs through central Durham in an east-west direction, continuing on to Raleigh a little more than twenty miles to the southeast. On the west side of Durham, U.S. 15-501 Business splits off from U.S. 15-501 in a southwest to northeast route into central Durham where it changes direction to form a north-south corridor along the paired one-way Roxboro and Mangum streets. Other principal north-south thoroughfares include Duke St. and Gregson St., another one-way pair, and Alston Ave./N.C. 55. A couple miles north of I-85, which runs across northern Durham, Roxboro Rd., (a continuation of Roxboro St.) and Duke St. merge and continue to Roxboro about 26 miles north. U.S. 15-501 By-Pass forms much of Durham's western boundary until it links up with I-85.

Originally consisting of a few frame buildings clustered around a railroad depot, Durham gradually expanded so that its densest development today lies within an approximately two-mile radius from the intersection of Main and Corcoran streets at the heart of its downtown. Concentrated in a roughly semi-circular area on the northeast side of the tracks, the Central Business District is almost completely ringed with industrial structures that include tobacco and textile factories, warehouses, and public utility service centers -- all reflections of the network of influences that helped transform a tiny market center to a city of more than thirty neighborhoods. An exception is the northeast edge of the business district where the remains of Durham's oldest residential neighborhood are located. As central Durham grew outward from the depot at the foot of Corcoran St., its outlying areas witnessed significant developments that eventually would be incorporated into the city: the black settlement of Hayti, southeast of Durham's downtown, and the mill villages of East Durham and West Durham, each about one-and-one-half miles from the depot site,

**United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service**

**National Register of Historic Places
Inventory—Nomination Form**

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received

Date entered

Continuation sheet Historic Resources of Durham Item number 7

Page 1

all began as separate unincorporated communities with a mixture of building types. In addition, Trinity College, later Duke University, and North Carolina Central University produced impressive concentrations of institutional buildings. Branching out from the commercial and industrial complexes of Durham's downtown, from the campuses, and from East Durham and West Durham and subsequent mill villages in between, there are predominantly residential neighborhoods interspersed with commercial, institutional and industrial buildings.

Most of Durham's post-World War II construction has consisted of single-family subdivisions and apartment complexes, particularly south of U.S. 15-501 Business and North Carolina Central University and north of I-85, where development stretching north all the way to the Eno River has engulfed Bragtown, another formerly separate and unincorporated community. In these areas, shopping malls, office complexes and commercial strip development line many of the four-lane thoroughfares. Although the architectural and historical inventories conducted in Durham reveal that dwellings make up the majority of the city's historic resources, many historically and architecturally significant industrial, institutional and commercial buildings hold prominent positions in Durham's hierarchy of structures.

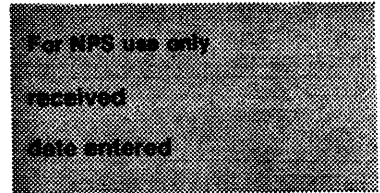
B. GENERAL DESCRIPTION OF DURHAM DURING PERIODS IT ACHIEVED SIGNIFICANCE

Durham began as Durhamville Station, a four-acre plot that Dr. Bartlett Snipes Durham sold to the North Carolina Railroad Company in 1852 for a depot along their Goldsboro to Charlotte line then under construction. The following year a post office opened here and in 1854, when the railroad line was completed, the immediate vicinity of the depot started to develop as a market center. By the late 1850s, Durham's collection of simple frame buildings included a two-story tobacco factory, but further development was soon stymied by the Civil War. The community first gained prominence in 1865 when homeward-bound Confederate and Union troops who had pilfered John R. Green's factory warehouse flooded the tobacconist with mail orders for more of his product. Additional factories sprang up near the railroad tracks in central Durham, and by the following decade the town had become the country's foremost tobacco manufacturing center, led by W.T. Blackwell and Company, under the direction of Julian S. Carr, and W. Duke Sons and Company, managed by Washington Duke and his sons, Benjamin Newton Duke and James Buchanan Duke. Between 1870 and 1880, Durham's population grew from 200 to 2,000.

The city's industrial base began to diversify in the 1880s when businessmen seeking investments for their tobacco profits entered the textile manufacturing business. Carr led the way with the establishment in 1884 of the Durham Cotton Manufacturing Company in East Durham, followed by the Dukes' 1892 founding of Erwin Cotton Mills, Durham Hosiery Mills, and Golden Belt Manufacturing Company. In the meantime, James B. Duke had formed The American Tobacco Company which absorbed all

**United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service**

**National Register of Historic Places
Inventory—Nomination Form**



Continuation sheet Historic Resources of Durham Item number 7

Page 2

competitors in a monopolistic trust. At the south edge of Durham, the black settlement of Hayti had become a thriving community in its own right, led by John Merrick and Aaron M. Moore, founders of the North Carolina Mutual Insurance Company.

The financial security of the late nineteenth-century tobacco and textile booms enabled Durham's leaders to devote greater attention to public amenities and cultural enrichment. In 1890, the Dukes, Carr and other local financiers donated the cash and land necessary to induce Trinity College to move to Durham from Randolph County. Durham's economic vitality produced a continued swell in its population, but it was not until Richard H. Wright instituted an efficient public trolley system in 1902 that real estate skyrocketed. The trolley lines, Trinity College, and a new hospital north of Erwin Cotton Mills affected the location of several suburbs begun in the 1900s. Maturation of these streetcar suburbs created a solid corridor of development from West Durham to East Durham. Continued growth of Durham's traditional economic base was augmented in the 1920s by the transformation of the National Religious and Training School to the North Carolina College for Negroes (now North Carolina Central University) and the conversion of Trinity College to Duke University with its new West Campus, expanded programs and new professional schools. Altogether, these factors produced a healthy market for a second wave of suburbs geared to the automobile.

Although no antebellum structures survive in central Durham, a few dwellings built between the turn of the nineteenth century and the 1850s are located in Durham's outlying areas annexed since 1950. In contrast, many notable buildings associated with the city's late nineteenth-century industrial boom remain. W.T. Blackwell & Co.'s 1874 Bull Durham factory, one of the earliest brick tobacco warehouses dating from the 1870s, and approximately one dozen of the enormous elaborately decorated brick storage warehouses and processing buildings constructed by The American Tobacco Company trust are among Durham's numerous early tobacco buildings that survive intact. The conditions of the remaining textile mills and their villages vary: some of the mills and major portions of their villages are little altered, while other complexes have been drastically changed by deterioration or the loss of all or most of their factories and/or houses. In addition to the mill villages, surviving late nineteenth-century residential development includes the remnants of the earliest neighborhoods just east and west of the Central Business District, and scattered houses beyond that pre-date the neighborhoods now surrounding them.

Twentieth-century growth and prosperity are represented by an impressive collection of commercial and institutional buildings in the Central Business District and by more than a dozen streetcar and automobile suburbs whose houses range from small and plain dwellings built for laborer rental to fashionable late Queen Anne and period revival style houses, bungalows and period houses. Many of the architecturally distinctive churches built by Durham's early congregations are notably intact, including two from the late nineteenth century and several from the early twentieth.

**United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service**

**National Register of Historic Places
Inventory—Nomination Form**

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received
date entered

Continuation sheet Historic Resources of Durham Item number 7 Page 3

The most impressive concentrations of institutional buildings are the college campuses.

C. DURHAM'S ARCHITECTURE

1. DESCRIPTION OF PERIODS, TYPES AND STYLES

Most of the architecturally significant buildings in the resource area reflect the stylistic tendencies in all realms of building from the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, or roughly from 1880 to the early 1930s. There also are noteworthy example from other periods: industrial buildings dating from the 1870s, rural vernacular housing that typified the area prior to the arrival of the North Carolina Railroad, and pivotal commercial and institutional structures built in the middle to late 1930s.

Early Houses, circa 1800 to circa 1800

Only a few structures survive in Durham from the period before the North Carolina Railroad's acquisition of land for a depot. They are all vernacular frame houses, two stories tall and one room deep, located near the present city limits in area annexed only within the past few years. Perhaps the oldest house is the two-story Shepherd-Mebane House in Hope Valley, believed to date from around 1800, which has simple detail evocative of the early nineteenth century. Also in Hope Valley, the southernmost portion of Durham, the Vickers House is a boxy house with two-panel Greek Revival doors that suggest a mid-nineteenth century building date, probably prior to 1850. Because of substantial alterations (and the relocation of the Shepherd-Mebane House in the the mid 1920s) these houses are precluded from nomination to the National Register. At the northernmost edge of Durham, however, the McCown-Mangum House at West Point on the Eno (Durham MRN # 24) stands restored on its original site. Probably built in the early 1840s, the vernacular Greek Revival style house exhibits the characteristic features of a low hipped roof, six-over-six double-hung sashes, sidelighted entrance surround, and two-panel doors throughout. Approximately one mile closer to central Duraham, the Duke Homestead (NHL) also is two stories and one room deep and has similar simplified Greek Revival details.

From the establishment of Durham Station in 1852 until the city's first boom period following the rise of the tobacco industry after the Civil War, the settlement remained modest, the multiplication of its structures matching the slow pace of population growth. Practically all of these early buildings were destroyed in the wake of almost constant expansive development through the 1930s. Undoubtedly the earliest commercial and industrial structures were all of frame construction and probably quite plain in design. Except for the William Mangum House (formerly at the present location of the U.S. Post Office), recorded in old photographs as displaying a variety of decorative millwork on its front porch, and Dr. Bartlett S. Durham's house, known as "Pandora's Box," most of the early houses from the 1850s and 1860s also were rather austere. Probably typical is the Calvin O'Briant House built at 717 Holloway

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National Park Service**

**National Register of Historic Places
Inventory—Nomination Form**

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received
date entered

Continuation sheet Historic Resources of Durham Item number 7 Page 4

St. in 1865. Nothing remains of the tiny settlements of Prattsburg and Old Pin Hook that arose prior to 1850 and later would give rise to East Durham and West Durham, respectively, with the possible exception of the Cheek House in East Durham, which is probably an antebellum house. Both the O'Briant and the Cheek houses are too altered to be considered for listing in the National Register.

With the burgeoning of the tobacco industry in the late 1860s, construction resumed throughout Durham to yield a stronger degree of stylishness, a sure reflection of the city's growing prosperity. In spite of its exuberance, however, the overwhelming majority of Durham's late nineteenth-century housing was relatively conservative in style. In this booming and land-locked young town of Durham, its leaders selected architectural styles already approved as fashionable by the country's cosmopolites to characterize the houses that proclaimed their newly acquired wealth. The Italianate and Second Empire styles that began to characterize the town in the 1870s, followed by the Queen Anne in the 1880s, had been established as popular styles in the trend-setting metropolitan areas for at least a few years prior to their appearances in Durham.

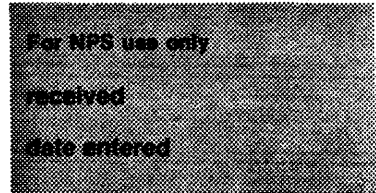
Survivors from the late nineteenth-century boom era are, curiously, nearly as few as those of the antebellum years. The loss from this later period is perhaps more acute because of the greater numbers of those buildings and because their architectural styles and occupancy reflected the local economic and social development of the time. During the 1870s and into the early 1880s in Durham, the favored styles were the Second Empire and the Italianate. All residential examples of the former, such as the ornate three-story Parrish-Wright House and the two-story Brodie L. Duke House with its four-story, mansard-roofed tower, and virtually all of the more numerous Italianate dwellings are lost. Such handsome Italianate monuments as the large T-shaped two-story Waverly Honor, built in 1870 for Julian S. Carr, and the smaller but very similarly ornamented house built for his partner William T. Blackwell in 1875 are to be seen today only in documentary photographs. Thus of this once outstanding type in Durham, only the Umstead House, at 106 W. Seeman St. in the North Durham neighborhood (North Durham -- Duke Park Historic District, NR), remains standing. It resembles Blackwell's house not only in its two-story, one-room-deep form with a gabled roofline, but also in the characteristic Italianate style bracketed cornice and segmental-arched entrance.

Industrial Buildings: Monuments of Tobacco and Textiles

The survival rate of Durham's Italianate architecture is higher among industrial buildings. Throughout the 1860s and into the 1870s, the city's tobacco factories and storage and prize warehouses were all of frame construction. They were generally plain two- to four-story buildings with the company's name emblazoned across the main facade; all have been destroyed. In the early 1870s, however, brick, very rarely used for Durham houses, began to gain popularity as the building material for industrial

**United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service**

**National Register of Historic Places
Inventory—Nomination Form**



Continuation sheet Historic Resources of Durham Item number 7

Page 5

structures. The most distinctive of these early brick industrial buildings is the W.T. Blackwell & Co. 1874 Italianate Bull Durham Factory (NHL, part of The American Tobacco Company Manufacturing Plant, # 12), a four-story rectangular building expanded by 1880 to a U-shaped structure with the addition of east and west wings. Despite alterations, the west wing is intact with its alternating projecting bays, stuccoed quoins and crossetted window surrounds, and heavy panelled, modillioned and bracketed cornices. In 1884, W. Duke Sons and Company replaced its frame factory with a large red brick four-story Italianate building with brick dripstone moldings at segmental-arched windows, brick quoins with narrow inserts, and an ornately bracketed cornice (in the Bright Leaf Historic District, # 13). It was designed by William H. Linthicum of Lynchburg, Virginia. One of many architects and contractors drawn from great distances by the opportunities that Durham presented, he was the first architect known to have established a practice in the city.

For both practical and ideological reasons, brick increasingly became the preferred material for industrial buildings. For one, it was plentiful, produced in several local brickyards. Furthermore, brick was fireproof and thus particularly desirable for factories containing highly flammable raw and finished materials and for warehouses frequently targeted by arsonists. The combination of brick walls with "slow burn construction" incorporating heavy timber framing and four-inch-thick heart pine floors, strong enough to support heavy goods and machinery in large open spaces, rendered the building fire retardant. Finally, brick was considered prestigious. As a decorative material it was easily manipulated to create ornamental compositions that drew attention to the structure and its occupants. The designs of Durham's early large brick buildings were quite varied and the structures erected by the larger manufacturers and warehousemen often displayed exuberant, eclectic ornamentation. Some of the brick tobacco sales and storage warehouses of the 1870s and 1880s were long, low buildings with dozens of skylights; they were fronted with flamboyantly decorated one- or two-story office blocks. Two of the most famous of these were the Globe Warehouse and E.J. Parrish's Brick Warehouse, both destroyed. In contrast, the 1870s Brodie L. Duke Tobacco Warehouse (in the Bright Leaf Historic District, # 13), the oldest brick warehouse in Durham, is a straightforward rectangular two-story building with segmental arched windows and a low hip roof that breaks to form a gable at the crest; as such, it exemplifies the general design of numerous tobacco factories and warehouses throughout the city.

Durham's brick factories and warehouses were not unique to the tobacco industry. In 1884, about the same time the Dukes built their new cigarette factory, their rival tobacco manufacturer, Julian S. Carr, inaugurated what was to be a new wave of diversification by reinvesting his tobacco profits in an industry new to Durham--textiles. The initial building of his Durham Cotton Manufacturing Company at 2000 E. Pettigrew St. in East Durham was a large four-story brick factory with subsidiary buildings. In 1895, a large two-story brick weaving and carding building was added;

**United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service****National Register of Historic Places
Inventory—Nomination Form**

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received

date entered

Continuation sheet Historic Resources of Durham Item number 7

Page 6

it is this structure that survives today, the original four-story block having been demolished in the 1940s. In 1892, the Dukes followed Carr's lead when they began construction of Erwin Cotton Mills on W. Main St. in West Durham (NR, and part of the West Durham Historic District, # 23). The initial building phase included a long two-story brick factory and a two-story, one-room-deep brick office building that resembled a house in its gabled roofline and one-story wraparound porch with a spool frieze and other decorative millwork. Both of these textile factories exude a medieval quality due to their decorative towers.

The Durham Cotton Manufacturing Company and Erwin Cotton Mills factories both are characterized by facades composed primarily of tall segmental-arched windows, but they differ in composition. Erwin Cotton Mills, with simple, pyramidal-roofed towers, has decorative brickwork restricted to denticulated lintels linked with simple corbelled pendants at all of the windows. On the other hand, all of the ornament of the 1884 Durham Cotton Manufacturing Company building was reserved for concentration in the single large six-story tower projecting from the center of the main facade, which had an arcade around the top story and an ornate open belfry with pyramidal roof above. Most of the textile mills constructed in Durham into the early twentieth century followed one of these two basic designs. In 1900 to 1901, Julian S. Carr built the Golden Belt Manufacturing Company plant (in the Golden Belt Historic District, # 18) marked by main facades and three- and four-story towers that all featured brick corbelled and denticulated cornices and pilasters with capitals that appear more neoclassical than medieval in character. Carr's Durham Hosiery Mills' No. 1 Mill (NR), completed in 1902 and located just a couple of blocks from the Golden Belt complex, more closely resembles his first textile mill in its four-story unadorned main block and ornate, Romanesque style six-story front tower. Later Durham Hosiery Mills plants, such as the 1916 No. 2 Mill (Durham Hosiery Mills No. 2/Service Printing Company, # 2), are much more austere, with facades characterized only by the typical segmental-arched windows with plain buttresses in between.

The twelve massive brick warehouses erected by The American Tobacco Company trust between 1897 and 1906 (all included in The American Tobacco Company Manufacturing Plant, # 12, and the Bright Leaf Historic District, # 13) rank among the city's most outstanding architecture. In every aspect of their design they are almost identical except for variations in height and number of units, and most of their characteristic features reflect functional requirements: their overall size, proportions and interior design were determined by the size and arrangement of the hogsheads they were built to store, and the system of vents, flues, chimney and windows reflected the need for the buildings to be cool, dry, well ventilated and insect-free. All of these functional requirements were satisfied by slow burn construction of heavy timber framing and brick, which also served as the decorative material used to articulate the structural members.

**United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service****National Register of Historic Places
Inventory—Nomination Form**

Per NPS use only

received

Date entered

Continuation sheet Historic Resources of Durham Item number 7

Page 7

With the trust's first Durham building, the one-story Walker Warehouse built in 1897 (in the Bright Leaf Historic District, # 13); the architectural styles characterized by bands of chevrons, prisms, dentils and mousetoothing at string courses, cornices, and chimneys was firmly established. All of the subsequent buildings constructed by the trust exhibit the same basic decorative patterns with subtle differences that include a slight overall simplification in the later structures. Due to these features evocative of medieval architecture, these buildings are alternately termed Romanesque Revival or Norman Revival in style. Although the buildings are elaborate, their rich decorative programs are strictly controlled so that they very precisely articulate the subdivision of each building by projecting firewalls and the grid of pilasters, string courses and cornices that covers each facade. Col. William Jackson Hicks, designer of the North Carolina Penitentiary in Raleigh, probably was responsible for their initial planning and Albert F. Hunt of Richmond, Virginia, for refinement in the designs of the later buildings. Attribution of the ornamental brickwork may be assigned to talented local brickmasons or to Samuel L. Leary, whose design of another Norman Revival style building, the 1892 Main Building (destroyed) at Trinity College is secure.

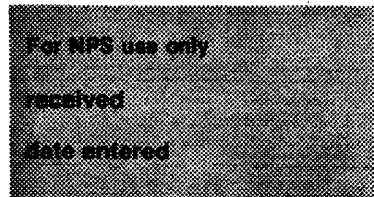
As late as a decade after the last American Tobacco Company warehouse was built in 1906, long after traditional nineteenth-century eclecticism had waned in other realms, the taste for rich ornamental patterns in brick persisted in some of Durham's architecture. An outstanding example is the sprawling Imperial Tobacco Company Factory at 215 Morris St. (in the Bright Leaf Historic District, # 13). The Romanesque Revival style building features dozens of narrow segmental arched windows, a cornice of recessed corbelled panels, and rounded and stepped parapets decorated with machicolation and inlaid stone above the corner elevations.

Tobacco and Textile Mill Villages

All of Durham's late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century textile manufacturers, as well as W.T. Blackwell and Company, constructed houses for their laborers. All of the tobacco company's housing (built east, south and west of the factory) and most of the housing built by the Commonwealth Cotton Manufacturing Company in East Durham have been destroyed; significant portions of other textile mill villages, however, survive. These include those built by the Durham Cotton Manufacturing Company, Erwin Mills, Pearl Cotton Mills, Golden Belt Manufacturing Company, and Durham Hosiery Mills. They represent the origins or sum totals of the East Durham (Durham Cotton Mills Village Historic District, # 16), West Durham, (in the West Durham Historic District, # 23), Pearl Cotton Mills Village (Pearl Mill Village Historic District, # 21), Morning Glory (in the Golden Belt Historic District, # 18) and Edgemont neighborhoods, respectively. (Due to extensive deterioration, Edgemont is not eligible for the National Register.) All four areas consist of modest frame houses on brick piers (originally with no underpinning), often lightly

**United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service**

**National Register of Historic Places
Inventory—Nomination Form**



Continuation sheet Historic Resources of Durham Item number 7 Page 8

embellished with a restrained application of standard turned and sawn woodwork and situated at a uniform set-back in generously-sized lots.

Durham's oldest mill houses, built by the Durham Cotton Manufacturing Company over a few years beginning in 1884, survive scattered along Troy and Harnett streets and concentrated on Reservoir and Middle streets, close to the mill. Originally, there were dozens of these story-and-a-half houses (one-and-one-half stories without dormers), all with board and batten main facades, shed-roofed porches with chamfered posts, railings and balusters, and rear sheds and ells. A few of the earliest houses were built with a single exterior gable-end chimney; the majority built in the 1880s have a central chimney that serves both of the rooms opening off of the short central entrance hall. As the Durham Cotton Manufacturing Company expanded operations in the 1890s and 1900s, the company built many more houses, most gone today. These were the basic one-story, L-shaped houses and one-story, one-room-deep rectangular houses, all with simple gabled or triple-A rooflines and rear ells, that also were being constructed in West Durham and Morning Glory. In West Durham, Erwin Cotton Mills built approximately 440 houses in an extensive area north, west and southwest of the mill. In Morning Glory, the Golden Belt Manufacturing Company erected about 120 houses laid out along precise street grids in three phases beginning in 1900. Most of these houses exhibit some decoration consisting of chamfered or turned porch supports and cut-work spandrels and gable vents. Another type of house built by the Erwin Cotton Mills is the square, one-story, two-room-deep form, with a central chimney piercing the front plane of a pyramidal roof and two front doors so that they could be used as either a single-family dwelling or a duplex. All three mills constructed a small number of two-story, one-room-deep houses for factory workers with seniority or large families.

Variations on the most traditional mill house themes occur in the Pearl Cotton Mills Village and the last building phase in Morning Glory. From the 1890s to the 1910s, Pearl Cotton Mills built approximately fifty houses north and east of its mill, of which twenty-five houses covering two entire blocks on Washington and Orient streets survive intact. The mill and most of the other houses were razed by the early 1970s. Twenty-three of the remaining Pearl houses were built as boxy two-story, gable-roofed duplexes with engaged rear sheds and a central chimney. Each dwelling unit contained two rooms on the first floor and an enclosed two-run staircase leading to a bedroom on the second, with a first floor door connecting the units so that the houses could be used as single family dwelling for large families. Durham's most modern mill houses are a few blocks of one-story bungalows built around 1930 at the north edge of Morning Glory. They are hip-roofed, with stylistic variations in the attic dormers and the supports of the recessed, full-facade front porches.

**United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service**

**National Register of Historic Places
Inventory—Nomination Form**

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Continuation sheet Historic Resources of Durham Item number 7 Page 9

Popular Housing, circa 1880 to the 1910s

At the opposite end of Durham's economic and social spectrum, the city's business and professional leaders were building large and well articulated houses for themselves throughout the remaining years of the nineteenth century and into the twentieth. The most enduring of the popular late nineteenth-century styles favored by Durhamites was the Queen Anne, of which several significant full-blown examples survive. In the North Durham neighborhood, the impressive two-and-one-half-story Manning House, built in the early 1880s at 911 N. Mangum St. (North Durham --Duke Park Historic District, NR), displays the variety of patterns and textures, including applied half-timbering and carved sunbursts in the gables, and multiple varied rooflines punctuated by tall corbelled chimney stacks that are characteristic of the Queen Anne style. Also typical of the mode is the combination of neoclassical pediments with turned posts and spandrels in the porch. Just a few blocks to the north, the contemporary Seeman House at 112 W. Seeman St. (also in the North Durham -- Duke Park Historic District) features polygonal bays and bracketed gable hoods with carved sunbursts. The circa 1890 Stone-Hackney-Markham House at 204 N. Dillard St. in the Holloway Street Historic District, # 14) is the most ornate of Durham's remaining Queen Anne style dwellings, distinguished by sawn, carved and turned bracing in the gables, a wraparound porch with a corner gazebo, sunburst spandrels, a modillion cornice, and another smaller polygonal gazebo projecting from a second story balcony.

Several other Queen Anne style houses appear in the West Durham and Trinity Park neighborhoods. The Blacknall House (# 1) in West Durham is the city's only remaining brick house dating from the nineteenth century. Built in 1889, the two-story structure with a varied roofline has scalloped shingles and applied half-timbering in the gables which augment the warm texture of the brick elevations. Somewhat whimsical in style, the four "Faculty Row" houses (NR), built in 1892 on the new Trinity College campus and moved into Trinity Park in the 1910s, are small in scale. Each in a unique design and sheathed in a variety of materials, the Faculty Row compositions range from the one-and-one-half-story cottage with a polygonal two-story tower known as the Crowell House to the two-story Cranford-Wannamaker House with its short crenellated tower. As originally constructed in 1892 on the Trinity College campus, Epworth Inn (Trinity College/East Campus of Duke University, #17) was an enormous, rambling structure composed of an assortment of asymmetrical wings with various heights and rooflines, all sheathed in patterned shingles and described by its architect (whose name is lost to us) as "Scandinavian" in style.

