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NATIONAL REGISTER

United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

National Register of Historic Places Multiple Property Documentation Form

This form is used for documenting multiple property groups relating to one or several historic contexts. See instructions in *How to Complete the Multiple Property Documentation Form* (National Register Bulletin 16B). Complete each item by entering the requested information. For additional space, use continuation sheets (Form 10-900-a). Use a typewriter, word processor, or computer to complete all items.

x New Submission ___ Amended Submission

A. Name of Multiple Property Listing

Historic and Architectural Resources of Elizabeth City, North Carolina, 1793-1943

B. Associated Historic Contexts

(Name each associated historic context, identifying theme, geographical area, and chronological period for each.)

Early History: 1793 to 1820
Antebellum Boom: 1820 to 1860
Elizabeth City: 1861 to 1880
Railroad Boom: 1881 to 1899
Twentieth Century Progress: 1900 to 1943

C. Form Prepared by

name/title Tom Butchko, Preservation Consultant

organization _____ date September 30, 1992

street & number Post Office Box 206 telephone (919) 335-7916

city or town Elizabeth City state NC zip code 27907-0206

D. Certification

As the designated authority under the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966, as amended, I hereby certify that this documentation form meets the National Register documentation standards and sets forth requirements for the listing of related properties consistent with the National Register criteria. This submission meets the procedural and professional requirements set forth in 36 CFR Part 60 and the Secretary of the Interior's Standards and Guidelines for Archeology and Historic Preservation. (☐ See continuation sheet for additional comments.)

William S. Price, Jr. SHPO — Signature and title of certifying official

12-15-93 — Date

State or Federal agency and bureau

I hereby certify that this multiple property documentation form has been approved by the National Register as a basis for evaluating related properties for listing in the National Register.

Signature of the Keeper

2/25/94 — Date of Action

Table of Contents for Written Narrative

Provide the following information on continuation sheets. Cite the letter and the title before each section of the narrative. Assign page numbers according to the instructions for continuation sheets in *How to Complete the Multiple Property Documentation Form* (National Register Bulletin 16B). Fill in page numbers for each section in the space below.

Primary location of additional data:

- [X] State Historic Preservation Office
- [ ] Other State agency
- [ ] Federal agency
- [ ] Local government
- [ ] University
- [ ] Other

Name of repository:

Survey and Planning Branch
Division of Archives and History

INTRODUCTION: HISTORY PRIOR TO 1793

Situated at the narrows of the Pasquotank River, Elizabeth City has been the leading town in the Albemarle area since the 1820s. Even though the Albemarle claims the earliest settlement in North Carolina--dating from the mid seventeenth century--Elizabeth City is not a particularly old town, having been incorporated in 1793. Its history as a town dates from the early republic years when North Carolina was growing in its statehood.

While local tradition states that a port was in operation at the present site of Elizabeth City as early as 1722, the first record of activity dates from 1757, when Daniel Trueblood was granted authority to build a grist mill along present-day Charles Creek. In 1764 a law was passed which designated "the Narrows of the Pasquotank River" as an inspection station for products from throughout the colony, including "Hemp, Flax, Flax Seed, Pork, Beef, Rice, Flour, Indigo, Butter, Tar, Pitch, Turpentine, Staves, Heading, Lumber, and Shingles." Thus the narrows was recognized early as an advantageous trading location (Sharpe 1954, 239; Pasquotank Year Book 1955, 54; Griffin 1970, 20, 24).

The establishment of a ferry at the narrows in the 1770s was an important boost to the site. The ferry quickly overshadowed earlier ferries across the Pasquotank River at sites both up and down river from the narrows. Collet's Map (1770) reveals that the road from Norfolk to Nixonton (then the only town in Pasquotank County) passed by the narrows, a path now generally followed by Road Street. A road also ran south from the narrows to Newbegun, a trading community now known as Weeksville. The addition of the road from Lamb's Ferry, which crossed the Pasquotank River north of the narrows, formed another arm of the developing crossroads. During the 1770s and 1780s additional roads connected the narrows to other places in the county, particularly to Jones' and Pritchard's mills. The former was located west of town; indeed, as late as the 1880s, the western end of Main Street was known as the "Road to Jones' Mill." Another early road was the Pool Town Road, extending southwesterly to the crossroads of that name in the county; it is now known as Roanoke Avenue (Griffin 1970, 18, 23; Pasquotank Yearbook Vol.2, 292; Deed Book 66, p. 18).

A small community had begun to develop at the narrows by the mid-1780s. A road building act in 1784 mentioned "the school house on the Pritchard's Mill road leading to the Narrows." The Knobbscrook Church, the forerunner of Elizabeth City First Baptist Church, was organized in 1786 along Knobbs Creek, a large navigable creek that enters the Pasquotank River just north of the narrows; the site of the church was supposedly in the vicinity of the present U. S. 17 bridge. In 1792 Joseph Edney was given permission to operate an ordinary at the narrows "at the house Richard Smith formerly lived in" (Griffin 1970, 25; Outlaw 1961, 16).

This community at the narrows, consisting of a ferry, a mill, an inspection station (if it were still active), a nearby school and church, and an unknown (though certainly modest) number of dwellings and stores, was just a local transportation and trading crossroads until 1793. In that year the site was chosen for a town at the southern terminus of the Dismal Swamp Canal, the largest internal improvement project yet undertaken in North Carolina. The canal was designed to unite the fertile but isolated areas surrounding the

Albemarle Sound with the bustling port of Norfolk, Virginia. The marriage of canal and town would prove strong for more than a century (Butchko 1989: 133-134).

Such a canal had been proposed as early as 1728 by William Byrd II of Virginia. A primary reason for Byrd's--and later George Washington's--interest in such a canal was to provide better access to vast stands of marketable timber (primarily cedar and juniper) that heretofore had been largely inaccessible due to the forbidding nature of the Great Dismal Swamp. The Virginia Assembly passed an "Act for cutting a navigable canal through the swamp" in 1787, stipulating that the act was not to take effect until the passing of a similar act by the North Carolina General Assembly; North Carolina did not reciprocate until November 1790. Even then, it was three years before construction would begin (Brown 1967, 24, 26, 31-32).

EARLY HISTORY: 1793 TO 1820

Formation of the town

The route chosen for the Dismal Swamp Canal connected Deep Creek, a tributary of the southern branch of the Elizabeth River in Virginia, with Joyce's Creek, a tributary of the Pasquotank River that lies in Camden County, North Carolina (see Map 1) (Brown 1966, 32). The actual terminus of the canal, therefore, was approximately ten miles north of the narrows. But the narrows was a logical choice for the development of a town because it marked the spot where the Pasquotank River changed from a relatively narrow and twisting channel to a broad and fairly straight body of water that then flowed southward to the Albemarle Sound. In 1793, the same year that construction began on the canal using hired slave labor, the North Carolina General Assembly incorporated the town of Redding, stating that a town at the narrows would be "conducive to the welfare of [Pasquotank] County and of public utility." Commissioners were appointed and ordered to lay out a town consisting of regular lots with principal streets not less than fifty-six feet in width. The commissioners purchased, as required, five acres of the Narrows Plantation from Adam and Elizabeth Tooley. This was accomplished on June 10, 1794 and the first drawing and sale of town lots occurred the following November 3-6 (Deed Book M, p. 355; Griffin 1970, 25-26, 34).

Presumed to honor the prominent early Redding family, the town's name did not endure long. In 1794 the General Assembly renamed the town Elizabethtown, but it was discovered that there were two other towns of this name within state. To end the confusion, in 1801 the small town at the narrows of the Pasquotank River was given the name of Elizabeth City. Although there is no documentation, Elizabeth City (and its predecessor, Elizabethtown) is thought to have been named in honor of Elizabeth (Taylor) Relfe Tooley. She had inherited the Narrows Plantation from her father, William Taylor (Griffin 1970, 26-29).

Growth and development were slow but steady in the fledgling town (see Map 2). In 1799 Elizabeth City became the governmental seat for Pasquotank County and a courthouse, prison, pillory, and stocks were built. The courthouse was not completely finished until June 1806, and, while no description survives of that building, it is known to have stood at the site of the present structure. The designation of Elizabeth City as the county seat had an immediate effect on the town's activity and business. It brought large numbers of Pasquotank's population to town for the quarterly sessions of the court in order to transact all the official and semi-official business of the county (Griffin 1970, 49-50). The little town was beginning to assume its eventual position as the center of activity for northeastern North Carolina.

Early development of transportation

By 1796 the Dismal Swamp Canal had been dug for five miles at each end, with these sections being put into immediate use by lighters and other shallow-draft vessels. To complement the canal, a stage road was constructed along the eastern river banks north and south of the canal, but not along the canal itself, at least not at first. The stage road was later extended the entire length of the canal system, a route now followed largely by U. S. Route 17. The annual report of the Dismal Swamp Canal Company of November 1804 stated that the stage road was passable even though one-and-one-half miles of canal remained to be dug. With the 1805 opening of the canal, Elizabeth City began to develop into the transportation, mercantile, and cultural center of the Albemarle area (Griffin 1970, 69).

The Dismal Swamp Canal met with marginal success during its early years of operation, largely because of its narrow size and shallow draft. Because of these deficiencies, the canal was ineffective in alleviating the British coastal blockade during the War of 1812. A subsequent Federal investigation emphasized the canal's potential by reporting that during the few weeks it was open in 1815, more than 6.5 million shingles and over one million staves had been sent through. Yet, no attempt was made to improve the canal until 1819 when a lottery "for the Improvement of Internal Navigation between the States of Virginia and North Carolina" was held in Norfolk; subsequent lotteries were held in 1820 and 1829 (Brown 1967, 45).

Nonetheless, a steamboat line existed between Elizabeth City and New Bern as early as 1817 and in April 1818 a stage coach line began operation between Norfolk, Elizabeth City, and Edenton. This activity was applauded by Norfolk newspapers:

> We view the rising spirit of enterprise in our sister state with unfeigned pleasure, and we make no doubt that the citizens of North Carolina, now that they are awakening to a sense of their true interests, will pursue the work of public improvement . . . auspiciously commenced, with becoming zeal and industry. The establishment of steam boats in Albemarle and Pamlico Sounds,

is among the most important benefits they can derive from their plans of public utility (Norfolk and Portsmouth Beacon, March 11, 1818).

Early commercial development

The earliest evidence of business activity in town is found in the North Carolina State Gazette (Edenton) on April 30, 1795, when John Micheau, John Henry, and Company announced that they were selling their Pasquotank narrows store, "with a general assortment of wet and dry goods," to Charles Grice. Grice was the leading merchant in Elizabeth City's early years and remained in business at least until 1828. After 1799, the quarterly sessions of the county court created a business boom upon which the local merchants, vendors, and tavern owners were quick to seize. New stores and hotels were erected downtown on Main and Road streets, along with dwellings for the proprietors and shopkeepers. By 1819, Elizabeth City's improving economy could support a local commission merchant, a silversmith, and its first large hotel, the City Hotel (Griffin 1970, 45-46, 49-50).

Early religious and educational development

The religious life in Elizabeth City during its first years was loosely organized. On March 16, 1804, the Methodist bishop Francis Asbury preached at the courthouse and recorded that "Many heard, but few felt." It is believed, nonetheless, that a Methodist Society was organized to some degree at this time (Saunders 1982, 4-5). The congregation of Knobbscrook Baptist Church became Elizabeth City's first formally organized church when it relocated to their present West Main Street site in 1805-1806; the name was changed to Elizabeth City Baptist Church in 1815 (Outlaw 1961, 17).

The only other known religious activity in the Elizabeth City vicinity during this period concerned the Society of Friends, or Quakers. While the Quakers were the earliest and most prominent religious denomination in Pasquotank County, their strength lay in the southern part of the county and not near Elizabeth City. In 1795 a meeting, later known as the Narrows Meeting, was established near the mill of Abel Trueblood on Charles Creek. Additional land was acquired in 1832 for a cemetery at what is now the southeast corner of Peartree Road and Tatem Lane, which is situated across from Hollywood Cemetery about six-tenths of a mile south of the courthouse. The Narrows Meeting ceased in 1839, and in 1844 the church property, except for the enclosed graveyard, was sold to the school committee for District 5 (Butchko 1989, 5-6, 15; Deed Book N, p. 450; Deed Book AA, p.84; Deed Book EE, p. 456).

The private academy movement that gained momentum in North Carolina early in the nineteenth century resulted in the chartering of the Elizabeth City Academy in 1807. Ten men, each one a prominent

area resident, were named by the General Assembly as trustees for the school. However, there is no further record of this school and it may never have held classes (Griffin 1970, 110).

Physical development and expansion

While growth and development were slow but steady during the town's early years, activity quickened somewhat after the canal was opened in 1805. Only three buildings remain from the structures erected before 1820 within the original town limits: the original ca. 1798 Federal style, two-story, single-pile portion of the Grice-Fearing House (200 South Road Street); a small transitional Georgian-Federal style kitchen or office (ca. 1800, behind 404 East Church Street); and the ca. 1819 core (remodeled 1858) of the Cluff-Pool Store (100 South Road Street). After the Baptist church erected a meeting house just west of the town limits in 1805-1806, the city's boundaries were extended in 1807 to include the Baptist property. At the same time, the northern and southern boundaries were extended to Poindexter and Tiber creeks, respectively, just beyond the original lines; the two creeks were in the vicinity of present Elizabeth and Grice streets, respectively. Another expansion occurred to the south in 1816, when the boundary was extended to Rum Quarter Road, now Ehringhaus Street (Griffin 1970, 54-55).

ANTEBELLUM BOOM: 1820 TO 1860

Improvement of transportation

The four decades preceding the Civil War were a period of considerable growth and change in Elizabeth City. Most of this growth came as improvements to the Dismal Swamp Canal finally made the endeavor a financial and commercial success.

In 1826 the Federal government purchased 600 shares of stock in the Dismal Swamp Canal, acquiring an additional 200 shares in 1829. This infusion of Federal funds enabled the canal company to enlarge the locks and deepen the channel so that larger, more profitable schooners and sloops could be admitted (Brown 1967, 48, 53). A third lottery in Norfolk on February 4, 1829 raised additional funds (Brown 1967, 45). Two years earlier, in 1827, the growing importance of Elizabeth City had been recognized with the relocation of the customs house of the port of Camden to the city (Griffin 1970, 74). As this customs district exercised jurisdiction over shipping arriving to and departing from the eastern Albemarle Sound, its location

necessitated captains and merchants to come to Elizabeth City in order to obtain clearance papers. These events furthered Elizabeth City's position as the area's commercial and administrative center and foretold a bright future for the growing city.

The improvements of the canal during the late 1820s resulted in such an increase in traffic that tolls collected more than doubled during the first three years after the canal was reopened, from $13,040 in 1829 to $33,290 in 1832 (Brown 1967, 64). The Dismal Swamp Canal was so successful in attracting commerce to Elizabeth City that in 1830 the editor of the Edenton Gazette complained that, while the canal "may be of incalculable benefit . . . to Virginia, . . . to North Carolina [it was] a blood-sucker at her very vitals." (Edenton Gazette, February 27, 1830). In the early 1840s improvements were made which greatly increased the efficiency of the canal. These included new locks at the canal's northern end (at Deep Creek, now part of Chesapeake, Virginia) and a new channel at the southern end south of South Mills. The new channel, which cut in half the time required for a trip from Elizabeth City to Norfolk, greatly improved the profitability of merchants and shippers in both cities, thus encouraging even greater commercial investments (Brown 1965, 71-74).

In 1829 the Virginia and North Carolina Transportation Company, which had been formed as a logical offshoot of the Dismal Swamp Canal Company, acquired several canal boats for use on the region's waterways. The ambitions of the company, and the seemingly unlimited prospects of the canal itself, were reflected by naming these barges and schooners after the rivers in North Carolina and Virginia that emptied into the Albemarle Sound, the very regions which the company intended to serve: the Meherrin, the Elizabeth, the Staunton, the Roanoke, the Dan, the Chowan, the Pasquotank, and the Halifax. During the antebellum period steamboats played an increasingly important role in transportation through the canal. The steamboat Petersburg, purchased in March 1829, met the company's barges in the Pasquotank River and towed them to various ports on the sound and rivers. The successful transport in May 1829 of a barge of cotton from Weldon--a journey that took it down the Roanoke River, across the Albemarle Sound, up the Pasquotank River to Elizabeth City, and through the canal to Norfolk--illustrated the canal's immense potential in bringing eastern North Carolina produce to Norfolk. The fact that all this traffic passed through Elizabeth City and the Dismal Swamp Canal meant considerable activity and business for the town's merchants, brokers, and laborers (Brown, 1967: 53-55).

In addition to the canal, other modes of transportation added to Elizabeth City's growth and importance. Overland travel during the antebellum period, while far from good and often difficult, nonetheless underwent gradual improvements, making the markets and services of Elizabeth City increasingly accessible to farmers in Pasquotank and Camden counties. Both the Lamb's and Narrows ferries continued to provide access across the Pasquotank River to Camden County. Various lines of stage coaches provided passenger service to Norfolk, Hertford, and Edenton, connecting with vessels in either Elizabeth City or Edenton for continuation to North Carolina towns south and west of the Albemarle Sound (Butchko, 1989: 13).

Elizabeth City's role as the transfer point for regional commerce, however, was lessened in the 1830s with the completion of the Portsmouth and Weldon Railroad between those two cities in Virginia and North Carolina, respectively (Butchko, 1991: 15). Not only was produce from the upper Roanoke River (known

as the Dan River in Virginia) diverted to the railroad at Weldon, but much of the produce of the western Albemarle Sound (the lower Roanoke, the Meherrin, and Chowan rivers) was subsequently shipped up the Chowan River for transferral to the railroad station at what is now Franklin, Virginia. Thus the products of both these regions no longer came through Elizabeth City and the Dismal Swamp Canal. The lure of the railroad as an advanced means of transportation led to the incorporation of the Norfolk and Edenton Rail Road in 1836. This road was to run through Elizabeth City, and would most likely have ushered in an era of unbridled economic development. However, for reasons not understood, it was too ambitious a scheme for the troubled 1830s economy (Laws 1836-37, 232-247; Butchko 1992, 21).

An even greater challenge to Elizabeth City's position as the region's transportation hub was the construction between 1855 and 1859 of the Albemarle-Chesapeake Canal twenty-five miles northeast of the city. The new canal, wholly within Virginia, connected a tributary of Currituck Sound to the same branch of the Elizabeth River to which the Dismal Swamp Canal was connected. This canal was only six miles long and its single lock was twice as long as the largest lock on the Dismal Swamp Canal. The Albemarle-Chesapeake Canal, which opened in January 1859, was able to attract not only traffic that had been too large for the older route, but also vessels interested in a shorter route from the eastern end of Albemarle Sound to Norfolk. Commerce from the Pamlico Sound, New Bern, and Washington bypassed Elizabeth City for the newer and shorter canal (Brown 1967, 75-77). The editor of the Democratic Pioneer, a newspaper published in Elizabeth City from 1850 through 1859, warned that, with this new rival, "The large trade that now centers in Elizabeth City from the hundreds of vessels that yearly pass through the Dismal Swamp Canal, will be, in large measure, carried to other places" (Democratic Pioneer, October 18, 1859).

However, traffic through the Dismal Swamp Canal was still reported as being heavy in October 1860, and before the new canal could become established as a serious competitor, the nation was plunged into war (Griffin 1970, 85). Nonetheless, the economic competitiveness of the older canal, and Elizabeth City's vitality, was threatened; indeed, in a 1878 report to Congress it was stated that the financial difficulties of the Dismal Swamp Canal after the Civil War began with the completion of the rival canal (Brown 1967, 77).

Industrial development

The antebellum years from 1830 to 1861 were ones of unprecedented growth and prosperity for industry in Elizabeth City. Leading the way were those industries directly related to shipping and transportation. Unfortunately, no antebellum buildings associated with these industries remain.

Although shipyards had existed in Elizabeth City since the first decade of the nineteenth century, the industry expanded rapidly after improvement in the canal undertaken during the second quarter of the century. One of the local newspapers reported in 1831 that the riverfront was "a scene of bustle and activity such as we never witnessed before" (Griffin 1970, 74; Elizabeth City Star, June 3, 1831). The 1840 Census recorded twelve men employed in the navigation of canals, lakes, and rivers; manufacturers (including shipbuilding) and trade employed 128 workers (Sixth Census 1841, 218). In 1849 it was reported that two

vessels "of large size and intended for the West Indian trade" had been launched at the local shipyards (Griffin 1970: 78). The next year the census listed three shipbuilding and repairing businesses--those of Burgess and Lamb, Timothy Hinton, and Richard M. Ammon--that gave employment to forty-nine men (1850 Census). The prosperity of the waterfront shipyards was indicated by the boast in 1856 that 119 vessels were in commerce from the city's shipyards (Griffin 1970, 79). Other ship builders of the antebellum years included John Boushall, James Grice, R. G. Newman, and Charles M. Laverty (Griffin 1970, 74, 78-79). In addition to providing passenger service throughout the Albemarle and Pamlico Sounds, packets and schooners from Elizabeth City also provided passage during the summer to the fledgling but popular ocean retreat at Nags Head from the 1840s through the 1930s (Bishir 1983, 6-27).

A wide variety of other industries opened in Elizabeth City during the antebellum period. The 1840 census listed a brick and lime manufacturing plant that employed twelve men. Murray and Clark, Millwrights, Pattern, and Machine Makers, operated on Elizabeth City's waterfront and won the premium for the best and most improved corn sheller at the 1849 Baltimore Fair. While Murray moved to Baltimore in 1851, William H. Clark remained in business locally, changing the firm's name to the North Carolina Agriculture Store and Machine Manufactory. His waterfront workshops are clearly identified in views published in Harper's Weekly Magazine on March 15, 1862. In 1850 William R. Palmer marketed Palmer's Improved Rotating Flail Threshing Machine. The 1850 census lists such industries as the tannery of banker John C. Ehringhaus (which was one of the largest in the state), the carriage and coach factories of Robert Watkins and John Day, and the harness and saddle shop of Robert Newbold. William Glover operated a fishing concern, employing sixteen men and shipping 1,000 barrels of herring and shad. A new steam grist mill was added to the town's industry in 1854 by Griffin and Gaskins (Griffin 1970, 79-81; 1850 Census).

The Schedule of Industry for the 1860 Census reported further industrial expansion, including the output of each establishment. Among the manufactures were horse plows, wheat thrashers, corn shellers, rockaways, buggies, sulkies, shoes, boots, harnesses, saddles, and bridles. Most of the farm-related products found ready buyers among the region's farmers. Four makers of "furniture of all kinds"--Thomas Parr, John H. Ziegler, Caleb Sikes, and Rufus Madrin--employed eleven men. The materials they used reflect the refinement of taste and lifestyle that was enjoyed by their clients: $3,900 worth of mahogany and $1,500 worth of rosewood, in addition to locally obtained woods such as walnut, poplar and maple. While the county's three sawmills produced 570,000 feet of plank, it is not known where these mills were located. Shipbuilder Charles M. Laverty had a lumber yard on the waterfront in the 1850s, but whether he also operated a sawmill is unknown (1860 Census; Griffin 1970, 80).

