

ROCKY MOUNT ARCHITECTURAL SURVEY UPDATE



Edgecombe and Nash Counties, North Carolina
TIP No. P5711; WBS No. 44908.4.1

PREPARED FOR:

North Carolina Department of Transportation
Human Environment Section
1598 Mail Service Center
Raleigh, North Carolina 27699-1598

March 2026

RGA Technical Report No. 2024-368NC

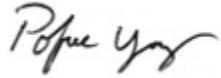


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03/25/2026

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1.0 MANAGEMENT SUMMARY

Richard Grubb & Associates, Inc. (RGA) completed this Rocky Mount Architectural Survey Update. This report summarizes the findings of the intensive-level historic architectural survey of the City of Rocky Mount and its Extra Territorial Jurisdiction (ETJ) completed by RGA on behalf of the North Carolina Department of Transportation (NCDOT). The project is sponsored by the Federal Highways Administration (FHWA) and NCDOT as part of the mitigation of adverse effects to historic properties caused by the Carolina Connector (CCX) Intermodal Terminal in Rocky Mount (TIP No. P5711; WBS No. 44908.4.1).

RGA conducted the intensive-level historic architectural survey of the City of Rocky Mount and its ETJ in two phases from 2023 through 2025. Phase 1 of the project consisted of the re-survey of approximately 1,496 previously surveyed properties (PSPs). Phase 2 consisted of the survey of approximately 225 newly identified resources and the completion of this report. RGA conducted Phase 1 of the project from July 2023 to September 2024, and Phase 2 from January to December 2025. Both phases were supervised by NCDOT Historic Architecture staff and the staff of the North Carolina State Historic Preservation Office (HPO), and in consultation with the staff of the Rocky Mount Planning Department of Planning and Zoning.

This report presents the survey results, a historical background essay, historic contexts for Rocky Mount from the period 1945 to 1975, histories for neighborhoods and areas surveyed during Phase 2, a list of resources recommended for the Study List, a list of newly surveyed neighborhoods and areas, and a list of newly surveyed properties. All work was completed according to the HPO's survey manual, *Practical Advice for Recording Historic Resources* (2022). This report is on file at NCDOT and HPO and is available for review by the general public.

Table 1.1: Resources recommended for the Study List.

Survey Site No.	Resource Name
ED2447	Edgemont Park
ED2466	Cross Town
ED2481	Immaculate Conception Catholic Mission
NS0841	Englewood
NS1610	Paul Street Water Tower
NS1668	Westridge
NS1671	Temple Beth El
NS1674	Henry C. and Lucille F. Proctor House
NS1716	Jackson L. and Sarah T. Langley House

2.0 INTRODUCTION

Richard Grubb & Associates, Inc. (RGA) completed this Rocky Mount Architectural Survey Update. This report was the result of the intensive-level historic architectural survey of the City of Rocky Mount and its Extra Territorial Jurisdiction (ETJ) completed by RGA on behalf of the North Carolina Department of Transportation (NCDOT). This project is subject to review under the *Programmatic Agreement for Minor Transportation Projects* (NCDOT/NCHPO/FHWA/USACE/USFS 2020). The project is sponsored by the Federal Highways Administration (FHWA) and NCDOT as part of the mitigation of adverse effects to historic properties caused by the Carolina Connector (CCX) Intermodal Terminal in Rocky Mount (TIP No. P5711; WBS No. 44908.4.1).

This report presents the survey results consisting of a historical background essay (Section 3.0), historic contexts for Rocky Mount from the period 1945 to 1975 (Section 4.0), histories for neighborhoods and areas surveyed during Phase 2 of this project (Section 5.0), a list of resources recommended for the Study List (Appendix A), a list of newly surveyed neighborhoods and areas (Appendix B), and a list of newly surveyed properties (Appendix C). All work was completed according to the HPO's survey manual, *Practical Advice for Recording Historic Resources* (2022). This report is on file at NCDOT and HPO and is available for review by the general public.

2.1 Project Background

The intensive-level historic architectural survey of the City of Rocky Mount and its ETJ is sponsored by the FHWA and NCDOT as part of the mitigation of adverse effects to historic properties caused by the CCX Intermodal Terminal in Rocky Mount. In early 2023, RGA, the HPO, and NCDOT Historic Architecture staff met and determined that the intensive-level historic architectural survey of Rocky Mount would be completed in two phases: Phase 1) a re-survey of previously surveyed properties (PSPs); and Phase 2) a survey of newly identified resources and a final report.

2.2 Survey Area

The survey area for Phase 1 and Phase 2 of the project encompasses the 2023 Rocky Mount city limits including the city's ETJ (Figure 2.1). The Seaboard Coast Line railroad tracks run from north to south and roughly bisect the city. The railroad tracks form the boundary between the two counties that make up the city: Edgecombe County on the east side of the tracks and Nash County on the west side. In May 2023, in consultation with the HPO, NCDOT, and the Rocky Mount City staff, RGA developed a list of target areas, within the survey area, recommended for survey work (see Section 2.4).

2.3 Previous Major Survey Work Undertaken in Rocky Mount

In 1979, Kate Ohno conducted an intensive-level Rocky Mount survey, with a focus on the city center (also known as the Central City area). Ohno summarized her findings in the book *Central City Historic Buildings Inventory: Rocky Mount, North Carolina* (Mearns 1979).¹ The 1979 survey was sponsored by the

¹ Kate Ohno published *Central City Historic Buildings Inventory: Rocky Mount, North Carolina* under her former name Kate Mearns. That book is cited under her former name.

Rocky Mount Central City Revitalization Corporation in cooperation with the North Carolina Division of Archives and History. The 1979 survey focused on historic and/or architecturally significant resources in the 300-acre Central City area (Mearns 1979:4). Ohno surveyed over 500 buildings, which included commercial, industrial, residential, and community resources. She observed that most extant buildings in the Central City area at the time of the 1979 survey dated between 1890 and 1925, which was the height of building activity in the Central City area (Mearns 1979:9).

Richard L. Mattson conducted a comprehensive Nash County survey in 1984 and 1985. Mattson summarized his findings in the book *The History and Architecture of Nash County, North Carolina* (Mattson 1987). Mattson surveyed approximately 1,000 resources in Nash County, with a focus on structures built before World War II (Mattson 1987: v). The 1984–1985 survey also included the Nash County side of Rocky Mount and its vicinity.

Prior to the beginning of the intensive-level historic architectural survey of the City of Rocky Mount and its ETJ in May 2023, seven historic districts in Rocky Mount were listed in the National Register of Historic Places (NRHP) and one was on the Study List. These NRHP-listed historic districts are the **Rocky Mount Central City Historic District** (ED0905 and NS1212, NRHP 1980 and amended 2009), **Rocky Mount Mills Village Historic District** (NS0704, NRHP 1999), **Villa Place Historic District** (NS0793, NRHP 1999) and its boundary expansion (NS1076, NRHP 2002), **Falls Road Historic District** (NS0951, NRHP 1999), **Edgemont Historic District** (ED1040, NRHP 1999) and its boundary expansion (ED1063, NRHP 2002), **West Haven Historic District** (NS0840, NRHP 2002), and **Lincoln Park Historic District** (ED1555, NRHP 2012).² **Sunset Avenue Historic District** (NS0711) was placed on the Study List in 1986.

2.4 Methodology: Developing List of Target Areas and Historic Contexts

On May 10, 2023, representatives from RGA, the HPO, and the City of Rocky Mount met at City Hall for a kick-off meeting and a tour of the city. In attendance were Stephanie Goodrich, Rocky Mount Preservation Planner; Beth King, Lauren Poole, and Rebecca Spanbauer of the HPO; and Ellen Turco, Olivia Heckendorf, and Amber Puett of RGA. Ms. Turco shared a map showing previously unsurveyed areas in the city and areas that RGA recommended for survey work (target areas). RGA developed the list of target areas after an earlier windshield survey of Rocky Mount with Ms. Goodrich. The target areas were identified based on feedback from the Rocky Mount Historic Preservation Commission, others with an interest in historic preservation, Ms. Goodrich's knowledge of Rocky Mount, and tax parcel data.

² The Sunset Avenue Public Works Historic District (NS1593) was listed in the NRHP in 2025 while the Phases 1 and 2 surveys were underway. It is excluded from this list of previously surveyed NRHP-listed historic districts. The Sunset Avenue Public Works Historic District is Rocky Mount's eighth NRHP-listed historic district.

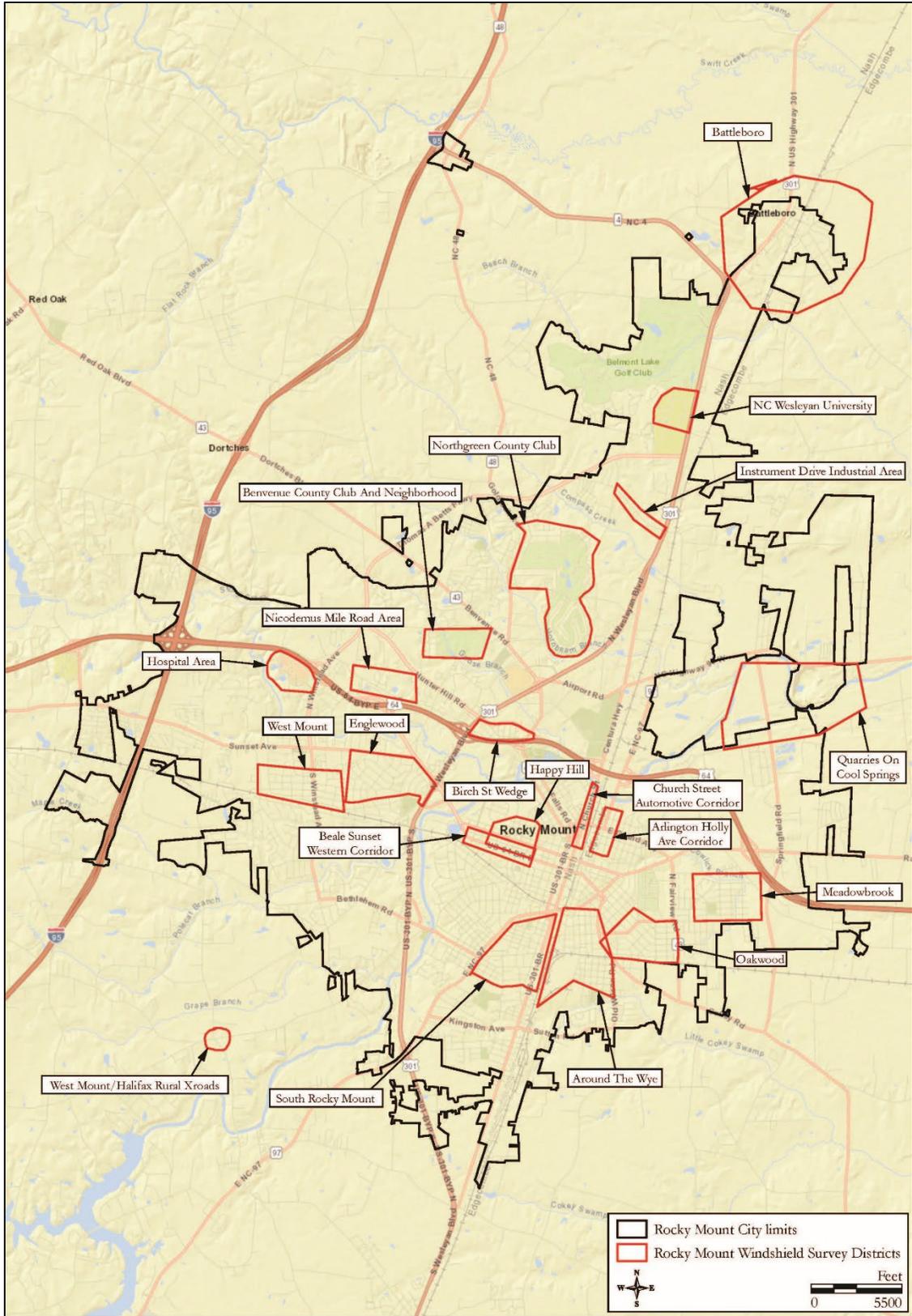


Figure 2.1: Street map of final target areas in Rocky Mount (HPOWEB n.d.).

After the kick-off meeting, the group toured the city to view NRHP-listed historic districts and the target areas, and to identify potential new target areas. During the tour, the project approach and scope of work were discussed in detail. The group agreed that completing the re-survey of approximately 1,496 PSPs in the city and its ETJ prior to beginning work on the survey of the target areas and newly identified properties was a reasonable approach to such a large project. The group agreed on a list of 20 target areas, with the caveat that there might be changes to the list of target areas during the course of the survey (see Figure 2.1).

During Phases 1 and 2, RGA developed a preliminary list of potential historic contexts for Rocky Mount. These contexts covered topics that were not sufficiently studied previously and could provide a fuller understanding of the city's development and support the NRHP evaluation of resources primarily under Criterion A. With eight NRHP-listed historic districts, there were sufficient Criterion C historic contexts for commercial and residential buildings in Rocky Mount through circa 1960.

On October 30, 2025, RGA consulted with the HPO and NCDOT staff to finalize a list of historic contexts for treatment in the final report. Following the meeting, RGA selected five historic contexts for Rocky Mount from the period 1945 to 1975: (1) Industry and Commerce, (2) Residential and Suburban Development, (3) Public Housing and Urban Renewal, (4) Community Institutions, and (5) Civil Rights and Desegregation. RGA selected these historic contexts based on the preliminary list of potential historic contexts developed during Phases 1 and 2 and the survey results of Phase 2. Some of these contexts contain overlapping information, and many of the surveyed resources illustrate more than one context.

2.5 Field Methods

RGA conducted the intensive-level historic architectural survey of the City of Rocky Mount and its ETJ in two phases from 2023 through 2025. Phase 1 of the project consisted of the re-survey of approximately 1,496 PSPs, and Phase 2 consisted of the survey of 20 target areas and 201 newly identified properties. RGA conducted multiple fieldwork trips for Phase 1 between July 2023 and September 2024, and for Phase 2 between January 2025 and August 2025. The Phase 1 fieldwork was completed by architectural historians Pofue Yang and Olivia Heckendorf and research assistant Amber Puett. The Phase 2 fieldwork was completed by Mr. Yang. RGA documented each previously surveyed property, target area, and newly identified property with written notes and digital photographs of building exteriors. The HPO provided survey site numbers at the outset of Phase 2, and RGA assigned site numbers to the newly surveyed resources following fieldwork.

2.6 Summary of Survey Results

Phase 1: Re-Survey of Previously Surveyed Properties (PSPs)

In May 2023, the HPOWEB and the HPO's historic property database indicated there were approximately 1,017 survey site numbers (SSNs) located in Rocky Mount and its ETJ: 13 district files, 878 individual files, and 126 blockface files (BFs). The files contain records for approximately 1,496 PSPs. The BFs contain records for approximately 674 of the 1,496 PSPs, approximately 57 of which have individual SSNs and individual files. RGA and the HPO agreed that notable properties or community or public buildings contained within the BFs would be assigned individual SSNs and

individual files created for each one. RGA assigned a new SSN and created an individual file for one PSP (NS1578) at the conclusion of Phase 1, resulting in a total of 1,018 SSNs and 879 individual files. A summary of re-surveyed PSPs is detailed in the following table and lists.

Table 2.1: Summary of PSPs re-surveyed in Phase 1.

Total SSNs assigned to PSPs from this and previous surveys	1,018
Total PSPs that were re-surveyed	1,496
Total extant PSPs	1,176
Total demolished/moved PSPs	320

Edgemont Historic District (ED1040) and Edgemont Historic District Boundary Expansion (ED1063)

- Historic district previously surveyed in 1998 and NRHP listed in 1999
- Boundary expansion previously surveyed and NRHP listed in 2002
- Total of 39 SSNs: 3 district files, 4 individual files, and 32 BFs
- Total of 193 PSPs re-surveyed by RGA in August 2023
- 190 PSPs extant and 3 PSPs demolished/moved

Falls Road Historic District (NS0951)

- Previously surveyed in 1985 and 1998 and NRHP listed in 1999
- Total of 31 SSNs: 1 district file, 22 individual files, and 8 BFs
- Total of 56 PSPs re-surveyed by RGA in July 2023
- 56 PSPs extant

Lincoln Park Historic District (ED1555)

- Previously surveyed in 2010 and NRHP listed in 2012
- Total of 52 SSNs: 1 district file and 51 individual files
- Total of 51 PSPs re-surveyed by RGA in July 2023
- 49 PSPs extant and 2 PSPs demolished/moved

Rocky Mount Central City Historic District (ED0905 and NS1212)

- NRHP listed in 1980 and amended in 2009
- Total of 232 SSNs: 1 district file and 231 individual files
- Total of 231 PSPs re-surveyed by RGA in September and November 2023
- 140 PSPs extant and 91 PSPs demolished/moved. Of the demolished/moved PSPs, 69 were removed between 1980 and 2008 and 49 were removed between 2009 and 2023

Rocky Mount Mills Village Historic District (NS0704)

- Previously surveyed and NRHP listed in 1998
- Total of 29 SSNs: 2 district files, 16 individual files, and 11 BFs
- Total of 71 PSPs re-surveyed by RGA in September 2023
- 71 PSPs extant

Sunset Avenue Historic District (NS0711)

- Previously surveyed in 1985 and Study Listed in 1986
- Total of 16 SSNs: 1 district file and 15 individual files
- Total of 15 PSPs re-surveyed by RGA in July 2023
- 15 PSPs extant

Villa Place Historic District (NS0793) and Villa Place Historic District Boundary Expansion (NS1076)

- Previously surveyed in 1998 and NRHP listed in 1999
- Total of 109 SSNs: 3 district files, 73 individual files, and 33 BFs
- Total of 250 PSPs re-surveyed by RGA in September 2023, and 1 PSP assigned a new SSN
- 234 PSPs extant and 16 PSPs demolished/moved

West Haven Historic District (NS0840)

- Previously surveyed in 1985 and 2001 and NRHP listed in 2002
- Total of 67 SSNs: 1 district file, 24 individual files, and 42 BFs
- Total of 186 PSPs re-surveyed by RGA in July 2023
- 185 PSPs extant and 1 PSP demolished/moved

Properties Outside of Historic Districts (in Rocky Mount and its ETJ)

- Total of 443 SSNs: 180 SSNs in Edgecombe County and 263 SSNs in Nash County
- Edgecombe County: 96 PSPs extant and 84 PSPs demolished/moved
- Nash County: 140 PSPs extant and 123 PSPs demolished/moved

Phase 2: Survey of Target Areas and Newly Identified Properties

Prior to the beginning of the Phase 2 survey, RGA, NCDOT, and HPO agreed that the Phase 2 survey will focus on neighborhoods (the 20 target areas) and significant individual buildings or sites. The group also agreed that individual database entries will be made for highly significant properties within the target areas, resources that illustrate the identified historic contexts, or important resources outside of the target areas.

From January through August 2025, RGA surveyed a total of 225 resources: 24 District/Neighborhood/Areas (D/N/As) and 201 individual properties. Of the 201 individually surveyed properties, 193 are in the newly surveyed D/N/As. The number of individually surveyed properties does not reflect the total number of resources located in the D/N/As. A summary of newly surveyed resources is detailed in the following table. See Appendix A for a list of resources recommended for the Study List, Appendix B for a list of newly surveyed D/N/As, and Appendix C for a list of newly surveyed properties.

Table 2.2: Summary of newly surveyed resources in Phase 2.

Total new SSNs assigned	225
Total District/Neighborhood/Areas surveyed	24
Total individual properties surveyed	201

2.7 Reporting

The results of this Rocky Mount Architectural Survey Update are presented in the following sections of this report: Section 3.0 presents a historical background essay for Rocky Mount, summarizing the growth and development of Rocky Mount from the eighteenth century to 1945; Section 4.0 provides a broad historic context for industry and commerce, residential and suburban development, public housing and urban renewal, community institutions, and civil rights and desegregation, focusing on the period 1945–1975; and Section 5.0 presents the histories of 24 neighborhoods and areas in Rocky Mount surveyed during Phase 2 of this project. A list of resources recommended for the Study List, newly surveyed D/N/As, and newly surveyed properties are presented in Appendices A to C. This project was completed according to the HPO’s survey manual, *Practical Advice for Recording Historic Resources* (2022).

Pofue Yang, Architectural Historian, served as the Principal Investigator. Mr. Yang conducted background research, fieldwork, and interviews, and served as report author. Olivia Heckendorf, Architectural Historian, assisted with research and fieldwork and co-authored the report. Amber Puett, Research Assistant, assisted with fieldwork. Ellen Turco, Principal Senior Historian, provided a technical review. Mr. Yang, Ms. Heckendorf, and Ms. Turco meet the professional qualifications standards of 36 CFR 61 set forth by the National Park Service. Mr. Yang prepared the graphics. Emma Durham edited and formatted the report.

3.0 HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

3.1 Rocky Mount's Early Development, Eighteenth Century to 1865

Early Settlement and County Formation

Rocky Mount's early history reflects the linkages between settlement, transportation development, and industrial growth that shaped eastern North Carolina from the eighteenth century through the Civil War. During this period, the community evolved from a small settlement along the Falls of the Tar River into an emerging industrial and transportation hub. Edgecombe County was formed from Bertie County in 1741, and Nash County was created from Edgecombe in 1777 (Corbitt 1975:95, 157; Mattson 1987:46).

Settlement of what is now Rocky Mount by people of English and African descent began in the eighteenth century as colonists pushed west from North Carolina's coastal plain. In the aftermath of the Tuscarora War and the subsequent displacement of Indigenous peoples, the distribution of colonial land grants opened the region to settlers. Colonists gradually entered the area from coastal North Carolina and Virginia through the mid-eighteenth century. From the 1740s through the 1770s, additional settlers of German and Scots-Irish descent moved to the Piedmont from Pennsylvania, traveling along the Great Wagon Road. All these individuals were in search of cheaper, more abundant land (Mattson 1987:47).

Rocky Mount's initial settlement centered on the Falls of the Tar River, and the livelihood of the community depended on the waterpower generated by the falls (Mearns 1979:9; Ohno 1980:7-1). While settlement in the area began in the eighteenth century, it was not until 1816 that the population of Rocky Mount warranted the establishment of a post office (Mearns 1979:9). In the early nineteenth century, local cotton farmers Joel Battle and Peter Evans were aware of cotton mill construction in the Northeast. Wanting to maximize their cotton profits, Battle and Evans joined forces with Rhode Island-native Henry Donaldson to construct a four-story stone cotton mill known as the Great Falls Mill (Kullen 1998:8-21). Now known as the Rocky Mount Mills, it is the second oldest cotton mill site in the state. Historically, farmers throughout the region brought their cotton to the mill for processing (Kullen 1998:7-1).

Transportation and Early Town Growth

One of the most important, if not the most important, events in Rocky Mount's history was the completion of the Wilmington and Raleigh Railroad, later renamed the Wilmington and Weldon Railroad. Initially, the Wilmington and Raleigh Railroad was meant to connect Wilmington, the state's largest port, with the capital at Raleigh; however, planning in the late 1830s led the company directors to relocate the final destination to Halifax in order to connect with the Roanoke River and Virginia's fast-expanding railroad network (Lewis 2018). This revised railroad route resulted in a stop near Rocky Mount, marking its introduction as a railroad town (Mearns 1979:9). At the time of its completion in 1840, the railroad line measured 161.5 miles, making it the longest in the world (Lewis 2018). In 1855, the railroad was renamed the Wilmington and Weldon Railroad (Lewis 2018).

Around 1840, Rocky Mount remained concentrated around the Falls of the Tar to the north, while the new railroad line ran across the plain to the south. The arrival of the railroad quickly prompted business owners and new development to gravitate towards the railroad tracks. By the mid-1840s, the center of town had shifted to its present location along the railroad (Mearns 1979:9).

In addition to being a stop along the Wilmington and Weldon Railroad, Rocky Mount also became a major stop on the Raleigh-Tarboro stage line (Mearns 1979:9). This combination of transportation networks, along with the growth of the antebellum textile industry, proved to be a catalyst for Rocky Mount's growth and development in the decades to come.

The Civil War

Rocky Mount's development was slowed by the onset of the Civil War. Despite this setback, Rocky Mount Mills played a significant role in the Confederate cause as a cotton goods manufactory, which produced cloth for the Confederate uniforms and yarn for socks (Kullen 1998:8-22; Mattson 1987:51). One event in particular caused substantial damage to Rocky Mount and the surrounding area. On July 20, 1863, Major Ferris Jacobs of the U.S. Army led a raid on Rocky Mount. The primary objective was to destroy the Wilmington and Weldon Railroad bridge over the Tar River, which would disrupt the Confederacy's already fragile rail system and prevent supplies from being delivered to General Lee following the Battle of Gettysburg (Norris 1996:4). In addition to taking out the bridge, Major Jacobs and his men seized a machine shop "filled with war munitions," several warehouses, railroad rolling stock and the depot, edible provisions, and manufactured goods (Barrett 1963:165; Mattson 1987:51). Most of what Federal troops captured was burned, including a cotton factory, gin, and gristmill at Rocky Mount (Mattson 1987:51; Mearns 1979:9). In a letter home, Captain Rowland M. Hall of the Third New York Calvary wrote that the raid on Rocky Mount "was eminently and gloriously successful" (Norris 1996:25).

3.2 Postwar Recovery and Early Urban Growth, 1866–1890

Post-Civil War Recovery and Incorporation

Despite the significant damage sustained by the railroad and local industries, and the destruction of Rocky Mount Mills during the Civil War, Rocky Mount experienced rapid recovery in the postwar years (Ohno 1980:8-1). In 1867, the North Carolina General Assembly (NCGA) ratified an Act of Incorporation that granted Rocky Mount official town status and authorized the election of a Board of Commissioners (Mearns 1979:9). The first commissioners were Dr. R. C. Tilley, W. W. Parker, T. H. Griffin, A. J. Grey, Robert Ricks, and G. W. Hammon (NCGA 1867:353).

Just a few years later, in 1871, the Edgecombe-Nash County line at the Falls of the Tar was realigned to follow the railroad tracks. This change resulted in half of Rocky Mount lying in Nash County and the other half in Edgecombe County (Mearns 1979:9). Two explanations have been offered for the reasoning behind moving the county line. According to local tradition, Edgecombe County no longer wished to pay for the maintenance costs associated with the bridge over the Falls of the Tar, which connected the two counties and whose upkeep had been shared. Because Nash County residents reportedly used the bridge more frequently, the only way to transfer ownership and maintenance responsibility to Nash was to convince state legislators to move the boundary (Mattson 1987:52).

A second explanation is more politically charged and reflects the dynamics of the Reconstruction era. The boundary change redistributed voters from Edgecombe County, where Black officials were frequently elected to the General Assembly, to Nash County, where Black officials were far less common (Mattson 1987:52). It is likely that both explanations contributed to the decision to realign the county line.

By the close of the Reconstruction era, Rocky Mount saw signs of growth. Rocky Mount Mills was rebuilt after the war and again in 1870, following a fire reportedly set by a disgruntled worker in 1869 (Battle 1930:181; Kullen 1998:8-22). Though the mill remained in operation, it struggled to establish a strong financial footing (Kullen 1998:8-22). Despite the mill's financial challenges, the town continued to expand. In the 1870s, it was noted that "there is not a dwelling house in Rocky Mount which is not occupied or engaged for another year" (Mearns 1979:9). This demand for housing likely reflected rural residents seeking stable employment in Rocky Mount's mills and railroad industries after the Civil War.

Economic Diversification, Rail Infrastructure, and Continued Town Growth

After the Civil War, the sharp decline in cotton prices led farmers throughout eastern North Carolina to diversify their crops. The introduction of bright leaf tobacco to the region soon proved transformative and established Rocky Mount as the region's top tobacco market. The Rocky Mount Tobacco Market opened for business in 1887 (Fearnbach 2008a:8-74). This allowed local farmers to easily bring their tobacco to market, rather than having to make the trek to either Oxford or Henderson (Mattson 1987:51).

As the largest urban center serving the primarily agricultural counties of Nash and Edgecombe, Rocky Mount supported a wide range of merchants, tradespeople, and small industries. According Branson's North Carolina business directories from 1872, 1884, and 1890, Rocky Mount boasted four makers of wheeled vehicles, including the Hackney and Brothers coach factory; the cotton yarns and textile factory at Rocky Mount Mills; shoe and boot makers; builders and contractors; a cotton gin; a harness and saddle maker; and a tin and sheet-iron factory (Mattson 1987:52). Additional industries included a fertilizer factory and an ice plant (Ohno 1980:8-4).

During the Gilded Age, Rocky Mount solidified its identity as a railroad town. The construction of new rail lines through town, coupled with the rise of bright leaf tobacco, led Rocky Mount to become a regional tobacco marketing and processing center (Ohno 1980). The town's recovery and expansion remained closely tied to the operations of the Wilmington and Weldon Railroad, whose infrastructure had suffered extensive damage at the hands of both Federal and Confederate troops during the Civil War (Lewis 2018). Once the line was restored around 1866, the Wilmington and Weldon Railroad offered improved connections, which would help propel Rocky Mount's economic prosperity in the decades that followed.

Rocky Mount's growth is clearly illustrated in its first Sanborn Fire Insurance Map, which was published in 1885. The map depicts a sparsely built but expanding business district clustered along the vital railroad corridor that served as the town's economic and physical spine (Ohno 1980:8-1; Sanborn Map Company [Sanborn] 1885). By 1890, Rocky Mount had a population of 650 residents and was serviced by a hotel, boarding house, post office, jeweler, hardware merchant, 16 manufactories, 75

merchants, 5 lawyers, and 5 doctors (Mearns 1979:9). Rocky Mount had emerged from the postwar and Reconstruction eras as a small but steadily expanding commercial and industrial center. The foundations laid during this period, including renewed mills, a diversified economy, and its strengthened rail connections, set the stage for a major wave of urban growth and building activity that defined the town in the twentieth century.

3.3 “Come to Rocky Mount, go into business and get wealth,” 1891–1929

Rocky Mount experienced unprecedented growth from circa 1891 through the onset of the Great Depression (Mearns 1979:12). The railroad and tobacco industries fueled the city’s construction boom, linking the three sectors in a cyclical pattern that brought sustained prosperity to Rocky Mount. As railroad employment increased and tobacco processing expanded, the demand for new buildings grew accordingly. These construction projects, in turn, generated additional jobs and capital, which diversified the local economy and encouraged additional investment in both the railroad and tobacco industries (Mearns 1979:10). During this period, the population rose significantly, from roughly 850 residents in 1890, to about 8,500 in 1910, to approximately 12,700 in 1920 (Mattson 1987:54). Of these roughly 12,700 residents, approximately half were African American (Fearnbach 2008a:8-74).

Railroad Expansion and Industrial Growth

Rocky Mount’s railroad infrastructure expanded dramatically in these decades. The Wilmington and Weldon Railroad, Rocky Mount’s pioneer line, became the Atlantic Coast Line Railroad (ACL) in 1899 (Lewis 2018). The ACL’s Tarboro branch linked Rocky Mount to the North Carolina coast and Norfolk, Virginia, while another line extended to Rolesville in Wake County, providing improved access to regional markets (Mearns 1979:10).

In 1892, the ACL established a major complex of maintenance, repair, construction, and refueling shops in south Rocky Mount, known as the Emerson Shops (Mearns 1979:10). The complex opened in 1893 and became the city’s largest employer (Mearns 1979:10). Its completion significantly increased demand for housing, retail establishments, and services (Fearnbach 2008a:8-74). Increasing rail traffic prompted the construction of a monumental passenger station at the corner of Main and Hammond streets in 1903, designed and built by one of Rocky Mount’s most prominent contracting firms, D. J. Rose and Company. The Atlantic Coast Line Railroad Station (NS0013) stood as a physical symbol of Rocky Mount’s success and growing prominence as a regional transportation and tobacco hub.

Projects like the Emerson Shops and the passenger station stimulated the local brick industry. Jeffreys and Ricks Clay Works opened in 1902, using local clay deposits to manufacture bricks (Mearns 1979:10). Brick, prized for its fireproof qualities, became the material of choice for public buildings, factories, and commercial structures. Tobacco warehouses constructed after 1900 were generally built of brick, as was the Rocky Mount Hosiery Company in 1905 (Mearns 1979:10). Numerous brick stores and offices lined Washington, Tarboro, and Main streets, reinforcing the architectural character of the growing downtown commercial district (Mearns 1979:10).

Tobacco warehouses multiplied during this period to accommodate Rocky Mount’s ever-expanding market. By the 1910s and 1920s, tobacco warehouses anchored the north end of town, creating a distinctive industrial landscape (Mearns 1979:10). The influx of cash generated by the tobacco market

contributed to the establishment of the Bank of Rocky Mount (Mearns 1979:10). The expansion of the tobacco industry attracted merchants, warehouse workers, processors, farmers, and railroad laborers to the city, all of whom contributed to its significant population growth.

Municipal Improvement, Public Services, and Institutional Growth

In 1892, the Rocky Mount Improvement and Manufacturing Company, a precursor to the Chamber of Commerce, formed (Mearns 1979:9). Composed of Pennsylvania capitalists, the company “purchased 384 acres lying between the Tarboro and Nashville Roads on the east and west and Thomas Street and the tobacco warehouses on the south, and on the north the Tar River and Rocky Mount Mills” (Mearns 1979:9).³ The company pledged to grade and build streets, create a riverside park and drive, and prepare “plans and specifications for a large number of residences and other buildings which will be commenced at once” (Mearns 1979:9). Although its precise impact is uncertain, Rocky Mount’s population increased from 850 in 1890 to 2,500 by 1896, suggesting that the company likely played a meaningful role in stimulating local development (Mearns 1979:10).

Other municipal improvements in the early part of the twentieth century included the installation of public water and sewer systems in 1900 and electricity generated by the power plant on Andrews Street by 1901 (Mearns 1979:10). By that year, the town employed two “night policemen,” and the fire station maintained a roster of 55 men and a steam engine housed on Sunset Avenue (Mearns 1979:19). Paving and lighting improvements soon followed. The city laid 5 miles of paved streets and 22 miles of sidewalks (Ohno 1980:8-5). Not long after, the paved streets expanded to 15 miles, and 65 miles of streets were illuminated by electric streetlights (Ohno 1980:8-5).

Rocky Mount’s continued growth led to its city charter on February 28, 1907, which encouraged further municipal and private investment (Mearns 1979:11). New civic and institutional buildings followed, including the Ricks Hotel (1909), a hospital for railroad employees, the Rocky Mount Sanatorium (1913), and Braswell Memorial Library (1923) (Mearns 1979:11). The construction of new schools and the establishment of a country club further demonstrated the city’s rising prosperity (Mearns 1979:11).

Residential Development and Neighborhood Growth

Rocky Mount’s population increase drove the need for additional housing, due in part to the growing workforce employed by the railroad, tobacco warehouses, and mills. Early residential development occurred along Church, Franklin, Arlington, Pearl, and Grace streets, located adjacent to downtown (Mearns 1979:11). As these areas were built out, new neighborhoods such as West Haven and Englewood were opened for development (Mearns 1979:11).

Between 1890 and 1910, wealthy merchants, tradesmen, industrialists, bankers, and professionals increasingly built dwellings and commercial buildings throughout the city (Fearnbach 2008a:8-74). Many affluent residences were executed in the fashionable Queen Anne style. In contrast, mill workers

³ Although not confirmed, this may be referring to an area lying on the north side of town.

lived in more modest housing types, including shotgun houses, saddlebag dwellings, L-plan houses, and hipped-roof cottages near the manufacturing complexes (Fearnbach 2008a:8-74).