The foregoing buildings are some of the most notable of the private development that swept Durham from the 1880s through the

United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

National Register of Historic Places
Inventory—Nomination Form

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Continuation sheet Historic Resources of Durham Item number 7

Page 10

1900s as the tobacco and textile industries thrived. The city's earliest neighborhoods, including the area focussed on Dillard St. (the remainder of which constitutes most of the Cleveland Street and Holloway Street Districts), East End, West End, and Hayti, and the outlying communities of East Durham and West Durham filled out, while new neighborhoods such as North Durham, Trinity Park, Trinity Heights, Walltown, and Morehead Hill began to take shape.

The great majority of the buildings in these neighborhoods are popular house types, the more elaborate of which are best described as simplified Queen Anne due to their modified Queen Anne features. They tend to be irregular in form, consisting of a regular square or rectangular core with asymmetrically placed wings, often terminating in three-sided bays, and incorporating some variety in roofline. As in the more stylish examples already described, gables, windows and porches remain the foci of ornamentation of turned and sawn ornament that usually includes patterned shingles. Good examples of these popular Queen Anne-inspired houses are found in the Holloway Street District (# 14) where the Whitley-Bright House at 527 Holloway St. exhibits two-story three-sided bays and an elaborate decorative scheme of turned and sawn elements concentrated in the gables and wraparound porch. In West End, the William Thomas O'Brien House (# 6) resembles the Whitley-Bright House in its overall form and very long wraparound porch with a spool frieze. In the Holloway Street District, carved decoration appears on the Henry Wilkerson House at 524 Holloway St., with the frieze and continuous brackets of the porch rendered in sunbursts. The same carved motifs adorn the corner porch of the R.N. Wilson House, built around 1905 at 822 Onslow St. (Trinity Historic District, # 22), which also has sawtooth shingles in an assortment of gables and a pedimented front dormer. By the turn of the century many houses combined neoclassical elements, especially in porches, with a colorful display of stained glass and other Queen Anne features such as asymmetrical compositions, as seen in the North House at 1000 Lamond Av. and the Thaxton House at 212 Watts St. (Trinity Historic District), both built in the 1900s. With their square two-story core and shallow asymmetrically placed pedimented wings and classical columns, these houses exemplify an austere, regularized derivative of the Queen Anne. At the same time, the traditional basic house types endured with a spare application of popular ornamentation, as seen in the one-story, one-room-deep G.A. Giles House with its boldly chamfered porch posts capped by molding, at 114 E. Seeman St. in the North Durham -- Duke Park Historic District (NR).

Durham's booming growth also was reflected from the 1880s into the 1910s by hundreds of privately built houses resembling industry-constructed houses in their simple basic forms and restricted decoration of standard millwork, and revealing their common origins in rural vernacular traditions. Many were built as investments, often for rent to tobacco factory workers, Durham's largest work force, and are almost indistinguishable from mill housing, especially when identical houses occur in groups. This sort of development is found most frequently in Durham's traditionally black

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received
Date entered

Continuation sheet Historic Resources of Durham Item number 7

Page 11

neighborhoods where they comprise a significant portion of the housing. Early twentieth-century examples include the row of eight frame gable-front duplexes on Dunstan St. and a row of five hip-roofed houses with recessed front porches on W. Enterprise St., both in the southern extension of Hayti generally known as Southeast Durham. Occasionally the builder used salvaged materials in investment property, as exhibited in the intricately leaded windows of a later and otherwise very plain duplex at 118 Jordan St. in the Crest Street neighborhood.

Churches, 1880-1900

Once Durhamites became prosperous enough to devote attention to the designs of their houses, they likewise addressed the appearances of their religious institutions. As throughout much of the country, the favored style for Durham's churches built during the late nineteenth century was the Gothic Revival. The oldest surviving example is the Emmanuel A.M.E. Church (# 4), begun in 1888 at 706 Kent St., a modest structure that features lancet stained glass windows and a tall two-story entrance tower. Although the original brick exterior has been stuccoed, such decorative brickwork as mousetoothing and corbelled pendants remain visible on the tower. Durham's other surviving nineteenth-century example of the Gothic Revival (begun 1891) is St. Joseph's A.M.E. Church (NR), designed by architect Samuel Linton Leary. The eclectic building incorporates Richardsonian Romanesque massing, Gothic Revival stained glass lancet windows and, like later residential buildings, neoclassical elements.

Commercial Buildings, 1880-1920s

As Durham expanded from a market center to a booming tobacco and textile manufacturing town, commercial structures proliferated in the city center. Repeating the pattern of industrial architecture, Durham's commercial buildings were all of frame construction until the threat of fire prompted the use of brick. After a disastrous fire late in 1880, all rebuilding and most subsequent new construction was in brick. Typically buildings were rectangular and two or three stories tall, flat-roofed, with round- or segmental-arched windows in the upper stories. Decoration consisted of ornamental brickwork and cast iron cornices. This basic format characterized most of the moderately sized buildings in the central business district from the 1880s to the 1920s and typified virtually all brick commercial architecture in East Durham and West Durham's business districts after the turn of the century. Although no nineteenth-century examples survive in downtown Durham, early twentieth-century examples include 203 Church St. (in the Downtown District, NR) with bold corbelled pendants at the cornice, and 1920 Perry St. in West Durham's business district (in the West Durham Historic District, # 23) which has brick dentils beneath a handsome denticulated cast iron cornice.

Beginning in the mid-1880s, Durham's most prosperous businesses erected larger and more stylish buildings, especially along primary downtown streets. Documentary

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received

Date entered

Continuation sheet Historic Resources of Durham Item number 7

Page 12

photographs reveal that imaginative and eye-catching renditions of the Second Empire, Italianate, Romanesque Revival and Queen Anne styles lined Main St. by the turn of the century, their brick facades interrupted with many windows and heavily ornamented with brick, stone and applied metal. The circa 1893 two-and-one-half-story building at 111 W. Main St. (in the Downtown District, NR) is the only remaining example of these more stylish structures. It is typical of classicized Queen Anne architecture of the period in the combination of Palladian windows with corbelled pendants and an irregular dormered roofline.

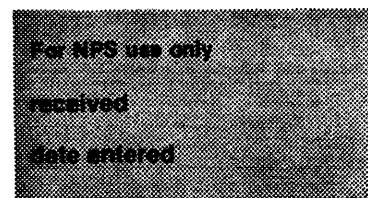
The fact that so few of Durham's notable late nineteenth-century buildings survive attests in part to the city's strong economy well into the twentieth century. Those buildings that were not destroyed in a series of disastrous fires in the 1890s were razed as successful businessmen continued to erect newer buildings in up-to-date styles. By the first decade of the twentieth century such styles were all classically derived. In the moderately sized storefronts, the classical revival styles came into their own in features such as the Palladian window treatment or the dentil cornice (see 1920 Perry St.). Such motifs appeared more frequently and increasingly dominated facades rather than competing with non-classical elements. A good example is the three-story building at 106 W. Parrish St. which has Palladian fenestration in the third story and a handsome molded metal cornice above.

The Rise of Neoclassicism, 1890s-1920s, Commercial Buildings

The most striking instances of the new construction that began to change the face of downtown Durham in the 1900s are large, high-style office and institutional buildings in the Neoclassical Revival style and the related Beaux-Arts and Georgian Revival styles. Sheathed in brick or smooth-faced stone, several such elegant structures, all in the Downtown Durham Historic District (NR), display monumental pilasters or columns and boldly projecting modillioned and denticulated cornices, often topped with a balustrade. Among the prime examples are the Trust Building built in 1905, Durham's first skyscraper; Baldwin's Department Store (1920s); the Old Hill Building (1925); and Citizens National Bank Building (1910s) featuring Ionic columns in antis. The Neoclassical Revival style was the hallmark of the architectural firm of Millburn and Heister Company which designed some of the outstanding buildings in downtown Durham. Their most auspicious neoclassical buildings of the 1910s and 1920s include the Durham County Courthouse (1916) featuring monumental Corinthian pilasters; the Durham Auditorium (1926) with Beaux-Arts tendencies evident in the tall window lunettes filled with carved cornucopias of fruit and flowers; and the 1915 First National Bank Building decorated with carved classical ornament across its bottom and top stories. Another significant early twentieth-century Neoclassical Revival style building in Durham's downtown is the 1921 Mechanics and Farmers Bank Building (NHL) by Rose and Rose, Architects. The Temple Building (1909) is a variant of the style, with a permanent terra cotta-tiled awning shading the top story; it is believed to have been designed by Bertrand S. Taylor.

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National Park Service**

**National Register of Historic Places
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Continuation sheet Historic Resources of Durham Item number 7

Page 13

Institutional Neoclassicism, 1900-1910s

The Neoclassical Revival style also distinguished several of Durham's early twentieth-century medical, educational and religious buildings. In 1909, architect Bertrand S. Taylor had just completed Watts Hospital (II) (NR) at the intersection of W. Club Blvd. and Broad St. The building combines a tiled roof and deep overhangs with a Renaissance Revival style treatment of the main facade. An early 1910s building campaign at Trinity College yielded four classically inspired structures, among them the identical Hook and Sawyer-designed East Duke and West Duke buildings fronted by monumental Doric tetrastyle porticoes (Trinity College/East Campus of Duke University, # 17). Monumental columns embellish the fronts of numerous churches, including Blacknall Memorial Presbyterian Church (in the West Durham Historic District, # 23) featuring an engaged portico with pairs of Ionic columns in antis, and the First Baptist Church (in the Downtown District, NR), with its enormous Ionic temple front in limestone. Greensboro architect Harry Barton found his inspiration for the Asbury Methodist Church on W. Markham Ave. (in the Trinity Historic District, # 22) in Early Renaissance Tuscan churches, as indicated by the system of blind arches across the front.

Residential Neoclassicism, 1900-1920

The classically-derived styles also gradually became favored for Durham's residential architecture. The first hints of these styles were the occasional classical features of Tuscan porch columns and neoclassical mantelpieces in houses rooted in the Queen Anne. These tendencies steadily blossomed through the 1890s and into the 1900s with notable transitional dwellings known as Neo-Colonial houses in which colonial embellishments are integrated with the asymmetrical massing of late Victorian Queen Anne architecture. A good example of this style is the 1900s Freeland Markham House (Cleveland Street Historic District, # 14) with its pedimented gables and fluted Corinthian porch columns incorporated in an asymmetrical form with irregular roofline. Although built several years earlier, the Powe House (# 7) at 1503 W. Pettigrew St. is more overtly neoclassical, retaining some eccentric carved moldings and wings ending in three-sided bays, but dominated by a monumental portico at the entrance bay overlapping a one-story wraparound porch, both in the Ionic order. With its one-story convex Doric portico and asymmetrical shape, the Dillard House (NR) (1917) indicates that similar combinations continued to appear for more than two decades as more academic examples of the new styles proliferated.

By the early 1900s and continuing into the 1910s, the neoclassical modes were becoming firmly entrenched with exuberant classical features and more regularized and symmetrical forms and rooflines, sometimes strongly reminiscent of Colonial houses. The Bassett-Brown House (Trinity Historic District, # 22), the main block of the Parrish-Piatt House in northern Durham, the Dr. Archibald Currie Jordan House (North Durham-Duke

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National Park ServiceNational Register of Historic Places
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Date entered

Continuation sheet Historic Resources of Durham Item number 7

Page 14

Park Historic District), and the C.C. Thomas House (Holloway Street Historic District, # 14) all boast monumental Ionic porticoes. The monumental entrance porch overlapping a full-facade or wraparound porch becomes increasingly popular, as demonstrated by the Salmon House (Trinity Historic District), Murray-Isaacs House (North Durham-Duke Park Historic District, NR) and Scarborough House (# 8). The Victor Bryant, Sr., House (Morehead Hill Historic District, # 19) and the Mangum House (North Durham-Duke Park Historic District, NR) are among the many houses with interiors elegantly appointed with such classical features as hallway columns and gracious staircases. With a Palladian staircase window, a large gambrel-roofed front dormer and a sunburst lunette at the entrance, the C.C. Thomas House (Holloway Street Historic District) begun in 1908 is among the early distinctly Colonial Revival style dwellings in Durham.

One of Durham's earliest examples of the Neoclassical Revival or Colonial Revival style is also the purest example of the mode built here prior to the late 1910s, reflecting the background of its architects, Rand and Taylor, based in the architectural mainstream of Boston. Displaying Ionic porch columns, a large Palladian staircase window, and heavy denticulated and modillioned cornices, Watts Hospital (I) (Trinity Historic District) built in 1895 is generally characterized by a symmetrical boxy form with a shallow hipped roof. This square, two-story hipped-roof configuration was the hallmark of a ubiquitous house type known as the "foursquare" which appeared throughout Durham from around 1900 through the 1920s and helped popularize the new revival styles with their classically derived ornamentation. Concurrent with all of these turn-of-the-century residential developments, traditional one- and two-story one-room-deep forms persisted, their ornament often consisting of Tuscan porch columns, as seen in the Flinton House (North Durham-Duke Park Historic District, NR).

The Shingle Style and Early Exotic Revival Styles

The Shingle Style and two other, somewhat exotic, early revival styles appearing in Durham's residential architecture deserve special notice. They represent more literal reflections of urban style than the foregoing modes and were designed by and built for people in direct contact with the sources. In 1891, architect Samuel Linton Leary built the Leary-Coletta House (Cleveland Street Historic District, # 14) as his own residence. It exhibits the characteristic integration of decorative elements into the overall form, which dominates the composition, and the continuity of elevations, enhanced by the use of cedar shake shingles as the sole exterior sheathing. Almost twenty years later, the surge in Durham's housing diversified with the reappearance of mansions, which tended to display the more exotic revival styles. Built in 1910, the stuccoed John Sprunt Hill House (NR, and in the Morehead Hill Historic District, # 19) was designed by the Boston architectural firm of Kendall and Taylor and is one of the very few mansions remaining in the city. Symmetry, a broadly overhanging red-tiled roof, and a central bay with Spanish baroque ornament heavily applied to curvilinear parapets at porch and dormer distinguish the main facade of the house. Two blocks away,

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Continuation sheet Historic Resources of Durham Item number 7 Page 15

the sprawling, irregularly-shaped two-and-one-half-story mansion named "Greystone" (NR, also in the Morehead Hill Historic District) is the last remaining Chateaufesque style dwelling in Durham and one of the few in North Carolina. Charlotte architect C.C. Hook designed the granite and brick house with green tiled roof and neoclassical elements concentrated at the dramatic full-facade porch in 1911.

The Period Revival Styles, 1910s to 1940

With time, Durham, like the rest of North Carolina's population centers, joined the mainstream of residential design as the period revivals, executed regularly now in brick and stone as well as wood, became de rigueur for fashionable, gracious houses. House and garden-related books and magazines spotlighting residential architecture, complete with elevations, floor plans and mail order blanks, multiplied as the new century progressed, molding popular taste across the country. By around 1920, houses in the Tudor Revival, English Cottage, Spanish Mission, Renaissance Revival and especially the Colonial Revival styles were being constructed with increasing frequency. They appeared both in Durham neighborhoods such as Trinity Park and Morehead Hill that had emerged at the turn of the century and particularly in the more recent Duke Park, Forest Hills, Hope Valley and Duke Forest, whose characters were established with these modes. In contrast to Durham's first residential manifestations of the Neoclassical and Colonial Revival styles, these later representatives tended to be more academic, emulating more literally their stylistic antecedents. Concurrently, the number of architects practicing in Durham also increased to accommodate the steadily rising numbers of successful professionals and businessmen tied to the city's expanding economy. These clients turned to the young architects, among whom Durhamite George Watts Carr was one of the most popular, for original plans as well as for modifications of mail order designs to satisfy individual tastes. The period revival styles were even more popular for institutional architecture, characterizing virtually every church, school and hospital built in Durham from the mid-1910s to the late 1930s. Residences such as the W.L. Whitted House (Trinity Historic District, # 22) and the Lloyd Brown House in Duke Park (North Durham--Duke Park Historic District, NR) give neighborhood streetscapes an exotic Spanish note with their smooth and precise stuccoed facades, flat roofs, and terra cotta tile on fixed awnings. Two examples of the Renaissance Revival style occur on Minerva Ave. in Trinity Park (Trinity Historic District). The 1928 masonry Nachamson House, constructed in tile covered with stucco, has some elements of the style in its arcaded entrance porch surmounted by a panelled balustrade, but Durham's foremost example of the mode is the 1930 Kronheimer House by Raleigh architect G. Murray Nelson: it has a low, tile-covered hipped roof, stone panels bearing swags in relief, and a stone Ionic arcade at a recessed corner porch. Erwin Apartments, a stone-faced four-story building opposite the East Campus of Duke University (in the Trinity Historic District), exemplifies an austere neoclassical variant termed "Modernistic" that was popular in the 1920s and 1930s. It is characterized by sharply incised windows and limited decoration that includes stylized cartouches and bronze fanlight grilles at the entrances.

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Continuation sheet Historic Resources of Durham Item number 7

Page 16

Colonial and Related Revival Styles: Institutional Buildings

Academic interpretations of the classical styles derived from this country's early architecture characterize several major institutional buildings constructed in Durham during the 1920s and 1930s. One of the largest building campaigns occurred on the old Trinity College campus when it was converted to the East Campus of Duke University (# 17) in 1925 to 1927. The Philadelphia architectural firm of Horace Trumbauer designed eleven Georgian Revival style buildings in red brick with marble decoration, situated around a long open-ended quadrangle. At one end the Pantheon-like Baldwin Auditorium, fronted by a monumental hexastyle Ionic portico, dominates the setting. On each long side of the quadrangle there is a row of four identical two-and-one-half-story dormitory and classroom buildings with pedimented entrance bays, and a more richly appointed building in the middle that is distinguished by marble quoins and a balustraded hexastyle portico. Both the plan of the quadrangle and the building designs recall Thomas Jefferson's scheme for the University of Virginia campus. As the East Campus project neared completion, a new campus for North Carolina College (now North Carolina Central University, # 20) was on the drawing boards. Also in the Georgian Revival style, the initial campaign designed by Atwood and Nash consisted of three large red brick buildings featuring such classical details as quoins, swags, keystones in splayed lintels, and Tuscan columns. Construction of the campus resumed in the late 1930s with three more Georgian Revival style buildings designed by Public Works Administration architects.

Other imposing Colonial Revival style institutional buildings dating from the 1920s and 1930s include the 1923 Durham High School (Trinity Historic District, # 22), a Milburn and Heister Company-designed building surmounted by a tall belvedere, and the 1921 Durham Library (in the Downtown Durham Historic District, NR) designed by New York architect Edward L. Tilton and highlighted with a graceful hexastyle Ionic temple front executed in wood. Another Colonial Revival style library, at the south edge of Hayti, is the 1939 Stanford L. Warren Library (# 11), a refined one-story red brick building with an austere applied temple-style elevation at the entrance bay and a large Palladian window in each end facade. Milburn and Heister Company designed the 1926 McPherson Hospital (Trinity Historic District), a three-story tall brick building with modillioned and denticulated cornice, balustraded two-story entrance portico, and overall attenuated proportions evocative of Federal architecture. A few blocks away, Milburn and Heister's 1920s King's Daughter's Home (Trinity Historic District) is more Georgian in flavor due to its heavier decorative treatment that includes pedimented wings, quoins, and contrasting keystones at all windows.

Picturesque Revival Styles: Institutional Buildings

Contrasting with the classically derived period revival styles was the intentionally picturesque flavor of the Late Gothic, Tudor Revival, and English cottage

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Inventory—Nomination Form**

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received

date entered

Continuation sheet Historic Resources of Durham Item number 7

Page 17

styles. Of all of the early twentieth-century period revival styles represented in Durham, the most frequent choice for ecclesiastical architecture was the Late Gothic Revival. In the Downtown District (NR), two churches designed by leading New York gothicist Ralph Adam Cram are variations on the theme of the medieval English church. While both have ashlar exteriors dominated by square towers projecting from the center of the main facade, St. Philip's Episcopal Church of 1907 recalls the rural parish church in contrast to the grander scale and more elaborate decorative scheme of Trinity United Methodist Church built in 1924. Another variant of the Late Gothic Revival is represented by Duke Memorial United Methodist Church (# 3), built in 1907 to 1912 from a design by New York City architect George W. Kramer. This massive building in buff-colored brick with granite trim has a cruciform sanctuary and a four-story bell tower flush with each front corner of the main facade. Although the dominant style of the building is Late Gothic Revival, as indicated by the tracery windows and the stonework at the main entrance, the corbelled brickwork is typical of the Romanesque Revival style. Still another, striking rendition of the Late Gothic Revival is the 1916 First Presbyterian Church (Downtown District, NR) by Milburn and Heister, who created a boldly dynamic effect with contrasting materials of brick and stone for the extensive trim and with strongly projecting elements juxtaposed to voids. In North Durham, the diminutive Ephphatha Church (# 5) designed by George Watts Carr in 1930 is of solid English bond brick construction with stone trim restricted to accents on the buttresses, simple molded window surrounds, and the surround of the lancet-arched doorway in the gabled front.

The greatest display of the Late Gothic Revival in Durham is the West Campus of Duke University (# 15), best described as "Collegiate Gothic" in style. The focal point of the campus is the Duke Chapel. Its 210-foot tower, modelled after the bell tower of Canterbury Cathedral, looms over the other stone buildings, all arranged in four groups around three intersecting quadrangles. Architect Horace Trumbauer and his chief designer, Julian Abele, achieved an interplay of order and variety both in this symmetrical arrangement of irregularly-shaped buildings and in the individual designs of the buildings themselves. All are built of volcanic stone from Hillsborough, N.C., that was chosen for its variety of colors, and all are generally modelled on the domestic Gothic architecture of Oxford and Cambridge universities. Other prototypes are revealed in various forms and elements, yet the prototypes were interpreted to meet modern functional requirements and none was directly imitated. According to William Blackburn in The Architecture of Duke University (1946), although all of these buildings are executed in the same basic style and material, each exhibits an individual form and decorative program. Each has a unique roofline, accented with terra cotta chimney pots, but it is the carved Indiana limestone that determines the distinctive character of each building. All of the buildings are embellished with decorative relief sculpture, often whimsical, whose subjects refer to the buildings' functions.

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Continuation sheet Historic Resources of Durham Item number 7

Page 18

Picturesque Revival Styles: Houses

Among the several picturesque revival styles, the Tudor Revival and English cottage styles were the favorites for Durham houses. Although they occur in the greatest concentrations in Forest Hills, Hope Valley and Duke Forest, some of the city's most striking examples appear on the West Campus of Duke University. Indeed, the houses built for university administrators as part of the first building campaign of the West Campus may have inspired the prevalence of picturesque revival styles in the newer suburbs, where a significant number of Duke University and Duke Hospital faculty and staff built their homes. All of the West Campus houses are in the Tudor Revival style and all except one incorporate half-timbering, sometimes with brick infill, and the Hillsborough granite used throughout the rest of the campus. The exception is the J. Deryl Hart House designed by G. Murray Nelson and built almost entirely of brick. It is distinguished by applied half-timbering in the upper stories of some of the gabled bays and by tall chimneys that include corbelled stacks and octagonal chimney pots. One of Durham's finest examples of the Tudor Revival is the Budd House in the Morehead Hill Historic District (# 19), the neighborhood's only example of the style. It features the characteristic brick elevations, irregular-hipped, gabled and clipped gable roofline, casement windows, some applied half-timbering, a large chimney on the main facade, and a molded, drop-shoulder stone surround at the Tudor-arched entry. In the newer suburbs, good examples of the English cottage style include the Alban Widgery and J.B. Hubbell houses designed by George Watts Carr, two-story red brick dwellings with casement windows in Duke Forest that emulate the English cottage architecture of Cotswald.

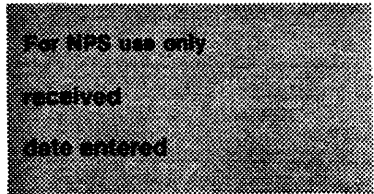
Norman Provincial is another picturesque revival style found in Durham that is characterized by whimsical details. It appears almost exclusively in the country club neighborhood of Hope Valley in such buildings as the Hope Valley Clubhouse designed by Milburn and Heister Company, which sports panelled chimney stacks and a roofline of fanciful peaked gables. Nearby, facing the golf course, the two-story Norman Provincial Forbus House by G. Murray Nelson has an irregular form punctuated by tall chimney stacks with ornamental terra cotta pots, eyebrow and clipped gable wall dormers, and the conical roof of the large cylindrical tower that is the focal point of the main facade.

Period Houses

Another trend well represented in Durham housing dating from the 1920s and 1930s is the "period house," which incorporates elements of the historical revival styles without being as strictly imitative. Examples include gambrel-roofed houses reminiscent of Dutch Colonial dwellings, Tudoresque cottages, houses decorated with a selection of neoclassical features evocative of Georgian and Federal architecture, and many other compositions as varied as the imaginations of their designers. During the late 1920s,

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**National Register of Historic Places
Inventory—Nomination Form**



Continuation sheet Historic Resources of Durham Item number 7

Page 19

period houses, in combination with moderately sized bungalows, began to appear throughout areas being developed for the first time, including College View, portions of Club Boulevard and North Durham, the east end of Duke Park, and several central and northern blocks of Trinity Park, all targeted for middle-income clientele. Often, developers built rows of period houses whose common origin is easily identified in the repetition of their basic forms and porch details; individuality is achieved by varying the compositions of decorative features, as exemplified by a row of six houses in the 900 block of Green St. (Trinity Historic District, # 22) and another group of two-story frame houses in the 2400 block of W. Club Blvd. Period houses were not restricted to the realm of the private speculative developer, but also were commissioned by individuals building their new homes among the traditional foursquares and more academic period revival houses, as seen along the 1700 block of N. Mangum St. in the North Durham -- Duke Park Historic District (NR).