Commercial development

Growth in Elizabeth City after the 1829 reopening of the enlarged Dismal Swamp Canal was so fast-paced that on October 31, 1831, the Elizabeth City Star, one of the town's earliest newspapers, trumpeted

that Elizabeth City was the "Eastern Emporium of North Carolina, . . . where [customers] can be suited from cambric needle to a sheet anchor." Unfortunately, no business directory from antebellum Elizabeth City survives and current research of commercial establishments of the period is limited to the years between 1825 and 1834. During that period, at least nineteen general mercantile stores advertised in the Elizabeth City Star. Other businesses included milliners, a hat factory, a boot and shoe store, several tailors, two grocery stores, a bakery, and a clock and watch repair store. To offer protection to the town's merchants and businessmen, the Elizabeth City Insurance Company, was organized as early as 1829. Surviving antebellum newspapers indicate that the town's commercial activity increased steadily throughout the period, and was located primarily along Main Street. On October 4, 1851, the Old North State reported the construction of two new stores, the remodeling of a third, and the erection of several large warehouses along or near the waterfront (Griffin, 1989: 72-73, 80). While none of these buildings mentioned in 1851 remains, several other antebellum commercial buildings are still standing. The brick Cobb House and Store (ca. 1840s, 111 South Road Street) is an unusual combination of general store with connecting residence for the proprietor. In 1858 druggists W. G. and William Pool remodeled the old general mercantile store of Matthew Cluff (ca. 1819, 100 South Road Street), giving the building a fashionable Italianate appearance.

As industry and the number and variety of general and specialty mercantile houses expanded during the period, there were increased calls for a local banking facility. In 1836 a branch of the Bank of North Carolina was opened, and business was so brisk that it was soon reported that the lone employee, cashier John C. Ehringhaus, was working both late at night and on Sunday. As businesses continued to prosper (dependent, of course, on the national and state economy), there was need for additional financial services. The private Farmer's Bank was chartered in 1852. By October 1854, it was erecting new quarters, and the dramatic Gothic Revival building at 108 East Main Street remains as one of the state's oldest bank buildings (Griffin 1970, 75-76, 81-83).

Religious and educational development

The antebellum period witnessed the formal organization of Episcopal and Methodist congregations, the erection of stylish buildings by the three major denominations, and the organization of the earliest black congregation. Christ Episcopal Church was organized in 1825 and erected two buildings, the first in 1825-26 and a larger edifice in 1856-57; the latter, at 200 South McMorrine Street, is the oldest church structure in Elizabeth City. The Methodists built their first church building in 1828 and replaced it in 1856 with one that survives today as the Perry Apartments at 305 East Church Street. The Elizabeth City Baptist Church enjoyed considerable growth and erected a new structure in 1847; it was replaced in 1889 by an edifice that is still used by the congregation (Butchko 1989, 139-140).

During most of the antebellum period, slaves and free blacks attended the same churches as whites. However, the growing number of non-whites resulted in the establishment of a "Colored Mission" by the Methodists in 1850. Membership that first year was 273 persons, and by 1861 the church had grown to 363

members, making it not only the largest church in town, but one of the largest black congregations in the state. In 1856 land was purchased on African Street (later known as African Church Street and now as Culpepper Street) for the erection of a building for the Methodist Colored Mission. This congregation continues in a 1905 building on an adjacent site as Mount Lebanon African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church (Mt. Lebanon History 1950, 6-7; Griffin 1970, 65, 108-109).

The Elizabeth City Academy, which was chartered in 1807, was apparently less than successful for in 1820 the legislature named new trustees and authorized a lottery for $4,000 to raise funds to erect a building. The academy reopened in January 1821, and four years later the trustees acquired the northern half of the block bounded by Fearing, Pool, Church, and Martin streets (now a municipal parking lot); a building presumably was erected here soon thereafter. In August 1850 it was announced that the Academy was moving to "the large and commodious house formerly occupied by John J. Grandy" (location uncertain, but perhaps on Water Street where the Ma;e and Female Academy reopened in 1872 in the "old school room."). That fall principal Stephen D. Pool opened a night school for the "benefit of young men and apprentices of the place, whose business pursuits prevent them from attending day school" (Griffin 1970, 110-113; Pasquotank Year Book 1955, 61).

The academy was the only known educational institution in Elizabeth City until December 1835, when two additional schools were announced. However, no records prove that either was ever in operation. Further educational opportunities were made available by several private and three church-related schools (one for each of the town's three white denominations) which operated between 1845 and 1860. After the passage of the Public School Law of 1839, a system of common schools was developed in Pasquotank County. The 1860 Census reported that there were twenty-one common schools in the county. Surely one was located in or near Elizabeth City even though there is no record of such a school (Griffin 1970, 113-116; Ryland 1928, 19, 23-29).

To broaden the educational and social climate of the town, a succession of private teachers offered instruction in various arts. While such classes probably existed during the early years of the century, they are not mentioned by surviving newspapers until 1841. During the next twenty years, lessons were given for instrumental and vocal music, dancing, landscape drawing, and monochromatic painting. French and Spanish language lessons were available during the early 1850s (Griffin 1970, 115-116).

Physical development and civic improvements

The municipal limits of Elizabeth City were expanded only once during the antebellum period. In January 1851 the southern boundary was extended to Body Road (now Roanoke Avenue) and a line running nearly due east from the intersection of Body Road and South Road Street to Charles Creek. Even though the northern and western extensions were minor, and the eastern boundary remained the same (the Pasquotank River), the 1851 changes enlarged the city by more than half (see Map 3). This expansion encouraged the erection of large impressive residences along what is now South Road, Speed, Shepard,

Southern, and Ehringhaus streets. Included in the newly annexed city was an area known as the " Race Tract," the former race course in an area now roughly bounded by Southern Avenue and Shepard, Brown, and South Road streets. Horse racing in Elizabeth City reached its zenith in the 1823, after which nothing was mentioned of the old race track in the city's newspapers until 1854, three years after it had become a residential area (Griffin 1970, 61-65, 119).

An unusual feature of downtown Elizabeth City was the existence of two business districts. One, located near the intersection of Main and Road streets, contained the major mercantile establishments, the largest hotel, and the banks. The other district was located along the river and Water Street and housed the shipping and transportation services along with much of the industry. The Market House, where vendors could rent stalls, was situated at the corner of Main and Water streets. Between the two districts were residences and the county courthouse (Griffin 1970, 86). Property along Poindexter, Tiber, and Charles creeks also provided important sites for manufacturing (Griffin 1970, 78-81).

Larger public buildings that reflected the city's growing influence and prosperity were constructed in Elizabeth City during the antebellum years. In 1836 a new courthouse was erected on the public square bounded by Main, Elliott, Pool, and Matthews (now Colonial) streets, although there is disagreement as to whether it was built of brick, as originally intended, or of frame; whichever, the structure was burned in 1862. A new brick jail was built in 1826 on the square to replace an inadequate structure erected ca. 1810. About 1847 a county poor house and asylum were built outside the city limits (adjacent to present Elizabeth City State University) (Griffin 1970, 50-53; Butchko 1989, 141, 333 n.45).

Civic improvements undertaken during the antebellum period included the chartering of fire companies in 1824, 1829, 1844, and 1850. To lessen the frequency of fires within the city, in 1832 the town forbade the existence of wooden chimneys; these highly combustible elements were a vestige of medieval building practices that were imported by the early colonists (Elizabeth City Star and North Carolina Eastern Intelligencer, February 18, 1832). During the 1850s, the sidewalks on Road Street were paved, an inquiry was made into the acquisition of gas lighting for the town, and at least one water tank was constructed (Griffin 1970, 64-65).

Health concerns were often addressed in the newspapers, and sometime before 1829 a marine hospital was established to protect the citizens from contagious diseases brought by seamen; the hospital, located at the corner of Main and Poindexter streets, burned in 1858 (Griffin 1970, 83, 127, 140). Nonetheless, serious epidemics of yellow fever, cholera, and smallpox occurred throughout the period; in fact, the smallpox epidemic in 1835 was so severe that the town commissioners required that all residents be vaccinated (Griffin 1970, 126-128). Medical services were improved in 1854 when Dr. Piemont announced the establishment of an infirmary to treat "all sick persons," stating that he "is fully prepared to perform all surgical operations" (The Old North State, February 4, 1854).

Blacks in Elizabeth City

Although the life of blacks--both slave and free--in Elizabeth City has yet to be fully researched and understood, their role in the city was important. The percentage of blacks within the city probably was similar to that of the county as a whole. The first census of 1790 (three years before the city was chartered) reported that 31.0 percent, or 1,702, of the county's 5,497 inhabitants were non-white, both slave and free. As the farm economy became increasingly dependent on slave labor prior to the Civil War, this percentage increased gradually to 50.2 percent in 1860, or 4,490 blacks out of a total population of 8,940 (Cheney 1981, 1235). The 1860 census also recorded that 624 slaves resided in Elizabeth City, occupying 56 slave houses. This was approximately one-fourth of the slaves in rural Pasquotank County. It is interesting to note that the slave-to-house average in the city was eleven, as compared with only five in the county (Butchko, 1989: 14).

While the numbers and percentages of slaves in the county and city are in line with neighboring counties, the numbers and percentages of free blacks are not. For reasons not understood, Pasquotank County had a disproportionate number of free blacks from 1810 until 1860. In 1810, the 550 free blacks in the county comprised nineteen percent of the total black population and seven percent of the total population of the county; both percentages were more than three times the state average. The number and percentage of free blacks in the county increased dramatically throughout the antebellum period. The 1,507 free blacks in 1860 constituted thirty-four percent of the black population and seventeen percent of the total population in Pasquotank County. Statewide, free blacks made up eight percent of the black population and three percent of the total population, percentages four to five times less than those in Pasquotank County. In comparison, the counties near Pasquotank--Camden, Perquimans, and Chowan--had numbers and percentages of free blacks closer to the state averages throughout this period. Why Pasquotank had such a high percentage of free blacks has yet to be determined (Statistical Abstracts, 1874: 52-53; Butchko 1989, 14, 329 n.45).

A closer analysis of the 1860 census reveals additional, but still limited, insight into the role of the free black in Elizabeth City. The 217 free blacks recorded as residents of the town comprised just fourteen percent of the county's total of free blacks. Among the eighty-eight men, the most common occupation was farm hand (nine), followed by house carpenter (eight), mariner (seven), servant (six), and blacksmith (four); over one-third of the men were too young to work. A majority of the employed women were washerwomen (thirty-four), followed by servants (twelve), and domestics, cooks, and seamstresses (three each). The fact is that the vast majority of the county's free blacks remained on the farm, where the men were employed almost exclusively as farm hands and the few women who were employed were washerwomen. This certainly suggests that free blacks did not, for whatever reasons, enjoy the benefits of the town's commercial and industrial prosperity (1860 Census).

ELIZABETH CITY: 1861 TO 1880

Elizabeth City during the Civil War

The prosperity of the antebellum period came to a halt with the economic, social, and political upheaval of the Civil War. While the Union blockade of the North Carolina and Virginia coasts did much to hinder oceanic shipping, during the early stages of the war transportation between the sounds and Virginia suffered little because of the effectiveness of both the Dismal Swamp and Albemarle-Chesapeake canals. Great quantities of supplies for the Confederacy passed through these waterways in both directions, and Elizabeth City prospered for a short time (Brown 1967, 78).

This advantage, however, did not last. Two days after the fall of Roanoke Island on February 8, 1862, a Union fleet sailed to Elizabeth City and quickly overwhelmed an outnumbered Confederate "mosquito fleet" in a brief battle a few miles down river from Elizabeth City. This skirmish left Elizabeth City unprotected, and the panicked residents then set fire to several of the principal buildings, including the courthouse and the largest hotel (Brown 1967, 79; Moore 1861-63, vol. 4, p. 125). Since Union control of Elizabeth City effectively choked access to the Dismal Swamp Canal, no attempt was made to seize the canal for two months. In mid-April, a force of about three thousand Union soldiers marched from near Elizabeth City to the locks and bridge near South Mills and took control of the canal after the brief Battle of South Mills. With the surrender of Norfolk on May 10,1862, the canal was rendered useless to the Confederate cause (Brown 1967, 80, 82-83). For the duration of the war, the town and canal remained in Union control even though a majority of citizens continued to support the Confederate cause.

Transportation development

The Dismal Swamp Canal, although physically undamaged in the war, was allowed to fall into disuse during and after the Civil War. In 1866 the president of the Dismal Swamp Company petitioned Congress seeking relief for repairs. The canal company's earliest and strongest supporter, the State of Virginia, was itself in dire financial straits, and sold its shares of stock in the canal in 1867 at a loss of $142,200. No relief came to the canal until 1871, when the Federal government floated outside bonds in a successful, if stop-gap, means to do minor repairs (Brown 1967, 87).

As Elizabeth City's antebellum prosperity had been directly related to activity on the Dismal Swamp Canal, the difficulties of the canal resulted in a general economic depression in the city. Perhaps nothing illustrates the post-war downturn more than the meager amount of traffic on the canal. While tolls from 1857 to 1860 totaled over a half-million dollars, the tolls in 1870 amounted to just $7,000. Even after the minor repairs financed by Federal bonds made the canal passable to timber lighters (a small, shallow draft vessel),

the tolls in 1871, which was considered a "good year," amounted to only $12,700. Canal traffic continued to decrease, from 2,479 passages in 1871 to 1,302 in 1876, less than four per day (Brown 1967, 87-93).

Despite the severe financial trouble of the canal company, the postwar period saw the canal's first significant amount of passenger traffic when the George Washington began service in 1866, increasing to daily service in 1867. The Dismal Swamp Steam Transportation Company was incorporated in 1866-1867 and in 1868 built the Elizabeth City, a "fleet little packet" expressly for the Elizabeth City-Norfolk route. By 1880, passenger traffic was sufficient to support three steamship lines: the Dismal Swamp Transportation Company, the Enterprise Steamboat Company, and the North Carolina Steam Transportation Company (Brown 1967, 95-97). The increasing traffic on the canal was indicative of rising economic activity in the city.

However, the canal's mounting costs of operation exceeded its meager income, and the canal company sank deeper into debt. By 1877 commercial trade had been almost entirely diverted to the Albemarle-Chesapeake Canal, and the nearly bankrupt company advertised the canal for sale. That sale was postponed until 1878, when it was held to redeem the Federal bonds issued in 1871. While a reorganization in 1880 provided minor improvements in the canal's physical condition, it was only a temporary respite and the canal company essentially led a hand-to-mouth existence until the turn of the century when outside capital was secured and the canal was completely rebuilt (Brown 1967, 93-95).

With the decline of the Dismal Swamp Canal as a dependable transportation route, the citizens of Elizabeth City found themselves in need of another transportation system to sustain its slowly improving economy. Hope lay in the railroad, which was then expanding throughout the state. Despite the chartering of the Elizabeth City and Norfolk Railroad in 1870, actual construction did not begin for ten years (Prince 1972, 6). Chief among the local supporters was Richard Benbury Creecy (1814-1908), the editor and publisher of The Economist, one of Elizabeth City's major newspapers from 1870 to 1903. Creecy continually editorialized for the railroad, declaring on December 10, 1878, that "We hear suggestions of railroad again. This time it takes to our ear a more practical shape. It is practicable, it can be done." One month later he lamented that "Something must be done, or we are done. Is there no man among us with energy and influence enough to start this thing and put it through?" (The Economist, January 7, 1879). Finally a group of northern investors came forth to finance the railroad, with construction starting late in 1880 from Norfolk (Butchko 1989, 334 n. 72). With the prospects of a railroad providing dependable transportation to Norfolk, Elizabeth City's chief trading partner for more than fifty years, the future of Elizabeth City seemed bright indeed.

Newcomers

The late 1860s and early 1870s saw the arrival of ambitious northerners who assumed leading roles in the post-war development of Elizabeth City. Among the first was Dr. Palemon John (ca. 1827-1902), who established The North Carolinian in 1869. Through his newspaper, Dr. John espoused the economic,

industrial, and social advantages of settling in eastern North Carolina, and helped to attract a number of northern businessmen to Elizabeth City and the Albemarle area.

Two of these new residents stand out. Charles Hall Robinson (1848-1930) came in 1868 from New York to look after his father's vast timber interests in northern Pasquotank and Perquimans counties. This venture became the Land and Lumber Company of North Carolina, one of the area's large pioneer lumbering businesses; it ended in total failure in 1873. In 1877 Robinson formed the C. H. Robinson Company, a mercantile firm, the first of his many successful ventures in retail and wholesale merchandising, textile manufacturing, banking, electrification, and ferry operations; he also had extensive farming interests in Pasquotank and Perquimans counties. Daniel Stiegerwalt Kramer (1834-1899) came to Elizabeth City in January 1870 from Pennsylvania, where he had been involved in a successful lumber business with his father and brothers. In August 1871 Kramer began operation of a lumber mill at the foot of what is now Burgess Street. While saw mills had been operating in the Elizabeth City area for at least twenty years, Kramer was the first to successfully engage in lumber manufacturing on a large scale.

Other northern citizens attracted to Elizabeth City included: Dr. William Underwood, a hotel proprietor and a major supporter of the railroad, who arrived in 1867; merchants J. D. Fulmer and Peter W. Melick, both in 1870; and Samuel S. Fowler, a dry goods merchant and later owner of a net and seine factory, who arrived in 1871. All four men were from Pennsylvania (Historical and Descriptive Review 1885, 222-223, 226-229, 230-233; Kramer 1967, 7-8; Butchko 1989, 334 n. 61, 334 n. 64, 334 n. 65).

Because the prospects of business success in Elizabeth City were brighter than in much of the Albemarle region, ambitious men from nearby counties flocked to Elizabeth City. Some of these men were: H. C. Godfrey, who left Perquimans County to establish a junk shop in Elizabeth City and later became a hardware dealer and proprietor of the Elizabeth City Cedar Works, a manufacturer of cedar pails; merchant and tailor Samuel Weisel, a native of Bohemia, who came to Elizabeth City in 1867 from Plymouth, where he had been since 1852; furniture and agricultural implement dealer John L. Sawyer, who came from Perquimans County in 1867; grocery proprietor Jerome B. Flora, a native of Currituck County who came to Elizabeth City in 1879; and, in 1880, attorney E. F. Lamb, who came from Camden County and became one of the town's foremost early realtors (Historical and Descriptive Review, 1885: 223, 225-227, 229-231). These men joined others in not only rebuilding the local economy into the most robust one in the region, but in making Elizabeth City the educational, social, and cultural center of northeastern North Carolina.

Industrial development

The industrial capacity of Elizabeth City in the years following the Civil War was limited. The Branson's North Carolina Business Directories provide a periodic list of industrial concerns in operation between 1867 and 1898. In 1867 the only industry in town was the steam grist and saw mill of White and [W. W.] Griffin, located along the riverfront. By 1869, the saw mill of the Land and Lumber Company was in operation, there were several additional grist mills is the county, and George W. Bell was operating a gun

shop at 104 South Road Street. The accuracy or completeness of these lists is open to question (Branson 1867-68, 89; 1869, 126-127).

The industrial expansion of the town quickened during the 1870s, in large part because of the introduction of northern capital and experience. Lumber industries led the way. By 1873 the saw mill of D. S. Kramer was building and selling windows, doors, blinds, moldings, flooring, siding, and "scroll work," and in early 1877 it was making 1,500 fish boxes a month (Kramer 1967, 12, 13). With the failure of the Land and Lumber Company in 1873, their plant along the river was taken over by the planing mill of Conroe, Bush, and Lippencott, another endeavor financed by northern capitalists. Lumber activity quickened and as the close of the decade the town could boast of four saw mills --Kramer, J. R. Dillon and Company, W. W. Griffin, and D. P. Miller--with a total output of 14,800,000 feet of lumber, 180,000 feet of lathing, and 50,000 shingles; the Kramer mill manufactured over half of the lumber (1880 Census, Schedule of Manufactures). To meet the growing demand for North Carolina lumber, in 1880 Kramer expanded again, constructing a large saw and planing mill along Poindexter Creek, a stream that was channelled and covered in the 1920s for the construction of East Elizabeth Street. Kramer's old site at the end of Burgess Street was acquired the next year by the Elizabeth City and Norfolk Railroad for their railroad shops (Kramer 1967, 19).

With lumber manufacturing leading the way, industrial endeavors increased during the late 1870s. The 1872 and 1877-1878 editions of the Branson directories record a variety of industries in or near Elizabeth City. Several antebellum industries continued in operation: William H. Clark's agricultural implement factory until the mid 1870s; W. W. White's flour, corn, and saw mill until the turn of the century (both located along the riverfront); and George W. Bell's gun shop (104 South Broad Street) until the first decade of the twentieth century. In 1877-1878 there were also three manufacturers of carriages and wagons, two shipbuilders (James F. Snell and J. Lawrence and Son), a saddle and harness shop, a brick making establishment, a blacksmith shop, and two cabinet makers, both of whom were also undertakers (Branson 1872, 181-182; 1878, 237-239; 1884, 158; 1890, 510; 1896, 480).

Commercial development

The depressed economic conditions in Elizabeth City during the post war years are indicated by the listing in the 1867-1868 Branson's North Carolina Business Directory of only five merchants and two hotels in operation; the accuracy or completeness of this list, while not verified otherwise, is questionable. Two years later, in 1869, Branson listed twenty-three general mercantile establishments, ten grocery stores, and three liveries. The town's political prominence is indicated by the fact that among its eleven lawyers were a United States Senator (John Pool), a United States Representative (C. D. Cobb), a United States District Judge (George W. Brooks), and a State Superior Court Judge (C. C. Pool) (Branson 1867, 88; 1869: 126-127).

A decade of gradually improving economic conditions, minor improvements on the canal, and a steady influx of regional and northern merchants and capital is reflected in the Branson directory for 1877-1878. The commercial sector of Elizabeth City in 1878 consisted of nineteen general stores, thirteen groceries, three liveries, three drug stores, and three variety/dry goods stores. Numerous other concerns catered to the needs and desires of the residents not only of the town, but of adjacent rural areas: gunsmith, confectioner, furniture dealer, hardware dealers, jewelers, photographer, tinsmith, printers, butchers. commission merchants, and tailor. Almost all of the businesses were located either on Main Street or along the waterfront. Two weekly newspapers, The North Carolinian of Dr. John and The Economist of Mr. Creecy, provided news and advertising to readers in several counties. The professional establishment consisted of sixteen lawyers, twelve physicians, and, for the first time, a dentist (Branson, 1878: 237-239). The post-war economic recovery was well underway and heading for prosperous years in the 1880s.

Religious and educational development

The greatest religious growth during the 1860s and 1870s occurred in the black community. In November 1865 Olive Branch Baptist Church (510 Brooks Avenue) was organized as the first black Baptist congregation in Elizabeth City. It joined Mt. Lebanon A. M. E. Zion Church (320 Culpepper Street), the successor of the antebellum Methodist Colored Mission, as the town's two black congregations (Outlaw 1961, 172-174; Branson 1872, 181; 1877-78, 237). The white Baptist, Methodist, and Episcopal churches continued in service to their members, remaining in their antebellum structures.

