

THE HISTORY AND ARCHITECTURE OF
LONG WHARF AND GREATER DUFFYFIELD:

African American Neighborhoods in New Bern, North Carolina

A report prepared for the

City of New Bern
Historic Preservation Commission

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Table of Contents

PART ONE: A BRIEF HISTORY OF BLACK NEW BERN

Early New Bern, 1660s - 1860s	3
War and Freedom, 1860s - 1870s	6
Era of Opportunity, 1870s - 1890s	10
The Disfranchisement Movement, 1897 - 1900.....	14
Jim Crow and Black Community, 1900s - 1950s	17
Urban Redevelopment and Civil Rights, 1950s - 1990s.....	22

PART TWO: NEIGHBORHOODS AND BUILDINGS

An Introduction to New Bern's African American Neighborhoods	25
An Introduction to New Bern's African American Architecture.....	26
Long Wharf	
history and architecture	40
significant structures.....	43
Greater Duffyfield	
history and architecture	53
significant structures.....	63

PART THREE: RECOMMENDATIONS

Preservation and Celebration of New Bern's Historic African American Neighborhoods	83
Buildings Potentially Eligible for the National Register of Historic Places	86
Districts Potentially Eligible for the National Register of Historic Places.....	87
note on sources	101
acknowledgements	102
appendix	103

Maps

following page

Map 1: Long Wharf and Greater Duffyfield Study Areas, 1993	24
Map 2: Price's "Plan of the Town of New Bern," ca. 1834.....	24
Map 3: Shotwell Map of New Bern, 1866	24
Map 4: "Gray's New Map of New Berne," 1882.....	24
Map 5: Eagle Map of New Bern, 1913.....	24

THE HISTORY AND ARCHITECTURE OF LONG WHARF AND GREATER DUFFYFIELD, African American Neighborhoods in New Bern, North Carolina

Today New Bern is a thriving tourist town and port on the North Carolina coast. Second only to Wilmington as a coastal urban center, the city of some twenty thousand citizens commands a picturesque point of land where the Trent River meets the broad Neuse River on its way to the Pamlico Sound. Thousands of visitors arrive annually to tour the reconstructed Governor's Palace of colonial administrator William Tryon, and stroll the handsome Historic District of eighteenth and nineteenth century homes that surround the downtown and overlook the gently flowing rivers.

African Americans have played a major role in the development of New Bern through more than two centuries. For most of the town's history, the majority of its population was black. The labor of slaves provided the engine of the economy during the hundred years before the Civil War. In those decades New Bern also possessed the state's largest concentration of free blacks. Skilled African American artisans crafted the community's buildings, wharves and ships. After the Civil War, the town boasted an enterprising, educated African American elite. Black doctors, lawyers, businessmen and religious leaders influenced life not only in their city, but also across North Carolina.

Today New Bern's main African American neighborhoods are the areas of Long Wharf and Greater Duffyfield, lying west and north of downtown. Long Wharf dates to the city's earliest era as an eighteenth century port, and was home to numerous free blacks. Greater Duffyfield blossomed during the first years of freedom following the Civil War, and its inhabitants included many of that era's black business, professional and religious figures. Both neighborhoods have changed greatly over time. As residents became more prosperous, they replaced antebellum buildings. Today virtually all structures date from the last decade of the nineteenth century and the first four decades of the twentieth, with a scattering of later examples. The neighborhoods and their architecture provide an important window on New Bern's vibrant African America heritage.

Part One of this report offers a brief history of black New Bern. Part Two begins with discussions of African American neighborhood development and architecture in the city. Then separate sections consider Long Wharf and Greater Duffyfield: the history and the significant individual buildings of each neighborhood. Part Three suggests recommendations for action.

table 1
POPULATION OF NEW BERN

<u>YEAR</u>	<u>TOTAL POPULATION</u>	<u># AFRICAN AMERICAN</u>	<u>% AFRICAN AMERICAN</u>
1790	1,000	•	•
1800	2,467	1,298	53%
1810	*	*	*
1820	3,663	2,188	60%
1830	3,796	2,133	56%
1840	3,690	2,001	54%
1850	4,681	2,727	58%
1860	5,432	2,981	57%
1870	5,849	3,829	66%
1880	6,443	4,226	65%
1890	7,843	5,271	67%
1900	9,086	5,878	65%
1910	9,961	5,649	57%
1920	12,198	6,735	55%
1930	11,981	6,277	52%
1940	11,815	5,839	49%
1950	15,812	6,754	43%
1960	15,717	6,481	41%
1970	14,660	5,640	38%
1980	14,557	6,295	43%
1990	17,363	7,563	44%

SOURCE: United States Census data.

* no separate city data

• no data on race available

PART ONE: A BRIEF HISTORY OF BLACK NEW BERN

Early New Bern, 1660s - 1850s

Fur traders began arriving in what is now the New Bern area in the late 1650s, even before the King of England granted his Lords Proprietor the charter for the Carolina colony in 1663. A good harbor and access inland via two river systems made the spot a valuable trading post and an obvious site for eventual settlement. English adventurer John Lawson claimed land "at the confluence of the Neuse and Trent rivers" as early as 1705, and five years later a settlement was planted by Baron Christoph von Graffenried, a Swiss nobleman who named the village after his native Bern, Switzerland.¹ Attacks by the Tuscarora Indians caused abandonment of the settlement, however, and it was not until the 1720s that a permanent town was incorporated.² By 1758 enough land had been sold that the North Carolina legislature saw fit to authorize the first official survey of New Bern.

Royal Governor William Tryon recognized the town's growing importance when he made it the North Carolina colony's first permanent capital in 1766 and began construction of Tryon Palace on a site just west of town overlooking the Trent River.³ Tryon hired surveyor Claude J. Sauthier to formally plat streets and house lots for New Bern in 1769; an extension was approved ten years later. From the mid 1760s on, farmers, traders and fishermen gathered Wednesdays and Saturdays at the Market House on Broad Street at Middle Street, and before long a string of wharves and warehouses began extending from the foot of Craven Street to line the waterfront. By the eve of the American Revolution, New Bern's population stood at about 1,000 people.