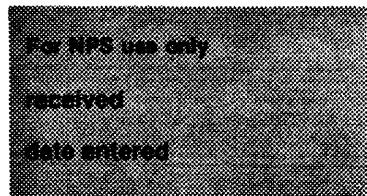
Bungalows

At the same time that period revival style houses were rising across Durham, the number of bungalows was increasing, also promulgated by popular books and magazines. Their designs usually were mail ordered or culled from contractors' guides and they were built in all sizes with a wide variety of decoration. Large concentrations of bungalows characterize much of the newer portions of neighborhoods traditionally inhabited by tradesmen, artisans and laborers, such as East Durham and West Durham where there are very few period revival style house. Through the 1930s, many small and very simple frame bungalows were constructed for speculative sale or rental, especially in the traditionally black neighborhoods of Walltown, East End, Lyon Park and throughout southeastern Durham, all populated principally by laborers. Simple frame bungalows frequently were also chosen for later mill housing, as mentioned in the foregoing description of the Golden Belt Historic District (# 18). All of these modest houses exhibit the bungalow characteristics of a compact form with a simple roofline which often encompasses a full-facade porch. Frequently the roof is punctuated by small shed or gabled attic dormers and the porches usually are supported by tapered box posts on brick piers.

Much larger bungalows of frame, brick or stone and carefully appointed with eye-catching details were built by more affluent Durhamites in older established neighborhoods from Club Boulevard to Trinity Park to North Durham and in newer areas such as College View. On Seeman St. in North Durham there are five imaginative, even eccentric, bungalows (North Durham - Duke Park Historic District, NR), all distinguished by exaggerated flares of the peaks of their gable roofs, very deep eaves, an assortment of bracketed dormers, and porch elements composed to suggest pegged timbers. Two one-and-one-half-story bungalows featuring shingled exteriors on Fayetteville St. in the Lincoln Hospital area originate from a Sears, Roebuck and Company catalogue from which the plans and all of the materials were ordered in the

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National Park Service**

**National Register of Historic Places
Inventory—Nomination Form**



Continuation sheet Historic Resources of Durham Item number 7

Page 20

early 1920s; it is likely that other Sears, Roebuck houses in Durham await identification. The one-and-one-half-story frame Newsom House built in Trinity Park in the mid-1920s (Trinity Historic District, # 22) is one of Durham's early bungalows exhibiting such Craftsman influences as the inglenook at the living room fireplace. Another interesting bungalow in the Trinity Historic District is the Bramham House, which evokes the English cottage style in its stuccoed exterior, multiple clipped gables, and carved brackets in the eaves. In Duke Park, the Basil Watkins, Sr. House (North Durham -- Duke Park Historic District, NR) is an example of a spacious brick bungalow featuring the characteristic elephantine pylons supporting an engaged porch and porte-cochere.

The Machine Age Aesthetic of the 1930s

Significant architectural developments in Durham during the 1930s clearly manifest the "machine age" in the precise, sharp-edged handling of their materials. In residential architecture, technological advances were expressed by the International Style, while the Art Deco and Moderne were the vehicles in commercial and institutional buildings. The avant-garde Gamble House (NR), designed by the Asheville architectural firm of Greene and Rogers and built in Duke Park in 1935, is Durham's best example of the International Style. Its dramatic outline is created by flat-roofed blocks of varying dimensions, emphasized by such hallmarks of the style as stuccoed walls, corner casement windows, and the absence of applied decoration. The first important Art Deco structure in Durham was built in the Central Business District by the S.H. Kress Company in 1932 to 1933. This four-story building features colorful tiles molded in stylized foliate motifs across the main facade. Another vivid example of the Art Deco is the six-story grey stone Snow Building (1933) designed by Joel Wertz and George Watts Carr with a frieze of herringbone panels across the top of the facade and an entrance articulated with vaguely Gothic, narrow and elongated scrolls carved in stone. The seventeen-story Hill Building, the last great commercial building erected in Durham prior to World War II, is the city's most prominent downtown landmark. The Moderne design by New York architects Shreve, Lamb and Harmon related to their earlier Reynolds Building in Winston-Salem and their Empire State Building in New York City in its composition of unbroken verticals and stepped-back upper portion of the main shaft. All of the understated Art Deco ornament in the lobby is executed in metal, primarily steel. (The Kress, Snow and Hill buildings are in the Downtown Durham Historic District, NR). Elsewhere in Durham, the streamlined Art Deco and neoclassical ornament that characterizes the Moderne appears in the exterior stonework of a few public schools, including the 1935 Hillside High School in College View.

Post-1940 Developments

The variety in quality and type of construction that characterized Durham through the 1930s persisted after 1940. The tobacco and textile industries and Duke University thrived, generating steady population growth: the expanding city continued to attract a

**United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service**

**National Register of Historic Places
Inventory—Nomination Form**

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received

date entered

Continuation sheet

Item number

7

Page

21

wide variety of people whose income and tastes demanded housing ranging from modest astylistic cottages to spacious houses at the height of fashion. Dozens of new residential subdivisions have emerged during the past four decades, mainly at the fringes of Durham's ever-expanding city limits. Houses dating from the 1940s and 1950s tend to be generic period and "ranch" houses, frequently brick-veneered. Since the 1960s, some of Durham's residential subdivisions also have been developed with many natural wood-sided "modern" houses with distinctive outlines and expanses of glass. Some of these are country club neighborhoods of large lots focussed on a golf course in emulation of Hope Valley, Durham's first such development. Beginning in the late 1930s, the textile companies gradually sold the houses in the mill villages, often to their occupants. Durham Hosiery Mills initiated this trend when it went out of business in 1938, and the city's other mills, both operative and defunct, followed suit into the 1950s, by which time most of the houses were sold. Since 1940, scores of apartment complexes have been built across Durham, including several that were government-sponsored for those displaced in the extensive urban renewal projects that exerted a tremendous impact upon Durham's appearance in the 1960s.

The Central Business District had already begun to creep into the city's earliest fashionable residential neighborhood focussed on Dillard St. when federally funded urban renewal began in the mid-1960s to remove acres of buildings at the east and northeast fringes of the commercial area and along South and S. Mangum streets. Most of the targets were houses. The largest area cleared was southeast of the business district where urban renewal was coupled with clearance for the East-West Expressway to remove practically all of the early black community known as Hayti. Clearance for the highway, built in the early 1970s, also destroyed just enough of Morehead Hill, West End, and areas farther west to allow room for the four-lane road and interchanges. In Hayti, however, blocks and blocks of buildings north and south of the highway, many "sub-standard," were removed, leaving grass and underbrush-covered acres still awaiting redevelopment today. Due south of downtown, near the railroad tracks, the urban renewal target area is now covered with nondescript buildings containing service and utility companies, warehouses and car dealerships. The sites of the distinctive old houses removed from the northeast edge of the business district are now taken up by part of the Downtown Loop and recent two- and three-story buildings including the Durham County Library, the WTVB studios, and the Durham Fire Department headquarters, all modern, streamlined structures sheathed in brick or concrete panels.

Summary of the Periods of Architecture Represented in Durham

While the historic architecture of Durham reflects approximately 140 years of development, the degree of visual continuity among the historic buildings varies. Virtually no Durham buildings survive from the years prior to its incorporation or from its first two decades. Very few structures erected in the 1870s and 1880s remain. Most of the buildings from the first four decades of the community's existence were located in the heart of central Durham where they were destroyed in the constant growth

United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

National Register of Historic Places
Inventory—Nomination Form

For NPS use only

received

date entered

Continuation sheet

Historic Resources of Durham

Item number

7

Page

22

and redevelopment of the commercial area or as a result of blight and 1960s urban renewal. A significant exception to this trend is found among the early brick tobacco buildings at the edge of downtown and in the remains of the 1884 Durham Cotton Manufacturing Company and its village East Durham. A few of the individual structures built prior to 1890 that are included in this nomination are isolated examples of significant early periods and styles that have survived because they were placed well beyond early corporate limits, in areas that have not experienced strong redevelopment pressures. Thus, the overwhelming majority of Durham's historic buildings were constructed between that 1890s and 1940.

Design Quality of Durham's Architecture

Because so many of Durham's significant buildings date from the five decades prior to 1940, the city's historic resources present a strong visual continuity in terms of both the consistency of their materials -- frame for most houses (and brick increasingly from the late 1910s) and brick and stone for industrial, commercial and institutional buildings -- and in their types and styles. The boom that began in the 1870s only intensified in the 1890s and 1900s, producing the huge industrial plants and villages that constitute more than one-third of the nominations contained herein. Moreover, Durham evolved as a collection of clearly defined neighborhoods and retains that distinction to this day. Except for the earliest residential neighborhoods focused on Dillard St. and the eastern area of West End, both at the edge of the burgeoning downtown, all of the city's neighborhoods that evolved prior to 1940 have maintained their identities. The most intact portions of some of the neighborhoods that emerged at the turn of the century are contained in the Trinity and Morehead Hill historic districts included in this Multiple Resource Nomination. The coherence that prevails in these districts also is evident throughout the other pre-1940 neighborhoods, from the most unpretentious working-class areas to the planned subdivisions of the 1920s and 1930s. In the Central Business District, the development pressures that destroyed many of Durham's earliest buildings in turn yielded a district of handsome commercial and institutional buildings primarily in the early twentieth-century styles.

Most of the buildings erected in Durham have been vernacular in character. A few surviving early buildings, such as the Manning House in the North Durham -- Duke Park Historic District (NR) and several houses in the Cleveland Street and Holloway Street Historic District, are fairly sophisticated in design. Beginning in the 1910s, many of the institutional buildings and houses built for people with middle and upper incomes are accomplished renditions of the popular styles of their day. Durham also is dotted with high-style, architect-designed buildings, particularly in the central business district, and is world-famous for its outstanding architectural achievements on the campuses of Duke University.

**United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service**

**National Register of Historic Places
Inventory—Nomination Form**

For NPS use only

received

date entered

Continuation sheet Historic Resources of Durham Item number 7

Page 23

2. PHYSICAL RELATIONSHIP OF BUILDINGS TO EACH OTHER AND TO THE ENVIRONMENT

Facade lines vary throughout Durham. Almost all structures in the business districts and most of the industrial buildings are adjacent to the sidewalks. Residential facade lines vary from area to area, remaining fairly uniform within a particular neighborhood. In contrast, Durham's street pattern is a melange of types and orientations. Along the main line of the Southern Railway, the streets run pretty much perpendicular and parallel to the tracks. Then, just a few blocks away from the railroad line, the pattern becomes irregular as it rearranges itself to a loosely ordered grid oriented on a north-south axis. Throughout the center of Durham and extending into the neighborhoods of East Durham, West Durham, North Durham and Morehead Hill, the pattern is basically a grid, especially in the larger mill villages. Occasionally the regularity is interrupted by roads dating from the mid-1800s that follow topographical contours. Much of Durham's network of streets south of the main railroad line, beginning at the south edge of the Morehead Hill and Lyon Park neighborhoods and reaching to the west, south and southeast, follow irregular, curvilinear patterns, particularly in the planned subdivisions begun in the 1920s and 1930s. Irregular street patterns also characterize almost all of Durham's subdivisions built since the 1960s. Structural density is greatest within an approximately two-mile radius from the middle of downtown Durham, diminishing beyond.

3. APPROXIMATE PERCENTAGES OF BUILDING USE

The largest number of buildings in Durham are residential, probably ninety percent, with industrial, commercial, institutional and miscellaneous buildings making up the remaining percentage.

E. SURVEY METHODOLOGY

The Durham Multiple Resource Nomination is based upon three inventories: two inventories conducted by Durham Technical Institute classes from 1978 to 1980 that altogether recorded every building in Edgemont and portions of the Morning Glory, East Durham, East End, and Cleveland-Holloway Streets neighborhoods; and the Durham Architectural and Historic Inventory, conducted in 1980 to 1981 by historic preservation consultant Claudia Roberts Brown in association with the firm of Robert M. Leary and Associates, Ltd., which was under contract to the City of Durham. In 1982, the City hired RML&A and Ms. Brown to convert the three inventory reports to a publication bearing the name of the 1980-81 project, which was released in 1983. This overview is based upon the inventory publication and much of the text is taken verbatim from the essays and building entries therein.

The year-long inventory sponsored by the city surveyed all properties of historic and/or architectural significance within the corporate limits of Durham, neighborhood

**United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service**

**National Register of Historic Places
Inventory—Nomination Form**

For NPS use only
received
date entered

Continuation sheet Historic Resources of Durham Item number 7 Page 24

by neighborhood, that had not already been inventoried, including representatives of all types and styles of buildings erected prior to 1940. Except for the chimney site at West Point on the Eno, the inventory did not include properties of archaeological significance. In each neighborhood, every street containing buildings erected prior to 1940 was recorded with coded maps and photographs of streetscapes and each building individually, all deposited in "multiple structures" files. From each multiple structures file, those buildings which were considered to be of some architectural and historic significance or interest, or to be good representative examples of characteristic types and styles, according to the professional judgment of the consultant, were recorded in greater detail, as were other properties identified by local residents as being of some historic significance. Each of these selected properties was recorded in an individual file with photographs, descriptions and historical data compiled to the extent that time would allow. Interviews with property owners were conducted whenever possible.

The eleven individual properties and fourteen districts included in this Multiple Resource Nomination were selected by Claudia Roberts Borwn, in coordination with the City of Durham's Planning and Community Development Department and the North Carolina Division of Archives and History, from the overall list of approximately 4,500 buildings inventoried, individually or in clusters, by applying the National Register criteria.

To further clarify the ownership classification as listed in Item # 3, West Point on the Eno is owned by the City of Durham, Stanford L. Warren Library by Durham County, and the Blacknall House and North Carolina Central University buildings by the State of North Carolina. All of the other properties being nominated are privately owned. Of the individual properties, West Point on the Eno, Stanford L. Warren Library, Emmanuel A.M.E. Church and the Scarborough House are owner-occupied; the rest are rental property, except for the Blacknall House which presently is vacant. All of the districts are a combination of rental and owner-occupied properties, except for the Trinity College/East Campus of Duke University, West Campus of Duke University, and North Carolina Central University which are completely owner-occupied.

**United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service**

**National Register of Historic Places
Inventory—Nomination Form**

For NPS use only

received

date entered

Continuation sheet Historic Resources of Durham Item number 7

Page 25

NOTE

Unless otherwise indicated, the following is the explanation of the code for the building ranking shown in the left margins of the inventory lists for the district nominations included in this Multiple Resource Nomination:

- P -- Those properties which, because of their historical, architectural and/or cultural characteristics, play a primary central or pivotal role in establishing the qualities for which the district is significant.
- C -- Those properties which while not pivotal are supportive of and contribute to the historical, architectural and/or cultural characteristics for which the district is significant.
- N -- Those properties which have neither an especially positive nor an especially negative impact upon the general characteristics of the district.
- I -- Those properties which have a definite negative impact on the historical, architectural and/or cultural characteristics for which the district is significant.

8. Significance

Period	Areas of Significance—Check and justify below			
<input type="checkbox"/> prehistoric	<input type="checkbox"/> archeology-prehistoric	<input type="checkbox"/> community planning	<input type="checkbox"/> landscape architecture	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> religion
<input type="checkbox"/> 1400-1499	<input type="checkbox"/> archeology-historic	<input type="checkbox"/> conservation	<input type="checkbox"/> law	<input type="checkbox"/> science
<input type="checkbox"/> 1500-1599	<input type="checkbox"/> agriculture	<input type="checkbox"/> economics	<input type="checkbox"/> literature	<input type="checkbox"/> sculpture
<input type="checkbox"/> 1600-1699	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> architecture	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> education	<input type="checkbox"/> military	<input type="checkbox"/> social/
<input type="checkbox"/> 1700-1799	<input type="checkbox"/> art	<input type="checkbox"/> engineering	<input type="checkbox"/> music	<input type="checkbox"/> humanitarian
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> 1800-1899	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> commerce	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> exploration/settlement	<input type="checkbox"/> philosophy	<input type="checkbox"/> theater
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> 1900-	<input type="checkbox"/> communications	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> industry	<input type="checkbox"/> politics/government	<input type="checkbox"/> transportation
		<input type="checkbox"/> invention		<input type="checkbox"/> other (specify)

Specific dates N/A **Builder/Architect** N/A

Statement of Significance (in one paragraph)

Durham is a moderately sized city containing a variety of properties of historical and architectural significance that collectively reflect its character as it developed primarily from the late nineteenth century through the 1930s. Few buildings survive as reminders of the community's rural roots, its origins as a small market center generated by the arrival of the North Carolina Railroad, and its burgeoning as a tobacco manufacturing center in the late 1850s and the immediate post-Civil War years. Hundreds of additional properties from the 1870s through the 1930s chronicle Durham's tremendous growth and development as a national center of tobacco and textile manufacturing, advancements by blacks, and higher education. Altogether these structures provide a comprehensive view of a community whose railroad-dependent development was based upon two primary industries, tobacco and textiles. The successes of these industries created tremendous prosperity for their leaders and the community in general and yielded a "city of the New South" by fostering a climate that engendered economic, social and cultural diversification. The most architecturally and historically significant of the properties remaining from the circa 1840 to circa 1940 period, not already listed in the National Register, are cited in this Multiple Resource Nomination: four dwellings, a library, three churches, three industrial buildings, a small grist mill complex, three moderately sized residential districts, a large primarily residential district, three university campuses, a sizable industrial complex, a large industrial district, and four mill village districts (two of which are strictly residential). Sixteen other individual structures and two districts already are on the National Register. Together these properties signify the broad range and quality of historic resources which provide Durham's primary visual character.

**United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service**

**National Register of Historic Places
Inventory—Nomination Form**

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received

date entered

Continuation sheet Historic Resources of Durham Item number 8 Page 1

- A. The eleven individual properties and fourteen districts in this Multiple Resource Nomination are associated with the development, from the mid-nineteenth century to around 1940, of a moderately sized city that originated as a small market center, mushroomed after the Civil War with the prosperity first of tobacco manufacturing and then the textile industry, and later was highlighted by its institutions of higher education and the advancements of its black community. Individually and collectively they make significant contributions to the present-day visual and historical character of the city.
- B. The properties included in this Multiple Resource Nomination are associated with the lives of prominent industrialists, black leaders, educators, and other business and civic leaders who played important roles in the history of Durham and, in some cases, the county, state and nation.
- C. The properties included in this Multiple Resource Nomination individually embody the distinctive characteristics of various architectural styles popular from the mid-nineteenth century to around 1940, including vernacular Greek Revival, Queen Anne, Neoclassical Revival, Late Gothic Revival and other assorted period revival styles. Among the residential building types, popular basic house forms of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, bungalows and mill houses are well represented. In addition, the three textile mills and the significant number of buildings associated with tobacco manufacturing represent the design and building techniques incorporated in late nineteenth and early twentieth-century industrial structures.

**United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service**

**National Register of Historic Places
Inventory—Nomination Form**

For NPS use only
received
Date entered

Continuation sheet Historic Resources of Durham Item number 8 Page 2

A. THE HISTORIC RESOURCES

The historic resources of Durham represent the character of a major city of the New South that emerged from the rural piedmont and evolved as an industrial community -- first as a small market center that was transformed after the Civil War by the meteoric rise of privately owned tobacco and textile manufacturing concerns; and eventually in the early twentieth century as a national tobacco and textiles center whose economy was undergoing diversification by rapid urban growth, the successes of black-owned businesses, and the establishment of Duke University. The properties included in this Multiple Resource Nomination are the majority of the most historically and architecturally significant of those remaining from the approximately one-century period of circa 1840 to the beginning of World War II. They are listed on the first continuation sheet.

B-1. HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT

The Early Days: Pre-Civil War Development

The completion in 1856 of the 223-mile North Carolina Railroad connecting Goldsboro and Charlotte was, according to noted North Carolina historians Hugh Talmage Lefler and Albert Ray Newsome, in the History of a Southern State: North Carolina, "the greatest enterprise in which the government of North Carolina had ever participated."¹ The existence of the rail line represented a compromise between the eastern and western sections of the state, and served the special interests of several legislative leaders whose electorates lay along the circuitous route. Dr. Bartlett Snipes Durham of Orange County had his interests served, too, when the North Carolina Railroad Company accepted his offer of a four-acre parcel of land for a railroad depot. Durham's land was located between Hillsborough and Morrisville and lay in a section of eastern Orange County which would become part of Durham County in 1881. The four-acre plot, first known as Durhamville Station, was somewhat less than thirty miles from the State Capitol in Raleigh, and was within fifteen miles of both Hillsborough, the county seat of Orange, and of Chapel Hill, the home of the state university. Little is known about Dr. Durham, but there has been speculation that Durham purposely purchased land along the projected railroad line. Whether or not this was the case, a deed of sale dated May 18, 1852, verifies that Durham purchased one hundred acres of land from James C. Turrentine, the sheriff of Orange County, for one hundred eighty-two dollars. The land was formerly owned by John Shepard, who was forced to sell it because of bankruptcy.

The depot tract was in the midst of farmland dotted with a few tiny communities. To the east, somewhere between the present Ramseur St. and the neighborhood of East Durham, William N. Pratt owned land known as Prattsburg on which he operated a store and tavern with a reputation as a "hothole of licentiousness." In its heyday in the 1850s, Prattsburg also boasted a store, well, cotton gin, and blacksmith shop. It had been the

United States Department of the Interior
National Park ServiceNational Register of Historic Places
Inventory—Nomination Form

For NPS use only

received

date entered

Continuation sheet Historic Resources of Durham Item number 8

Page 3

railroad company's first choice for a depot site in eastern Orange County, but Pratt⁴ asked an unreasonable price for his land and Dr. Durham intervened with his offer. Another travelers' stopping point in the vicinity of Dr. Durham's land was the "Old Trice Store" about six miles to the southeast, which also had two houses and a sawmill,⁵ as well as a post office until 1856 when its business was transferred to Durham. One mile from Durham, close to where Erwin Cotton Mills would rise in the 1890s, "Old Pin Hook" included a house⁶ where travelers could lodge, a grocery shop, a well, and a grove of trees for camping. The thriving community of West Point, with its prosperous grist mill, was located on the south bank of the Eno River almost six miles to the north (West Point on the Eno, #24).

Even before the railroad arrived, Durham began to acquire the trappings of a community. According to Post Office Department Records, Durham's first post office was established April 26,⁷ 1853, the date today recognized by area citizens as the official beginning of Durham. With the arrival of the railroad in 1854, Dr. Durham became,⁸ according to Paul, the first railroad agent and hotel keeper of Durham. Durham's home, a two-story building with a high roof known as "Pandora's Box," may have served as the first railroad hotel. It was conveniently located near the depot at the southeast corner of what would later be named Corcoran and Peabody streets. In 1856, Durham sold his house and lot to the Reverend John A. McMannen and his son, Dr. Charles T. McMannen, who greatly improved the hotel.¹⁰ The house and lot changed hands again in 1858 when R.F. Morris purchased the parcel and constructed a hotel on the western portion of the lot, facing Corcoran St. That same year, Morris opened a small factory¹¹ for the manufacture of smoking tobacco in a frame house near the railroad depot.

Morris' commercial venture was indicative of a marked increase in tobacco growing and manufacturing that took place in North Carolina between 1850 and 1860. Popular taste had begun to appreciate the bright tobacco which grew well in the piedmont counties and other parts of the so-called Bright Leaf Belt. In 1856, Abisha Slade of Caswell County perfected a process of curing the bright leaf that turned it a lovely yellow and further mellowed its taste. Slade's curing method was widely adopted,¹² and prices for the yellow leaf steadily improved in the years prior to the Civil War. At the time Morris began his tobacco factory, it was a common practice for piedmont farmers to shred small lots of their mellow tobacco, package it in small sacks and peddle it as pipe tobacco throughout eastern North Carolina.¹³ Durham's new tobacco factory reflected the growing market for the area's tobacco products and added a new dimension to the modest scope of the village's commerce, which had formerly depended on rail traffic generated by the University at Chapel Hill and by local farmers who shipped their products to markets elsewhere.

By the time tobacco manufacturing was introduced to Durham, the community had¹⁴ three stores, two ~~barracks~~, and a carpenter shop which also served as the post office. Durham grew slowly but steadily in the years prior to the Civil War. Gradually, new

**United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service**

**National Register of Historic Places
Inventory—Nomination Form**

For NPS use only
received
Date entered

Continuation sheet Historic Resources of Durham Item number 8

Page 4

residences, churches and schools were built north of the railroad tracks, filling parcels of land along the main highways which converged on Durham: The Roxboro Road, the Hillsborough Road, the Chapel Hill Road, and the Raleigh Road. Much of the land remained under cultivation. Farms belonging to the Greens, Mangums, Rigsbees, Geers, and R.F. Morris lay north of the tracks. Tracts belonging to the Rev. J.A. McMannen and R.S. Morris were on the south side of the railroad tracks near Morris' early tobacco factory. M.A. Angier's property also was south of the railroad tracks where it bordered the Fayetteville Road; in the 1880s, this area would be known as the black settlement of Hayti.¹⁵

Durham's residents soon demonstrated an interest in education. In 1852, an academy was established in a two-story frame building on property donated by A.J. Rigsbee that is now occupied by Fuller School (Durham City Schools Administration Offices). The first teacher was Bennet C. Hopkins who was also the secretary of the Order of Masons which established the Eno Lodge in the second story of the building in 1860. It was not until 1865 that the school was chartered as the Durham Academy. An early log school was located at what was later the corner of Dillard and Ramseur streets, where one of Durham's most spectacular residences, the home of General Julian Shakespeare Carr, would be built in the 1880s.¹⁶

The early growth of Durham is also reflected in the establishment of its churches. The Rose of Sharon Baptist Church was formed in 1845 at Piney Grove Schoolhouse about one mile south of what was later West Durham. The Rev. Jesse Howell, William Dupress and John Judd were the principal organizers. The drift of population, however, was already toward Durhamville and Prattsburg, and, in 1850, the congregation chose present Pettigrew St. in Durham as a location for a church building. The Pettigrew St. location proved unsuitable after the railroad arrived in 1854 because the noise of the trains interrupted the worshippers and frightened their horses. The North Carolina Railroad Company purchased the church and lot on Pettigrew St. and provided the congregation with four acres of land on Cleveland St., known at that time as the Roxboro Road, as partial payment for the Pettigrew St. property. In 1854, the second Rose of Sharon Baptist Church was built on the Cleveland St. site. A third house of worship was begun in 1877 and occupied by the congregation in 1878. The new church, renamed the First Baptist Church, was located at the intersection of Parrish, Mangum and Orange streets.¹⁷ It remained in use until 1927 when the present imposing temple form edifice (in the Downtown Durham Historic District, NR) was completed on Cleveland St.