The difficulties facing the redevelopment of the city's white educational system following the Civil War were considerable. In 1867-1868 only the Elizabeth City Female Academy, operated by Miss S. E. Martin, was listed in the Branson directory. Sectarian schools connected with the Baptist, Methodist, and Episcopal churches were open for an unknown period of time in the early 1870s. The schools in 1877-1878 consisted of Miss Martin's academy, a male academy operated by Isaac Tillett (building still standing at 410 West Church Street), and three coeducational schools. In 1878 Samuel Lloyd Sheep (1856-1928) came to Elizabeth City from Pennsylvania and re-opened the private Elizabeth City Academy, advertising that "The latest and most improved normal methods of instruction will be introduced." The academy quickly regained its stature and remained the leading school for white children for almost thirty years (Butchko, 1989: 163, 259; Deed Book 4, p. 82; Pasquotank Year Book 1955, 61, 83; Branson, 1867-68: 88; 1872: 182; 1878: 239).

While the years between 1865 and 1880 saw a considerable expansion of free public schools in the county, research has yet to determine the location of the free schools for whites in or near Elizabeth City. Indeed, all informal histories and personal recollections of schools for whites in Elizabeth City during the late nineteenth century deal exclusively with the private Elizabeth City Academy. Nonetheless, in 1869-1870 there were eighteen public schools for whites in Pasquotank County, and its seems likely that at least one was within the town. In support of this belief is the item in The North Carolinian on September 2, 1869 that

the Elizabeth City school population was 297 white children, an implication of the existence of a public school for whites (Butchko 1989, 36; Ballou 1966, 2).

Because of research undertaken to document the years leading to the 1891 formation of the State Colored Normal School, the educational history of blacks between 1865 and 1880 is well known. Unlike whites, who had to rebuild their schools after the Civil War, local blacks were faced with creating an educational system. By 1869-1870 there were ten free public schools for blacks in the county. One of these, "the 'red School House' near the Corporate limits of Elizabeth City," was loaned by the Pasquotank Board of Commissioners in March 1869 "to the Colored people for School purposes." This building, "near the residence of Mr. A. B. Perse" (perhaps now the vicinity of Persse [sic] Street), was probably where Thomas W. Cardozo opened a school the following July; it was attended by 124 children. Where Cardozo was from is not known, but his work in Elizabeth City was sponsored by the New York Freedman's Union Commission (Butchko 1989, 36; Ballou 1966, 1).

Under Cardozo's leadership, educational opportunities for blacks in Elizabeth City made rapid advances. Even though The North Carolinian reported on October 13, 1869, that property had been purchased on Hines Street for a black public school, no such deed was recorded in the Pasquotank County Register of Deeds Office. Three months later, on January 11, 1870, the trustees for the colored normal school--Cardozo, Jesse R. Brown, Selim Sutton, and Jacob Spellman--acquired property at what is now 708 Herrington Road "for permanent school purposes for Freedmen and children irrespective of color." A building was erected here in time for classes to begin the following October 27, and The North Carolinian reported on December 22, 1870, that the primary school had twenty-nine students registered and the three "Higher Departments," each in a separate part of the new school, had a total enrollment of 128 pupils. After placing education for blacks in Elizabeth City on a firm footing, Cardozo left in January 1871 for Vicksburg, Mississippi (Ballou 1966, 3-10)

With Cardozo's departure, leadership in the further advancement of education for blacks was gradually assumed by Hugh Cale (1835-1910), a black businessman, property owner, and local politician. Cale, a native of Perquimans County, came to Elizabeth City in 1867 and immediately became active in the educational, fraternal, social, and, especially, the political aspects of the town. He was a stalwart and active member of the Republican Party, and, after several failures at seeking public office, he was elected Treasurer of Elizabeth City in 1874. Two years later was elected to represent the county in the North Carolina House of Representatives. He represented the county in the sessions of 1876-1877, 1879, 1880, 1885, and 1891. During his career--both in an out of state office--he actively furthered the improvement of education for all (Ballou 1966, 11-16).

Property was acquired in March 1873 for another school for blacks. The half-acre lot was bounded by Dawson Lane and the "Poor House Road" (now Southern Avenue). Although the tract (exact location unknown) was outside of the town limits at the time, and nothing else is known of the school, it represents further improvement in the public school system for black children in the Elizabeth City area (Ballou 1966, 29-30).

Physical development

Residential construction in Elizabeth City between 1865 and 1881 was limited primarily to lots within the old antebellum boundary lines. Development was particularly intense in the old Race Tract area in the Shepard-Road Street area where both Olive Branch Baptist Church and Cardozo's school were situated. This area, which was gradually becoming the heart of the city's black community, had the advantage of being located along the two major roads leading south of the city--now South Road Street and Southern Avenue. Other residential construction, while limited in number, was primarily infill among older neighborhoods and along the main roads and streets leading into the town: West Main Street, North Road Streets, and Rum Quarter Road, now Ehringhaus Street.

Commercial development occurred almost exclusively in the two business districts at Main and Road streets and at Main and Water streets. Among the few surviving commercial structures erected between 1865 and 1880 are The North Carolinian Building (ca. 1871) at 106 East Main Street and the Wood Building (ca. 1892) at 111 South Road Street buildings, both in the old mercantile center at Main and Road streets. The two business districts remained distinct from each other until the turn of the century. The period's industrial buildings, none of which survives, continued to be clustered along the waterfront on either the Pasquotank River or Poindexter, Tiber, or Charles creeks. With the construction of two mills by the Kramers along or just north of Poindexter Creek, that area was becoming an industrial center for the city, a location that would increase in importance for the next sixty years.

RAILROAD BOOM: 1881 TO 1899

Expansion of transportation systems

The completion of the Elizabeth City and Norfolk Railroad in 1881 foretold a period of prosperity unlike any Elizabeth City had ever seen. At the festive grand opening on May 26, Richard B.Creecy, the editor of The Economist, declared that this day was "the dawn of a new era in our history, a new departure in our business prosperity, a new development in our industrial and social progress--We enter to-day upon a career of prosperity that finds no parallel in our past history" (Norfolk Virginian, May 27, 1881). The railroad was completed through Hertford to Edenton by December 15, 1881, and in January 1883, much to the ire of the people of Elizabeth City, the railroad's name was changed to the Norfolk Southern Railroad to more accurately reflect its regional interest. The railroad was placed in the hands of receivers in 1889, was re-organized in 1891, and later in 1891 renamed the Norfolk and Southern Railroad (Prince 1972, 7, 13).

The connection of Elizabeth City to the northern markets by the railroad resulted in an immediate boom which was manifested in the erection of industrial buildings along the waterfront and creeks, handsome commercial buildings downtown, and entirely new residential neighborhoods north, south, and west of the old city. With a population in 1880 of 2,315 people, Elizabeth City was the tenth largest city in the state; just five years later it was said to be "about 4000." By 1900 the town's population had mushroomed to 6,348, an almost threefold increase in twenty years (Cheney 1975, 1129; Clay 1975, 54).

Such was the attraction of the railroad that in 1885, just six years after editor Creecy implored that "Something must be done or we are done" (The Economist, January 7, 1879), Elizabeth City was described as:

> . . . probably the most energetic, enterprising and progressive town in Northeastern North Carolina . . . (and) it is destined in a short time to become an important trade and social center . . . . Elizabeth City has over a hundred stores, five hotels, one of them as large and handsome as any in the State, two saw and grist mills, two planing mills, a carriage manufactory, a net and twine factory, a cotton seed oil mill, two brick yards, one to press brick, a steam cotton gin, and an oyster packing establishment, five blacksmith shops, a ship yard, three newspapers, three job printing offices, a bank, three livery stables, a theatre, a beer-bottling and soda establishment, a handsome and commodious academy, a number of private and public schools, a normal school for the colored race, a State normal school for the white race, four churches for whites and two for colored. It has an excellent harbor, and is the center of trade of a large section of country. (Historical and Descriptive Review 1885, 219-221).

The railroad entered Elizabeth City from the northeast, through Camden County, having crossed the Pasquotank River near the site of the old Lamb's Ferry. While the railroad's main line skirted the town on the west as it continued to Hertford, a spur ran along the town's northern boundary before turning and terminating along the river at what is now North Poindexter Street. Their purchase of the former property of D. S. Kramer and Conrow, Bush, and Lippencott along the waterfront in the present-day Northside was particularly advantageous. This location provided the most convenient link between the railroad and the various steamship companies. These steamship lines also connected the city with points on the Chowan, Roanoke, and Neuse rivers. Chief among the steamship companies operating in Elizabeth City was the Old Dominion Steamship Company, which was formed in Virginia in 1867. In 1882, less than a year after the railroad's completion, the railroad company signed a five-year contract with the Old Dominion Steamship Company to make connections with the railroad in Elizabeth City and to provide passenger and freight service between Elizabeth City and New Bern and Washington, North Carolina. This arrangement ended in 1887, with the Norfolk and Southern Railroad operating its own line of steamers and the Old Dominion Steamship Company continuing its Norfolk to New Bern-Washington route through the Albemarle and Chesapeake Canal. This route change meant the loss to Elizabeth City of much of the trade of the Pamlico

Sound region. During the summer, however, most vacationers going to the prospering resort at Nags Head were still dependent on taking a steamship from Elizabeth City (Prince 1972, 189, 209).

During the 1880s minor improvements were made to the Dismal Swamp Canal that enabled small vessels to pass between Elizabeth City and Norfolk. However, real relief to the waterway's lingering financial and physical problems did not come until 1892. In that year the Lake Drummond Canal and Water Company acquired the property of the Dismal Swamp Company and began a thorough reconstruction of the canal into its present form. New locks were built--the 40-by-250 foot size was more than ten times the size of the 9-by-75 foot locks in 1797. The channel was also deepened, widened, and straightened. The official re-opening was on October 14, 1899. This reconstruction significantly increased tonnage on the canal and allowed it to recapture much of the traffic lost to the Albemarle-Chesapeake Canal. The heyday of activity on the Dismal Swamp Canal would come in the new century (Brown 1967, 93, 105-109).

Industrial expansion

The rapid expansion of Elizabeth City's industry after the arrival of the railroad was concentrated in the continued exploitation of the region's bountiful forests as the lumber industry strengthened its leadership in the town's economy. By 1891 the Kramer company, still the city's largest, consisted of the four sons of Daniel S. Kramer--Charles E. (1857-1923), John A. (1859-1916), Allen K. (1861-1923), and Joseph P. (1867-1924)--and industrialist R. O. Preyer. Between 1891 and 1896 the company purchased the sawmill of N. Underwood and Son located along Charles Creek at the corner of Shepard Street and Factory (now Southern) Avenue, an area now known as "Dog Corner" (see Map 7). Here they built a larger and more modern saw mill, with the mill on Poindexter Creek serving as a planing mill and door, sash, and blind workshop. By 1896 a thriving local and export market for finished lumber resulted in the construction of a second Kramer sawmill, this one along the Pasquotank River in what is now the 900 block of Riverside Avenue. All of these mills were demolished before 1931. A larger planing mill along Pennsylvania Street (now North Poindexter Street) was built between 1914 and 1923 near Knobbs Creek; it was demolished in the 1970s (Sanborn maps, 1885, 1891, 1896, 1914, 1923, 1931).

The prosperity of the Kramer mills attracted other lumber entrepreneurs to Elizabeth City. One of these, William Blades and Brothers, a New Bern sawmill firm whose principals were originally from Maryland, in 1888 erected a planing mill on a site at the mouth of Knobbs Creek that was served by both rail and water. The Bladeses sent all the rough lumber from their various sawmill operations in eastern North Carolina to the Elizabeth City mill for manufacture into finished building products. In 1893 brothers James B. Blades, of New Bern, and Lemuel S. Blades, Sr., of Elizabeth City, organized the Elizabeth City Lumber Company with their brothers-in-law Clay Foreman (originally from Illinois) and G. Frank Derrickson; this company then built a sawmill along Knobbs Creek. The location of both Blades family mills along rail and water was particularly advantageous since all of the output was shipped to northern markets (Vieke 1950; Sanborn maps 1891, 1896).

Several smaller lumber and shingle mills operated during the last two decades of the nineteenth century, each adding to the prosperity of the local lumber industry. The saw (and grist) mill of W. W. Griffin, which had begun in the late 1860s, continued in operation along the waterfront (near the foot of present Ehringhaus Street) until at least 1896 (see Map 7). H. C. Godfrey, who had come to Elizabeth City from Perquimans County in 1867, operated a small saw, planing, and door, sash, and blind company in the 200 block of North Poindexter Street in the mid 1880s, and by 1890 was operating the Elizabeth City Cedar Works there, making cedar pails. During the 1890s sawmills were operated by T. A. Commander and Son, the G. H. Toadvine Lumber Company, Albemarle Lumber Company, Jones and Company, and James Y. Old and Sons. B. J. Wilkins and J. D. Lathrop were the proprietors of shingle mills. Each of these was located either along the riverfront or in the Charles Creek area. (Sanborn maps 1885, 1891, 1896; Branson 1890, 509; 1896, 479).

While lumber was the mainstay of the rapid industrialization of Elizabeth City, a number of other industries began in the 1890s. These included the Elizabeth City [Cotton] Oil Mills (1895), Elizabeth City Cotton Mill (1895), Elizabeth City Net and Twine Company (1895), the buggy and wagon factory of Noah Garrett (1897), the Elizabeth City Buggy Factory (1899), and the Elizabeth City Milling Company (1900) (Incorporation Book 1, pp. 53, 100, 4). During this decade the Branson business directories list the shops of numerous blacksmiths and wheelwrights, a brewery, a bottling works, brickmakers, cabinet builders, a whiskey distillery, a saddlery, and three mattress factories. A number of cotton gins are also listed, most of which were probably in the rural sections around the city. The city had a brief but flourishing oyster canning business at the turn of the century. Beginning with Hemmeway's Oyster House in 1891 at the mouth of Poindexter Creek, as many as five houses operated along the city's riverfront at one time during Elizabeth City's brief flirt with oyster canning; all were closed by 1908 (Sanborn map 1891, 1896, 1902. 1908; Butchko 1989, 335 n. 89; Branson 1890, 517; 1896, 478-479).

Commercial expansion

The last two decades of the nineteenth century saw the establishment of numerous mercantile, commercial, and financial enterprises in Elizabeth City and the subsequent erection of modern brick buildings in the downtown area. These new, supposedly fire-proof structures, were particularly numerous along Water, Poindexter, Main, and Fearing streets and are exemplified by repetitive two-story buildings displaying modest Victorian elements in the 200 block of North Poindexter Street. By 1896, the town's merchants were providing services for most of the county and much of adjacent Camden and Perquimans counties. In fact, of the 117 merchants and tradesmen listed in the county in the 1896 Branson's North Carolina Business Directory, 98 were located in Elizabeth City, even though, according to the 1900 census, the city contained less than half of the county's total population (6,348 city, 7,312 rural). Furthermore, the various steamship companies enabled city wholesalers to supply retail general stores throughout the eastern Albemarle Sound (Branson 1896, 479-480). Two banks--the First National Bank (1891, 501 East Main Street, demolished)

and the Citizen's Bank (1899, 200 South Poindexter Street)--were organized in the 1890s to provide the financial resources required by this growth. These banks expanded the private banking services of Guirkin and Company, which operated from ca. 1872 until ca. 1897 in the antebellum Farmer's Bank Building (108 East Main Street), and the Albemarle Bank, which operated only briefly during the late 1870s (Branson 1872, 182; 177, 239; 1890, 509; 1896, 481; 1897, 481).

Religious development

Religious opportunities for both whites and blacks witnessed considerable growth and diversification in Elizabeth City during the late nineteenth century. This growth was particularly evident in the black community, where four new congregations were organized. The first was in 1889 when Corner Stone Baptist Church (507 South Martin Street) was formed out of Olive Branch Baptist Church (both black). Four years later, Christ Episcopal Church (white) established St. Phillip's Episcopal Church (512 South Martin Street) as a mission in the black community. In 1896 St. Stephen Missionary Baptist Church was organized as the first black congregation in the black neighborhoods north of the central city in the area known as "Sawyer Town." At the turn of the century, the local Presbyterians also organized a mission in the black community, Antioch Presbyterian Church (518 Shepard Street). Each of these congregations, except St. Stephen, built churches in the Martin-Shepard-Road Street area that was developing as the center of the city's black community (Butchko 1989, 163, 271, 272, 308; "St. Stephen History" 1992, 4).

New congregations were also started for the numerous whites who were attracted to the city. In 1889 a Presbyterian church, now Cann Memorial, was organized as the first congregation of its denomination in northeastern North Carolina; a flamboyant Gothic Revival style frame edifice was soon erected at the northwest corner of Road Street and Colonial Avenue (demolished 1940s). The antebellum Elizabeth City Baptist Church (300 West Main) not only built a new edifice in 1889, but began two mission churches during the late 1890s. Both chapels eventually became independent congregations, Blackwell Memorial Baptist Church (700 North Road street) in 1900 and Calvary Baptist Church (801 Riverside Avenue) in 1921, respectively. Likewise, City Road Methodist Church, South was established in 1900 at 511 North Road Street to accommodate members of the Elizabeth City Methodist Church who lived in the Northside area north of Poindexter Creek. The formation about 1900 of a Northern Methodist Church (now Pearl Street Pentecostal) further diversified the religious climate in Elizabeth City (Outlaw 1961, 176-181; Weaver 1915, 11; Butchko, 1989: 255, 293, 294).

Educational development

With the industrial and commercial resurgence of Elizabeth City during the late nineteenth century, educational opportunities were improved for both whites and blacks. Progress was much more dramatic for blacks, and, because of research into the formation of what is now Elizabeth City State University, much better known. In 1882 a public school for black children was built on Cale Street, with both the street and school being named for politician Hugh M. Cale; this structure continued in use until the 1920s and was demolished in the 1930s (Deed Book 4, p. 431).

Because much of the difficulty in developing a system of public schools for blacks lay in the a lack of qualified teachers, emphasis was placed on improving available teacher training. By the mid 1880s, black teachers were able to take advantage of summer institutes held locally; the Colored Normal Institute in 1886 had an attendance of twenty, and the session in 1887 had thirty-one teachers enrolled. The success of these institutes underscored the need for continued local normal training for black teachers (Ballou 1966, 32-33). To further this goal, support was marshalled for a state colored normal school in Elizabeth City. In 1891 Representative Hugh Cale introduced a bill in the General Assembly that, when passed on March 3, created the state's second colored normal school, the Colored Normal School at Elizabeth City, now Elizabeth City State University. The school's purpose was to be the "teaching and training [of black] teachers . . . to teach in the common schools" of North Carolina (Ballou 1966, 45-51; The North Carolinian, March 4, 1891).

The school opened on January 4, 1892, with a budget of $900 and a faculty of two in a rented frame building that stood at what is now 200 Roanoke Avenue. The school's regional focus was reflected by the first class, which consisted of thirty-six students from Pasquotank, Perquimans, Washington, Camden, Currituck, Dare, and Bertie counties. The first session lasted only five months, with closing exercises held May 18, 19, and 20 in the county courthouse. The normal school soon moved to the building on Shannon Street (now 708 Herrington Road) that had been built for the school established by Cardozo in 1870 (Ballou 1966, 51, 58; Butchko 1989, 164-165). Here it remained until 1912, not only growing into the black educational focus for all of eastern North Carolina but becoming a magnet for the burgeoning black community of Elizabeth City. To the school and the town came educators who both inspired future teachers throughout the region and became active in the civic affairs of the town. Chief among these was Peter W. Moore (1859-1934), who came as principal in 1892 and served as the school's administrator until 1928 (Ballou, 58-62; Johnson 1980, 14-16; The Daily Advance, April 16, 1934 as repeated in Butchko 1989, 272).

Two other schools were formed in Elizabeth City during the 1890s to further educational opportunities for blacks. A Normal and Industrial School was incorporated by the General Assembly in 1893 and was successful enough to have a literary auxiliary by January 1895. Where the school first met is uncertain because it was not until September 1896 that it first owned property, a five-acre tract that in 1903 was acquired by the state for future expansion of the State Colored Normal School; it is now part of the Elizabeth City State University Campus. A building, now known only from a deed map, was erected sometime thereafter. The Normal and Industrial School apparently closed after its building burned about 1901 (Ballou, 1966: 63-64; Deed Book 27, p. 20; 17, p. 390; 21, p. 614). During the school's brief existence it not only offered another educational avenue for area blacks, but established the area south of the city as a locale for

black education. The Roanoke Institute had much greater success. In 1896 the churches of the Roanoke Association (North Carolina and Virginia) chose Elizabeth City for the site of Roanoke Institute, a private high school organized to train students for the ministry. A large two-story frame Victorian building was erected on Body Road (now 200 Roanoke Avenue) near the structure first rented in 1892 by the State Colored Normal School. Even though the Roanoke Institute building was destroyed in a 1935 fire that also consumed much of its neighborhood, a new building was constructed on the same site in 1937; the school continues to train ministers today under the name Roanoke Collegiate Institute (The Daily Advance, February 23, 1935; Sanborn map 1908; Butchko 1989, 336 n. 191).

Improvement in school opportunities and facilities for white children during the 1880s and 1890s, while important, was less dramatic and diverse. This was primarily due to the fact that facilities were much better for whites than blacks to begin with, and because the private Elizabeth City Academy dominated the local educational climate. In July 1881 the academy trustees purchased a lot at what is now the corner of Road and Elizabeth streets and had a large two-story frame building erected soon thereafter (Deed Book 4, p. 82; Sanborn map 1896). At this site the academy flourished, and in 1891 it was said to be the largest private school in eastern North Carolina. Soon afterwards the name was changed to the Atlantic Collegiate Institute, which is claimed to have been a "preparatory school for all of the Albemarle" (Pasquotank Yearbook 1955, pp. 60-61, 83). During the late nineteenth century, the only known public graded school for whites was on Pool Street, now the site of the rear wing of the Elizabeth City Junior High School. A one-story frame building built before 1896 was replaced before 1902 by a large two-story structure that burned early 1910s (Sanborn maps, 1896, 1902, 1908, 1914).

Physical expansion

The physical growth of Elizabeth City during the late nineteenth century was pronounced. On June 15, 1881, just two weeks after the inauguration of scheduled train service, a "Public Sale Without Reserve" was held for 408 lots of land formerly owned by Conrow, Bush, and Lippencott (Deed Book 4, p. 38). Residential construction during the 1880s was primarily within the Conrow, Bush, and Lippencott property, with the city's most fashionable address being Pennsylvania Avenue (now North Poindexter Street), so named because of the many leading citizens in town from that state. Here a number of the city's industrialists and merchants erected large fashionable dwellings, while small shop keepers and businessmen erected less ambitious but stylishly up-to-date dwellings along Pearl, Burgess, and Cypress streets. There was also considerable infill construction in the older neighborhoods along Church, Main, and South Road streets, and in the Race Tract area along Shepard and South Martin streets (Butchko, 1989: 167).