Among the early residents who built up the colonial seaport community were many African Americans. Slave labor was a foundation of the Carolina colony. One of the first acts of the Lords Proprietor upon receiving title to the Carolinas in 1663 had been to issue a proclamation offering land to settlers bringing slaves. Newcomers received twenty acres for every Negro male slave and ten acres for every Negro female slave imported into the

colony the first year, and similar incentives were offered in subsequent years. Within two decades, there were as many Africans as Europeans in the Carolinas, and by 1724 blacks outnumbered whites three to one in the colony.⁴

On his first trip along North Carolina's coast in the 1760s, Governor Tryon commented on the numbers and activities of the many African Americans he saw at work. "The Negroes are very numerous I suppose five to one White Person in the Maritime Counties, but as you penetrate into the country few Blacks are employed," Tryon wrote. In addition to farm labor, coastal slaves were engaged in the "Making of Barrels, Hoops, Staves, Shingles, Rails Post and Pails, all of which they do to admiration." Black people also played a leading part in the important "naval stores" industry, handling the "Boxing of Pine Trees to draw off the Turpentine, [and the] Making of Tarr kills [kilns]." And African Americans worked as boatmen, both along the coast and up the rivers where Tryon reported "Rocky Stones so as to stop the navigation of any thing but Canoes, and those are not safe unless under the conduct of a dexterous Negroe."⁵

When Carolina citizens joined other American colonists in the effort to throw off British rule during the Revolution, African Americans added their efforts to the struggle. In addition to their economic contributions as slaves, a number of black North Carolinians volunteered for military duty. Among them was Thomas Blango of New Bern, who served with the town militia.⁶ After the Revolution, when the United States began the Census, its systematic counts showed that blacks continued to constitute the majority of residents in New Bern. In 1800, the city had only 546 white male and 495 white female residents, compared with 1,298 slaves and 111 "other free persons."

Slaves provided the mainstay of New Bern's economy in the early nineteenth century. Along with their labor on surrounding farms, African Americans worked in almost every occupation in town. Many blacks were cooks, domestics, and laborers. Others continued their skilled labor in the naval stores industry, as Governor Tryon had observed earlier, or worked as blacksmiths, builders and craftsmen. Especially, African Americans were noted for their expertise on the water. An advertisement in the New Bern Spectator in 1830, for example, offered a substantial reward for capture of a slave

about forty years of age, of a dark complexion, stout made, and rather over common height: when in good health he weighs from 175 to 180 lbs. His right

leg is broken a little below the knee, causing him to limp very bad when walking He has been employed, at intervals, for a number of years, as a boatman on Contentnea Creek and Neuse River, between Stantonburg and Newbern; and is well known in the latter place as Captain Jack.⁷

The fact that a well-known and physically distinctive individual like Captain Jack could slip away in New Bern was an indication of how many African Americans worked on the water. Indeed, most boat crews were almost entirely black -- a situation that worried Craven County officials enough so that they passed a law requiring that at least one crewman on every vessel be white.⁸

Another reason that Captain Jack may have been able to slip away was the large community of free African Americans in the city. New Bern and surrounding Craven County ranked as "a principal center of free blacks" in North Carolina, according to the historian Alan D. Watson.⁹ The bustling port provided many opportunities for black people to earn their freedom, and to find a livelihood once free. Ships traveled regularly from New Bern to the islands of the West Indies, offering jobs for seamen as well as contact with that area's energetic Afro-Caribbean culture. At the wharves at New Bern, free blacks worked as stevedores unloading boats. Others were peddlers, selling cakes, tobacco and other goods at county market days.¹⁰ Many of the skilled craftsmen who erected the city's handsome houses and public buildings were free blacks, such as plasterer and bricklayer Donum Mumford who kept busy a number of assistants and "owned a farm in the vicinity, and several houses and lots in town."¹¹ Another prominent craftsman was John R. Green, a tailor who had "several apprentices and journeymen" and lived in a handsome house on Johnson Street.¹² Still others ran service businesses. The most prosperous of these were barbers; all over the South, African Americans monopolized the barbering trade throughout the nineteenth century, serving whites as well as blacks. New Bern barbers included John Good, who earned money enough to buy several relatives out of slavery, and John Carruthers "Barber Jack" Stanly, who ranked among the city's wealthiest men in the 1810s.¹³ While it was forbidden by law in North Carolina to teach slaves to read and write, the concentration of free blacks at New Bern was great enough to allow operation of a school for free African American children during the early nineteenth century.¹⁴ Slave or free, the effort and enterprise of New Bern's African American majority helped drive the town's growing economy.

New Bern prospered during the early decades of the new Republic, ranking as North Carolina's largest town from the 1790s through the 1830s.¹⁵ Most American settlement remained close to the Atlantic Ocean in these years, particularly in the Carolinas. New Bern offered a harbor for ships moving up and down the coast, and also a busy trading point for farmers, timbermen, and producers of naval stores working in the surrounding coastal plain. Sea captains built houses. Merchants established thriving businesses. Planters from inland came to sell their cotton and tobacco. The streets that Claude Sauthier had platted filled with two and three story wooden homes. Growth slowed in the 1830s as America's first nationwide depression sapped those communities dependent on trade. When good times resumed, New Bern again bustled to meet the demand for turpentine, lumber and naval stores. But it now lost its place as the state's biggest city to Wilmington, which possessed a harbor that could better accommodate the era's ever-larger ships.