The Primitive Baptists formed a congregation led by T.Y. Monk in 1885. According to Branson's 1887 Directory of Durham, the church was located on Cleveland St. about where the second Rose of Sharon Baptist Church had been located.¹⁹ It is possible that the new parish resulted from a split in the Rose of Sharon congregation and that the Primitive Baptists occupied the older church building when it was abandoned by the Rose of Sharon congregation in 1878. By 1905, the Primitive Baptist congregation no longer

**United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service**

**National Register of Historic Places
Inventory—Nomination Form**

For NPS use only
received
date entered

Continuation sheet Historic Resources of Durham Item number 8 Page 5

appeared in the city directory and its fate is unknown.

Like the first Baptist church, Durham's first Methodist church originated in a rural setting. After an 1830 revival meeting in Orange Grove, one mile east of Durham, thirty local citizens created the Orange Grove Methodist Episcopal Church. In 1860, the Orange Grove Methodists decided to move into Durham and built a small frame church in a little grove on the Roxboro Road at what is now Liberty St. The new Durham Methodist Church was barely completed when it was the scene of a heated debate over the issue of secession. Former Governor William A. Graham pitted his arguments in favor in the Union against the ardent secessionism of noted political figure and orator Henry Nash. The outcome of the debate is not recorded; however, within the year the modest frame church served as a muster center for Confederate soldiers who used the churchyard as a drill field. During the course of the war, the building became the headquarters for the Flat River Guard of the Army of the South under Captain R.F. Webb. In 1880 the cornerstone for a new Methodist church was laid on the site of the original wooden meeting house. The large new cruciform structure with its impressive spire was renamed Trinity Methodist Episcopal Church. It was enlarged in 1890 and continued in use until destroyed by fire in 1922, when it was replaced by the present late Gothic Revival style building (in the Downtown Durham Historic District, NR) designed by the nationally known ecclesiastical architect, Ralph Adam Cram.²⁰

The Civil War and Post-War Periods: 1860-1880

The Civil War was a major factor in the subsequent development of the hamlet of Durham, though no actual fighting occurred there. The war served Durham's growth by introducing its special product, smoking tobacco, to all parts of the country. Though the vogue for tobacco was enhanced by the war, it was the end of the war that brought Durham's special brand to popular attention.

Over almost a two week period in April 1865, Union General William T. Sherman and Confederate General Joseph E. Johnston met several times at the home of James Bennett, three miles northeast of Durham.²¹ Back at the Durham Depot, considered neutral ground, the scene was convivial among the Confederate and Federal troops waiting for the return of their commanding generals. Close by the station was R.F. Morris' two-story frame tobacco factory, owned by John R. Green. Green had bought the business in 1862 and had begun producing a high quality smoking tobacco, large quantities of which were stored in the factory, waiting for shipment. In their excitement over the end of the conflict, the soldiers helped themselves to a healthy supply of Green's tobacco and headed homeward. Soon it was being enjoyed from Maine to Texas, and when the soldiers' supplies were exhausted, they began to send Green orders by mail. As his sales soared,²² Green quickly named his tobacco "Durham" and chose the Durham bull as his trademark.

In 1865, Green had the only tobacco factory in Durham, but others soon saw the advantages of tobacco manufacturing. One of these was Washington Duke, a forty-five

**United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service**

**National Register of Historic Places
Inventory—Nomination Form**

For NPS use only
received
Date entered

Continuation sheet Historic Resources of Durham Item number 8 Page 6

year old Confederate soldier returning to his farm four miles north of the village of Durham; that farm is now a National Historic Landmark, Duke Homeplace. The house and fields had been stripped bare by the foraging soldiers of both armies, but a log barn on the property still contained a quantity of dried leaf tobacco. Using the barn as their first tobacco factory, Duke and his two young sons, Benjamin Newton and James Buchanan, beat the tobacco with wooden flails, sifted it by hand and packed it in cloth bags labeled "Pro Bono Publico."

Unlike J.R. Green, Duke did not ship his tobacco by rail to ready customers, but instead harnessed two mules to a wagon and struck out to sell his product on the roads of North Carolina. His sales trips were a success from the very first. Eventually two frame tobacco factories stood on the Duke farm; by 1872 the family was producing 125,000 pounds a year.²³

The population of Durham after the war was less than one hundred people. Nonetheless, it continued to develop as an important commercial center for eastern Orange County. The village in 1865 contained two cotton gins (one owned by William Pratt, the other by William Mangum); three stores (those of J.W. Cox, J.W. Cheek and M.A. Angier); two blacksmith shops (one owned by a black, Lewis Pratt), two shoemakers (a black shoemaker, Squire Bull, and a white, James Whitt); a hotel, hotel kitchen and hotel annex, tobacco factory, office, stable and feed lot (owned by R.F. Morris); three bars (those of William Mangum, Calvin O'Briant and A.M. Rigsbee); a drugstore (kept by Caleb B. Green); the stable for the Chapel Hill Stage; William Mangum's sawmill; the railroad depot; a section house for the railroad workers; a water tank; a log schoolhouse, an academy; the Baptist Church; the Methodist Church and J.R. Green's tobacco factory.²⁴ Houses also were being constructed throughout the center of Durham and along its periphery by the prospering merchants and tobacco manufacturers for their own homes and as rental property for their employees. Perhaps the only extant representative of this residential construction dating from the 1860s and 1870s is the house at 717 Holloway St. that Calvin O'Briant constructed when he moved to Durham from Person County in 1865.

The need for a local government led to the first incorporation of Durham as a town in 1866. Despite approval of the charter by the state legislature, no administration took shape, and in 1867 the charter was invalidated. In April 1869, the legislature described the boundaries of the town as extending one-half mile in all directions from the warehouse of the North Carolina Railroad at the foot of Corcoran St. In addition, the new charter provided that all male citizens should have the right to vote and to hold office in any town in which they had lived for ten days.²⁵ State law further requested that the newly-organized town hold an election to select two commissioners. The election took place on August 4, 1869, with J.W. Cheek, R.F. Morris, W.K. Styron, W.I. Clarke, and William Mangum chosen as the first Board of Commissioners.²⁶

**United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service**

**National Register of Historic Places
Inventory—Nomination Form**

For NPS use only
received
Date entered

Continuation sheet Historic Resources of Durham Item number 8

Page 7

Another good indicator of the town's progress during this period was the growth of the churches. The Baptists and the Methodists continued to thrive during the decade of the seventies, and both groups had full-time pastors by 1876. In 1871, the Presbyterians organized as a congregation, worshipping in other denominations' churches until 1875 when they were able to erect a small wooden structure at the corner of Main and Roxboro streets. The Presbyterians continued in this modest sanctuary until 1890 when they erected a new brick church on the site. In 1878 yet another congregation was established, when the Episcopalians began holding services conducted by Joseph Blount Cheshire, then rector of the Chapel of the Cross in Chapel Hill. The fledgling congregation met the first Sunday of every month in various places and formally organized in 1880 when they erected a simple frame building on E. Main St. which they named St. Philip the Deacon in honor of Joseph Blount Cheshire's work as a Deacon in the church. The original building was replaced by the present stone structure in 1908 (in the Downtown Durham Historic District, NR).

Durham's transition from a railroad stop to a thriving town was directly related to the success of the tobacco industry. J.R. Green, recognizing the success of his "Bull Durham" tobacco business, found an able partner to help him manage it in William T. Blackwell, a Kinston, NC, merchant and tobacco manufacturer. Within two years, Green was dead and Blackwell formed a partnership with James R. Day in 1869. In addition to Blackwell and Day, in 1869 there were four other tobacco manufacturers in Durham: R.F. Morris and Son; Z.I. Lyon and Company; John S. Lockhart; and Brodie L. Duke, Washington Duke's eldest son who had begun a factory in a small two-story frame building on Main St.

In 1871, Blackwell and Day acquired a third partner, Julian Shakespeare Carr. A member of a well-established Chapel Hill mercantile family, Carr was destined to become one of Durham's most influential business and civic leaders. Blackwell, Day and Carr expanded the W.T. Blackwell Company, as it was then known, into the first great tobacco empire in Durham. In the process, they established Durham as a major tobacco market and revolutionized the technology of the industry. This was the first of several relationships among very clever and enterprising businessmen that would profoundly affect the economic and physical growth of Durham. A relatively small group of men, who soon would include George Watts, Eugene Morehead, and Richard Wright, was to engage in business dealings with Carr, the Dukes, and each other that would produce financial institutions, utility companies, transportation systems and land development projects -- all inter-related and financed by the profits of Durham's burgeoning industries. The same men responsible for Durham's industrial expansion also would shape the community's appearance and the vital aspects of its daily life.

The first step in the development of Blackwell, Day and Carr's empire and of the city's concomitant economic boom was to secure the now famous Bull Durham name and trademark. The firm also opened a warehouse next to the Bull Durham factory to which tobacco could be brought for sale. Prior to this time, all tobacco markets were in

**United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service**

**National Register of Historic Places
Inventory—Nomination Form**

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received
date entered

Continuation sheet Historic Resources of Durham Item number 8 Page 8

Virginia at Richmond, Petersburg and Danville. Durham manufacturers were, therefore, dependent on Virginia suppliers unless they could find local farmers who were willing to sell their crops directly to the factory. On May 18, 1871, W.T. Blackwell bought the first pile of leaves at the new warehouse managed by Henry A. Reams. The small, two-story frame building was barely able to contain the day's business. Sales for the first year totaled seven hundred thousand pounds; for the second year, two million pounds.³¹ In 1872, W.T. Blackwell and Company built a second warehouse, known as the Durham Warehouse, on the north side of Main St.

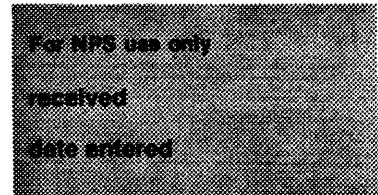
The expansion of the Durham tobacco industry resulted in the establishment of numerous new manufacturing companies and the town's first two tobacco warehouses were soon joined by a host of competitors. The townscape of Durham changed dramatically between 1873 and 1885, as more than eight new factories and seven sales warehouses were built. This construction took place in the center of Durham, so that all businesses would have access to the railroad line, which continued to support Durham's remarkable rise as a marketing and manufacturing town. Some of those who began factories in the 1870s were R.T. Faucette; Lucius Green, John R. Green's son; W.R. Hughes of Hughes and Link; and W.H. Patterson. Nearby Hillsborough contributed two tobacco manufacturing firms to Durham over the next several years; Webb and Roulhac moved to Durham in 1875, followed by J.Y. Whitted in 1884. The Webb and Roulhac Company was eventually purchased by W.L. Lipscomb who erected a new factory on the north side of W. Main St. where the Dukes had their plant.³³ Washington Duke and his sons, James Buchanan and Benjamin Newton Duke, joined Brodie L. Duke in Durham in 1874.

The premier tobacco factory was W.T. Blackwell Company's Bull Durham plant erected in 1874 in the Italianate style (part of The American Tobacco Company Manufacturing Plant, #12). The factory and its outbuildings eventually covered fifteen acres and the basic structure was expanded several times. It was called "the most attractive smoking tobacco factory in the world" and the "shrine of all pilgrims to Durham."³⁴ The Bull Durham factory had a distinctive plant whistle that imitated the bellow of a bull to summon workers to the plant from nearby tenement houses (all destroyed) constructed by W.T. Blackwell and Company. The 1884 Sanborn Insurance Maps for Durham show a group of small, identical structures behind the massive Bull Durham complex. By 1888, nine other houses are shown on Carr St. across from the factory and are identified as the property of W.T. Blackwell. A³⁵ photograph taken early in this century reveals that a picket fence surrounded each yard.

The incredible demand for Bull Durham smoking tobacco soon created a need for new equipment. With encouragement from Carr and Blackwell, L.W. Lawrence, an employee of the Bull Durham factory, worked from 1885 to 1890 to develop the first "Smoking Tobacco Packer."³⁶ The problem of producing bags suitable for use with the machine was solved by inventor William H. Kerr. With financial backing from Julian S. Carr, he developed a bag machine which enabled one worker to produce as many bags as forty-two seamstresses

**United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service**

**National Register of Historic Places
Inventory—Nomination Form**



Continuation sheet Historic Resources of Durham Item number 8

Page 9

formerly could. The machine-made bags were also uniform in size, which the hand-made bags were not. Based on Kerr's invention, which could produce thousands of bags a day, the Golden Belt Manufacturing Company was formed to make bags for the nation's tobacco industry; it initially occupied a portion of the Bull Durham factory.³⁷

The success of "Bull Durham" smoking tobacco depended on more than the availability of a new tobacco market in Durham and the introduction of mechanization. In 1877, Carr, the advertising genius behind Bull Durham products, began a national campaign to promote the Bull. The familiar symbol was displayed in various publication in several moods and poses. A more extensive advertising campaign for the Bull was conducted between 1883 and 1887 when competition from the Dukes was beginning to challenge Bull Durham's standing as the nation's favorite tobacco. A nationwide newspaper campaign was launched and accompanied by cash prizes, gifts to dealers and testimonials by noted personages such as Alfred Lord Tennyson and Thomas Carlyle. Four teams of painters were kept busy supplying the country with signs and trademarks. The Bull even appeared in foreign countries and signs proclaiming "Bull Durham" the world's most popular smoking tobacco were seen decorating the pyramids of Egypt.³⁸

Manufacturing accounted for only a part of Durham's tobacco business. The other aspects of the industry were large scale operations in their own right. The importance of tobacco warehousing, for example, is evident in the enormity of the buildings needed to house it. The third Reams Warehouse, built in 1877 (and no longer standing), epitomized the type. It had 14,000 square feet of floor space, a basement of equal size, and thirty-two skylights, each with sixty-four 10" x 12" panes of glass. While they unloaded their wagons at the Reams, farmers were sheltered by the 435 square foot shed roof. The earliest frame warehouses soon were supplanted by larger one-story brick buildings. In about a decade, Durham saw the construction of several of these large warehouses, including the Farmer's Warehouse, Parrish Warehouse and the Globe Warehouse. Prize rooms, the storage houses for newly purchased tobacco where brokers re-sorted their tobacco and readied it for shipment to manufacturers, also were built near the factories.³⁹ The multi-storied structures were often as imposing as the factories and warehouses.

Durham's warehouse and prize room operations continued every day of the year except Sundays and holidays. Growers came from as far as sixty miles away to sell their tobacco, which they brought loaded on wagons in piles roughly sorted according to grade. As each pile was unloaded, it was numbered and labeled with the grower's name and that of the warehouse. Auctioneers then passed from pile to pile followed by buyers, who purchased the leafy stacks at a rate of approximately two a minute. Immediately at the conclusion of the sale, the farmers received their money, less the warehouse fees.⁴⁰

**United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service**

**National Register of Historic Places
Inventory—Nomination Form**

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received
date entered

Continuation sheet Historic Resources of Durham Item number 8

Page 10

The warehousing system, which called for the delivery of cash at the moment of sale, severely strained the financial resources of Durham, which had no banks or credit institutions. The tobacco industry had its money on deposit in Raleigh banks, and the various warehouses were often unable to predict accurately the amount of cash needed on large sale days. It was the custom, therefore, for warehousemen to send runners through the town soliciting every available citizen for a loan in order to pay the waiting farmers for their leaves. The "due bills" given in exchange for loaned money were accepted by merchants and businessmen throughout the community in lieu of cash. There is no record of any broker or warehouseman defaulting on an obligation. This curious system ended in 1878 when Eugene Morehead, son of former Governor John M. Morehead, came to Durham to assume the job of stamp agent for the United States Department of Internal Revenue. Within six months of his arrival, Morehead organized a private bank under the name Eugene Morehead, Banker, that served six warehouses and several tobacco factories.⁴¹

During the decade of the 1870s, and the early years of the 1880s, Durham was dominated by the rise of Bull Durham and the development of tobacco marketing and warehousing. At the same time, several factors combined to insure the creation of another great tobacco empire in Durham. The Duke family prospered after their move to Durham, and a second factory stood next to the one built by Washington Duke in 1873. The family acquired a substantial market for their various brands of tobacco, particularly "Pro Bono Publico" and "Duke of Durham," by "drumming" the trade across the country. In 1878, George W. Watts of Baltimore joined the company as a partner and the informal alliance of the Duke was incorporated as W. Duke Sons and Company. Two years later the firm received another partner when Richard Harvey Wright, a successful local tobacco manufacturer, purchased Washington Duke's interest in the firm for \$23,000.⁴²

Durham Comes of Age: Public Amenities Introduced

Durham's fine new tobacco warehouses and prize houses were not immediately matched by refinements elsewhere. The profits that financed the tobacco industry's capital improvements also created a frontier boomtown image of Durham. Most people were concerned with expanding profits and paid little attention to public amenities.

Durham remained a country town. The dirt streets became rivers of mud when it rained, rivers of dust when it didn't. The downtown buildings were generally of frame construction. There were few public hostleries; tobacco farmers often were accommodated in sleeping rooms in the upper floors of the warehouses where they sold their leaves. Water came from wells and ponds. The only fire protection came from volunteer firemen.⁴³ The growth of industry and population in Durham which had ushered in the decade of the eighties placed new demands on the local government, some of which it could not meet. There were 2,041 permanent residents in Durham in 1880 and they had

**United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service**

**National Register of Historic Places
Inventory—Nomination Form**

For NPS use only

received

date entered

Continuation sheet Historic Resources of Durham Item number 8

Page 11

few public facilities.

In December 1880 two disastrous fires swept the downtown area. The first fire destroyed an entire block of commercial buildings, largely because the poor condition of the streets made it impossible for firemen to move the fire trucks close to the blaze. Two weeks later, a second fire broke out, destroying two blocks of frame buildings on the south side of Main St. As a result of the fire, the streets were graded and paved and, in 1882, the volunteer fire companies were brought under the supervision of Richard D. Blacknall, the town's first fire chief.⁴⁴ The town did not have a paid fire department until 1890. Fortunately, many of the property owners were insured by James Southgate's Insurance Agency which had begun business in 1872, and the burned buildings were replaced by substantial brick ones bearing varying degrees of decoration.⁴⁵ Refinement at last began to come to downtown.

The drift of population and commerce in eastern Orange County had long been away from Hillsborough towards Durham, yet the former, a small county seat, remained Orange's seat of government. Durhamites were obliged to travel fifteen miles to record deeds or mortgages and to accomplish the paperwork and procedures of litigation. To remedy the situation, Durham residents Caleb B. Green and W.K. Parrish, members of the House of Representatives from Orange County, introduced a bill in 1881 to create Durham County from portions of Orange and Wake counties. On February 28, 1881, the bill passed and the town of Durham was specified as a county seat where a courthouse and jail were to be erected. Five men were chosen to serve as the first Durham County Board of Commissioners: A.K. Umstead, Washington Duke, G.A. Barbee, John T. Nichols and S.W. Holman.⁴⁶

Land for the new courthouse, located at the intersection of Main and Church streets, was donated by D.C. Parrish, Durham's Mayor, and Julian S. Carr, but no courthouse was erected on the property until 1887. A small wooden residence on the one-and-one-half acre lot served as the Mayor's office and may have also served as a jail. In 1887, the original site was expanded, and on May 2 of that year, the county commissioners' approved plans for a new two-story courthouse with basement. The brick Norman Revival style building served as the courthouse until 1916 when it was replaced by a larger, Neoclassical Revival style building (in the Downtown Durham Historic District, NR) of Indiana limestone designed by the prominent Washington, D.C., architectural firm of Milburn and Heister.⁴⁷

Another major issue concerning Durham citizens to be brought before the legislature in 1881 was a bill to establish the Durham Graded School. The bill provided that the town commissioners were to obtain approval from the residents to levy an annual special tax on real and personal property and a poll tax for the maintenance of a graded school. After the bill passed, the community voted in favor of the establishment of a graded school and appointed three members to the Durham Board of

**United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service**

**National Register of Historic Places
Inventory—Nomination Form**

For NPS use only
received
Date entered

Continuation sheet Historic Resources of Durham Item number 8

Page 12

Education and Learning: Eugene Morehead, J.B. Whitaker, Jr., and Julian S. Carr.⁴⁸ The Board and a Graded School Committee leased Richard Harvey Wright's tobacco factory on Main St. and refurbished it as best they could to serve as the new school. Professor E.W. Kennedy was hired as the school superintendent, and with a core of four teachers -- a fifth was later hired -- the school opened its doors on September 4, 1882. Three hundred and eight pupils were enrolled in the first month.⁴⁹

Citizens who opposed the bill, however, because of the discriminatory poll tax levied to support it challenged the school tax law in the North Carolina Supreme Court in 1886. The law was declared unconstitutional because it made a distinction between black and white schools, and money for a new school building, which had been collected by means of a bond issue, had to be returned to the citizens. W.T. Blackwell, declaring that he would rather see the destruction of every factory in Durham before the abolition of the school, personally subsidized the salaries of the teachers and kept the school in operation until a new law was passed in 1887. The second law prohibited racial discrimination in the school, though it continued to be practiced, and provided for free education to Durham's youth between the ages of six and twenty-one.⁵⁰ Wright's tobacco factory continued to serve as the school building until 1892 when the Morehead School on Jackson St. opened. In 1897, Durham's second public school, the Fuller School (no longer standing), began operation. Located on the site of the Durham Academy, it was constructed by Charles Norton, a well-known Durham builder involved in every major project of the period: at the turn of the century he was hailed as "among the foremost literally as well as figuratively, to build up Durham."⁵¹

Though the Durham Graded School marked the beginning of public education in Durham, it had been preceded by an active group of private schools. Durham Academy, the most important of the early schools in Durham, was soon joined in the 1870s by a half-dozen schools held in private homes and taught by the women of the community.⁵² Professor L.T. Buchanan, a teacher at Durham Academy, began his own school in 1880 in a building on Willard St. (The fate of this school is uncertain.) Buchanan returned to Durham Academy in 1887, where he remained as teacher and director until 1897.⁵³ The interest in more and better schools for Durham was also stimulated by the various churches in the community. When Trinity Methodist Church was completed at the head of Church St. in 1880, the original frame church building was adapted to serve as the Methodist Female Seminary, the first church-sponsored school in Durham.⁵⁴ A year later, the Baptists established the Durham Female Seminary in a building erected by A.M. Rigsbee on Mangum (then Seminary) St.⁵⁵ Durham historian W.K. Boyd reports that the school occasionally accepted boys.

As indicated by the growth of the educational system, the eighties brought to Durham a new public spirit and an interest in things other than money. The shrewd businessmen who had worked hard to build their fortunes after the war now had the time

**United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service**

**National Register of Historic Places
Inventory—Nomination Form**

For NPS use only
received
Date entered

Continuation sheet Historic Resources of Durham Item number 8 Page 13

and inclination to display their wealth and power in efforts that would improve the quality of life in Durham. They joined with the growing number of well-educated newcomers to establish organizations which reflected this humanitarian concern. Among the most interesting of the organizations formed by Durham's civic leaders was the Lyceum. Founded in 1880, the Lyceum was designed to provide a forum for the discussion of "historical, literary and scientific subjects with the ultimate purpose of establishing a public library and a reading room.⁵⁸ The club, comprised of both men and women, had weekly meetings at which debates, essays and poems were enjoyed. The Lyceum passed out of existence about 1890, but by that time, Durham's interest in cultural affairs and the arts was firmly entrenched. Daily newspapers and magazines that appeared in Durham during the eighties also reflected the growing public interest in affairs beyond the tobacco industry. Most of the efforts, which included political papers and literary and educational journals, quickly disappeared, but two newspapers begun in the late 1880s evolved into two publications which have continued to the present -- the Durham Morning Herald and the Durham Sun.⁵⁷

The Dukes, Cigarettes and More Change During the 1880s

By the early 1880s, Bull Durham had dominated the tobacco industry for approximately fifteen years. In order to compete successfully with the Bull, the Dukes had to diversify and appeal to a new consumer market, and they did so by entering the cigarette business. Cigarettes had first been introduced into the United States in the 1860s. W. Duke Sons and Company plunged into the cigarette manufacturing business in 1881, pitting themselves against the established products of Allen and Ginter of Richmond, Va. and F.S. Kinney of New York. Bull Durham had also taken up cigarette manufacturing but the Dukes were determined to beat their old rival on new grounds. Skilled handrollers, many Jewish immigrants, were brought to Durham from New York. These workers produced a modest nine million cigarettes in 1881, marketed under the name "Duke of Durham" after the popular smoking tobacco first made by Brodie L. Duke.⁵⁸

The influx of northern Jews to Durham in the early 1880s was a short-lived phenomenon. Within four years, many of these workers returned to New York when they were replaced by cigarette rolling machines. Those who stayed perpetuated Durham's fledgling Jewish community, first along Pine St., south of the railroad tracks, and later in the vicinity of Cleveland and Holloway streets (at the north end of the neighborhood focused on Dillard St.) and other parts of the city when they began seeking jobs outside of the tobacco industry. Many of those who remained in Durham became merchants. In 1882, members of the Jewish community formally organized a congregation. Worship services held by Rabbi C. Hailig, the group's first spiritual leader, were held in a rented hall at the corner of Main and Church streets. In 1902, the congregation reorganized and obtained a charter from the State of North Carolina, and two years later they were able to purchase their own building.⁵⁹

**United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service**

**National Register of Historic Places
Inventory—Nomination Form**

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received

date entered

Continuation sheet Historic Resources of Durham Item number 8

Page 14

The mechanization of the cigarette industry was the key to the Dukes' success and their eventual triumph over all rivals. In 1880, James Albert Bonsack of Roanoke County, Va., invented a cigarette rolling machine capable of equalling the work production of forty-eight hand-rollers.⁶⁰ In 1884, the Dukes installed two Bonsack cigarette rolling machines in their impressive new four-story brick factory (in the Bright Leaf Historic District, #13), built on the site of their original plant specifically for the manufacture of cigarettes. The new invention suffered from some mechanical imperfections, but these were solved by William Thomas O'Brien (see William Thomas O'Brien House, #6), a mechanic with the Bonsack Company who had come to Durham to install the two machines.⁶¹ The machines turned out to be so successful that J.B. Duke proposed that the Bonsack Company strike a secret deal to charge W. Duke Sons and Company twenty-five percent less than any other manufacturer would pay in return for a guaranteed high number of orders for the machine. The ability to obtain the machines for their expanding operations in North Carolina and in New York, where they had set up a factory in 1884, gave W. Duke Sons and Company a critical production edge over competitors. Their gains were compounded through skilled advertising. Sales soared, and by the middle of the decade, the Dukes were presiding over an astonishingly successful new enterprise.