The early 1890s began a period of neighborhood expansion that continued almost without end through the 1920s (see Map 4). In 1892 alone, there were three subdivision plats recorded in the Register of Deeds (see Map 5). The largest was the Improvement Company of Elizabeth City, which was incorporated in January 1892 by businessman Charles H. Robinson, lumberman D. S. Kramer, attorney Edwin F. Aydlett,

and merchant Jerome B. Flora, among others (Incorporation Book 1, p. 71; Deed Book 12, p. 299). The Improvement Company developed the residential area between West Main and Elizabeth streets, where handsome examples of the popular national styles were erected, particularly along West Main Street. This area now forms the core of the residential section of the Elizabeth City National Register Historic District.

The Improvement Company's success in developing the western section of the town was aided tremendously by the establishment in 1895 of the Elizabeth City Cotton Mill on its property; many of the mill incorporators were also stockholders in the Improvement Company. The wise location of the mill here resulted in the construction by individual speculators and investors of several dozen modestly scaled rental dwellings for mill workers along Parsonage, Chestnut, Beechwood and Fleetwood streets. While many of the owners of these rental houses had investments in the mill, the mill itself never built or owned dwellings for its workers.

Mack N. Sawyer (1846-1925), one of Elizabeth City's earliest realtors, was responsible for the other two 1892 plats, both located along the western side of North Road Street, one along Bell and Banks streets and the other along Bell, Greenleaf, and Grady streets. He platted adjacent subdivisions in 1895 and 1897 (Deed Book 12, p. 233; Deed Book 16, p. 487; Deed Book 18, p. 572). While stylish residences were built along North Road Street--including Sawyer's personal residence at 701 and eight others for his sons and daughters--modest two-story dwellings were erected in the neighborhood to the west along Banks, Glade, Harney, West Burgess, West Cypress, Greenleaf, York, and Factory streets. This area, previously called "Bush Town," has been known as "Sawyer Town" since the turn of the century ("St. Stephen History" 1992, 4). It was especially convenient for workers in the lumber industries along Knobbs Creek (Butchko, 1989: 168-169).

The establishment of the State Colored Normal School and its location on Shannon Street (now Herrington Road) in the former Race Tract neighborhood was a boon to the consolidation and development of a strong black community there. Among the black leaders who built or purchased in the area were principal, later president, Peter W. Moore at 606 South Martin Street and businessman Isaac Leigh at 703 Herrington Road. Other blacks who moved into the area during the early twentieth century included physicians George W. Cardwell (407 Shepard Street, demolished 1988) and Ernest L. Hoffler (304 Shepard Street) and minister Claudius C. Drew (303 Shepard Street) (Butchko, 1989, 243, 272, 306, 307).

As the commercial and industrial economy prospered, there was a complete rebuilding of the commercial and warehouse district along the riverfront (see Map 6). The ever present threat of fire--despite the existence of a modern steam fire engine as early as 1891--dictated that the frame commercial structures that remained in 1885 were almost entirely replaced by more substantial brick structures by 1902, such as the Lamb-Redmen Building at 204-208 North Poindexter Street and the Lowry-Chesson Building at 514 East Main Street. The local newspapers reported numerous buildings planned, under construction, or completed in the area of Water and Main streets. There were, however, two obstacles to development along Water Street. The Market House (date unknown, perhaps antebellum) was located in the middle of the street just north of the Matthews Street (now Colonial Avenue) intersection. Also, a pair of brick commercial buildings (built between 1885 and 1891) blocked the street at Fearing Street. These obstructions, which created a

semi-enclosed space two blocks long between Matthews and Fearing streets, were removed during the first years of the twentieth century (Sanborn maps 1885, 1891, 1896, 1902).

With the city's revitalized industrial and commercial activity located near the riverfront, the old antebellum mercantile district at Main and Road streets saw little new construction during the late nineteenth century. While the city's largest hotel operated at this intersection under a succession of names--New Windsor Hotel, Albemarle Hotel, New Albemarle House--several smaller hotels were situated in the waterfront commercial district (Sanborn maps 1885, 1891, 1896; Branson 1897, 478). The two commercial districts remained distinct from each other as late as 1891, and did not join until the turn of the century. Between 1896 and 1914, six major buildings--the Lowry-Chesson Building (1897), the Bradford Building (1898), the United States Post Office and Court House (1906), the Y.M.C.A. Building (ca.1908, demolished 1970s), the Kramer Building (1909), and the Hinton Building (1912, burned 1967)--were built on East Main Street between Poindexter Street and the Pasquotank County Courthouse. Also during this period flamboyant Queen Anne style residences were added on the southern side of the 200 and 300 blocks of East Main Street by the town's wealthiest and most prominent men, including industrialist Charles Hall Robinson and lumberman Daniel S. Kramer; the last of these houses was demolished in the early 1970s. The adjacent locations of the Pasquotank County Courthouse (1882), the City Hall and Fire House (ca. 1902), and the United States Post Office created a central governmental complex that continues today (Butchko 1989, 162).

The late nineteenth and early twentieth century was a period of rapid transformation in the physical and sanitary comforts of the residents of Elizabeth City. Much of this was due to an ambitious program of street improvements, beginning with oyster shells, a material in use for generations. Busier streets were improved with stone Belgian blocks and brick, and when Poindexter Street was paved in 1900, The Economist declared that it was "almost a marvel what a change can be wrought by a few Belgian blocks," transforming "a hideous bog, where bull frogs bellowed and gutter snipe digged, into a beautiful boulevard and fashionable promenade" (The Economist, March 9, 1900).

Much of the improvement and development in Elizabeth City was made possible by the introduction of modern utilities in the 1890s. The Electric Light Company of Elizabeth City was organized in 1892, and in 1899 the Carolina New Light Company was formed to market lighting equipment for stores, residences, public buildings, and streets. In 1895 Joseph Sanders was operating a private "water works," and five years later the Elizabeth City Water Company was formed. A telephone company was incorporated in 1896. By 1908 the city's water and electric utilities were consolidated into the Elizabeth City Light, Power and Water Company, which had a modern brick plant on Pennsylvania Street (demolished in stages between 1931 and the 1960s) (Incorporation Book 1, p. 107, 141, 176, 178; The Economist, September 22, 1895; Sanborn maps 1891, 1898, 1902, 1908, 1914, 1923).

TWENTIETH CENTURY PROGRESS: 1900 TO 1943

Transportation Changes

The tandem of railroad and revitalized canal placed Elizabeth City in an enviable position for continued growth and expansion as the community entered the twentieth century. The riverfront location of the railroad shops and depot provided the ideal situation for the steamers of various companies which carried freight and passengers to destinations throughout the North Carolina sounds. Although the town's shipyards were active building and repairing vessels throughout the late nineteenth century, business boomed after the canal was improved. In January 12, 1900, The Economist declared that "The business of our shipyards has greatly increased since the Dismal Swamp Canal was opened to navigation." Five years later the town boasted four marine railways and shipyards, one sailmaker, and even a ship brokerage firm (North Carolina Yearbook 1905, 453-454).

As before, marine railways and boat builders were located along the river. In 1914 the yards of T. B. Hayman and E. S. Willey both had river locations south of the mouth of Charles Creek; Willey had earlier been located at what is now 222-226 North Water Street. The Elizabeth City Iron Works and Supply Company, a much larger operation whose marine division was better known as the Elizabeth City Shipyard, took over and greatly expanded both the Hayman and Willey locations about 1920. Hayman and Willey then moved to smaller sites nearby, where they remained until the 1930s. The Elizabeth City Shipyard continues in operation at 722 Riverside Avenue (Sanborn maps 1902, 1908, 1914, 1923, 1931; Butchko, 1989: 286).

The commercial success of the revitalized Dismal Swamp Canal was dramatic, and the first decade of the twentieth century was the apogee of the canal's long history. In April 1905 the Virginian-Pilot (Norfolk) reported that:

> The Dismal Swamp Canal is doing an unusually heavy business, having handled hundreds of schooners, barges and tugs during the past week. It is not an unusual event in these busy days for one tug to come through with a tow of as many as 17 schooners; of course, small ones, but all loaded to the gunwales with farm products of the trucking section around the Carolina Sounds. The barges are carrying lumber for Philadelphia and New York, while the truck is discharged here and shipped to the northern markets (Brown 1967, 111).

During the first decade of the twentieth century the canal recaptured much of the traffic it had lost to the Albemarle-Chesapeake Canal. Whereas in 1889 the Dismal Swamp Canal carried 78,211 tons of freight, one-quarter of that on the Albemarle-Chesapeake, in 1908 it carried 340,135 tons, three-and-a-half times that of its rival. All of this traffic--barges, schooners, and tugs--came through Elizabeth City,

providing the local merchants, businessmen, and workers with a level of activity and prosperity never before seen (Brown, 1967: 111).

This advantage, however, was short-lived. In 1911 the Federal government purchased outright the Albemarle-Chesapeake Canal, making it part of the federally maintained system now known as the Intracoastal Waterway. Passage on the Albemarle-Chesapeake Canal was then toll-free, relegating the private toll-charging Dismal Swamp Canal to carrying insignificant local commerce. The latter's only advantage was that in Elizabeth City, the boater, whether commercial or pleasure, could avail himself of a variety of services, while not even the smallest town existed within miles of the southern end of the Albemarle-Chesapeake Canal. The Federal government finally acquired the holding company of the Dismal Swamp Canal in 1925, although actual possession of the canal was delayed until 1929; it then also became toll-free. Subsequent improvements to the canal were undertaken by the Federal government, including new lock chambers in 1940 and 1941. The canal, though increasingly popular with pleasure boaters, never recovered more than a local commercial importance (Brown, 1967: 113-114, 125).

In 1904 a second railroad came to Elizabeth City, a spur of the Suffolk and Carolina Railroad which ran from the railroad's main line just south of Sunbury (Gates County) southeasterly through Perquimans and Pasquotank counties. It entered Elizabeth City on the west and continued down what is now Grice Street to a termination near Water Street and the riverfront. The Suffolk and Carolina line provided additional market outlets for the town's merchants and manufacturers and gave the advantage of railroad sidings to industries on the south side of downtown. It was absorbed into the reorganized Norfolk and Southern Railway in 1906, and in 1910 the name was changed again, to the Norfolk Southern Railroad Company (Prince, 1972: 13-14). By 1908 the old Suffolk line had two tracks leading to a large wharf house on Water Street, now the site of Mariner's Park. A railroad pier extended 180 feet into the Pasquotank River to provide dockage for steamers meeting the trains; this pier was removed after 1931 (Sanborn maps 1908, 1914, 1923, 1931; Prince, 1972: 13-14).

During this same period, a rival appeared in Elizabeth City's long domination of the region's maritime transportation. Early in the century, the Norfolk and Southern Railroad began a waterborne railroad connection between the railroad's wharves in Edenton and the Washington and Plymouth Railroad (which the railroad acquired in 1904) at Mackey's Ferry. This allowed direct railroad connections from Norfolk through Edenton to Washington and New Bern, eliminating much of the company's north-and-south water traffic out of Elizabeth City (Prince, 1972: 194). This siphoning of trade from the Elizabeth City wharves was even more pronounced after the completion in 1910 of the Norfolk Southern train trestle across the Albemarle Sound that permitted direct railroad connections from Norfolk to the Pamlico and Neuse regions. Other steamship lines, however, continued to call in Elizabeth City, particularly those servicing the Outer Banks. Travel by steamer from Elizabeth City continued as a major means of reaching the beach resorts there until the 1930s.

An even greater threat to Elizabeth City's century of transportation leadership was the growing popularity and reliance on the automobile. At first the automobile and improved roads brought the city's merchants within easier and more reliable access to greater numbers of consumers. Modern but narrow and quickly outdated brick roads were constructed in 1919 and 1920 leading south to Weeksville (formerly known

as Newbegun) and north to Newland (Butchko 1989. 34, 78, 109). In 1925 a major state-funded road, now U. S. 158, was constructed through the Great Dismal Swamp from the northern part of Pasquotank County to Gates County, providing the first direct road between the neighboring counties. An Elizabeth City newspaper urged residents of Gates County to visit the city often, because "after all, county barriers do not mean anything now" (The Independent, September 11, 1925; Butchko, 1991: 43). While such roads brought new customers to Elizabeth City, they further weakened the region's reliance on railroad transportation, a system which had been paramount in the city's economy for over a half-century.

The completion in 1930 of the Wright Memorial Bridge across Currituck Sound to the Outer Banks was an ominous event to Elizabeth City's already declining maritime transportation system. While it enabled the large-scale development of oceanside resorts in Dare County, it ended the dependence of the Outer Banks residents on the maritime freight and passenger traffic that was largely based in Elizabeth City. The Dare County resident and vacationer no longer took the railroad to Elizabeth City, transferring there to a steamer for the journey to Nags Head or Manteo, but motored to the Outer Banks entirely in a private automobile (Stick, 1958: 245-247). Elizabeth City's role as transportation center had lessened again.

The twentieth century witnessed a major improvement in access across the Pasquotank Narrows between Elizabeth City and Camden County. In 1903 the Camden Ferry Company was incorporated "to operate Toll Ferries, Toll Bridges, and Toll Roads" across the narrows of the Pasquotank River between Elizabeth City and Camden County; the major stockholder was Charles H. Robinson (Incorporation Book 1, p. 289). Two years later the company built a narrow one-lane bridge at the narrows, uniting the two counties for the first time by land. In the early 1920s, the North Carolina State Highway Commission bought the bridge and its rights-of-way from Robinson (he had acquired complete ownership in 1916), and built a new road across the low swampy land now known as the Camden Causeway. This was the much ballyhooed "floating road," a concrete surface laid on a layer of sand and dirt upon a base of floating logs. The problem was that the logs, with the added weight of sand, dirt, and concrete, did not actually float, and attempts to build up the low spots only added more weight to the bridge. While the state, with federal aid, built the present steel and concrete Elizabeth City Bridge in 1931, it was not until 1943-1944 that the modern Camden Causeway was completed (Pasquotank Year Book 1975, 94-99; Butchko 1989, 234-235). The Camden Causeway, although part of Camden County, was annexed by the City of Elizabeth City in 1986.

The rise of the automobile, along with the commercial abandonment of the Dismal Swamp Canal, led to changes in the character of Elizabeth City's transportation services as the twentieth century progressed. In 1942 the city had seven automobile dealers, four truck lines, and a new (1939) bus station at 201 South Poindexter Street. In contrast, there were only two shipyards and marine railways and two boat lines--the Elizabeth City Carolina Line at the foot of East Colonial Avenue and the Wanchese Line at the foot of East Burgess Street (Miller 1942, 282, 284). The Norfolk and Southern Railway continued service to its ca. 1910 passenger station at 109 South Hughes Boulevard and, because of World War II, was doing an active business. However, by the end of the decade, the decline of the canal and the railroad--the very means by which Elizabeth City prospered for almost 150 years--as the primary means of local and regional transportation would be complete (Butchko 1989, 245).

Industrial expansion

The importance of lumbering in Elizabeth City's economy increased during the early decades of the twentieth century, but then declined rapidly during the lean 1930s. Eighteen lumber companies or wood manufacturing industries were incorporated in Elizabeth City from the 1890s to the early 1920s. The Blades and Kramer mills continued to expand. In 1902 the Blades company produced an aggregate total of 60,000,000 feet of lumber in all their mills, with the Elizabeth City plants finishing a large percentage of the output (American Lumberman (Chicago), October 11, 1902). With the closing of the various Blades mills in other towns (primarily New Bern) and the incorporation of the Foreman-Blades Lumber Company in 1906, the holdings of the Blades and Foreman families were consolidated into one of Elizabeth City's largest and most successful lumber operations (Incorporation Book 1, 185). In 1920 the Kramers acquired the property of the Richmond Cedar Works at the north end of Pennsylvania Avenue, now North Poindexter Street, adjacent to Knobbs Creek. A new planing and sawmill was erected to consolidate operations and the other three sites were sold; the old Poindexter Hill site became part of newly created Elizabeth Street in 1925. The Kramer company occupied the Knobbs Creek site until 1961, when the entire Kramer lumber business was sold to L. R. Foreman and Sons, another local lumber mill (Kramer 1967, 58-59, 70; Incorporation Book 1, p. 85; Sanborn maps 1902, 1908, 1914, 1923, 1931). In 1915 it was reported that the city's numerous lumber and wood-working mills gave employment to more than 1,000 men. These establishments supplied either raw lumber, finished building materials, or finished products primarily for shipment to northern markets. The manufactured products included barrels, boxes, staves, baskets, trays, buckets, tubs, shingles, crates, and traps (Weaver 1915, 1).

Large lumber mills--Foreman-Blades Lumber Company, National Box Company, Buffalo City Company (shingle mill), Dare Lumber Company, North Carolina Tray and Basket Company, Richmond Cedar Works (shingle mill), Foreman-Derrickson Veneer Company, and Chesson Manufacturing Company--operated along Knobbs Creek north of town. Here the mills had the advantages of both water and rail transportation, the latter from numerous sidings to the nearby main line of the Norfolk and Southern Railway. Kramer Brothers kept its primary saw mill at the Poindexter Hill location along Poindexter Creek and their planing mill along Charles Creek until sometime between 1914 and 1923, when both mills moved to a new facility along the river at the mouth of Knobbs Creek; the second saw mill along Charles Creek at Dog Corner closed by 1931 (Sanborn maps, 1914, 1923, 1931).

Elizabeth City's industrial base, while largely dependent on lumbering, included a large variety of other products. During the first two decades of the twentieth century, the industrial output included farm implements, brooms, carriages, hosiery, buggies, bricks, caskets, cigars, candy, ice, fertilizers, and tombstones (North Carolina Year Book 1905, 451-454; 1910, 365-367). An airplane factory, the Taft Airplane Corporation, operated briefly at the end of the 1920s, financed largely by members of the Foreman and Blades families (Incorporation Book 3, p. 323, 349). The Elizabeth City Cotton Mill, begun in 1895, flourished and expanded at the location along the railroad on North Hughes Boulevard. Two hosiery mills, the Elizabeth City and the Pasquotank mills, were organized in 1902 and 1914, respectively, the former being the successor of the Elizabeth City Knitting Mill formed in 1899. Each occupied a brick building along

the railroad northwest of the city; only the building of the Pasquotank Hosiery Mill (108 East Ward Street) remains recognizable as an industrial building (Incorporation Book 1, p. 154, 244, 259; Incorporation Book 2, p. 248; Sanborn maps 1902, 1908, 1914, 1923, 1931; Butchko 1989, 311). Elizabeth City Milling Company, Zimmerman and Company, and Pailin Milling Company each operated grist mills during portions of the early twentieth century along Water Street; all were demolished before the end of the 1940s (Sanborn maps 1908, 1914). The Elizabeth City Oil and Fertilizer Company opened a mill along Knobbs Creek about 1912, and, on December 13, 1915, became the first processor of domestic soybeans in the United States. However, the company went out of business in 1917, ending the city's brief, but pioneer, role in the soybean processing industry (Incorporation Book 2, 6; Sanborn map 1914; Butchko 1989, 335 n. 86). The Elizabeth City Brick Company expanded their plant along the railroad, where they remain in business today; the earlier brickworks of F. G. Thompson closed between 1914 and 1923 (Sanborn, 1902, 1908, 1914).

All Elizabeth City industries suffered during the Depression, none more than the saw and cotton mills and wood manufacturing plants. In addition to the economic upheavals of the 1930s, the fact that much of the region's vast and most readily-cut forests had been cut during fifty years of unprecedented logging meant that lumbering was no longer the lucrative industry it had been. During the early 1930s, hundreds of sawmill employees were thrown out of work in Elizabeth City. Of the large lumber-related industries of the prosperous 1910s, only the Chesson, Foreman-Blades, and Kramer firms were still in operation in 1942 (Miller, 1942, 289). The Kramer mills, the city's largest, had a reduction in wages and salaries for all, even the management and officers. Things were so bleak in 1933 that the liquidating agent for one of the local banks reminded the directors not only of the company's obligation to the bank, but to advise them that much of the Kramer Brothers Company's stock held by the bank had been pledged by certain stockholders as collateral to loans; the implication was that a default by Kramer would be felt throughout the city (Kramer 1967, 61). Conditions were even worse at the cotton and hosiery mills. Throughout the decade of the 1930s, the Elizabeth City Cotton Mill and the Elizabeth City Hosiery Mill, both operated by the sons of Charles H. Robinson, Sr., closed when demand for cotton yarn was low. These shutdowns lasted a minimum of several months, and often longer, as was the case when the cotton mill was closed for the entire year of 1938. During good times the cotton and hosiery mills employed about 225 and 325 workers, respectively, so their shutdowns resulted in serious economic hardship for several hundred families. Full recovery did not occur until the war work began about 1940 (Robinson interview).

Commercial expansion

As stated earlier, the addition of a new railroad line and the improvement of area roads attracted customers to Elizabeth City from adjoining rural areas. The city boasted a superior variety and quantity of mercantile establishments in large part because it had more than twice the population of the next largest town within the Albemarle region. In fact, its population in 1940 (11,564 according to the census) was greater that of each of the other five counties in the northern Albemarle region: Perquimans, Chowan, Gates,

Camden, and Currituck. Independent local merchants offered a full range of goods and services, and the railroad provided easy access for those wishing to shop in larger cities, primarily Norfolk and Richmond, Virginia. The early twentieth century also saw the first introduction of national and regional mercantile chains into Elizabeth City; the first was the F. W. Woolworth Company, an original tenant in the Kramer Building in 1909 (Butchko 1989, 251). It shared the structure with a locally-owned competitor, department store Rucker and Sheely. By 1942, department store branches of Belk-Tyler (based in Charlotte), W. T. Grant, and McLellan Stores occupied prominent locations in the 400 block of East Main Street (Miller 1942, 285).

While the major commercial establishments remained exclusively along East Main and Water streets, by the early 1920s pockets of retail neighborhood stores were beginning to develop along major thoroughfares. With the construction about 1910 of a new Norfolk and Southern Railroad Passenger Station at the end of West Main Street, the area along what is now Hughes Boulevard began to develop into a small mercantile and service section. By 1931, the area boasted two filling stations, an automobile repair garage, a grist mill, and three stores. Nearby were a meat-packing plant and a fertilizer factory (Sanborn 1923, 1931). Although Ehringhaus Street--today the city's prime example of strip commercial development--remained predominantly residential until the 1960s, as early as 1942 there were a half-dozen businesses located on it between Water and Road streets. These included the Coca-Cola Bottling Company and the Elizabeth City Hosiery Company. Several others were small businesses owned by and catering to blacks (Miller 1942, 296-297).

The effect of the Depression on the city's commerce was most immediately felt by the banks. In 1929 there were four banking and trust companies operating in the city, all located on East Main Street (Telephone Directory 1929-30, 88). Of these, only the Carolina Banking and Trust Company failed completely, and only the First and Citizens Bank, the successor to First National Bank, survived the crisis without a change in name. The others, the Hood System Industrial Bank and the Savings Bank and Trust Company, reopened by mid-decade as the Industrial Bank and the Guaranty Bank and Trust, respectively. The city's other early twentieth century bank, the Citizen's Bank (200 South Poindexter Street), had failed earlier in 1918 during the post-World War I economic slump and never re-opened (Butchko 1989, 283).