By the decade before the Civil War New Bern was a busy coastal trading hub, and boasted new mills and rail connections. Small factories turned out cotton and woolen goods, soap and candles, doors and window sash. Merchants exported turpentine, rosin, pitch, tar, corn, cotton, rags, leather, lumber, shingles, barrel hoops and staves, pork and pipe stems. Their domain reached further inland with construction of a railroad to Kinston and Raleigh starting in 1855, and southward along the coast with a rail link to Morehead City in 1859.¹⁶ The 1860 Census showed 68 manufacturing establishments at New Bern, including 47 turpentine operations.¹⁷ Black labor continued to play a key part in the economy. Census takers counted 6,189 slaves and an impressive 1,332 free blacks in Craven County, and 179 of those black men and women were prosperous enough to list property of their own. Within the city of New Bern free African Americans comprised fully 12.7 percent of the population, according to the historian Alan Watson -- "by far the greatest number of free blacks of any town in North Carolina."¹⁸

War and Freedom, 1860s - 1870s

The Civil War provided a dramatic turning point in the history of African Americans in New Bern. The city's large population of skilled individuals, and the high percentage of free blacks with some education, meant that the community had many members poised to make the most of the opportunity of freedom. That opportunity came earlier in New Bern

than almost anywhere else in the South. Soon after the Confederacy seceded in 1861, Union forces sent General Ambrose E. Burnside and a naval squadron southward to cut off trade along the coast. Burnside captured New Bern on March 14, 1862.¹⁹ Union forces took up residence in and around the town, occupying existing forts and constructing new ones, and making New Bern a base of operations. The Union continued to control the city and much of the rest of coastal North Carolina for the duration of the War.

Word that Yankee forces were at New Bern quickly spread behind Confederate lines. Slaves began slipping away from inland plantations, making their way to the Union headquarters. Such action did not automatically mean freedom -- President Abraham Lincoln would not issue the Emancipation Proclamation for another eighteen months. But slaves came anyway on the hope of liberty. They knew that by "stealing themselves" they at least deprived their masters of an important resource. Dozens, then hundreds, then thousands, of African Americans came streaming into New Bern. The city's black population boomed from 2,981 at the start of the War, to 8,661 by April 1864, to more than 10,000 by the close of the conflict in 1865.²⁰ No rules had been devised to cope with these people, who technically remained their masters' property. Union officers gave them the name "contraband" -- enemy property -- and scrambled to figure out what to do.

The arrivals did much to solve the problem themselves -- officials found them eager to work in nearly any job that might help the Union cause. "They considered it duty," one officer later wrote, "and though they could in many cases have made more money at other occupations, there was a public opinion among them that tabooed anyone that refused to work for the government."²¹ Some 5,000 pitched in building fortifications up and down the coast, including Fort Totten outside New Bern. Other African Americans labored erecting docks and bridges, among them the essential railroad bridge across the Trent River that had been laid waste by the departing Confederates. Men unloaded boats and moved supplies. Women worked as cooks and laundresses, and tended the sick and wounded. Fifty brave individuals took on the highly risky role of spies, slipping back behind Confederate lines to provide intelligence for Union troops.²²

More than a thousand African Americans volunteered and were accepted into the Union army itself as soldiers at New Bern. One of the nation's earliest all-black regiments was organized in the city -- the Thirty-Fifth United States Colored Troops, known originally as "The First North Carolina Colored Volunteers."²³ The troop was recruited in

May of 1863 by Colonel James C. Beecher, brother of Uncle Tom's Cabin author Harriet Beecher Stowe. It fought under a battle flag paid for by "the colored women of Newbern" and designed by Mrs. Stowe herself: "dark blue silk, fringed with gold, with the rising Sun of Liberty on one side and 'God is our Sun and Shield' on the other." On June 13, 1863, Col. Beecher wrote home to his wife in New England:

I am amazed at the promptitude of these men to learn military drill I wish doubtful people at home could see my three weeks' regiment. There is an amount of muscle in it of which few in the service can boast. In three more weeks we shall make a creditable show, and I think the government will not grumble at a regiment enlisted, organized, uniformed, armed and handsomely encamped in six weeks.²⁴

Indeed, the New Bern troop was widely watched to see what sort of soldiers former slaves would make. The Boston Journal, Boston Herald, and Harper's Magazine, among others, covered the regiment's exploits. The Thirty-Fifth served briefly behind the lines at the siege of Charleston, then saw fighting at Olustee, Florida, alongside the famed Fifty-Fourth Massachusetts Colored Regiment -- an engagement portrayed in the 1980s film Glory. Both "colored troops did admirably," wrote a reporter for the Herald. The New Bern regiment "held the various positions in which it was placed with the greatest tenacity, and inflicted heavy loss on the enemy. It was cool and steady and never flinched for a moment."²⁵

Meanwhile, back in New Bern slaves continued to pour into the city. Horace James, a white Congregationalist minister and a chaplain with General Burnside, took up the task of ministering to the newcomers. He set up schools, "gave religious instruction, and solicited food and clothing from northern philanthropic organizations, largely on his own initiative."²⁶ As the war dragged on, though, it became clear that the arriving families would need places to settle and rebuild their lives. In the spring of 1863, James began creating African American communities on half a dozen tracts of land along the coast that had been confiscated from the Rebels. One camp would become the present-day James City community, just across the Trent River from downtown New Bern.

Historians now consider the actions taken by African Americans in New Bern and other coastal communities early in the Civil War to have considerably influenced the course

of the conflict. The large numbers of contrabands "stealing themselves" forced President Lincoln to face the question of freedom for the slaves. In June of 1862, three months after blacks had begun flooding into New Bern, the President declared that "no slave who once comes within our lines as fugitive from a rebel, shall ever be returned to his master."²⁷ By December of 1863 Lincoln was ready to issue the Emancipation Proclamation, freeing all slaves in the Confederate states. As the war wound down in early 1865, Lincoln set up the Freedmen's Bureau to aid the former "contraband." Many of the Freedmen's Bureau's activities, particularly in the area of education, took their cues from initiatives begun with help from Horace James and others along the Carolina coast.