During the 1910s and 1920s, African American entrepreneurs established a vibrant commercial district on East Thomas Street. This area featured stores, offices, restaurants, and movie theaters (Fearnbach 2008a:8-74). The area, located northeast of downtown, served African American patrons from the nearby neighborhoods, as well as surrounding communities across eastern North Carolina (Fearnbach 2008a:8-74).

The 1920s: Roads, Regional Connectivity, and Expanded Markets

The 1920s brought significant improvements to transportation networks. Governor Cameron Morrison's statewide plan to link North Carolina's county seats and principal towns through a system of 5,500 miles of hard surface roads strengthened Rocky Mount's connections to places like Nashville and Tarboro (Mattson 1987:54). These improved roads contributed to the establishment of the Rocky Mount Farmer's Exchange, which aimed to provide a local market for farmers, encourage crop diversification, and increase traffic in local businesses by out-of-town consumers (Mattson 1987:54).

Additional growth included the construction of an airport outside of Rocky Mount, which opened in July 1927 (Mattson 1987:54). This important connection placed the city on the airmail route between Washington, DC and Atlanta (Mattson 1987:54). The rail network also remained robust. By 1925, a total of 147 trains per day passed through Rocky Mount, including 42 passenger trains and 105 freight trains (Ohno 1980:8-6).

By 1929, Rocky Mount had completed its transition from a small railroad town into a vibrant transportation, industrial, and commercial hub supported by a rapidly expanding and diverse population. Despite this growth, progress would be challenged by the economic hardship of the Great Depression and the disruptions brought on by World War II.

3.4 The Great Depression and World War II, 1929–1945

With the stock market crash in October 1929 and the subsequent economic depression, Rocky Mount's rapid growth slowed; however, its industrial and commercial activity continued. The city's diversified economy, anchored by tobacco, textiles, and the railroad, helped stabilize Rocky Mount during some of the nation's most challenging economic years. New Deal programs reshaped the city's physical and civic landscape, and World War II introduced new economic demands.

The Impact of the Great Depression

Some businesses in downtown Rocky Mount struggled during the Great Depression, with some permanently closing their doors; however, many factories and mills remained open, and in some cases, increased production as national markets for both tobacco and cotton remained strong (Fearnbach 2008a:8-75). Around this time, Rocky Mount supported seven tobacco factories and redrying plants, a cotton mill, a mattress factory, two fertilizer factories, a cordage factory, several woodworking plants, the ACL's Emerson Shops, and both the tobacco and cotton markets (Ohno 1980:8-6).

Tobacco continued to be a mainstay of the economy during the 1930s. In 1939 alone, 67 million pounds of leaf were auctioned off in the city, making Rocky Mount the third largest tobacco market in North Carolina behind Wilson and Greenville (Mattson 1987:54). The Rocky Mount livestock market, which opened in 1931, reflected further agricultural diversification during difficult economic times (Fearnbach 2008a:8-76).

Transportation improvements also played a role in sustaining the economy. U.S. Route 301 opened in 1932, enhancing Rocky Mount's already robust transportation network. The city became a stop along the route between Washington, DC and Florida (Ohno 1980:8-6).

New Deal Programs and Local Improvements

Throughout the Great Depression, Rocky Mount saw a significant amount of New Deal-funded construction and public works activity. The Civil Works Authority (CWA), under the umbrella of the Federal Emergency Relief Administration (FERA), constructed a recreational lake to augment the city water supply (Mattson 1987:54). FERA initiatives also included the construction of two miles of highway and several thousand yards of sewer line (Mattson 1987:54). The Works Progress Administration (WPA) completed additional sewer projects and undertook drainage and mosquito control operations (Mattson 1987:54). The WPA also constructed a three-million-gallon water purification facility and a million-gallon water storage tank (Mattson 1987:54). Together, these efforts provided work relief for local laborers to mitigate the effects of economic hardship in Rocky Mount in the 1930s.

By the late 1930s, Rocky Mount and the larger U.S. economy were beginning to recover. In 1939, Rocky Mount supported 39 grocery stores and 96 other food retailers; 39 filling stations; 44 restaurants; 5 bars; 33 clothing and shoe stores; 13 drug stores; 12 furniture stores; 3 hardware stores; 5 household appliance and radio stores; 5 jewelry stores; 5 feed stores; 4 lumber and building materials dealers; and 8 fuel and ice dealers (Fearnbach 2008a:8-77). Twenty-eight manufacturing firms employed an average of 1,241 laborers and generated almost \$7 million in products annually (Fearnbach 2008a:8-77).

World War II and the Wartime Homefront

By the end of 1940, Rocky Mount was home to approximately 26,000 residents (Fearnbach 2008a:8-77). With the outbreak of World War II, many male residents enlisted, while those who remained at home filled vacant positions in local mills and factories or participated in bond drives, victory gardens, and other volunteer efforts (Fearnbach 2008a:8-77). Military trains transported thousands of servicemen through Rocky Mount during the war, with the city serving as a transfer station (Fearnbach 2008a:8-77).

By the end of World War II, Rocky Mount had reestablished itself as a resilient and regionally significant industrial and transportation center. New Deal programs modernized civic infrastructure, while wartime production accelerated economic activity. Emerging suburbanization, increased automobile ownership, and evolving industrial practices came together to shape Rocky Mount's built environment in the years following the war.

4.0 HISTORIC CONTEXTS

This section presents an overview of the history of Rocky Mount, North Carolina, from the period 1945 to 1975. It focuses on industry and commerce; residential and suburban development; community institutions; civil rights, voting rights, and desegregation; and public housing and urban renewal.

For a history of Rocky Mount from the eighteenth century to 1945, see Section 3.0 Historical Background. The history of Rocky Mount prior to 1945 has been thoroughly documented in previous surveys, including Kate Ohno's 1979 intensive-level Rocky Mount survey and Richard L. Mattson's 1984–1985 comprehensive Nash County survey (see Section 2.3). In addition to previous major survey work undertaken in Rocky Mount, the city has eight NRHP-listed historic districts as of December 2025. The districts' periods of significance range from 1835 to 1971. These historic districts contain historical background and context for community planning and development, Black ethnic heritage, industry, commerce, transportation, and public works. The NRHP-listed Rocky Mount Central City Historic District Boundary Increase, Boundary Decrease, and Additional Documentation provides a commerce context for Rocky Mount up to 1961. For these reasons, the historic context presented in this section focuses on the period from 1945 to 1975.

4.1 Post-World War II Industry and Commerce, 1945–1975

Immediate Postwar Industry and Commerce, 1945–1950

Rocky Mount's economy continued to diversify in the years following World War II, but agricultural processing remained the city's primary industry. In 1947, the city's 48 manufacturing establishments employed an average of 2,674 laborers. By 1948, the city had 14 tobacco warehouses; 10 redrying plants; 9 purchasing companies; 126 food stores; 80 eating and drinking places; 16 general merchandise stores; 31 apparel stores; 26 furniture, furnishing, and appliance stores; 25 auto stores; 18 auto repair services and garages; 37 gasoline stations; 5 hotels; 17 lumber, building, and hardware dealers; and 13 drug and proprietary stores (Fearnbach 2008a:8-77; United States Bureau of the Census [USBC] 1951a:32.11, 32.13; 1951b:32.17, 32.23).

Indicative of the city's strong postwar tobacco market, local enterprises and tobacco companies from other parts of the state established tobacco processing facilities and warehouses in Rocky Mount. In 1946, Liggett & Myers Tobacco Company, headquartered in Durham, North Carolina, established a tobacco re-drying plant at 724 Albemarle Avenue (ED2482). The plant was heightened from one story to two stories and converted into a stemmery in 1949. In 1967, a production and office addition was built adjacent to the stemmery (Figure 4.1 and Figure 4.2; *Rocky Mount Telegram* [RMT], 30 June 1967:11). Many of the tobacco workers/laborers at the stemmery were Black men, but Black women and a few white women were also employed as workers. Office, maintenance, and managerial positions were often held by white employees (Hill Directory Company [HDC] 1950, 1952). Liggett & Myers Tobacco Company owned the property until 1980 when they sold it to the city.

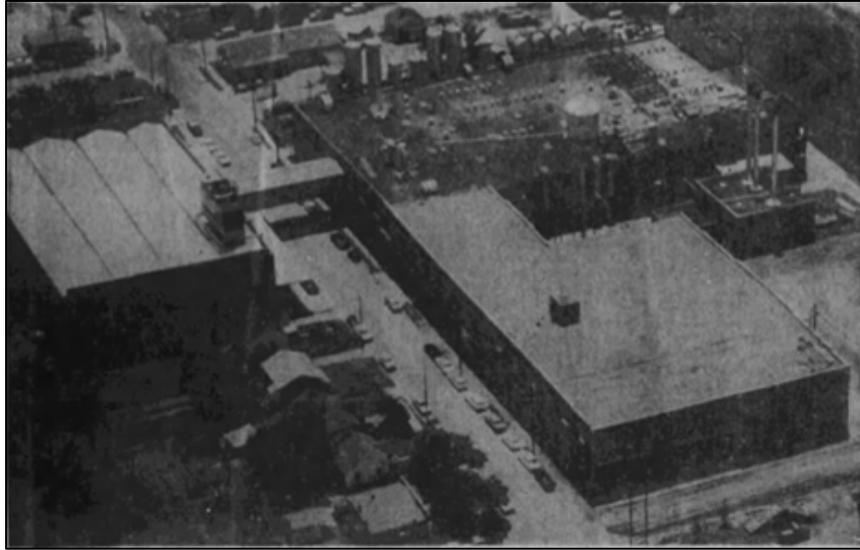


Figure 4.1: 1967 aerial photograph of Liggett & Myers Company stemmery in Rocky Mount (Killebrew 1967).



Figure 4.2: 2025 photograph of Liggett & Myers Company stemmery in Rocky Mount (ED2428).

In 1947, Raymond J. Works and his son Raymond J. Works Jr. opened their tobacco auction business at the R. J. Works & Son Warehouse at 1441 South Church Street (NS1650) (Figure 4.3 and Figure 4.4; RMT, 19 August 1947:14). The father and son operated the business from the late 1940s to early 1980s (RMT, 22 October 1995:9). Another tobacco warehouse established a few years after World War II was Jimmie D. Smith's warehouse at 1515 South Church Street (NS1653) (Figure 4.5 and

Figure 4.6).⁴ Both Raymond J. Works and Jimmie D. Smith were veteran warehousemen of the city (RMT, 18 August 1943:10).



Figure 4.3: 1957 photograph of R. J. Works & Son Warehouse (Killebrew 1957).



Figure 4.4: 2025 photograph of R. J. Works & Son Warehouse (NS1650).

⁴ Jimmie D. Smith also owned the Smith & Works Warehouse (NS1213) at 208 North Church Street. Sometime after 1946, that warehouse became known as Smith's Warehouse No. 1.

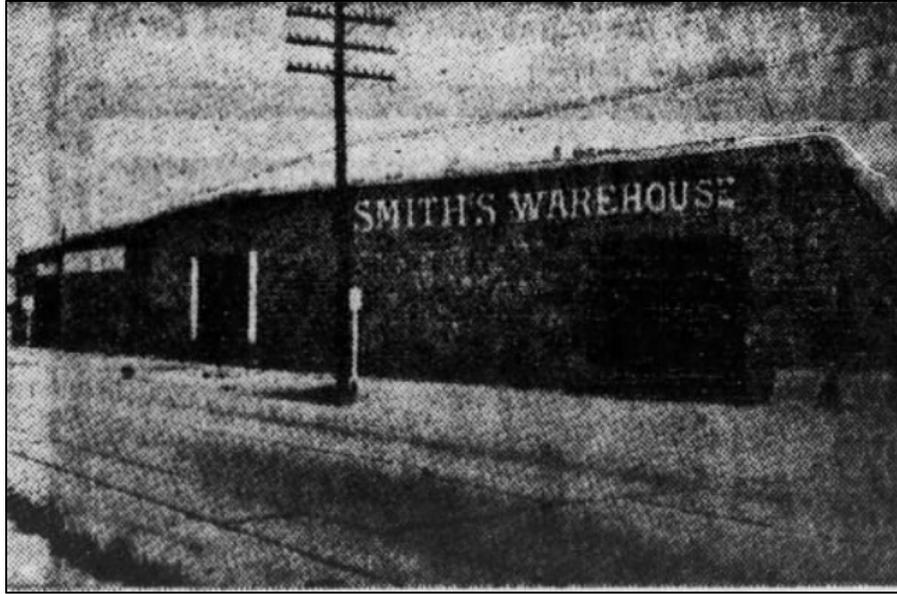


Figure 4.5: Circa-1950 photograph of Smith's Warehouse No. 2 (RMT, 13 August 1950:69).



Figure 4.6: 2025 photograph of Smith's Warehouse No. 2 (NS1653).

Some manufacturers established prior to World War II diversified their products during and after the war. Schottland Mills (NS1609), for example, manufactured Japanese silk fabrics from 1928 until 1943 when the firm began producing rayon fabric, cotton cloths, and novelties (*Manufacturers' Record*, 17 May 1928:69; RMT, 26 September 1958:9). The firm underwent rapid expansion in the 1950s and 1960s and built manufacturing and warehouse additions (RMT, 3 August 1962:9). The firm, however, ran into financial difficulties in the 1970s and ceased operations in 1975 (RMT, 8 May 1975:24).

Economic Diversification, 1950–1975

Rocky Mount served as a market and shipping point for most of the products raised in the surrounding area. During the 1950s, the city boasted one of the world's largest bright-leaf tobacco markets and served as the retail trade and financial center for Edgecombe and Nash counties (known as the Twin Counties) (Fearnbach 2008a:8-78; Rocky Mount Planning Department [RMPD] 1974:9; Figure 4.7). Tobacco accounted for most of the income from farm products in the Twin Counties in the 1950s and 1960s (Rocky Mount Planning Board [RMPB] 1964:39). Rocky Mount's livestock market saw approximately \$8 million worth of swine and cattle sold in 1950, about one-third of the revenue generated from the city's tobacco market (Fearnbach 2008a:8-78). By 1958, the city had 611 retail and service establishments and accounted for over 50 percent of the Twin Counties' auto dealers; apparel and accessory stores; and furniture, home furnishing, and equipment stores (USBC 1961a:33-10, 33-12; 1961c:33-9, 33-10).

Rocky Mount's economy continued to shift towards manufacturing, wholesale, and retail trade during the third quarter of the twentieth century. Besides agriculture, the largest employer during this period was manufacturing, followed by retail and wholesale trade, service, and real estate (RMPD 1974:9). Industrial concerns included cotton, rayon, silk, and feed mills; mattress, fertilizer, cordage, plywood, and Venetian blind factories; a tank fabricating plant; and the ACL's Emerson Shops (Fearnbach 2009:8-78). In 1960, retail trade accounted for 19.5 percent of Rocky Mount workers, manufacturing accounted for 10.1 percent, and wholesale accounted for 4.9 percent (RMPB 1964:32).

The city's high percentage of wholesale and retail workers was in part due to the city being a major shopping and distribution center (RMPB 1964:28). In 1958, Rocky Mount accounted for roughly 43.1 percent of the Twin Counties' retail and service establishments (USBC 1961a, 1962c). The city's 104 wholesale establishments accounted for roughly 62.3 percent of all wholesale establishments in the Twin Counties and served local and regional markets (USBC 1961b:33-8, 33-9).

The Thomas & Howard Company, a Durham-based wholesale grocery distributor, operated a warehouse in Rocky Mount at 103 East Bassett Street (ED2410; Figure 4.8). The company had distribution facilities across North Carolina and South Carolina, and its Rocky Mount warehouse supplied supermarkets in eastern North Carolina and southern Virginia (RMT, 22 July 1986:7). In the 1950s and 1960s, many new distribution facilities were built outside what was then the city proper,

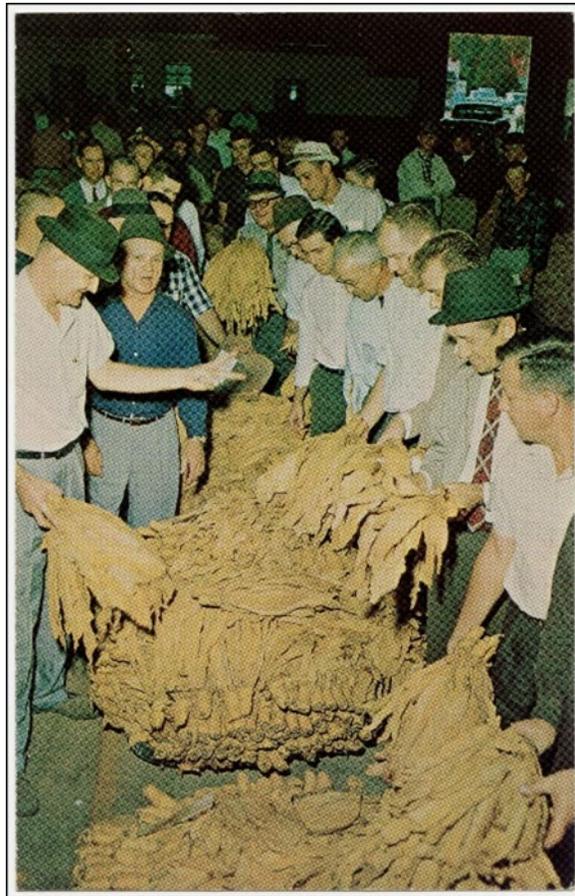


Figure 4.7: Undated postcard of a tobacco auction (Courtesy of Durwood Barbour Collection).

near major highways such as U.S. 64 Bypass, U.S. Highway 301, and Interstate 95 (I-95). A number of distribution facilities are located along North Church Street and Atlantic Avenue, north of U.S. 64 Bypass.



Figure 4.8: Thomas & Howard Company (ED2410).

The city attracted new manufacturers, and existing manufacturers expanded. Rocky Mount Undergarment Company, a women's and children's undergarments manufacturer, was founded in 1959 and moved into an existing textile plant at 1536 Boone Street (NS1621). In 1960, the company contracted Isaac Smith to construct an addition containing five production rooms and housing the company's sewing machines. The original 1953 textile plant was subsequently converted into a shipping center for the company. As a result of the expansion, the Rocky Mount Undergarment Company expected to increase its number of employees from 60 to 200, hiring mostly women to fill production positions (RMT, 19 June 1960:11). The Rocky Mount Undergarment Company expanded its mill again in 1964, 1966, and 1968 (RMT, 12 November 1964:15; 26 September 1966:7, 7 January 1968:16).

New retail establishments were built along newly constructed and improved highways and on previously residential streets. The construction of new shopping centers contributed to the city's commercial activity shifting from the central business district in downtown Rocky Mount to shopping centers outside the city's historic core (RMPD 1974:11, 27). In 1955, U.S. 301 Bypass was cut around the city to relieve congestion in the business district. The opening of Tarrytown Mall in 1963 at the intersection of U.S. 301 Bypass and Sunset Avenue drew customers away from the central business district (Fearnbach 2008a:8-80). Businesses relocating to shopping centers was the general trend across the state. It was also during this period that North Church and South Church streets, which were previously lined with single-family dwellings, transformed from residential into commercial streets. Many houses along North Church Street were two-story dwellings in the Queen Anne and Colonial Revival styles, while more modest dwellings with restrained Queen Anne-, Colonial Revival-, and Craftsman-style elements lined South Church Street. The streets gradually transformed into

commercial-oriented streets from the 1930s through 1970s (Figure 4.9). Many of the streets' houses and residential blocks were demolished to make way for auto-oriented and commercial businesses, municipal and commercial offices, tobacco warehouses, and other retail businesses.



Figure 4.9: 900 and 800 blocks of North Church Street, view facing southwest.

Automobile-related establishments were important components of the local economy by the mid-twentieth century. These enterprises included filling and service stations, garages, auto dealers, auto-part stores, and wholesale oil dealers. They were typically located along major thoroughfares in the city such as Church Street, West Thomas Street, Sunset Avenue, Raleigh Boulevard, and Cokey Road. Many of these auto-related buildings were utilitarian in design: filling and service stations typically have a box-and-canopy form, while auto repair garages often have a box form with an office/waiting room and a service bay. Some early examples of filling and service stations built in the 1930s and 1940s were constructed in the Art Deco and Moderne styles, while some post-World War II auto-related buildings were constructed in the Moderne and Modernist styles. The Rose Buick Company at 600 South Washington Street (ED2407) is a late example of the Art Moderne style, featuring a flat-roofed showroom with a curved corner and a service shop with a barrel roof. The Rose Buick Company was a Buick automobile dealer founded in 1925 at 235 Tarboro Street and is believed to be Rocky Mount's oldest automobile establishment (RMT, 16 May 1954:6). Built in 1961, the Tenneco Service Station at 401 North Church Street (NS1688) has a slant-and-flat-roofed office and a front-gabled garage; the garage originally had a flat roof that was replaced in the 2010s. The North Church Street Tiga Service Station at 820 North Church Street (NS1695) was built in 1969 and is a rare example of the Googie style in Rocky Mount (Figure 4.10).



Figure 4.10: North Church Street Tiga Service Station (NS1695).

In 1959, the Atlantic Coast Line Railroad Company began closing the Emerson Shops and relocated its railroad shops to Waycross, Georgia, and Florence, South Carolina. This initiated the economic decline of neighborhoods whose development and commercial activity were closely linked to the ACL, such as South Rocky Mount. The ACL began laying off workers in 1959, and many ACL workers either transferred or retired (Nichols 1968; RMT, 28 October 2001:2). The Emerson Shops were demolished between 2023 and 2025.

Beginning in the late 1960s, Rocky Mount's agricultural processing base began to decline. From 1962 to 1972, agriculture employment decreased from 13,770 to 8,080 laborers (41.3% decrease). Manufacturing employment, however, increased from 8,080 to 16,540 laborers (104.7% increase). The shift from agriculture to other industries followed the state and national trend in the 1960s and 1970s. Farms required fewer farm workers due to increased mechanization. Former farm workers moved to urban areas in search of more promising job opportunities. The area's farm population was also negatively affected by lower farm incomes and the high cost of machinery, resulting in either the consolidation or subdividing of farms (RMPD 1974:128).

The tourism industry was also an important component of the local economy due to the city's location along U.S. Highway 301, a major north-south highway that served as the main tourist route from New York to Florida. By 1958, Rocky Mount had two hotels and eight motels and auto courts (HDC 1958). In 1955, U.S. 301 Bypass was cut around Rocky Mount's business district to relieve congestion in the business district. Nonetheless, commercial activity along U.S. 301 Business remained strong as various commercial establishments, many of them auto-related businesses, were built along U.S. 301 Business from the 1950s through 1970s. Established in 1950 on the west side of U.S. 301 Business (the segment of U.S. Highway 301 that ran through Rocky Mount's business district), Mosley's Shady Lake Motel (NS0565) originally had a U-shaped arrangement of individual and paired cottages organized around a tree-shaded open space. A small lake was located to the rear (west) of the cottages. In 1955, a new

T-shaped building comprising 30 units was built on the west side of the lake to face the new U.S. 301 Bypass (Mattson 1987:277). The individual and paired cottages were removed by 1993.

Rocky Mount had seven businesses advertised in *The Negro Motorist Green Book* and *The Negro Travelers' Green Book*, colloquially known as the *Green Book*. Published from 1936 to 1966, the *Green Book* was a travel guide for Black travelers that advertised businesses that were integrated or considered safe places for Black people to patronize during the Jim Crow era. In North Carolina, the *Green Book* advertised 317 businesses between 1938 and 1967 in 34 of North Carolina's 100 counties. Most of the *Green Book* businesses were restaurants, hotels, and beauty parlors. Rocky Mount's *Green Book* listings included the Lincoln Park Motel (ED1605, NRHP 1999), Wright's Motel (NS1365), Dixie Restaurant, City Barber Shop (ED0555, NRHP 1999), John Wimberly's tailor shop (ED2400), Atlantic Service Station, and Shaw's Service Station (NS1599). Five of Rocky Mount's seven *Green Book* listings are extant.

The completion of I-95 through Nash County in the mid-1970s resulted in the rerouting of tourist traffic from U.S. Highway 301 to I-95. Within a few years after a segment of I-95 was opened from Weldon to Rocky Mount, many motel, service station, and restaurant operators in Nash and Halifax counties experienced a significant loss of customers. One service station owner noted that they no longer operated 24 hours a day and had to let go of employees. A motel operator estimated that his business had declined by around 75 percent and rented rooms by the week. Restaurants that once operated every day of the week changed to five days a week and were only open during certain hours (RMT, 3 May 1970:11, 20).

In 1977, Rocky Mount boasted 836 retail and service establishments. These included *26 building materials, hardware, and farm equipment dealers; 21 general merchandise stores; 121 food stores; *61 automotive dealers; *72 gasoline services; 52 auto repair services and garages; *61 apparel and accessory stores; *50 furniture, home furnishings, and equipment stores; *100 eating and drinking places; *16 drug stores and proprietary stores; *115 "miscellaneous" retail stores; *28 hotels, motels, trailering [*sic*] parks, and camps; *57 "miscellaneous" repair services; 32 amusement and recreation establishments; and 24 legal services (USBC 1980:34-80, 34-82; 1981b:34-64, 34-66).⁵ The city was also home to 79 manufacturing and 132 wholesale establishments, with the latter accounting for roughly 61.7 percent of wholesale establishments in the Twin Counties (USBC 1981a:34-10; 1981c:34-44).

4.2 Residential and Suburban Development, 1945–1980s

Residential and Suburban Development

Rocky Mount's prosperous economy in the mid-twentieth century attracted workers and their families to the city, as was the trend in previous decades. In 1950, Rocky Mount's population of 27,697 accounted for approximately 24.8 percent of the combined population of the Twin Counties (RMPB 1964:3).⁶ From 1960 to 1970, the city's population grew from 32,147 to 34,284 and its share of the

⁵ An asterisk (*) denotes Rocky Mount establishments that account for at least 50 percent of those establishments in the Twin Counties.

⁶ Edgecombe and Nash counties had a combined population of 111,553 in 1950 (RMPB 1964:3).

Twin Counties' population rose to approximately 30.8 percent. During that same period, the Twin Counties' combined population decreased from 115,228 to 111,463 (RMPD 1974:120). The Rocky Mount Planning Department attributed the Twin Counties' population decrease between 1960 and 1970 with "the lack of local opportunity, the decline of local agricultural employment, the lack of diversity in the local industry, and the general attractiveness of opportunities to be found in metropolitan areas" (RMPD 1974:121). In North Carolina, the migration of people from rural to urban areas was the general trend.

With a growing population in Rocky Mount came a burgeoning demand for housing. From 1950 to 1970, the number of dwelling units increased from 7,666 to 11,777 (or 53.6%) to house the city's new residents (RMPB 1964:14; RMPD 1974:136). The city's housing development expanded outwards from the city center.

Existing subdivisions experienced a resurgence in housing construction from the late 1940s through 1970s. Some of Rocky Mount's subdivisions platted prior to World War II were not built out until the 1950s to 1970s. Hargrove (ED2435), a primarily residential neighborhood in the South Rocky Mount section of the city, was originally platted in 1909 but remained largely vacant until the late 1940s. Following World War II, Hargrove experienced a housing boom like other developments in the city (Figure 4.11 and Figure 4.12). The neighborhood's number of households nearly doubled over the span of roughly 20 years, increasing from 165 in 1940 to 323 in 1963 (HDC 1940, 1963). By 1959, dwellings lined most of Hargrove's streets (Nationwide Environmental Title Research [NETR] 1959). Hargrove was originally a predominantly white neighborhood, while Black residents lived in segregated areas at the west and south ends of the subdivision.

Englewood (NS0841), a residential suburb located to the west of the Tar River, was originally platted in 1925. At that time, it was located outside Rocky Mount's corporate limits. Development in Englewood was slow during the interwar period, and the subdivision was mostly vacant except for a few scattered single-family dwellings. Like Hargrove, Englewood experienced a housing boom from the 1940s through 1970s. Englewood's residential architecture is diverse and includes the Colonial Revival, Period Revival, Tudor Revival, Craftsman, Minimal Traditional, and Ranch styles.

On the Edgecombe County side of town, Edgemont Park's distribution of architectural styles reflects the neighborhood's two phases of development. Edgemont Park (ED2447) was platted in two stages in 1927 and 1930 (Edgecombe County Register of Deeds [ECRD] 1927, Map, 1:258; 1927, Map, 6:91; 1930, Map, 4:6; 1930, Map, 7:3). Edgemont Park gradually developed from the late 1920s through the 1930s, beginning in the northwest section of the subdivision. The neighborhood rapidly expanded to the east and south from the late 1940s through the 1950s, coinciding with the city's post-World War II housing boom (Figure 4.13 and Figure 4.14). Many of the neighborhood's earliest dwellings were designed in the Colonial Revival and Period Revival styles. Post-World War II dwellings constructed in the Minimal Traditional, Ranch, Period Revival, and Cape Cod styles dominate the neighborhood.

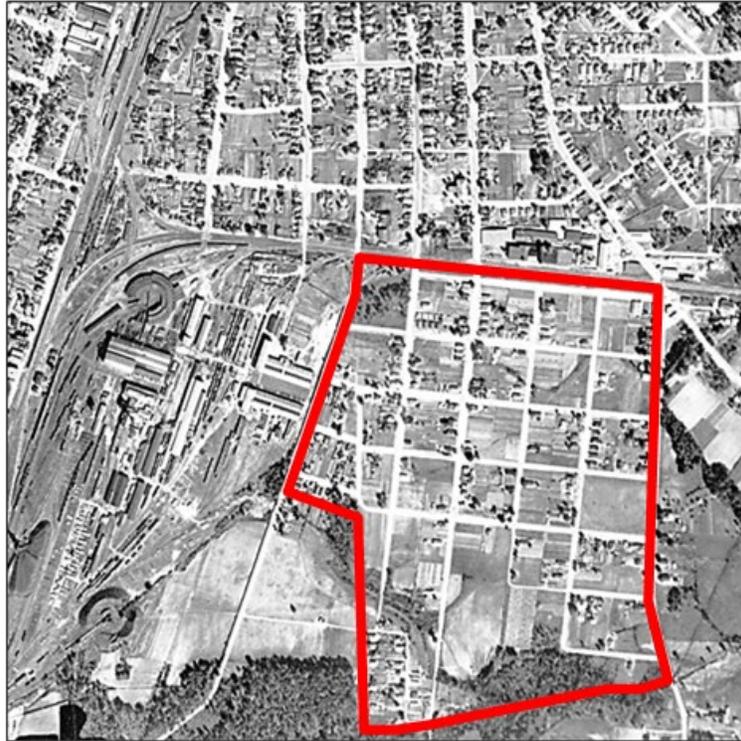


Figure 4.11: 1940 aerial photograph of Hargrove (United States Department of Agriculture [USDA] 1940). Not to scale.

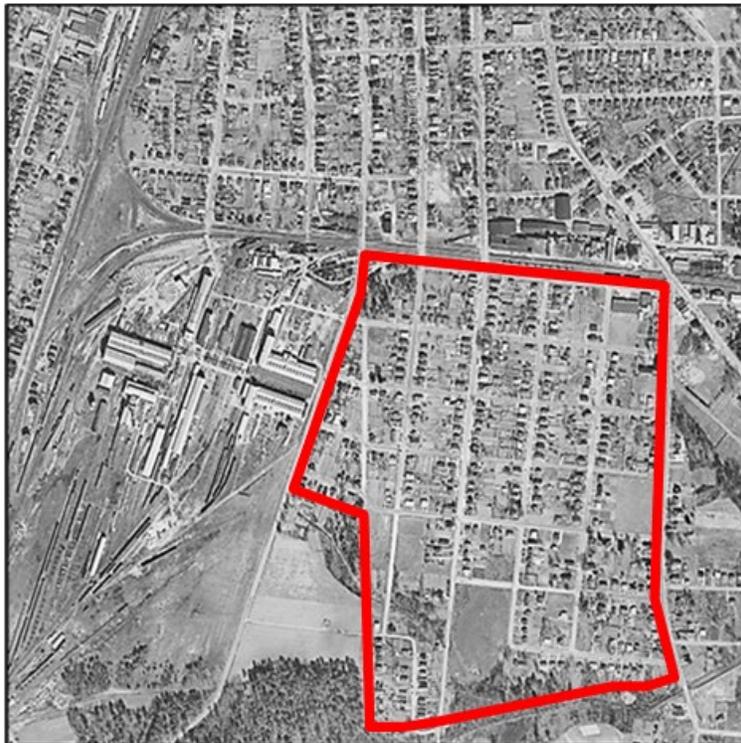


Figure 4.12: 1959 aerial photograph of Hargrove (NETR 1959). Not to scale.



Figure 4.13: 1940 aerial photograph of Edgemont Park (USDA 1940). Not to scale.



Figure 4.14: 1959 aerial photograph of Edgemont Park (NCDOT 1959). Not to scale.

New suburbs were platted near the city's fringes and outside corporate limits. In Rocky Mount, a significant rise in auto ownership and a burgeoning demand for housing facilitated suburban growth away from the city center. This was the trend across the state and country. On the Edgecombe County side of town, Meadowbrook (ED2403) was originally located outside the city's corporate limits when it was platted in 1955 and 1956 (Figure 4.15). The City of Rocky Mount annexed the subdivision in 1960 (RMT, 17 January 1960:17). Like other developments of the period, Meadowbrook contained covenants that restricted the minimum cost of a dwelling (\$9,500), minimum house footprint (1,000 square feet for a one-story house), building set back (60 feet), and outbuildings (ECRD 1956, Deed, 589:476). Limited deed and city directory research show that Meadowbrook was a white, working- and middle-class neighborhood (HDC 1963). With few exceptions, houses in Meadowbrook were constructed in the Ranch style. A typical lot measures 75 feet wide and 160 feet deep, with some variations. Houses are generally set back from the street by about 60 feet. Exteriors are generally clad with brick veneers, but exteriors clad with a combination of brick veneer and an additional material such as vinyl, aluminum, and wood siding are also present. The brick exterior and consistent house size and setbacks contribute to a uniform rhythm to the streetscape.



Figure 4.15: South side of the 1900 block of Beverly Road in Meadowbrook (ED2403).

Westridge (NS1668) was also originally located outside the city's corporate limits when it was platted in 1955 (Figure 4.16). Prior to the platting of Westridge, the land was composed of cultivated fields and woodland that were part of the M. O. Winstead Farm (USDA 1940; RMT, 22 July 1967:6; Nash County Register of Deeds [NCRD] 1954, Deed, 612:409). The loss of farmland to private developers for residential and suburban development was not uncommon in the second half of the twentieth century. In 1954, business partners and developers W. M. Spears and C. W. Heck began acquiring the land to establish and develop a new residential suburb for middle-class families (NCRD 1954, Deed, 612:409). The subdivision contained covenants that required all lots to be residential and limited the

minimum cost of a dwelling (\$10,000.00), maximum house height (two-and-one-half stories), minimum ground floor area (1,100 square feet for a one-story dwelling and 900 square feet for a dwelling of more than one story), minimum building set back (45 feet to the front lot line), and outbuildings, among other constraints (NCRD 1955, Deed, 622:169). At the time of its platting in 1955, Westridge was considered distant from other residential areas in Rocky Mount. Aside from Englewood, no other suburbs were under development west of the Tar River in the Rocky Mount vicinity. Nonetheless, Westridge proved attractive to prospective homeowners. In 1967, 160 families, all homeowners, lived in the neighborhood (RMT, 22 July 1967:6). Limited city directory research suggests that Westridge's residents included middle- and professional-class families (HDC 1963). With few exceptions, dwellings date from the mid-1950s through the 1970s.