With the ten-fold increase in population during the 1870s, residential construction in Durham proceeded at a frenzied pace. Durham was growing so quickly that local planing mills could not keep up with the demand for lumber. Businessmen in piedmont towns linked to Durham by the railroad clamored for lumber and construction contracts there. In 1876, the Durham Tobacco Plant noted that much of the lumber used in Durham was dressed at Wilson's Mills in Johnston County. Just as architects, such as William H. Linthicum, were drawn from great distances by the opportunities that Durham presented, contractors also flocked to the expanding town. Some settled here, but often they stayed only long enough to complete a few profitable jobs before returning home. The railroad enabled some prospective builders to travel to Durham periodically to oversee the progress of their commissions. One such builder was John A. Waddell of Wilson's Mills who built William T. Blackwell's house and the Hotel Claiborne, both in 1875.⁶³ (Neither building survives.)

Throughout the 1870s and 1880s, Waddell and other contractors erected new houses along E. Main, Holloway, Cleveland, Queen, and Dillard streets, east of the central area (See Cleveland Street and Holloway Street Historic Districts, #14.) Successful tobacconists such as warehouseman E.J. Parrish built enormous and elaborate homes here. The most spectacular at this end of town was Julian S. Carr's Somerset Villa, outfitted with such conveniences as gas and electric lights, fire and burglar alarms, and two kitchens. The hub of Durham's social life until the death of Carr's wife in 1915, this house epitomized the city's coming of age more than any other.⁶⁴ At the opposite edge of downtown, next to their new cigarette factory, Washington Duke's Queen Anne Fairview competed with Carr's mansion. On this west side of town, the elegant homes of other

**United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service**

**National Register of Historic Places
Inventory—Nomination Form**

For NPS use only
received
date entered

Continuation sheet Historic Resources of Durham Item number 8

Page 15

tobacco magnates and business leaders lined Chapel Hill St., as it moved into the West End neighborhood, and S. Duke St. All of these fine nineteenth-century homes have been destroyed in the wake of commercial and industrial expansion. Other handsome houses from this period, built beyond the early one-square-mile corporate limits, have fared better.

Textiles and Other Matters

The spate of new residential building represented by the expansion of Durham neighborhoods in the early 1880s was ample testimony to the economic stability of tobacco. Merchants, bankers, business executives of all varieties were thriving on the tobacco industry. Its resounding success no doubt encouraged the town's businessmen to investigate North Carolina's other leading manufacturing concern -- textiles. In 1884, Julian S. Carr took up the challenge to develop a textile plant in Durham. He secured the partnership of Concord and Greensboro textiles executives in forming the Durham Cotton Manufacturing Company, which first produced a grade of muslin suitable for tobacco bags. Encouraged by the immediate success of the operation, the principals soon began manufacturing chambrays, gingham and colored goods. As the mill prospered, the plant and surrounding company-built village (Durham Cotton Mills Village Historic District, #16) were enlarged, forming the nucleus of the East Durham neighborhood, ⁶⁵ which had its own churches and schools, sponsored by Carr, and a business district.

This rapid gain was noticed by other Durham businessmen, many of whom were to follow Carr into the textile field. As new mills sprang up all across the outskirts of Durham, the population rose with the influx of mill workers. This increase in population in turn led to commercial expansion to satisfy a growing market and drew a range of professionals to serve the community's needs. Construction boomed as the textile companies provided worker housing next to their mills, successful merchants and professionals built new houses for themselves, and institutions outgrew their quarters.

The 1890s and the first years of the new century witnessed the establishment of several new textile mills. In 1892, having recognized the potential of cotton manufacturing in part by observing Carr's success, Brodie L. Duke plunged into the field by putting large amounts of capital into the Commonwealth Cotton Mill, not far from the Durham Cotton Manufacturing Company in East Durham. The mill was a flagging concern which had started life as the Durham Wooden Mill, producing bobbins and spindles for the textile factories. That same year, Brodie also launched the Pearl Cotton Mills (Pearl Mill Village Historic District, #21) on W. Trinity Ave. The financial panic of 1893 found Brodie Duke overextended due to unwise speculation in the cotton market. His holdings were turned over to trustees, and for the next several years his brothers and father helped him pay off his considerable debts.

**United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service**

**National Register of Historic Places
Inventory—Nomination Form**

For NPS use only

received

date entered

Continuation sheet Historic Resources of Durham Item number 8

Page 16

In the meantime, Benjamin N. Duke and George W. Watts embarked upon their own textile venture in 1892. William A. Erwin, the grandnephew of Alamance County textile pioneer Edwin M. Holt, was selected to head the operation as general manager and secretary-treasurer of the firm which was capitalized with \$125,000. According to tradition, the new company was named for Erwin so that in the event that it failed the onus would not be on the Dukes. To Erwin's credit, the project succeeded, despite the poor nationwide financial conditions. As general manager, Erwin oversaw every detail involved in opening the new plant (Erwin Cotton Mills Co. Mill No. 1 and Headquarters Building, NR) at W. Main and Ninth streets, where the hamlet of Pin Hook had once been. Like Carr's first mill, Erwin Cotton Mills began by manufacturing cotton muslin for tobacco bags. In 1896, Erwin doubled the size of the plant when he decided to produce denim. Denim was known, but had not been successfully produced in the South. With a year of Erwin's move to denim, Erwin Cotton Mills was one of the nation's largest producers of the tough, tight fabric. Around the factory grew Durham's second major mill village, known as West Durham (West Durham Historic District, #23). Over a period of more than twenty years, the company built approximately 440 houses covering about fifteen blocks extending in all directions from the mill. The Dukes and Erwin expanded their joint textile venture into a large scale operation which represented investments in several mills throughout North Carolina. Their success depended on a steady diversification of products, and by 1910 Erwin Cotton Mills' fourth mill was erected next to the original plant in West Durham.

Durham's textile industry diversified into hosiery manufacturing in 1894. In that year, George A. Graham began the Durham Hosiery Company in a building on N. Church St. and the Golden Belt Hosiery Company, financed by Julian S. Carr and John W. Smith, opened its factory at the intersection of Main, Morris and Chapel Hill streets, the downtown Five Points. The companies were not competitive with the large northern hosiery firms, so in 1898 they merged to form one company, named Durham Hosiery Mills, under Carr's direction. The new company was aided by the Tariff Act of 1897, which placed hosiery on the protected list. After the outbreak of the Spanish-American War, orders from the U.S. Army boosted business, which continued to flourish after the brief conflict. The boom made a new plant necessary and in 1901 the concern moved to a new building, the distinctive Durham Hosiery Mills No. 1 (NR), at the corner of Angier Ave. and E. Main St., just beyond the east end of downtown Durham. The same year, a couple blocks directly north, Carr completed a plant for the Golden Belt Manufacturing Company, his bag-making concern that had been housed in the Bull Durham factory. Around the Durham Hosiery Mills and Golden Belt factories, Carr built the respective mill villages of Edgemont and Morning Glory (Golden Belt Historic District, #18). As these new developments and East Durham beyond grew, the neighborhoods became contiguous, forming a link between central Durham and outlying area to the east.

In addition to the tobacco warehouses, cigarette manufacturers, and new textile companies, several other important firms were established in the 1880s and 1890s.

**United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service**

**National Register of Historic Places
Inventory—Nomination Form**

For NPS use only
received
date entered

Continuation sheet Historic Resources of Durham Item number 8

Page 17

Notable among them were the Durham Foundry and Machine Works and the Durham Fertilizer Company, soon renamed the Norfolk and Carolina Chemical Company. In 1891, Julian S. Carr opened Durham's first luxury hostelry, the Hotel Carolina, across from the railroad depot where Dr. Durham's house, Pandora's Box, had stood. (The new construction probably incorporated Carr's Hotel Claiborne, built here in the 1880s, which may even have made use of Pandora's Box.⁶⁹) The new businesses required additional banking institutions and three new banks opened their doors to meet the need. W.T. Blackwell opened the Bank of Durham in 1886 shortly after he retired from the tobacco business, but the bank failed in 1888, wiping out his personal fortune. Blackwell's former partner, Julian S. Carr, opened the First National Bank in 1887, perhaps to manage his enormous profits from both Bull Durham and the Durham Cotton Manufacturing Company. The Fidelity Savings and Trust Company also was formed in 1887.⁷⁰ Governed by Benjamin N. Duke, it was the depository of the Dukes' money; within a short time, it was reorganized as the Fidelity Bank.⁷¹

The continued economic vitality of the local industries contributed to the growth of business in general and numerous independent retailers who sold everything from hats to saddles, harnesses, carriages, photographic portraits and pianos. A summary of Durham's businesses made quite an impressive list, as the following page from the 1895 publication The Hand-Book of Durham confirms:

Durham has four lines of railroad; five tobacco factories, two of which are the largest in the world; four large tobacco mills; four cigar factories; one fertilizer factory; one bag factory; one soap factory; two sash door and blind factories; three banks; four tobacco warehouses for the sale of leaf tobacco; about one hundred leaf tobacco brokers; two foundaries; four machine shops; two carriage factories; four job printing offices; one book bindery; one laundry; one marble yard; one cotton roller covering works; four insurance agencies; two daily papers, two weekly papers and two monthlies; four furniture stores; five drugstores; three hardware stores and about one hundred other merchants representing various lines.⁷²

With the growth of businesses, handsome commercial buildings multiplied. The Hand-Book went on to point out that of the cities in North Carolina, Durham was among the smallest in population but second only to Wilmington in the amount of taxable real estate and personal property.

More Public Services at the Close of the Century

Durham's maturation coincided with a period of growth and development throughout North Carolina. During the decade of the eighties, many North Carolina cities and towns gained new public services and utilities such as electric lights, paved roads and

**United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service**

**National Register of Historic Places
Inventory—Nomination Form**

For NPS use only

received

date entered

Continuation sheet Historic Resources of Durham Item number 8

Page 18

water systems. Durham was no different. The Durham industrialists, who had drawn the large population desiring these amenities, were the same business leaders who introduced the services and utilities that in turn would attract even more residents.

In 1885, Julian S. Carr, Eugene Morehead, and George W. Watts organized the Durham Lighting Company, a corporation with tax exempt status, and the next year a fifteen-year exclusive service contract with the city was signed. Though Durham gained electric service, still a rare thing in North Carolina at that period, the town and company found themselves in a dispute over service and rates. The dispute was not resolved until 1901 when Richard H. Wright formed the Durham Traction Company, which absorbed the original franchise for providing electricity.⁷³

In 1886, an exclusive contract for erecting a waterworks was let to the Durham Water Company organized by A.H. Howland of Boston, Massachusetts, but again, controversies arose, primarily over the quality of water drawn from the Eno River and the inadequate water pressure caused by Durham's growing suburbs, which demanded more water than the system could supply. This latter problem was particularly distressing as Durham experienced three major fires in 1894, 1895 and 1897 that burned out of control because of insufficient water to quench them. After the third fire, the Durham Water Company went into receivership to avoid suits by the town and individuals. Due largely to the efforts of a new superintendent, Captain J.C. Michie, improvements were then made to the waterworks which enabled service to continue. The demand for water increased rapidly, and in 1917 the town built a municipal waterworks on the Flat River. Two years later, Durham purchased the water company plant and turned to manufacturing electric power with surplus water.⁷⁴

The growth of business and the increase in personal wealth contributed to the establishment of several new cultural organizations in Durham during the last years of the century. Gilmore Ward Bryant founded the Southern Conservatory of Music, a successful music school. In 1896, a movement to build a public library in Durham began when \$4,000 in subscriptions were collected and Julian S. Carr donated a building lot near downtown Five Points in the name of his daughter, Miss Lallah Ruth Carr. An additional \$1,700 in pledges was raised by the women of Durham, and in 1897 the library building (no longer standing) was erected on the donated lot. Individual donations kept the library in operation until 1911 when the annual city appropriation was increased.⁷⁵

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date entered

Continuation sheet Historic Resources of Durham Item number 8

Page 19

Trinity College Moves to Durham

Certainly, the most important cultural development in late nineteenth-century Durham was the relocation of Trinity College (Trinity College/East Campus of Duke University, #17). Durham's pursuit of cultural enrichment was progressing steadily until 1888 when the North Carolina Baptist State Convention shunned Durham's inducement of money and land for the planned Baptist Female Seminary and selected Raleigh, citing that Durham was "culturally an unfit place in which to risk the lives of young women during their formative years."⁷⁶ The entrepreneurs who first brought prosperity to Durham and then supplied it with public services were determined to attract higher education to their city. The following year they succeeded when they outdid Raleigh in offers of land and cash donations to Trinity College, a Methodist-affiliated school in rural Randolph County. Founded in 1838, the school had a new president, John Franklin Crowell, who had dedicated himself to building Trinity into a full-fledged university.

His vision of a new Trinity in Durham surrounded by a graduate school and professional schools for theology, law, engineering and medicine was somewhat at odds with the day-to-day realities of constructing⁷⁷ new buildings and gaining the wherewithal to support even a modest educational program. The donated land was a fifty-acre racetrack and recreation spot known as Blackwell Park, which separated Durham proper from the mill village of West Durham. The task of constructing Trinity's first buildings fell to the seventy-year-old Washington Duke, who depended heavily on the advice and energy of his son, Benjamin. The collapse of the Main Building, later known as the Washington Duke Building, delayed the school's move to Durham until 1892, when the college opened with an enrollment of one hundred eighty young men. Other buildings in the initial campaign included Epworth Inn, Crowell Hall, and a few cottages for faculty. For many years the Dukes continued to come to the aid of the struggling institution. As operating expenses continued to far exceed income from tuition, Benjamin, James, (also known as "Buck" or "J.B.") and their sister Mary Duke Lyon continued to "challenge" support from⁷⁸ the North Carolina Conference of the Methodist Church with generous cash donations.

Durham's fine new office buildings, fire station, college and new hotel testified to the continued loyalty which many of Durham's wealthy citizens felt for their city. The Dukes, Julian S. Carr, George W. Watts, Richard Wright, and many others had come to the tiny railroad town after the Civil War to seek their fortunes; when hard work and the rise of the tobacco industry rewarded them, they kept their money and their good works in Durham, where their fortunes continued to rise.

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National Park Service**

**National Register of Historic Places
Inventory—Nomination Form**

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received

date entered

Continuation sheet Historic Resources of Durham Item number 8

Page 20

The American Tobacco Company

The most spectacular gains in the tobacco industry were made by W. Duke Sons and Company just as the Dukes and their associates were formulating the initial plans for the Erwin Cotton Mills. After a series of delicate negotiations conducted throughout much of 1889, James B. Duke created The American Tobacco Company, termed by one historian as "one of the first giant holding companies in America."⁷⁹ Duke saw this culmination of five years of effort to form a combination of the nation's largest cigarette manufacturing companies as a way to control competition within the cigarette industry. This would be done in part by restricting the availability of the Bonsack cigarette rolling machine and two similar machines. In 1890, the firms of Allen and Ginter of Virginia; Kinney of New York City; Kimball of Rochester, N.Y.; Goodwin Co. of New York City; and W. Duke Sons and Co. of Durham and New York City were sold outright to The American Tobacco Company, capitalized at \$25 million, in exchange for its stock.⁸⁰

Consolidation may have been engendered initially by the application of machinery, but it was greatly hastened by The American Tobacco Company's operations. As president of the trust, J.B. Duke rapidly extended his control to the manufacture of chewing and smoking tobacco as well as cigarettes. Manufacturers who had worked independently for years were forced to sell their companies to the American Tobacco Company or file for bankruptcy. As the new company, headquartered in New York City, became national in scope almost immediately, it also became the symbol of evil in the country's tobacco trade.⁸¹

From the beginning, the trust's production was not limited to cigarettes. Having acquired other brands of smoking tobacco through the merger, it very soon diversified much further. In 1891, the American Tobacco Company purchased two large smoking tobacco firms in Baltimore, thereby becoming the largest producer of smoking tobacco in the country.⁸² That same year it sparked the infamous "plug war" when it began manufacturing plug tobacco with the purchase of the National Tobacco Works of Louisville, Ky. The company reportedly used distribution of cigarettes as leverage to persuade dealers to sell their new product; in response, some of the other plug manufacturers sought to compete with the American Tobacco Company by banding together to put out cheaper brands.

The price war over plug lasted from 1894 to 1898, with The American Tobacco Company emerging victorious as the manufacturer of 69.9% of the chewing tobacco produced in the United States. Two of the many plug firms they acquired were P. Lorillard and R.J. Reynolds. In 1898, Duke created a subsidiary, Continental Tobacco, to handle all of the trust's plug lines. This consolidation may have been even more important than that of 1890 as most tobacco still was consumed by chewing. American

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National Park Service**

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date entered

Continuation sheet Historic Resources of Durham Item number 8 Page 21

Tobacco fortified its domination of the plug industry in 1899 with the acquisition of Liggett and Myers Tobacco Company, a St. Louis, Mo. plug manufacturer. In order to acquire Liggett and Myers, American Tobacco had to purchase Union Tobacco Company, which had an option on a majority interest in the plug firm. Union Tobacco also recently had gained control of W.T. Blackwell and Company. Thus, in the process of obtaining Liggett and Myers, J.B. Duke purchased his old Durham nemesis.

After a decline in cigarette consumption during the late 1890s. The American Tobacco Company cigarette sales soared in the new century. Annual bright tobacco cigarette sales grew from two billion at the turn of the century to more than five billion in 1910, while sales of the more expensive Turkish brands rose from 400 million to 1.7 billion, a little more than one-half of the Turkish market. In 1906, the company owned 66% of the British-American Tobacco Company, 83.5% of American Cigar, and 43% of American Snuff. It also held controlling interests in 77 smaller subsidiaries, the hierarchy of which was complicated for several reasons. Because some of the best subsidiaries such as R.J. Reynolds and P. Lorillard were growing concerns with intelligent and interested managers, the American Tobacco Company wanted them to retain some ownership interest as incentive. These and many other subsidiaries could be controlled with a majority holding at one-half the cost of outright consolidation, and the retention of established company names was valuable for merchandising.

Impressive building campaigns clearly expressed the success of The American Tobacco Company trust. While steady growth necessitated bigger and better facilities, another reason for plant expansion was the change in marketing practices wrought by the formation of the trust. To ensure a high quality and continuous supply of aged tobacco, which previously had been bought from privately owned warehouses, the trust built its own storage warehouses for the aging of tobacco. Between 1897 and 1906, American Tobacco built twelve large brick warehouses and similar tobacco processing buildings at the old W. Duke Sons and Co. (Bright Leaf Historic District, #13, and Smith Warehouse, #9) and W.T. Blackwell and Company (The American Tobacco Company Manufacturing Plant, #12) plants. Highlighted by decorative brickwork evocative of medieval architecture, these buildings are some of Durham's most famous landmarks, ranking among the city's finest architecture as reminders of a period of tremendous Durham growth and industrial expansion nationwide.

Available locally, brick was prestigious and was suitable for the ornamental articulation of structure and the creation of a bold style. Emphasis on the importance of industrial appearance was a fairly new idea in North Carolina when The American Tobacco Company began its building campaign. Whereas tobacco buildings usually were strictly functional and utilitarian in appearance prior to the 1890s, the trust's investment in the design and construction of attractive industrial buildings was a form of advertising meant to attract attention and enhance its corporate image. James B. Duke and his associates took great interest in their city, as indicated by the generous

**United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service**

**National Register of Historic Places
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received

date entered

Continuation sheet Historic Resources of Durham Item number 8

Page 22

support of local institutions, and were proud of Durham's reputation as the foremost city of the "New South." It is likely that the trust executives wanted to enhance the streetscapes of Durham, which already was known for its architecture.⁸⁵

The use of brick also was practical because it is fireproof. Insurance laws required that factories and warehouses, frequently the target of arsonists, have brick walls, tin-clad shutters, and fire walls. Instead of the standard iron frames, the "slow burn construction" of the Durham buildings incorporated heavy timbered frames of very long support beams, thick wooden posts and approximately four inches of flooring. This method of construction developed in Rhode Island by Zachariah Allen in 1822 burned slowly and allowed time for water to be brought to the scene of a fire before it caused serious damage. After Allen's insurance company denied him lower rates for this construction, in 1835 he formed the Manufacturer's Mutual Fire Insurance Co., which later was the original insurer of The American Tobacco Company buildings.⁸⁶

For approximately twenty years, The American Tobacco Company dominated the nation's tobacco industry. The consolidation of Durham's major tobacco manufacturers into the trust boosted the city's economy and presaged the incredible growth which Durham would enjoy during the first decades of the twentieth century. J.B. Duke's control of the conglomerate, however, ended in 1911 when the Supreme Court of the United States ruled that The American Tobacco Company had to be dissolved because it violated the Sherman Anti-Trust Act. To comply with the Court's demand, Duke and his lawyers worked out a plan of dissolution which arranged for the more autonomous parts of the corporation to stand alone and the division of the closely allied subsidiaries into four major companies: a reorganized American Tobacco Company, Liggett and Myers Tobacco Company, P. Lorillard Company and R.J. Reynolds Tobacco Company. With two of the "Big Four" operating large plants in Durham, (The American Tobacco Company Manufacturing Plant, #12, Bright Leaf Historic District, #13, and Smith Warehouse, #9) the tobacco industry remained the single most effective force in Durham's economy until the 1950s. American Tobacco and Liggett and Myers, the only tobacco manufacturers in Durham today, still rank among the city's top employers.

City of the New South: Public Services and Real Estate Development

At the turn of the century, Durham was indeed an embryonic city of the New South. The community Bull Durham built had a secure and somewhat diversified industrial base and the quality of life had steadily improved since the rough and tumble days when fortunes were being made in tobacco. Despite its small size, Durham was acquiring the utilities and public services that would enable it to grow into a thriving twentieth-century city. Advancements in public services and utilities and the development of better roads were a common phenomenon throughout North Carolina during this period and Durham shared in the general upgrading of community facilities. The main streets were

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National Park Service**

**National Register of Historic Places
Inventory—Nomination Form**

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received
date entered

Continuation sheet Historic Resources of Durham Item number 8 Page 23

paved and curbed and the public services initiated in the 1880s were constantly being improved.⁸⁸

One of the city's most important services which was improved considerably in the early 1900s was the local transportation system. The first attempts at a public street system, the Dummy Street Railway begun in the mid 1880s, proved unsuccessful, in spite of efforts to improve it by local real estate investors whose land values would rise sharply with the accessibility an efficient system would provide. A new era in transportation finally dawned when the city's electric power company, the Durham Traction Company, introduced an electric trolley system in 1902.⁸⁹ The trolleys ran between the mill villages of East and West Durham. From north to south, they connected Trinity Ave. at Mangum St. with Lakewood Park, a new amusement center developed by Wright. The twenty-seven acre Lakewood Park was the city's major recreation area until the mid 1930s, containing a swimming pool, roller skating rink, bowling alley, rides, and a casino that served as a dance pavilion and theatre.⁹⁰ The trolleys remained an integral part of Durham's street transportation system until 1932 when the last car was retired.⁹¹

Now that the distance between home and jobs, shops and services could be travelled more quickly, neighborhoods removed from central Durham became more desirable places to live. The suburban neighborhood of Lakewood developed in direct response to the establishment of Lakewood Park and the trolley that linked the park with the rest of the city. Elsewhere, already established neighborhoods grew in reaction to the new system. With one of the terminal points at the interesection of N. Mangum St. and Trinity Ave., North Durham (North Durham-Duke Park Historic District, NR) began to experience rapid growth, especially along Mangum St., N. Roxboro St., Trinity Ave. and Geer St. Most of the land in North Durham north of Trinity Ave. was part of Brodie L. Duke's holdings that he subdivided as soon as plans for the new trolley system were known. Further development had already occurred south of Duke's land at the close of the nineteenth century when Durham's premier elite neighborhood around Dillard St. expanded northward.

At the west end of town, Trinity Heights and Trinity Park, which began with the construction of a few houses for early Trinity College professors, expanded quickly after 1902 due to their proximity to the campus, the convenience of the trolley that linked them the downtown, and the timely development schemes of investors. (Most of these two neighborhoods are in the Trinity Historic District, #22). As early as 1890, Julian S. Carr and Richard H. Wright had formed the Durham Consolidated Land and Improvement Company, acquired 286 acres adajcent to the north edge of the new campus, and sub-divided the land into fifty-six blocks of residential lots in anticipation of the extension to their property of the Dummy Street Railway, which failed a few years later.⁹² It was not until Wright himself established the Durham Traction Company and its trolley system that sale of his lots quickened, and soon the neighborhood of

**United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service**

**National Register of Historic Places
Inventory—Nomination Form**

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received

date entered

Continuation sheet Historic Resources of Durham Item number 8

Page 24

Trinity Heights was established at the south end of the tract; the rest of the parcel, rugged terrain criss-crossed by gullies and streams, became known as Walltown, occupied largely by investment property rented to black laborers. As soon as the Durham Traction Company announced its plans for the electric trolley system, Brodie L. Duke began to lay out the neighborhood⁹³ of Trinity Park on his land south of Urban Ave. and west of his estate on N. Duke St. The earliest development in Trinity Park occurred at its south end, close to Trinity College and the trolley line on W. Main St.