With peace in April 1865 there began a decade of Reconstruction in New Bern and the South.²⁸ African Americans entered Reconstruction with great hopes. Initially it looked as if the federal government might continue Horace James' efforts to settle black families on plantations confiscated from rebellious planters. To blacks who had cleared Southern land and made it productive, gaining title to "forty acres and a mule" seemed only justice. But land redistribution turned out not to be in the cards. Another economic hope also ended in disappointment. In January 1866, New Bern became a site of a branch of the federally-chartered Freedmen's Bank. The establishment generated great enthusiasm not only among African Americans but also on the part of those whites who felt that black economic energy was vital to the South's rebirth. Depositors lost all when the bank failed in 1874 in the midst of a nationwide depression.²⁹

Reconstruction did do much, though, to provide African Americans with their first opportunity to express their voice in politics. The Third Reconstruction Act of July 19, 1867 gave black men the right to vote. New Bern African Americans joined with whites to form a local chapter of the Republican Party.³⁰ Beginning with the election of 1868, at least one of New Bern's three representatives to the North Carolina House of Representatives in Raleigh was usually an African American: B. W. Morris 1868 - 70; Edward R. Dudley, Richard Tucker, and George B. Willis 1870 - 72; Israel Abbott 1872 - 74; John R. Good and Edward C. Hill 1874 - 76; H. H. Simmons 1876 - 78; Willis D. Pettipher 1878 - 80; George H. White 1880 - 82; William H. Johnson 1882 - 84.³¹ Twice, African Americans also won election to one of the county's two seats in the State Senate: Richard Tucker in 1874, and George H. White in 1884.

These political advances were considerable, but fell short of true equality. Blacks constituted the majority of the town's and the county's residents, but seldom held a majority of political offices. African Americans ran their strongest in elections to the United States House of Representatives. In those contests, New Bern was part of North Carolina's Second District, whose population was seventy percent black. Nonetheless, black candidates won only seven of the eighteen elections held 1865 - 1900: John A. Hyman (1875 - 1877), James O'Hara (two terms: 1883 - 87), Henry P. Cheatham (two terms: 1889 - 93), and George H. White (two terms: 1897 - 1901).³² Things were even more lopsided within the city. Blacks outnumbered whites two to one in the New Bern population, but never held the mayor's office nor won even as many as half the seats on the Board of Aldermen.³³ African Americans serving as Aldermen included Virgil A. Crawford 1872 - 88; John R. Good 1872; Amos York 1874; Quash W. Slade 1879 - 80; E. E. Tucker 1881; Henry H. Simmons 1888.³⁴

Those dates pointed up another important, and somewhat more heartening, reality of black politics in late nineteenth century New Bern. Though Reconstruction ended in 1877, African Americans retained the right to vote for many years thereafter, and they made energetic use of that right. While not achieving representation in proportion with their population, they nonetheless remained a political force to be reckoned with. Evidence of that could be seen in New Bern's appointive offices. The 1880 New Bern city directory listed numerous African Americans in positions of governmental responsibility: John B. Willis as deputy clerk of Craven County Superior Court; Virgil Crawford as deputy collector of US Customs; Alex Bass as Justice of the Peace in Township Eight, and Edward Dudley as Justice of the Peace and deputy tax collector in the same township; Edward E. Tucker as constable and William H. Johnson as Deputy Sheriff; Solomon Edmundson as city bill poster; Edward A. Richardson as clerk at the Post Office.³⁵

Era of Opportunity, 1870s - 1890s

Indeed, the late 1870s through the mid 1890s would be years of great achievement for African Americans in New Bern. The town as a whole had recovered fairly quickly from the Civil War. New Bern now became a national center for the lumber industry. From the 1870s into the 1910s, the pine forests lying inland from the town yielded millions of board feet, and funneled money into New Bern pockets.³⁶ Fishing and other water-

related activities continued to flourish, tobacco took on increasing importance leading to the construction of two sales warehouses in the 1890s, and the town also emerged as a minor rail terminal, with a railroad yard, roundhouse and repair facilities off Queen Street that provided steady employment for skilled blacks and whites as carpenters, mechanics and iron-workers.³⁷ Exuberant Victorian mansions joined the understated early-nineteenth century Federal style houses near downtown. New public buildings and stores -- among them the shop of white druggist Caleb Bradham, who invented Pepsi-Cola in 1898 -- lined the business streets.³⁸ In this prosperous economy, New Bern's African Americans moved to make their mark.

One area in which African Americans most swiftly asserted their independence was religion. In 1864 Bishop James Walker Hood had founded St. Peter's A. M. E. Zion Church downtown on Hancock Street, the first congregation in the South of the African Methodist Episcopal Zion denomination, which became a leading force in North Carolina religious life.³⁹ Clinton Chapel A. M. E. Zion in the Long Wharf district followed soon after.⁴⁰ In 1866, black Episcopalians founded St. Cyprian's Church in an existing building on Queen Street, and in 1880 Ebenezer Presbyterian was dedicated on Pasteur Street.⁴¹ By 1880 the city directory listed eight black churches in New Bern: Bethel A. M. E. Church, Christian Church, Cedar Grove Baptist Church, Clinton Chapel A. M. E. Zion, Mt. Zion Baptist Church, Second Presbyterian Church, St. Cyprian's Episcopal Church, and Zion's A. M. E. Church.⁴² At least thirteen more African American congregations were established before 1900.

The freed slaves were also quick to grasp opportunities for education. New Bern black leaders organized an Education Board in 1867 to push for public schools, and in the meantime set up at least five private academies.⁴³ In 1872 officials created West Street School just north of Queen Street, eventually the main black high school for the county.⁴⁴ By 1878 Craven County had thirty public schools for white children and twenty for blacks. From 1881 to 1887, one of North Carolina's five state-supported teacher-training schools for blacks was located in the town, under the direction of George H. White.⁴⁵ Later the city would be home to the Eastern Academy of the A. M. E. Zion Church, started in 1895, and the New Bern Collegiate and Industrial Institute, founded in 1902 by Baptist minister Reverend A. L. E. Weeks with substantial financial support from Isaac H. Smith.⁴⁶

African Americans continued to play a large role in New Bern economic life, both as workers and also increasingly as entrepreneurs. Three-fifths of the city's African American citizens worked in unskilled and semi-skilled jobs, mainly as laborers, domestic servants, dock hands, farm hands and carters. Others pursued skilled occupations -- fishermen, carpenters, metal smiths, coopers, masons, shoemakers, butchers, bakers, barbers, and printers.⁴⁷ Thanks undoubtedly to the legacy of education among New Bern's antebellum free black population, the city also quickly generated an impressive cohort of African American professionals and businessmen. Already in 1880 the city directory listed a black physician, Dr. William P. Moore, and a black lawyer, George H. White. In New Bern's next directory, published in 1893, Moore and White were joined by lawyers James E. O'Hara and R. W. Williamson, and physician Dr. W. L. Lassiter.⁴⁸ Before the end of the decade, black New Bern would support two additional doctors.