Figure 4.16: North side of the 3700 block of Hawthorne Road in Westridge (NS1668).

Neighborhood stores located in residential sections of the city were not uncommon; however, these establishments were more commonly found in pre-World War II subdivisions than in post-World War II developments that often had covenants restricting land use. In Westridge, for example, one section of the subdivision along Sunset Avenue was designated for a neighborhood shopping center (Westridge Village Shopping Center); all other lots were restricted to residential use.

During the 1950s and 1960s, residents of a number of outlying communities requested the city annex their communities. In the early 1950s, these included Englewood, South Rocky Mount, Swelton Heights, and the Cokey Road area (RMT, 22 June 1952:5). The city's Board of Aldermen were cautious in addressing the issue of annexing outlying communities. In 1952, the Board of Aldermen did not believe it had sufficient information on the effects of annexation, such as the cost of improvements to the newly annexed areas and the effects on services to residents already living inside the city limits. City officials and staff who supported annexation believed that it was prudent to annex outlying areas so that the land would be developed according to the standards of the city. They also believed that the physical expansion of the city was important for the city's growing economy and population. By

acquiring outlying areas before they were filled up, the city could build public infrastructure and institutions at a lower price and encourage new industries to move to the city (RMT, 22 June 1952:5). Over the course of the 1950s through 1970s, the city expanded as it annexed outlying communities and areas such as Englewood and Meadowbrook.

Rocky Mount was also home to two golf communities. The Benvenue Country Club (NS1728), located about 3 miles northwest of Rocky Mount's commercial downtown, was established in 1922. The 123-acre Benvenue Country Club is composed of an 18-hole golf course, circa-1922 clubhouse, circa-1970s tennis court, and club-related facilities. Surrounding the country club are house-lined streets originally platted in 1925. Most of the houses were built after World War II. Early deeds for properties in the Benvenue Country Club subdivision contained restrictive covenants that prohibited African Americans from acquiring or occupying properties in Benvenue and had restrictions on the minimum building setback (50 feet), outbuilding construction, and minimum cost of a dwelling (\$5,000), among other constraints (NCRD 1925, Deed, 322:137). Northgreen Village (NS1729), located about 3 miles north of Rocky Mount's commercial downtown, was platted in 1974. The 550-acre golf community is composed of an 18-hole golf course, clubhouse and facilities, and mid-1970s to 1980s residential and commercial properties.

Housing Discrimination

It was not uncommon for early-twentieth-century subdivisions, particularly upper-class neighborhoods, to have subdivision-wide racially restrictive housing covenants. This is true for Edgemont (ED1040), West Haven (NS0840), Englewood, and Benvenue Country Club, among other Rocky Mount subdivisions. Deed research did not identify subdivision-wide racially restrictive housing covenants for post-World War II developments in Rocky Mount; however, the practice of racially segregating neighborhoods persisted into the 1950s. On May 3, 1948, the U.S. Supreme Court ruled in *Shelley v. Kraemer* that while racially restrictive covenants between private parties did not violate the Fourteenth Amendment's Equal Protection Clause, their enforcement by federal or state courts did (Supreme Court of the United States [SCOTUS] 1948:334 U.S. 1). As a result of this ruling, state courts were prohibited from enforcing racially restrictive covenants. In December 1949, the U.S. Solicitor General Philip Perlman announced that the Federal Housing Administration (FHA) could no longer insure mortgages with restrictive covenants (Rothstein 2017:87). This did not stop the FHA's redlining⁷ practices that persisted until the 1960s, but it seemed to have had an effect on the omission of racially restrictive covenants from property deeds.

The *Shelley v. Kraemer* decision did not outlaw racially restrictive covenants and did not prohibit private parties, such as individuals, realtors, and lenders, from making "private agreements to exclude persons of designated race or color from the use or occupancy of real estate for residential purposes" (SCOTUS 1948:334 U.S. 1). City directory research for Meadowbrook and Westridge indicates that the de-facto practice of racially segregated neighborhoods—whether by private agreements, social pressure, mortgage discrimination, intimidation, or other methods of discrimination—continued into

⁷ Redlining is the discriminatory practice of denying financial services such as mortgages and insurance loans to residents because of where they live, though it is largely rooted in racial and ethnic discrimination (Federal Reserve History 2023; Nelson 2023).

the 1960s in Rocky Mount. These discriminatory practices were entrenched in the Jim Crow era's legislated and de-facto segregation. Self-sufficient Black communities, like Around the Y (ED2404) and Cross Town (ED2466), developed during the Jim Crow era. These communities not only served as places where Black residents lived, but also where they worked, shopped, and socialized. A current resident of Around the Y remembered the neighborhood as a close-knit community, but the area's "urban renewal" in the 1970s displaced many of its residents and neighborhood businesses.

Mortgage discrimination was another strategy used by developers and lenders to create and maintain segregated neighborhoods. In 1936, Raleigh-based insurance agent D. F. Betts prepared a residential classification map of the City of Rocky Mount (Figure 4.17; Betts 1936). This map was likely used by banks and real estate appraisers to assess the creditworthiness of borrowers in each area. The map classified the city's areas into five categories: Best Residential, Good Residential, Poor Residential, Blighted Area, and Industrial. Overall, the "Best Residential" and "Good Residential" areas in Rocky Mount were white residential areas with a large middle-class and professional population. The "Best Residential" areas included sections of Villa Place, Falls Road, and West Haven. The "Poor Residential" areas in Rocky Mount included areas occupied by Black residents and working-class white residents.

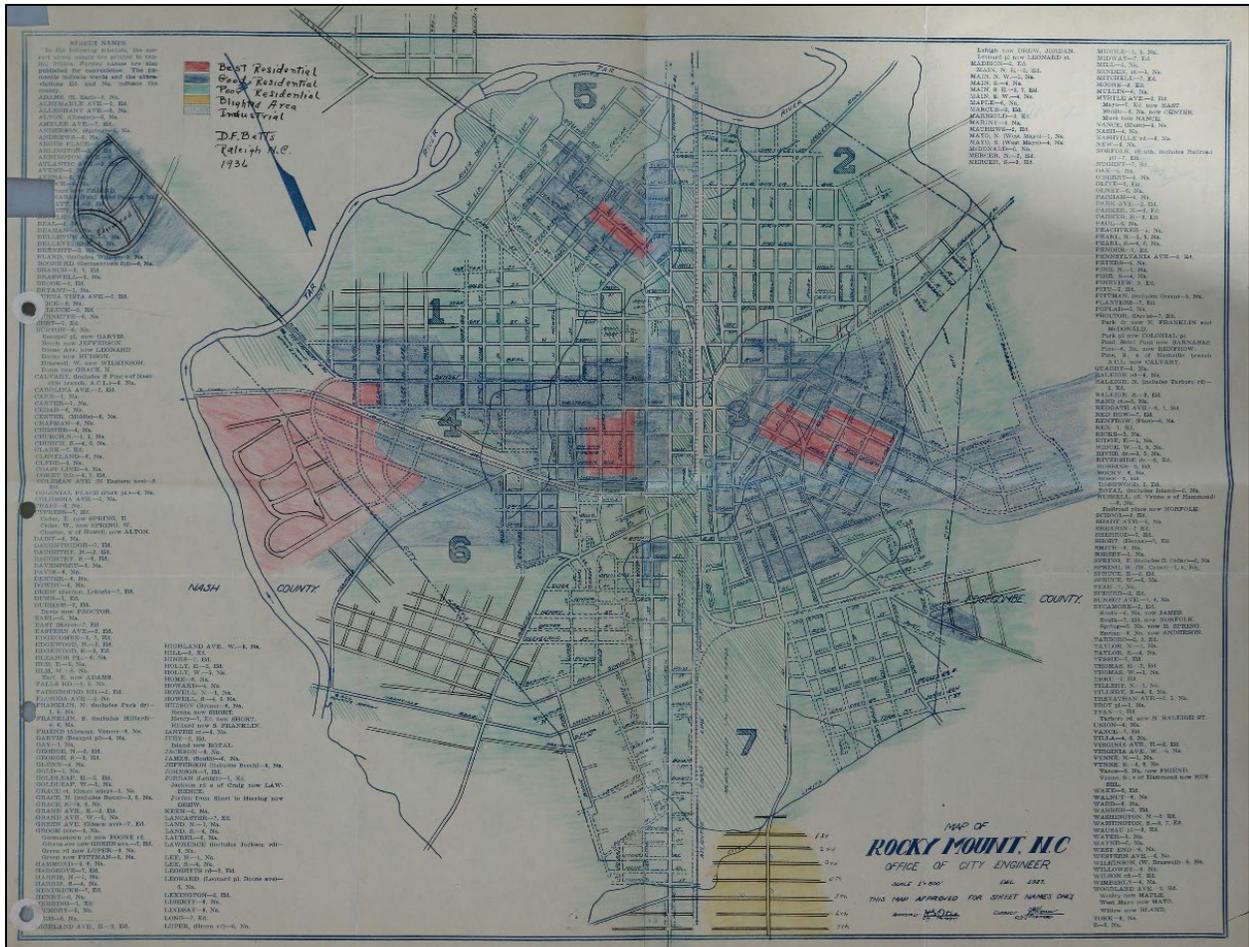


Figure 4.17: 1936 residential classification map of Rocky Mount (Betts 1936; OCE 1927). The “Best Residential” areas are shown in red, “Good Residential” in blue, “Poor Residential” in green, and “Blighted Area” in yellow.

The 1936 residential classification map of Rocky Mount was similar to the Home Owners’ Loan Corporation (HOLC) residential security maps created in the 1930s. The U.S. Congress established the HOLC in 1933 to bolster the United States’ faltering mortgage market by standardizing credit analysis across the country. The HOLC created residential security maps of cities across the United States, grading the creditworthiness or riskiness of a neighborhood for mortgage loans. A HOLC residential security map graded neighborhoods with the ratings of A, B, C, or D, with A being the most favorable and safest investment and D being the most hazardous. The HOLC appraisers assigned grades to neighborhoods according to the neighborhood’s land use and age and the income and racial makeup of its residents. In most cases for Black neighborhoods, appraisers were discriminatory in assigning unfavorable grades (Nelson 2023). Racially segregated neighborhoods that were exclusively white were graded more favorably than neighborhoods that had a racially diverse, Black, or minority population. On HOLC residential security maps, D-rated areas were colored red, giving those maps the moniker “redline maps” and the discriminatory practice of denying financial services “redlining.” The HOLC residential security maps were intended for professional use and were sent to banks, real estate appraisers, savings and loans associations, and other mortgage lenders. The

work of the HOLC and the resulting residential security maps encouraged disinvestment in low-income, mixed-use, and minority neighborhoods (Heckendorf 2021:3-3). Redlining was a strategy used by federal, state, and local governments as well as private enterprises to segregate neighborhoods. The impacts of redlining are reflected in urban renewal projects in Rocky Mount in the 1960s and 1970s.

On November 20, 1962, President John F. Kennedy signed Executive Order 11063, Equal Opportunity in Housing, that prohibited discrimination “in the sale, leasing, rental, or other disposition of residential property and related facilities” owned, operated, or funded by the federal government (Executive Order No. 11063, 1962). In 1968, the U.S. Congress passed the Fair Housing Act, which prohibited discrimination in the sale or rental of housing, the financing of housing, or the provision of brokerage services (Carpenter 2024).

The outlawing of housing discrimination increased Black residents’ mobility in Rocky Mount, but Jim Crow-era social norms, development practices, and real estate business practices continued into the fourth quarter of the twentieth century. Gibson Hill (ED2406) was originally a predominantly white neighborhood, but its racial makeup began to shift in the late 1960s due to the end of housing discrimination and the beginning of white flight to other suburbs in and around Rocky Mount. Black residents began to buy and move into originally white-owned properties, and white residents who could afford to leave the neighborhood moved out. Homeownership in the neighborhood declined as many owner-occupied houses turned into rental houses. By 1990, Gibson Hill became a predominantly Black neighborhood with 92 percent of its residents being Black and 8 percent white (RMT, 28 October 2001:2).

4.3 Public Housing and Urban Renewal, 1951–1980s

Public Housing

In 1949, the U.S. Congress passed the Housing Act to “establish a national housing objective and the policy to be followed in the attainment thereof, to provide Federal aid to assist slum-clearance projects and low-rent public housing projects initiated by local agencies, to provide for financial assistance by the Secretary of Agriculture for farm housing, and for other purposes” (Housing Act of 1949, P.L. 81-171). Congress declared that:

the general welfare and security of the Nation and the health and living standards of its people require housing production and related community development sufficient to remedy the serious housing shortage, the elimination of substandard and other inadequate housing through the clearance of slums and blighted areas, and the realization as soon as feasible of the goal of a decent home and a suitable living environment for every American family, thus contributing to the development and redevelopment of communities and to the advancement of the growth, wealth, and security of the Nation (Housing Act of 1949, P.L. 81-171).

The Housing Act of 1949 encouraged private enterprise to build new housing units and encouraged local government to undertake “slum clearance” and housing projects. The Rocky Mount Housing Authority (RMHA), a non-profit local government agency, was incorporated in 1951. Within a few years, aided by the federal government, the RMHA had built segregated public housing for Black

residents—the Weeks S. Armstrong Homes at 1064 Pinehurst Drive—and white residents—West End Terrace at 1006 Aycock Street. The Weeks S. Armstrong Homes (Armstrong Homes) development was completed in May 1954 and originally comprised 210 units, while West End Terrace was completed in November 1954 and originally had 110 units. Within a span of four years, Armstrong Homes and West End Terrace were each expanded by 100 units (RMT, 18 January 1970:4).

In 1970, the RMHA undertook another phase of public housing construction, building 200 units in various parts of the city. These new units included those located on Neal Street, Raleigh Road, South Grace Street, Clark Street, and Raleigh Street, and were constructed by T. A. Loving Company, a contracting firm based in Goldsboro (RMT, 18 January 1970:4; 8 March 1970:31).⁸ The city had 820 public housing units by 1974: 210 units at West End Terrace, 310 units at Armstrong Homes, 200 units scattered in the city, and 100 leased units (RMPD 1974:147).

The Cleveland Street Apartments in the southeast quadrant of Cleveland and South Grace streets (NS1664, 425 Cleveland Street) were built around 1970 (Figure 4.18 and Figure 4.19). This apartment complex is composed of 10 apartment buildings that are typical of the public housing units built in Rocky Mount in the early 1970s. Each Cleveland Street Apartments building has one of three forms: two-story, side-gabled, clustered quadplex composed of two attached duplexes and with a recessed first floor; one-story, side-gabled, linear duplex or triplex; or one-story, side-gabled, clustered six-unit building composed of three attached duplexes. The apartments are veneered with running-bond brick and have vinyl siding on portions of the façade. The architecture is utilitarian, with minimal ornamentation. Variation in vinyl placement on the façades provides some visual diversity. Fenestration includes two-over-one hopper windows, one-over-one sash windows, and plain doors.

⁸ Public housing units were also built on Holly Street, Woodland Avenue, Gay Street, Smith Street, Southwest Main Street, Harper Street, South Washington Street, Dexter Street, South Church Street, Leonard Street, Townhouse Court, Lucas Circle, Hudson Street, Belvedere Street, Union Street, Drew Street, Leggett Road, Beamon Street, and Burnett Street (RMT, 18 January 1970:4).



Figure 4.18: Cleveland Street Apartments (NS1664).



Figure 4.19: A one-story apartment building, part of the Cleveland Street Apartments (NS1664).

A majority of the city's public housing units were occupied by elderly people, many of whom relied on Social Security as their main source of income. At the time, federal laws and programs governing public housing units required that half of new units had to be built for the elderly. In Rocky Mount, these units differed from other public housing units in that they were all one-story units with built-in features for the elderly (see Figure 4.19). Panic buttons located in the bathroom, bedroom, and other strategic places in the unit triggered an alarm outside the unit so that neighbors could get help (RMT, 1 March 1971:9).

In the 1970s, the RMHA tried to prioritize public housing applicants who were displaced by federal, state, or local government action. Due to a large backlog of applicants—approximately 800 applicants in 1971—and a slow turnover in the units, the RMHA observed that it could be a lengthy period until a family could move into a unit (RMT, 1 March 1971:9).

Urban Renewal

Besides building public housing, the city undertook “slum clearance” and urban renewal projects. In 1962, the North Carolina Department of Conservation and Development (NCDCD) prepared a neighborhood analysis report for the City of Rocky Mount. The 1962 study was funded in part through an urban planning grant from the Housing and Home Finance Agency, under the provisions of Section 701 of the Housing Act of 1954.⁹ The report was “a study of various residential areas within Rocky Mount and therefore a guide toward making each area a better place in which to live” (NCDCD 1962:1). It identified “the extent, location, and intensity of blighting influence affecting each of the City’s neighborhoods” and recommended “steps which the City may take to assure the future well-being of each neighborhood” (NCDCD 1962:2). The study divided the city into planning districts and provided recommendations for each planning district. Recommendations included “spot clearance,” clearing and redevelopment, rehabilitation, code enforcement, zoning, and street improvements, among other urban renewal strategies. The study also identified and examined community facilities, land-use characteristics, population characteristics, social characteristics, zoning classification, and street and thoroughfare conditions for each planning district (Figure 4.20 and Figure 4.21). At the time, neighborhood analysis surveys showing the composition of neighborhoods on the basis of crime, diseases, and other socio-economic factors were among the requirements for a city to qualify for federal urban renewal funds. In the early 1960s, the city began enforcing its housing ordinance of November 1960 as a step towards qualification for an urban renewal grant (RMT, 4 February 1962:9). The 1962 report contributed to the city’s “slum clearance” and urban renewal projects.

The Rocky Mount City Council established the Rocky Mount Redevelopment Commission in December 1968. The purpose of the Redevelopment Commission was to study the feasibility of redeveloping the downtown and adjoining areas (RMT, 7 December 1968:5). The Redevelopment Commission also oversaw the city’s urban renewal program (RMPD 1974:147).

⁹ The Housing Act of 1954 (P.L. 83-560) was an act “to aid in the provision and improvement of housing, the elimination and prevention of slums, and the conservation and development of urban communities.” Section 701 of the Housing Act of 1954 authorized the Housing and Home Finance Agency to make planning grants to state planning agencies “for the providing of planning assistance (including surveys, land use studies, urban renewal plans, technical services and other planning work, but excluding plans for specific public works) to cities and other municipalities having a population of less than 25,000 according to the latest decennial census.”

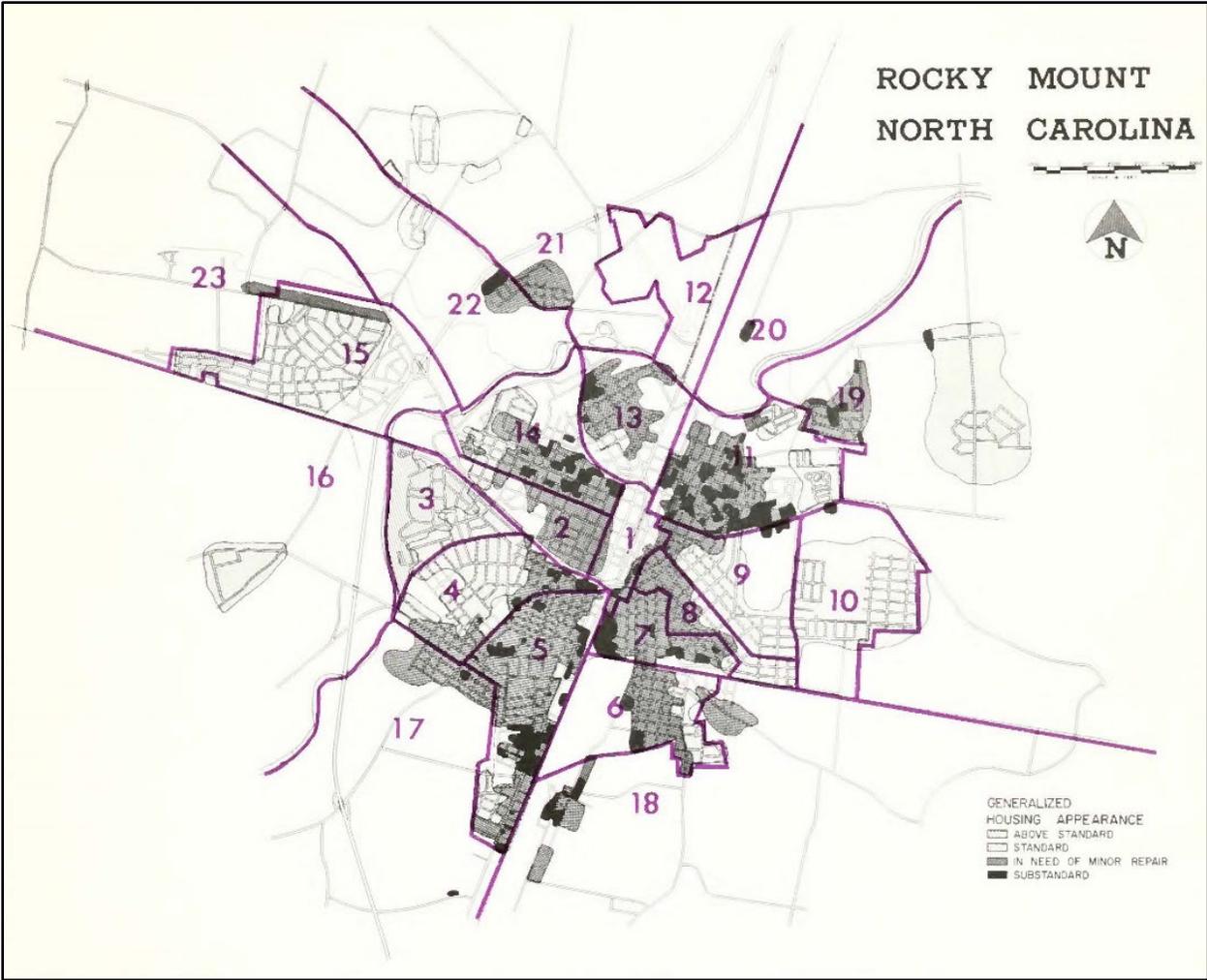


Figure 4.20: 1962 map showing generalized housing appearance in Rocky Mount (NCD CD 1962). “Substandard” is shown in black and “In Need of Minor Repair” in cross hatch (gray).

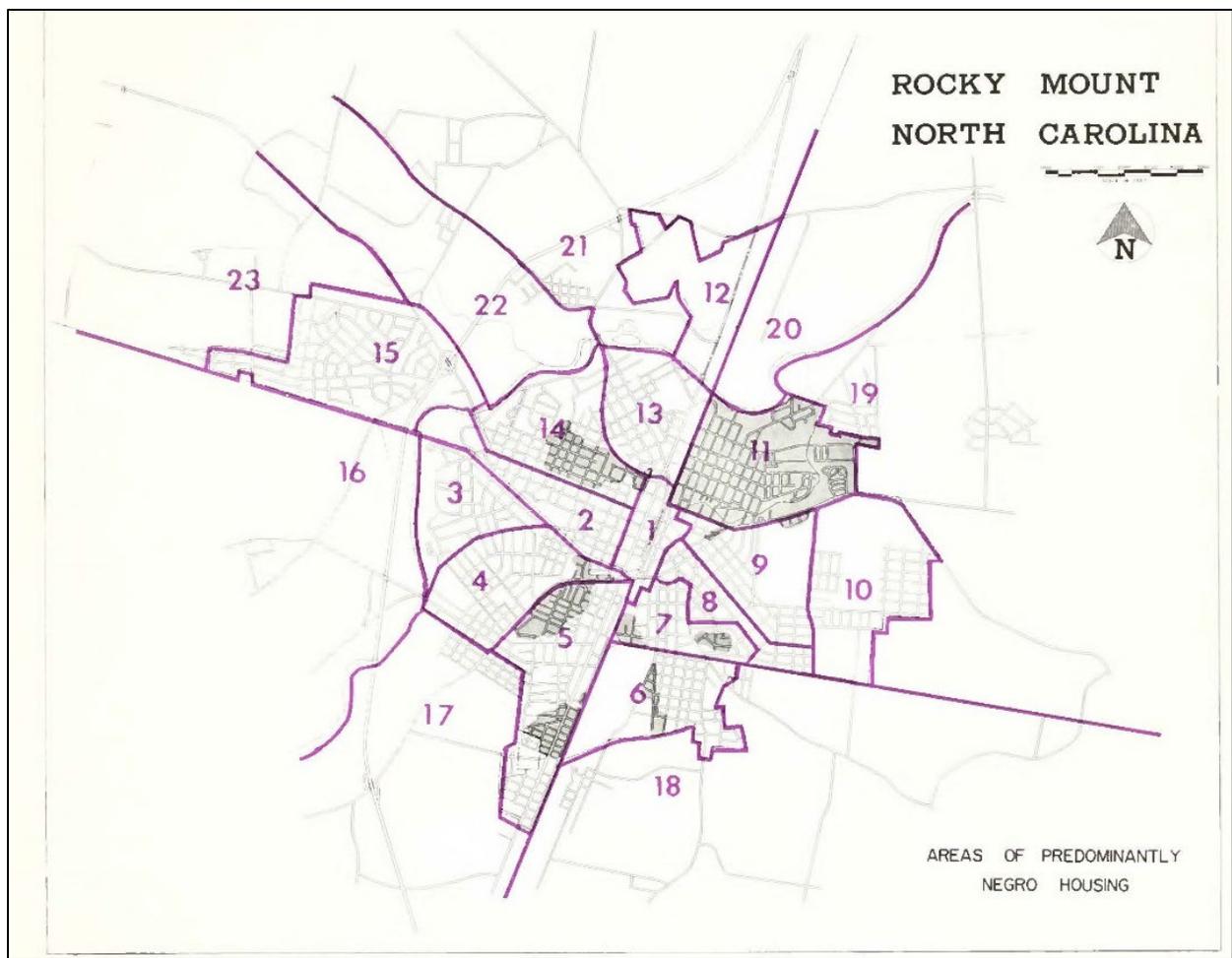


Figure 4.21: 1962 map showing areas of predominantly “Negro” housing in Rocky Mount, shown in gray (NCDCCD 1962).

In 1974, the Rocky Mount Planning Department observed that the neighborhoods with high percentages of substandard units were Red Row (known to locals as Around the Y), Swelton Heights, Little Raleigh, and the Rocky Mount Mills area. The city’s first urban renewal project was in the Cokey Road Neighborhood (ED2455, also known to Rocky Mount locals as the Old Mill section; Figure 4.22 and Figure 4.23). When the city first announced the redevelopment of the Old Mill section, many long-time and elderly residents who had deep roots in the community were upset. According to a resident at the time, Joseph L. Lawson, the city did not provide written statements to those who would be affected by the project. Following the completion of the Cokey Road Urban Renewal Project in 1974, most of the houses within the project boundary were demolished or moved and the remaining houses were renovated and repaired. The city also widened Henna Street, resulting in most of the homes losing most of their front yards (RMT, 9 March 1975:19a).



Figure 4.22: 1974 photograph of workmen tearing down houses located within the Cokey Road Urban Renewal Project area (Killebrew 1974).



Figure 4.23: Circa-1923 dwellings along Drew Street in the Cokey Road Neighborhood.

The second urban renewal project in the city was Around the Y, which the city planning department considered to be the “worst” residential area in Rocky Mount due to its large number of substandard dwellings (RMPD 1974:147, 148). At the time, the planning department observed that the major

difference between Around the Y and the other urban renewal areas was its vast number of “dilapidated” houses. The planning department believed it was necessary to completely clear and rebuild Around the Y. The city’s Redevelopment Commission and Planning Department initially planned to redevelop most of Around the Y for a light industrial park, some residential lots, and a park. Many community members, however, disapproved of changing the residential character of the neighborhood. As a result, the Redevelopment Commission revised the redevelopment plans to subdivide the land into single-family residential lots, some multi-family units, and a park (RMT, 28 February 1975, 11). From 1975 to 1980, the city demolished most buildings in Around the Y. New single- and multi-family dwellings and the Thelonious S. Monk¹⁰ Park were built between the 1980s and 1990s. The urban renewal project substantially altered the streetscape, street plan, and building density of Around the Y.

Other urban renewal projects in the city included Little Raleigh, South Rocky Mount, Cross Town, Brooks-Matthews, Swelton Heights, and Happy Hill (RMT, 24 December 1974:13). Urban renewal strategies included “spot clearance,” rehabilitation, sidewalk paving and improvements, street paving and improvements, and parking improvements (RMT, 9 March 1975:19b).

The city began its Rehabilitation Grants Program in 1975. The program funds came from the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD). Requirements to qualify for a Rocky Mount rehabilitation grant included being a resident in one of the city’s “neighborhood strategy areas,”¹¹ income not exceeding median income levels established by HUD, and the house being labeled as “deteriorating” by city standards. A deteriorating house was a house that could be brought up to standard for less than 50 percent of the house’s value, while a “dilapidated” house required more than 50 percent of its value. Dilapidated houses were ineligible for rehabilitation grants. The city prioritized the elderly and handicapped for rehabilitation grants, but it was on a first-come, first-serve basis. By 1979, the city’s Rehabilitation Grants Program had funded the rehabilitation of 268 dwellings (RMT, 30 October 1979:9).

Overall, urban renewal affected the landscape of several of the city’s working-class and Black neighborhoods. While many properties were rehabilitated, several neighborhoods such as Cross Town, Around the Y, Cokey Road, and Little Raleigh experienced loss due to demolition. The amount of loss ranged from clearing almost an entire neighborhood as was the case in Around the Y, to selective demolition as was the case in Little Raleigh.

¹⁰ Thelonious S. Monk (1917–1982) was a prominent African American jazz pianist and composer.

¹¹ In 1980, these neighborhood strategy areas were Hillsdale, Around the Y, South Rocky Mount, Little Raleigh, Happy Hill, Swelton Heights, and Cross Town (RMT, 18 July 1980:7).

4.4 Community Institutions, 1930s–1970s

Religious Facilities

As the population in Rocky Mount grew and new suburbs developed, new community institutions were established and existing ones expanded. Rocky Mount saw a boom in church construction. From 1947 to 1953, 18 new churches and 10 new Sunday School buildings were built (RMT, 19 February 1953:15). Many early-twentieth-century churches expanded their facilities. The Clark Street Methodist Church at 741 Clark Street (ED2416) was originally built in 1910 as a frame, Gothic Revival-style church (Figure 4.24). The church was veneered with brick in 1945, an educational unit and kitchen built in 1949, and an educational building built in 1965 (Clark Street United Methodist Church 1994; RMT, 28 August 1964:9).



Figure 4.24: Clark Street Methodist Church (ED2416).

Temple Beth El at 838 Sunset Avenue (NS1671) was built in two stages in 1949 and 1951 and was the city's first synagogue (Figure 4.25). Prior to the construction of Temple Beth El, Rocky Mount's 26 Jewish families used a room in the Masonic Temple at 122 North Church Street for a place of worship (RMT, 20 November 1948:2). At least five new churches were built between 1952 and 1960 in the Edgemont Park subdivision. Religious life played a prominent part in the Black community of Cross Town. Approximately nine churches were established in Cross Town from the late nineteenth century through the 1970s. Cross Town's oldest church is believed to be Saint James Missionary Baptist Church at 527 East Thomas Street (ED2467). Cross Town has one of the largest, if not the largest, concentration of churches among neighborhoods located near the city center.



Figure 4.25: Temple Beth El (NS1671).

Churches not only served as places of worship but also places of social and civic organization. The local chapter of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People frequently held meetings at Black churches (RMT, 24 October 1953:2; 22 April 1967:2.). The Rocky Mount Voters and Improvement League was founded in 1960, and its first president was Rev. George W. Dudley, pastor of Mount Zion First Baptist Church (RMT, 8 February 1961:7). This organization held its regular meetings at many of the city's Black churches, including the Mount Zion First Baptist Church (NS0816), Saint James Missionary Baptist Church (ED2467), St. Mark AME Church (NS1663), and North End Baptist Church.

Educational Facilities

Prior to 1969 when the city's public school system began desegregating, the schools were developed according to the "neighborhood school" concept in which each neighborhood school served a minimum number of students in its immediate vicinity. The city's neighborhood school concept was reflected in the spatial distribution of schools. Black schools were built in Black neighborhoods, especially in or near densely populated areas. By 1957, Rocky Mount had five Black schools. The non-extant Lincoln School, the first public school for Black students in Rocky Mount, was established in 1901 at the corner of North Grace and West Thomas streets, near the Happy Hill neighborhood. The Booker T. Washington High School opened in 1927 at 400 East Virginia Street (ED0614) in the Cross Town neighborhood, the Annie W. Holland School opened in 1935 at 1108 Luper Street (NS1600) in the Little Raleigh neighborhood, and the O. R. Pope Elementary School in 1938 at 226 Coleman Avenue (ED2484) in the Cross Town neighborhood (Figure 4.26). Finally, the Susie C. Baskerville School at 1100 Stokes Street opened its doors in 1957.



Figure 4.26: O. R. Pope Elementary School (ED2484).

School construction boomed in the 1950s and 1960s because of the city's population and suburban growth. In 1959, the City of Rocky Mount issued a \$2 million bond for school construction in the city's outlying areas (RMT, 29 May 1959:1, 2). The Englewood Elementary School at 101 South Englewood Drive (NS1605) opened in 1960 in the predominantly white neighborhood of Englewood. This mid-century Modernist school was built at a cost of \$230,000, funding for which came from the school bond (RMT, 27 October 1959:9). Other schools built around this time included Baskerville School, Fairview Road Elementary School, Westwood Avenue Elementary School, White Junior High School, Senior High School, and Negro Junior High School (RMT, 29 May 1959:1, 2).

In the late 1970s, schools throughout Rocky Mount underwent expansions. In 1978, expansions focused on media centers, cafeterias, and additional classroom spaces. Englewood Elementary School gained a new media center, three additional classrooms, and a new cafeteria (RMT, 25 April 1978:22). O. R. Pope Elementary School undertook an extensive interior and exterior renovation program that included the enlarging of the library, carpeting halls and classrooms, lowering hallway ceilings, and replacing windows and entrance doors (RMT, 28 June 1978:19).

Recreational Facilities

Recreation was important to the city's residents. In 1937, Dr. G. W. Bulluck, a local Black physician and civic leader, and L. G. Blackie, state supervisor of Negro Public Works Administration recreational activities, requested the Board of Aldermen to provide \$15,000 to be used for a \$24,000 Negro Community Center; the remaining \$9,000 would be funded by the Works Progress Administration (RMT, 4 June 1937:7). The Negro Community Center, completed at a cost of \$25,000, was dedicated in 1939. The community center stood at 229 Albemarle Avenue (ED1033, City Community Center); housed an auditorium, offices, check rooms, restrooms, and a kitchen; and had a seating capacity of 825 persons (RMT, 9 September 1939:12). Physical activities included volleyball, ping pong, basketball, puck, and indoor games. Children, adults, and civic and social organizations used the facility (RMT, 5

January 1942:9). The community center was demolished around 1992 (NETR 1983, 1993; RMT, 9 February 1992:18).

The city operated two swimming pools, one for Black residents and the other for whites. The white swimming pool opened in 1940 at 400 North Taylor Drive in Riverside Park. The Black swimming pool opened in 1949 in the northwest quadrant of the Albemarle Avenue and Spruce Street junction (Figure 4.27; RMT, 2 March 1952:12). Swimming was a popular summer activity. The city reported that over 12,000 people visited the Black swimming pool during the 1958 season (RMT, 14 June 1959:6). The pools were presumably desegregated following the Civil Rights Act of 1964. Both pools were damaged by Hurricane Floyd in September 1999 and were subsequently demolished in the early 2000s (RMT, 8 June 2001:9).