The economic ramifications of cutbacks in the mills were widely felt, from the idling of small independent loggers working in the woods and a drop in cotton prices due to low demand, to the decline in sales at the corner grocery which supplied the mill hand's family. As a result, numerous small businesses suffered hard times or failed completely. During the worst of the Depression, Elizabeth City native and attorney John C. B. Ehringhaus (1882-1949) was elected governor in 1932, the only county native to serve in the state's highest office. It was during his administration that state and federal programs were initiated to bring the nation out of the Depression.

Religious diversification

The early twentieth century saw a substantial increase in the number of churches in the city. With development of residential areas along North Road Street, new white Methodist (City Road) and Baptist (Blackwell Memorial) congregations were formed; stylishly similar structures were erected between 1900 and 1904 at 511 and 700 North Road Street, respectively. Congregations of A. M. E. Zion (Bell Street) and Disciples (Solid Rock) affiliations, both black, were organized in the adjacent Sawyer Town area. As black neighborhoods expanded in the 1910s to the south towards the new campus of the State Colored Normal School, St. James A. M. E. Zion Church (805 Park Street) and St. James Baptist Church (1326 Southern Avenue) were organized to serve new residents in the vicinity (Sanborn maps 1914, 1923).

By 1942, the city had seventeen congregations each for blacks and whites, a significant numerical increase in churches (there were only four white churches and five black churches in 1900). The addition of new denominations gave Elizabeth City the most diverse religious climate of the Albemarle region. These new denominations included Roman Catholic (with separate white and black congregations), Assembly of God, Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints, Christian, Pentecostal Church of Christ, Pentecostal Holiness, Free Will Baptist, and Salvation Army. Furthermore, there were several local nondenominational churches in the black neighborhoods (Miller 1942, 10; Sanborn 1914).

Educational expansion

The early twentieth century brought widespread changes and advances in the educational opportunities afforded the city's children. In addition to the private Atlantic Collegiate Institute (the successor of the antebellum Elizabeth City Academy), a private high school, the Albemarle High School, existed briefly, between 1904 and 1907; the school was supposedly connected with the Methodist Church. A two-story building was erected at the corner of Harney and Dyer streets by 1905, and the lower floor remains--with roof added in 1930s--as the Seth Perry American Legion Hall at 215 North Dyer Street (Sanborn map 1908, 1914, 1923, 1931; Pasquotank Year Book 1955, 60-61; Butchko 1989, 164, 232-233; Deed Book 3; North Carolina Year Book 1905, 451). With the establishment of a public high school for whites in 1907, both the Albemarle High School and the Atlantic Collegiate Institute closed. The first public high school (razed and replaced in 1940) was built on the site of the old Atlantic Collegiate Academy at what is now 307 North Road Street. A modern Elizabeth City High School (306 North Road Street) was built across the street in 1920. The last decade before World War II saw a considerable improvement in facilities for white children. A new primary school, later named for teacher and principal Hattie M. Harney, was built in 1933 on Parsonage Street (later Elizabeth Street) behind the 1907 high school; the Harney school burned in 1988. In 1940, the 1907 high school was demolished and the Works Progress Administration assisted in the construction on the site of a modern brick junior high school building, the S. L. Sheep School (307 North Road Street) (Pasquotank Year Book 1955, 60-61; Butchko 1989, 289-290).

The educational facilities for blacks, while always lagging behind those for whites, made significant strides between 1900 and 1942. By the early 1910s the State Colored Normal School had outgrown its single building at 708 Herrington Road. In 1912 the institution moved to a new modern campus on the old Poor House Road, now Parkview Drive, just south of the city limits; the campus was not taken into the city proper until the early 1930s. (Johnson 1980, 28-32; Butchko 1989, 275-277; Sanborn 1931; Miller 1936, 318). At the new campus, the school, which changed its name to Elizabeth City State Teachers College in 1936 and became Elizabeth City State University in 1969, occupied an increasingly large and modern campus. By 1942, the campus consisted of six brick buildings and a number of frame structures. Among these is the Practice School, a frame building erected in 1921 with the assistance of the Rosenwald Fund, a philanthropic organization endowed by Julius Rosenwald, the chairman of Sears, Roebuck and Company, for the improvement of educational facilities for blacks in the South (Hanchett 1988, 439). The Practice School enabled normal school students to gain classroom experience by instructing black children from the southern part of Elizabeth City. Though moved several hundred feet in 1957, the Practice School remains on the campus of Elizabeth City State University as testament to the school's original purpose of teacher training. Between 1923 and 1931 a larger joint practice school and public school was built across Southern Avenue (now Parkview Drive) from the Normal School. Later known as H. L. Trigg Elementary School, this building was demolished ca. 1986 (Johnson 1908, 32-34; Butchko 1989, 165, 275-277).

On the north side of town, in the Sawyer Town neighborhood, two schools for blacks were built between 1900 and 1914, one in the 600 block of Harney Street and the other at what is now 502 York Street. Both schools operated until the 1920s, when they were superseded by the nearby brick Banks Street School. It was used until the 1970s and subsequently demolished (Deed Book 21, p. 378; Sanborn maps 1914, 1923, 1931). A public high school for blacks was not built until 1923, when Dunbar High School, later known as P. W. Moore High School, was built at 606 Roanoke Avenue; the building was demolished in 1988 and a new school built on the site in 1990 (Pasquotank Year Book 1955, 61; Butchko, 1989: 164).

With the improvement of public schools for whites and blacks during the early twentieth century, private academies ceased. The private boys school operated by Isaac Tillett at 410 West Church Street was apparently the last of a long line of similar schools in the city; its operation ended in 1907 (Butchko 1989, 163, 220; Miller 1905, 451; Sanborn maps 1902, 1908). The only other non-public schools to operate in Elizabeth City during the early twentieth century, other than Roanoke Institute, were parochial schools begun in the late 1930s by St. Elizabeth Catholic Church (white) at 1100 West Main Street, and in the early 1940s by St. Catherine's Catholic Church (black) at 605 Shepard Street (Butchko 1989, 268, 306-307).

Residents of Elizabeth City made a spirited campaign during the first decade of the twentieth century to secure another state-supported educational institute for the city. In February 1905, John C. B. Ehringhaus, Pasquotank County's representative to the General Assembly and a future governor, introduced a bill in the assembly to create the East Carolina State Normal Institute for white teachers in Elizabeth City. Such an institution, which would complement the existing State Colored Normal School, was supported by a broad section of the town. Despite being passed unanimously by the House, the bill was killed in the Senate by the senator from Greensboro, which was the home of the state's only normal school for whites (now University of North Carolina-Greensboro). In 1907, after the General Assembly did pass a bill to create a

white normal school in the east, Elizabeth City offered the state $62,500 and a 25-acre site if the school were located here. As generous as this offer was, it could not match that of Greenville, where the East Carolina Teachers Training School, now East Carolina University, was opened in 1908 (Bratton 1986, 80-81, 84, 88, 92, 97, 101).

Physical expansion

During the first decade of the twentieth century, Elizabeth City's population grew by over 2,000 residents, an increase of one-third since 1900 (Cheney 1975, 1129). In 1915 a promotional brochure published by the Norfolk Southern Railway made the boastful claim that Elizabeth City "has flattering prospects of becoming the largest city in the State within the next quarter of a century." It claimed further that the city had "sufficient river frontage to meet the demands of several hundred thousand people." Clearly, the boom was on and Elizabeth City's aspirations knew no bounds (Weaver 1915, 1; Butchko 1989, 335 n. 77).

The early twentieth century was a period of unprecedented neighborhood expansion in Elizabeth City. Whereas the tracts developed during the 1880s and 1890s were primarily north of the antebellum city, the areas opened after the turn of the century were mostly south and west of the old city. In just three years, 1900 to 1902, six subdivisions were recorded that added sizeable areas to the city's residential sections. Among these were Euclid Heights in 1900 (in the Shepard-Road Street area) and the land of the Riverside Land Company on the west bank of the Pasquotank River (Deed Book 21, p. 512; Deed Book 26, p. 236). A significant factor in the popularity of the Riverside lots, and later the lots platted by the Fearing estate in 1926 (Deed Book 87, p. 533), was the construction in 1914 of the Elizabeth City Hospital at the eastern end of Riverside Avenue. The impressive Neo-Classical Revival style structure (now substantially altered) was the city's first large modern medical facility.

While most twentieth century developments were south and east of the old city, residential construction continued apace on the west side of the city. In 1899 and 1902 the West End Land and Improvement Company, with Wiley M. Baxter as majority stockholder, recorded plats that led to development along Selden, Church, and McPherson streets west of Persse Street (Deed Book 20, p. 370; Map Box 3, p. 18). The West End became home to merchants, businessmen, farmers, and professionals. Early in the twentieth century, the railroad passenger station was relocated from Pennsylvania Avenue (now North Poindexter Street) to a new building (now 109 South Hughes Boulevard) at the western end of Main Street. Close proximity to the new station further enhanced the lots owned by the Improvement Company of Elizabeth City, formed in 1892, and the West End Land and Improvement Company. Soon fashionably up-to-date residences were under construction west of the 700 blocks of West Main and West Church streets (see Map 8).

Starting in 1907 a number of residential neighborhoods were platted on the city's southwestern and southern edges for blacks. Sections laid out by the partnership of Brooks and Parker (Ray Street and

Bunnells Avenue) in 1907 and Laurel Park (Laurel Avenue and Washington, Adams, Jefferson, and Madison streets) in 1908 became home to black laborers, professionals, and businessmen. The relocation of the State Colored Normal School to its present campus south of town in 1912 encouraged the nearby residential construction for blacks. Neighborhoods such as Highland Park (platted in 1914 and 1923) and Washington Heights (1916) were developed to meet these needs. Construction of both Dunbar High School and the brick training school (later H. L. Trigg Elementary) on the south side of town encouraged further black residential development in the southern part of the city. Throughout the early twentieth century, blacks, as well as whites, built in sections of town that were developed on a small scale and therefore were either not formally platted or the plats were never recorded with the Register of Deeds.

In addition to Pine Grove, the subdivision of the Fearing Estate along Riverside Avenue platted in 1926, new residential areas for whites included Westover (1924), and Elcinoca (1927), an acronym for Elizabeth City North Carolina. Both are located at the extreme west of the city along what is now Hughes Boulevard, the city's primary vehicle bypass. The city's limits in 1931 illustrated the tremendous growth of the past fifty years, enclosing an area roughly bounded by Knobbs Creek and the tracks of the Norfolk Southern Railroad on the north and west; Church, McPherson, and Selden Streets on the west; Hollywood Cemetery and Park Avenue on the south; and the Pasquotank River on the east. (Butchko, 1989: 170)

The economic upheaval of the Great Depression halted almost all building activity until the mid 1930s. No new subdivisions were platted during the 1930s, not only because of the difficult times, but because there were plenty of unimproved lots in almost all sections of the city: in the Improvement Company's property on West Colonial Avenue and Cedar and Maple streets; in the West End lands along Shirley, Selden, Pritchard, and Harrell streets; in the former Fearing farm along Riverside, Jones, and Hunnicutt avenues and Agawam and Wareham streets; in Highland Park on Southern and Highland avenues and Herrington Road; and near the Elizabeth City State Teachers College in Washington Heights (Sanborn map 1931). Beginning about 1935, however, there was enough economic recovery, particularly among whites, to revive building activity in the Fearing property and the western lots of the Improvement Company and the West End Land and Improvement Company.

Elizabeth City during World War II

During the late 1930s, as the United States was beginning to prepare for the possibility of war, the residents of Elizabeth City and Pasquotank County took steps that quickly brought the local economy out of the Depression and resulted in a tremendous influx of residents to the area. On July 25, 1938, the voters of both jurisdictions approved the issuance of bonds for the purchase of land several miles southwest of town for the site of a Coast Guard Air Station; funding was also received from the Works Progress Administration. Upon completion in 1939, the facility became headquarters for marine search and rescue operations along a large section of the North Carolina coast. In 1940 the United States Navy selected a nearby site for a Naval Air Station at which to base airships, more commonly known as blimps. With the erection in less than

nine months of two enormous blimp hangars, Elizabeth City also became the base for a fleet of blimps that patrolled the coastal shipping lanes off the Outer Banks which were being threatened by German U-Boats (Pasquotank Year Book 1975, 88, 104).

The rapid build-up of these two bases before and during World War II brought many servicemen and their families to Elizabeth City. This influx created a severe housing shortage that was met by the construction of numerous modest housing units and the division of older residences into apartments. Among these developments were repetitive one-story dwellings on Tuscarora and Bartlett avenues in the so-called "Cabbage Patch" of the former Fearing farm in the Riverside area. It also brought to the city the largest migration of people from other parts of the country since the arrival of northern businessmen after the Civil War. Foreign nationals from Allied countries added to the sudden diversification of the city's population. These newcomers of different backgrounds brought fresh ideas to the traditions of Elizabeth City and to all of northeastern North Carolina. Many of these newcomers resided in the Enfield Apartments in the 800 and 900 blocks of West Ehringhaus Street. The Enfield Apartments consisted of over ninety cement block buildings--each containing six units--that were hastily erected in the early 1940s as a Federal housing project. The vast majority of these utilitarian buildings were demolished during the 1950s; only fourteen buildings remain today (Miller 1949-1950, 390-393; Sanborn map 1959 appendix); Fearing 1983, 3).

ELIZABETH CITY AFTER WORLD WAR II

Elizabeth City, like the rest of North Carolina, has undergone tremendous change during the second half of the twentieth century. In no area has this change been greater or more significant than in the area of transportation. With improved highways reaching throughout the Albemarle area and the proliferation of the private automobile, the region was no longer dependent on the canal, marine, and railroad transportation systems that had formed the basis for Elizabeth City's growth and prosperity for over 150 years. The once bustling shipyards and river front of the city were quieted by a rapidly diminishing level of activity. Likewise, the twentieth century dependence on the railroad for the movement of goods was replaced by expanding fleets of trucks and vans (Butchko 1989, 206).

Correspondingly, the river front declined as a center of industrial activity and was replaced by industrial sectors along Hughes and Halstead boulevards. Following national trends made possible by the increased personal mobility afforded by the automobile, much of the commercial activity moved to outlying strip zones and shopping centers. Casualties of commercial strip zones included more than a dozen important residences--some dating from the 1830s--along Rum Quarter Road, later known as Lawrence Street and now named Ehringhaus Street. The construction in 1967 of Southgate Mall, the first enclosed mall in the Albemarle region, made a permanent change in the shopping habits of residents in five regional counties. The old commercial center downtown began to rely increasingly on its role as a governmental, professional, and financial center. As retail businesses left or closed, some buildings stood vacant and eventually

deteriorated. As the vacant buildings along Water Street were demolished, however, the city rediscovered its beautiful waterfront. With development of this area as open space, boat slips and access ramps were constructed, attracting private pleasure boating activity (Butchko 1989, 206).

By the 1950s, much of the area's prime forest land had been cut and the city's numerous but aging saw and lumber mills were forced from a market in which they had once been so powerful. The mills were replaced by a greater variety of industrial concerns and an expansion of the service sector. Increasingly, however, some local residents began to look to the Virginia cities of Norfolk, Portsmouth, Virginia Beach, and Chesapeake for employment. This trend began during the wartime years when acute labor shortages at the Virginia shipyards and military industries meant jobs for hundreds of workers from a city and county still recovering from the Great Depression; hundreds more left from adjoining North Carolina counties for employment in Virginia. After the war, the continued military and industrial expansion in neighboring Virginia provided stable and well-paying employment for workers from throughout northeastern North Carolina (Butchko 1989, 206).

Educational opportunities and facilities expanded greatly during the second half of the twentieth century. Roanoke Bible College was organized in 1948 to train ministers in the Church of Christ and Christian Church denominations in North Carolina and Virginia. The school purchased and remodeled several old houses along North Poindexter Street and in the early 1970s bought the former railroad property along the river. In 1960 the College of the Albemarle was chartered to offer college and vocational courses to students in a multi-county area. The school first occupied the vacant Elizabeth City Hospital, later known as Albemarle Hospital, on Carolina Avenue, and in 1973 it moved to a modern campus north of the city. The public schools were integrated in 1964-1965, and with county-wide consolidation in the late 1960s, a large high school for the city and county was built west of the city limits; the white high school then became the junior high while the black high school (demolished 1988) became an elementary school. Also during this period, Elizabeth City State Teachers College became the region's major university, being admitted into the University of North Carolina System in 1963 as Elizabeth City State College. Another name change in 1969 to Elizabeth City State University reflected its increased role in regional education (Butchko 1989, 206).

Throughout this period neighborhood development continued. Much of this construction during the 1940s took place in subdivisions platted during the early twentieth century, such as the Cabbage Patch in the Riverside neighborhood. Later subdivisions included Edgewood in 1952, which developed the Brothers farm southeast of the city (Butchko 1989, 241). During the 1960s and 1970s, an urban renewal project removed dozens of deteriorated dwellings along East Walnut, East Juniper, and Harney streets. These houses were replaced with standardized brick or frame one-story attached units. Continued residential expansion during the 1970s and 1980s included not only subdivisions north and south of the city, but also large apartment complexes (Butchko 1989, 206).

F. ASSOCIATED PROPERTY TYPES

NOTE: Construction dates for Elizabeth City resources are derived by a variety of methods. Those dates with a single year, such as 1840 or ca. 1895, were determined by deed research or individual resource histories. Other date were arrived at by consulting Sanborn maps, which exist for Elizabeth City for the years 1885, 1891, 1896, 1902, 1908, 1923, and 1936. A resource that is shown by the first Sanborn map to cover its block is indicated by the note "by" and the appropriate map year. A resource which is not shown by one edition, but is shown by the next edition, is indicated by an extended date, such as 1908-1914, covering both editions. City directories for Elizabeth City do not survive for years earlier than 1936, and therefore are of help in dating houses only after 1931, the date of the last Sanborn Map. Other property dates, particularly those noted with a decade notation such as "1920s" or "1940s," are derived at by the appearance of the resource.

1-RESIDENTIAL ARCHITECTURE

DESCRIPTION

Historic residential architecture in Elizabeth City is comprised almost exclusively of single-family dwellings erected between 1793 and 1942. Single-family houses in Elizabeth City follow several basic, popular forms and plans. The finish of each of these dwellings is influenced by one or more of the prevailing styles of its period of construction, and completed with a level of decoration that usually reflected the economic means and social status of the original owner or occupant. Many, however, defy stylistic categorization and follow instead traditional house forms ornamented with period decoration such as sawn and turned millwork. Single- and double-pile house forms were utilized in Elizabeth City from the 1790s through the first two decades of the twentieth century--almost the entire span of the city's architectural and historical period of significance--and provided an enduring base for successive stylistic and decorative modes. Frame construction predominated throughout the city's historic period and the vast majority were originally covered with weatherboards. Since World War II, some have been covered with modern materials, namely asphalt and asbestos shingles or, more recently, aluminum and vinyl siding. Masonry houses, usually brick veneer, were not erected in appreciable numbers until the 1920s. Residential architecture is described first in terms of form, and then in terms of style.

A. Single-family houses

1. Traditional and popular forms

a. Single-pile houses

Single-pile dwellings in Elizabeth City are rectangular structures either one, one-and-a-half, or two stories in height, with the two-story version being the most numerous. They comprise approximately one-tenth of the residential buildings throughout the city. Most are sheltered beneath gable roofs, and some of the more ambitious examples--particularly those from the antebellum period--have pedimented gable roofs. During the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries gable roofs were often accentuated with a facade gable, yielding a form commonly called the triple-A roof. The single-pile dwellings in Elizabeth City follow a very predictable appearance. All that have been inspected on the interior have a center-hall plan, and the vast majority have interior end chimneys. Many houses from the late nineteenth century exhibit a curious--and unexplained--arrangement of chimney and gables in which the single attic window is located in the center of the gable, directly in front of the interior chimney shaft; the shaft is clearly visible if the window glazing is clear. Although this awkward arrangement is eliminated on some houses by the utilization of a pair of windows flanking the shaft, the use of a single attic window is more common. All Elizabeth City examples of the single-pile house form also originally had a front porch, although some porches have been modified, stylistically updated, or removed altogether. This porch most typically spanned nearly the full facade and was carried by columns, turned posts, or tapered pillars raised on pedestals, depending on the prevailing fashions. All single-pile houses in the city, no matter how modest, also have a rear ell and porch of some sort. Two-story houses usually have two-story ells, and some, as the Rollinson-Puckett House (201 West Cypress Street, ca. 1900), have complementary double-tier rear porches.

One- and one-and-a-half-story examples of the single-pile house are very few in number and all surviving examples date from the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The most outstanding example is the George W. Owens House (915 Southern Avenue, ca. 1898), which has a decorative porch of Victorian millwork. Most, however, are modest houses erected as rental houses for workers.

The two-story version of the single-pile dwelling--popularly known as an I-house--was erected in Elizabeth City from the 1790s through the 1920s, during which it was one of the most versatile of house forms. One of the city's oldest houses, the Grice-Fearing House (200 South Road Street), began ca. 1798 as a single-pile residence, and the Judge George S. Brooks House (504 South Road Street, ca. 1857), illustrates the popularity of this house form among the well-to-do during the late antebellum period. Most of the city's two-story single-pile houses, however, were erected between 1881 and World War I for middle-tier merchants, shopkeepers, and farmers. The simpler houses--such as the house at 405 West Fearing Street (ca. 1892)--have decoration limited to the porch, while ambitious examples, such as the Sharber-Emery House (307 East Burgess Street, ca. 1891), are lavished by an abundance of sawn and turned decoration.

b. Double-pile houses

Double-pile, or two-room-deep, houses were erected in Elizabeth City between the 1830s and the 1930s and comprise the largest number of historic dwellings in the city. These houses were built for occupants of a wide range of social strata, from the wealthy slave-owning antebellum planter and merchant, to the mill hand and laborer at the turn of the century. Like the smaller single-pile version, the double-pile house was usually covered by a gable roof, with hip roofs generally limited to the most imposing center-hall-plan residences. A large majority of this type are two or two-and-a-half stories in height. A notable exception is the one-and-a-half-story Shirley-Armstrong House (1011 West Main Street, ca. 1793, moved and remodeled ca. 1920). One of the oldest houses in town, it was built as a farmhouse. Like other dwellings, the double-pile houses were erected with porches that complemented the structure's style and scale.

Double-pile houses in Elizabeth City follow either the center-hall or side-hall plan. The center-hall plan was generally employed only for the larger houses, such as the Richardson-Pool-Glover House (301 Culpepper Street, 1850s) and the Charles O. Robinson House (201 East Main Street, 1914). Other large examples, such as the Cooke-Willey House (505 West Main Street, ca. 1891), employ bay windows or projecting rooms to relieve the rectangular shape. Almost all double-pile center-hall-plan houses are sheltered beneath hip roofs (sometimes truncated) that are pierced by interior chimneys.