So many New Bern African Americans busied themselves in commerce that by 1878 blacks owned more businesses in New Bern than in any other city in the state.⁴⁹ A. M. E. Zion officials led by the Reverend J. A. Tyler founded the long-lived newspaper The Star of Zion in 1877, which carried ^{not} only religious news but also stories about the local black community.⁵⁰ In 1880 Israel B. Abbott and George H. White began publishing another paper, the Good Samaritan.⁵¹ A visitor in the early 1880s remarked on the fact that blacks played a large part in the city's retail fish trade, with eight black seafood dealers plus four or five men and boys who peddled fish through the streets of the town.⁵² By the 1890s the black economy was so robust that leaders banded together to hold an annual Eastern North Carolina Industrial, Stock and Fruit Fair to celebrate the accomplishments of African American businessmen and farmers.⁵³

The 1893 city directory counted some fifty black enterprises. Most were small in scale -- barbers, eating houses, meat markets, greengrocers, fish dealers, tailors, shoemakers, hucksters and other general merchandise sellers, saloon operators, blacksmiths, contractors and carpenters. A few were more imposing -- three lawyers, two physicians, two "claim agents" with offices on the South Front Street waterfront, constable J. P. Stanly, insurance man H. J. Green, and real estate dealer R. G. Mosely.⁵⁴ Soon, black New Bern would also boast its own African American financial institution, Mutual Aid Bank on Broad Street, organized in 1897 as North Carolina's first black-owned bank.⁵⁵

The most important financial force in New Bern's bustling black business community was Isaac H. Smith, who listed his occupation in the 1893 city directory as "money broker." Born May 5, 1854, in the era of slavery, Smith came to New Bern after the Civil War as a school teacher following a stint at St. Augustine's College in Raleigh. In 1872 he bought his first piece of property, and during the 1870s and 1880s he slowly developed a lucrative business in real estate.⁵⁶ By the 1890s he retired from teaching in order to devote full time to his real estate and money-lending activities. From his office downtown on Middle Street, Smith sold insurance, collected rents on behalf of landlords who held property in black neighborhoods, and built extensive rental housing of his own. His largest development occupied nearly a full block bounded by Bern, Cypress, West and Main streets; known as "Smithtown," it burned in the 1920s, but Smith Street still marks its site today. In 1898, the businessman turned his attention to politics, winning election to the North Carolina State House of Representatives.⁵⁷ When Isaac Smith died in 1915, his will showed him owning well over \$100,000 in property, a fantastic sum for that day.⁵⁸ His son Isaac Smith, Jr. -- who married the daughter of North Carolina Central University founder James E. Shepard -- would eventually carry on the family real estate business.

The growing economic prosperity among New Bern African Americans during the decades after the Civil War brought a busy social scene. A Newbern Clipper Club Quartette was reported as entertaining at the theater in 1877, a Mount Olive Glee and Chorus Club was organized in 1879, and Samuel R. Richardson got together his ten-piece New Berne Star Band in 1881.⁵⁹ Three Masonic groups, plus lodges of half a dozen other organizations including the Good Samaritans and the Odd Fellows, provided fraternal fellowship. The most important club was King Solomon Lodge #1, the first black Masonic organization in post Civil War North Carolina when it was chartered in 1866.⁶⁰ Two units of volunteer fire-fighters, the Reliance Company and the Mechanics Hook and Ladder Company, met regularly to hone their skills.⁶¹ A pair of volunteer militia units, the New Bern Guards and the Rifle Cadets, drilled dutifully.⁶² Group railroad excursions to neighboring cities became a favorite pastime during the 1880s and 1890s, and visitors periodically returned the favor, arriving in New Bern for a weekend of fellowship and festivity.⁶³ Perhaps the community highlight of the year came each January first when black citizens spilled into the streets for an Emancipation Day celebration, with a parade led by local brass bands.⁶⁴

Black New Bern's era of opportunity had ripple effects far beyond the city's borders. Enterprising, well-educated African Americans from the town found opportunities for leadership across North Carolina. New Bern "money broker" Isaac Smith helped finance the black-run textile mill of the Coleman Manufacturing Company at Concord, North Carolina, one of the most celebrated African American enterprises in the South during the 1890s.⁶⁵ New Bern's King Solomon Masonic organization functioned as the "mother lodge" for North Carolina, helping create numerous other black Masonic groups across the state.⁶⁶ A. M. E. Zion church members were particularly influential. Sarah Dudley Pettey, daughter of New Bern politician Edward Dudley, moved to Charlotte as the wife of an A. M. E. Zion bishop; there she wrote a long-running column for the Star of Zion newspaper, now regarded by historians as one of the South's eloquent voices for the concerns of black women during the New South era.⁶⁷ Reverend J. W. Hood, after his success founding St. Peter's in New Bern, went on plant A. M. E. Zion churches at Beaufort, Wilmington, Fayetteville and Charlotte, and helped found Livingstone College in Salisbury; the denomination's historian later called Hood the individual "mainly responsible for . . . the spread of the denomination throughout the state from sea to mountain."⁶⁸