Some of the most substantial real estate development at the turn of this century occurred in the area south of West End known as Morehead Hill (Morehead Hill Historic District, #19) when William Gaston Vickers subdivided his farm. He developed dozens of the lots with one-story frame rental houses in a variety of popular types and sold the remaining⁹⁴ larger lots on the highest ground to individuals who built their own houses on them.

The growth of the Durham suburbs was an indication of a steadily expanding population that created a demand for additional essential services as well as more and varied forms of entertainment. Soon, such popular recreation as picnics and dancing at Lakewood Park were supplemented by more sophisticated diversions. In 1904, the city turned out in force on opening night to welcome the Academy of Music, Durham's version of the Metropolitan Opera House. Built largely under the patronage of the Duke family, the Neoclassical Revival structure⁹⁵ (destroyed) stood at the heart of downtown, at Market and Corcoran streets. The philanthropy of Durham's business and civic leaders also was instrumental in the establishment of the city's first hospital. In 1895, George W. Watts came forth with his personal gift of \$30,000 to build a four-building hospital complex named for his deceased wife on four acres of land at the northeast corner of Main St. and N. Buchanan Blvd.; he also provided a \$20,000 endowment.⁹⁶ (The main building of Watts Hospital survives as a house on its second site in the Trinity Historic District, #22). From this small beginning would grow Durham's present reputation as a major medical center.

Great Strides by Durham's Blacks

Watts Hospital was primarily for the use of Durham's white population; the same year that it opened, however, steps toward providing medical facilities for the town's black citizens began when Dr. Aaron Moore, Durham's first black physician, helped launch a pharmacy. It was a modest beginning, but in the next six years Moore teamed with other black leaders, notably businessman John Merrick, to build Lincoln Hospital, Durham's first hospital for the black community. It was established in 1901 on Proctor St. in Hayti, after Moore and Merrick persuaded Washington Duke to contribute \$8,500 in seed money⁹⁷ for a hospital as the memorial he wanted to erect to the memory of area slaves. The next two decades would bring even greater prosperity to the black

**United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service**

**National Register of Historic Places
Inventory—Nomination Form**

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received

date entered

Continuation sheet Historic Resources of Durham Item number 8 Page 25

community, which was soon heralded as one of the most progressive in the South. Many of Durham's successful black entrepreneurs were the descendants of men who had immigrated to Durham to work in the tobacco industry in the 1860s. These enterprising newcomers had quickly formed their own social institutions which by the 1890s had grown to be significant forces that raised much of the money for Lincoln Hospital.

By the turn of century, three major black neighborhoods had coalesced in Durham. The most prominent was Hayti, which began to develop shortly after the Civil War along Fayetteville St., not too far from central Durham. Originally farmland of some of Durham's early white merchants, the area quickly became the home of many of the enterprising blacks drawn to Durham by its job opportunities. By the turn of the century, the center of Hayti was focused on the ridge marked by Fayetteville St., between Pettigrew and Umstead streets. Interspersed among the shops and offices along Fayetteville St. and nearby on intersecting streets were Hayti's finest houses, some of which were equivalent in style to many of the late Victorian houses being built by Durham's white businessmen. Closer to the Bull Durham factory which employed so many of the neighborhood's residents, the housing was more modest and generally rental.

In contrast to Hayti, the two other early black neighborhoods are more characteristic of Durham's black-occupied land by virtue of their low-lying terrain traversed by streams and gullies -- the inexpensive real estate usually developed by absentee landlords as rental housing for laborers. Most of the East End, northeast of downtown Durham, is hilly and was identified in the late 1890s as the home of black tobacco factory workers and servants. One interesting aspect of this neighborhood is that prior to the turn of this century it also became associated with the Greek and Jewish immigrants who had settled in Durham. The southwest area of West End was known as a black neighborhood in the 1880s and probably earlier. Most of the land is very low and gullied, but the limited high ground provided the sites for the homes of the Fitzgerald brothers, two of West End's earliest black settlers. Richard Burton Fitzgerald, raised as a free man in Delaware, operated the largest brickyard in Durham and built a palatial house called "The Maples," surrounded by terraced gardens and tall trees, on Gattis St. Nearby, the ridge marked by the Chapel Hill Road just west of Maplewood Cemetery (now named Kent St.) became the site of this black community's other substantial houses. By the 1900s, the low-lying land farther south, originally known as "The Bottoms" and later named Lyon Park, was developed largely as modest rental housing for black factory workers and artisans.

Traditionally, the most important institution in the black community has been the church, a community center as well as a spiritual sanctuary. In West End, the Emmanuel A.M.E. Church (#4) built in 1888 to 1889 stands as the oldest surviving church erected in Durham by any congregation, black or white. In Hayti, St. Joseph's A.M.E. Church congregation was founded in 1869 by a former fugitive slave, Edian Markham, in a log building. That modest church was about one-half block from the present St. Joseph's

**United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service**

**National Register of Historic Places
Inventory—Nomination Form**

For NPS use only
received
date entered

Continuation sheet Historic Resources of Durham Item number 8 Page 26

A.M.E. Church (NR), an impressive brick edifice built in 1891 on Fayetteville St. at the south end of Hayti's business district. The close association between Durham's business leaders of both races is indicated by the architect of this church, Philadelphian Samuel Linton Leary, who had been brought to Durham by Washington Duke to design the Main Building at Trinity College. St. Joseph's increasingly became a center of black capitalistic enterprises such as those advocated by Booker T. Washington in the early 1900s. Church members included John Merrick and many of the men who joined him in establishing black businesses and institutions in Durham.¹⁰⁰ Another significant church in Hayti is the White Rock Baptist Church which was started in 1875 in the home of Margaret Faucette and by 1896 was housed in a new brick building in the 600 block of Fayetteville St. (no longer standing). In the 1890s this important church had as members Dr. Aaron Moore and his nephew Charles Clinton Spaulding, two of the men who would work with John Merrick.¹⁰¹

In 1898, Merrick and Moore met with other black leaders to form the North Carolina Mutual and Provident Association, the first black-owned insurance company in Durham. This institution would become one of the most successful black enterprises in the country and would provide an economic base from which other black institutions in Durham would draw support. The other men present at the 1898 organizational meeting included William Gaston Pearson, teacher, principal and business colleague of Merrick; Edward Austin Johnson, historian, attorney and Dean of the Law School at Shaw University; and James Edward Shepard, preacher, politician, pharmacist, and future founder of a black educational institution in Durham. Each pledged \$50 to the cause of the black insurance association and designated Edwin Johnson to prepare the charter for presentation as a bill before the state legislature when it convened in 1899. Johnson enlisted the aid of Thomas Oscar Fuller, North Carolina's only black senator, to ensure that the North Carolina Mutual would be chartered as a legitimate insurance company and not just another "coffin club" popular among blacks. After several delays, the company was finally chartered in February, 1899.¹⁰²

The early days of the North Carolina Mutual, which operated out of a corner of Dr. Moore's office on E. Main St., were fraught with difficulties. In 1900, the company was reorganized with only Merrick and Moore continuing in the firm. When Charles Clinton Spaulding was elevated from part-time agent to general manager, he provided the energy which revitalized the enterprise. Spaulding was a born salesman, and he doubled the company's premiums in his first year on the job. By 1903, the triumverate of Merrick, Moore and Spaulding were able to employ their first full-time insurance agent. The company began buying Durham real estate, sometimes to acquire salvage lumber from older buildings for new rental units, as Merrick had done in the past. Merrick himself now owned more than sixty houses in Durham.

Through Merrick's ties to the white business community, many of whose members had been his clients when he was barbering, the firm was able to borrow money for more

United States Department of the Interior
National Park ServiceNational Register of Historic Places
Inventory—Nomination Form

For NPS use only

received

date entered

Continuation sheet Historic Resources of Durham Item number 8

Page 27

ambitious real estate purposes.¹⁰³ In 1905, they borrowed money from both the Fidelity Bank and the new Home Savings and Loan in order to purchase several lots on W. Parrish St., soon to be known as "Black Wall Street." The same year, the North Carolina Mutual built its first office building there. According to Walter B. Weare in Black Business in the New South, the company acted as a "mother institution in the black community." The triumverate played a leading role in organizing Durham's first black financial institution, the Mechanics and Farmers Bank, a natural complement of the successful insurance company, which initially was located on the first floor of the North Carolina Mutual building. Other ventures sponsored by the insurance company included the Bull City Drug Store and the Durham Textile Mill, the only enterprise that failed. The company bought additional lots on W. Parrish St., added to its offices, and formed a black business complex that included, in addition to the bank and drug store, clothing stores, a tailoring shop, two barber shops and the offices of a newspaper.¹⁰⁴

Durham's Steady Growth into the New Century: 1900 to 1920

The new buildings on W. Parrish St. were part of a larger wave of expansion throughout downtown Durham, which became more elegant during the first two decades of the twentieth century. The most elaborate downtown landmark, the splendid Beaux Arts style Academy of Music, was soon joined by other new architect-designed public buildings, such as the 1904 Post Office also in the Beaux Arts style, and the Durham Union Station, the city's first modern railway station (all destroyed). Gradually, many of the downtown commercial buildings and churches also were replaced with other architecturally distinctive structures. Construction in the 1900s included the 1905 Trust Building, Durham's first skyscraper, and St. Philip's Episcopal Church (both in the Downtown Durham Historic District, NR). The 1909 Temple Building, also in the downtown district, was constructed with materials left over from the new \$535,000 medical complex that George W. Watts presented to the City earlier in the year. The new Watts Hospital (NR) at the corner of Broad St. and W. Club Blvd. also received an endowment of \$300,000 from Watts.¹⁰⁵ At the edge of West End, just beyond the Liggett and Myers Tobacco Company buildings, the Methodist congregation sponsored in the 1880s by Washington Duke hired a New York City architect to design the landmark Duke Memorial United Methodist Church (#3), built in 1907 to 1912.¹⁰⁶ Back in downtown Durham, handsome buildings continued to rise through the 1910s. Among them, the 1913 First National Bank Building and a new First Presbyterian Church of 1916 (both in Downtown Durham Historic District, NR), fresh accents to Main St. designed by Milburn and Heister Company, attest to the rise locally of the architectural profession.

By the second decade of the twentieth century, many of the businessmen who had emigrated to Durham during the late 1890s and early 1900s were playing a significant role in the city's building boom. These newcomers were as eager to make their mark in their chosen city as the earlier generations of Dukes, Carrs, and their peers had been.

**United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service**

**National Register of Historic Places
Inventory—Nomination Form**

For NPS use only

received

date entered

Continuation sheet Historic Resources of Durham Item number 8

Page 28

Few of these new Durhamites achieved the great wealth and power represented by Durham's "first families" but they often followed the pioneers' examples by displaying their affluence through architecture, and their sense of civic duty was just as strong.

In 1912, one member of this new generation, Sydney C. Chambers, suggested that a businessmen's club be established. The Commercial Club was soon a reality, and as their first task, the group set about promoting the construction of a new hotel in Durham. The city had lacked a luxury establishment since the Hotel Carolina burned in 1907. In 1913, the Hotel Malbourne was erected at the northwest corner of Main and Roxboro streets. The Malbourne was Durham's premier hotel until the appearance of the Washington Duke Hotel in 1923. When the Commercial Club was rechartered as the Durham Chamber of Commerce in 1914, it adopted a policy that was indicative of a new era in the life of the city. The organization was not opposed to new business, but instead of seeking industrial expansion, the Chamber called for building a greater Durham by "stimulating the people to make Durham more attractive, more efficient, and more worthwhile."¹⁰⁷ From this charge would come numerous projects in the next three decades, including the repaving of Main St., installing ornamental street lights from Morgan St. to Dillard St., the purchase of educational equipment for women at Trinity College, the institution of the council/manager form of city government, and widespread advertising of the city in regional and national publications.¹⁰⁸ Durham was, indeed, on the move, a fact which was emphasized by the spate of building activity in the downtown commercial area.

The businessmen who were expanding Durham's downtown also were stimulating residential construction throughout the city. Through the 1910s, central Durham neighborhoods established in the late nineteenth century continued to develop, as vacant lots and open space at their outer boundaries permitted. Neighborhoods that evolved in the first years of the twentieth century thrived as their blocks of empty lots quickly filled with houses. Constructed in response to the increasingly affluent lifestyle of Durhamites and the need for housing presented by the thousands of newcomers drawn to Durham by the availability of jobs, the residential aspect of Durham's built environment is perhaps the most tangible indication of the city's prosperity during this twenty-year period. Similar to other North Carolina industrial towns growing rapidly between the 1880s and 1920s, several Durham neighborhoods, especially after 1900, were developed with very modest houses to accommodate the poor, rural folks flocking to Durham to seek steady work in factories. Houses built for more affluent Durhamites in the street car suburbs naturally were much more fashionable and varied in style, ranging from the late Queen Anne to the period revival modes to the bungalow. As more and more Durhamites turned to architects for custom residential designs, the role of the building contractor, local building supply companies, builders' manuals and the new magazines aimed at molding taste remained an active one. At the same time, some of Durham's wealthiest businessmen -- Benjamin N. Duke, James

**United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service**

**National Register of Historic Places
Inventory—Nomination Form**

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received

date entered

Continuation sheet Historic Resources of Durham Item number 8

Page 29

Edward Stagg, and John Sprunt Hill -- were hiring well-known out-of-town architects to design their new mansions in West End and Morehead Hill.

Neighborhoods outside of Durham proper also experienced a residential building boom in the first decades of the new century. By the 1910s, Hayti was densely developed and began to expand down Fayetteville St. south of Umstead St. with fashionable houses. To the west, the lower lying areas known today as St. Theresa and Dunston were filled with a few predictable types of small and plain one-story frame houses, most of them cheaply built by investors as rental housing for factory workers. These houses were not tenements, and they are important as a record of industrial growth. This same sort of housing characterized East End (which also had more stylish houses concentrated along Dowd and Gray streets) as it grew northward as well as Walltown, the south end of West End, and Lyon Park, all traditionally black-occupied neighborhoods.

In both East Durham and West Durham, the small business districts grew as the original frame stores were gradually replaced with brick ones. In East Durham, the nineteenth century mill villages remained stable in contrast to the privately owned areas north of Angier Ave. where traditional popular house types, interspersed with a few more substantial dwellings, sprang up along the blocks extending north to Liberty and Holloway streets to accommodate a growing middle-class in a diversifying economy. In West Durham, the situation was reversed, with most of the construction consisting of industrial housing commissioned by Erwin Cotton Mills as additional mill hands to operate the enlarged factory were hired. Some privately-owned housing was constructed at the south and north edges of the mill village as well as at the west edge in a several-block area formerly called Oakland Heights.

The phenomenal growth of Durham's neighborhoods meant an increased demand for educational facilities. In 1904 the city's first high school was constructed at the southeast corner of Morris and Morgan streets. At the same time, the Reverend James E. Shepard, concerned with the generally poor preparation received by black ministers, determined to start a religious training institution in Durham. In 1910, with financial assistance from the Durham Merchants Association and Brodie L. Duke, Shepard acquired thirty acres of land south of Hayti for the school site. Construction funds were obtained from the Durham community and from blacks in the more affluent northern cities, and the National Religious Training School and Chautauqua was founded.¹⁰⁹ (See North Carolina Central University, #20.) The early years of the institution were marked by financial hardship, yet Shepard continued to expand his concept of the school's purpose. Therefore, in 1916, the National Religious Training School became the National Training School, an institution devoted to providing a good basic education to black students in academic as well as religious subjects.¹¹⁰ That year also marked the beginning of a public library for Durham's black community when Dr. Aaron Moore moved his library at the Sunday School of White Rock Baptist Church to its

**United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service**

**National Register of Historic Places
Inventory—Nomination Form**

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received

date entered

Continuation sheet Historic Resources of Durham Item number 8

Page 30

own building at the corner of Fayetteville and E. Pettigrew streets. It was the state's second publicly-supported black library, Charlotte's having been the first.¹¹¹ (See Stanford L. Warren Library, #11.)

The Development of Modern Durham: the 1920s and 1930s

For the city of Durham, the close of the 1910s was the beginning of tremendous physical growth that surpassed its previous attainments. World War I had increased the already thriving markets for the city's textile and tobacco industries, which continued to prosper in the ensuing years as their stimulation by the availability of foreign and domestic markets persisted. The city's black community and its financial institutions also continued to experience success which paralleled that of the white financiers and industrial magnates. Between 1923 and 1926, building permits more than doubled, while from 1921 to 1927 revenues of the City increased from \$2,673,075 to \$3,386,009. The Roaring Twenties were a fact in Durham. The city provided more amenities, including miles of paved streets, new city parks, a golf course and other recreational facilities. The outline of present-day Durham took shape as the building boom continued throughout the 1920s and 1930s. While the textile industry suffered during the Great Depression, the tobacco industry was hardly touched. Durham's tremendous number of buildings dating from the late 1920s and early 1930s, including much of the city's finest architecture, attests to the Depression's relatively mild impact, largely attributable to the ongoing success of the tobacco industry, finance and higher education. By the mid-1930s, Durham's most extensive building campaigns resulted in the emergence of education and medicine as substantial forces that would eventually rival Durham's first industries as the city's largest employers.¹¹²

The community's interest in education demonstrated in the first years of the century persisted after 1920. In 1916 the Carnegie Foundation had pledged \$32,000 toward a new building for the Durham Public Library at downtown Five Points on the condition that municipal support reach \$4,000 a year. The city promised two-thirds and the county one-third, but it wasn't until 1921 that the new library on E. Main St. (in the Downtown Durham Historic District, NR) could be constructed.¹¹³ Also in 1921, the new Central High School, now named Durham High School, was completed on the former site of Brodie L. Duke's home on N. Duke St. (in the Trinity Historic District, #22.)

The continuing development of higher education in Durham remained a vital force in the city's modernization. At Trinity College, although World War I had caused severe hardship because of war-induced inflation and students and faculty lost to military service, the dreams of expanding Trinity into a full university were kept alive by William Preston Few, its third president. The Dukes had continued to play a major role in the support of Trinity with joint and individual contributions and endowments that produced several needed buildings and provided for additional faculty

**United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service**

**National Register of Historic Places
Inventory—Nomination Form**

For NPS use only

received

date entered

Continuation sheet Historic Resources of Durham Item number 8

Page 31

and students. Benjamin N. Duke had remained Trinity's primary benefactor, but by the 1910s his brother, J.B., was taking an increasingly more active interest in the school. In November 1918, Few wrote to J.B. Duke regarding the college's long-range needs while emphasizing its already significant contribution to North Carolina Methodism. By the following year, the two were conferring regularly about a proposed James B. Duke Foundation for the support of Trinity and rural Methodist churches and preachers. J.B. Duke formally signed the papers creating The Duke Endowment on December 11, 1924. At that time, the trust was made up of \$40,000,000 in securities, of which \$6,000,000 was set aside to establish "an institution of higher learning" to be known as Duke University. A further stipulation noted that "should the name of Trinity College...be changed to Duke University within a three-month period, then Trinity would receive the \$6,000,000."¹¹⁴ The new university would receive the lion's share of the annual income of the trust.¹¹⁴ Trinity College did not hesitate in its acceptance of the terms and Duke University began its rise.

Practical planning for Duke University was well under way before the papers creating the trust were signed. President Few had recommended that the new campus be located to the west of the Trinity campus. Eventually, more than 8,000 acres, much of it rolling forest land, were purchased.¹¹⁵ Some of it was developed as the site of the West Campus of Duke University (#15).¹¹⁵ The balance, Duke Forest, is used mainly for research and recreation purposes.

Earlier in 1924, J.B. Duke had charged Philadelphia architect Horace Trumbauer with the responsibility of executing the new West Campus. They discussed the general layout of the building to be constructed on the land west of Trinity and expanded the project to include the renovation of the old campus. Trumbauer tackled the Trinity campus, to be renamed East Campus, first, designing a brand new quadrangle of eleven Georgian Revival style buildings and drawing plans for the renovation of several of the older structures. In the meantime, shortly before his death late in 1925, Duke decided upon the late Gothic Revival style for the West Campus buildings, which he determined should be organized around a central quadrangle headed by a soaring chapel.¹¹⁶ Shortly after the construction on the East Campus was finished in 1927, work got underway on the West. Around the Duke Chapel with its 210-foot tower, the initial West Campus building campaign produced the largest educational plant in the world to be erected within a five-year period. Davison Building, which houses the School of Medicine, was the first structure completed here. Foremost among the professional schools that formed the new university, the Duke Medical School accepted its first class in 1930. Duke Hospital, the school's teaching hospital, opened its doors the same year. From that day forward, medicine became an important part of Durham life. Today the Duke University medical complex is one of the most comprehensive in the Southeast and the employer of a significant percentage of Durham's population.¹¹⁷

Duke Hospital was not Durham's only new medical facility erected in the post-World War I years. In 1920, George Watts donated \$225,000 to Watts Hospital for the

**United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service**

**National Register of Historic Places
Inventory—Nomination Form**

For NPS use only
received
date entered

Continuation sheet Historic Resources of Durham Item number 8

Page 32

erection of the General Pavilion, Women's Pavilion and an addition to the nurses' home.¹¹⁸ Across town in southeast Durham, the black community was making strides in upgrading Lincoln Hospital. The hospital administration's dream of a modern medical plant that would replace their domestic-scaled frame hospital building was realized in 1924. The new \$150,000 hospital was erected on Fayetteville St. on four acres of the old Stokes estate donated for the complex by George W. Watts and his son-in-law, John Sprunt Hill.¹¹⁹ The building served as a hospital for the surrounding community until 1976 when Lincoln Hospital, like Watts Hospital, was consolidated into the new Durham County General Hospital complex off Roxboro Rd. In 1926 Dr. Samuel Dace McPherson established an eye, ear, nose and throat hospital on the site of the original Watts Hospital at the corner of W. Main St. and N. Buchanan Blvd.;¹²⁰ it continues today to accomodate patients from across North Carolina.

At the same time that the new Duke University was under construction, the facilities of Durham's other higher educational institutions were greatly expanded. Dr. James E. Shepard's vision of a college offering a broad curriculum in the arts and sciences began to materialize in 1923 when his National Training School became the Durham State Normal School, a state-supported institution. The school became the nation's first state-supported four-year liberal arts college for blacks when it was renamed North Carolina College for Negroes (now North Carolina Central University, #20) in 1925.¹²¹ Expansion of the curriculum and an increase in enrollment rendered the existing frame school structures inadequate. Under the state's aegis, the school was targeted for public funds ear-marked for a new physical plant as well as larger faculty and library. The first building was completed in 1929 and three others soon followed. The Great Depression brought construction to a halt, to be resumed in the late 1930s under the supervision of the Works Progress Administration.¹²²

The building campaign at Durham's state-supported college was one of the city's few casualties of the Depression. No matter how bad times were, people continued to smoke cigarettes and Durham's number one industry remained prosperous. The building boom of the 1910s continued through the 1920s, slowed at the turn of the decade in response to the general economic slump nationwide, and soon picked back up to a brisk pace for the rest of the 1930s. Between 1920 and 1940, existing neighborhoods expanded, new ones coalesced, and downtown Durham lost practically all of its vestiges of the nineteenth century as modern buildings dotted the streetscape and skyline. By 1940, Durham's textile industry was in a decline with the ascendancy of silk hosiery over cotton and the resultant dissolution of Durham Hosiery Mills. Fortunately the city's economy, with a healthy tobacco industry still at its base, was being strengthened by Duke University and its hospital, and by the North Carolina College. As these institutions grew, they attracted academicians and professionals from all over the country who settled in Durham and contributed to an increasingly cosmopolitan environment. In addition to expanding local markets by their disposable income, the newcomers also bolstered Durham's economy by interacting with established businessmen in new ventures.

**United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service**

**National Register of Historic Places
Inventory—Nomination Form**

For NPS use only

received

date entered

Continuation sheet Historic Resources of Durham Item number 8

Page 33

Residential development during these two decades was impressive for the sheer numbers of dwellings produced. In southeast Durham, by the late 1930s all of the land between North Carolina College and Hayti had been developed and the area south and east of the school was rapidly filling with houses. Immediately southeast of Durham's central business district, Hayti's property had become a bustling shopping district with brick hotels, stores and movie theatres along Fayetteville St. and E. Pettigrew St. (also known as "Mexico").¹²³ Fayetteville St. remained the main artery of the neighborhood, connecting its business district with the college. In the intervening years, two fashionable residential neighborhoods appeared as direct results of the improvement of the black medical and educational institutions. The relocation of Lincoln Hospital spurred development east and south of the brick building (see Scarborough House #8), while to the west of the college the neighborhood of College View began to evolve in the early 1920s when the school became state supported. Construction in College View also was promoted by the building of the former Whitted School, converted to Hillside High School around 1950. Many of the black community's business executives, teachers and college professors built their houses there throughout the late 1920s and 1930s.¹²⁴

On the opposite side of Durham, residential construction proceeded at an almost feverish pace in Trinity Park (Trinity Historic District, #22), spurred in part by the redevelopment of the old Trinity campus. As the neighborhood grew northward, the blocks at its southern end became more densely developed with both single-family houses and apartment building. While some architect-designed landmarks highlight Trinity Park, most of the neighborhood's dwellings were the work of contractors and developers who followed designed selected from catalogues and magazines. Some of Durham's most prolific residential contractors of the 1920s and 1930s were Rufus Powell, Jr., Robert Horner, W.H. and T.H. Lawrence, Thompson and Cannady, Cole and Crumpacker, John Sally, Thomas Poe, C.H. Shipp, and John T. Salmon. Powell, Horner, Shipp and Salmon built their own houses in Trinity Park as well as many others.¹²⁵ Businessmen, such as C.T. Council, either commissioned contractors for rows of similar houses or purchased them from speculative builders.¹²⁶ These practices also characterized the Club Boulevard neighborhood, where development had occurred first in response to the new Watts Hospital and the extension of the trolley line. In the 1920s, growth westward was prompted by the Hillandale Country Club, developed in 1923 by Homeland Investment Company.¹²⁷

Four new neighborhoods emerged in the 1920s. The oldest is Duke Park (North Durham--Duke Park Historic District, NR), named for the large park at its northern edge formerly part of Brodie L. Duke's farm. Much of this neighborhood had been part of the enormous tract that Duke platted at the turn of the century but did not come under development pressures until North Durham, just to the south, had become built up. Also characterized by refined period revival style houses, Forest Hills, Hope Valley and

**United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service**

**National Register of Historic Places
Inventory—Nomination Form**

For NPS use only

received

date entered

Continuation sheet Historic Resources of Durham Item number 8

Page 34

Duke Forest all were planned by the businessmen who directed their initial development. The success of Forest Hills and Hope Valley was due to the business acumen of groups of investor-developers who anticipated the demand for large building lots in lush settings that would be created by both increasingly affluent Durhamites and by the physicians and academicians moving to Durham to practice and teach at the new Duke University. The youngest of these neighborhoods, Duke Forest, was developed by Duke University itself.