Side-hall-plan double-pile houses were the most numerous house form in Elizabeth City from the 1840s until the early twentieth century and were erected in a variety of sizes. They were, with regularity, sheltered beneath gable roofs, and, with one exception, have interior end chimneys. Among antebellum houses, the larger dwellings, such as the Pool-Lumsden-Peters House (204 South Road Street, 1840), were erected in the established central core of the town by the well-to-do. Modestly scaled antebellum examples were built in newly-developed areas or predominantly rural sections still outside the town limits. One such house is the Scott-Culpepper House (503 North Road Street, ca. 1845). A variation of this form is the transverse-hall plan of the John S. Burgess House (510 North Road Street, ca. 1847), the plan being basically a side-hall, double-pile plan turned on its side. The house at 307 Culpepper Street (ca. 1880s) is a rare one-and-a-half-story example with a locally unusual interior chimney.

During the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the double-pile gable-front, side-hall-plan house became the city's most prevalent house form and was erected throughout the city in all sizes and styles. Because most of the neighborhoods platted during this period were laid out with lots only twenty-five or fifty feet wide, this house type was the most efficient utilization of such a narrow lot. This house type was especially associated with worker housing and is prevalent in those areas near the various saw mills and the Elizabeth City Cotton Mill. The orientation of the gable towards the street not only allows the house to make better use of the lot, but enables it to assume a street presence that belies its usually modest size and scale. All of these houses, with the exception of a quartet of simply finished one-and-a-half story rental houses at 707, 709, 711, and 717 Dawson Street (ca. 1910), are two stories tall.

These houses vary in size from large, stylish houses, such as the Percy S. Vaughan House (111 West Burgess Street, ca. 1899) and the Kramer-LeRoy-Morris House (407 West Main Street, ca. 1903), both of which were erected as rental houses for the middle class and are invigorated by a break in the rectangular form, to small two-bay dwellings, such as the rental houses near the mills on which decoration was restricted to the porch and limited in quantity. In between is a wide spectrum of two- or three-bay rectangular houses with sawn and turned decoration focusing on the porch and the gable. Examples include 319 West Fearing Street (ca. 1892) and the row of seven similar Ward Rental Houses in the 700 block of North Road Street (early 1900s).

c. L- and T-plan

The L- and T-plan houses in Elizabeth City date from the late nineteenth century through the 1910s. The type consists of two, gable-roofed sections placed at right angles to each other, with one section projecting toward the street. The distinction between the L- and the T- plan is relatively minor, depending on whether the section that projects perpendicularly toward the street terminates at the rear wall of the other section--resulting in an L-plan--or extends beyond the other section--resulting in a T-plan; the latter is more common. Houses of both types are built exclusively in frame and are two stories tall. All Elizabeth City examples have interior or interior end chimneys (usually one of each), a porch that is either two bays wide or wraps around the entire front, and a rear ell either one or two stories in height, usually with a service porch. These houses, while found throughout the city, are concentrated in those sections experiencing the greatest growth during the 1880s and 1890s, namely West Main, West Fearing, East Burgess, West Burgess, North Road, and South Road streets and West Colonial Avenue.

This house form, second in popularity only to the two-story gable-front, double-pile, side-hall-plan house, was embellished with a wide range of decorative millwork. It is typified by the turned porch posts and wood-shingled gables which invigorate the Grice-Jackson House (509 West Fearing Street, ca. 1899). The L- and T-form is often elaborated upon with a front bay window, such as the J. J. White House (507 Cedar Street, ca. 1892). More complex versions of the form are derived when a short projecting gable is added on the side of the section that is perpendicular to the street to create a sort of cross-gable-roof house form. This form was especially suitable for larger homes as it not only provided more interior space, but another gable for exterior ornamentation, as illustrated by the W. E. Pappendick House (601 West Main Street, 1892).

2. Popular styles of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries

a. Georgian and Federal

Because Elizabeth City was established in 1793, and almost all of its earliest dwellings were replaced as the town grew during the early and mid nineteenth century, traces of the Georgian and Federal styles are extremely rare in the community. Evidence of the Georgian style, popular in North Carolina during the second half of the eighteenth century, is exhibited by an overlooked outbuilding at 404 East Church Street. Built ca. 1800 probably as an office or kitchen, it retains a molded cornice and rounded window sills displaying robust Georgian profiles. Reflecting the building's construction date very late in the period of Georgian fashion, some of the woodwork, primarily the three-part window surrounds, have profiles that begin to exhibit the lighter proportions and more delicate moldings of the newly popular Federal style, which developed as an American adaption of the British Adamesque style.

Three houses display elements of the Federal style, although all have been considerably updated in other styles. The Grice-Fearing House (200 South Road Street, ca. 1798, ca. 1840) was originally a two-story single-pile, side-hall-plan dwelling later enlarged to double-pile and two-and-a-half stories tall. Its Federal elements include molded exterior sills and a corner stair in the hall that is partially enclosed with raised panels. Even though the exterior of the Shirley-Armstrong House (1011 West Main Street, ca. 1793) was considerably remodeled in the Colonial Revival style ca. 1920, the interior retains a three-part Federal style mantel and an elegantly proportioned stair with ramped handrail. A notable Federal stair with turned newel also remains in the Dr. William Martin House (405 East Church Street, ca. 1811).

3. Antebellum styles

a. Greek Revival

The commercial success of the Dismal Swamp Canal during the antebellum decades of the 1830s, 1840s, and 1850s provided many Elizabeth City citizens with the financial resources to erect larger, more stylish residences. The Greek Revival style, with its generous scale and austere decoration, proved ideally suitable and it dominated domestic architecture locally throughout the antebellum period. All local examples are rectangular two- or two-and-a-half-story double-pile structures and most have a pair of interior or interior end chimneys. Of the city's twenty Greek Revival style dwellings, ten were built along the side-hall plan, seven have center-hall plans, one displays the hall-and-parlor plan, another (now altered) house probably was hall-and-parlor in plan, and one was built in the transverse-hall plan. All but one of the houses are sheltered beneath broad gable roofs, with several, such as the Hinton-Pailin House (202 West Main Street, ca. 1855), having pedimented gables with sheathed tympanums. The exception is the double-pile center-hall-plan Richardson-Pool-Glover House (301 Culpepper Street, 1850s), which is covered by a truncated hip roof

through which rise four chimneys. A distinctive stylistic element found on almost all local Greek Revival style houses is a trabeated entrance surround containing a raised tablet above the transom; this element, adopted from the designs of Asher Benjamin, is best illustrated at the Pool-Lumsden-Peters House (204 South Road Street, 1840).

The decorative focus of Greek Revival houses is the porch, although only eight local examples retain original porches. The Thomas R. Bland House (501 West Main Street, ca. 1853) is the only side-hall plan house that retains its original porch, a small pediment carried by simple Doric columns that shelters just the entrance bay. Four center-hall plan houses retain full-width porticoes supported by monumental columns or pillars, with each house exhibiting a distinct variation: the imposing austerity of the paneled pillars at the Richardson-Pool-Glover House (301 Culpepper Street, 1850s); the compatibility of the Greek Revival with other mid nineteenth century revival styles as shown by the elaborate Italianate spandrels connecting the Doric pillars on the Judge George S. Brooks House (504 South Road Street, ca. 1857); an austere porch later embellished with Victorian millwork as seen on the Overman-Sheep House (401 West Main Street, 1859); and the academic detailing composed of fluted columns and a massive entablature complete with dentils, modillions, triglyphs, and guttae as illustrated by the impressive portico on the Charles-Hussey House (1010 West Colonial Avenue, 1849).

Not all of the city's Greek Revival style dwellings are large or imposing structures. The earliest, and one of the most intact, of several modestly-scaled two-story, side-hall-plan houses is the Scott-Culpepper House (503 North Road Street, ca. 1845). Although the entrance portico is a reconstruction, the austere molded surrounds with cornerblocks and a robustly molded pilaster-and-frieze form mantel indicate stylish sophistication. Other examples include the Simmons-Perkins House (701 Herrington Road, ca. 1849) and the Jennett-Twiddy House (521 White Street, ca. 1860), both erected in the Race Tract area, the city's first residential "subdivision."

4. Late nineteenth century Victorian styles

Most of Elizabeth City's late nineteenth and some of its early twentieth century dwellings exhibit elements of the eclectic styles then in national fashion. These houses utilize the basic forms of the gable-front double-pile, the single-pile, and the L- and T- plan, or more complicated forms which are often an elaboration of the T-plan or double-pile form. The most popular style was the Queen Anne, which was employed for dozens of houses of large and medium size. Many more dwellings, particularly those of traditional form and modest size, were finished simply with turned and sawn millwork--much of it manufactured locally--which was applied to provide a measure of stylistic decoration.

Other late nineteenth century styles, such as the Gothic Revival, Stick, Shingle, and Richardsonian Romanesque, appear only as secondary motifs. The only Italianate style residence is the Haycock-Spellman House (301 Speed Street, ca. 1870), a distinctive two-story double-pile, side-hall-plan structure that combines a shallow hip roof, carved mock-rafters, and four round-arched bays in an unusual picturesque dwelling.

While wood shingles are commonly used as gable accents on period houses throughout the city, and as exterior siding for a limited selection of traditional, Colonial Revival, American Foursquare, and Bungalow houses, no examples of the Shingle Style are known to have been built in Elizabeth City. Likewise, framed panels containing sheathed tongue-and-groove boards, a common element of the Stick Style, are often seen on Queen Anne residences. All three of the city's nineteenth century Second Empire style houses were razed between 1938 and the 1960s. About the turn of the twentieth century, the growing popularity of neoclassical elements, along with more rectilinear forms, began to appear in predominantly Queen Anne style designs as the Colonial Revival and Neo-Classical Revival styles became increasingly popular.

a. Traditional forms with millwork decoration

A large percentage of the dwellings constructed in Elizabeth City during the late nineteenth century and into the first decade of the twentieth century are traditional two-story houses in either center-hall, side-hall, L-, or T-plans. Generally, decoration is limited to a modest application of turned and sawn millwork that was readily available and easily applied. This decoration is usually concentrated on the porch in the form of turned or chamfered posts; balusters that are either turned (and sometimes connected with "webs"), square-in-section, or sawn slats; sawn scrolls applied to the side of the posts; and simple turned or rectangular-in-section spindlework friezes spanning the posts. Other examples display decorative porch friezes consisting of an inter-connected circle motif or star motifs incorporated into lateral brackets. One of the more widely employed elements is a simplified pent hood supported by scrolls above a window. These hoods, which were probably made locally at the Kramer planning mill, were extremely popular and are found on all forms of traditional houses except the simplest and most modest. Another popular decorative element is a sawn ornament at the top of the gable; several are embellished further with inset turned spindles. While each of these elements is found in a variety of highly elaborate and intricate forms on the largest and most ornamented houses, each is also seen throughout all the period's neighborhoods in simple combinations on houses of modest size.

The simplest decorated traditional dwellings are two-bay gable-front structures such as those at 702 and 704 West Colonial Avenue (1914-1923) which are ornamented only by porch scrolls and square-in-section balusters. The seven gable-front Ward Rental Houses (700 block North Road Street, 1902-1908) are finished in a similar manner; several have turned porch balusters and two retain the gable ornament which probably appeared on all seven originally. Numerous two-story single-pile, center-hall, and T-plan houses were given modest Victorian millwork. The Williams-Clifton-Garrett House (405 West Fearing Street, ca. 1891) has simple turned and sawn porch elements, while the Bradford-Hughes House (316 West Fearing Street, ca. 1901) has more complex porch decoration in addition to pent window hoods and shaped rafter ends. The simplest form of the T-plan house is represented by the Keaton-Bundy House (502 West Fearing Street, ca. 1895, enlarged 1902-1908), where the millwork is limited to turned posts, scrolls, and webbed balusters on the two-bay porch. The T-plan J. J. White House (507 Cedar Street, ca. 1892) is more

elaborate, embellished with a spindlework frieze, pent window hoods with sawn molding, and gables sheathed with diagonally laid beaded tongue-and-groove boards.

The most ornate houses in Elizabeth City have turned, sawn, drilled, and gouged millwork in lavish designs. These dwellings usually follow the T- or L-plan, often enlarged and enriched with additional projecting wings and bay windows displaying the influence of the Queen Anne style. Some of the larger examples, such as the (former) City Road Methodist Church Parsonage (603 North Road Street, ca. 1902), have high hip roofs with gables projecting from each elevation. Gable elevations often end in highly decorative two-story bay windows. This elaborate millwork is often referred to as Eastlake decoration, named after Charles Eastlake, an English architect and furniture designer who advocated highly embellished forms during the late nineteenth century. Chief among these decorative elements are spindlework friezes between porch posts and complex gable ornaments. Often these are combined with panels adorned with a quatrefoil or cloverleaf, as illustrated on the Bray-Ward-Warden House (407 North Road Street, ca. 1897).

The wide variety of gable ornaments ranges from very simple ones found on modest houses to the elaborate examples seen on the three Sawyer Brothers Houses (310, 312, 314 North Road Street, early 1910s). These ornaments may be combined with wood-shingled gables, as on the Sharber-Emery House (307 East Burgess Street, ca. 1891); with diagonally-laid beaded tongue-and-groove boards, as on the W. E. Pappendick House (601 West Main Street, 1892); or with diagonally-laid molded weatherboarding, as seen on the George R. Bright House (200 East Colonial Avenue, 1896). Gables that project over bay windows may be accented with either large quarter-circle brackets, often with a wagon-spoke motif as seen on the W. E. Pappendick House, or complex pendant ball-and-rod friezes, as seen on the Bray-Ward-Warden House. The two houses that perhaps best illustrate the panoply of Eastlake ornament in Elizabeth City are the N. R. Zimmerman House (809 North Poindexter Street, ca. 1892) and the Selig-Parker House (105 North Road Street, 1891).

b. Queen Anne style

Queen Anne style houses were erected in Elizabeth City during the 1890s and into the first decade of the twentieth century in a variety of sizes to meet the needs of both small businessmen and wealthy industrialists. The major characteristic of the style is an emphasis on the asymmetrical juxtaposition of gables, projecting wings and bays, porches, towers, and dormers; the tallest central portion of the Queen Anne style house often has a high hip roof. The epitome of Queen Anne asymmetry in Elizabeth City is the White-Love House (204 West Ehringhaus Street, 1903), which combines a pedimented cross-gable main block with a central tower and an extensive wrap-around porch with end pavilions. More modest examples usually lack a tower but rely on gables and porches for asymmetrical character. The design, whether large or small, is embellished with an imaginative use of different wall textures and sawn and turned millwork, with many of the eclectic elements borrowed from the Shingle, Stick, and Eastlake vocabularies. While examples from the 1890s are ornamented with a variety of Victorian decorations, Queen Anne style houses

erected at the turn of the century and during the early twentieth century were finished with reserved classical elements borrowed from the increasingly popular Colonial Revival style.

Because of their size and expense, the finest Queen Anne style residences in the city are prominently sited along the major thoroughfares of traditionally white neighborhoods, particularly West Main, West Church, and North Road streets. One of the oldest is the Mack N. Sawyer House (701 North Road Street, 1895), the design of which focuses on a pair of three-stage corner towers that frame a central double-tier pedimented porch. An identical form combines Colonial Revival detail in the Dr. Samuel W. Gregory House (700 West Church Street, 1902). The asymmetrical design of the Preyer-Cropsey-Outlaw House (1109 Riverside Avenue, 1891) combines a square tower--unique in town--with ornate Eastlake gables and a replacement Colonial Revival style porch.

Queen Anne style dwellings without towers are numerous in the city. Many have porch pavilions with conical roofs to mimic towers, such as the Sophia K. Chapman House (801 South Road Street, ca. 1904). Here a polygonal pavilion at the porch corner balances a two-story bay window covered by a partial octagonal roof. While the finish of the John A. Kramer House (313 West Main Street, 1909) is wholly Colonial Revival, Queen Anne form is created by a porch pavilion, a small recessed second story porch, and a diminutive gable at the steps. Similar dwellings, but without the pavilion and of smaller scale, were erected by Kramer several years earlier as rental houses at 407 and 409 West Main Street (ca. 1903). Houses that rely on a projecting gable to provide asymmetry include the Percy S. Vaughan House (111 West Burgess Street, ca. 1899), with modest Eastlake porch, and the Annie E. Jones House (200 Speed Street, ca. 1903).

5. Early twentieth century styles

During the early twentieth century, the Victorian styles in Elizabeth City were superseded by period revival styles that were then nationally popular. Local houses in these styles differ very little from examples built elsewhere in the country. Many of the designs were probably chosen from the multitude of design books and builder's catalogues then in circulation, although few are documented as such. The most popular of the revival styles in Elizabeth City was the Colonial Revival style, which was constructed primarily in frame, although brick examples became increasingly common during the 1930s and early 1940s. Less popular, but more impressive because of its monumental porticoes, was the Neo-Classical Revival style. The Tudor Revival style, taking inspiration from late medieval English buildings, was popular from the late 1920s through the early 1940s, with nearly all examples erected entirely or predominantly of brick. The French Eclectic style has only one example, the Miles Clark House (914 Riverside Avenue, ca. 1926), an impressive brick residence focusing on a two-story semi-circular tower that encloses the interior stair. No examples of the other period revival styles, particularly the Chateauesque, Beaux Arts, Mediterranean, or Spanish Eclectic, were ever built in Elizabeth City.

a. Colonial Revival

Dozens of Colonial Revival style houses were erected throughout Elizabeth City from the 1910s through the 1940s. They generally follow square or rectilinear forms, with regular roof lines and wall surfaces and symmetrical fenestration. Local examples of the Colonial Revival style are usually two or two-and-a-half stories in height, although there are a small number of one-and-a-half-story examples. Most of the smaller dwellings were built in the 1930s and early 1940s, when the economy dictated less ambitious residences. Colonial Revival style houses are usually covered by gable-end roofs, although hip roofs and a limited number of gambrel roofs exist. Typical stylistic elements include pedimented entrances with transoms and sidelights, porches carried by columns, molded cornices accented with dentils, dormers with pediments or cornice returns, and double or triple window arrangements.

Many of the city's early Colonial Revival style houses exhibit the waning influence of the asymmetrical Queen Anne style. These houses, such as the two-story William Edward Cooper House (409 Cedar Street, ca. 1914), have asymmetrical T-plans featuring roof gables framed by the boxed cornice returns and a continuous frieze, along with a wrap-around porch of Tuscan columns. On the Welkia T. Bright House (202 West Church Street, 1907), the front gable contains a Palladian window that heightens the Colonial Revival impact. The asymmetry of the nearly identical forms of the William S. Cartwright House (901 West Church Street, 1912) and the M. G. Morrisette House (402 North Road Street, 1913) indicate the lingering popularity of Queen Anne forms and their ready acceptance of Colonial Revival elements.

Other examples of the Colonial Revival style follow the traditional two-story single-pile form, as shown by the George C. McIntyre House (709 West Colonial Avenue, 1912), on which the major stylistic elements are limited to Tuscan columns carrying the three-bay porch. On the double-pile center-hall-plan Zenas Jennings House (211 Harney Street, 1905-1906), the design is invigorated by a trio of dormers whose gable returns echo the large returns at each end of the house.

Later Colonial Revival style houses display a more academic use of classical form and decoration. The broad facade of the large John C. Perry House (715 First Street, ca. 1916) is sheltered by a deep double-tier porch carried by monumental Tuscan columns; the tall hip roof is pierced by a false gable on the front and a pedimented dormer on each side elevation. The Walter L. Cohoon House (801 West Church Street, 1916-1917) has a roof dormer in the shape of a Palladian window, and a large central porch and flanking porches with Corinthian columns that provide a formal composition of understated elegance. Even more impressive is the facade of the William B. Foreman House (311 West Church Street, early 1930s), on which pedimented two-story wings project slightly to flank the entrance bay. Both the Cohoon and Foreman houses have well-articulated cornices with modillions and dentils.

When the Colonial Revival style became popular in the 1910s, many owners of older houses desired to update their residences to reflect current fashion. This was done primarily by owners of dwellings built in the 1890s with elaborate Eastlake decoration which was now considered too much for the refined tastes of the 1910s and 1920s. Accordingly, these houses were remodeled with replacement porches, often larger than the originals, carried by Tuscan or Corinthian columns and enclosed by turned balusters. While such transformations occurred throughout the city, they were most numerous in the wealthier white neighborhoods,

particularly in the 300, 400, and 500 blocks of West Main Street. Important examples include the White-Weeks House (508 West Main Street, 1893, ca. 1921) and the McCabe-Wood House (509 West Main Street, ca. 1892, 1914-1923).

b. Neo-Classical Revival

The Neo-Classical Revival style is characterized by an imposing appearance and elaborate classical detailing. Its hallmark is a monumental central portico carried by two-story columns (usually in pairs) that often overlaps a one-story porch extending beneath the portico, across the facade, and down one or both of the side elevations. Additional decoration is found at elaborately detailed door and window surrounds, balustrades, denticulated cornices, and pedimented dormers. Fully realized examples were constructed only by the wealthiest homeowners.

The Charles O. Robinson House (201 East Main Street, 1914), designed by New Bern architect Herbert W. Simpson, is one of the finest examples of the style in North Carolina. The monumental-City of the Corinthian portico is echoed by the vitality and sheer number (forty-four) of smaller Corinthian columns that carry the extensive one-story porch across three sides of the house before terminating on the rear with a porte cochere. While the monumental Ionic columns on the Judge Isaac M. Meekins House (310 West Main Street, 1903), designed by Raleigh architects Rose and Ekin, are single and not paired, the elaborately enriched pediments over the facade's doors and windows, plus the exuberance of miniature false balconies on the second story, provide an imposing character. The Mary Blades Foreman House (309 West Main Street, 1912-1913) is of smaller scale than the Robinson and Meekins houses. Although the monumental Tuscan portico is off center, the one-story porch wraps along only one side elevation to provide a symmetrical three-bay arrangement of the first story. This same arrangement is employed on the very similar but even more modestly scaled Ballard-Finck House (1003 West Church Street, ca. 1914).

c. Tudor Revival

The Tudor Revival style became increasingly popular during the 1930s as homebuilders sought inspiration from the architecture of late medieval England rather than colonial America. Its major characteristics included a prominent front gable which often incorporated an equally prominent exterior chimney, steeply pitched gable roofs, walls covered with brick and often accented with stone, mock half-timbering, and diamond-pane windows. The earliest local example is the Marshall H. Jones House (900 West Church Street, 1928), a large brick structure with a steep roof broken by a pair of staggered and equally steep front gables. A trio of brightly colored ceramic chimney pots accentuate the prominent chimneys. During the 1930s and early 1940s, over thirty Tudor Revival houses were erected throughout the town; more than half of these are in the Riverside neighborhood. The Harold Foreman House (1116 Riverside Avenue, 1935) and the Elisha Coppersmith, Jr. House (1005 Riverside Avenue, 1937), exemplify

the style's picturesque appeal with a variety of projecting wings, chimney orientations, dormers, and window configurations. The Wyatt R. Aydlett House (607 Agawam Street, ca. 1931), the Jaccia F. Burris House (901 Riverside Avenue, ca. 1935), the Roland Garrett House (1021 West Church Street, 1937), and the Charles M. Cooper House (1008 Hunnicutt Avenue, 1940), are all modestly scaled houses that illustrate differing aspects of the style: decorative stone accents on the Aydlett House, complete wood shingling on the Burris House, patterned brickwork on the Garrett House, and mock-half-timbering on the Cooper House.

d. American Foursquare

The American Foursquare house was the most popular vernacular form of the Prairie Style, which was developed by the so-called Chicago School of architects of which Frank Lloyd Wright was the most influential. Its hallmark is a boxy two-story square, double-pile form covered by a low hip roof with deep overhanging eaves; the design emphasis is on the horizontal plane. The style, which came into local popularity during the prosperous 1910s and 1920s, is particularly numerous along West Church, West Main, and North Road streets. The Isaac P. Perry House (901 Maple Street, 1924) is a notable example of the style in its most basic form, with a broad two-bay porch carried by tapered pillars on brick pedestals, a gable dormer, and deep eaves accentuated by exposed rafter ends. All local examples are of frame construction and most are covered with weatherboards. Wood shingles are sometimes used on the upper story to emphasize the horizontal dimension, as illustrated by the city's finest example, the Fearing-Gaither House (806 West Church Street, ca. 1912), and the A. B. Houtz House (114 East Colonial Avenue, 1914-1923); the design of the latter is attributed to New Bern architect Herbert W. Simpson.