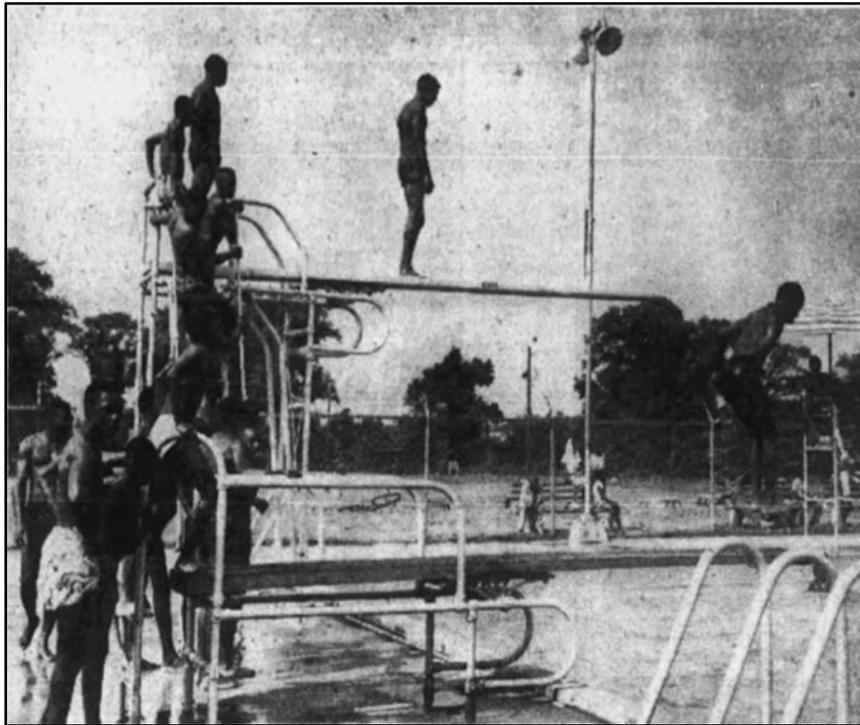


Figure 4.27: Black swimming pool at Albemarle Avenue (Killebrew 1959).

Outdoor picnicking was also a popular summer activity. In May 1947, the city reported that 41 groups totaling 723 participants made use of the outdoor fireplaces and picnic tables at Sunset Park for activities such as wiener roasts, chicken fries, and barbeques. Other parks with outdoor fireplaces and picnic facilities included Marigold Park, Cokey Road Park, Boonetown Park, and Braswell Park (RMT, 15 May 1947:14).¹²

¹² Sunset Park is located at 1550 River Drive, Marigold Park at 900 Redgate Avenue, Cokey Road Park at 1142 Cokey Road (known as Daughtridge Park), Boonetown Park at 1400 and 1500 blocks of Boone Street (now owned by Greater Joy Baptist Church), and Braswell Park at 352 McDonald Street.

In a 1973 citizens attitude survey regarding land use, the city planning department found that recreation received the most attention among the respondents, followed by street maintenance, housing, the central business district, and traffic control (RMPD 1974:v). The citizens attitude survey identified the need for more recreational facilities and programs (RMPD 1974:96). In 1974, the city was home to 19 playgrounds, 7 neighborhood parks, and 2 large urban parks. The city planning department defined a playground as “an area established for recreational endeavors of children residing in proximity to the site,” and a neighborhood park as “an area established for recreational purposes and designed to accommodate a variety of individual and team activities which may be undertaken by residents within the immediate vicinity” (RMPD 1974:98).

Buck Leonard Park at 929 South Grace Street (NS1625) is a 3.9-acre municipal park established around 1940 in the Little Raleigh section of Rocky Mount (Figure 4.28). In 1948, a group of Little Raleigh residents started a movement to rename the park to Buck Leonard playground in honor of Walter “Buck” Leonard, a Rocky Mount native who played for the Homestead Grays in the Negro National League (RMT, 29 September 1948:11). At that time, the park did not have a name. The city’s Board of Aldermen adopted the recommendation in October 1948 and renamed the park (RMT, 22 October 1948:12). In January 1952, a group of Rocky Mount’s Black residents met at Wright’s Chick Shack at 513 West Raleigh Boulevard to plan for a Little League in Rocky Mount. The group received wide support from the city’s residents and recreation department. A site in Buck Leonard Park was selected for the establishment of a Little League baseball field in April 1952, and the first games were played on June 11, 1952, with four Little League teams (RMT, 15 June 1952:13). Today, Buck Leonard Park is composed of a modern playground, fitness playground, picnic shelter, paved basketball court, grassy field, and a Little League baseball field.



Figure 4.28: Buck Leonard Park (NS1625).

4.5 Civil Rights, Voting Rights, and Desegregation, 1960–1985

In 1960, the city’s Black residents organized the Rocky Mount Voters and Improvement League (the Voters League). Some of its earliest activities included organizing community meetings to promote

Black citizens' participation in local, state, and national elections (RMT, 8 February 1961:7). The Voters League also invited civil rights leaders to speak in Rocky Mount. On November 27, 1962, Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. delivered a portion of his "I Have a Dream" speech at Booker T. Washington High School to an audience of 1,800 (Figure 4.29; Fearnbach 2008b:9; RMT, 28 November 1962:1). Dr. King's speech in Rocky Mount is believed to be an early version of the "I Have a Dream" speech that gained national attention after his presentation during the March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom on August 28, 1963 (Fearnbach 2008b:9).

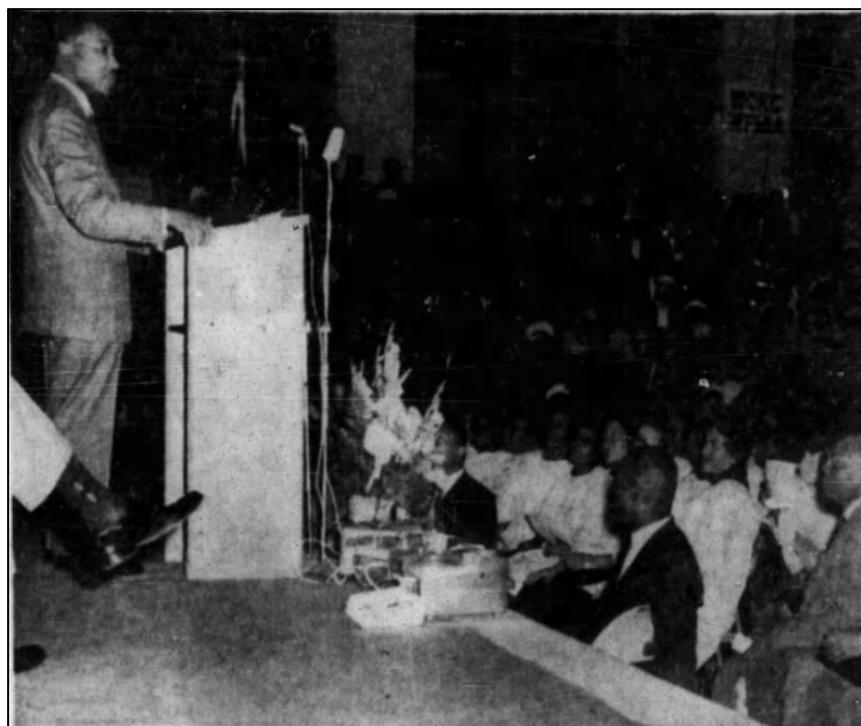


Figure 4.29: Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. delivering a speech at Booker T. Washington High School in Rocky Mount (RMT, 28 November 1962:1).

On October 17, 1961, the city held a referendum in which a majority of Rocky Mount voters decided in favor of changing the city government from a 13-man Board of Aldermen to a seven-man City Council. The referendum also changed the method of electing a councilman from ward voting to city-wide voting (RMT, 18 October 1961:4). Under the new City Council system, while a councilman had to be a resident of the ward that they represented, they were subject to a city-wide vote to be elected to office. Supporters of the city-wide vote believed that because every person who sits in the City Council represents the interests and votes for matters that affect every citizen, every citizen should have a say in who composes the City Council. Those who opposed believed that each ward should elect their own representatives and that the views of people in other sections of the city should not outweigh their decisions (RMT, 15 October 1961:9). In May 1964, Black minister Rev. James H. Costen, pastor of Mt. Pisgah United Presbyterian Church, ran for City Council from Ward 2, a predominantly Black ward. Due to the city-wide voting system, however, white optometrist David

Stroud won the election as the Ward 2 councilman (Wrenn 2023:24). The city-wide voting system further entrenched unequal representation in city government from the 1960s to mid-1980s.

The Rocky Mount Voters and Improvement League sponsored a series of grassroots community action meetings in the summer of 1967. The Voters League invited the North Carolina Fund, a non-profit statewide antipoverty program, to send an integrated team of college interns to Rocky Mount to assist with establishing neighborhood organizations. The interns convened nine neighborhood organizations as the Consolidated Councils for Improvement (CCI), which advocated for the needs of their communities (RMT, 22 August 1967:9). In January 1969, for example, the CCI attended a Rocky Mount City Council meeting to request improved housing conditions in all areas of Rocky Mount (RMT, 30 January 1969:4). The CCI also participated in demonstrations against discrimination. In the summer of 1968, the CCI organized a boycott and selective buying campaign that targeted some downtown businesses for employment discrimination (Wrenn 2023:26). As a result of this boycott campaign, some businesses began hiring their first Black employees and others hired more Black employees. The City of Rocky Mount established a Human Relations Commission to mediate racial issues in the city, which was one of the demands of the boycott campaign (Wrenn 2023:27).

The city began desegregating its public schools in 1969. The city's senior high schools were integrated in 1969, junior high schools in 1970, and grammar schools in 1971 (Fearnbach 2008b:9; *The New York Times*, 21 February 1975:10). In 1968, a group of businessmen established the Rocky Mount Academy at 1313 Avondale Avenue as a private school (*The New York Times*, 21 February 1975:10; RMT, 12 December 1968:11). According to some residents at the time, the establishment of Rocky Mount Academy was in resistance to public school integration. A 1975 issue of *The New York Times* observed that the academy's "foundations were laid [in 1968] as soon as it became apparent to about a dozen businessmen that integration was coming" and that "many of the academy's students [in 1975] say they would prefer to attend the integrated high school if their parents would let them" (*The New York Times*, 21 February 1975:10).

In 1969, the city expanded the originally white Rocky Mount Senior High School at 841 Nash Street and closed the Booker T. Washington High School except for its auto mechanics and masonry shops. Students at Booker T. Washington High School were transferred to Rocky Mount Senior High School, the high schools' faculties were combined, and the school mascots—Booker T. Washington's lion and Rocky Mount High's blackbird—were combined into a gryphon (Fearnbach 2008b:9, 10). Rocky Mount High School graduate Jennifer Joyner observed that when the schools were desegregated in 1969, white families moved across the county line to Nash County so that their children could attend Nash County schools. This resulted in an increased Black composition of the Rocky Mount City School student population. According to Joyner, true integration was not achieved until the late 1990s when the Nash County and Rocky Mount school systems merged in the early 1990s, and students were bused across county line (Fearnbach 2008b:10).

On January 22, 1970, the Rocky Mount City Council voted to realign the city's seven wards on a near-equal distribution of population to comply with the "one person, one vote" principle. Some white and Black civic leaders requested a new ward with an "all-Negro" population; however, the new realignment approved by City Council did not establish an all-Negro ward. At the time, the city's population was 40 percent Black, but the city had no Black councilmen (RMT, 23 January 1970:1). In

1972, the city elected its first Black councilman, Rev. George W. Dudley, for Ward 2 (RMT, 5 May 1972:13; 12 September 1974:9; Wrenn 2023:28). In 1973, the seven-man City Council approved a new council system that reduced the number of wards from seven to five, with five councilmen to represent the five wards and two councilmen to be elected at-large. The new council system retained the city-wide voting system for all councilmen (RMT, 26 March 1973:9; 10 July 1973:9).

In 1977, the U.S. Justice Department objected to 67 annexations made by Rocky Mount from February 1965 through September 1976 under the provisions of the 1965 Voting Rights Act. The Justice Department claimed that the annexations diluted the voting power of the city's Black residents. The objection, however, was shortly thereafter lifted in February 1977 after the city was able to prove that the total of those annexations indicated a racial population variance of less than 1 percent, which did not substantially dilute minority voting power (RMT, 12 February 1985:1).

More than 100 Black residents attended the Rocky Mount City Council meeting on February 13, 1978, to request that the local elections process be changed to a ward system. Esmeralda Hawkins, president of the Rocky Mount branch of the NAACP, and Rev. Thomas Walker, a leader of the Concerned Citizens Association, spoke on behalf of those who requested the change. They argued that the city-wide voting was unresponsive and unfair to the Black community. Esmeralda Hawkins asserted, "Unless our system is structured to allow a fair chance for those it purports to serve to be able to become members of its legislative body, neither the system nor the legislative body is Democratic" (RMT, 14 February 1978:9). The City Council, however, declined the request.

Rocky Mount was not the only North Carolina city to operate on a combined system of at-large and ward election procedures. In 1983, Rocky Mount was one of nine North Carolina cities with a population of over 500 that elected a city council through such system. Many Black citizens opposed the system, arguing that it diluted minority voting strength. Five Black citizens filed a complaint with the U.S. District Court, challenging election procedures in the city (RMT, 16 October 1983:4). That same year, the U.S. Justice Department objected to the city's plan to annex 11 areas that had a total population of around 3,500, claiming that the annexations would enhance "the ability of the white majority to control the election of all council members" (RMT, 12 February 1985:1). The Justice Department offered the city three alternatives: change the method of election, appeal the objection to Federal District Court, or resubmit the annexation plan for another ruling if there were any material changes in the facts. On February 11, 1985, the Rocky Mount City Council decided by a 5-2 vote to amend the city's charter to establish a pure ward system of elections in which all seven members of City Council would be voted on only by members of their ward (RMT, 12 February 1985:1).

5.0 NEIGHBORHOOD AND AREA HISTORIES

This section presents the histories of neighborhoods and areas surveyed during Phase 2 of the intensive-level historic architectural survey of the City of Rocky Mount and its ETJ. Architectural descriptions are not presented in detail in this section, but they can be found in the architectural survey files. The neighborhoods and areas are arranged alphabetically.

5.1 Around the Y (ED2404)

Around the Y is a residential neighborhood located roughly 0.45 miles south of Rocky Mount's commercial downtown (Figure 5.1). It occupies roughly 16.7 acres and is situated in the northeast quadrant of the junction of the ACL Main Line and ACL Norfolk-Rocky Mount Branch. Around the Y is so named for the Y shape formed by the triangular railroad junction (commonly referred to as a wye). The non-extant ACL Emerson Railroad Shops (ED1611) were located south of Around the Y, across the ACL Norfolk-Rocky Mount Branch. Today, Around the Y is mostly composed of vacant parcels, post-1980 single- and multi-family residences, and a neighborhood park. Only 8 out of the extant 23 buildings (35%) in Around the Y pre-date 1975, which was the year in which the city began a redevelopment project in the area.



Figure 5.1: 100 block of Wye Street in Around the Y.

Around the Y was a Black, blue-collar neighborhood that dates to around the turn of the twentieth century. From the 1890s through the early twentieth century, the expansion of the ACL Emerson Railroad Shops in South Rocky Mount contributed to rising housing demand in Rocky Mount. Due to Jim Crow segregation, Around the Y was one of the areas on the Edgecombe County side of Rocky Mount that Black residents could live in. Around the Y, situated just north of the ACL's railroad shops, was an ideal location for Black railroad workers and their families to live. The adjacent Gibson Hill (ED2406) neighborhood was a white, blue- and white-collar neighborhood developed in the same timeframe.

According to a 1907 bird's eye view of Rocky Mount, frame dwellings densely lined Dunn Street, Red Row Avenue, and South Street (now known as Monk Street) (Fowler 1907). Most of Around the Y's male residents at the time of the 1908–1909 Rocky Mount city directory were laborers who presumably worked at the ACL Emerson Railroad Shops. Black women listed in the city directory held jobs such as cook, laundress, and nurse (HDC 1908). Around the Y was also home to Black-owned businesses such as the E. L. Grant Lunch Room at 103 Dunn Street, Frank Lawrence's grocery at 100 Dunn Street, and Harrington's Grocery at 1023 South Washington Street, all of which are non-extant (HDC 1957).

Around the Y first appears on Sanborn maps in 1917. Nine one-story, frame, single-pile houses with rear ells occupied the east side of Red Row Avenue, and four one-story, frame duplexes occupied the west side. The map indicates that the houses along Red Row Avenue were “OLD & DILAPIDATED – VACANT” (Sanborn 1917). Eight one-story, frame, single- and double-pile dwellings and a corner store lined the 100 block of Dunn Street. The 200 block of Dunn Street was originally segregated into a Black section on the west and white section on the east. The 1000 block of South Washington Street had four shotgun dwellings (Sanborn 1917). According to a current Around the Y resident, the houses in Around the Y were company-owned houses for ACL employees.

In 1936, Raleigh-based insurance agent D. F. Betts prepared a residential classification map of the City of Rocky Mount. Betts classified Around the Y as part of the city's “Poor Residential” area. Meanwhile, he classified the adjacent white neighborhood of Gibson Hill as part of the city's “Good Residential” area (Betts 1936; OCE 1927). Around the Y's identity as a Black, blue-collar neighborhood continued through the twentieth century.

Prior to the 1960s, Around the Y's Black residents lived on Red Row Avenue, the southern end of the 900 block of South Washington Street, the 1000 block of South Washington Street, the 1000 block of Arlington Street, the 100 block of Dunn Street, the westernmost portion of the 200 block of Dunn Street, and the 100 and 200 blocks of South Street. During the 1960s and 1970s, Black residents gradually acquired properties that were originally white owned along the 800 and 900 blocks of South Washington Street.

In 1962, the North Carolina Department of Conservation and Development prepared a neighborhood analysis report for the City of Rocky Mount. In that report, Around the Y and Gibson Hill were part of the city's Planning District Number 7. This planning district was a densely populated, predominantly white area with two segregated, Black-occupied sections located along the ACL railroad lines. One of the Black sections was Around the Y, and the other was a community located between Cokey Road and Long Avenue (ED2455). The planning district was primarily residential, with some industrial development along the railroad tracks, commercial development along Cokey Road and a portion of South Washington Street, and neighborhood business establishments scattered throughout the area (NCDCCD 1962:58, 59).

The 1962 neighborhood analysis report states that the Around the Y section contained a mixture of land uses and a large percentage of substandard residential buildings that were in poor condition. The NCDCCD recommended the clearing and redevelopment of Around the Y and the “spot clearance” of substandard residential buildings in the Gibson Hill section (NCDCCD 1962:63).

In the early 1970s, the City of Rocky Mount's Redevelopment Commission and Planning Department conducted a redevelopment study on Around the Y. In 1974, the city's planning department identified Around the Y (then named Red Row) as one of seven areas in Rocky Mount that were "blighted." The other "blighted" areas were Little Raleigh, South Rocky Mount, Cross Town, Brooks-Matthews, Swelton Heights, and Happy Hill. The study found that 41 out of 67 dwellings (61%) in Around the Y were substandard and warranted demolition, 19 (28%) needed rehabilitation work, and 7 (10%) were considered standard dwellings (RMT, 27 December 1974:9; Figure 5.2). The city's planning department recommended tearing down and rebuilding Red Row, and "spot clearing" and rehabilitating the other "blighted" areas (RMT, 29 December 1974:4). From 1975 to 1980, Around the Y was the subject of a City of Rocky Mount urban renewal project funded by HUD (Figure 5.2–Figure 5.4). At that time, city officials named the neighborhood "Red Row" after Red Row Avenue.

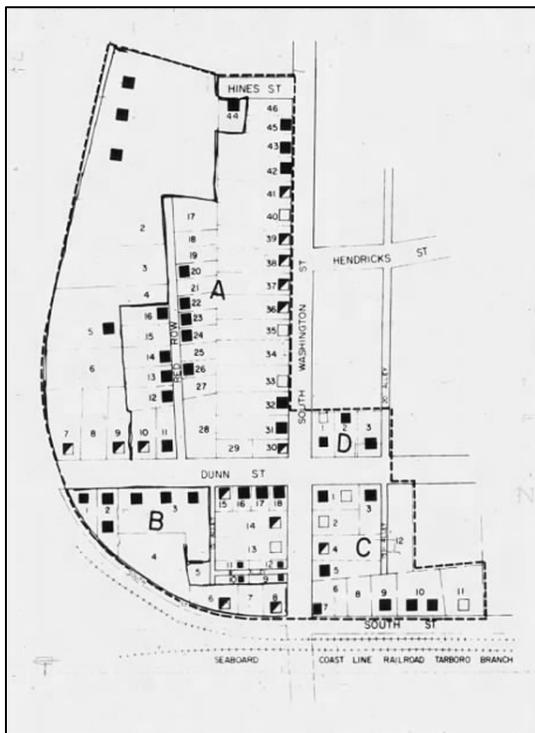


Figure 5.2: (Left) 1976 map of Around the Y prior to urban renewal (RMT, 23 May 1976:19).

Figure 5.3: (Right) Recent aerial photograph of Around the Y (Courtesy of HPOWEB).



Figure 5.4: 1976 photograph of demolished and substandard houses in Around the Y (Killebrew 1976).

The city's Redevelopment Commission and Planning Development initially planned to redevelop most of Around the Y for a light industrial park, some residential lots, and a park. Many community members, however, disapproved of changing the residential character of the neighborhood. As a result, the redevelopment commission revised the redevelopment plans to subdivide the land into single-family residential lots, some multi-family units, and a park (RMT, 28 February 1975, 11). From 1975 to 1980, the city demolished most buildings in Around the Y. New single- and multi-family dwellings and the Thelonious S. Monk Park were built between the 1980s and 1990s. Thelonious S. Monk Park at the south end of Wye Street, west of South Washington Street, replaced a non-extant neighborhood park that was located on the 200 block of Dunn Street. The urban renewal project substantially altered the streetscape, street plan, and building density of Around the Y. According to a current resident, people who lived in Around the Y in the 1970s were unhappy with the urban renewal project. Around the Y was a close-knit community, but the area's urban renewal in the 1970s displaced many of the community's residents and neighborhood businesses.

5.2 Atlantic-Pennsylvania Avenue Corridor (ED2457)

The Atlantic-Pennsylvania Avenue Corridor lies on both sides of the 300 to 700 blocks of Atlantic and Pennsylvania avenues (Figure 5.5). It runs north-south for roughly 0.55 miles. The corridor is a primarily residential area located just northeast of downtown Rocky Mount and is situated within a larger Black community known as Cross Town.



Figure 5.5: 600 block of Atlantic Avenue in the Atlantic-Pennsylvania Avenue Corridor.

Since its platting in 1892, the area has been home to blue- and white-collar Black residents. Many educators lived in the area. In 1930, the 400 and 600 blocks of Atlantic Avenue were home to 3 principals and 16 teachers who taught at Booker T. Washington High School, Holly Street Public School, Lincoln School, and South Side School. For a history of the development of this area, see Cross Town (ED2466).

5.3 Benvenue Country Club (NS1728)

Benvenue Country Club is located about 3 miles northwest of Rocky Mount's commercial downtown. Established in 1922, the 123-acre Benvenue Country Club (the country club) consists of an 18-hole golf course, circa-1922 clubhouse, circa-1970s tennis courts, and club-related facilities. Surrounding the country club are house-lined streets originally platted in 1925 as the Benvenue Country Club Subdivision (the subdivision) and revised in 1935 (NCRD 1925, Plat, 1:156; 1935, Plat, 1:156A). The country club is bounded by Northern Boulevard to the north, Cobb Road to the east, Country Club Road and Southern Boulevard to the south, and Country Club Road to the west. Goose Branch, a tributary of the Tar River, flows southeast across the club grounds. The subdivision is bounded by the rear parcel lines of properties on the north side of Northern Boulevard to the north, Cobb Road to the east, the rear parcel lines of properties on the south sides of Country Boulevard and Southern Boulevard to the south, and Wimbley Avenue to the west (Figure 5.6).

Donald Ross, a renowned golf course architect, designed the Benvenue Country Club golf course. Based on aerial photographs taken in 1940 and from the 1950s to 2022, the course layout appears to be largely intact (NETR 1957, 2022; USDA 1940). There have been some changes to the landscape features, including a wooded perimeter and the addition of tree lines along the fairways.

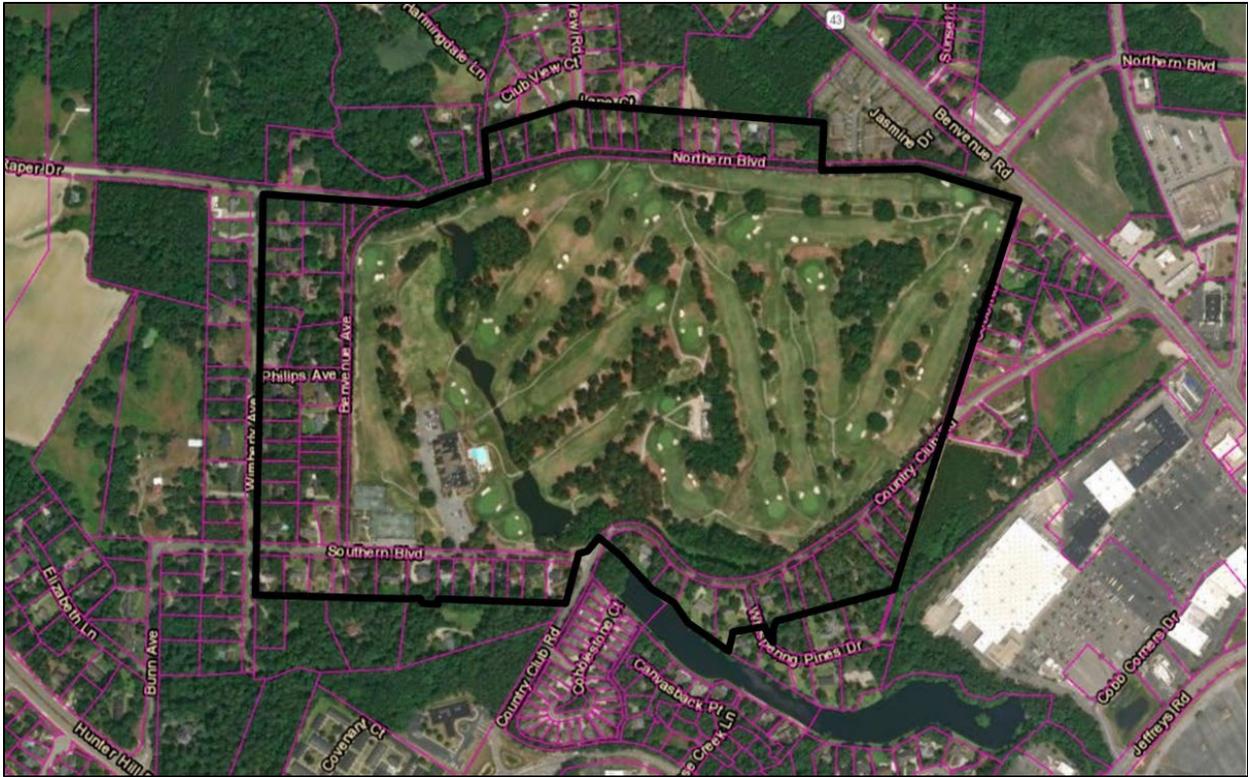


Figure 5.6: Aerial photograph showing the boundary of Benvenue Country Club Subdivision (Courtesy of HPOWEB).

The Tudor Revival-style clubhouse, believed to be contemporary with the golf course, was substantially altered in 2001 when Benvenue Country Club undertook a \$4.2 million renovation and expansion project, expanding the building footprint with room additions and changing the interior layout of the clubhouse (RMT, 19 August 2001:1B).

Most of the houses in the subdivision were built after World War II (Figure 5.7). The few that predate World War II include the Tudor Revival-style house at 36 Country Club Drive and the Cape Cod house at 1361 Country Club Road. The neighborhood's architectural styles are diverse and include the Period Revival, Minimal Traditional, Cape Cod, Colonial Revival, and Modernist styles. Post-World War II Ranches are also common.

Early deeds for properties in the Benvenue Country Club subdivision contained restrictive covenants. The covenants prohibited African Americans from acquiring or occupying properties in Benvenue and placed restrictions on the minimum building setback (50 feet), outbuilding construction, and minimum cost of a dwelling (\$5,000), among other constraints (NCRD 1925, Deed, 322:137).



Figure 5.7: 100 block of Southern Boulevard in the Benvenue Country Club Subdivision.

Some of Donald Ross's golf courses in North Carolina are listed in the NRHP. Hope Valley Country Club's golf course, originally designed in 1927, is a contributing site to the Hope Valley Historic District (DH2730, NRHP 2009) in Durham, Durham County. The district was listed in the NRHP under Criterion C for landscape architecture and architecture and Criterion A for Community Planning & Development. Originally designed in 1927, the Municipal Golf Course (BN1825, NRHP 2005) in Asheville, Buncombe County, was listed in the NRHP under Criterion C for landscape architecture and Criterion A for entertainment/recreation and Black ethnic heritage. In Pinehurst, Moore County, Pinehurst No. 2 Course and Pinehurst No. 4 Course are contributing sites to the Pinehurst Historic District (MR0615, NRHP 1996), which is also a National Historic Landmark district.

5.4 Boone Town (NS0737)

Boone Town is a primarily residential neighborhood located roughly 1 mile southwest of Rocky Mount's commercial downtown and roughly 0.5 miles west of the non-extant ACL Emerson Railroad Shops (ED1611). Boone Town occupies roughly 135 acres and is situated to the south of Little Raleigh (NS0778), a residential neighborhood. According to Richard L. Mattson's research, Boone Town is named for the Boone family, the original landowners (Mattson 1985c). It was a predominantly white neighborhood that developed along Paul Street and Nashville Road (Figure 5.8). The neighborhood's commercial enterprises are concentrated around the intersection of Nashville Road and Boone Street (Figure 5.9).



Figure 5.8: 600 block of Nashville Road in Boone Town.



Figure 5.9: 500 block of Nashville Road in Boone Town.

A 1907 bird's eye view of Rocky Mount depicts a small cluster of frame dwellings along what is now Nashville Road and Boone Street (Fowler 1907). Residential development along Paul Street and Arlington Avenue remained sparse through much of the early twentieth century. Boone Town first appears on Sanborn maps in 1917, which shows one-story frame dwellings that lined both sides of Nashville Road and West Raleigh Boulevard (then known as Raleigh Road). Many of those houses had an L-shaped footprint and front porch. Frame dwellings lined the west side of Boone Street, then known as Germantown Road, and near the east end of Arrington Avenue. Eleanor Place, a dead-end road off the east side of Boone Street and to the south of Nashville Road, had four frame dwellings (Sanborn 1917). On Paul Street, a few dwellings were located near its cross streets (Sanborn 1923). Arrington Avenue and Paul Street were sparsely developed through the early twentieth century.

In 1936, Raleigh-based insurance agent D. F. Betts prepared a residential classification map of the City of Rocky Mount. Betts classified Boone Town and the adjacent Little Raleigh as part of the city's "Poor Residential" area (Betts 1936; OCE 1927).

By 1940, there was a cluster of houses around the intersection of Paul and Boone streets and the intersection of Paul and South Grace streets. Most of the land along Paul Street was cleared, presumably for small-scale agricultural use. Arlington Street remained sparsely developed and backed onto farmland to the south (USDA 1940).

The neighborhood underwent rapid residential expansion along Paul Street and the streets to the south of Nashville Road from the 1950s to 1970s (NETR 1956, 1974; Sanborn 1949, 1956). The section between St. Paul and Craig streets saw the construction of Minimal Traditional houses in the 1950s (Figure 5.10). The section between Arrington Avenue and Nelson Street saw the construction of Minimal Traditional and compact Ranch houses in the 1970s.



Figure 5.10: 400 block of Craig Street in Boone Town.

For much of the twentieth century, Boone Town's residents were predominantly white and blue collar. Many were employed at the ACL or at manufacturers located within or near the neighborhood. In 1963, for example, at least 12 out of approximately 239 households in Boone Town had a family member employed at Schottland Mills (NS1609), and at least 15 households at family members employed at Rocky Mount Undergarment (NS1621).

Schottland Mills (NS1609), a rayon fabric manufacturer located at 535 Paul Street, opened around 1928 and closed by 1975 (Figure 5.11). A. Schottland, Inc. was founded in 1902 in Patterson, New Jersey, by A. Schottland. The firm relocated to Rocky Mount in 1927 and built Schottland Mills at South Grace Street between Paul Street and Nashville Road in 1928 (NCRD 1928, Deed, 330:170; *Manufacturers' Record*, 17 May 1928:69; RMT, 26 September 1958:9). Schottland Mills originally manufactured Japanese silk fabrics from 1928 until 1943 when the firm diversified their manufacturing, producing rayon fabric, cotton cloths, and novelties (RMT, 26 September 1958:9). The

company underwent rapid expansion in the 1960s but ran into financial difficulties in the early 1970s. In 1969, Schottland Mills had around 600 employees; by 1972, the mills employed less than 100 workers (RMT, 5 July 1972:11). The firm foreclosed in 1975, and Schottland Mills ceased operations (RMT, 22 May 1975:28).



Figure 5.11: Schottland Mills (NS1609).

Many residents worked for employers outside the neighborhood, such as Sidney Blumenthal & Company's Caromont Mills (27 Boone Town households), the ACL (24 Boone Town households), and Rocky Mount Mills (10 Boone Town households) (HDC 1963). Other blue-collar residents held jobs outside manufacturing: Fred N. May, routeman; Willie A. House, service station attendant; Lee W. Cockrell, mechanic; David C. Joyner, meat cutter; Clyde F. Pridgen, salesman; and Norman F. Thomas, post office carrier. While Boone Town was predominantly blue collar, the neighborhood was also home to a few middle-class families and neighborhood business owners. James E. Raper was a foreman at Caromont Mills, and his wife Wilma P. Raper owned and operated Wilma's Beauty Shop from their house at 407 Nashville Road.

In 1962, the North Carolina Department of Conservation and Development prepared a neighborhood analysis report for the City of Rocky Mount. In that report, Boone Town and the Nash County side of South Rocky Mount were part of the city's Planning District Number 5 (NCD CD 1962:42). The NCD CD identified two areas that needed rehabilitation and urban renewal work: Little Raleigh and the general vicinity between Hudson and Burnett streets, both of which were Black communities. The NCD CD made no recommendations for the white Boone Town community besides "spot clearance" of substandard residential structures.

5.5 Cokey Road Neighborhood (ED2455)

The Cokey Road Neighborhood is a residential area located between Redgate Avenue and Drew Street, east of Cokey Road (Figure 5.12 and Figure 5.13). It is roughly 0.45 miles southeast of Rocky Mount's commercial downtown. Most properties in the Cokey Road Neighborhood are single-family

residences, and a circa-1979 public housing complex is located within this neighborhood. The Cokey Road Neighborhood’s residential architecture includes the Craftsman, Minimal Traditional, Colonial Revival, and Ranch styles expressed on various domestic forms. The name Cokey Road Neighborhood derives from the Cokey Road Urban Renewal Area Neighborhood Development Program, a municipal urban renewal project in this area in the 1970s.



Figure 5.12: 700 block of Redgate Avenue in the Cokey Road Neighborhood.