In the early 1920s, the New Hope Realty Company, composed of Durham and Winston-Salem investors, acquired parcels of hilly land south of Morehead Hill, hired landscape architect Earl Sumner Draper to lay out the curvilinear streets and large building lots around a nine-hole golf course with a pool and clubhouse, and built several houses to attract buyers.¹²⁸ Although the company filed for bankruptcy in 1929, lots continued to be developed, primarily by prominent local businessmen and physicians in private practice.

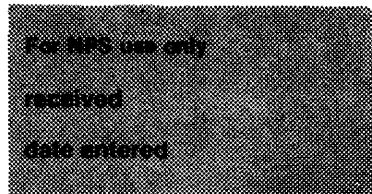
A few miles south of the city limits, along New Hope Creek below the Chapel Hill Road, The Mebane Company of Greensboro purchased the Atkins, Shepherd and Vickers farms in the late 1920s as the site of Hope Valley, Durham's first true rural, country club suburb. Again, several houses were built to attract buyers, but this time the curving streets and spacious lots were arranged around an eighteen-hole golf course. A great number of early builders in Hope Valley¹²⁹ were the administrators and physicians who came to Durham to run the new Duke Hospital.

Duke Forest evolved in the late 1920s when Duke University realized that many of the professors it wanted to hire could not afford to compete for land and houses in Durham's open real estate market. The University decided to develop a small part of its almost 8,000-acre parcel as residential lots to which it attached restrictive covenants limiting ownership to Duke University professors and their families. Pinecrest Road¹³⁰ was built in 1929, and by the mid-1940s most of the long 100 block was developed.

The impressive growth of new residential neighborhoods in the 1920s and 1930s was matched by two great building spurts in downtown Durham (all in the Downtown Durham Historic District, NR). One of the first post-World War I enhancements to Durham's skyline was the new headquarters built by the North Carolina Mutual in 1921, today the home of the Mechanics and Farmers Bank (NHL). The glamour of the 1920s was captured by the Durham Auditorium, built in 1925 at the corner of Roney and Morgan streets. It replaced the Academy of Music (razed in the 1920s to provide a site for the Washington Duke Hotel, which in turn was demolished in the 1970s), and was the scene of many glittering occasions when Broadway plays and musicals on tour played Durham with star-studded casts. Other numerous elegant institutional and commercial buildings of the 1920s included the Alexander Motor Company and Johnson Motor Company buildings,

**United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service**

**National Register of Historic Places
Inventory—Nomination Form**



Continuation sheet Historic Resources of Durham 8 Page 35
Item number

Baldwin's Department Store, the Old Hill Building, and the remodelling of the original high school when it was adapted as a new city hall in 1926. After a brief pause at the turn of the new decade, while cautious investors gauged the impact of the Depression upon the local economy, construction picked up again in 1932 with the decorative S.H. Kress Building. The Snow Building, an imposing new United States Post Office, and the remodelled Durham Armory soon followed.¹³¹ The Hill Building, today renamed the Central Carolina Bank Building, was the last major commercial structure to appear in downtown Durham prior to World War II. This seventeen-story skyscraper built in 1935 to 1937 was the final testament to Durham's emergence as a commercial center of the New South. It provided a fitting conclusion to more than eighty years of ambitious striving by visionary businessmen who transformed both their own lives and the railroad town where they settled.

B2. MAJOR PERIODS OF HISTORIC SIGNIFICANCE

There are five major periods of historic significance in Durham. The first is bracketed by the early nineteenth century and the beginning of the Civil War, when Durham emerged as a small market center in the midst of a collection of farms. The second major period extends from the close of the Civil War to around 1880, marked the rapid rise of the local tobacco industry and the mushrooming of the town's population from about two hundred people to more than two thousand. Durham's most momentous period was from 1880 to the late 1890s which witnessed the growth of the tobacco industry and its consolidation into the American Tobacco Company trust, the development of a thriving local textile industry, Trinity College's move to Durham, and early significant strides by Durham's black population. The fourth period, from the turn of the century to 1920, featured advancements in public services and utilities, expansion of the local industries and Trinity College, the rise of the middle class, the successes of the North Carolina Mutual Life Insurance Company and its associate firms, and the founding of the National Religious Training School, which altogether contributed to the development of numerous suburbs. Finally, modern-day Durham emerged during the period 1920 to 1940, highlighted by the development of Duke University, the North Carolina College for Negroes, and several automobile suburbs, and by major building campaigns that transformed the city's downtown.

**United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service**

**National Register of Historic Places
Inventory—Nomination Form**

Historic Resources of Durham

Continuation sheet

Item number 8

Page

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received
Date entered

36

B-3. THE HISTORIC RESOURCES AS REPRESENTATIVES OF THE MAJOR PERIODS

Reminders of Durham's emergence prior to the Civil War as a small market center surrounded by farms are found in only a few surviving houses and outbuildings, most of them located on the city's outskirts in areas annexed within the past thirty years. One important early property that has retained its integrity is the Duke Homestead, a National Historic Landmark consisting of Washington Duke's c. 1852 farm house, a small frame factory built in the 1860s, and a few reconstructed outbuildings. On the south bank of the Eno River, the twenty-acre West Point on the Eno (# 24), once the center of a small community focussed on a grist mill, recalls Durham's rural character prior to the rise of the city's tobacco industry in the 1860s. This small district, which includes the c. 1843 vernacular Greek Revival McCown-Mangum House, a c. 1880 board and batten pack house, the mill site and head and tail races, and a reconstruction of the West Point Mill, recalls the small settlements that served as Durham County's commercial and social centers prior to the consolidation of activity in Durham at the end of the nineteenth century.

Booming development paralleled the rapid rise of the local tobacco industry and the mushrooming of the town's population from the close of the Civil War to around 1880. Nevertheless, structures remaining from this second major period of historic significance are even rarer than those from the first, due in large part to the ensuing continuing growth and resultant redevelopment of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. It is appropriate that Durham's two buildings dating from the late 1860s and the 1870s are monuments to the community's burgeoning tobacco industry. The brick National Historic Landmark Bull Durham Factory (part of The American Tobacco Company Manufacturing Plant, # 12) was built in 1874 and enlarged prior to 1880 by W. T. Blackwell & Co., Durham's leading manufacturer of the day. This four-story structure continues to exhibit its original Italianate design in its west wing featuring stuccoed quoins and crosssetted window surrounds and heavy panelled, modillioned and bracketed cornices. In contrast, the late 1870s Brodie L. Duke Tobacco Warehouse (in the Bright Leaf Historic District, # 13), the oldest brick warehouse in Durham and the first substantial building erected by a member of the Blackwell Co.'s chief local rival manufacturing family, is a plain rectangular two-story structure with many segmental arched windows.

Numerous structures attest to the vigorous growth of Durham's tobacco industry, the rise of the community's textile industry, Trinity College's move to Durham and the important early strides by Durham's black population that altogether characterized the period from 1880 to the close of the 1890s, Durham's most momentous. When the Duke family turned to the manufacture of cigarettes as a means of effectively competing with their rivals, they built the brick Italianate W. Duke Sons & Co. Cigarette Factory, part of the Bright Leaf Historic District. Highlighting both the Bright Leaf District and The American Tobacco Company Manufacturing Plant, several large and dramatic brick Norman Revival style warehouses and processing buildings accented with rich brickwork and dozens of chimney pots were built by the incredibly successful

**United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service**

**National Register of Historic Places
Inventory—Nomination Form**

For NPS use only
received
date entered

Continuation sheet Historic Resources of Durham Item number 8

Page 37

and powerful American Tobacco Company trust created by James B. Duke in 1890. The Durham Cotton Mills plant and the Durham Cotton Mills Village Historic District (# 16), which gave rise to the community of East Durham, recall Julian S. Carr's entrance into textile manufacturing in 1884 and the first significant diversification of Durham's industry. West Durham began its development in 1892 when the Dukes and their associates opened the Erwin Cotton Mill Co.'s No. 1 Mill and Headquarters Building (NR, and part of the West Durham Historic District, # 23). The same year that Erwin Cotton Mills began operation, Trinity College opened the doors of its new buildings constructed upon the school's relocation to Durham. Two of the original three institutional buildings remain on the campus (Trinity College/East Campus of Duke University, # 17): the brick Crowell Science Building and the Queen Anne style Epworth Inn Building. The great strides made by Durham's blacks who were building their own neighborhoods at the edge of central Durham during the 1880s and 1890s are reflected today by two brick Gothic Revival style churches -- Emmanuel A.M.E. Church (# 4, begun 1889), Durham's oldest surviving church building, and St. Joseph's A.M.E. Church (NR), begun in 1891 according to a design by architect Samuel Linton Leary. St. Joseph's also derives significance as the only extant structure from the heart of Hayti, Durham's first and foremost early black neighborhood.

Many houses constructed during the 1880s and 1890s recall Durham's increasing prosperity wrought by the achievements of the city's industrialists, merchants, artisans, and professionals. The most notable of these are the brick Queen Anne style Blacknall House (# 1) built in 1889 by Richard D. Blacknall, pharmacist and patron of West Durham's Methodist church; the frame house featuring a wraparound porch with spool frieze built for William Thomas O'Brien (# 6), who perfected the Bonsack cigarette rolling machine for W. Duke Sons & Co. and thus enabled the firm to successfully compete with rival manufacturers; the Neoclassical Revival style Powe House (# 7) built in 1899 for the manager of the Erwin Cotton Mills Co.'s Durham plants, Edward Knox Powe; and dozens of houses in the Cleveland Street, Holloway Street (both # 14), Morehead Hill (# 19) and North Durham - Duke Park (NR) historic districts exemplifying the popular late nineteenth-century styles. In addition, four of the five Queen Anne style cottages built on the Trinity College campus for professors and their families, known as the Faculty Row Houses (NR), survive nearby in the Trinity Historic District (# 22), to which they were moved in the early 1910s.

There are hundreds of historic resources representing Durham's fourth period of historic significance, primarily composing major portions of several districts. Again, many notable structures built between 1900 and 1920 reflect the enduring importance of Durham's tobacco and textile industries. The latter produced an unprecedented surge of industry-related construction as existing mills expanded and new ones were founded. In 1901, Julian S. Carr embarked upon two new textiles ventures when he built Durham Hosiery Mills No. 1 (NR) and, just a few blocks away, a new Golden Belt Manufacturing Company (# 18) plant and dozens of mill houses, augmented with many additional houses as the mill was enlarged throughout the next

United States Department of the Interior
National Park ServiceNational Register of Historic Places
Inventory—Nomination Form

For NPS use only

received

date entered

Continuation sheet

Historic Resources of Durham

Item number 8

Page 38

two decades. The success of Durham Hosiery Mills also is indicated by its Mill No. 2, Durham's first mill (and one of the first in the South) manned by black labor, which was built in 1916 and remains in use as the small plant of Service Printing Company (# 2), a successful black enterprise, despite the removal of much of the structure. Virtually all of the more than 100 mill houses in the West Durham Historic District (# 23) were constructed around 1910 and the years immediately thereafter to accommodate the work force needed to operate the company's new Mill No. 4. Earlier in the century, Pearl Cotton Mills, also controlled by the Dukes and their associates, built the approximately two dozen identical plain two-story duplexes that characterize the Pearl Mill Village Historic District (# 21). During the first part of the fourth period, The American Tobacco Company trust continued to dominate Durham's tobacco industry, adding several large Norman Revival style warehouses and processing buildings to the American Tobacco Company Manufacturing Plant and the Bright Leaf Historic District, plus Smitn Warehouse (# 9) a few blocks west of the latter district. Foremost among other, independent, tobacco firms which grew during the period were Venable Tobacco Company (# 10), which built its large warehouse at the south edge of the Central Business District, and the Imperial Tobacco Company, which constructed a vast two-story plant in a variation of the earlier Norman Revival style buildings (part of the Bright Leaf Historic District).

Strong local industries contributed to the health of other Durham businesses and the proliferation of practically every sort of building type. The years 1900 to 1920 constituted the first period in Durham's history from which an impressive number of commercial and institutional structures survive, concentrated in the Downtown Durham Historic District (NR). In addition to many handsome brick and stone-clad office and shop buildings, this district contains Milburn and Heister Company's Neoclassical Revival style Durham County Courthouse of 1916 and the Late Gothic Revival St. Philip's Episcopal Church by nationally renowned architect Ralph Adam Cram. West of the downtown area, the transitional Romanesque/Gothic Revival style Duke Memorial United Methodist Church (# 3) of 1907-12 stands as a tribute to the Dukes and other successful and devoted Durham businessmen who actively supported their community's Methodist church. Another example of this sort of patronage is Watts Hospital (II) (NR), the Spanish Colonial Revival style complex built in 1907 with funds contributed by George W. Watts, business partner of the Dukes. The period's most impressive display of interest in supporting local institutions is found on the Trinity College/East Campus of Duke University (# 17) where several Neoclassical Revival style classroom buildings, dormitories and houses were constructed according to designs by Charlotte-based architect C. C. Hook.

The businessmen who supported local institutions also were responsible for the early twentieth-century advances in public services and utilities that were vital to the emergence of new neighborhoods demanded by a steadily growing and increasingly prosperous population. Further development of the Cleveland Street and Holloway Street historic districts (both # 14) and the new fashionable streetcar suburbs represented by the Trinity (# 22), Morehead Hill (# 19), and North Durham or Duke Park (NR) historic districts attest to the achievements of Durham's leaders and to the rise of a diverse

**United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service**

**National Register of Historic Places
Inventory—Nomination Form**

For NPS use only

Received

Date entered

Continuation sheet

Historic Resources of Durham

Item number 8

Page 39

middle class composed of low level industry managers, merchants, educators, and professionals. Durham's industrialists and financiers made the most striking and personal demonstrations of their achievements with the renewed construction of very large and fashionable houses. Two of these mansions from the first decades of the century are the John Sprunt Hill House (NR) and Greystone (NR), which have been incorporated into the Morehead Hill Historic District. Although the southern extension of Hayti was not a streetcar suburb, it resembled such neighborhoods as Trinity Park in the types and styles of its houses and featured the handsome Neoclassical Revival style Scarborough House (# 8) built by black funeral home director and civic leader John C. Scarborough.

Three of the primarily residential historic districts -- Morehead Hill, North Durham - Duke Park, and Trinity -- experienced significant growth between 1920 and 1940. The later houses in these districts represent the fifth and last period in Durham's history as evidence of the continued widespread preference throughout the city for self-expression of accomplishment through fashionable residential architecture. The continued development of suburbs also reflected healthy expansion throughout Durham's tobacco industry, exhibited more specifically by the construction of new factories and warehouses in The American Tobacco Company Manufacturing Plant and the Bright Leaf Historic District. Major building campaigns in the Downtown Durham Historic District, including the seventeen-story Hill Building designed by Shreve, Lamb and Harmon, provided strong commercial indications of the city's economic vitality during the period, despite the Depression. Institutional development also fared well during these two decades, as reflected by Ephphatha Church (# 5), a small Late Gothic Revival church of solid masonry construction built for a deaf congregation, only the second such group in the country to erect its own church. In Hayti, when the Durham Colored Library, one of the most important institutions in Durham's black community, outgrew its small frame building, it moved into the brick Neoclassical Revival style building completed in 1940 and named for prominent Durham black physician and businessman, Stanford L. Warren (# 11).

Perhaps the most significant developments of the fifth period were the transformations of Durham's institutions of higher learning. After D. James E. Shepard's National Training School became North Carolina College for Negroes (now North Carolina Central University, # 20), the nation's first state-supported four-year liberal arts college for blacks, the campus south of Hayti received a new physical plant that was begun in the late 1920s with three Georgian Revival style buildings by architects Atwood and Nash and enlarged in the late 1930s under the supervision of the Works Progress Administration. On the other side of Durham, Trinity College president William P. Few, in concert with benefactor James B. Duke, directed the expansion of Trinity College into Duke University. Horace Trumbauer designed a new quadrangle of eleven Georgian Revival style buildings for the Trinity College campus (now the East Campus of Duke University), built 1925-27. Trumbauer considered his career masterpiece to be the Collegiate Gothic West Campus (# 15), begun in 1927. The extensive complex of more than two dozen buildings included Duke Medical School which, with the university's new Duke Hospital, transformed Durham into one of the major medical centers of the Southeast.

**United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service**

**National Register of Historic Places
Inventory—Nomination Form**

For NPS use only
received
date entered

Continuation sheet Historic Resources of Durham Item number 8

Page 40

C. MAJOR HISTORICAL FIGURES AND EVENTS

Several individuals and events important in Durham's history also attained state and national, and in a few instances international, significance. Primarily, these individuals were industrialists who made their fortunes first in tobacco manufacturing and then in textiles, and expanded and refined their spheres of influence by developing local financial, religious, and educational institutions. Their industries and Trinity College/Duke University, which many local magnates patronized, gained international renown.

The man credited with developing Durham's first powerful tobacco manufacturing firm was Julian Shakespeare Carr. The successes of his W. T. Blackwell & Co. (represented today by the Bull Durham Factory (NHL) built by the firm in 1874) established Durham as a major tobacco trade and manufacturing center. In 1884, Carr pioneered Durham's textiles industry with his founding of the Durham Cotton Manufacturing Co.; the company's mill complex is omitted from this nomination due to considerable alterations, but a few blocks of workers' housing are included as the Durham Cotton Mills Village Historic District (# 16). At the turn of the century, Carr greatly expanded two other textiles firms: the Golden Belt Manufacturing Co., which continues to manufacture packaging for The American Tobacco Company's products, is represented by the Golden Belt Historic District (# 18) with its large plant and several blocks of workers' housing, and the Durham Hosiery Mills, which around 1920 became the world's largest manufacturer of hosiery, is represented by its No. 1 Mill (NR).

Undoubtedly, the Dukes, particularly Washington and his sons Brodie Leonidas, Benjamin Newton, and James Buchanan, are the family most readily associated with Durham. Their tremendous successes in tobacco and textiles, like those of Carr, helped provide the economic basis upon which Durham grew into one of North Carolina's major cities. From humble beginnings at the Duke Homestead (NHL), the family built their tobacco manufacturing firm with hard work and daring strategies, such as J. B. Duke's decision to rely upon cigarette production in order to effectively compete with Carr's company. That move would have failed without the assistance of William Thomas O'Brien, the mechanic who perfected the Bonsack cigarette rolling machine for the Dukes and eventually built his house (# 6) close to the W. Duke Sons & Company Cigarette Factory. The factory and Brodie L. Duke's late 1870s brick warehouse are located in the Bright Leaf Historic District, part of this Multiple Resource Nomination. The Bright Leaf District and The American Tobacco Company Manufacturing Plant (# 13 and # 12) are characterized by the imposing Norman Revival brick warehouses and factories built by The American Tobacco Company, created by J. B. Duke. This monopolistic trust, the country's first, eventually controlled every major aspect of the United States tobacco industry as well as tobacco manufacturing in numerous other nations.

United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

National Register of Historic Places
Inventory—Nomination Form

For NPS use only

received

date entered

Continuation sheet Historic Resources of Durham Item number 8 Page 41

The Dukes had many interests in addition to tobacco that were important in shaping Durham. Their diversification of their empire with textile manufacturing yielded Erwin Cotton Mills Co.'s No. 1 Mill (NR), the surrounding West Durham Historic District (# 23), and the Pearl Mill Village Historic District (# 21). Ardent Methodists, the Dukes founded and supported the church which eventually became Duke Memorial United Methodist Church (# 3). They developed intimate relationships with the Methodist-affiliated Trinity College as its principal benefactors. The family's involvement with the institution began when the school moved to Durham in the early 1890s, climaxed with J. B. Duke's creation of the Duke Endowment which funded Trinity's transformation into Duke University, and continues to this day. Many of the business associates of Washington Duke and his sons also were philanthropists. Foremost among them in Durham was George W. Watts, who donated the building funds for both Watts Hospital (I) (in the Trinity Historic District, # 22), and the second Watts Hospital (NR). Although all of the impressive mansions built by the Dukes have been destroyed, the Chateausque Greystone (NR) built by their close business associate James E. Stagg, remains standing. Other important local business associates included William A. Erwin and his brother-in-law Edward K. Powe, general manager and plant manager, respectively, of Erwin Cotton Mills. Although Erwin's distinctive house, Hillcrest, has fallen under the wrecking ball, the handsome Neoclassical Revival style Powe House (# 7) survives close to the Erwin Mills plant.

Along with the establishment of strong tobacco and textile industries, the third event of major importance in Durham's history was the relocation of Trinity College from rural Randolph County. Although the move and subsequent growth of the school would have been impossible without the patronage of Carr, the Dukes and others, Trinity's faculty and administrators must be credited with developing the college's reputation as one of the nation's foremost institutions of higher learning. The school's professors and administrators (including John Franklin Crowell who engineered the move to Durham; John Spencer Bassett, whose controversial "Bassett Affair" struck a strong blow for academic freedom; and William Preston Few, who worked diligently with J. B. Duke to transform Trinity into Duke University) are remembered with buildings named in their honor on the Trinity College/East Campus (# 17) and West Campus (# 15) of Duke University.

The tremendous strides of Durham's black community, particularly in commerce and education, would have been impossible without the individual accomplishments of local black leaders. The most famous of this distinguished group were John Merrick and Aaron Moore who, along with Charles Spaulding, administered the rise of the North Carolina Mutual Life Insurance Co., one of the most important developments in Durham's history. The company's 1921 headquarters buildings (now the Mechanics & Farmers Bank Building, NHL) in the middle of the Downtown Durham Historic District (NR) commemorates the racial progress embodied in the prosperity of the North Carolina Mutual, today the largest black-managed financial institution in the world.

United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

National Register of Historic Places
Inventory—Nomination Form

For NPS use only

received

date entered

Continuation sheet Historic Resources of Durham Item number 8

Page 42

Like their white counterparts, the triumvirate that led the Mutual made many contributions directly to their community as reflected by St. Joseph's A.M.E. Church (NR) and the Stanford L. Warren Library (# 11), two of Durham's black institutions that received their support. Another important figure in the history of Durham's black community was James E. Shepard. In 1910, he began the National Religious Training School and Chautauqua, which by 1925 had evolved under his direction into the North Carolina College for Negroes (today North Carolina Central University, # 20), the nation's first four-year state-supported liberal arts college for blacks.

Of course, many of the people associated with Durham's history tended to be important in a strictly local sense, as business and community leaders are important in cities all over the country. Similarly, many of the events in which they were involved were typical of occurrences associated with the general development of cities that experienced tremendous growth and diversification during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries due to the strength of primary industries in which their economies are rooted. A good number of those individuals and events, too numerous to list here, are recognized in the National Register nominations for the Downtown Durham and North Durham - Duke Park historic districts and several individual buildings as well as in other components of this Multiple Resource Nomination, particularly in the nominations for the Cleveland Street, Holloway Street (both # 14), Morehead Hill (# 19), and Trinity (# 22) historic districts. One strictly local event, however, that deserves special acknowledgement is the establishment of an efficient trolley system by Richard H. Wright, a powerful tobaccoist affiliated with the Dukes during the 1880s, and Julian S. Carr. This system was vital to the rise of Durham's early twentieth-century suburbs, much of which is detailed in the nominations for the residential historic districts listed above.

D. AREAS OF SIGNIFICANCE

Architecture. Durham exhibits many good-to-excellent examples of a variety of architectural styles and building types popular in the United States during the mid to late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Examples include the vernacular Greek Revival style -- McCown-Mangum House at West Point on the Eno (# 24); the Gothic Revival -- Emmanuel A.M.E. Church (# 4); the Queen Anne -- Blacknall House (# 1) and William Thomas O'Brien House (# 6); the Neoclassical Revival -- Powe House (# 7), Scarborough House (# 8), Stanford L. Warren Library (# 11), North Carolina Central University (# 20); the Late Gothic Revival -- Ephphatha Church (# 5); and the Collegiate Gothic -- the West Campus of Duke University (# 15). Fine examples of the Queen Anne, period revival styles, foursquares and bungalows characterize the Cleveland Street, Holloway Street (both # 14), North Durham - Duke Park (NR), Trinity (# 22) and Morehead Hill (# 19) historic districts. In addition, notable representatives of the Neoclassical Revival, Art Deco and Modern styles

**United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service**

**National Register of Historic Places
Inventory—Nomination Form**

For NPS use only

received

date entered

Continuation sheet Historic Resources of Durham Item number 8

Page 43

occur throughout the Downtown Durham Historic District (NR). Durham's numerous excellent examples of late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century industrial buildings of slow burn construction include the Venable Tobacco Company Warehouse (# 10) and the several imposing Norman Revival style buildings in The American Tobacco Company Manufacturing Plant (# 12) and the Bright Leaf Historic District (# 13).

Commerce. The only town of any size situated on the railroad line in Durham County, Durham naturally became a center for commerce as the point from which area farmers and industrialists sent their goods to market. Furthermore, the steady and rapid growth of Durham's tobacco and textile industries resulted in a swelling of the population and a concomitant stimulation of local commerce throughout the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The Downtown Durham Historic District (NR) attests to Durham's importance as a commercial center. Although only a portion of one nineteenth-century commercial building remains there, the district features numerous distinctive early twentieth-century commercial landmarks, such as the (former) First National Bank Building, the Art Deco Snow and Kress buildings, and the seventeen-story Hill Building, Durham's first skyscraper.