Elizabeth City's American Foursquare houses often incorporate elements of the concurrently popular Colonial Revival and Craftsman Bungalow styles. These usually include tapered porch pillars on brick pedestals, exposed rafter ends, and one-over-one sash windows. An example is the Luther D. Overton House (608 South Road Street, ca. 1920), which has Colonial Revival boxed cornices and porch pillars. Several American Foursquare houses have brick porch pillars inset with stucco panels. Often the porch is further enlivened by a broad arch composed of square-in-section matchstick members spanning the width of the porch between large masonry pillars. Excellent examples are seen on the nearly identical Pinner-Bailey House (1002 West Main Street, ca. 1914) and the George Pritchard House (907 West Church Street, 1925); on each the sturdiness of the porch is conveyed with brick balusters supporting a cast concrete hand rail. Sometimes similar but solid spandrels were used as exhibited by the Frank Kipp Kramer House (1016 West Main Street, 1919) and the Munden-Overman House (715 North Road Street, 1922). The two similar houses were erected by Joseph Perry Kramer, one of Elizabeth City's leading builders during the early twentieth century; he was the youngest son of lumberman D. S. Kramer and the uncle of Frank Kipp Kramer.

e. Craftsman Bungalow

The Craftsman Bungalow style was popular with homeowners desiring a modestly scaled but up-to-date residence during the 1910s, 1920s, and 1930s. They were built throughout the city and are particularly prevalent in the Westover neighborhood along Hughes Boulevard and in the 1100, 1200, and 1300 blocks of Herrington Road. In Elizabeth City the style is characterized by low pitched--usually gabled--roofs that are often juxtaposed into irregular rooflines, wide overhanging eaves with triangular brackets, exposed roof rafters, and broad porches carried by tapered pillars raised on brick pedestals. Finishing elements on local Craftsman Bungalow houses were often adopted from the contemporary Colonial Revival style. Gable-front and side-gable forms are equally popular, with the former being more suitable for smaller houses and the latter, when expanded by wide shed-dormers, capable of accommodating bedrooms upstairs. While most bungalows in Elizabeth City are frame, there are notable brick examples, particularly the Gurley-McCabe House (107 North Griffin Street, 1915), a distinctive gable-front form with stylish details.

The smaller, gable-front Craftsman Bungalows are found primarily in working class neighborhoods. The house at 705 South Martin Street (1930s) is a representative example of this house type in its most basic form (even though re-sided with aluminum), while the larger Montgomery-Corbett House (749 Riverside Avenue, ca. 1925) displays Colonial Revival Doric pillars on the porch and a Palladian window in the gable; the Palladian window (or variation thereof) was popular in middle class houses both in Elizabeth City and rural Pasquotank County during the 1920s and 1930s. Identical houses erected for brothers Jim and Rob Fearing (1004 and 1006 West Main Street, ca. 1919) illustrate the side-gable form of the bungalow that was popular with middle class merchants and professionals. The Burfoot-White House (1008 West Church Street, 1920) exemplifies this form invigorated with a picturesque juxtaposition of subsidiary gables.

Other Craftsman Bungalow style houses embody more stylish elements. The W. Ben Goodwin House (1105 West Church Street, 1923) has a prominent front gable and eaves supported by rectangular brackets that recall the style's oriental origins. While simple triangular brackets are common in modest examples, the stepped and curved brackets of the wood-shingled Pugh-Needham House (1018 West Main Street, ca. 1916) indicate that even small-scaled Craftsman Bungalow houses can be rich in detail. Other typical Bungalow elements seen here are a lattice-like porch balustrade and a rectangular bay window resting on projecting floor joists. The continuous porch spandrels that appear on numerous porches of Elizabeth City's American Foursquare houses were also popular with Craftsman Bungalow houses. Examples include the Jim and Rob Fearing Houses (1004 and 1006 West Main Street, ca. 1919) and the Thomas J. Merritt House (806 Raleigh Street, ca. 1927), where the effect considerably invigorates the modestly scaled dwellings. The most unusual of the city's bungalows is the George W. Beveridge House (1006 Riverside Avenue, 1926). While the completely wood-shingled one-and-a-half-story house exhibits unexceptional features, its location--situated entirely on brick piers thirty feet into the Pasquotank River--makes it one of the most remarkable early twentieth century residences in eastern North Carolina.

B. Multiple-family dwellings

Between 1793 and 1942, the vast majority of residents in Elizabeth City lived in single-family dwellings. Building lots were so plentiful and lumber so relatively inexpensive that almost every family occupied its own dwelling, no matter how modest. Few multiple-family buildings are known to have been built during this period, only one before World War I.

Only two duplexes survive from this period. The older is the Leigh-Pogue House (703 Herrington Road, ca. 1892), a simple two-story hip-roofed structure apparently intended to provide housing for students and teachers at the Colored Normal School, which opened nearby in 1892; another duplex across the street, apparently intended for the same purpose, was demolished in the 1930s. The Hurdle Rental Duplex (705 Raleigh Street, ca. 1918) is a two-story gable-front unit that combines twin gable-front porches typical of bungalows, with a Palladian gable window and other Colonial Revival details.

Elizabeth City's rooming houses and apartment buildings also are few in number. The three-story stuccoed Raleigh Boarding House (206 North Road Street, 1908-1914) lost much of its original appearance with the removal of double-tier porches on front and rear. The Wineke-Penn Jo Apartments (704 West Church Street, 1921) remains largely unaltered except for the removal of a one-story porch shown on the 1923 Sanborn map. The focus of the large three-story brick structure is the pair of three-story bay windows and the modest decorative brickwork that displays a curious, almost Jacobean character. The other historic apartment building started out as a church. When the Elizabeth City Methodist Church completed a new edifice in 1922, they sold their old 1857 Greek Revival style building and new owners converted it into the three-story Perry Apartments (305 East Church Street). After considerable alterations, the large rectangular masonry structure displayed a triple tier of frame porches that extended around three sides of the building. These porches were removed between 1976 and 1984.

It should be mentioned that during the early 1940s dozens of residences, both large and small, throughout the city were divided into apartments to house military personnel at the nearby Coast Guard Station and Naval Air Base. For example, the large Warren Jennette House (805 West Main Street, 1914) was divided into ten units, many with kitchen and bath, and the simple gable-front, double-pile, side-hall-plan Banks-Sawyer-Meads House (401 West Fearing Street, ca. 1891) was divided into two apartments. A number of these former single-family residences have remained divided into multiple units for the past fifty years.

SIGNIFICANCE

The architectural forms and styles discussed above are significant because they place Elizabeth City's dwellings in both regional vernacular building traditions and in popular national ones. The continued use of traditional one-room-deep and double-pile, side-hall plan, gable-front forms into the early twentieth

century, along with the great popularity of the more modern forms and styles of the nineteenth century and twentieth century, illustrates the city's development from a community that followed traditional building trends to one that was as modern and up-to-date as any of comparable size in the state. This development during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries indicates that Elizabeth City was little different from hundreds of other progressive cities and towns throughout the country.

Whether traditional or modern, plain or stylish, the houses and multi-family units in Elizabeth City are more powerful and significant as parts of groups and neighborhoods than as individual structures. Together they tell the story of Elizabeth City's development, particularly after the arrival of the railroad in 1881, giving the individual dwellings and their surroundings a sense of place and time. Some houses are individually significant as well, due to their integrity and distinctness of form or style. In addition, others are also important because of their association with local civic and business leaders, such as Isaiah Fearing, D. S. Kramer, Charles O. Robinson, and P. W. Moore, or with architects and builders, such as Joseph P. Kramer, Whitmel Lane, William S. Chesson, Sr. and Jr., and Milton C. Savin.

REGISTRATION REQUIREMENTS

The vast majority of dwellings in Elizabeth City are significant primarily as components of neighborhoods rather than as individual structures. Those that qualify for listing will usually be contributing elements of district nominations. Because their significance as part of a neighborhood is based largely on the connections with other resources and with their surroundings, the integrity of location, setting, feeling, and association is particularly important in determining the property's eligibility for the Register. Dwellings that have been altered with modern siding, modest porch changes, or rear additions, are considered as contributing elements in a district if the overall historic character of the building remains evident. A critical element in this determination is the intactness of exterior trim.

Some houses will be individually eligible for the Register as well. To qualify individually, a dwelling must have been erected before 1943; should be largely intact; and be an outstanding example of its form or style. Integrity of materials, workmanship, and design is crucial in determining the individual eligibility of most residences. However, because there are relatively few houses built before the Civil War or associated with the city's black community, the required threshold of integrity for these properties may be somewhat lower than that required for an example of a type or style that is more common. Some residences, of course, may also be individually eligible for their historical association with an important event or individual.

2-OUTBUILDINGS

DESCRIPTION

Outbuildings in Elizabeth City survive from the 1840s until 1942, with the majority built after 1890. The vast majority are of frame construction and most are covered with weatherboards. A small percentage are covered with asphalt siding, and an even smaller percentage by aluminum or vinyl siding; most of the latter are garages. For discussion, outbuildings are divided into two types: those with domestic uses such as smokehouses, dairies, privies, and kitchens, and those with transportation functions, namely carriage houses, stables, and garages.

A. Domestic outbuildings

Domestic outbuildings were especially prevalent before 1900 because the eighteenth and nineteenth century household could not have operated easily without the functions these structures fulfilled. As modern utilities--water, sewerage, and electricity--were introduced during the early twentieth century, domestic outbuildings became outmoded and most of those shown on early Sanborn maps were demolished.

Important examples of domestic outbuildings survive from each period of the city's historic development. The ca. 1800 kitchen (or office) at 404 East Church Street is a one-story gable-roof building displaying late Georgian style woodwork. It has been attached to the house as an ell, as is a ca. 1840 kitchen of similar form but vernacular finish behind the Pool-Lumsden House (204 South Road Street, 1840). The only free-standing antebellum kitchen is the one-story frame building behind the Shannon-Derrickson House (112 East Main Street, ca. 1849). This one-bay-by-one-bay structure has flush gable ends and possibly predates the house. Located on the same property is another small two-room antebellum outbuilding. On the rear and sides are louvers to provide ventilation, suggesting that it was perhaps a privy. A pair of remarkable brick outbuildings are situated behind the imposing Greek Revival style Charles-Hussey House (1010 West Colonial Avenue, 1849). Each of the nearly identical square buildings--a dairy and what may be a winery--is in five-to-one common bond and covered by a pyramidal roof crowned by a pointed finial. Corbeled brick cornices, heavy wrought iron strap hinges, and brick jack arches complete each building; the dairy has large lattice panels for ventilation.

Improved means of food storage and household management rendered domestic outbuildings less important--and eventually obsolete--during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. As documented by Sanborn maps, most houses erected during the late nineteenth century had kitchens located in ells, and those that originally were detached eventually were added to the house ells. Surviving detached kitchens are rare, and include a large one-room weatherboarded building (ca. 1891) behind the Queen Anne style Preyor-Cropsey-Outlaw House at 1109 Riverside Avenue.

Most domestic outbuildings from this period are storage buildings. These include structures such as the windowless, shed-roof building (ca. 1914) sided with asphalt at 401 West Fearing Street and a smaller shed-roof building (1930s) at 302 North Speed Street. More substantial gable-roofed storage buildings include a weatherboarded one-room shed (ca. 1934) along the alley behind 609 Agawam Street and a two-room building (ca. 1920) with two doors behind 801 Raleigh Street.

There is a small number of ancillary buildings whose purpose was primarily to provide pleasure or be decorative. Many of these are garden structures, such as the vine-covered pergola (1917) supported by six slender-concrete piers behind the Walter L. Cohoon House (801 West Church Street, 1916-1917), and two handsome buildings, each covered by a slate hexagonal roof, that complement the Tudor Revival style of the Harold Foreman House (1116 Riverside Avenue, 1935). The garden house is a small hexagonal weatherboarded structure with hexagonal windows and the garden shelter is semi-hexagonal with three open sides. A playhouse of comfortable size, erected between 1902 and 1908, remains behind the Shannon-Derrickson House (112 East Main Street) with gable roof, three-bay facade, and small gable-front porch.

B. Transportation outbuildings

Outbuildings related to transportation purposes--carriage houses, stables, and garages--are far more numerous than domestic outbuildings. Most shelters that were originally built for carriages were later adapted for automobiles, like the similar shed-roofed buildings at 323 and 504 West Fearing Street, each which also incorporates a storage room. Few stables remain in the city; a combination stable and shed erected between 1914 and 1923 at 104 Bell Street is the most intact example. This structure is covered with vertical siding and the deep front overhang of the gable roof shelters the facade.

Garages are the most numerous outbuildings in Elizabeth City, and were built after the 1910s in a variety of sizes and styles. The vast majority are of frame construction with wood siding, although several garages from the 1920s and 1930s are of brick construction, particularly it the associated dwelling also is brick. While the simplest garages are shed- or gable-roof buildings large enough to shelter only one automobile, others, such as the garage (1930s) behind the Trueblood-Hurdle House at 701 Raleigh Street consist of a central gable-front shelter flanked on each side by storage sheds.

Many garages are finished to complement the style of the residence. Examples, seen in all of the styles that were popular in Elizabeth City, are most prevalent along West Church and West Main streets and in the Riverside area. An unusually intact Colonial Revival example--complete with original folding doors having decorative X-shaped braces--is the garage at the Turner-Nixon House (500 West Church Street, ca. 1924), on which the pedimented front gable echoes the house's pediments. The two-car hipped-roof garage behind the Charles O. Robinson House (201 East Main Street, 1914) repeats the foliated modillions of the monumental Neo-Classical Revival style residence. Craftsman Bungalow style garages are especially numerous and varied in finish. The two-story, gable-front, two-car garage with triangular eave brackets behind the Henry W. Sanders House (1011 West Church Street. ca. 1923) repeats the house's form, as does

the garage of the W. Ben Goodwin House (1105 West Church Street, 1923). The Goodwin garage has rectangular eaves brackets and shaped rafter ends like the house. Among Tudor Revival examples, the garage of the Wyatt R. Aydlett House (607 Agawam Street, 1935) copies the wood shingle finish of the dwelling.

SIGNIFICANCE

The outbuildings of Elizabeth City are significant not only because they were important to the material comfort and health of the residents, but as reflections of improving methods of household management throughout the period of significance. Stables and carriage houses are significant because they reflect the pre-1910 reliance on the horse for transportation, and garages are significant as manifestations of the increasing importance of the automobile in transportation.

REGISTRATION REQUIREMENTS

The outbuildings of Elizabeth City are eligible only as contributing elements in districts or as secondary structures associated with individually eligible properties. To qualify for registration as a contributing or secondary element under this property type, a resource must have been erected between 1793 and 1943 as an outbuilding, must retain sufficient physical features to identify it as having been built during this period, and must retain sufficient features to indicate its original function. Since most of these resources are potentially eligible because of their historic functions, their integrity of materials and workmanship, and their relationship to the primary dwelling are especially important.

3-INSTITUTIONAL ARCHITECTURE

DESCRIPTION

The growth of Elizabeth City from its founding in 1793 until 1942 is indicated by the increase in numbers and size of its institutional and civic buildings. These structures include schools and colleges,

churches, and government buildings, with surviving examples dating from the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries; only one was erected before the Civil War. The styles of the city's institutional buildings are Gothic Revival, Chateauesque, Renaissance Revival, Colonial Revival, and Art Deco.

A. Educational buildings

The educational buildings in Elizabeth City built before 1942 include two former private schools, a private college to train ministers, a state university, and two public schools. These buildings reflect the architectural styles in fashion at the time of their construction.

The earliest educational buildings in Elizabeth City are associated with private schools. The former Tillett School (410 West Church Street, ca. 1877) is the city's sole surviving private school for whites. The traditional one-and-a-half-story double-pile frame structure was remodeled in the Colonial Revival style during the early twentieth century at which time it was re-sided with wood shingles. The other private school, probably erected sometime during the 1880s as a school for black children, also became the first permanent home for the State Colored Normal School (708 Herrington Road, ca. 1880s). The building's original section was a two-story gable-roof, L-plan structure of simple vernacular origins. During the 1930s, after the building had become a black fraternal lodge, the structure was enlarged into a rectangular plan, covered by a hip roof, and the present double-tier erected. Since the 1980s the building has been sadly altered. The Roanoke Institute Building (200 Roanoke Street, 1937) replaced the original ca. 1896 frame structure (which burned) and continues to house the minister-training school associated with black Baptist churches in North Carolina and Virginia. The building's broad nineteen-bay facade focuses on a tall central entrance pavilion; the brick and stucco building was modified with faux ashlar stone in 1958.

In 1912 the State Colored Normal School moved to a modern campus along what is now Parkview Drive, then just outside of the city's southwestern limits. The major structures erected before World War II were large brick buildings in the Colonial Revival style: Lane Hall (1910-1912, enlarged 1923-1931, remodeled 1948, 1955), Symera Hall (1911-1912, remodeled 1947-1951), Butler Hall (1920s), Moore Hall (1921-1923, enlarged 1939), Administration Building (formerly G. R. Little Library, 1937-1939, enlarged 1959), and Bias Hall (1937-1939). Butler and Bias halls are the most distinguished, the former featuring parapet gable ends and twelve attic dormers and the latter having a broad four-bay two-story portico covered by a flat roof. These six buildings, along with Williams Hall (1947), a large Colonial Revival brick structure with pedimented three-bay portico that was designed by Goldsboro architect J. Allen Maxwell, enclose a large quadrangle that serves as the center of the campus. Outside of the quadrangle to the south is Lucille McLendon Hall (1921-1922), a large frame bungalow structure with offset front gables that first served as the Practice School; it was erected with the assistance of the Rosenwald Fund.

The city's historic public schools consist of two neighboring buildings erected for white students; all of the historic black schools have been demolished, the last two within the past five years. The older surviving public school is the former Elizabeth City High School (306 North Road Street, 1924), designed by Milburn, Heister and Company, a prolific architectural firm with offices in Washington, D. C. and North

Carolina. The impressively large two-story brick structure is executed in the Colonial Revival style with arched windows in the stairwells and a reserved classical cornice. At the rear, a large annex erected in 1951 (Stephens and Stephens, architects of New Bern) is the prime example of the International style in the Albemarle region. Across the street, the S. L. Sheep School (307 North Road Street, 1940), designed by Goldsboro architect J. Allen Maxwell and built as a project of the Works Projects Administration, is a two-story brick structure over a full basement. It is handsomely finished in the Art Deco style, featuring horizonal bands of windows defined by continuous cast concrete sills and lintels, impressive stairs, and an in antis portico that encloses stylish aluminum panels accented with chevrons. It is one of the style's outstanding examples in the Albemarle region.

B. Religious structures

Churches are important examples of public architecture, and over a dozen examples constructed before 1943 remain in Elizabeth City to provide an unusually full look at local religious architecture. Architectural styles include Gothic Revival, Carpenter Gothic, Victorian Gothic, Victorian Romanesque, and Colonial Revival.

The designs of local churches embody the prevailing styles of their period. Christ Episcopal Church (200 South McMorrine Street, 1856-1857) designed by J. Crawford Nelson, architect of Baltimore, is Elizabeth City's only antebellum church building. The impressive Gothic Revival brick edifice features a three-story bell tower crowned by a boldly proportioned crenelated parapet. Arched windows and a frieze of pendant corbels and brownstone drops further enliven the facade. St. Phillip's Episcopal Church (512 South Martin Street, 1893) is a simple three-bay board-and-batten example of the Carpenter Gothic style. A diminutive belfry mimics the gable roof of church and vestibule, with subtle Gothic detail supplied by a continuous band of arches that connect the battens just below the eaves. The St. James Baptist Church (1326 Southern Avenue, 1910s), erected in frame but now brick-veneered, is even simpler in its Gothic Revival character, having arched windows and asymmetrical corner towers flanking a traditional gable-front form.

The churches erected during the late nineteenth display the period's wide and eclectic variations of style. The earliest is First Baptist Church (300 West Main Street, 1889), erected with elements of the Victorian Gothic style which focus on an impressive three-story tower crowned by a broached octagonal spire. City Road United Methodist Church (511 North Road Street, 1900-1902) and the nearby Blackwell Memorial Baptist Church (700 North Road Street, 1902-1904) were both built in the Victorian Romanesque style, each brick structure having round-arched windows, decorative corbel brickwork, and three-story corner towers. The large brick structure of Mount Lebanon African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church (320 Culpepper Street, 1905) combines Victorian Gothic arches with Victorian Romanesque proportions and tower into an imposing building. The central bell tower of the frame Antioch Presbyterian Church (518 Shepard Street, ca. 1896) is sheathed with beaded tongue-and-groove boards laid in different directions to create various textural patterns. This typical Victorian finish is repeated on an exterior skirt that accents the front and side elevations. The enduring popularity of the Gothic Revival is seen in the design of Cann Memorial

Presbyterian Church (311 West Main Street, 1940-1942), by Norfolk architect W. V. Cooke, in which Gothic elements are blended in a design that evokes the inherent charm of the modest English parish church.

The Colonial Revival style First United Methodist Church (205 South Road Street, 1919-1922) is the only large church in Elizabeth City built along classical lines. Its Roman inspiration is seen in the large dome that rises at the juncture of the cross-gable roof. An imposing portico of monumental Ionic columns dominates the facade and complements the modillion cornice and intricate cast concrete moldings. All of these elements are typical of the work of J. M. McMichael, the Charlotte architect who designed this and dozens of other churches across the state.

C. Public buildings

Because Elizabeth City never became more than a regional administrative and political center, governmental and civic structures are limited in number. Fortunately though, buildings survive from each of the city's major governmental jurisdictions: municipal, county, and federal district court.