Figure 5.13: 900 block of Nugent Street in the Cokey Road Neighborhood

The Cokey Road Neighborhood was a predominantly Black, blue-collar neighborhood that gradually developed between the 1910s and 1950s. Historically, white residents lived along Redgate Avenue, while Black residents lived along the streets south of Redgate Avenue. In 1936, Raleigh-based insurance agent D. F. Betts classified the Black-occupied area between Long Avenue and Cokey Road (Long Avenue/Cokey Road area) as part of the city's "Poor Residential" area, while the white-occupied area along Redgate Avenue was part of the city's "Good Residential" area (Betts 1936; OCE 1927).

In 1962, the North Carolina Department of Conservation and Development prepared a neighborhood analysis report for the City of Rocky Mount. In that report, the Long Avenue/Cokey Road area was part of the city's Planning District Number 7, which included the white neighborhood of Gibson Hill and Black neighborhood of Around the Y. Planning District Number 7 was a densely populated, predominantly white area with two segregated, Black-occupied sections (Around the Y and the Long Avenue/Cokey Road area) located along the ACL railroad lines. According to the report, 30 percent of the residential structures in the Long Avenue/Cokey Road area were substandard. The NCD CD recommended rehabilitating the Long Avenue/Cokey Road area and improving the street system (NCD CD 1962:63).

In the 1970s, the Long Avenue/Cokey Road area was the subject of the Cokey Road Neighborhood Development Program. The goal of the program was to upgrade many of the substandard houses in the Long Avenue/Cokey Road area up to the city's minimum housing code, demolish substandard houses that were sited on narrow lots, and realign Tessie Street (RMT, 3 August 1973:11). At the time, reporters described the project as controversial due to disagreements among city council members on the project and opposition from many of the Long Avenue/Cokey Road area residents. Many residents opposed the project because they were concerned that it would raise property taxes and force some property owners to sell their property and relocate. On August 6, 1973, the Rocky Mount City Council initially deadlocked on a vote to approve the Cokey Road Neighborhood Development Program urban renewal project, and Mayor John Minges cast the tiebreaking vote and approved the project (RMT, 7 August 1973:1). Later that month, the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development delegated \$250,000 to the Redevelopment Commission of the City of Rocky Mount for the Cokey Road Neighborhood Development Program (RMT, 21 August 1973:9). In the late 1970s, houses along Tessie Street were demolished for the construction of a public housing complex.

5.6 Cross Town (ED2466)

Cross Town (also spelled Crosstown) is a primarily residential neighborhood located northeast of Rocky Mount's commercial downtown. It occupies roughly 294 acres and is situated on the Edgecombe County side of the city, east of the ACL Main Line. Most properties are single-family residences, and neighborhood stores are scattered throughout the neighborhood. Commercial properties are also concentrated in the southwest section of Cross Town along East Thomas Road and in the southeast section of Cross Town at the junction of East Thomas Street and East Raleigh Boulevard. Two historically Black schools, the Booker T. Washington High School (ED0614) and O. R. Pope Elementary School (ED2484), are located in Cross Town but are no longer active schools. The neighborhood is also home to approximately 11 churches (Figure 5.14).

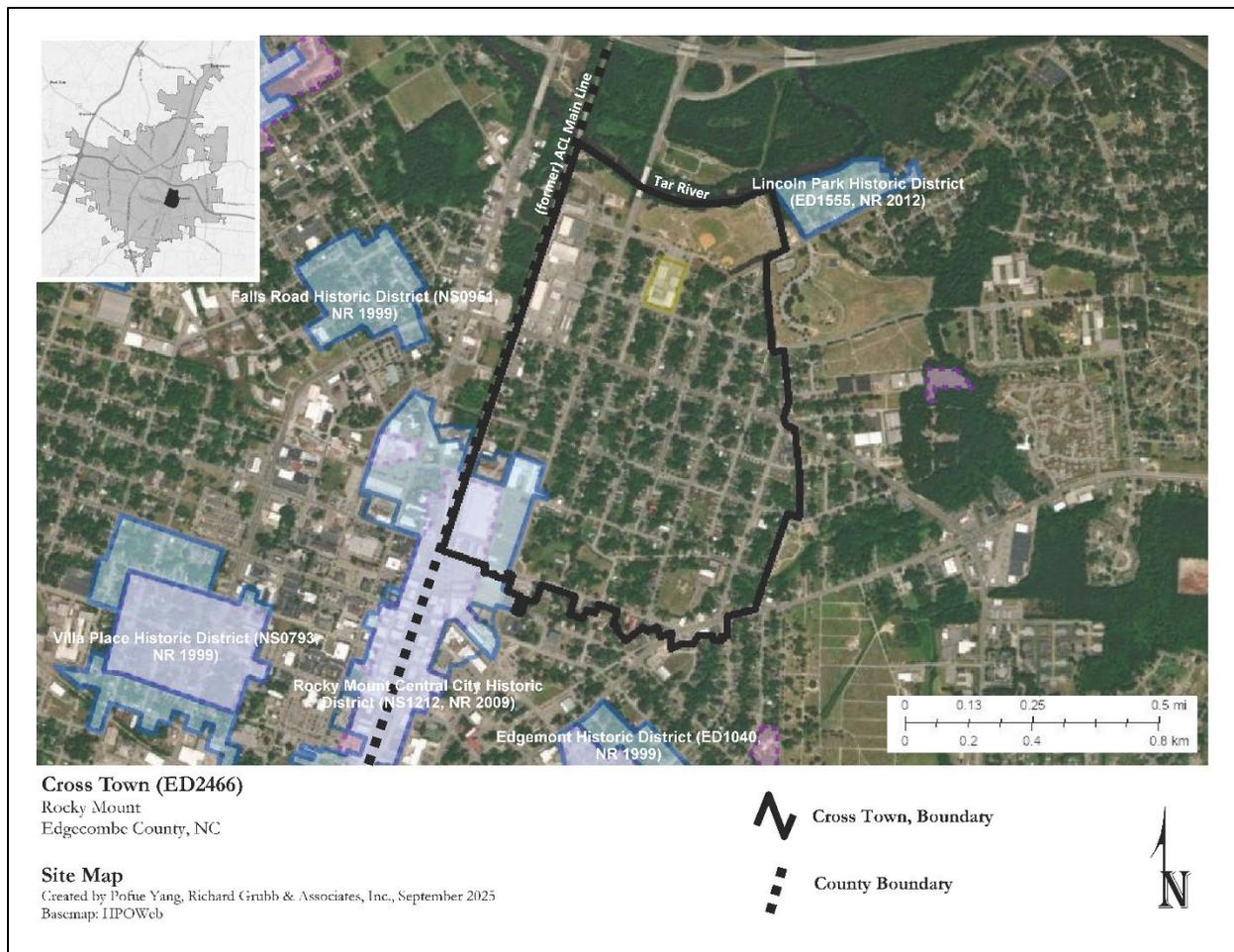


Figure 5.14: Aerial site map of Cross Town (ED2466).

The origins of the name Cross Town are unclear, but the name was in use as early as 1923, when a Sanborn map of Rocky Mount labeled this area as Cross Town. One of the earliest known mentions of Cross Town in newspapers is in a 1939 issue of the *Rocky Mount Telegram*, which mentions the neighborhood as being “that celebrated area known as ‘Cross Town’” (RMT, 12 August 1939:12).

Cross Town was platted as a residential subdivision in 1892 (ECRD 1892, Map, 75:570). The earliest extant houses, built from the 1900s to 1920s, are concentrated south of East Grand Avenue and west of Coleman Avenue. From the 1920s through 1950s, Cross Town experienced a housing boom and residential development expanded north of East Grand Avenue. Cross Town’s dwellings from the 1900s to 1930s feature modest elements of the Queen Anne, Craftsman, Colonial Revival, and Period Revival styles expressed across different domestic forms that include the bungalow, single pile, double pile, gable-and-wing, and shotgun. Cross Town’s residential architecture from the 1940s to 1950s includes the Minimal Traditional style and house form and the Colonial Revival and Contemporary styles expressed on the Ranch form.

Since its platting in 1892, the area has been home to blue- and white-collar Black residents. Many educators lived in Cross Town. In 1930, for example, the 400 and 600 blocks of Atlantic Avenue were home to 3 principals and 16 teachers who taught at Booker T. Washington High School, Holly Street Public School, Lincoln School, and South Side School. Two historically Black schools were located in Cross Town: Booker T. Washington High School (ED0614, Figure 5.15) and O. R. Pope Elementary School (ED2484, Figure 5.16).



Figure 5.15: Booker T. Washington High School (ED0614).



Figure 5.16: Oliver R. Pope Elementary School (ED2484).

A prominent educator who resided in Cross Town was Oliver R. Pope (12/9/1876–12/16/1973). Pope and his family lived at 606 Atlantic Avenue (ED2483) from 1923 to 1956 (Figure 5.17). Pope served as the principal of Booker T. Washington High School (ED0614) and supervising principal of

Black schools in Rocky Mount. He was a member of various state-wide committees, including the North Carolina Teachers Association and the North Carolina Commission on Interracial Cooperation. The O. R. Pope Elementary School (ED2484), which opened in 1938, was named in honor of him. Pope retired from the education profession in 1949. Around the time of O. R. Pope's retirement, the Southern Association of Secondary Schools and Colleges adjudged the Booker T. Washington High School as one of the three best Black high schools in the entire South (RMT, 4 June 1949:7).



Figure 5.17: Oliver R. and Myrtle V. Pope House (ED2483).

Cross Town's blue-collar Black residents had diverse occupations, though many were employed in the tobacco industry. In 1948, for example, 7 out of 19 households on the 300 block of Carolina Avenue and 8 out of 11 households on the 500 block of Shearin Street had at least one household member employed in the tobacco industry (HDC 1948). Liggett & Myers Tobacco Company had a stemmery at 724 Albemarle Avenue (ED2482). The stemmery was originally built in 1946, heightened in 1948–1949, and expanded in 1967 (RMT, 30 June 1967:11). Many of the tobacco workers/laborers at the stemmery were Black men. Black women and a smaller number of white women were also employed as workers. Office, maintenance, and managerial positions were held by white employees (HDC 1950, 1952). The City of Rocky Mount acquired the stemmery in 1980 and has since converted the property into municipal office spaces.

Religious life played a prominent part in the community of Cross Town. Approximately nine churches were established in Cross Town from the late nineteenth century through the 1970s. The oldest of these is believed to be Saint James Missionary Baptist Church (ED2467), which was organized on June 8, 1885 (Figure 5.18). It was founded as a Black church and continues to serve Rocky Mount's Black community. The present-day edifice was constructed in 1913 in the Gothic Revival style and is the third church building at this site. The first church building was a 16-foot by 16-foot slab building located in the southwest area of the present-day edifice. In 1898, a larger church building was built, and the slab building was presumably removed by that time. The 1898 sanctuary was demolished for the construction of the present-day sanctuary in 1913. According to the cornerstone, the church was

renovated in 1957 and 1991. Saint James Missionary Baptist Church was active in Rocky Mount's Black community. From the 1950s to 1960s, for example, the church was the host of NAACP conferences and workshops, an Elks State Convention annual meeting, and Rocky Mount Voters and Improvement League meetings (RMT, 24 October 1953:2; 7 May 1961:36; 10 October 1961:7).



Figure 5.18: Saint James Missionary Baptist Church (ED2456).

The Immaculate Conception Catholic Mission at 723 East Virginia Street (ED2481) was founded in 1942 as a Catholic mission for Rocky Mount's Black community (Figure 5.19). It was the first Black Catholic church in Rocky Mount. The building features elements of the Classical Revival and Romanesque Revival styles. Architect James A. McGeady of Wilson designed the church building, and the Redemptorist Fathers of the Baltimore Province were the builders. The church opened for service on August 2, 1942 (RMT, 21 December 1942:5). On June 12, 1953, Bishop Vincent S. Waters of the Diocese of Raleigh ordered the end of racial segregation in all Catholic churches in the Diocese of Raleigh (Vincent S. Waters to the Clergy and Laity of the Diocese of Raleigh, letter, 12 June 1953, Office of the Archives, Diocese of Raleigh). The immediate impact that Bishop Waters' desegregation order had on the Immaculate Conception Catholic Mission is not known, but the Immaculate Conception Catholic Mission is believed to be the last active Black Catholic mission in the Diocese of Raleigh. In 2002, Father JaVan Saxon, who ministered to both Immaculate Conception and Our Lady of Perpetual Help Catholic Church, observed that many African American missions were absorbed by larger churches in the latter half of the twentieth century because of desegregation (RMT, 28 September 2002:5).



Figure 5.19: Immaculate Conception Catholic Mission (ED2481).

In 1936, Raleigh-based insurance agent D. F. Betts prepared a residential classification map of the City of Rocky Mount (Betts 1936; OCE 1927). Despite the presence of a large white-collar Black population in Cross Town, particularly in the western section of the neighborhood, Betts classified the area as part of the city’s “Poor Residential” area.

In 1962, the North Carolina Department of Conservation and Development prepared a neighborhood analysis report for the City of Rocky Mount. In that report, Crosstown and the surrounding Black community were part of the city’s Planning District Number 11. This planning district contained 529.82 acres of land, of which 515.64 acres were developed or built up (NCDCCD 1962:90). The planning district had a total population of 5,979, of which 30 (0.5%) were white and 5,949 (99.5%) were nonwhite (NCDCCD 1962:93). At that time, over 50 percent of Rocky Mount’s Black residents lived in Planning District Number 11. Community facilities in the planning district included Booker T. Washington Senior High School, Parker Junior High School, Barkerville Elementary School, O. R. Pope Elementary School, Weeks-Armstrong Public Housing Project, Northeastern Cemetery, Stith Park, East Virginia Street Park, and Albemarle Avenue Community Center. The City Sewage Disposal Plant, City Incinerator, and City Garage and Shops were also located in the planning district (NCDCCD 1962:90–91). According to the 1962 report, 358 out of 1,217 structures (29%) in Planning District Number 11 were substandard and scattered throughout the district. The NCDCCD recommended a large rehabilitation project to upgrade many structures that were structurally sound, clearing completely dilapidated structures and some of the mixed land uses, and clearing and redeveloping the area in the vicinity of Holly Street and Park Avenue (NCDCCD 1962:95).

In 1974, the city’s planning department identified Cross Town as one of seven areas in Rocky Mount that were “blighted.” The other “blighted” areas were Little Raleigh, Red Row, South Rocky Mount, Brooks-Matthews, Swelton Heights, and Happy Hill. The city’s planning department recommended tearing down and rebuilding Red Row, and “spot clearing” and rehabilitating the other “blighted” areas (RMT, 29 December 1974:4).

In the 1970s and 1980s, the city provided grants and loans for rehabilitation projects in Cross Town and other areas of the city (RMT, 17 May 1978:18). In 1980, for example, the city used \$434,000 out of a \$700,000 Small Cities Grant from the Department of Housing and Urban Development for rehabilitation projects in Cross Town (RMT, 16 October 1980:13). Cross Town was also the subject of selective demolition. Several blocks throughout the neighborhood have many vacant lots due to demolition. The Planters Tobacco Warehouse No. 3 located at 339 Park Avenue was demolished around the turn of the twenty-first century, and new houses were built at its site.

5.7 Easonburg Crossroads (NS1717)

The Easonburg Crossroads (the crossroads) is the area around the crossroads of West Mount Drive and South Halifax Road, roughly 4.5 miles southwest of Rocky Mount's commercial downtown. Today, the area is also known as West Mount, but it is also known by the names Easonburg, Big Easonburg, and West Mount Crossroads. The name Easonburg is believed to derive from local merchant Willis Eason who owned a store in this area (RMT, 14 September 2007:4). The name Big Easonburg is used by locals to distinguish this area from Little Easonburg, which is located around the Sunset Avenue and Halifax Road crossing; Little Easonburg is believed to be named after Willis's nephew, William Eason, who was the "smaller" of the two. The name West Mount referred to an area bounded by the ACL Nashville Branch to the north, the Tar River to the east and south, and South Halifax Road to the west (RMT, 3 December 1955:2).



Figure 5.20: Easonburg Crossroads (NS1717).

Today, the setting is mostly rural and agricultural (Figure 5.20). Situated around the crossroads is Frank W. Langley's House (NS0621), Jackson L. Langley's Gas Station (NS1715), West Mount Convenient Mart (NS0613), and a circa-1954 Ranch house. The George Langley House (NS0622), Truman S. Weaver Store (NS1714), Truman S. and Hettie B. Weaver House (NS1713), two Minimal Traditional-style houses, and the West Mount Ruritan Club are situated to the east of the crossroads along West Mount Drive. Further along West Mount Drive, to the east and west of the crossroads, are circa-1970s residential developments. To the south of the crossroads, along South Halifax Road, is the site of the

Samuel B. Weaver House (NS0617, no longer extant) and the James Franklin Weaver House (NS0612). The Caswell Weaver House (NS0611) is situated to the north of the crossroads.

Locally prominent individuals who lived around the crossroads include farmer Samuel B. Weaver (10/7/1875–6/6/1957) and merchant Frank W. Langley (10/10/1893–5/25/1948). Samuel Weaver's house was located at present-day 3979 South Halifax Road (NS0617). Around the turn of the century, Samuel assumed ownership of his father's home at present-day 3951 South Halifax Road (NS0612) and resided there for the remainder of his life. By the time of his death, Samuel owned about 600 acres of land (Mattson 1985b). Frank W. Langley owned a Craftsman-style bungalow at 8168 West Mount Drive (NS0621) and operated a store at 8211 West Mount Drive (NS0613). Frank's sons Jackson and George later assumed ownership of the store. Following Frank's death, Jackson acquired his father's home.

American novelist and poet Jack Kerouac, a pioneer of the Beat Generation, lived on-and-off with his sister and her husband at 8116 West Mount Drive (NS1716) in the early and mid-1950s. According to Easonburg locals, Kerouac used his sister's house as a writing studio and the neighboring woods and farms as places to reflect and meditate (RMT, 26 December 1999:23).

The West Mount Ruritan Club is located at 8277 West Mount Drive. The West Mount Ruritan Club was organized on December 2, 1955, with 25 charter members. The club first met at the Old Macklin school house, which was also used by the E. V. Gordon Home Demonstration Club. In 1963, Fred R. and Catherine W. Conyers acquired what was then a vacant lot at 8277 West Mount Drive for the West Mount Ruritan Club. By 1965, the club began a fundraising project for the construction of a clubhouse. The clubhouse was completed by 1967 (RMT, 22 June 1967:9).

5.8 Edgemont Park (ED2447)

Edgemont Park is a residential neighborhood located roughly 0.7 miles southeast of Rocky Mount's commercial downtown, immediately southeast of Edgemont Historic District (ED1040, NRHP 1999), and immediately south of Pineview Cemetery. The neighborhood occupies roughly 191 acres. Most properties are single-family residences, and churches are scattered throughout the neighborhood (Figure 5.21 and Figure 5.22).

Edgemont Park developed primarily between the 1920s and 1950s, beginning in the northwest and gradually expanding east and south. Development in Edgemont Park was gradual from the 1920s to 1940s. In an advertisement in the *Rocky Mount Telegram*, developer A. Hicks invites prospective homeowners to “join the many young business and professional men who have already built their homes in Edgemont Park” (RMT, 28 May 1938:10). In 1938, 11 new residences on Sycamore Street, Eastern Avenue, Oakwood Drive, and Rosewood Avenue were completed and available for sale (RMT, 21 January 1939:9). In 1940, houses lined the 900 to 1100 blocks of Eastern Avenue and Sycamore Street, while the remainder of Edgemont Park remained vacant (USDA 1940). Like other neighborhoods in Rocky Mount and across the United States, Edgemont Park experienced a housing boom from the 1940s through the 1950s. By 1956, dwellings occupied nearly all lots in the neighborhood (Sanborn 1956). The distribution of architectural styles reflects the neighborhood's development. Interwar houses of mostly Colonial Revival- and Period Revival-style architecture are

concentrated in the northwestern section, while post-World War II houses of mostly Minimal Traditional- and Ranch-style architecture dominate the remainder of the neighborhood. Edgemont Park is home to one of two Lustron houses in Rocky Mount (Figure 5.23).



Figure 5.21: 1300 block of North Oakwood Drive in Edgemont Park



Figure 5.22: Hill Street Church of Christ (ED2453).



Figure 5.23: Willie G. and Frances L. Powell House (ED2462).

From the 1930s through at least the early 1960s, Edgemont Park’s residents were white and predominantly middle and upper middle class. The neighborhood’s residents had diverse occupations: Robert G. Hicks, veterinarian; Daniel S. Johnson, school superintendent; John D. Odom, lawyer; C. Carlyle Ward, president of Builders Federal Savings & Loan Association of Rocky Mount; Abraham Thompson, barber; D. Leroy Shearin, insurance salesman; and John H. Brown, bus operator.

In 1962, the North Carolina Department of Conservation and Development prepared a neighborhood analysis report for the City of Rocky Mount. In that report, Edgemont Park was split between the city’s Planning District Numbers 8 and 9, occupying the eastern portion of Planning District Number 8 and southeastern portion of Planning District Number 9. Planning District Number 8 had 1,566 residents and was 100 percent white, while Planning District Number 9 had 2,191 residents and was 91 percent white (NCDCCD 1962:69, 77). Both planning districts were primarily residential. The NCDCCD identified little to no evidence of “blight inducing factors,” and recommended “spot clearance” and normal code enforcement practices in these planning districts (NCDCCD 1962:71, 79).

5.9 Englewood (NS0841)

Englewood is a residential suburb located west of the Tar River and South Wesleyan Boulevard, roughly 2 miles west of Rocky Mount’s commercial downtown. It occupies roughly 226 acres and is roughly bounded by Sunset Avenue to the north, Forest Hill Avenue to the east, Winstead Road to the south, and Englewood Drive to the west. Englewood is predominantly residential with one public elementary school and two churches. Commercial buildings are located along Sunset Avenue at the north boundary of the neighborhood. Englewood’s residential architecture is diverse and includes the Colonial Revival, Craftsman, Tudor Revival, Period Revival, Ranch, and Minimal Traditional styles (Figure 5.24 and Figure 5.25).



Figure 5.24: 200 block of Forest Hill Drive in Englewood.



Figure 5.25: 2900 block of Winstead Road in Englewood.

According to research conducted by Richard L. Mattson, Englewood was Rocky Mount's first subdivision west of the Tar River (Mattson 1987:277). The platting of Englewood in 1925 reflects the rise of automobile-dependent suburbs in the early twentieth century. Englewood is one of Rocky Mount's earliest subdivisions, if not the first, to move away from the grid system.

Zebulon B. Bulluck (b. 04/09/1884; d. 04/06/1981) platted Englewood in 1925. With his wife Foy W. Bulluck and business partner W. S. Wilkinson Jr., the trio sold the properties in Englewood to prospective homeowners. The earliest deeds for the subdivision contain covenants that prohibit "negroes or persons of negro blood except domestic servants and their families employed by the occupant dwelling thereon" from buying or occupying properties in Englewood. The covenants also

restrict the minimum cost of a dwelling (\$2,500, \$3,000, or \$3,750), minimum building setback (30 feet), and outbuilding construction, among other constraints (NCRD 1925, Deed, 291:337–370; 1941, Deed, 455:543).

Development in Englewood was slow during the interwar period. A USDA aerial photograph taken in 1940 shows Englewood and its interior streets largely vacant of buildings (USDA 1940). Englewood's earliest houses, built in the 1940s and earlier, are concentrated along Forest Hill Avenue, Wayne Street, Crescent Drive, Charlotte Avenue, and Briarcliff Road. Houses built prior to 1940 include Colonial Revival, Craftsman, Period Revival, and Tudor Revival-style dwellings.

In 1936, Raleigh-based insurance agent D. F. Betts prepared a residential classification map of the City of Rocky Mount (Betts 1936; OCE 1927). Betts classified Englewood as part of the city's "Good Residential" area.

Following World War II, Englewood experienced a housing boom. Most dwellings in Englewood were constructed between 1940 and 1969. Many of Englewood's Minimal Traditional houses were built in the 1940s. Most of the houses built in the 1950s are located between Forest Hill Avenue and Oakdale Road, while dwellings built in the 1960s are concentrated between Oakdale Road and South Englewood Drive. With few exceptions, houses built in the 1950s and 1960s are compact and linear ranches. Buildings dating to the 1970s and later are interspersed among the earlier houses.

In the early 1950s, Englewood was one of several communities outside the City of Rocky Mount's corporate limits that applied for annexation by the city. The city's Board of Aldermen considered the incorporation of outlying communities as early as 1952; however, Englewood was not incorporated into Rocky Mount until 1955. Prior to Englewood's annexation, the Board of Aldermen was concerned about the potential effects annexation would have on the city and how it would affect services to citizens already living within city limits (RMT, 22 June 1952:5). The Board of Alderman finally approved annexing Englewood in 1955 with the understanding "that facilities (such as public works and utilities) will be provided within budgetary limits from year to year" (RMT, 18 March 1955:9).

The northeast portion of present-day Englewood first appears on the 1956 Sanborn map of Rocky Mount, which shows many of Englewood's dwellings along Forest Hill Avenue, Circle Drive, Charlotte Avenue, and Clifton Road as one-story, brick-veneered dwellings. Although few in number, at least six residential buildings are constructed of concrete block along Forest Hill, Crescent, and Sunset avenues. Two-story dwellings are scattered throughout the neighborhood, with four occupying corner lots: 110 Forest Hill Avenue, 204 Forest Hill Avenue, 329 Charlotte Avenue, 401 Charlotte Avenue.

In 1962, the North Carolina Department of Conservation and Development prepared a neighborhood analysis report for the City of Rocky Mount. In that report, Englewood was part of the city's Planning District Number 15, which was roughly bounded by Sunset Avenue to the north, the Tar River to the east, the ACL Nashville Branch to the south, and Nottingham Road and Timberlane Drive to the west (NCDOD 1962:118). This planning district was a predominantly white residential area made up primarily of the Englewood and Westridge neighborhoods. Commercial development lined Sunset

Avenue and U.S. 301 Bypass, both of which ran through the planning district. In 1962, Planning District Number 15 had a population of 1,478 white residents and 32 nonwhite residents.

The NCDCCD observed that Englewood and Westridge were reasonably new neighborhoods and the houses were in “very good condition.” The NCDCCD found that only 4 of 525 residential buildings (0.8%) were substandard. The primary problem within the planning district was its high percentage (26%) of unpaved streets, especially in the western and southwestern sections of Englewood and south of Winstead Road. The NCDCCD recommended a street paving program, “spot clearing” substandard structures, and preventing commercial uses from encroaching on the residential area (NCDCCD 1962:123).

5.10 Gibson Hill (ED2406)

Gibson Hill is a primarily residential neighborhood located south of Rocky Mount’s commercial downtown. It occupies roughly 133 acres and is bounded on the north by Edgecombe Street, on the east by Cokey Road, on the south by the ACL Norfolk-Rocky Mount Branch, and on the west by the ACL Main Line. Gibson Hill is mostly composed of single-family residences. The neighborhood’s residential architecture is diverse and includes vernacular, Queen Anne, Craftsman, Minimal Traditional, Colonial Revival, and Ranch architecture expressed on various domestic forms (Figure 5.26). Commercial properties are concentrated on Cokey Road and in the western section of the neighborhood, while neighborhood stores are scattered in Gibson Hill (Figure 5.27). Gibson Hill is also home to a number of churches built during the twentieth century.



Figure 5.26: 500 block of Arlington Street in Gibson Hill.



Figure 5.27: Wooten's Super Market (ED2421).

Gibson Hill comprises several platted subdivisions, including the R. Jordan Property, North Carolina Land and Improvement Company Property, R. P. Gibson Property, and Planters Cotton Seed Oil Company Property. According to local tradition, Gibson Hill originally referred to an area located “out Cokey Road, just beyond Marigold Street” (RMT, 13 January 1968:4). Its name derives from Randall P. Gibson, a real estate agent who briefly lived in the area and owned the R. P. Gibson Property. The name Gibson Hill more specifically referred to the area centered around Clark and Branch streets (RMT, 23 January 1976:4; RMT, 28 October 2001:2).

Gibson Hill was originally a white, blue-collar neighborhood that dates to the turn of the twentieth century. From the 1890s through the early twentieth century, the expansion of the ACL Emerson Railroad Shops in South Rocky Mount contributed to rising housing demand in Rocky Mount. Gibson Hill, situated north of the ACL Emerson Railroad Shops and the Planters Cotton Seed Oil Company's mill, was an ideal location for railroad workers, mill workers, and their families to live. The neighborhood retained its predominantly blue-collar identity through the twentieth century. To the southwest of Gibson Hill was the Black community of Around the Y (ED2404), which developed during the same time as Gibson Hill.

According to a 1907 bird's eye view of Rocky Mount, houses lined the north–south interior streets of Gibson Hill (Fowler 1907). Like other turn-of-the-century and early-twentieth-century residential neighborhoods in Rocky Mount, Gibson Hill was laid in a grid system with narrow lots.

In 1936, Raleigh-based insurance agent D. F. Betts prepared a residential classification map of the City of Rocky Mount. Betts classified Gibson Hill as part of the city's “Good Residential” area. Meanwhile, he classified the adjacent Black community of Around the Y as part of the city's “Poor Residential” area (Betts 1936; OCE 1927).

Prior to the late 1950s, many of Gibson Hill's residents were employed at the ACL Emerson Shops while others had diverse occupations: Mayo Allen, mechanic at ACL; Thomas W. Anderson, car

repairer at ACL; Thomas J. Chesire, engineer at ACL; William D. Cone, generator attendant at ACL; John C. Andrews, barber; Wadell N. Bynum, laborer at Planters Cotton Oil; Margie B. Belles, quilter at Rocky Mount Rayon Mill; Virginia Blount, office secretary at Ceramic Tile Company; and Thomas L. Brake, bottler at Coca-Cola (HDC 1950).

Religious life played a prominent part in the community of Gibson Hill. Approximately six churches were established in Gibson Hill from the 1900s through the 1970s. The oldest of these is believed to be Arlington Street Baptist Church (ED2413) at 704 Arlington Street (Figure 5.28). The Classical Revival-style edifice was built in 1922, but the history of the church dates to 1905. The First Baptist Church of Rocky Mount acquired a lot at the corner of Arlington and East Bassett streets in 1905 to establish a Sunday school and Baptist church in the area. The first meeting house at this location was built in 1906. It was a frame building that seated about 300 people. With help from some members of the First Baptist Church of Rocky Mount, the Arlington Street Baptist Church was organized on March 10, 1907, and had 19 members (RMT, 26 September 1953:7). In 1922, the meeting house was demolished, and a Classical Revival-style edifice was built on the site. Arlington Street Baptist Church sold the property to Truth Tabernacle of Deliverance in 1989 (ECRD 1989, Deed, 1034:546). Truth Tabernacle Ministries currently occupies the building. A new sanctuary was built behind (west) the 1922 edifice in 2009.



Figure 5.28: Arlington Street Baptist Church (ED2413).

According to former residents, the neighborhood underwent drastic change after the ACL began closing the Emerson Railroad Shops and laying off workers in 1959. ACL workers either transferred or retired. During the latter half of the twentieth century, the racial makeup of Gibson Hill shifted from majority white to majority Black.

In 1962, the North Carolina Department of Conservation and Development prepared a neighborhood analysis report for the City of Rocky Mount. In that report, Gibson Hill and Around the Y were part of the city's Planning District Number 7. This planning district was a densely populated,

predominantly white area with two segregated, Black-occupied sections located along the ACL railroad lines. One of the Black sections was Around the Y, and the other was a community located between Cokey Road and Long Avenue (ED2455). The planning district was primarily residential, with some industrial development along the railroad tracks, commercial development along Cokey Road and a portion of South Washington Street, and neighborhood business establishments scattered throughout the area (NCDCCD 1962:58, 59).

The 1962 neighborhood analysis report states that the two Black sections in the planning district contained a mixture of land uses and a large percentage of substandard residential buildings that were in poor condition. The NCDCCD recommended the “spot clearance” of substandard residential buildings in the Gibson Hill section and the clearing and redevelopment of the Black sections of the planning district (NCDCCD 1962:63).

The racial makeup of Gibson Hill began to shift in the late 1960s due to the end of housing segregation and the beginning of white flight to other suburbs in and around Rocky Mount. Black residents began to buy and move into originally white-owned properties, and white residents who could afford to leave the neighborhood moved out. Homeownership in the neighborhood declined as many owner-occupied houses turned into rental houses. By 1990, Gibson Hill became a predominantly Black neighborhood with 92 percent of its residents being Black and 8 percent white (RMT, 28 October 2001:2).

5.11 Happy Hill (NS0768)

Happy Hill is a primarily residential area located in the western portion of Rocky Mount (Figure 5.29). The neighborhood is located 0.75 miles west from Rocky Mount’s commercial downtown and has predominantly been characterized as a working-class, Black community with single-family and duplex housing and a few commercial and light industrial buildings.



Figure 5.29: Happy Hill (NS0768).

Happy Hill originally was part of the Trevathan family land, which stretched from the current Rocky Mount Mills to Groom's Mill and West Haven (RMT, 5 February 1967:9). The first mention of the term "Happy Hill" appears in a 1908 issue of the *Rocky Mount Record* in which the population of the area is noted as not being counted in a recent police census of Rocky Mount (*Rocky Mount Record*, 9 April 1908:1). The earliest survey of a portion of the area was the April 1909 survey of Mrs. S. J. Trevathan's land, which laid out the northernmost portion of the area that would become Happy Hill (NCRD 1909, Deed, 94:555). The 1912 and 1917 Sanborn maps show the development of the neighborhood primarily along North Howell Street north of West Thomas Street, the south side of West Thomas Street, and along Beal Street west of North Howell Street, while the remainder of the neighborhood remained sparsely built (Sanborn 1912, 1917).

The 1923 Sanborn map specifically notes the area to the southwest of the Southern Cotton Oil Company as "Happy Hill" (Sanborn 1923). While the Southern Cotton Oil company continued to grow along the north of the district during the early portion of the twentieth century, according to limited city directory research, the residents of the area along North Howell Street to the south were primarily African Americans employed as general laborers and domestic workers (Figure 5.30). It is not evident that the Southern Cotton Oil Company explicitly employed any laborers in Happy Hill until 1948 when regular advertisements in the *Rocky Mount Telegram* began appearing from the company calling specifically for colored labor. The city directories through 1963 note no laborers in the area directly connected to the company. The 1948 city directory notes residents of the area as employees of the ACL and the tobacco industry led by American Tobacco, China American Tobacco, and Lea Tobacco (HDC 1948).



Figure 5.30: Southern Cotton Oil Company (NS1732).

Laborers remained a primary demographic within the Happy Hill community as the area grew, seeing slow but steady development of small single-family and duplex shotgun houses through the First World War. The buildings throughout the district were primarily built and rented by corporations or individuals to help provide housing to the various industries in Rocky Mount. An example was Twin

County Insurance and Realty Company, which had 15 parcels that extended from Gay Street to the east past North Tillery Street, as represented in a 1923 survey (NCRD 1923, Deed, 279:391). By 1949, 14 of these parcels were occupied, 8 with identical duplexes. The duplexes housed primarily laborers, domestic workers, and tradesmen. Only three of these houses currently exist. While most stretches of worker housing in Happy Hill have been demolished, a few areas remain intact, such as the 1000 and 1100 blocks of Star Street and the 500 block of North Pine Street. Larger apartment complexes were not prominent in Happy Hill, but one did exist closer to the southern end of the neighborhood and was constructed after the conclusion of the Second World War: the circa-1949 North Mayo Street Apartments at 225 North Mayo.