Exploration/Settlement. As two of the very few surviving groups of buildings associated with Durham's rural origins as a collection of small farms and related light industries, Duke Homestead (NR) and West Point on the Eno (# 24) are significant representatives of Durham's settlement.

Education. Since the end of the nineteenth century, Durham's importance as a center for higher education has steadily risen and in recent years the city's colleges (and their associated hospitals) have eclipsed the tobacco industry as Durham's biggest employers. After its move to Durham in 1892, Trinity College grew into one of the major colleges of the South and in the 1920s, with the tremendous funding from the Duke Endowment, began its transformation into one of the nation's foremost universities. With the construction of its West Campus (# 15), Duke University established a medical school with its own hospital which has become one of the leading facilities in the South and has contributed to Durham's evolution as the "City of Medicine." In 1925, Dr. James E. Shepard's National Religious Training School and Chautauqua became the North Carolina College for Negroes (# 20), the nation's first state-supported four-year liberal arts college for blacks. Local black leaders' concerns about education also are reflected in their establishment of a public library for their community which eventually was named the Stanford L. Warren Library (# 11).

Industry. The steadily accelerating industrial development that occurred in Durham from the late 1860s through the 1930s earned the city its reputation as a nationally important center for tobacco and textile manufacturing. Pioneering

**United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service**

**National Register of Historic Places
Inventory—Nomination Form**

For NPS use only

received

date entered

Continuation sheet Historic Resources of Durham Item number 8 Page 44

local industrialists Julian S. Carr, the Dukes, and their associates spearheaded the development of both industries in Durham with the organization and direction of several tobacco manufacturing companies and textile mills, including W. T. Blackwell & Co., The American Tobacco Company, Durham Cotton Manufacturing Company, Erwin Cotton Mills, Pearl Cotton Mill, the Golden Belt Manufacturing Company, and Durham Hosiery Mills. Significant portions of all of these companies' Durham plants and/or their mill villages have retained their integrity to the present and are included in this Multiple Resource Nomination. In addition, numerous independent tobacco warehouses altogether were an important component of Durham's economic base. They included the Venable Tobacco Company Warehouse (# 10), built by a branch of one of the nation's largest independent leaf brokerages.

Religion. With congregations established in the 1860s, 1870s and 1880s, St. Joseph's A.M.E. Church (NR), Emmanuel A.M.E. Church (# 4), and Duke Memorial United Methodist Church (# 3) are among the oldest congregations of their respective denominations in Durham. These churches played vital roles in the development of their surrounding neighborhoods and reflected the accomplishments of the community leaders who supported them. When it was built in 1930, Ephphatha Church (# 5), its congregation organized in 1906, was the first formal church in the South and one of only four churches in the United States built exclusively for a deaf congregation.

F. PRESERVATION ACTIVITIES IN DURHAM

Historic preservation is a vital aspect of Durham's cultural environment that has steadily increased in importance since the early 1970s. In the previous decade, Durham had witnessed sporadic preservation efforts, including the rehabilitation in 1960 of buildings at Bennett Place following a campaign for this Civil War memorial that lasted almost forty years; the meticulous preservation of the John Sprunt Hill House (NR) by a private foundation set up under the terms of Hill's will; and the development of Duke Homestead (NR and NHL) as a state historic site. As in many other cities across the country, federally funded urban renewal programs dealt a severe blow to historic preservation in Durham during the 1960s, which was compounded by demolitions for construction of the East-West Expressway in the early 1970s. The negative impact upon Durham's older buildings ringing the Central Business District was so great that there was a "backlash" yielding an aroused preservation consciousness throughout the city. Evidence of a strong preservation movement may be found in the activities of the Historic Preservation Society of Durham and many citizens acting individually which have accelerated since the mid-1970s.

**United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service**

**National Register of Historic Places
Inventory—Nomination Form**

For NPS use only

received

date entered

Continuation sheet Historic Resources of Durham Item number 8

Page 45

Appropriately, this movement began with a campaign to save the landmark St. Joseph's A.M.E. Church (NR). This church had been included in the urban renewal program for Hayti, virtually all of which was destroyed. After the congregation moved to a new suburban building, citizens from across Durham successfully lobbied to prevent St. Joseph's demolition and preserve the building as a performing arts center. Interest in preservation of Durham's older buildings increased with plans for celebration of the nation's Bicentennial. In 1976, the Durham Bicentennial Commission, with assistance from the Historic Preservation Society of Durham and other concerned individuals and groups, published Bull Durham and Beyond, a touring guide to Durham and its environs. At the same time, the McCown-Mangum House at West Point on the Eno (# 24) was being restored by the Junior League of Durham and Friends of West Point; the latter group had been created in 1975 by the Durham City Council to coordinate development of forty acres of the Eno River Park to "mirror the natural, historical and cultural character of this area in the 19th century" (Bull Durham, p. 71). In 1977, when the Pegram House (one of the Faculty Row Houses, NR) was threatened with demolition to provide room for a parking lot, the Historic Preservation Society of Durham purchased the house, moved it to its present site, and in 1978 sold it to a couple who undertook its restoration. Also in the late 1970s, Greystone (NR) was renovated for adaptive re-use as apartments, the interior of the Gamble House (NR) was restored after suffering extensive damage during years of abandonment, and rehabilitation of the Dillard House (NR) was begun. In 1978, the staff of the N. C. Division of Archives and History prepared a National Register nomination for the Downtown Durham Historic District, which had been solicited by the Historic Preservation Society and the City.

At the beginning of the new decade, there was a surge of interest in the revitalization of central Durham, prompted in part by the tax incentives available for certified historic rehabilitation of National Register properties. Since 1980, several private developers have earned investment tax credits for their renovations of commercial buildings in the Downtown District, including the pivotal (former) First National Bank Building. Although not eligible for the tax credits, the redevelopment of other downtown buildings, particularly the Kress Building and the Wright Building, has contributed to the revitalization effort. Recently, Durham County has requested proposals from private developers for the restoration and adaptive re-use of the Durham County Courthouse, which has stood vacant and neglected for several years. Another important project tied to preservation in the Central Business District is the proposed Durham Civic Center, for which citizens approved a bond issue in 1982. Although three blocks of 1920s and 1930s commercial buildings will have to be razed to make room for the Civic Center, plans for the complex include the restoration of the (former) Durham City Hall, Durham Auditorium (the ballroom of which already has been restored by volunteers), and the Durham Armory, all pivotal buildings in the historic district. Construction is scheduled to begin shortly after the City's development firm completes negotiations for a hotel to be included in the center.

**United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service**

**National Register of Historic Places
Inventory—Nomination Form**

For NPS use only

received

date entered

Continuation sheet Historic Resources of Durham Item number 8

Page 46

Historic preservation has been a major factor in the revitalization of some of central Durham's most important residential areas. In the Trinity Historic District (# 22), scores of houses have been restored and many have been reconverted from duplexes and apartments to owner-occupied single-family dwellings. In Morehead Hill (# 19), where many spacious houses have been restored or carefully rehabilitated as offices, residents concerned about zoning and traffic patterns that threaten the integrity of their neighborhood formed a neighborhood association that has worked with city staff and elected officials to affect local planning issues. In North Durham (North Durham - Duke Park Historic District, NR), residents' concerns about the direction of their neighborhood coalesced in 1980 with the founding of Durham Neighborhood Housing Services, which is working to preserve North Durham's integrity by promoting pride in neighborhood appearance and assisting in sensitive rehabilitation and weatherization. In 1984, the Historic Preservation Society of Durham appointed a committee to investigate methods of preserving the Cleveland Street Historic District (# 14).

Several of Durham's buildings listed individually in the National Register have been the targets of certified historic rehabilitations costing millions of dollars. SEHED Development Corp.'s Bright Leaf Square (Watts and Yuille Warehouses, NR), and Erwin Square (Erwin Cotton Mills Company's Mill No. 1 and Headquarters Building, NR), which have won preservation and architectural design awards, have been central to the renaissance of two business districts. When developer Adam Abram converted Bullington Warehouse (NR) to the Warehouse Condominiums, he passed the tax credits on to the buyers of his units. The State of North Carolina is completing its restoration of Watts Hospital (II) (NR), which it has adaptively re-used as the North Carolina School of Math and Science. After several years, negotiations by a private developer with federal agencies for assistance for their proposed renovation of the Durham Hosiery Mills No. 1 Mill (NR) as housing for the elderly may be nearing a successful conclusion. The Hayti Redevelopment Commission is searching for an investor who will rehabilitate and incorporate into a commercial project the remains of another Durham Hosiery Mills plant, their Mill No. 2 (# 2), which the City acquired through urban renewal several years ago.

Fortunately, many of Durham's buildings of architectural and historical significance have been well maintained over the years as they have continued in their original uses. They include the three college campuses and three churches included in this Multiple Resource Nomination, the Scarborough House (# 8), Smith Warehouse (# 9), Venable Tobacco Company Warehouse (# 10), The American Tobacco Company Manufacturing Plant (# 12), and the Bright Leaf Historic District (# 13). Only the Blacknall House (# 1), which must be removed for a road realignment, and the Powe House (# 7), scheduled for demolition so that a nearby nursing home may be expanded, face uncertain futures.

**United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service**

**National Register of Historic Places
Inventory—Nomination Form**

For NPS use only

received

date entered

Continuation sheet

Item number

8

Page

47

Since 1980, the City of Durham, the Historic Preservation Society of Durham, and the Durham Chamber of Commerce have spearheaded projects that may have a long-lasting effect upon preservation efforts throughout the city. The City and the Historic Preservation Society supplied the local funding match for the comprehensive architectural inventory of Durham conducted in 1980 to 1981, and in 1982 both groups published The Durham Architectural and Historic Inventory. The City also has worked closely with the N. C. Division of Archives and History to mediate any possible negative effects that publicly financed projects may have upon the city's historic buildings. In 1983, the City provided the local funding match for this Multiple Resource Nomination and the Chamber of Commerce created a committee to consult with the City's Planning and Community Development Department on the preparation of an historic district ordinance. The City Council recently adopted the ordinance and currently is accepting applications for the new Historic District Commission, which will use this Multiple Resource Nomination as a guide for its consideration of local designations.

G. SELECTION OF SITES IN THE MULTIPLE RESOURCE NOMINATION

Eleven individual properties and fourteen districts (including a small grist mill complex, a large industrial complex, and three college campuses) of historical and architectural significance were selected for inclusion in this Multiple Resource Nomination. They were chosen because individually they meet the National Register criteria and because collectively they provide a generally comprehensive picture of a city of the New South -- a southern community that experienced rapid growth due to the vitality of the tobacco and textile industries and later was stimulated by the strides of black entrepreneurs and the development of higher education.

H. EXCEPTIONS TO THE NATIONAL REGISTER CRITERIA

Emmanuel A.M.E. Church (#4), Duke Memorial United Methodist Church (#3), and Ephphatha Church (#5) are included in the Durham Multiple Resource Nomination because in addition to their significance in connection with the religious history of Durham, they are of considerable local architectural importance as notable examples of the Gothic Revival (Emmanuel A.M.E. Church) and Late Gothic Revival styles. The architectural significance and historical associations of the Stanford L. Warren Library (#11) built in 1939 have been deemed significant enough to exempt it from the "fifty years old or older" criterion. In the West Point on the Eno nomination (#24), the reconstructed West Point Mill, based upon early twentieth-century photographs of the nineteenth-century mill formerly on the site, is the only grist mill remaining on the Eno River, where there once were twenty-four.

**United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service**

**National Register of Historic Places
Inventory—Nomination Form**

For NPS use only

received

date entered

Continuation sheet

Item number

8

Page

48

I. USE OF INVENTORIES AND MULTIPLE RESOURCE NOMINATION BY LOCAL AND STATE PLANNING AUTHORITIES

The compilation of materials on the approximately 4,500 properties included in the Durham Architectural and Historic Inventory and the two smaller inventories conducted by Durham Technical Institute classes are being used by the City of Durham for promotion of the preservation of Durham historic resources and generally as part of the City's planning processes. In addition, the City expects to use this Multiple Resource Nomination as the basis for consideration of locally zoned historic districts.

At the state level, the information gathered on the inventory computer forms will become part of the data base of the Cultural Resources Evaluation Program (CREP). CREP will allow a full range of data management capabilities including the sorting, selecting, reporting, analyzing and graphical mapping of these resources so that they can more easily be considered in state-wide planning processes of various types.

United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

National Register of Historic Places
Inventory—Nomination Form

8

For NPS use only
received
date entered

Continuation sheet

Item number

Page

NOTES

(The historical background is a condensation of "A Brief History of Durham, North Carolina" written by Diane E. Lea and edited by Claudia Roberts Brown, in The Durham Architectural and Historic Inventory, 1982. Much of the historical background is taken verbatim from that essay.

¹Hugh Talmage Lefler and Albert Ray newsome, The History of a Southern State: North Carolina (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, Third Revised Edition, 1973), p. 366.

²R.O. Everett, "Dr. Bartlett Durham Bought Heart of City for \$182.00," The Durham Sun, 1939. Xerox in North Carolina Collection, UNC-Chapel Hill.

³Ibid., p. 3.

⁴Hiram V. Paul, History of the Town of Durham, North Carolina (Raleigh: Edwards and Broughton, 1884), p. 25.

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⁶W.K. Boyd, The Story of Durham (Durham: Duke University Press, 1925), pp. 25-26.

⁷Post Office Department Records, Orange Co., N.C., in North Carolina Archives, Raleigh.

⁸Paul, pp. 23-25.

⁹Boyd, p. 30.

¹⁰Paul, pp. 23-25.

¹¹Boyd, pp. 29-30.

¹²Nannie May Tilley, The Bright Tobacco Industry: 1860-1948 (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1948), pp. 15-25.

¹³Ibid., p. 548.

¹⁴Boyd, The Story of Durham, p. 29.

¹⁵Ibid., p. 55.

United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

National Register of Historic Places
Inventory—Nomination Form

For NPS use only
received
date entered

Continuation sheet

Item number 8

Page 50

¹⁶Ibid., p. 162.

¹⁷Ibid., p. 186; and Joel A. Kostyu, Durham: A Pictorial History (Norfolk: Donning Press, 1978), p. 140.

¹⁸Boyd, p. 188.

¹⁹Directory of the Business and Citizens of Durham City for 1887, compiled by Levi Branson (Raleigh, N.C.: Levi Branson, Publisher).

²⁰Benjamin G. Childs, Centennial History of Trinity Methodist Church (Durham: Seeman Printery, 1961), pp. 4, 6 and 9; and John Baxton Flowers, III, and H. McKelden Smith, National Register of Historic Places Nomination for the Downtown Durham Historic District, North Carolina Division of Archives and History, Raleigh, N.C., 1976, p. 1.

²¹John G. Barrett, The Civil War in North Carolina (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, Third Printing, 1977), pp. 301, 311, 341.

²²Paul, p. 20.

²³Robert F. Durden, The Dukes of Durham: 1865-1929 (Durham: Duke University Press, 1975), p. 12-14.

²⁴Boyd, pp. 54, 162.

²⁵Ibid., pp. 97-98.

²⁶A.R. England, ed., City of Durham, North Carolina (Durham: Office of the City Manager, 1952-1953), pp. 14-17.

²⁷Boyd, pp. 193-194 and 195-197.

²⁸Ibid., pp. 78-79.

²⁹Paul, p. 105.

³⁰Boyd, pp. 61-72.

³¹Tilley, pp. 206-207.

³²Boyd, p. 69.

United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

National Register of Historic Places
Inventory—Nomination Form

For NPS use only

received

date entered

Continuation sheet

Item number 8

Page 51

³³Ibid., pp. 77-79, 82, 84 and 86.

³⁴Paul, p. 73.

³⁵See photograph reproduced from Kostyu in Claudia P. Roberts, Diane E. Lea and Robert M. Leary, The Durham Architectural and Historic Inventory (The City of Durham and The Historic Preservation Society of Durham, 1982), p. 315; and Sanborn Map Company, "Durham, North Carolina," 1884 and 1888 series, in the North Carolina Collection, UNC-Chapel Hill.

³⁶Boyd, p. 71; and Tilley, pp. 500-502.

³⁷Tilley, pp. 549-550.

³⁸Paul, p. 62.

³⁹Boyd, pp. 69-71.

⁴⁰Paul, pp. 64-65.

⁴¹Boyd, pp. 116-117.

⁴²Tilley, p. 533; and Durden, p. 19.

⁴³Kostyu, p. 9.

⁴⁴Paul, pp. 51-52.

⁴⁵Wyatt T. Dixon, "How Times Do Change: Fire Engine Needed," The Durham Sun, 28 November 1975, sec. B, p. 5.

⁴⁶Boyd, pp. 104-112.

⁴⁷George Lougee, "History of County Marked by Rising Expenses," The Durham Morning Herald, 25 August 1967, sec. C, p. 1.

⁴⁸Boyd, pp. 175-177.

⁴⁹Paul, pp. 28-31.

⁵⁰Lou Bonds, "Town, County Districts Paced Educational Movements," The Durham Morning Herald, Centennial Issue, 26 April 1981, sec. H, p. 4.

United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

National Register of Historic Places
Inventory—Nomination Form

For NPS use only

received

date entered

Continuation sheet

Item number 8

Page 52

⁵¹Kostyu, pp. 90-91.

⁵²Ibid.

⁵³Boyd, pp. 163-164; and Jerry Cashion, Guide to North Carolina Highway Markers (Raleigh: North Carolina Division of Archives and History, 1979).

⁵⁴Paul, pp. 38-41.

⁵⁵Boyd, p. 165.

⁵⁶Paul, p. 43.

⁵⁷Boyd, pp. 241-250 and 252-254.

⁵⁸Tilley, pp. 508 and 556-557.

⁵⁹Boyd, pp. 87, 203.

⁶⁰Tilley, pp. 571-572.

⁶¹Boyd, pp. 201-202.

⁶²Durden, pp. 21-22, 24, 26, 32, 25 and 40-41.

⁶³Catherine Bishir, Architects and Builders of North Carolina, manuscript in preparation for publication, Raleigh, N.C., 1982.

⁶⁴Mena Webb, "The House Bull Durham Built," Tar Heel Magazine, October, 1979, pp. 27-28, and 61.

⁶⁵Boyd, pp. 121 and 261.

⁶⁶Durden, pp. 85-86 and 132-133.

⁶⁷Ibid., p. 133.

⁶⁸Boyd, p. 124.

⁶⁹Sanborn Map Company, 1888 and 1893 series.

⁷⁰Merchants Association, The City of Durham: Illustrated (Durham: Seeman Printery, 1910), pp. 9, 13, 16, 19, and 42-43.

United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

National Register of Historic Places
Inventory—Nomination Form

For NPS use only
received
date entered

Continuation sheet

Item number 8

Page 53

⁷¹Durden, p. 148.

⁷²Hand-Book of Durham, North Carolina, 1895, p. 71.

⁷³Boyd, pp. 150-152.

⁷⁴Ibid., pp. 154-157.

⁷⁵Ibid., pp. 262-265.

⁷⁶Ibid., p. 166.

⁷⁷Durden, p. 166.

⁷⁸Ibid., pp. 93-95.

⁷⁹Patrick G. Porter, "Origins of the American Tobacco Company," Business History Review, Spring 1969, p. 65.

⁸⁰Durden, pp. 56-58.

⁸¹Tilley, p. 594.

⁸²Ibid.

⁸³"Sold American!"--The First Fifty Years (privately printed by The American Tobacco Company, Inc. 1954), pp. 22-24.

⁸⁴Ibid., p. 35.

⁸⁵Elizabeth Lloyd Meihack Mansell, "The American Tobacco Company Brick Storage Warehouses in Durham, North Carolina 1897-1906" (M.A. Thesis, The University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 1980), pp. 49 and 58-59.

⁸⁶Ibid., pp. 28-29.

⁸⁷Durden, pp. 56-58.

⁸⁸Hand-Book of Durham, p. 11.

⁸⁹Boyd, pp. 151-154.

⁹⁰Charles Barbour, "Lakewood Park...Remember?," The Durham Morning Herald, 16 September, 1962.

United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

National Register of Historic Places
Inventory—Nomination Form

For NPS use only

received

date entered

Continuation sheet

Item number 8

Page 54

- ⁹¹Kostyu, pp. 81 and 87.
- ⁹²"Map of the Town of Durham, North Carolina" (Durham: Durham Consolidated Land and Improvement Company, 1890), in North Carolina Room of the Durham County Library.
- ⁹³Durham County Register of Deeds, Plat Book 8, p. 103.
- ⁹⁴Claude Vickers, interview by Claudia Roberts Brown, Durham, North Carolina, May 1981.
- ⁹⁵Kathryn D. McPherson, "Durham's Gilded Age Began with Tobacco," The Durham Morning Herald, 28 May 1971, sec. D, p. 1.
- ⁹⁶Boyd, pp. 210-211.
- ⁹⁷Walter B. Weare, Black Business in the New South (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1973), pp. 53, 223.
- ⁹⁸Pat Dickinson, ed., An Inventory of The Cleveland Avenue-Holloway Street Neighborhood (Durham: Durham Technical Institute, 1981), pp. 10 and 13.
- ⁹⁹Pauli Murray, Proud Shoes: The Story of an American Family (New York: Harper and Row, Second Edition, 1978).
- ¹⁰⁰Mary Alice Hinson and John B. Flowers, III, National Register of Historic Places nomination for St. Joseph's A.M.E. Church, North Carolina Division of Archives and History, 1978.
- ¹⁰¹John Baxton Flowers, III, and Maguerite Schumann, Bull Durham and Beyond (Durham: Durham Bicentennial Commission, 1976), p. 62.
- ¹⁰²Weare, pp. 29-31.
- ¹⁰³Ibid., p. 79.
- ¹⁰⁴Ibid., pp. 76-77.
- ¹⁰⁵Flowers and Smith, Downtown Durham Historic District, pp. 6-11.
- ¹⁰⁶Wyatt T. Dixon, and members of the Church History Committee, Ninety Years of Duke Memorial Church, ed. Esther Evans (Durham: Duke Memorial United Methodist Church, 1977), p. 35.
- ¹⁰⁷Boyd, pp. 269-270.

United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

National Register of Historic Places
Inventory—Nomination Form

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date entered

Continuation sheet

Item number 8

Page 55

- 108 Ibid., pp. 268-271.
- 109 Ibid., p. 294.
- 110 "North Carolina College at Durham Celebrates Fifty Years of Progress," The Whetstone, (Second Quarter, 1960, published by North Carolina Mutual Life Insurance Company).
- 111 Eliza Atkins Gleason, The Southern Negro and the Public Library (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1941), p. 19.
- 112 Flowers and Smith, Downtown Durham Historic District, pp. 4-6.
- 113 Ibid., p. 6.
- 114 Durden, pp. 220-223 and 229-230.
- 115 Ibid., pp. 238-239.
- 116 Ibid., pp. 240-241.
- 117 Maguerite Schumann, Stones, Bricks and Faces (Durham: Duke University Office of Publications, 1976), pp.4-5.
- 118 Flowers and Schumann, p. 66.
- 119 Ibid., p. 58.
- 120 Ibid., p. 36.
- 121 "North Carolina College at Durham Celebrates Fifty Years of Progress," The Whetstone.
- 122 George Pyne, architect, interview with Claudia Roberts Brown, Durham, North Carolina, May 1981.
- 123 Sanborn Map Co., 1937 series.
- 124 Hill Directory Company, Durham City Directory, directories published from 1920 to 1939.
- 125 Ibid.

**United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service**

**National Register of Historic Places
Inventory—Nomination Form**

For NPS use only

received

date entered

Continuation sheet

Item number 8

Page 56

¹²⁶George C. Hackney, architect, interview by Claudia Roberts Brown, Durham, North Carolina, May 1981.

¹²⁷Sanborn Map Co., 1937 series; and Hill Directory Company, directories published in the 1920s.

¹²⁸George Watts Carr, Jr., letter to Claudia Roberts Brown, August 1981; and "Early 20th Century Neighborhoods in North Carolina--Abstracts," from a conference sponsored by the North Carolina Division of Archives and History, the North Carolina Chapter of the American Planning Association and the Greensboro Preservation Society Community Exchange, held in Greensboro, N.C., June 9 and 10, 1983, p. 3.

¹²⁹Vickers interview; and Mrs. Norman Ross, interview by Claudia Roberts Brown, Durham, North Carolina, May 1981.

¹³⁰A.C. Jordan, Jr. and John B. Flowers, III, interviews by Claudia Roberts Brown, Durham, North Carolina, May 1981.

¹³¹Flowers and Smith, Downtown Durham Historic District, item 8, p. 5.

9. Major Bibliographical References

See Continuation Sheet

10. Geographical Data

Acreeage of nominated property (see individual property forms)

Quadrangle names Northwest Durham, N.C.; Northeast Durham, N.C. Quadrangle scale 1:24000
Southwest Durham, N.C.; Southeast Durham, N.C.

UMT References

A

Zone	Easting	Northing

B

Zone	Easting	Northing

C

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D

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E

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F

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G

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H

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Verbal boundary description and justification The multiple Resource Area is located within the incorporation limits of Durham, Durham County, North Carolina, as outlined in red on the accompanying map labelled "Durham Multiple Resource Area." Refer to individual property and district forms for the verbal boundary descriptions of the individual properties and districts included within this nomination.

List all states and counties for properties overlapping state or county boundaries

state N/A code county N/A code

state code county code

11. Form Prepared By

name/title Claudia Roberts Brown

organization Consultant for the City of Durham date June 1984

street & number 301 E. Poplar Avenue telephone 919/968-1181

city or town Carrboro state North Carolina

12. State Historic Preservation Officer Certification

The evaluated significance of this property within the state is:

national state local

As the designated State Historic Preservation Officer for the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966 (Public Law 89-665), I hereby nominate this property for inclusion in the National Register and certify that it has been evaluated according to the criteria and procedures set forth by the National Park Service.

State Historic Preservation Officer signature William D. Pigg

title State Historic Preservation Officer date February 27, 1985

For NPS use only
I hereby certify that this property is included in the National Register
Keeper of the National Register
Chief of Registration