Local government's only historic building is one of the area's most impressive institutional structures. The Elizabeth City Water Plant (Wilson Street, 1926, William C. Olsen, Consulting Engineers of Raleigh) incorporates stucco, deep roof overhangs, and classical elements to evoke Mediterranean architecture. The long thirteen-bay facade displays distinctive treatments in each of its two stories--round-arched windows in the brick lower story and rectangular windows in the stuccoed upper level--and is punctuated by a central three-story hip-roofed pavilion with cast concrete quoins and wide overhanging eaves. Green clay tile covering the roof unifies the entire structure and contributes to its somewhat exotic character.

County government is represented by two brick structures, the Pasquotank County Courthouse (206 East Main Street, 1882) and the former Pasquotank County Asylum (1321 Southern Avenue, early 20th c.). The central portion of the courthouse, designed by Richmond, Virginia architect A. L. West and constructed by local builder and lumberman D. S. Kramer, is a handsome two-story brick edifice with a Corinthian second-story portico supported by rusticated stone piers on the lower level; the Victorian Romanesque design is crowned by a two-stage clock tower and cupola. (In 1979-1980 the building was flanked by large brick wings, which, while leaving the original facade unimpaired, overwhelm the original structure; the interior was completely remodeled.) The County Asylum is a small one-story, hip-roofed structure containing two rooms separated by a center hall. It has decoratively scrolled rafter ends, heavy wire screens, and metal shutters. It was associated with the former county home, or poor house, which occupied an adjacent site from before 1847 until its demolition in the 1960s.

The United States Post Office and Courthouse (306 East Main Street) is a large stone and brick three-story structure that was the largest Federal building in the First Congressional District upon completion in 1906. A rusticated limestone first story and brick upper stories beneath a hip roof punctuated by a trio of round-headed dormer windows highlight the Renaissance Revival style design. Varied window pediments and a handsome cornice complete the striking building. The fully-paneled courtroom, with mahogany Ionic

pilasters and large chandeliers, is an eloquent statement of the power and authority of the Federal government.

Only one other historic public structure survives, the former Elizabeth City Hospital (1301 Carolina Avenue, 1914) designed by Benton and Moore, architects of Wilson. Unfortunately, the impressive Neo-Classical Revival style structure with its elegant Corinthian portico has been altered since the 1960s and now conveys only a shadow of its original grandeur.

SIGNIFICANCE

The institutional buildings in Elizabeth City are significant because they reflect the growth and development of the city from a small trading town to the leading and largest municipality in northeastern North Carolina. The educational structures are significant because they indicate the struggle--particularly for blacks--to improve the city's quality of life by educating its young to create a brighter future. The first permanent building of the State Colored Normal School is also significant as the early home of the state's second college for the training of black teachers, and the present campus of Elizabeth City State University is important as a continuation and expansion of state and local commitment to the education of blacks. It is the only historically black state-sponsored institution of higher education in eastern North Carolina, a region with the state's highest percentage of black residents. The church buildings are significant as religious and social centers that are gauges of community development. Additionally, several of the churches and all of the relatively intact public buildings remain of high architectural merit as designs by notable state and regional architects. The government buildings are also significant for their association with the civic activities that shaped the city. They act as statements of civic pride and the belief in bright futures that were manifested by their construction.

REGISTRATION REQUIREMENTS

To qualify for registration under this property type, a resource must have been erected between 1793 and 1942 with an institutional function, must retain sufficient physical features to identify it as having been built during this period, and must retain sufficient features to identify its original function. Because many of these properties are potentially eligible due to their historical functions, their integrity of design, materials, workmanship, setting, feeling, and association are especially important. Properties that are individually eligible because of their architecture should be outstanding, intact examples of their particular style or building function. As many of these buildings are major structures designed by notable architects, many will also be eligible on the basis of their architecture.

4 -INDUSTRIAL AND COMMERCIAL ARCHITECTURE

DESCRIPTION

Elizabeth City's surviving industrial structures--mills, machine shops, ship yards, warehouses, and railroad facilities--date from the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, with a large majority from the latter. They are concentrated either along the Pasquotank River or along the main railroad line and its spurs. Although many no longer continue in their original function, they are generally sufficiently intact to recall their original purpose. Commercial buildings include stores, banks, hotels, and offices, and are primarily located in the downtown area, already listed in the National Register of Historic Places as part of the Elizabeth City Historic District. All of the city's large industrial and commercial buildings are of brick or iron construction. A limited number of commercial buildings, mostly small frame or brick retail stores, remain in several neighborhoods where they served local needs. Many of these are in historically black residential sections.

A. Industrial buildings

The only industrial structure remaining in Elizabeth City from prior to the arrival of the railroad in 1881 is the George W. Bell Gun Shop (104 South Road Street, ca. 1859). The appearance of the small two-story brick structure is more in line with adjacent commercial structures than industrial buildings of its period. It has a subtle Greek Revival raked cornice and a robust Italianate wooden cornice, the latter probably added to complement the recently remodeled Cluff-Pool Store adjacent to the east at 100 South Road Street.

Unfortunately, little of the city's once substantial industrial waterfront remains, demolished as dependency on water traffic decreased. Most surviving buildings are north of Poindexter Creek, an important artery for industrial traffic that formed the northern boundary of the antebellum city. The waning importance of waterfront locations, along with the increasing reliance on automobile and truck traffic, was underscored in the early 1920s when Poindexter Creek was covered over and made into Elizabeth Street.

Among the remaining industrial structures along the riverfront in the 500 and 600 blocks of North Water Street are several large brick warehouses. The oldest structure was built in the mid 1890s by the Crystal Ice Company and expanded before 1902. Adjacent buildings erected before 1914 include those of the W. J. Woodley Wholesale Grocery Company and the Globe Fish Company. Each of these buildings has as its chief architectural interest several rows of modest corbeled brickwork at the roofline. Nearby is the North Carolina/Elizabeth City Iron Works (407 North Water Street, ca. 1896), a metal foundry whose main building is covered by a large gable roof topped by a monitor for light and ventilation. The Elizabeth City Milling Company Building (404 South Water Street, 1923-1931) was originally built as a cotton gin and grist

mill. It is a simply finished two-story brick structure. The most ornamented of the riverfront industrial structures is the Little Building (231 North Water Street, ca. 1917), which was first occupied by the Coca-Cola Bottling Company. The two-story four-bay structure features a double storefront and recessed panels incorporating the second-story windows; a stepped parapet has been removed.

The machine shop of the Elizabeth City Shipyard (722 Riverside Avenue, ca. 1920) is the only surviving building associated with the shipbuilding and repairing industries that were located along the Pasquotank River. The immense utilitarian metal building is sheltered beneath a broad gable roof with central monitor. Broad bands of metal-frame windows punctuate the corrugated metal sides to provide additional light to the interior.

The city's other industrial buildings are located along the railroad, mostly on the main track. The most impressive of these is the Elizabeth City Cotton Mill (300 block North Hughes Boulevard, 1895). The large one-story brick structure's reserved Italianate character is provided by a two-story office tower and repetitive (and now infilled) segmentally arched windows. The two-story brick building of the Pasquotank Hosiery Company (108 East Ward Street, 1914) is distinguished by stepped parapets at the gable ends and brick pilasters that define the bays.

Only one building survives to illustrate the importance of the railroad in Elizabeth City's growth and development. The Norfolk Southern Passenger Station (109 South Hughes Boulevard, ca. 1910), an impressively large one-story brick structure, is sheltered by a broad hip roof covered by metal pseudo-clay tiles. The station is circled by broad overhanging eaves supported by large triangular brackets. Further interest is provided by the contrast between the red brick walls and the tan brick quoins and lintels. Inside, the original waiting rooms, ticket offices, and baggage areas remain unaltered.

B. Commercial buildings

Elizabeth City's commercial buildings, because of their prominent downtown locations and their roles in displaying the success of owners and occupants, usually were erected in the prevailing styles. Local commercial structures survive from as early as 1819 and reflect the Italianate, Greek Revival, Gothic Revival, Victorian Italianate, Chateauesque, Colonial Revival, Mission, Art Deco, and International styles.

The old mercantile district, near the corner of Road and Main streets, contains one of the state's largest and most stylistically diverse collections of antebellum commercial buildings. The oldest of these, the two-story Cluff-Pool Store (100 South Road Street, ca. 1819), was remodeled ca. 1858 in the fashionable Italianate style with the addition of scored stucco walls, round-arched second-story windows, and a cornice over the first story transoms accented by robust corbels. A later metal cornice on its East Main Street elevation and a rear double-tier porch updated the building with Victorian elements. The adjacent three-story Wood Building (110 South Road Street, ca. 1872) and the nearby two-story Cobb House and Store (111 South Road Street, 1840s) both display reserved elements of the Greek Revival style and stepped parapets. The most stylish member of this group is the diminutive but flamboyant Gothic Revival style Farmer's Bank

Building (108 East Main Street, 1855). The focus of the stuccoed building is the robust tripartite Gothic arched parapet, crowned by a bold cornice and flanked by small square finials. This use of the Gothic Revival style is unique among surviving antebellum commercial buildings in North Carolina.

The increasing importance of the other commercial district near the intersection of Main and Water streets during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries resulted in the construction there of new commercial buildings in the eclectic Victorian, Neo-Classical Revival, and Colonial Revival styles. Although the most impressive structures were generally built on Main Street, stylish buildings were also erected on Water, Poindexter, McMorrine, and Fearing streets.

The Victorian buildings are the most varied group. The most visually commanding is the Lowry-Chesson Building (514 East Main Street, 1897), a three-story brick Victorian Italianate structure having attenuated window compositions crowned by round arches; a metal cornice and stepped parapet crown the structure. More modest and numerous are two-story multiple-storefront buildings to which the chief architectural character is supplied by the repetition of arched second-story windows beneath a bracketed wood cornice. This form is typified by the Robinson Rental Building (212-216 North Poindexter Street, 1896-1902), consisting of three, four-bay storefronts. The McMullan Building (117 North Water Street, 1885-1908) is a narrow three-story building with a robust pressed metal storefront (Mesker Brothers, St. Louis, Mo.) that combines Victorian and Neo-Classical Revival motifs such as engaged columns with Composite capitals on rosette-incised pedestals. A heavy cornice embossed with foliated brackets, fanlights, and dentils crowns the structure. Unlike most similar buildings in North Carolina, the McMullan Building is intact on both exterior and interior, the latter containing elaborate Eastlake style cabinets crowned with spindlework hoods.

The city's twentieth century commercial buildings followed the prevailing revival styles. Beginning this revival interest is the Citizen's Bank (200 South Poindexter Street, 1899), a rare example of a modestly scaled two-story commercial building erected in the Chateauesque style. The superbly detailed building has a steep roof crowned with metal cresting, prominent chimneys, and arched windows. Its corner turret, with "candle-snuffer" roof, was removed before 1931. The most popular of the revival styles was the Colonial Revival, as exemplified by the Kramer Building (500-512 East Main Street, 1909), a large and impressively scaled three-story brick structure crowned by a handsome classical cornice; the arched windows in the third story echo those on the adjacent Lowry-Chesson Building. The Selig Building (513 East Main Street, 1926), designed by the Norfolk architectural firm of Rudolf, Cooke, and Van Llewen, is an unusual example of the Colonial Revival style due to its veneer of buff brick and white tiles and decoration of classical motifs rendered in polychrome tiles. The Auto Fountain (615 East Main Street) was erected in 1935 by the Colonial Oil Company of Norfolk. With skintled brick walls and a steep roof of blue tiles, it is a handsome example of the Tudor Revival style that was popular for filling stations nationwide. The Mission style was chosen for the F. H. Ziegler and Sons Funeral Home (304 South Road Street, 1923-1931), a two-story brick structure with twin two-story projecting porches and shaped parapet; the distinctive tile roof was replaced with asphalt shingles in 1991.

There were also a small number of commercial buildings erected during the 1920s and 1930s in modern styles. The Norfolk Southern Bus Station (201 South Poindexter Street, 1939) exhibits modest elements of the International Style in a small one-story brick structure. The corbeled cornice bands, glass block transoms, and curved awning and corner steps mark this as a notable example of a style which was not frequently employed in small North Carolina cities. The Love's State/Carolina Theatre and Stores (105-111 North Poindexter Street, ca. 1945) exemplifies the continuation of the Art Deco style after World War II. Its handsome facade has vertical bands of cast concrete enframing panels of glass blocks, and a pattern of wavy terrazzo bands in the floor of the recessed entrance. The simple but effective Art Deco interior remains virtually intact.

Commercial buildings away from downtown are smaller in size and simpler in form and finish, particularly in traditional black neighborhoods. Only a few, such as the Rex Cleaners Building (700 Herrington Road, 1932) and the Anna-Lu Florist Shop (523 South Hughes Boulevard, ca. 1931), are brick. Both are simple one-story structures with most of the architectural interest supplied by recessed cornice panels and modest stepped parapets; the latter building is further decorated with blond brick accents. The Sundry Shop (511 South Road Street, 1881-1908) is a traditional two-story gable front frame structure with commercial space downstairs and living quarters for the proprietor above. The squat proportions of its six-over-six windows and the returns of the boxed cornices suggest retarditaire Greek Revival influence. The two-story gable-front Sykes-Wilson Grocery (318 Culpepper Street, ca. 1910) also has living quarters upstairs, with decorative Victorian porches on the front second story and sides. The store at 702 South Road Street (ca. 1908, enlarged in 1930s) is a typical example with recessed central entrance and large flanking display windows with transoms.

SIGNIFICANCE

The industrial and commercial buildings of Elizabeth City reflect the dramatic growth of the city during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Although none of the buildings from the leading lumber and saw milling industries remain, buildings survive that represent the city's important textile, agricultural, shipbuilding, and warehousing industries. The commercial buildings reflect the growth of the downtown area during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries and the spread of commercial enterprises beyond the central core during the twentieth century. Of prime significance is the remarkable collection of mid nineteenth century mercantile buildings near the intersection of Road and Main streets that illustrate the distinctive character of antebellum Elizabeth City when the mercantile commercial district was separate and distinct from the transportation and warehousing district near the riverfront. The loss of the antebellum riverfront warehouse district heightens the importance of the mercantile district.

Many of Elizabeth City' commercial and industrial buildings, particularly commercial ones, are also significant because of their architecture. To proclaim the successes of their owners and occupants, these

structures were erected in the stylish forms of their day, and include important and intact examples of the Italianate, Gothic Revival, Greek Revival, Victorian Italianate, Chateauesque, Neo-Classical Revival, Colonial Revival, Tudor Revival, Mission, Art Deco, and International styles.

REGISTRATION REQUIREMENTS

To qualify for listing in the Register, an industrial or commercial building must have been built between 1793 and 1942 with an industrial or commercial function, and should retain sufficient architectural features that identify its original function and indicate a sense of the activities that surround that function. Since many of these buildings are potentially eligible because of their historical functions, their integrity of design, materials, workmanship, setting, and association will be important. Properties that are individually eligible because of their architecture should be outstanding, intact representatives of their particular type or style. The majority of the city's eligible commercial buildings have already been listed in the National Register as part of the Elizabeth City Historic District.

5-CEMETERIES, MONUMENTS, AND BRIDGES

DESCRIPTION

In addition to Elizabeth City's residential and non-residential buildings, which make up virtually all of its built environment, there is a small but significant number of sites and structures surviving from the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. These consist primarily of cemeteries, monuments, and bridges.

Cemeteries are important elements of the man-made landscape in Elizabeth City. Since there is no native stone in the Albemarle region, all the gravestones are imported, probably from the mid Atlantic states and New England. Examples of gravestone carvings from stone cutters in Baltimore, New York, Norfolk, and Elizabeth City are represented; however, most gravestones are unsigned.

Two of the city's cemeteries originated in the early nineteenth century. The oldest cemetery is the Baptist Cemetery (300 block West Colonial Avenue), located at the rear of First Baptist Church (300 West Main Street). Only nine gravestones remain, ranging in dates from the 1810s to the 1870s; over fifty graves were moved with their stones to Hollywood Cemetery in the 1920s. The city's major nineteenth century white burying ground is the Episcopal Cemetery (505 East Ehringhaus Avenue). Buried here are many of the leading figures in Elizabeth City's history from the 1830s through the 1950s. It dates from 1828 and

contains notable examples of funerary monuments and fences from the mid and late nineteenth centuries; several Gothic Revival obelisks and monuments are particularly striking. It also has a large number of elaborate cast iron fences from the mid nineteenth century that comprise one of the finest such collections in the Albemarle region. These early fences are complemented by a variety of wrought iron and heavy wire fences from the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. A lush canopy of trees--particularly magnolias--completes the restful, park-like setting.

Hollywood Cemetery (South Road Street at Peartree Road) was founded in 1872 and was the city's primary white graveyard until the 1950s. As Hollywood Cemetery has been the repository of graves and gravestones moved from abandoned family cemeteries both in the city and the county, its canopy of deciduous trees shelters monuments that reflect funerary traditions from the 1830s through the present.

Oak Grove Cemetery (1200 and 1300 blocks Peartree Road) is the oldest black cemetery in Elizabeth City. Dating from the late nineteenth century, it is the burying ground for many of the city's leading black citizens and contains traditional funerary monuments from the 1880s until the 1960s.

Several small family cemeteries remain within the city. The Charles-Herrington Cemetery (1100 Herrington Road) contains fourteen stones from the 1840s through the first decade of the twentieth century. Among the earlier monuments are several large "table-top" markers, one displaying beautifully articulated religious scenes. The Whitmel Lane Cemetery (319 Culpepper Street) contains six graves of members of the family of Whitmel Lane (1824-1901), an antebellum free black carpenter and a prominent black citizen.

The Confederate Monument south of the Pasquotank County Courthouse (206 East Main Street) was erected in 1911 to honor the county's dead in the Civil War. Consisting of a tall granite obelisk topped by an infantryman who faces south, the monument has a commanding presence in a small park between the courthouse and the post office. It is the only public monument in the city.

Since the Pasquotank River and Knobbs, Poindexter, Tiber, and Charles creeks played critical roles in the growth and development of Elizabeth City, bridges across these waterways have been important since the early nineteenth century. Two bridges of historical significance remain, both of which replaced earlier frame structures. The older is the Elizabeth City Bridge (East Elizabeth Street at Pasquotank River, 1931, Sam Liles, head engineer). The original two-lane Bascule-Leaf drawbridge, with a span of ninety feet, is supported between large concrete pylons that connect to piling-supported causeways at each end. Subtle Art Deco motifs are seen in the detailing of the pylons and in the gentle arch of the two forty-five-foot-long metal roadways that rise as the drawbridge in the middle. Modest Art Deco motifs also enliven the Charles Creek Bridge (Riverside Avenue at Charles Creek, 1940), a two-lane automobile bridge approximately seventy feet long carried by wooden pilings. These decorative elements are seen on the poured concrete pylons and the arched balustrade of the railing. While bridges at one time spanned the much smaller Poindexter and Tiber creeks in several spots, both of those creeks have now been completely covered by culverts; the former was covered in the 1920s to form East Elizabeth Street.

SIGNIFICANCE

Cemeteries, monuments, and bridges are significant in Elizabeth City because they are highly visible elements of the built landscape and were necessary in the functioning of the city. Bridges are critical to the city's surface transportation systems; without them, the city would be divided by three creeks and cut off from Camden County to the east. The cemeteries are significant not only as the final resting places of many of the city's illustrious persons, but as important illustrations of funerary--and by extension also religious and decorative--traditions of the past. In a city without a historic system of urban parks for passive leisure, the cemeteries, particularly the larger ones with their canopies of trees, offer a measure of park-like tranquility. Most bridges and cemeteries are significant primarily because of the associations with their surroundings and neighborhoods. Some may also be significant because of their landscape architecture, artistic qualities, or engineering as well as their historical associations.

REGISTRATION REQUIREMENTS

To qualify for registration under this property type, a resource must have been built between 1793 and 1942 and must retain sufficient features to identify its particular function. Most cemeteries, monuments, and bridges will be eligible for listing in the Register as part of a historic district. As such, their integrity of setting, location, design, feeling, and association will be particularly important. Resources that are individually eligible because of their artistic merit, such as the cemeteries, or for their architecture and engineering, such as the bridges, must also retain a high degree of integrity of materials and workmanship.

G. GEOGRAPHICAL DATA

The geographical area encompasses the corporate limits of the City of Elizabeth City, Pasquotank County, North Carolina.

H. SUMMARY OF IDENTIFICATION AND EVALUATION METHODS

This multiple property listing of "Historic and Architectural Resources of Elizabeth City, North Carolina, 1793 to 1943" is based in part on a comprehensive inventory of the city undertaken by Thomas R. Butchko in 1984-1985 under the auspices of the Survey and Planning Branch of the North Carolina Division of Archives and History (the State Historic Preservation Office) and the City of Elizabeth City. During the first phase of the thirteen-month project, over one thousand properties built before 1929 were recorded on survey forms, mapped, and photographed. Subsequent historical research then provided narrative descriptions and histories of each property or group of properties, utilizing extensive deed research, maps of the Sanborn Map Company, city directories, the nomination of the Elizabeth City National Register Historic District (prepared by State Historic Preservation Office staff in 1977), and various local historical and biographical materials. A comprehensive essay on the historical and architectural development of the city from settlement to the present was then written to provide a context for the narratives of the individual properties. For the final stage, a list of the individual and district resources eligible for the Register was compiled and placed on the state's National Register Study List by the State Professional Review Committee at the recommendation of the State Historic Preservation Office. The Study List is a mechanism employed by the state historic preservation office to evaluate the potential National Register eligibility of properties within the state.

A similar study by Butchko in 1985-1986 of the architectural resources of surrounding Pasquotank County provided a means of assessing the city's resources in a broader context. In 1989, Butchko was retained by the local Museum of the Albemarle, the Northeastern Service Branch of the North Carolina Museum of History, to compile the city and county inventories into a book that was published in December 1989. During the publication phase, additional research was undertaken and many of Elizabeth City's historic resources of the period between 1930 and 1940 were assessed.

The present National Register project was undertaken by Butchko in 1992 under the auspices of the Survey and Planning Branch of the North Carolina Division of Archives and History and the City of Elizabeth City. The project utilized the files of the above-described city inventory, the publication, and the publication files. These were supplemented by additional research, site visits, mapping, and photography.

This multiple property documentation form groups the properties under five historic contexts that conform to the five major themes that best define the county and its properties: (1) the early period of development between the founding of both the city and the Dismal Swamp Canal in 1793 and the canal's first major improvement in the late 1810s; (2) the period of canal-derived growth and prosperity between 1820 and the Civil War; (3) the period of hardship and limited growth during the war and before the arrival of the railroad in 1881; (4) the tremendous development associated with the railroad during the last two decades of the nineteenth century; and (5) the continued growth during the twentieth century--in large part because of a major overhaul of the canal at the turn of the century and subsequent changes in transportation systems prior to World War II. The property types are organized chronologically by function, form, and style. The integrity requirements were based upon a knowledge of existing properties.

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