Another building of importance is the only known prefabricated kit house in Happy Hill, located at 1110 West Thomas. This Gordon-Van Tine Model No. 530/Wardway “The Michigan” Craftsman-style house was built between 1921 and 1923 by Moses and Lizzie Pitt and is the only known Gordon-Van Tine/Wardway kit house in the city (SearsHouses.com n.d.). Moses Pitt was an employee of the ACL for over 30 years and according to his 1938 obituary was a “highly respected colored citizen” (RMT, 8 August 1938:9). Wardway Homes were pre-cut kit houses sold by the mail-order business Montgomery Ward & Company from 1918 to 1931 (Hunter 2019). The Gordon-Van Tine Company, a subsidiary of U. N. Roberts & Company, sold its own line of kit houses between 1909 and 1947. Montgomery Ward subcontracted the manufacturing and design of its kit houses to the Gordon-Van Tine Company from at least 1921 to 1931 (Naumann 2016: Section 8:49). These Wardway Homes were identical to Gordon-Van Tine models, the only changes being names and model numbers and landscaping around the houses (Naumann 2016: Section 8:49). It is believed that the Gordon-Van Tine Model No. 530 went by several different model numbers and names between 1916 and at least 1936: No. 557 (1916–1918), Ready Cut No. 2557 or Not Ready Cut No. 1374 (1919), No. 530 (1920–1930), Hollandale (1931–1935), and Lacey (1936–?) (SearsHouseSeeker 2019).

In 1936, Raleigh-based insurance agent D. F. Betts prepared a residential classification map of the City of Rocky Mount. Betts classified much of Happy Hill as part of the city’s “Poor Residential” area (Betts 1936; OCE 1927).

In 1962, the North Carolina Department of Conservation and Development prepared a neighborhood analysis report for the City of Rocky Mount. In that report, Happy Hill was part of the city’s Planning District Number 14. This planning district was characterized as primarily residential with a population split between white and Black residents. This report noted the northeastern portion of Happy Hill as prime for redevelopment and urban renewal due to its advanced stages of deterioration, with 219 of 890 structures (24.6%) considered substandard and located primarily in the areas with a concentrated Black population. The area was defined as falling within the boundary of North Pine, Star, North Middle, and West Beale streets. The report specifically noted the lack of a recreation area for the population (NCDCD 1962:115). This observation helped encourage the city to invest in property for a dedicated neighborhood park. In May 1968, the city purchased property from Ollie and Lonnie Bass at the corner of the 1000 block of Gold Street and the 500 block of North Harris for what would become Happy Hill Park (RMT, 24 May 1968:9). This park, renamed Bea Holman Park in 2005, is still in use by the community today (RMT, 12 July 2005:1).

In 1974, the city’s planning department identified Happy Hill as one of seven areas in Rocky Mount that were “blighted.” The other “blighted” areas were Red Row, South Rocky Mount, Cross Town, Brooks-Matthews, Swelton Heights, and Little Raleigh. The city’s planning department recommended “spot clearing” and rehabilitating Happy Hill and the other “blighted” areas (RMT, 29 December 1974:4).

Commercial buildings in Happy Hill were sparse, but those that did exist were concentrated along West Thomas Street. Extant commercial buildings include the buildings at 534 West Thomas Street (NS1678), 622 West Thomas Street (NS1679) 901 West Thomas Street (NS1681), 1001 West Thomas Street (NS1682), 1011 West Thomas Street, and 811 Gay Street. Built in the late 1930s by Willie Norfleet, the corner store at 901 West Thomas Street housed several markets including Keel’s Korner Market, Mooring’s Super Market, and Woodley’s Super Market (Figure 5.31; NCRD 1928, Deed, 326:510). Currently, MidTown Market occupies 901 West Thomas Street and remains the only active commercial market in Happy Hill. The buildings at 1011 West Thomas Street and 811 Gay Street have been converted into religious facilities, and the buildings at 534 and 1001 West Thomas Street are now vacant. Gardner’s Dairy, later Maola Velvet Dairy, was a centrally located industrial building in the district. Located at 1148 West Thomas Street, the large Colonial Revival-style building was built in 1940 and served as a distribution center and novelty ice cream production line (RMT, 6 November 1939:1). The company was purchased by Maola in 1961, and when Maola downsized its Rocky Mount operations in 1997, the West Thomas Street building was closed and remained vacant for almost a decade (RMT, 9 November 1961:1). The building was razed in 2006 with the encouragement of City Council members (RMT, 31 December 2006:1).



Figure 5.31: Wiggs’ Corner Market (NS1681).

Religious life played a prominent part in the community of Happy Hill. According to the 1956 Sanborn map, there were four Black churches in the area: Mt. Carmel Baptist Church at 844 Star Street (NS1683), Little Rocky Mount Primitive Baptist Church at 421 North Harris Street (NS1684, Figure 5.32), Calvary Baptist Church at 823 Beal Street (NS0772), and Church of God in Christ at 411 Middle

Street (gone). Mt. Carmel Baptist Church at 844 Star Street hosted occasional meetings of the Rocky Mount NAACP in 1967 (RMT, 22 April 1967:2).



Figure 5.32: Little Rocky Mount Primitive Baptist Church (NS1684).

One prominent resident and native of Happy Hill was educator, entrepreneur, and civic leader Ella Battle Allen. Born December 19, 1914, Ella grew up in Happy Hill, leaving to attend college at Storer College and Howard University. Ella received her Master of Arts from North Carolina College (now North Carolina Central University) and completed postgraduate work at Harvard University. Upon her return to Rocky Mount, Allen resided for 18 years with her husband Curtis at 830 West Thomas Street (NS1680) in Happy Hill. Her list of accomplishments includes being the president of the Happy Hill Civic Club, the secretary of the Eastern Carolina Negro Baseball League, a girl scout troop leader for over 25 years, a small business owner, and a teacher at the Lincoln School, later Parker Junior High School (RMT, 21 March 1946:11; 2 April 1946:10). Perhaps Allen's greatest contribution to the city was being the founder and first President of the Business and Professional Women's League of Rocky Mount, where she worked to promote entrepreneurship among the African American community in the city (RMT, 12 January 1958:6; 17 February 1974:9). Prior to her death in 1968, Allen received the Sojourner Truth Award, the highest honor bestowed by the association of Negro Business and Professional Women's Club, for outstanding service to the community beyond the call of duty (RMT, 18 August 1968:32). Ella and Curtis's son Larry was a Vietnam veteran and one of the first Black students to graduate from Rocky Mount Senior High school in 1965.

5.12 Hargrove (ED2435)

Hargrove is a primarily residential neighborhood located roughly 1 mile south of Rocky Mount's commercial downtown (Figure 5.33). Hargrove occupies approximately 133 acres and is located within a larger industrial, commercial, and residential area known as South Rocky Mount. The non-extant ACL Emerson Railroad Shops (ED1611) were located due west of Hargrove. Within Hargrove, most properties are single-family residences. A small number of multi-family units such as apartment buildings and public housing apartments are scattered throughout Hargrove. A concentration of

commercial properties is located in the northeast section of the neighborhood near the junction of Old Wilson Road and Cokey Road, and other commercial properties are scattered in Hargrove (Figure 5.34 and Figure 5.35). The neighborhood is also home to three churches.



Figure 5.33: 1100 block of Branch Street in Hargrove.



Figure 5.34: Commercial Building (ED2439).



Figure 5.35: Edgcombe Mobil Service (ED2436).

Hargrove was platted as a residential subdivision in 1909; however, the neighborhood primarily developed from the late 1940s through the mid-1970s. The name Hargrove derives from Lucinda Hargrove (1824–1908) who owned the land prior to her death in 1908. It was originally a predominantly white neighborhood, while Black residents lived in segregated areas at the west and south ends of the subdivision. Most white residents had blue-collar occupations, but Hargrove was also home to white-collar families and professionals. Hargrove’s Black residents were predominantly blue collar. The racial residential patterns in Hargrove remained largely unchanged through at least 1963, the date of the last available Rocky Mount city directory (HDC 1963).

Development in Hargrove was slow through the first half of the twentieth century. Among the earliest dwellings in the neighborhood were single- and double-pile dwellings located along the 1300 block of Cypress Street, the 1100 blocks of Branch and Hargrove streets, the 1700 blocks of Pender and Thru streets, the 300 and 400 blocks of Mitchell Street, and the 400 blocks of Midway and Daughtridge streets. Dwellings were also scattered elsewhere in Hargrove, and most of the lots were vacant (Sanborn 1923).

In 1936, Raleigh-based insurance agent D. F. Betts prepared a residential classification map of the City of Rocky Mount. Betts classified Hargrove as part of the city’s “Poor Residential” area (Betts 1936; OCE 1927). In 1940, most of Hargrove’s lots remained vacant, and the neighborhood had at least 165 households (HDC 1940). At that time, Hargrove’s white residents had diverse occupations but were predominantly blue collar: Landis D. Edgerton, mechanic at Hoggard-Vann Motors; Raymond Pate Jr., textile worker; John G. Felton, electrician; Lessie R. Sellers, saleswoman at Rosenbloom-Levy Company; M. Louise Proctor, stenographer; Thomas A. Burgess, lawyer; and Fairy P. Bandy, director of the City Recreation Department (HDC 1940). Hargrove’s Black residents were also predominantly blue collar: Janie Osborne, domestic; John H. Bridgers, laborer; Pearly M. Killebrew, laundress; John R. Battle, ice puller at Rocky Mount Ice & Cold Storage Company; George Garrett, laborer at Planters

Cotton Oil & Fertilizer Company; and Walter L. Jones, driver at Farmer-Brock & Company (HDC 1940).

Residential development in Hargrove boomed from the late 1940s through the mid-1970s and coincided with a period of post-World War II residential and suburban development outside Rocky Mount's city center. The number of households in Hargrove nearly doubled over the span of roughly 20 years, increasing from 165 in 1940 to 323 in 1963. By 1974, dwellings lined Hargrove's streets, with few vacant lots scattered throughout the neighborhood (NETR 1974). As a result of Hargrove's slow residential development in the first half of the twentieth century and post-World War II residential boom, the neighborhood's residential architecture is diverse and includes vernacular, Craftsman-, Minimal Traditional-, and Ranch-style houses with various domestic forms.

In 1962, the North Carolina Department of Conservation and Development prepared a neighborhood analysis report for the City of Rocky Mount. In that report, Hargrove, the ACL Emerson Shops, and an area east of Old Wilson Road were part of the city's Planning District Number 6. This planning district had a population of 1,608 white residents and 325 nonwhite residents. Approximately 48 out of 393 buildings were substandard. According to the report, "Of the residential portion of the district the Negro housing at the southern end is very poor, while the majority of the other housing is average" (NCDCCD 1962:55). The report recommended the "spot clearance" of "two small blighted areas within the district" rather than redevelopment because of those two areas' limited size (NCDCCD 1962:55).

Research has yet to determine the impact that urban renewal had on Hargrove, but aerial photographs from the latter half of the twentieth century suggest that Hargrove did not experience substantial demolition caused by urban renewal. Instead, the city constructed public housing apartments in Hargrove. In July 1969, the Rocky Mount Housing Authority acquired lots along the 1500 block of Clark Street by eminent domain (ECRD 1969, Deed, 760:479; RMT, 9 June 1969:11). Later that year, the RMHA received bids for the construction of 200 public housing units in various areas in Rocky Mount, including Clark Street (RMT, 20 December 1969:5). The Clark Street Apartments (ED2441) was completed around 1970 (Figure 5.36).

The neighborhood's building density as shown on a 1956 Sanborn map, along with aerial photographs taken from the 1980s through the 2000s, indicate that many of the present-day vacant parcels resulted from demolitions that occurred through the latter half of the 1990s and the 2000s (NETR 1983, 1993, 2002, 2008; Sanborn 1956). These demolitions may have been associated with the aftermath of hurricanes Fran and Floyd in 1996 and 1999, respectively.



Figure 5.36: Clark Street Apartments (ED2441).

5.13 Little Raleigh (NS0778)

Little Raleigh is a residential neighborhood located roughly 0.5 miles southwest of Rocky Mount's commercial downtown and 0.5 miles northwest of the non-extant ACL Emerson Railroad Shops (ED1611) (Figure 5.37). Little Raleigh occupies roughly 74 acres and is situated to the north of Boone Town (NS0737), a primarily residential neighborhood.



Figure 5.37: 600 block of Beamon Street in Little Raleigh.

Little Raleigh was a predominantly Black, blue-collar neighborhood. This community dates to the turn of the twentieth century and was known by the name Little Raleigh as early as 1916 (RMT, 28 July 1916:2). A 1907 bird's eye view of Rocky Mount shows the neighborhood with mostly one-story

dwelling located along West Raleigh Boulevard, Lindsay Street, Peter Street, and the 600 block of Henry Street (Fowler 1907). Clyde, Center, Henry, Fleet (now Dexter), and Cleveland streets were dead-end streets. The 1908–1909 Rocky Mount city directory suggests that Little Raleigh had around 43 households residing along Lindsey Street, Germantown Road (now Beamon Street), and Henry Street. Peter Street was not listed in the 1908 city directory. In 1908, all Little Raleigh residents were Black, and most residents worked as laborers (HDC 1908).

A section of Little Raleigh north of Cleveland Street first appears on Sanborn maps in 1917. This map shows that one-story, frame, single-pile houses with front porches and rear ells were the most common house form in Little Raleigh, followed by one-story, frame, double-pile houses with front porches (Sanborn 1917). Houses were located along West Raleigh Boulevard; Lindsey Street; Peter Street; the 500 blocks of Clyde, Center, Dexter, and Cleveland streets; and the 500 and 600 blocks of Henry Street. The 1923 Sanborn map of Rocky Mount shows no houses between Cleveland and Mullins streets. One-story double-pile houses and one-story single-pile houses with rear ells lined both sides of Beamon Street (Sanborn 1923). By the mid-1920s, Little Raleigh had around 120 Black households (HDC 1925).

Residential development between Luper Street and West Raleigh Boulevard continued through the twentieth century with the construction of one-story duplex, single-pile, double-pile, bungalow, and shotgun houses (Sanborn 1923, 1949). Beamon Street first appears on Sanborn maps in 1923. One-story, double-pile dwellings with front porches and one-story, single-pile dwellings with front porches and rear ells lined both sides of the 600 block of Beamon Street. A small corner store was located at the southwest corner of Beamon and Boone streets (Sanborn 1923). Development between Cleveland and Paul streets was slow through the first half of the twentieth century with only two dwellings and the Annie W. Holland Elementary School located along the 1100 block of Luper Street (Sanborn 1949). By 1974, houses lined Mullins Street (NETR 1974).

In 1936, Raleigh-based insurance agent D. F. Betts prepared a residential classification map of the City of Rocky Mount. Betts classified Little Raleigh and the adjacent Boone Town as part of the city's "Poor Residential" area (Betts 1936; OCE 1927).

In 1962, the North Carolina Department of Conservation and Development prepared a neighborhood analysis report for the City of Rocky Mount. In that report, Little Raleigh and the Nash County side of South Rocky Mount were part of the city's Planning District Number 5 (NCDOD 1962:42). The NCDOD identified two areas that needed rehabilitation and urban renewal work: Little Raleigh and the general vicinity between Hudson and Burnett streets, both of which were Black communities. The NCDOD made no recommendations for the white Boone Town community besides "spot clearance" of substandard residential structures.

In 1974, the city's planning department identified Little Raleigh as one of seven areas in Rocky Mount that were "blighted." The other "blighted" areas were Red Row, South Rocky Mount, Cross Town, Brooks-Matthews, Swelton Heights, and Happy Hill. The city's planning department recommended tearing down and rebuilding the Red Row area, and "spot clearing" and rehabilitating Little Raleigh and the other "blighted" areas (RMT, 29 December 1974:4). In the second half of the 1970s, Little Raleigh was included in the city's housing rehabilitation and street improvement program.

Homeowners could apply for a maximum grant of \$3,500 to rehabilitate their dwellings to the city's minimum housing codes (RMT, 1 September 1977:13). Street improvements in Little Raleigh included streetlights, resurfacing, and paving (RMT, 29 January 1975:25).

In 1984, the City of Rocky Mount failed to get approval for a second grant from the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development for housing rehabilitation in Little Raleigh. The community development director at the time said that the city would not apply again for improvements in Little Raleigh because the area did not have sufficient concentration of deteriorated housing (RMT, 9 August 1984:9). Two other areas of the city, however, were approved for HUD rehabilitation grants: the Beal Street and Happy Hill areas.

Research has yet to determine the impact of the city's urban renewal program in the 1970s and its housing rehabilitation and street improvement program in the 1970s and 1980s. Aerial photographs from 1974 and 1983 do not show evidence of widespread building demolition in Little Raleigh (NETR 1974, 1983). Little Raleigh contains 305 parcels, of which approximately 111 (36%) are vacant. Approximately 92 out of the 111 vacant parcels are located between West Raleigh Boulevard to the north and Cleveland Street to the south. Aerial photographs from 1974, 1983, and 1993 show that many of the present-day vacant parcels previously had dwellings, but some undeveloped parcels were scattered throughout the neighborhood (NETR 1974, 1983, 1993). The neighborhood experienced gradual building demolition from the mid-1990s through the 2010s, likely a result of the aftermath of Hurricane Fran in 1996 and Hurricane Floyd in 1999.

5.14 Mayo Heights (NS1669)

Mayo Heights is a primarily residential area located in the western portion of Rocky Mount (Figure 5.38). The neighborhood is located 1 mile west of Rocky Mount's commercial downtown and has predominantly been characterized as a working and middle-class community with single-family and duplex housing and a few commercial buildings. Mayo Heights occupies roughly 110 acres and consists of two platted subdivisions: West Avenues Extension (platted 1905) in the eastern portion and Mayo Heights (platted 1913) in the western portion (NCRD 1905, Deed, 158:108; 1913, Plat, 1:6). This neighborhood's name derives from the Mayo Heights plat. Historically, Mayo Heights was a white neighborhood situated to the west of a Black neighborhood known as Happy Hill (NS0768).

Most dwellings date from the 1920s through the 1940s, and houses dating from the 1950s through the 1970s are scattered throughout Mayo Heights. Residential architecture in Mayo Heights is diverse and includes the Queen Anne, Colonial Revival, Classical Revival, Craftsman, and Period Revival styles expressed across different domestic building forms that include the foursquare, center hall, side hall, bungalow, and shotgun. Many houses in the area are vernacular, with no stylistic expression. Minimal Traditional and Ranch houses predominate from the 1940s through the third quarter of the twentieth century.



Figure 5.38: Mayo Heights (NS1669).

Mayo Heights is an example of Rocky Mount's extension northwest during the early to mid-twentieth century. In 1905, the area bordered by Sunset Avenue, Western Avenue, Howell Street, and a line running straight north from Western Avenue was initially surveyed as "West Avenues Extension" (NCRD 1905, Deed, 158:108). Another survey in 1913 of the adjacent area referenced "Mayo Heights" (NCRD 1913, Plat, 1:6). The 1912, 1917, and 1923 Sanborn maps show the eastern portion of Mayo Heights, east of West Mayo Street, as the primary location of housing (Sanborn 1912, 1917, 1923). Smaller bungalows were built, most noticeably along Sunset Avenue between Harris and Middle streets, until after 1930 when the growth along Sunset Avenue and Beal Street expanded rapidly.

This inter-war growth is also shown in the presence of various prefabricated houses along Sunset Avenue and West Thomas Street, most notably the Aladdin Company houses at 730 Sunset, 734 Sunset (NS0744), and 1200 Sunset (NS0712). While 730 and 734 Sunset are the more modest Winthrop and Plaza models, 1200 Sunset is a much more elaborate and larger Shadow Lawn model (SearHouses.com). Located at a prominent corner lot, this Craftsman-style house was built between 1920 and 1923 for P. J. Thomas, who was a bookkeeper for W. G. Weeks and Company. He likely had his brother, noted local builder R. V. Thomas, construct the kit house for him (Sanborn 1923, 1917; HDC 1925:307).

In 1936, Raleigh-based insurance agent D. F. Betts prepared a residential classification map of the City of Rocky Mount. Betts classified Mayo Heights as part of the city's "Good Residential" area. In contrast, the neighboring Black community of Happy Hill was classified as "Poor Residential" (Betts 1936; OCE 1927).

The housing expansion continued through World War II, including the construction of a Lustron house at 1325 Sunset Avenue (NS1674, Figure 5.39). One of only two Lustrons in Rocky Mount, this desert tan-colored house includes a rare intact garage. It was constructed in 1949 for car salesman H. C. "Pete" Proctor, who previously lived in the Aladdin house at 730 Sunset Avenue (Sanborn 1949;

HDC 1948). Lustrons were prefabricated enameled steel houses built specifically to address the housing shortage following World War II. Production ceased in 1950 after only 3,000 units were sold. Approximately 1,500 Lustrons remain nationwide (USModernist n.d.).

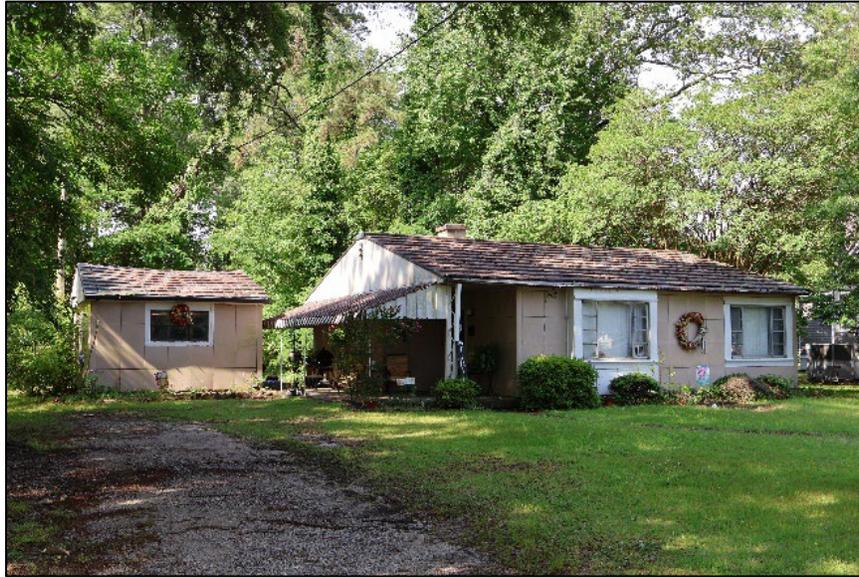


Figure 5.39: Henry C. and Lucille F. Proctor House (NS1674).

Larger apartment complexes existed near the middle and southwest of Mayo Heights, constructed after the conclusion of the Second World War. These include the Tharrington Court built in 1964 at 718 Sunset Avenue (NS1670; Figure 5.40) and the Sunset Apartments built in 1939 at 1265 Sunset Avenue (NS1673; Figure 5.41). Located on the site of an earlier structure, Tharrington Court was built for local plumber R. T. Tharrington as a two-story U-shaped brick structure featuring breezeblock panels obscuring the walkways and housing 12 two-bedroom and 4 one-bedroom apartments (RMT, 7 June 1964:14). The original portion of the Sunset Apartments is composed of three two-story Colonial Revival buildings with end-gable parapets with mock chimneys arranged around a central courtyard. The centrally located building is flanked on either side by wings executed in the International Style. The complex is bordered on the northeast and southeast by two additional apartment complexes built in the 1970s. The complex was constructed by Ira Woodall Rose, son of prominent local builder D. J. Rose (RMT, 27 May 1939:9).

Mayo Heights was also home to a number of commercial enterprises. Commercial buildings were located at 700 Sunset Avenue, 900 Sunset Avenue (NS1672), 114 North Howell Street, 113 North Pine Street (NS1676), and 122 South Pine Street (Sanborn 1956; Hill Directory Company 1963). Today, 900 Sunset Avenue and 113 North Pine Street are the only extant commercial buildings in Mayo Heights.



Figure 5.40: Tharrington Court (NS1670).



Figure 5.41: Sunset Apartments (NS1673).

A number of prominent Rocky Mount figures lived in Mayo Heights, most notably Jacob Abraham Rosenbloom. Rosenbloom was a founder of the Temple Beth El synagogue. A Lithuanian immigrant who emigrated to the United States in 1901, Rosenbloom was a prominent Rocky Mount citizen as the owner of the Rosenbloom-Levy Department Store and was a charter member of the Rocky Mount Kiwanis Club (RMT, 12 June 1971:1, 12). Rosenbloom's house, located at 1210 Sunset Avenue (NS0710; Study List 1994) in the southwest corner of the district, is a circa-1920s Colonial Revival frame house added individually to the North Carolina Study List in 1994.

Another notable resident was David Jephtha (D. J.) Rose, who established the general contracting firm D. J. Rose & Son. While Rose died in 1940, the firm remains in the family and at 135 years old is

currently the oldest licensed and continuously operating general contractor in North Carolina, according to the corporate website. In 1957, D. J. Rose & Son built and moved into a mid-century Modernist office at 216 South Mayo Street (NS1677) and continues to occupy the building. D. J. Rose & Son has been the general contractor for several of Rocky Mount's most prominent historic structures including the National Bank of Rocky Mount (built 1918; ED0514), the Atlantic Coast Line Railroad Station (built 1903–1916; NS0013; Study List 1997), and the Carolina Telephone and Telegraph three-story brick office building (built 1948; ED0559) (Dorin-Black 2022). These three buildings are located in the Rocky Mount Central City Historic District, which was first listed in the NRHP in 1980 and amended in 2009. Rose constructed his house at 1145 Sunset Avenue (NS0717) as well as a residence for his son Ira Woodall Rose at 1101 Sunset Avenue (NS0752) and for a relative Ira Winfield Rose at 1111 Sunset Avenue (NS0713). All three, in addition to seven other buildings, make up the Study-listed Sunset Avenue Historic District (NS0711; Study List 1986).

According to the 1956 Sanborn map, one church and one synagogue were located in Mayo Heights. Both are extant, with the largest being Lakeside Baptist Church at 1501 Sunset Avenue (NS1675). Established in 1955, the congregation purchased the Skeels House and Glenwood Day School. The house served as a sanctuary, educational building, and kindergarten until its demolition in 1979. A temporary sanctuary was constructed in 1956 and currently serves as the church fellowship hall. In 1960 the church began construction of a sanctuary, which was dedicated on September 3, 1961 (RMT, 18 August 1960:15). Additional property was purchased lot by lot until the entire block was acquired. In 1968, the Youth Building was erected, and in 1979 a new educational building providing facilities for adult education and preschool children was completed (Lakeside Church 2023:4; RMT, 5 June 1980:13). The sanctuary and youth buildings were designed by prominent architect F. Carter Williams, FAIA, who also built the NC Archives and Library building, numerous buildings on the campus of East Carolina University, and Raleigh's City Hall Complex (NCModernist n.d. b). NCAIA's highest honor is named the F. Carter Williams Gold Award in his honor. According to a 2023 church profile found online, the sanctuary underwent renovations in 1995 and 2008, including rearranging the chancel, enlarging the narthex and installing a slate floor (Lakeside Church 2023:4).

The first and only synagogue in Rocky Mount is the Temple Beth El (NS1671), completed in 1949 and located at 838 Sunset Avenue (RMT, 20 November 1948:2). This one-story brick-veneered building was designed by Harry Harles, AIA. Harles was a prominent Rocky Mount architect who designed primarily residential and educational buildings in Rocky Mount and eastern North Carolina, including much of Louisburg College in Louisburg, North Carolina (NCModernist n.d. a). The contractor was D. J. Rose & Son and the builder W. R. Wyatt. The building remains relatively unchanged from the renderings published by the *Rocky Mount Telegram* in 1948 (RMT, 20 November 1948:2). Temple Beth El served as the center of a small Jewish community in Rocky Mount and had a Hebrew School addition added in 1951 by Modern Builders. The Jewish population dwindled into the twenty-first century. Their last service was in 2014, and the building was sold in 2022.

In 1962, the North Carolina Department of Conservation and Development prepared a neighborhood analysis report for the City of Rocky Mount. In that report, Mayo Heights was part of the city's Planning Districts 2 and 11 (NCDLCD 1962:18, 109). The report identified the block southwest of Beal Street as within Planning District Number 2, which was characterized as primarily residential with a 100 percent white population and noted the good condition of the existing residential structures, with

only 10 of 553 structures (1.8%) considered substandard. The northern portion of Mayo Heights fell within Planning District Number 14, which was noted as primarily residential with a population split between white and Black sections. The report specifically mentioned that the houses in the white section were well-maintained but those within the Black section were considered in poorer condition and noted as prime for redevelopment and urban renewal due to the advanced stage of deterioration of its dwellings, with 219 of 890 structures (24.6%) considered substandard. The area for redevelopment was defined as falling within the boundary of North Pine, Star, North Middle, and West Beal streets. Both West Thomas Street and Sunset Avenue were noted as future major thoroughfares.

5.15 Meadowbrook (ED2403)

Meadowbrook is a residential neighborhood located roughly 1.7 miles east of Rocky Mount's commercial downtown (Figure 5.42). It occupies approximately 119 acres and is roughly bounded by Vernon Road to the north, Courtland Avenue to the east, Rosewood Avenue to the south, and Dreaver Street to the west. With few exceptions, properties in Meadowbrook are single-family residences constructed in the Ranch style.



Figure 5.42: Meadowbrook (ED2403).

Meadowbrook was originally platted as two distinct subdivisions in 1955 and 1956: (1) D. T. Powell & Sons Property and (2) Meadowbrook Park. The name Meadowbrook derives from the Meadowbrook Park plat. Most dwellings in Meadowbrook were built sometime between 1955 and 1974, with the earliest houses concentrated along the 1800 blocks of Rosewood Avenue and Beverly Road. Covenants for the Meadowbrook Park subdivision restricted the minimum cost of a dwelling (\$9,500), minimum house footprint (1,000 square feet for one-story house), building set back (60 feet), and outbuildings (ECRD 1956, Deed, 589:476).

Limited deed and city directory research show that Meadowbrook was a white, blue- and white-collar neighborhood. Residents had diverse occupations: Herman L. McCall at 1800 Rosewood Avenue was

a serviceman at Sears; Leon E. Batts at 1824 Rosewood Avenue was a lineman at the ACL; Garland I. Manning at 1900 Beverly Road was a treasurer at Caro-Crat Inc., a custom furniture company; Joseph L. Summerlin at 1924 Beverly Road was a manager at F. W. Woolworth. Some residents were World War II veterans, such as Leon E. Batts and Garland I. Manning (HDC 1963)

Meadowbrook was incorporated into the City of Rocky Mount in 1960 (RMT, 17 January 1960:17). Following Meadowbrook's annexation, street improvements such as curb and gutter construction were completed in the area (RMT, 27 August 1961:4). Around 1963, the City of Rocky Mount established a 9.57-acre neighborhood park known as Meadowbrook Park to the west of Meadowbrook. Activities at the park included community softball tournaments. The Meadowbrook Park Men's Softball League held some of its games at Meadowbrook Park (RMT, 20 May 1963:13; 4 July 1970:7).

5.16 Mill Plaza (ED2456)

Mill Plaza is an area along the 700 and 800 blocks of Planters Street, roughly 0.7 miles southeast of Rocky Mount's commercial downtown. The ACL Norfolk-Rocky Mount Branch bounds the south side of Mill Plaza, and Cokey Road bounds the west side. Warehouses, commercial buildings, and Black churches are located in Mill Plaza (Figure 5.43 and Figure 5.44).

The area derives its name from its original plat, Mill Plaza, which was platted in 1911 and initially owned by physician M. R. Braswell (ECRD 1911, Map, 3:83; HDC 1912). The original plat divided the land into 38 narrow lots that measured 50 feet wide and 120 to 165 feet deep, presumably first



Figure 5.43: Mill Plaza (ED2456).



Figure 5.44: Earthshakers Restoration Church

intended to be residential lots. With one exception, all lots have since been consolidated into a smaller number of larger lots. Mill Plaza primarily developed between the 1930s and 1960s. The area is mostly composed of warehouses, commercial buildings, and vacant parcels.

The 700 and 800 blocks of Planters Street first appear on the 1923 Sanborn map, which shows an African American chapel at 800 Planters Street (Sanborn 1923). The chapel was the only building along Planters Street at the time and was gone by 1949 (Sanborn 1949). Since the 1930s, Mill Plaza has been primarily commercial and industrial. Warehouses, commercial/equipment sheds, and commercial buildings were scattered along both sides of the street. These buildings were the site of several businesses, such as the Edgecombe Milling Company, Citizens Coal & Supply Company, Campbell's Trailer Repair, Arnold L. Adams Wholesale Company, Lee Oil Company, Davis Milling Company, Ferebee-Bishop Enterprises, Graybar Electric Company, and Brewer Paint & Wallpaper Company (Sanborn 1923, 1949; HDC 1963). Since the 2000s, commercial buildings and structures that were located at 925 Cokey Road, 1017 Cokey Road, and 811 Planter Street have been demolished.

5.17 North Carolina Wesleyan University (NS1731)

North Carolina Wesleyan University is located about 5 miles north of downtown Rocky Mount and 2.5 miles south of downtown Battleboro at 3400 North Wesleyan Boulevard (Figure 5.45). The 200-acre campus is situated on the west side of North Wesleyan Boulevard, a segment of US 301. Bishop Road bounds the north and west sides of the campus, and Thomas A. Betts Parkway bounds the south side. The main entrance to the campus is located on North Wesleyan Boulevard. A divided drive leads from North Wesleyan Boulevard to Tyler Drive, which serves as the principal campus street. Tyler Drive has a rectangular route and encircles most of the oldest university buildings (1960s) and a grassy and wooded quad. Other university buildings are concentrated to the west of Tyler Drive. Clusters of trees are situated throughout the campus.



Figure 5.45: Braswell Administration Building at North Carolina Wesleyan University.

North Carolina Wesleyan University was chartered in 1956 and opened in 1960 as a four-year liberal arts college. It was one of two Methodist colleges established by the North Carolina Methodist Conference in 1956, the other being Methodist University in Fayetteville. In 1958, the Board of Trustees of North Carolina Wesleyan College acquired a 200-acre site (the present-day site of the university) on U.S. Highway 301 from the descendants of M. C. Braswell.

The first building on campus was a 1959 power plant and shop located west of Tyler Drive (Figure 5.46). It was renovated and converted into the Hartness Student Center in 1997 (Johnson 2006:5). Among the oldest university buildings are Petteway Hall (1962), Everett Gymnasium (1964), Roberson Hall (1960), Spruill Building (1962), Hardee's Student Union (1960), Gravely Science Building (1960), Braswell Administration Building (1960), Pearsall Classroom Building (1960), Elizabeth Braswell Pearsall Library (1966), Pash Hall (1960), Collins Hall (1962), and the President's House (1961). Architectural firm Lashmit, James, Brown, and Pollock of Winston-Salem designed the buildings. The earliest university buildings were designed in the Georgian Revival style. Its Georgian Revival-style details include strict symmetry, balanced proportions, pedimented entrances, Classical Revival-style entrance surrounds, six-over-six and nine-over-nine windows, and paneled doors. These buildings are clad with Flemish bond brick veneer and have slate roofs. The four earliest dormitories—Petteway Hall, Roberson Hall, Pash Hall, and Collins Hall—are identical in design (Figure 5.47). The academic, administrative, and dormitory buildings located within Tyler Drive face east towards a grassy and wooded quadrangle.



Figure 5.46: Power plant.



Figure 5.47: Pash Hall.

Later university buildings are concentrated to the west of Tyler Drive, and one is located to the east of Tyler Drive. Campus streets and drives provide access to buildings. The primary period of construction for these buildings is from the 1980s to 2010s. They were designed in the Colonial Revival and Neo-eclectic styles, and they are more modest than their predecessors or lacking in Georgian characteristics. For a complete list of university buildings, see the university's campus map in the NS1731 survey file.