The Disfranchisement Movement, 1897 - 1900

African American prospects looked bright in the mid 1890s. Across North Carolina, a small but growing number of black citizens were attaining educations and incomes that put them on a par with middle-income whites. Politics seemed to be opening up, too. In the 1890s many of the state's farmers and some of its white factory workers came together in a new Populist Party, which challenged the long-standing tradition of Democratic control. Populists were disgruntled at high interest rates and at the growing power of merchants in the piedmont's railroad centers. In the 1892 election for governor, a Populist candidate ran a strong third behind the Democrats and Republicans, and several Populists won election to the state legislature. Buoyed by this success, the Populists joined forces with the established Republicans -- whose supporters included most of the state's blacks as well as numbers of whites -- to field "Fusion" tickets in 1894 and 1896. The Fusion platform called for improved public education, a usury law capping interest rates, increased state regulation of railroads, and the introduction of color-coded ballots that would make it easier for illiterate citizens (one-third of this agricultural state) to vote. The proposals found overwhelming favor among ordinary North Carolinians. By 1896

Fusionists held an astounding two-thirds of the seats in the state legislature, presided over by Republican governor Daniel Russell.⁶⁹

Democratic leaders lashed back in anger. Many were wealthy land owners and industrialists long accustomed to rule. Head of the Democratic Party was Furnifold M. Simmons, a New Bern lawyer who had grown up on his family's thousand acre plantation in neighboring Jones County. Simmons knew that it would take a powerful issue to break the economic alliance between the Populists and Republicans. In a series of meetings, Simmons worked with former Democratic governor Elias Carr and other leaders to forge a strategy, announced in August of 1897. Headlined state Democratic newspapers: "The Next Campaign Issue: The Ex-Governor Says That White Supremacy is the Issue."⁷⁰

Over the ensuing months, Democratic newspapers under the leadership of the News and Observer of Raleigh conducted a fiery "White Supremacy Campaign" aimed at igniting racial fears among white Populists and Republicans. News stories and cartoons charged that Fusion was bringing "negro domination" in the state. In actuality, African Americans had won statewide office in minute numbers in North Carolina; only five legislators out of the 170 in Raleigh were black.⁷¹ Many stories instead focused on the few communities in the eastern part of the state where the large African American population had resulted in a sizable black political presence. New Bern, in particular, became a favorite whipping post, with headlines as far away as Charlotte screaming the horrors of "Black Men Running Mad" in the Neuse River city. New Bern's most successful African Americans were singled out for special attack, notably businessman Isaac Smith, who the Raleigh paper dubbed "the big black mogul of Craven Republicanism."⁷² Typical among the News and Observer articles was one headlined "Negroes on Top: In Craven County the White Men Are Not In It:"

99 juries out of 100 sitting in court in Craven County are composed of as many negroes as white men. . . . One of the county commissioners is a negro man One member of the county board of education is a negro. There are thirteen negro school committeemen. . . . In the city council there are three negroes.⁷³

On the face of it, citing such figures as evidence of Fusionist "Negro domination" was laughable. For one thing, blacks had held such positions regularly for over two decades in New Bern without incident. For another, these numbers felt far short of "domination." The single black county commissioner was a lonely figure in a three-man body, the three

black aldermen a distinct minority of an eleven-person board -- an inequality compounded by the fact that blacks outnumbered whites two to one in the general population of New Bern. The News and Observer itself admitted that "the negroes are not in the majority on the school committee," though the paper still asserted "their votes elect." Even the equal number of blacks and whites on juries was hard to construe as "Negroes on Top," since African Americans' larger population should have resulted in more black jurors.

Nonetheless, the drum-beat of stories had its effect. In 1898 the white supremacy campaign cracked the statewide Populist - Republican alliance just enough so that Democrats regained the majority in the state legislature. Once in office, party members turned their attention to producing -- in the candid words of one legislator -- "a good square honest law that will always give a good Democratic majority."⁷⁴ The result was the Disfranchisement Amendment to the North Carolina State Constitution, one of several such state laws passed across the South in the period. Carefully worded clauses required blacks to pass a stiff literacy test and pay a poll tax, while exempting whites. In August of 1900 Democrats cheered as Disfranchisement became law.⁷⁵

In New Bern, the Democratic forces were not content with mere Disfranchisement. Unwilling to even allow sitting Republicans to serve out their terms, Democrats had the state legislature dissolve the existing city charter, throwing all elected officials out of office. The action created an extremely awkward legal situation, since it left the community without any government until a new charter could be drawn up. To cover, the legislature appointed five temporary Trustees to take charge of all municipal property, warning that anyone resisting the take-over would face a \$1000 fine and a year in prison. When government finally convened under the new charter, all Fusionists were gone. "The election was strictly a white one and Democratic," chortled the Journal, urging all citizens to accept the "merits of a strictly Democratic municipality."⁷⁶ New Bern would remain a one-party fiefdom, in which the majority of the population had virtually no say in government, until the Civil Rights era of the 1960s.

African Americans bitterly opposed Disfranchisement, but with little effect. Among the leading opponents was George H. White, United States Congressman from New Bern. Born into slavery in 1852, White had attended North Carolina's first public schools open to black children, had gone on to earn a degree from Washington, D. C.'s Howard University in 1877, and had returned to New Bern to work as a teacher and

lawyer. He won election to the United States House of Representatives 1897 - 1901. In Washington, he spoke out eloquently against the rising "white supremacy" fever, and on his trips back South he resisted the new laws separating blacks and whites on passenger trains. The Congressman "showed his customary preference for white folks society, getting in the white side of the train, and remaining there until requested by the conductor to take his place in the Jim Crow section," sneered the New Bern Journal after one such instance in the summer of 1900. "There were a number of white men on the train who offered to assist the conductor in case the negro Congressman preferred walking to taking his proper place."⁷⁷ Passage of the Disfranchisement Amendment, however, made such resistance seem futile to White. He sold his house on Johnson Street and abandoned New Bern for Philadelphia -- the beginning of an exodus of talented African Americans from the South over the next half century. "I cannot," George White despaired, "live in North Carolina and be a man and be treated as a man."⁷⁸

African Americans lost more than political rights in 1900. The white supremacy campaign unleashed a wave of social and economic repression. Segregation now hardened, as "Jim Crow" laws and regulations set strict boundaries between blacks and whites, restricting where African Americans could buy houses, stroll in the park, or sit on the trolley car. Worst were new limits to black economic opportunity. Some were subtle. In the 1890s city directories had shown black businesses mingling freely with white ones along Middle Street and Craven Street in the heart of downtown New Bern. By the late 1910s, only a single black lawyer remained downtown. Other economic discrimination was more overt. For decades the Atlantic & North Carolina Railroad had been among New Bern's largest employers of black ironsmiths, firemen, machinery operators and other skilled men. In 1900, at white insistence, railroad president James A. Bryan fired black workers at the New Bern roundhouse and repair yards, replacing them with whites.⁷⁹ New Bern's African American "era of opportunity" was over.