Bellefonte (NS1184), a circa-1817 Federal-style house, is located at the rear (west side) of the campus (Figure 5.48). It was built for Dr. John F. Bellamy, one of area's major planters. The house originally stood on the north side of Secondary Road 1545 (Bishop Road), about 0.2 miles west of North

Wesleyan Boulevard and roughly at the north end of Savannah Way. In summer 1988, it was moved to a site on campus on the east side of Tyler Drive (36.018721, -77.771777). The house was moved a third time in December 2016 to its present-day site on the southeast side of Bishop Road (36.021040, -77.776760). It now houses the university's marketing and communications offices.



Figure 5.48: Belmonte (NS1184).

5.18 North Church Street Automotive Corridor (NS1687)

The North Church Street Automotive Corridor is a roughly 0.6-mile corridor that lies along the 400 to 1000 blocks of North Church Street, a section of U.S. Highway 301 Business (Figure 5.49 and Figure 5.50).

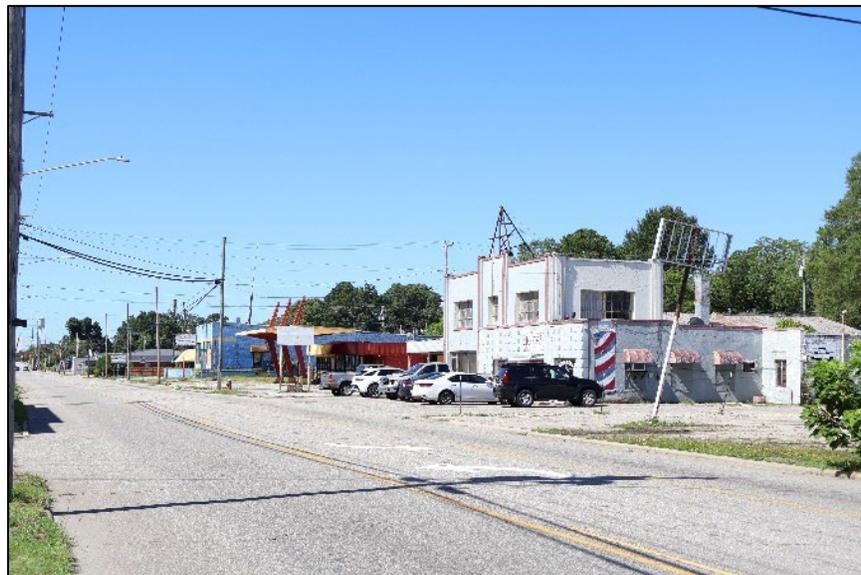


Figure 5.49: 900 block of North Church Street.



Figure 5.50: 600 block of North Church Street.

North Church Street is a roughly 3.4-mile-long, north–south thoroughfare extending from Sunset Avenue to North Wesleyan Boulevard (U.S. Highway 301 Bypass). It runs parallel to the ACL Main Line, which lies roughly 500 feet to the east. South of Sunset Avenue, North Church Street becomes South Church Street, which continues for roughly four miles south to West Tarboro Road.

In the early 1900s, North Church Street was primarily residential, with frame, two-story, Queen Anne- and Colonial Revival-style houses lined along the street. Most residential development on North Church Street was concentrated between Sunset Avenue and North Grace Street (to the south of the present-day North Church Street Automotive Corridor), and a cluster of warehouses and manufacturing buildings between Gay Street and Falls Road interrupted the residential streetscape. Residential development north of North Grace Street (including the present-day North Church Street Automotive Corridor) was sparse and modest with one-story frame houses (Fowler 1907; Mattson 1987:300). Over the course of the first half of the twentieth century, development north of North Grace Street was gradual and included a mix of residential and commercial properties, many of which were automobile-related properties such as filling and service stations (HDC 1940:387; Sanborn 1923, 1949; USDA 1940).

From the 1930s through the 1970s, North and South Church streets transformed into a predominantly commercial strip. Many residential blocks were demolished to make way for auto-oriented and commercial businesses and municipal and commercial offices. The 600 block, for example, had 11 dwellings in 1923 (Sanborn 1923, 1956). By 1956, there were five dwellings and three commercial buildings. Auto-oriented businesses along North Church Street included filling and service stations, auto dealers, and auto parts sales (Figure 5.51 and Figure 5.52). Richard L. Mattson’s *The History and Architecture of Nash County* (1987) provides a brief but detailed history of Church Street from the early 1900s to the 1970s.



Figure 5.51: Service Station (NS1699).



Figure 5.52: Commercial Building (NS1690).

Today, the North Church Street Automotive Corridor is a predominantly commercial strip. It developed primarily between the 1930s and 1970s, though there is some more recent commercial development. Commercial resources include auto service garages, car dealerships and lots, commercial offices, commercial stores, and warehouses. These commercial buildings vary in footprint, size, form, and ornamentation. They are generally one story tall, and exterior siding includes brick, concrete block, metal, vinyl, wood composite, and stucco. Most commercial properties have paved parking lots to the front or side of the building. The only houses in the corridor are two frame, one-and-one-half-story, side-gabled, Craftsman-style houses at 426 North Church Street (NS1246) and 428 North Church Street (NS1247).

5.19 Northgreen Village (NS1729)

Platted in 1974, Northgreen Village is a 550-acre golf course community located about 3 miles north of Rocky Mount's commercial downtown (Figure 5.53). The community is composed of the 1975 Northgreen Country Club (the country club; NS1730), a 1975 golf course, and mid-1970s to 1980s residential and commercial development. The country club, which includes a clubhouse, swimming pool, and pool house, is located near the center of Northgreen Village at 900 Northgreen Lane. The 18-hole, 7,300-yard golf course has a winding layout throughout Northgreen Village and fairways and greens that curve along the rears of properties. Golf course architect J. Porter Gibson designed the golf course. The residential development is situated around the winding golf course. Commercial properties are concentrated at the northwest end of Northgreen Village.

Northgreen Country Club opened on June 1, 1975. Ed Small Jr. was the general manager of the country club, and Terry Smith was the resident golf professional in charge of the golf course. The officers of Northgreen Country Club were Howard Strandberg, president; Theo Pitt Jr., vice president; Eugene Stone, treasurer; and R. C. Winstead, secretary. At the time of its opening, the country club had a clubhouse, pool, and six tennis courts (RMT, 2 June 1975:5; Figure 5.54).

Presently, the Northgreen Country Club facilities consist of a Modernist-style clubhouse, a swimming pool, and a pool house (Figure 5.54). The golf course has tree-lined fairways and Champions Bermuda grass greens. It originally had bent grass greens. Other course features include sand pits and ponds.

Northgreen Village's architectural styles include the Colonial Revival, Neo-eclectic, and Modernist styles (Figure 5.55). The most common are late twentieth-century interpretations of the Colonial Revival style and Neo-eclectic houses. The Ranch house form is also common. Houses vary from one to two stories tall, and exterior sidings are diverse. Building setbacks are mostly uniform.

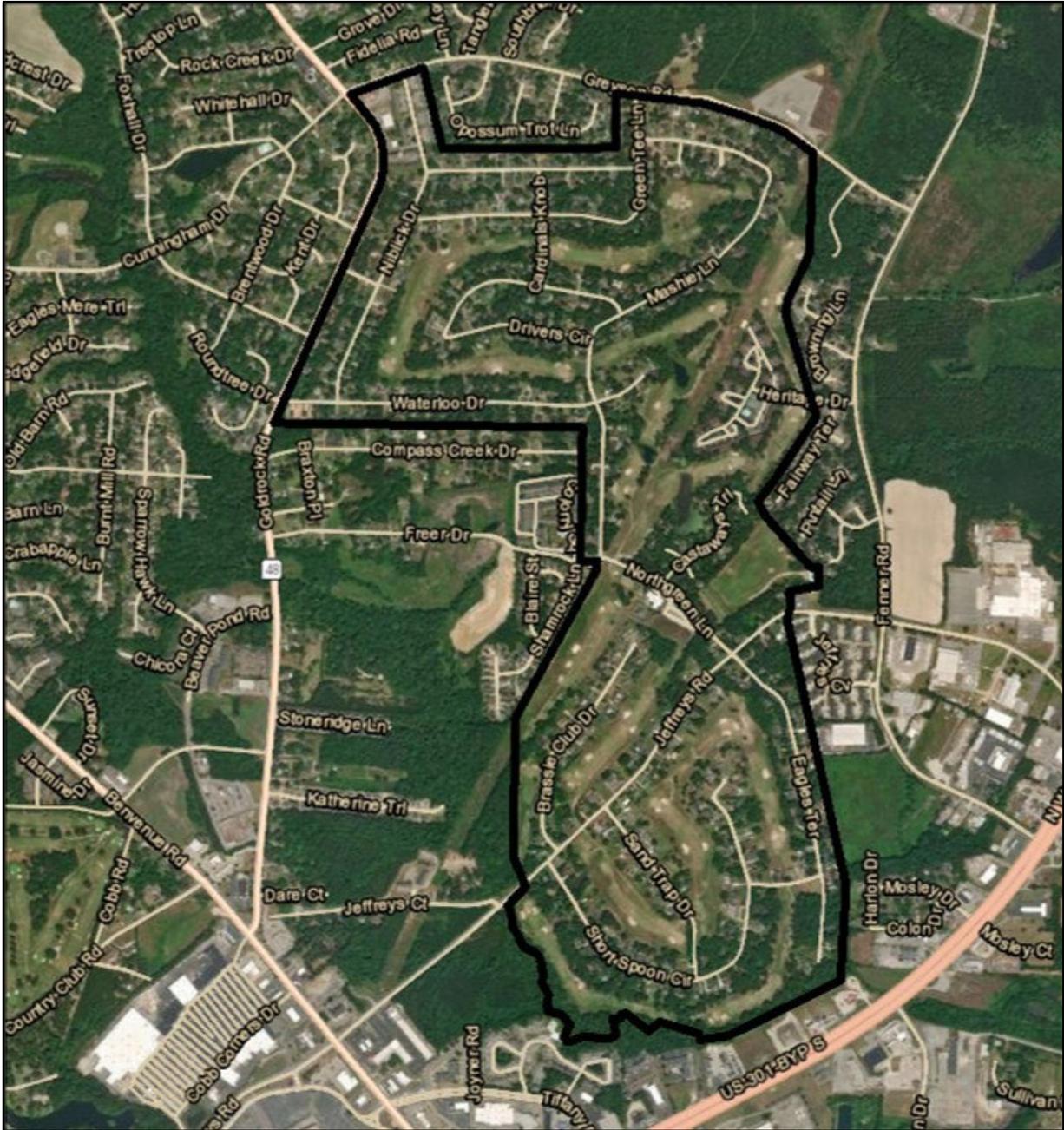


Figure 5.53: Aerial photograph showing the boundary of Northgreen Village (NS1729).



Figure 5.54: Northgreen Country Club (NS1730).



Figure 5.55: 800 block of Short Spoon Circle in Northgreen Village.

5.20 South Church Street Automotive Corridor (NS1628)

The South Church Street Automotive Corridor is a roughly 0.94-mile corridor that lies along the 600 to 1500 blocks of South Church Street, a section of U.S. Highway 301 Business (Figure 5.56 and Figure 5.57). The South Church Street Automotive Corridor is located within a larger area known as South Rocky Mount (NS1606).



Figure 5.56: 1000 block of South Church Street.



Figure 5.57: 1100 and 1200 blocks of South Church Street (NS1730).

South Church Street is a roughly 4-mile-long, north–south thoroughfare extending from Sunset Avenue to West Tarboro Road. It runs parallel to the ACL Main Line, which lies roughly 500 feet to the east. North of Sunset Avenue, South Church Street becomes North Church Street, which continues for roughly 3.3 miles north to North Wesleyan Boulevard (U.S. Highway 301 Bypass).

In the early 1900s, South Church Street south of the ACL Nashville Branch was primarily residential. Unlike North Church Street with its two-story frame houses in the Queen Anne and Colonial Revival styles, South Church Street was lined with more modest dwellings in the bungalow, double-pile, or single-pile forms. Most of South Church Street’s historic buildings have since been demolished. Some extant dwellings feature modest and restrained Queen Anne-, Colonial Revival-, and Craftsman-style

elements. South Church Street was home to a mix of blue- and white-collar, white residents. Many residents were employed at the ACL or at commercial enterprises in the downtown section of Rocky Mount.

From the 1930s through the 1970s, South Church Street gradually transformed into a predominantly commercial strip. Many of the street's houses and residential blocks were demolished to make way for auto-oriented, tobacco, or local businesses. Auto-oriented businesses included filling and service stations, auto dealers, auto parts sales, and wholesale oil dealers.

Today, the South Church Street Automotive Corridor is a predominantly commercial strip. Commercial resources include auto service garages, car dealerships and lots, storage and wholesale warehouses, tobacco warehouses, commercial offices, commercial stores, corner and convenience stores, a restaurant, and a wholesale oil complex (Figure 5.58 and Figure 5.59). Only the 1100 block and the east side of the 1200 block retain their residential streetscapes. Houses are scattered or clustered elsewhere along the corridor.



Figure 5.58: Tenneco Service Station (NS1633).



Figure 5.59: Gulf Refining Company (NS1655).

5.21 South Rocky Mount (NS1606)

Historically, South Rocky Mount referred to an area centered around the ACL railroad shops and yards located in south Rocky Mount (Figure 5.60). The non-extant ACL Emerson Railroad Shops (ED1611) were located roughly 1 mile south of Rocky Mount's commercial downtown. The ACL Main Line, a north-south railroad line, bisects South Rocky Mount. The area known as South Rocky Mount includes the ACL Emerson Railroad Shops and industrial, commercial, and residential areas on both sides of the ACL Main Line in the vicinity of the railroad shops. The residential areas include Boone Town (NS0737), Little Raleigh (NS0778), and Hargrove (ED2435).

South Rocky Mount is a predominantly blue-collar neighborhood composed of residential areas, industrial areas, and a commercial strip. More than half of South Rocky Mount's commercial and industrial resources are located along South Church Street and near the ACL railroad tracks. The smaller neighborhoods of Boone Town, Little Raleigh, and Hargrove are primarily residential in character with commercial development on their fringes along West Raleigh Boulevard and Old Wilson Road and commercial establishments scattered throughout the neighborhoods. Boone Town has some neighborhood businesses and industrial complexes located along its interior streets. The South Church Street Automotive Corridor is primarily commercial and industrial with a couple of residential blocks. The area between South Grace and South Franklin streets is primarily residential with commercial development concentrated along West Raleigh Boulevard and the 600 block of South Franklin Street. Corner stores are scattered throughout the area. Religious buildings are also present in South Rocky Mount. Many buildings near the ACL Main Line were associated with the ACL Emerson Railroad Shops (see ED1611); however, none of those buildings remain.

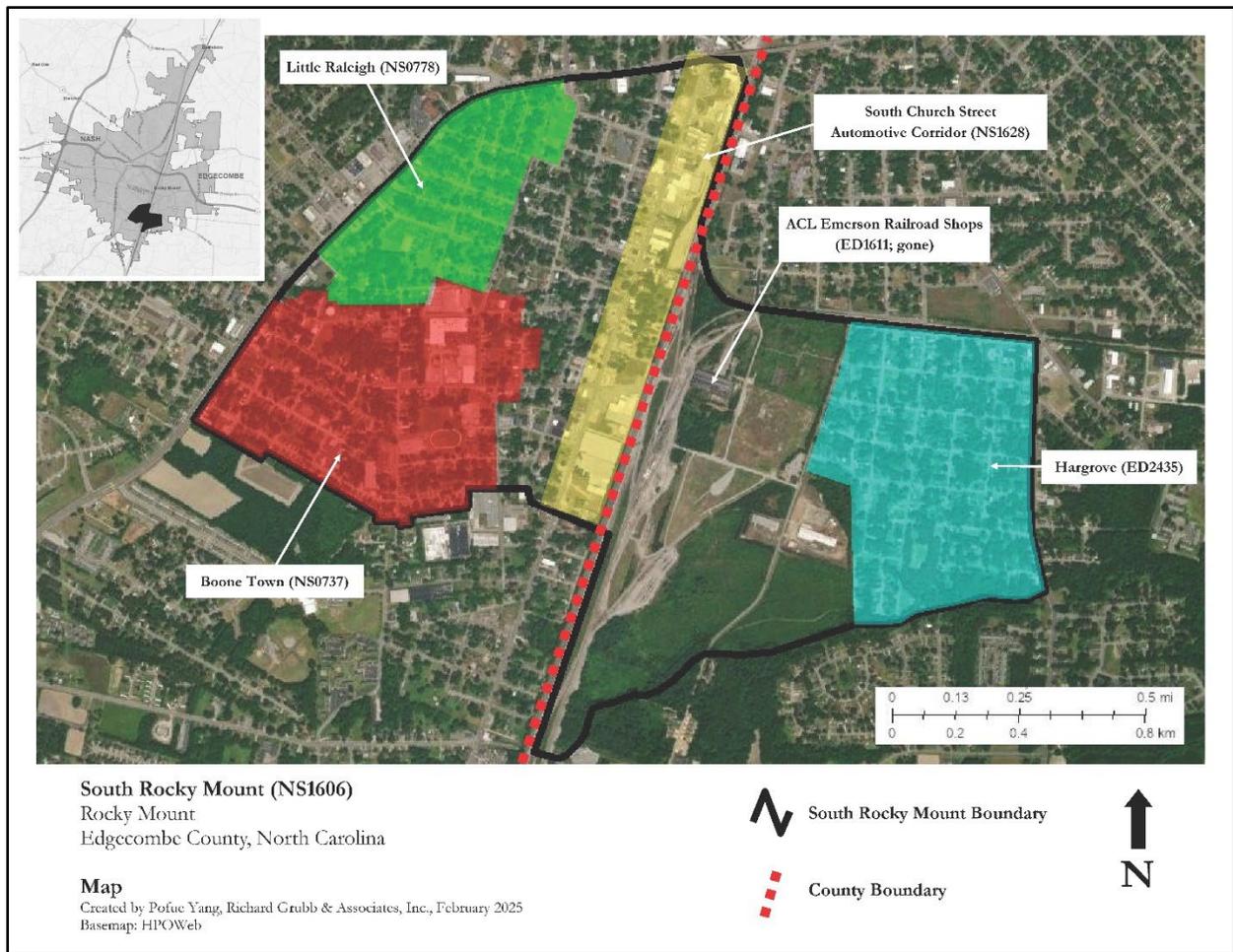


Figure 5.60: Aerial site map showing South Rocky Mount (NS1606) and the newly surveyed neighborhoods and areas within South Rocky Mount.

The neighborhood's development is closely linked to the ACL, which established the Emerson Railroad Shops in 1893. The Emerson Railroad Shops was a major diesel maintenance, repair, construction, and refueling complex on South Washington Street. This facility transformed South Rocky Mount into a thriving business district, employing over 2,500 workers in 1920. The influx of railroad employees spurred commercial development, including rooming houses, hotels, restaurants, and a drugstore. Trains stopping for brief layovers brought additional economic activity as passengers patronized local businesses (Nichols 1968). The expansion of the Emerson Shops caused rapid population growth in Rocky Mount. The city's population of 810 in 1890 had tripled to 2,937 in 1900. Rocky Mount annexed South Rocky Mount in 1904, and the city's population grew to 8,051 in 1910. Many of the ACL's workers lived in nearby residential neighborhoods such as Boone Town. The relocation of the shops in 1959 to Waycross, Georgia, and Florence, South Carolina, initiated South Rocky Mount's economic decline (Nichols 1968). The buildings associated with the shops are no longer extant.

In 1936, Raleigh-based insurance agent D. F. Betts prepared a residential classification map of the City of Rocky Mount. Betts classified most of South Rocky Mount as part of the city's "Poor Residential" area, while an area along South Franklin Street between West Bassett and James streets was classified as "Good Residential" (Betts 1936; OCE 1927).

In 1962, the North Carolina Department of Conservation and Development prepared a neighborhood analysis report for the City of Rocky Mount. In that report, the Nash County side of South Rocky Mount was part of the city's Planning District Number 5 (NCDCD 1962:42). This planning district was a primarily residential area. It had a population of 2,506 white residents and 1,951 nonwhite residents. Recreational facilities included Boonetown Park (near the southeast corner of Nashville Road and Boone Street) for white residents, Grace Street Park (now known as Buck Leonard Park at 929 South Grace Street) for Black residents, and Home Street Park (2208 Home Street) for Black residents. Two schools were located in the planning district: Battle Elementary School, a non-extant white school formerly located at 850 South Franklin Street, and Annie W. Holland Elementary School (NS1600), a Black school located at 1108 Luper Street. South Church Street had a variety of property types, including residential, commercial, and industrial properties (NCDCD 1962:42–43). The NCDCD reported that approximately 320 out of 1,069 dwellings (30%) in Planning District Number 5 were substandard. The NCDCD identified two areas that need rehabilitation and urban renewal work: Little Raleigh and the general vicinity between Hudson and Burnett streets, both of which were Black communities. According to the NCDCD, the main problem with Little Raleigh was that there were many scattered substandard residential structures, while the main problem with the other area was its inadequate and unpaved street system. The NCDCD made no recommendations for the white Boone Town community besides "spot clearance" of substandard residential structures (NCDCD 1962:47).

In 1974, the city's planning department identified South Rocky Mount as one of seven areas in Rocky Mount that were "blighted." The other "blighted" areas were Little Raleigh, Red Row, Cross Town, Brooks-Matthews, Swelton Heights, and Happy Hill. The city's planning department recommended tearing down and rebuilding Red Row, and "spot clearing" and rehabilitating the other "blighted" areas (RMT, 29 December 1974:4).

5.22 Swelton Heights (NS1707)

Swelton Heights is a residential neighborhood located approximately 1.7 miles northwest of Rocky Mount's commercial downtown (Figure 5.61). It is roughly 0.34 miles north of the Tar River and 0.38 miles northwest of Rocky Mount Mills (NS0008, NRHP 1980). Swelton Heights is bounded by Hunter Hill Road to the north, Benvenue Road to the east, U.S. 64 Bypass to the south, and North Wesleyan Boulevard (U.S. Highway 301 Bypass) to the west. Most properties in Swelton Heights are single-family residences. Three apartment buildings are located within the neighborhood, as well as three churches and one mosque.



Figure 5.61: 1300 block of Dogwood Avenue in Swelton Heights.

Swelton Heights developed primarily between the 1910s and 1970s. The neighborhood's residential architecture includes the Craftsman, Minimal Traditional, and Ranch styles expressed across different domestic building forms that include the bungalow, single pile, double pile, gable-and-wing, and shotgun. Vernacular dwellings, some of which have stylistic features on porches and/or facades, are also common.

Swelton Heights encompasses five platted subdivisions. Platted in 1913, Hunter's Hill Road Place makes up the eastern and central portions of Swelton Heights (NCRD 1913, Plat, 17:14). Historically, Hunter's Hill Road Place was bounded by a canal to the north, Modlin Avenue (presently closed off) to the east, Lewis Street (a portion of which has been replaced by US 64 Bypass) to the south, Hunters Hill Street (presently Memory Lane) to the southwest, and Sumner Street (presently Simmons Street) to the northwest. The area to the southwest and west of Hunter's Hill Road Place encompasses the plats of Raymond Modlin Property (1907), J. H. Short Property (1925), D. Archie Edwards and Don Casey Property (1946), and Mrs. J. R. Dickens Property (1948), which are all subdivided into smaller lots (NCRD 1907, Deed, 160:237; 1925, Plat, 1:165; 1946, Deed, 506:23; 1948, Deed, 549:460A).

In 1918, Swelton Heights had around nine buildings and one church. The church was sited at the location of the present-day Falls of the Tar Primitive Baptist Church (NS0839). About 11 additional buildings were located around Swelton Heights, and a number of buildings were located along Hunters Hill Street to the west (Wells & Brinkley Engineers 1919). By 1923, Hunters Hill Street was renamed Red Oak Road (Sanborn 1923). That same year, Swelton Heights had around 17 dwellings, 2 stores, 1 auto repair building, and 1 church. Outbuildings were sparse and mostly garages. Most lots in the Hunter's Hill Road Place subdivision were vacant, and the adjacent land was sparsely developed (Sanborn 1923). Between 1923 and 1940, the number of buildings in Swelton Heights nearly tripled. In 1940, Swelton Heights had around 54 buildings, one of which was a church (USDA 1940). Houses were concentrated along the southwest side of Red Oak Road and along Aycock Road (presently Birch Street), but most lots remained vacant and many were cleared of trees. Land around Swelton Heights

included agricultural fields and woodland (USDA 1940). Prior to the construction of US 64 Bypass, Stonewall (NS0007) was set back to the south of Lewis Street and had access to the street.

Construction in Swelton Heights continued after World War II. In 1949, there were around 78 dwellings, 4 stores, and 2 churches (Sanborn 1949). By 1956, 21 new dwellings and 1 new store were built in the neighborhood (Sanborn 1956). In 1977, Swelton Heights had around 150 buildings and 4 churches (United States Geological Survey 1977).

Swelton Heights' residents were white and predominantly blue collar. In 1952, for example, job occupations included fixer, assistant production manager, textile worker, service station attendant, salesman, mill employee, dairy routeman, mill winder, mill spinner, farm hand, and waiter (HDC 1952).

Historically, Swelton Heights had a rural character and was originally situated outside of Rocky Mount's corporate limits. Agriculture fields and woodland surrounded the neighborhood. Nearly all dwellings had backyard privies, and most houses had no running water and relied on water pumps. In 1948, Swelton Heights residents requested the city to install water facilities in the neighborhood (RMT, 30 July 1948:12). Water mains and fire hydrants were installed in the neighborhood sometime around 1951 (RMT, 17 January 1951:10).

In the years leading up to Rocky Mount's annexation of Swelton Height in 1965, the county and city published studies on the neighborhood. A Nash County Health Department report in 1963 observed that Swelton Heights was "the most critical health hazard in the county" (RMT, 25 June 1963:4). A study conducted by the city in 1964 recommended "immediate police, fire, sanitation, street maintenance and health services be provided immediately upon annexation" (RMT, 24 July 1964:9). When the city annexed Swelton Heights in 1965, most streets in the neighborhood were unpaved, the neighborhood was not connected to the city's sewer system, and the water mains needed to be replaced.

In 1974, the city's planning department identified Swelton Heights as one of seven areas in Rocky Mount that were "blighted." The other "blighted" areas were Red Row, South Rocky Mount, Cross Town, Brooks-Matthews, Happy Hill, and Little Raleigh. The city's planning department recommended "spot clearing" and rehabilitating Swelton Heights and the other "blighted" areas (RMT, 29 December 1974:4).

In the late 1970s, U.S. 64 Bypass was extended along the south side of Swelton Heights. As a result of the extension, Lewis Street, the southwestern end of Cardinal Street, and the southern ends of Huffines, Dogwood, and Weldon avenues were removed. Houses along those sections of the streets were demolished, and Stonewall lost access to Lewis Street and was cut off from Swelton Heights. Hunter Hill Road, which originally followed the route of Memory Lane through the neighborhood and to Falls Road, was realigned to the north of Swelton Heights. Since the 1980s, the land around Swelton Heights has been developed for a variety of uses.

5.23 Town of Battleboro (ED2282)

Battleboro was founded in 1835 as Battle's Camp and incorporated as a town in 1873. A 1902 fire badly damaged the business district, which is located on the Nash County side of town. The City of Rocky Mount annexed the town in 1996.



Figure 5.62: 100 block of West Battleboro Avenue in Battleboro.

Battleboro is located roughly 8 miles north of Rocky Mount's commercial downtown and straddles both sides of the Wilmington and Raleigh Railroad, later renamed the Atlantic Coast Line Railroad and now part of the CSXT Railroad system (Figure 5.62). The railroad divides Battleboro roughly into east and west sections and also serves as the county boundary between Nash and Edgecombe counties. Battleboro Avenue, named West Battleboro Avenue on the Nash County side of town and East Battleboro Avenue on the Edgecombe County side, is the primary east-west thoroughfare. Hathaway Street, which is a segment of U.S. 301, is the primary north-south thoroughfare.

On the Nash County side, Battleboro is home to late-nineteenth-century and early-twentieth-century dwellings. On West Battleboro Avenue is a collection of early-twentieth-century houses, some of which are the Colonial Revival-style Williams House (NS0495), the Queen Anne/Colonial Revival-style Bunn House (NS1727), the Period Revival-style Deans House (NS1724), the Colonial Revival-style Milgrom House (NS1725), and the Colonial Revival-style Battleboro Baptist Church (NS1726). Early-twentieth-century dwellings are also located on Ethridge Street, the east side of the 500 block of Marriott Street, and the west side of the 5100 block of Hathaway Street. Some of these include the I-house-form Rawlings House (NS0494) and the Craftsman-style Tanner House (NS1722). Two residential subdivisions, developed from the 1950s to 1970s, are located at the northwest and south ends of town. Most of the houses in these two subdivisions are Ranches.

The business district is situated entirely in the Nash County side of town along West Battleboro Avenue (see Figure 5.62). A collection of commercial buildings is also located around the intersection of West Battleboro Avenue and Hathaway Street. The earliest extant commercial buildings, built in

the early twentieth century, and the business district core are located along the 100 block of West Battleboro Avenue. Historically, a row of nine commercial buildings lined the south side of the 100 block and a general merchandise store was sited at the northwest corner of West Battleboro Avenue and Railroad Street (USDA 1940). They housed retail and service-oriented businesses (Mattson 1985a). Of those buildings, only three remain today: 129 West Battleboro Avenue, 141 West Battleboro Avenue, and the former T. P. Braswell & Son General Merchandise Store at 5111 Pollard Street (see NS0493 and NS0492). Other commercial buildings are located around the intersection of Hathaway Street and West Battleboro Avenue. Their construction dates range from the 1930s to the 1990s. The earliest of these buildings—a 1930s garage (5128 Hathaway Street), late 1950s service station (5089 Hathaway Street), and late 1950s ABC Store (5057 Hathaway Street)—have been substantially altered and converted into other uses.

A former cotton processing complex is located between West Bridges and Milgrom streets on the Nash County side of town (NS0497, Figure 5.63). A small agricultural processing plant is at the north end of town on the Edgecombe County side (ED2281).



Figure 5.63: Cotton processing complexes along West Bridges Street in Battleboro.

Community-related buildings include a post office and five churches. The Modernist-style Battleboro Post Office (NS1721) was built in 1964 on the Nash County side (Figure 5.64). Four of the five churches are on the Edgecombe County side: Saint John's Episcopal Church (ED0014, built 1891), Battleboro Methodist Church (ED2464, built circa 1940, moved 1964), Gethsemane G. Holy Church (ED2465, built 1960), and First Baptist Church (built 2001). Battleboro Baptist Church (NS1726, built 1925) is located on the Nash County side.



Figure 5.64: Battleboro Post Office (NS1721).



Figure 5.65: (former) Battleboro School (ED2463).

Prominent residents of Battleboro included Mack C. Braswell, Dr. Henry B. Marriott, Dr. Arthur W. Deans, and Henry M. Milgrom. Mack C. Braswell (10/2/1861–10/14/1922) was the co-founder of T. P. Braswell & Son, a cotton processing and agricultural service firm. The former T. P. Braswell & Son General Merchandise Store (NS0492) is located at present-day 5111 Pollard Street. Braswell's non-extant house was located at present-day 5111 Pearsall Street. Dr. Henry B. Marriott (2/5/1863–10/24/1942) was a physician and farmer, and his non-extant house was located on tax parcel 386311678302IU, on the southwestern outskirts of Battleboro along Hathaway Street (approximate location 36.047911, -77.753597). Dr. Arthur W. Deans (8/31/1887–7/1/1950) was a physician and a former Battleboro mayor, and he lived at 409 West Battleboro Avenue. Henry M. Milgrom (9/14/1919–6/19/1979) was the founder and president of Henry Milgrom Inc. and Milgrom Farm

Products. He lived at 525 West Battleboro Avenue and operated a peanut shelling plant at the northeast end of town.

5.24 Westridge (NS1668)

Westridge is a residential suburb located due west of Englewood (NS0847) and roughly 2.8 miles west of Rocky Mount's commercial downtown (Figure 5.66). It was platted in 1955 and occupies roughly 175.6 acres.



Figure 5.66: 3400 block of Woodlawn Road in Westridge.

Prior to the platting of Westridge in 1955, the land that is now Westridge consisted of cultivated fields and woodland that were part of the M. O. Winstead Farm (USDA 1940; RMT, 22 July 1967:6; NCRD 1954, Deed, 612:409). The non-extant Winstead homeplace, originally owned by M. O. Winstead, was located on the south side of the ACL Nashville Branch at the end of a dirt road (now the present-day South Winstead Avenue). Tenant houses, agricultural outbuildings, and presumably domestic outbuildings were scattered along the said dirt road, farm paths, and in cultivated fields between Sunset Avenue and the railroad track (USDA 1940).

In 1954, business partners and developers W. M. Spears and C. W. Heck began acquiring land to the west of Englewood to establish and develop a new residential suburb for middle-class families (NCRD 1954, Deed, 612:409). Spears and Heck platted the suburb in stages from 1955 to 1970. At the time of its platting in 1955, Westridge was considered distant from other residential areas in Rocky Mount. Aside from Englewood, no other suburbs were under development west of the Tar River in the Rocky Mount vicinity. Nonetheless, Westridge proved attractive to prospective homeowners. Speculative building in Westridge began as early as 1954 or 1955 along Winstead Road. A 1955 newspaper advertisement describes one for-sale Ranch house as a “modern, well-constructed home” with “plenty of yard space” along the recently paved Winstead Road (RMT, 27 October 1955:10). At least eight tenant houses were removed from the area during the development of Westridge (RMT, 22 July 1967:6). No buildings predating the development of Westridge are believed to be extant. In 1967, 160

families, all homeowners, lived in the area. At that time, 14 new houses were under construction, and more than 100 lots remained to be developed (RMT, 22 July 1967:6). Housing construction in Westridge tapered off in the 1970s.

With few exceptions, dwellings date from the mid-1950s through the 1970s. Westridge's residential architecture includes Colonial Revival-, Ranch-, and mid-century Modernist-style houses (Figure 5.67 and Figure 5.68). The earliest houses in Westridge were built in 1954 and 1955 on the 3200 and 3300 blocks of Winstead Road, though not all houses along these blocks date from the 1950s. Housing construction in Westridge expanded from east to west, with the greatest concentration of mid- and late-1950s houses located between South Englewood Drive and Woodbury Drive along Winstead Road and Hawthorne Road.

Westridge's development included both custom and speculative houses. Architect John Lee Thompson, AIA, served as the development's architect, designing Westridge's houses in the Colonial Revival, Ranch, and Modernist styles. Thompson ensured that no two houses were alike (RMT, 22 July 1967:6). The earliest deeds for the subdivision contain covenants that require all lots to be residential and constraints including minimum cost of a dwelling (\$10,000.00), maximum house height (two-and-one-half stories), minimum ground floor area (1,100 square feet for a one-story dwelling and 900 square feet for a dwelling of more than one story), minimum building set back (45 feet to the front lot line), and outbuildings, among other constraints (NCRD 1955, Deed, 622:169). John Lee Thompson was a native of Rocky Mount. Some of his work in Rocky Mount includes the Noell House at 1528 West Haven Boulevard (1952; gone), First Federal Savings & Loans Building at 116 South Franklin Street (1953), Horne House at 1500 Lafayette Avenue (1955), and Zaytoun Dental Clinic at 900 Sunset Avenue (1955) (Koyle 1956:557).



Figure 5.67: House on the 3400 block of Winstead Road in Westridge.



Figure 5.68: House on the 3500 block of Hawthorne Road in Westridge.

Limited city directory research suggests that Westridge's residents included middle- and professional-class families: Felix V. Price, ACL conductor; Cameron P. Winston, post office clerk; Angier L. Lee, owner of OK Credit Clothing Co.; Henry H. Mintz, ACL welder; Donald B. Barnes, comptroller; Errol J. Warren, owner of Warren's Tire Center; and M. Alex Biggs Jr., lawyer (HDC 1963).

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 1938 Edgemont Park. May 28:10.
 1938 Moses W Pitt Buried Here Sunday Afternoon. August 8:9.

1939 Edgemont Park Goes Forward. January 21:9.
 1939 Plans Made for Sunset Apartments. May 27: 9.
 1939 Town in Pieces. August 12:12.
 1939 Negro Community Center. September 9:12.
 1939 City Building Permits Up. November 6:1.
 1942 Centers Active During December. January 5:9.
 1942 Catholic Church to be Dedicated. December 21:5.
 1943 Veteran Warehousemen in City. August 18:10.
 1946 Negro Basketball Club Named 'Black Swans'. March 21:11.
 1946 Negro Girl Scouts to Present Program. April 2:10.
 1947 Public Enjoys Picnic Grounds. May 15:14.
 1947 R. J. Works and Son Manage Newest Warehouse in City. August 19:14.
 1948 Aldermen Have Varied Business. July 30:12.
 1948 Name Proposed for Park. September 29:11.
 1948 Various Items Given Study at Meeting of Aldermen. October 22:12.
 1948 To Break Ground for Temple Here. November 20:2.
 1949 O.R. Pope, Dean of North Carolina Negro School Principals, Retires. June 4:7.
 1950 Know You Have Sold at the Top of the Market. August 13:69.
 1951 Swelton Heights Work Proceeds. January 17:10.
 1952 Recreation Director Gives Untold Hours and Talent to the Community. March 2:12.
 1952 Little League. June 15:13.
 1952 City Fathers Pondering Problems of Annexation of Outlying Communities. June 22:5.
 1953 Over \$500,000 Spent Here in Church Building Programs. February 19:15.
 1953 Arlington St. Baptist Church Shows Half Century of Growth. September 26:7.
 1953 Workshop Given Attention as NAACP Meet Continues. October 24:2.
 1954 Rocky Mount's Oldest Automobile Firm Will Hold Open House at New Location. May 16:6.
 1955 Englewood's Annexation Plea Gets Approval by Aldermen. March 18:9.
 1955 A Beautiful Suburban Home Awaits Your Living Pleasure. October 27:10.
 1955 West Mount Ruritans Newest Club in County. December 3:2.
 1958 Woman of the Year. January 12:6.
 1958 A. Schottland Inc. Honored by Club in 'Industry of Month' Series Here. September 26:9.
 1959 Bond Issue, Supplement Tax Hike Receive Local Approval. May 29:1, 2.
 1959 Recreation Facilities Enjoy Wide Usage During Summer in Negro Parks. June 14:6.
 1959 Board of Education Okays Contracts for Schools at Englewood, Fairview. October 27:9.
 1960 An Immediate Issue For Rocky Mount and the Suburbs. January 17:17.
 1960 Expansion Begins at Undergarment Company. June 19:11.
 1960 City Building Figures Receive Boost as Permit is Given for New Church. August 18:15.
 1961 L. E. Austin, Durham Editor, Speaks Here to Voters League. February 8:7.
 1961 Elks to Convene. May 7:36.
 1961 Controversy Erupts Over New Curb, Gutter Policies. August 27:4.
 1961 First Session Set by Voters League. October 10:7.
 1961 Two Choices in Referendum Tuesday, 7-Man Council or 13 Member Board. October 15:9.
 1961 The People Have Spoken. October 18:4.
 1961 Gardner's, Maola Consolidate Forming State's Biggest Firm. November 9:1.
 1962 City Planning to Push Strict Enforcement of Minimum Housing Law. February 4:9.
 1962 Plant Addition Provides Added Employment Here. August 3:9.
 1962 King Presents Case for Non-Violence. November 28:1.
 1963 New Field. May 20:13.
 1963 A Community Awakening. June 25:4.
 1964 Tharrington Apartments to Rise on Sunset. June 7:14.
 1964 Study of Swelton Heights Area is Completed by City. July 24:9.
 1964 Groundbreaking Sunday by Clark Street Church. August 28:9.

1964 City Construction Value Up Half Million Dollars. November 12:15.
 1966 Construction Permits Totaled Almost \$300,000 for Last Two Weeks. September 26:7.
 1967 The Oldest House in Rocky Mount: The Original Section of the Trevathan Home Remains on Mill Street. February 5:9.
 1967 NAACP Meets. April 22:2.
 1967 Ruritan Club Recently Formed in West Mount. June 22:9.
 1967 Stemmerly Addition to Liggett & Myers Co. is Almost Complete Here. June 30:11.
 1967 Westridge Still Growing After 12 Years. July 22:6.
 1967 Progress of Interns Given at Improvement League Meet. August 22:9.
 1968 Area Economy Was Healthy in 1967. January 7:16.
 1968 Mallison's Meanderings. January 13:4.
 1968 City Council Holds Routine Session. May 24:9
 1968 In and Around the Community. August 18:32.
 1968 Redevelopment Commission Authorized by City Council. December 7:5.
 1968 Thorpe Elected. December 12:11.
 1969 Readers Forum. January 30:4.
 1969 Legal Notice. June 9:11.
 1969 Bids are Received for Public Housing Units. December 20:5.
 1970 Questions Answered on Functions of Housing Authority. January 18:4.
 1970 City Council Acts to Realign Wards on a Near-Equal Population Basis. January 23:1.
 1970 \$2.5 Million Building Permit Recorded for Public Housing. March 8:31.
 1970 Where Did All the Traffic and the Money Go? To I-95. May 3:11, 20.
 1970 One-Day Softball Tourney Scheduled Sunday. July 4:7.
 1971 Public Housing Theory: Help Low-Income Families Improve Themselves. March 1:9.
 1971 J. A. Rosenbloom Dies; Pioneer Retailer Here. June 7: 1, 12.
 1972 Election Winners Sworn Into Office. May 5:13.
 1972 Rose Issues Report on Industrial Development. July 5:11.
 1973 Five-Ward Council System Will Be Debated Tonight. March 26:9
 1973 New Ward Lines Adopted. July 10:9.
 1973 Cokey Road NDP Project Discussed; No Action Taken. August 3:11.
 1973 Council Okays Controversial Urban Renewal Program. August 7:1.
 1973 Approval Given. August 21:9.
 1974 In and Around the Community. February 17:9.
 1974 George Dudley Enjoying His Work as City's First Black Councilman. September 12:9.
 1974 Red Row is Given Priority by City Council for Grant. December 24:13.
 1974 Red Row is Named as Area Most in Need of Renewal. December 27:9.
 1974 Numerous Blighted Areas Will Receive City Funds. December 29:4.
 1975 Street Lighting Program Improved. January 29:25.
 1975 Red Row Residents Urging Residential Redevelopment. February 28:11.
 1975 Cokey Road Citizens Attitudes are Considered. March 9:19a.
 1975 Urban Renewal is Become Major Concern. March 9:19b.
 1975 Legal Notices. May 8:24.
 1975 Notice of Foreclosure Sale. May 22:28.
 1975 Northgreen Country Club Facility Opens. June 2:5.
 1976 Readers Forum. January 23:4.
 1976 Red Row Redevelopment is Underway. May 23:19.
 1977 Housing, Street Projects Grant to Aid Four Areas. September 1:13.
 1978 Blacks Seeking Election Change. February 14:9.
 1978 Environment Must Aid School Process. April 25:22.
 1978 Notice of Public Availability. May 17:18.
 1978 Pope School Interior Being Modernized. June 28:19.
 1979 Fight Against Blight Succeeding; Moore. October 30:9.

- 1980 Lakeside Church Sets Celebration. June 5:13.
- 1980 Early Mistrust Turns to Support for Rehabilitation. July 18:7.
- 1980 City Receives Grant Money. October 16:13.
- 1983 Electing City Council. October 16:4.
- 1984 Beal Street Housing to be Revitalized. August 9:9.
- 1985 City Council Votes to Change Wards. February 12:1.
- 1986 Nash Finch Buys RM Company. July 22:7.
- 1992 Berry Gives BTW State of the Association Report. February 9:18.
- 1995 Raynor Helps Keep Tobacco Tradition Alive. October 22:9.
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- 1999 Thelonious Monk is a Creator of 'Bebop' Jazz. December 26:23.
- 2001 Everyone in the Pool. June 8:9.
- 2001 Benvenue Country Club Investing \$4.2m in Expansion Project. August 19:1B.
- 2001 Once a Haven for Railroad Workers, Area Grows in Other Ways. October 28:2.
- 2002 Catholic Mission Church Celebrates its 60th Year in Rocky Mount. September 28:5.
- 2005 Council Approves Renovation Loan Fund. July 12:1.
- 2006 Imperial Centre Leads City's Accomplishments. December 31:1.
- 2007 Solving the Mystery of History. September 14:4.

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Appendix A: Resources Recommended for the Study List

Survey Site No.	Resource Name	Address and PIN	Criteria	Potential Areas of Significance	Potential Period of Significance
ED2447	Edgemont Park	Roughly bounded by Rosewood Ave, N Fairview Rd, ACL Norfolk Branch, and Edgewood St	A	Community Planning and Development	ca. 1920–1959
ED2466	Cross Town	Roughly bounded by Tar River, Olive St, E Thomas St, ACL Railroad	A	Community Planning and Development and Ethnic Heritage: Black	ca. 1900–1975
ED2481	Immaculate Conception Catholic Mission	723 East Virginia Street 3860020798	A & C	Religion and Ethnic Heritage: Black	1942–1975
NS0841	Englewood	Roughly bounded by Sunset Ave, Forest Hill Ave, Winstead Rd, and S Englewood Dr	A & C	Community Planning and Development and Architecture	ca. 1925–1969
NS1610	Paul Street Water Tower	644 Paul Street 375909153041	C	Engineering	ca. 1955
NS1668	Westridge	Roughly bounded by Colonial Lane, Englewood Drive, ACL Nashville Branch, and Nottingham Rd	A & C	Community Planning and Development and Architecture	1954–1978
NS1671	Temple Beth El	838 Sunset Avenue 385018219262	A	Religion and Ethnic Heritage	1949–1975
NS1674	Henry C. and Lucille F. Proctor House	1325 Sunset Avenue 385017018609	C	Architecture	ca. 1949
NS1716	Jackson L. and Sarah T. Langley House	8116 West Mount Drive 373900403330	B	Literature	ca. 1952–1954

Appendix B: Newly Surveyed District/Neighborhood/Areas

Survey Site No.	Resource Name	Location	County
ED2282	Town of Battleboro	Battleboro	Edgecombe and Nash counties
ED2403	Meadowbrook	Roughly bounded by Vernon Rd, Courtland Ave, Rosewood Ave, and Dreaver St	Edgecombe
ED2404	Around the Y	Roughly bounded by Wye St, Arlington St, Monk St, and ACL lines	Edgecombe
ED2406	Gibson Hill	Roughly bounded by Edgecombe St, Cokey Rd, and ACL	Edgecombe
ED2435	Hargrove	Roughly bounded by ACL Norfolk Line, Old Wilson Rd, Tyan St, and ACL Main Line	Edgecombe
ED2447	Edgemont Park	Roughly bounded by Rosewood Ave, N Fairview Rd, ACL Norfolk Branch, Edgewood St	Edgecombe
ED2455	Cokey Road Neighborhood	Roughly bounded by Redgate Ave, Long Ave, Drew St, and Cokey Rd	Edgecombe
ED2456	Mill Plaza	700 and 800 blocks of Planters Street	Edgecombe
ED2457	Atlantic-Pennsylvania Avenue Corridor	300 to 700 blocks of Atlantic Ave and Pennsylvania Ave	Edgecombe
ED2466	Cross Town	Roughly bounded by Tar River, Olive St, E Thomas St, ACL Railroad	Edgecombe
NS0737	Boone Town	S of Paul St, W of Maple St, N of Z St, E of W Raleigh Blvd	Nash
NS0768	Happy Hill	Area Between Mayo, Middle, Thomas & Gay Sts	Nash
NS0778	Little Raleigh	Roughly bounded by W. Raleigh Blvd, S. Grace St, and Beamon St	Nash
NS0841	Englewood	Roughly bounded by Sunset Ave, Forest Hill Ave, Winstead Rd, and S Englewood Dr	Nash
NS1606	South Rocky Mount	Roughly bounded by W Raleigh Blvd, ACL Norfolk Line, Old Wilson Rd, and Nelson St	Nash
NS1628	South Church Street Automotive Corridor	600 to 1500 blocks of South Church Street	Nash

Survey Site No.	Resource Name	Location	County
NS1668	Westridge	Roughly bounded by Colonial Lane, Englewood Drive, ACL Nashville Branch, and Nottingham Rd	Nash
NS1669	Mayo Heights	Roughly bounded by W Thomas St, N Harris St, Sunset Ave, S Howell St, Western Ave, and Bryant St	Nash
NS1687	North Church Street Automotive Corridor	400 to 1000 blocks of North Church Street	Nash
NS1707	Swelton Heights	Bounded by Hunter Hill Rd, Benvenue Rd, U.S. Hwy 64, and N Wesleyan Blvd	Nash
NS1717	Easonburg Crossroads	Crossroads of West Mount Drive and South Halifax Road	Nash
NS1728	Benvenue Country Club	Northern Blvd, Cobb Rd, Country Blvd, Southern Blvd, Wimbley Ave	Nash
NS1729	Northgreen Village	Golf course community centered around 900 Northgreen Ln	Nash
NS1731	North Carolina Wesleyan University	3400 North Wesleyan Boulevard	Nash

Appendix C: Newly Surveyed Properties

Survey Site No.	Resource Name	Address and PIN	County	D/N/A Association
ED2405	Community Church of Christ	822 South Washington St 3759568102	Edgecombe	Around the Y
ED2407	Rose Buick Company	600 South Washington Street 3759579412	Edgecombe	Gibson Hill
ED2408	Carolina Tire Company	625 South Washington Street 3759671126	Edgecombe	Gibson Hill
ED2409	Commercial Building	717 South Washington Street 3759660614	Edgecombe	Gibson Hill
ED2410	Thomas & Howard Company Warehouse	103 East Bassett Street 3759567719	Edgecombe	Gibson Hill
ED2411	Auto Body Shop	106 East Bassett Street 3759577015	Edgecombe	Gibson Hill
ED2412	Garage	123-129 East Bassett Street 3759569719	Edgecombe	Gibson Hill
ED2413	Arlington Street Baptist Church	704 Arlington Street 3759662625	Edgecombe	Gibson Hill
ED2414	Bridges Food Store	937 Arlington Street 3759655537	Edgecombe	Gibson Hill
ED2415	Assembly of God Church	841 Pender Street 3759659739	Edgecombe	Gibson Hill
ED2416	Clark Street Methodist Church	741 Clark Street 3759762431	Edgecombe	Gibson Hill
ED2417	Bob's Soda Shop	702 Branch Street 3759763889	Edgecombe	Gibson Hill
ED2418	Filling Station	302 Cokey Road 3759778772	Edgecombe	Gibson Hill
ED2419	Commercial Building	318 Cokey Road 3759778563	Edgecombe	Gibson Hill

Survey Site No.	Resource Name	Address and PIN	County	D/N/A Association
ED2420	First Free Will Baptist Church	408 Cokey Road 3759778311	Edgecombe	Gibson Hill
ED2421	Wooten's Super Market	540 Cokey Road 3759768436	Edgecombe	Gibson Hill
ED2422	People's Missionary Baptist Church	612 Cokey Road 3759768173	Edgecombe	Gibson Hill
ED2423	Josh Bulluck's Barbeque	806 Cokey Road 3759759790	Edgecombe	Gibson Hill
ED2424	C. R. Daughtridge Grocery	439 Edgecombe Street 3759772784	Edgecombe	Gibson Hill
ED2425	Commercial Building	610 Ambler Avenue 3759775092	Edgecombe	Gibson Hill
ED2426	Pentecostal Holiness Church	601 Redgate Avenue 3759766300	Edgecombe	Gibson Hill
ED2427	People's Market	242 Dunn Street 3759654601	Edgecombe	Gibson Hill
ED2428	House	826 South Washington Street 3759567097	Edgecombe	Around the Y
ED2429	House	900 South Washington Street 3759557987	Edgecombe	Around the Y
ED2430	House	906 South Washington Street 3759557982	Edgecombe	Around the Y
ED2431	House	908 South Washington Street 3759557877	Edgecombe	Around the Y
ED2432	House	1008 South Washington Street 3759557430	Edgecombe	Around the Y
ED2433	House	1018 Arlington Street 3759653256	Edgecombe	Around the Y
ED2434	House	1022 Arlington Street 3759653252	Edgecombe	Around the Y

Survey Site No.	Resource Name	Address and PIN	County	D/N/A Association
ED2436	Edgecombe Mobil Service	1100 Old Wilson Road 3759846794	Edgecombe	Hargrove
ED2437	Second Presbyterian Church	1200 Old Wilson Road 3759846229	Edgecombe	Hargrove
ED2438	Commercial Building	1100 Branch Street 3759744868	Edgecombe	Hargrove
ED2439	Commercial Building	1419 Branch Street 3759735477	Edgecombe	Hargrove
ED2440	First Evangelical Methodist Church	1207 Clark Street 3759742456	Edgecombe	Hargrove
ED2441	Clark Street Apartments	1500 block of Clark Street	Edgecombe	Hargrove
ED2442	Commercial Building	715 Norfolk Street 3759747845	Edgecombe	Hargrove
ED2443	Warehouse	916 Norfolk Street	Edgecombe	Hargrove
ED2444	Commercial Building	1101-1125 Cypress Street 3759844686	Edgecombe	Hargrove
ED2445	Duplex	500 Mitchell Street 3759649302	Edgecombe	Hargrove
ED2446	Church of God of Prophecy	855 Mitchell Street 3759841080	Edgecombe	Hargrove
ED2448	Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints	1001 Tarboro Street 3769060645	Edgecombe	Edgemont Park
ED2449	Sevent-day Adventist Church	1024 Tarboro Street 3769065409	Edgecombe	Edgemont Park
ED2450	Edgemont Baptist Church	1150 Tarboro Street 3769153801	Edgecombe	Edgemont Park
ED2451	Edgemont Presbyterian Church	1305 Tarboro Street 3769252589	Edgecombe	Edgemont Park
ED2452	Worrell's Red & White Super Market	1327 Tarboro Street 3769255569	Edgecombe	Edgemont Park

Survey Site No.	Resource Name	Address and PIN	County	D/N/A Association
ED2453	Hill Street Church of Christ	1040 Hill Street 3769062192	Edgecombe	Edgemont Park
ED2454	Long Street Grocery	1136 Long Avenue 3769055325	Edgecombe	Edgemont Park
ED2458	Frye's Grocery	531 Albemarle Avenue 3850729788	Edgecombe	Atlantic-Pennsylvania Avenue Corridor
ED2459	Commercial Building	312 East Grand Avenue 3850824766	Edgecombe	Atlantic-Pennsylvania Avenue Corridor
ED2460	Commercial Building	422 East Grand Avenue 3850829652	Edgecombe	Atlantic-Pennsylvania Avenue Corridor
ED2461	Nello L. Teer Company Rocky Mount Quarry	10471 NC 97 West 3871112443	Edgecombe	None
ED2462	Willie G. and Frances L. Powell House	918 Eastern Avenue 3769072861	Edgecombe	Edgemont Park
ED2463	(former) Battleboro School	211 East Battleboro Avenue 3873082135	Edgecombe	Town of Battleboro
ED2464	Battleboro Methodist Church	229 East Battleboro Avenue 3873073775	Edgecombe	Town of Battleboro
ED2465	Gethsemane G. Holy Church	205 Daniels Avenue 3873173384	Edgecombe	Town of Battleboro
ED2467	Saint James Missionary Baptist Church	527 East Thomas Street 3759898922	Edgecombe	Cross Town
ED2468	Parsonage	524 East Thomas Street 3850808251	Edgecombe	Cross Town
ED2469	Richfield Service Station	432 Nast Raleigh Street 3759991961	Edgecombe	Cross Town
ED2470	W. R. Lancaster Furniture Company	620 East Thomas Street 3850903002	Edgecombe	Cross Town
ED2471	Bobbitt's Gulf Service	610 East Raleigh Boulevard 3850903093	Edgecombe	Cross Town

Survey Site No.	Resource Name	Address and PIN	County	D/N/A Association
ED2472	Wooten's Esso Service Center	603 East Raleigh Boulevard 3759993893	Edgecombe	Cross Town
ED2473	Mount Pisgah Presbyterian Church	614 Goldleaf Street 3850901924	Edgecombe	Cross Town
ED2474	Morning Star Church of the Disciples of Christ	907 East Holly Street 3860011049	Edgecombe	Cross Town
ED2475	Seventh Day Adventist Church	619 East Highland Avenue 3850914802	Edgecombe	Cross Town
ED2476	Little Rock Valley Primitive Baptist Church	802 East Highland Avenue 3850919841	Edgecombe	Cross Town
ED2477	Seven Springs Primitive Baptist Church	601 East Grand Avenue 3850923278	Edgecombe	Cross Town
ED2478	Filling Station	524 East Virginia Street 3850935116	Edgecombe	Cross Town
ED2479	Filling Station	701 Myrtle Avenue 3850936059	Edgecombe	Cross Town
ED2480	St. Augusta Free Will Baptist Church	701 East Virginia Street 3850929713	Edgecombe	Cross Town
ED2481	Immaculate Conception Catholic Mission	723 East Virginia Street 3860020798	Edgecombe	Cross Town
ED2482	Stemmerly, Liggett & Myers Tobacco Co.	724 Albemarle Avenue 3850830877	Edgecombe	Cross Town
ED2483	Oliver R. and Myrtle V. Pope House	606 Atlantic Avenue 3850822923	Edgecombe	Cross Town
ED2484	O. R. Pope Elementary School	226 Coleman Avenue 3850906570	Edgecombe	Cross Town
NS1603	Englewood United Methodist Church	300 South Circle Drive 384011560823	Nash	Englewood
NS1604	St. Andrew's Episcopal Church	301 South Circle Drive 384011560511	Nash	Englewood

Survey Site No.	Resource Name	Address and PIN	County	D/N/A Association
NS1605	Englewood Elementary School	101 South Englewood Drive 384010371031	Nash	Englewood
NS1607	Salvation Army Citadel	420 Paul Street 375910350145	Nash	Boone Town
NS1608	Warehouses	516 Paul Street 375910256107	Nash	Boone Town
NS1609	Schottland Mills	535 Paul Street 375914245683	Nash	Boone Town
NS1610	Paul Street Water Tower	644 Paul Street 375909153041	Nash	Boone Town
NS1611	Commercial Building	635 Paul Street 375913141843	Nash	Boone Town
NS1612	Rocky Mount Full Gospel Tabernacle	659 Paul Street 375913140848	Nash	Boone Town
NS1613	Apartment Complex	689 Paul Street 375913047993	Nash	Boone Town
NS1614	Temple Baptist Church	400 Nashville Road 375914342347	Nash	Boone Town
NS1615	Commercial Building	509 Nashville Road 375914248156	Nash	Boone Town
NS1616	Commercial Building	517 Nashville Road 375914247186	Nash	Boone Town
NS1617	Full Gospel Fellowship Church	562 Nashville Road 375913241374	Nash	Boone Town
NS1618	Commercial Building	569 Nashville Road 375913241121	Nash	Boone Town
NS1619	Commercial Building	570 Nashville Road 375913240481	Nash	Boone Town
NS1620	Commercial Building	571 Nashville Road 375913241107	Nash	Boone Town

Survey Site No.	Resource Name	Address and PIN	County	D/N/A Association
NS1621	Rocky Mount Undergarment Company	1536 Boone Street 375913139522	Nash	Boone Town
NS1622	Williford Cemetery	Corner of Nelson Street and West Raleigh Boulevard 375913042003	Nash	Boone Town
NS1623	Boseman's Texaco Service Station	1329 West Raleigh Boulevard 375913045798	Nash	Boone Town
NS1624	Charles W. and Minerva T. Boone House	1400 Boone Street 375913139967	Nash	Boone Town
NS1625	Buck Leonard Park	929 South Grace Street 375910366859	Nash	Little Raleigh
NS1626	Emanuel Chapel Free Will Baptist Church	637 Henry Street 375909262377	Nash	Little Raleigh
NS1627	Kingdom Hall of Jehovah's Witnesses	604 Cleveland Street 375909254955	Nash	Little Raleigh
NS1629	Powers-Millar House	608 South Church Street 375911570586	Nash	South Church Street Automotive Corridor
NS1630	Holbrook Motor Company	607 South Church Street 375907574566	Nash	South Church Street Automotive Corridor
NS1631	Charles W. and Sallie B. Ivey House	609 South Church Street 375911572494	Nash	South Church Street Automotive Corridor
NS1632	Sutton's Used Cars	621 South Church Street 375911572494	Nash	South Church Street Automotive Corridor
NS1633	Tenneco Service Station	700 South Church Street 375910478083	Nash	South Church Street Automotive Corridor
NS1634	House	722 South Church Street 375910468834	Nash	South Church Street Automotive Corridor
NS1635	Motor Bearings & Parts Company	725 South Church Street 375911560769	Nash	South Church Street Automotive Corridor
NS1636	Commercial Building	821 South Church Street 375910469311	Nash	South Church Street Automotive Corridor

Survey Site No.	Resource Name	Address and PIN	County	D/N/A Association
NS1637	Davenport Motor Company	900 South Church Street 375910466373	Nash	South Church Street Automotive Corridor
NS1638	Pitt's New & Used Cars	1016 South Church Street 375910455801	Nash	South Church Street Automotive Corridor
NS1639	Commercial Building	1032 South Church Street 375910454667	Nash	South Church Street Automotive Corridor
NS1640	Commercial Building	1007-1011 South Church Street 375910457866	Nash	South Church Street Automotive Corridor
NS1641	Commercial Building	1021 South Church Street 375910457774	Nash	South Church Street Automotive Corridor
NS1642	Commercial Building	1037 South Church Street 375910456651	Nash	South Church Street Automotive Corridor
NS1643	Commercial Building	1100 South Church Street 375910454527	Nash	South Church Street Automotive Corridor
NS1644	Buddie's Used Cars	1105 South Church Street 375910456416	Nash	South Church Street Automotive Corridor
NS1645	House	1135 South Church Street 375910455018	Nash	South Church Street Automotive Corridor
NS1646	South Rocky Mount Methodist Episcopal Church	1203 South Church Street 375914444988	Nash	South Church Street Automotive Corridor
NS1647	Amoco Service Center	1323 South Church Street 375914442335	Nash	South Church Street Automotive Corridor
NS1648	Commercial Building	1404 South Church Street 375914349189	Nash	South Church Street Automotive Corridor
NS1649	The Hamburger Shop	1424 South Church Street 375914339907	Nash	South Church Street Automotive Corridor
NS1650	R. J. Works & Son Warehouse	1441 South Church Street 375914431663	Nash	South Church Street Automotive Corridor
NS1651	Daughtridge-Brake, Inc.	1522 South Church Street 375914337319	Nash	South Church Street Automotive Corridor

Survey Site No.	Resource Name	Address and PIN	County	D/N/A Association
NS1652	Commercial Building	1554 South Church Street 375914335093	Nash	South Church Street Automotive Corridor
NS1653	Smith's Warehouse No. 2	1515 South Church Street 375914430481	Nash	South Church Street Automotive Corridor
NS1654	Commercial Building	1545 South Church Street 375914338038	Nash	South Church Street Automotive Corridor
NS1655	Gulf Refining Company	1553 South Church Street 375914329937	Nash	South Church Street Automotive Corridor
NS1656	Standard Oil Company	1601 South Church Street 375914328768	Nash	South Church Street Automotive Corridor
NS1657	Commercial Building	608 South Franklin Street 375910476474	Nash	South Rocky Mount
NS1658	Barber's Auto Supply	612-616 South Franklin Street 375910476336	Nash	South Rocky Mount
NS1659	Commercial Building	1101 South Franklin Street 375910452682	Nash	South Rocky Mount
NS1660	Croom Cleaners	225 Paul Street 375914440929	Nash	South Rocky Mount
NS1661	Commercial Building	481 West Raleigh Boulevard 375910378441	Nash	South Rocky Mount
NS1662	C. D. Brown Grocery	495 West Raleigh Boulevard 375910378306	Nash	South Rocky Mount
NS1663	(former) St. Mark AME Church	801 West End Street 375910379051	Nash	South Rocky Mount
NS1664	Cleveland Street Apartments	425 Cleveland Street 375910352389	Nash	South Rocky Mount
NS1665	Central Building Distributors	106 West Bassett Street 375911574291	Nash	South Rocky Mount
NS1666	Warehouse	112 West Bassett Street 375911573184	Nash	South Rocky Mount

Survey Site No.	Resource Name	Address and PIN	County	D/N/A Association
NS1667	S. S. Toler and Son	117 West Bassett Street 375911562945	Nash	South Rocky Mount
NS1670	Tharrington Court	718 Sunset Avenue 385018316989	Nash	Mayo Heights
NS1671	Temple Beth El	838 Sunset Avenue 385018219262	Nash	Mayo Heights
NS1672	Zaytoun Dental Clinic	900 Sunset Avenue 385018218266	Nash	Mayo Heights
NS1673	Sunset Apartments	1265 Sunset Avenue 385017112506	Nash	Mayo Heights
NS1674	Henry C. and Lucille F. Proctor House	1325 Sunset Avenue 385017018609	Nash	Mayo Heights
NS1675	Lakeside Baptist Church	1501 Sunset Avenue 385017010841	Nash	Mayo Heights
NS1676	Elmore's Antique Shop	113 North Pine Street 385018310330	Nash	None
NS1677	D. J. Rose & Son Office	216 South Mayo Street 385017100971	Nash	None
NS1678	Whitfield's Café	534 West Thomas Street 385018415408	Nash	Happy Hill
NS1679	Commercial Building	622 West Thomas Street 385018411599	Nash	Happy Hill
NS1680	House	830 West Thomas Street 385018312982	Nash	Happy Hill
NS1681	Wiggs' Corner Market	901 West Thomas Street 385018310718	Nash	Happy Hill
NS1682	West End Grocery	1001 West Thomas Street 385018217808	Nash	Happy Hill
NS1683	Mt. Carmel Baptist Church	844 Star Street 385014324603	Nash	Happy Hill

Survey Site No.	Resource Name	Address and PIN	County	D/N/A Association
NS1684	Little Rocky Mount Primitive Baptist Church	421 North Harris Street 385014227616	Nash	Happy Hill
NS1685	Matthew F. and Edna M. Yenney House	3621 Winstead Road 383016844654	Nash	Westridge
NS1686	Richard F. and Frances R. Hunt House	4009 Hawthorne Road 383015740926	Nash	Westridge
NS1688	Tenneco Service Station	401 North Church Street 385019627296	Nash	North Church Street Automotive Corridor
NS1689	Peoples Bank & Trust Company North Office	516 North Church Street 385015627767	Nash	North Church Street Automotive Corridor
NS1690	Commercial Building	534 North Church Street 385015627998	Nash	North Church Street Automotive Corridor
NS1691	Ray Bandy's Auto	618 North Church Street 385015639221	Nash	North Church Street Automotive Corridor
NS1692	Sykes Garage	713 North Church Street 385015732565	Nash	North Church Street Automotive Corridor
NS1693	Service Station	800 North Church Street 385015731735	Nash	North Church Street Automotive Corridor
NS1694	Carolina Awning and Tent Manufacturing Company	804 North Church Street 385015730890	Nash	North Church Street Automotive Corridor
NS1695	North Church Street Tiga Service Station	820 North Church Street 385015731955	Nash	North Church Street Automotive Corridor
NS1696	Motor Freight Station	822 North Church Street 385015731955	Nash	North Church Street Automotive Corridor
NS1697	Garage	815 North Church Street 385015733834	Nash	North Church Street Automotive Corridor
NS1698	Motor Freight Station	821 North Church Street 385015733834	Nash	North Church Street Automotive Corridor
NS1699	Service Station	825 North Church Street 385015733834	Nash	North Church Street Automotive Corridor

Survey Site No.	Resource Name	Address and PIN	County	D/N/A Association
NS1700	Pridgen Tire Company	900 North Church Street 385015742200	Nash	North Church Street Automotive Corridor
NS1701	Service Station	901 North Church Street 385015743063	Nash	North Church Street Automotive Corridor
NS1702	Casey's Service Station	1002 North Church Street 385015744756	Nash	North Church Street Automotive Corridor
NS1703	Allen Animal Hospital	1017 North Church Street 385016747859	Nash	North Church Street Automotive Corridor
NS1704	Office and Garage	531 North Church Street 385015720932	Nash	North Church Street Automotive Corridor
NS1705	E. E. Draper & Sons, Inc.	125 West Grand Avenue 385015720932	Nash	North Church Street Automotive Corridor
NS1706	The Atlantic Refining Company Plant	105 West Grand Avenue 385015723806	Nash	North Church Street Automotive Corridor
NS1708	Swelton Heights Free Will Baptist Holiness Church	1428 Memory Lane 385005187426	Nash	Swelton Heights
NS1709	Big Top Super Market	1505 Memory Lane 385005184527	Nash	Swelton Heights
NS1710	Swelton Heights Missionary Baptist Church	1329 Dogwood Avenue 385006285370	Nash	Swelton Heights
NS1711	Nicodemus and Minnie Shearin House	2120 Nicodemus Mile Road 384119513671	Nash	None
NS1712	Parkwood Missionary Baptist Church	1731 Hunter Hill Road 384119710326	Nash	None
NS1713	Truman S. and Hettie B. Weaver House	8310 West Mount Drive 373919504538	Nash	Easonburg Crossroads
NS1714	Truman S. Weaver Store	8241 West Mount Drive 373800499802	Nash	Easonburg Crossroads
NS1715	Jackson L. Langley Store	8206 West Mount Drive 373918406000	Nash	Easonburg Crossroads

Survey Site No.	Resource Name	Address and PIN	County	D/N/A Association
NS1716	Jackson L. and Sarah T. Langley House	8116 West Mount Drive 373900403330	Nash	Easonburg Crossroads
NS1718	Nash General Hospital	2460 Curtis Ellis Drive 383120815878	Nash	None
NS1719	Rocky Mount Instruments, Inc.	653 Instrument Drive 385220911889	Nash	None
NS1720	Craft Motel and Restaurant	4751 Hathaway Street 386308776570	Nash	Town of Battleboro
NS1721	Battleboro Post Office	241 West Battleboro Avenue 386308994201	Nash	Town of Battleboro
NS1722	Luther D. and Hattie L. Tanner House	5148 Hathaway Street 386308990820	Nash	Town of Battleboro
NS1723	Henry M. and Maude V. Walker House	5201 Hathaway Street 386420901162	Nash	Town of Battleboro
NS1724	Arthur W. and Mary E. Deans House	409 West Battleboro Avenue 386308896537	Nash	Town of Battleboro
NS1725	Henry M. and Ruby B. Milgrom House	525 West Battleboro Avenue 386308799820	Nash	Town of Battleboro
NS1726	Battleboro Baptist Church	412 West Battleboro Avenue 386308895828	Nash	Town of Battleboro
NS1727	James P. and Jessie S. Bunn House	300 West Battleboro Avenue 386308992542	Nash	Town of Battleboro
NS1730	Northgreen Country Club	900 Northgreen Lane 385111566548	Nash	Northgreen Village
NS1732	Southern Cotton Oil Company Complex	600 Wilkinson Street 385014424589	Nash	None