Jim Crow and Black Community, 1900s - 1950s

Despite political defeat and economic harassment, African Americans lost little of their energy and resolve. With opportunities blocked after 1900 for political activity in the wider community, energies now turned inward within the black community. Ministers and teachers, doctors and dentists, funeral directors and shopkeepers, fulfilled important

functions for their African American neighbors. Most black citizens continued to find work only as domestics and laborers, still a mainstay of New Bern's economy. During the Jim Crow decades from the 1900s through the 1950s, black neighborhoods faced both challenges and possibilities as African Americans sought to make them lively places.

The early years of the Jim Crow era were, coincidentally, a bustling time for New Bern in general. The lumber boom that had begun in the late nineteenth century reached a crest during the 1910s. Lumber mills crowded the waterfront, and ostentatious Colonial Revival style mansions of "timber barons" graced East Front Street and nearby residential avenues. Population increased swiftly, and the city now more firmly divided into commercial, residential and industrial districts. Some blue-collar and middle-income whites began building houses in Riverside, a residential district platted along East Front Street extension in 1894. Other slightly more prosperous whites began moving out to bungalows in the new suburb of Ghent, platted in 1906 -- a tendency aided by the introduction of streetcar service in New Bern in 1912.⁸⁰ In black neighborhoods, the general good fortune meant that there was money for modest new houses and stores during these early decades of the twentieth century.

After the peak years, lumbering declined in the 1920s and New Bern settled into a steady but slow economic growth. Compared to the booming "New South" cities of the North Carolina piedmont, old coastal New Bern was now a decidedly small town. The local economy diversified, with an increasing reliance on "truck farming" of vegetables and fruits, and some merchants began looking to tap the stream of automobiles that coursed along Broad Street -- US Highway 17.⁸¹ Growth picked up briefly during the 1940s, when the federal government opened Cherry Point and other World War II military bases in the New Bern vicinity and newcomers flocked to the city looking for work.⁸² In the 1950s, though, things settled back into a pattern of slow change.

One challenge that African Americans confronted came just before Christmas in 1922. Early in the morning of December 1, fire broke out in the huge Rowland Lumber Company mill in the Riverside district along the Neuse River north of downtown. As firemen battled the blaze -- to no avail -- another conflagration erupted amidst black residences somewhere near Bern Street. Flames roared through the wooden houses, and officials ultimately used dynamite to blast a fire-break just south of Queen Street. When the embers cooled, some forty blocks of the predominantly black residential areas lying north

of Queen Street, extending westward from Bern Street to the Atlantic and North Carolina Railroad tracks, lay in ruins. Estimated to have caused well over one million dollars in property damage, the Great Fire left some 3,000 people without homes.⁸³

With help from the Red Cross, a veritable "tent city" rose at George Street, holding not only residents but businesses for several months as New Bern's black community rebuilt. Fine new houses went up on some streets, particularly West and Bern close by West Street School. But other blocks were slow to recover. A park eventually occupied much of the land facing George Street. Near the railroad, along Pasteur Street and Jerkins Alley (now North Cool Street) -- highly popular black residence streets back in the days when the railroad hired African Americans -- some land laid waste by the fire would remain vacant into the 1990s.

Another challenge, less dramatic but no less debilitating, was the departure of numbers of the city's ambitious black citizens. When doors of opportunity slammed shut with Disfranchisement, New Bern's black population underwent a sharp demographic transition. Ever since the town's earliest days, African American population figures had risen steadily with each census. That rise stopped abruptly after 1900. The 1910 census showed an actual decrease. The figures rebounded somewhat in the next decade as the lumber boom provided abundant jobs for blacks as well as whites. But after that, totals for blacks held steady or grew at markedly slower rates than for whites.

"People went North," confirms New Bern resident Mrs. Annie Day Smith Donaldson. "Most of the people in this area [who left] went to New York. And they got better jobs, [even] as domestic workers, up there than they did here. In fact they still have a New Bernian Ball once a year, usually around the Fourth of July, and all the crowd comes down to have a good time. They rotate. One year they'll go north to New York, and the next year they're down here. Anyone you want to see, you'll see."⁸⁴

While some people departed, many others remained in New Bern, striving to keep African American enterprises and institutions active. The Rhone family operated New Bern's only hotel for black guests from the 1920s through the 1950s, in a sturdy brick building on Queen Street. Isaac Smith, Jr., carried on his father's real estate business (later turned over to the Dillahunt family). Two black dentists opened offices: Dr. Alberta S. Burton beginning about 1915, and Dr. Alexander Daves who arrived in 1928.⁸⁵ Otis E.

Evans operated a club on Bern Street where black organizations could hold dinner meetings, the counterpart of the all-white country club. Black Civil War veterans gathered at the Grand Army of the Republic Hall on Carmer Street, just off Broad Street -- a rare outpost of this Union veterans' organization in the South.⁸⁶ Shut out by the white Chamber of Commerce, black entrepreneurs maintained their own Negro Business League. The 1926 city directory showed its officers as pharmacist Henry P. Kennedy, funeral directors Hugh L. Whitley and Simeon Hatch, real estate men Lewis C. Starkey and Isaac Smith, Jr., and grocer George A. Moore.⁸⁷

The busiest spot for African American shoppers was Five Points, at the intersection of Broad and Queen streets. Originally Five Points seems to have been a commercial area serving white and black farmers who came in from the countryside.⁸⁸ After 1900 it became a center for African American businesses displaced from Middle Street. By the 1940s more than three dozen enterprises made Five Points a thriving "second downtown" for New Bern. Recalls one black resident, "It was the center, the bustling part of town, where it would not be unusual to see a large crowd of people standing on corners and walking back and forth" throughout the shopping day.⁸⁹ The national A&P grocery chain and Ben Franklin dime store chain had stores there, as did the regional Palace movie theater chain. Most Five Points shops were black-owned -- among them by the late 1940s were Hill's Five Points Drug Store, the Midway Soda Shop, Dowdy's Cafe, Charles Henderson's blacksmith shop, the West End Barber Shop, and Bishop Rivers' Funeral Home, all on Broad Street; NC Mutual Life Insurance, Barkers Sea Food & Produce, Vail's Alberta Beauty Shoppe, barber Matthew Banks, and Peter J. Kenan's shoe repair shop nearby on Queen Street.⁹⁰

New institutional buildings joined the city's black businesses during these years. Good Shepherd Hospital opened in 1938 at 603 West Street under the auspices of the Episcopal Church, aided by a grant from the Duke Endowment that capped fifteen years of fund-raising by local minister Robert I. Johnson.

Rev. R. I. Johnson was rector of St. Cyprian's during [the 1922 fire]. As a result of his many hours visiting and attending disaster victims, Rev. Johnson fully realized what a hospital would mean to his people. For more than a decade he worked with church leaders and local citizens to make the hospital -- his dream -- a reality.⁹¹

The handsome one-story brick building, erected on land willed to the Diocese "by the Rev. Mr. Forbes," was the "only such institution for Negro patients in an eighty-mile radius," New Bern's black newspaper The Memo later recalled.

Rev. Johnson also played a role in the creation of the New Bern Colored Library. Johnson served as president of a citizens group that won a small grant in 1936 from the Works Progress Administration (WPA) of the New Deal to buy library books. The collection was first housed within West Street (later Danysus) School. Mrs. Isaac H. Smith took over as president in 1937 and helped the library raise \$8000 for its own building at 608 West Street, dedicated and opened June 30, 1947. A "cement walk and improvements on the grounds were provided by vocational students at West School. Donations of books and money came from as far away as Michigan."⁹² The organization's third president was Mrs. Smith's sister, Charlotte S. Rhone, who also was one of Craven County's first social workers. Eventually the modest concrete block building on West Street would become the hub of a system with nine satellites around the county (The facility ceased operation as a library 1973, and is now the Charlotte S. Rhone Cultural Center).⁹³

The WPA grant that helped start the New Bern Colored Library was one of several New Deal programs that aided the city's black neighborhoods. In the early 1930s the city used Emergency Relief and Civil Works Administration dollars to extend sewer lines in previously unserved black areas. A few years later the New Deal's United States Housing Authority made available the first federal aid for public housing. In New Bern, Trent Court for whites opened in 1940 and Craven Terrace for blacks followed in 1941. The two-story brick buildings, decorated with sculptural panels portraying children at play, were designed by white architects A. Mitchell Wooten and John J. Rowland. The complexes were enlarged in 1951 and 1952 to a total of 218 units at Trent Court and 361 at Craven Terrace.⁹⁴

While the New Deal benefited New Bern African Americans, examination of New Deal records suggests that white local administrators used their power to allocate more of the newly available federal aid to whites than to blacks. Under the Emergency Relief and Civil Works administrations, a single "sewing room for white women in New Bern" received more money than all projects targeted specifically toward blacks, according to an official 1935 accounting. The same tendency could be seen in direct aid to the indigent

under those two programs. Despite the fact that nearly half of Craven County residents were African American, only 36.6% of relief cases were black.⁹⁵

The Depression's tough times marked a statistical turning point for New Bern's African American community. For the first time in the city's history, black people lost their status as the majority group in the town. White population growth had been outpacing black since 1900. In 1930 the city had 6,277 black residents and 5,703 whites; by 1940 the black number had fallen to 5,839 while whites increased to 5,976. Nearly seven percent of the African American community had departed in that single ten-year period, many moving north to seek work in New York and other metropolitan centers. The 1940 census showed whites outnumbering blacks 51% to 49% in New Bern. The black percentage would continue to slide through the 1950s and 1960s.

Urban Redevelopment and Civil Rights, 1950s - 1990s

In recent decades, like many small American cities New Bern has struggled to avoid stagnation. Leaders have searched for ways to keep their city viable in a changing economy. In New Bern tourism has emerged as a major industry since World War II. Thanks largely to the tireless labor of local historian Gertrude Carraway, civic leaders moved to capitalize on their town's Colonial and Antebellum heritage. During the 1950s the elegant palace of Royal Governor William Tryon, which had burned shortly after the Revolution, was recreated on its original site at the foot of George Street, opening to tourists in 1959.⁹⁶ In 1973 the core of the city was listed as a Historic District on the National Register of Historic Places.⁹⁷ Though the District omitted much of New Bern's present African American area, it did include Johnson Street with its important homes of the Isaac H. Smith family, John R. Green, and George H. White.

The awakening interest in history often found itself at odds with other economic development schemes. In the 1950s, federal highway aid underwrote the widening of Broad Street (US 17). Trees that had once shaded white residences close to downtown were cut down; affluent whites now increasingly abandoned existing neighborhoods and instead drove out Broad Street to new suburbs such as Trent Woods and to the shopping plazas that blossomed west of town.⁹⁸ Blacks felt the widening more powerfully. The four-lane highway caused much destruction in the Five Points business district, once lined

with black-owned stores and restaurants. Numerous African Americans lost thriving enterprises. While the area would remain New Bern's main black business district until the era of integration, Five Points never regained its lost momentum.⁹⁹

Two subsequent redevelopment projects had similarly mixed results for African American history. In 1969 the City of New Bern secured a \$2.3 million federal Urban Renewal grant to demolish the city's historic Central Waterfront. Over a five year period twenty-eight acres of buildings between South Front Street and the Trent River -- an area rich in economic heritage for both whites and blacks -- fell to the wrecking ball. Vague plans assumed that developers would snap up the land, "possibly fostering the environment of an English business district to complement historic Tryon Palace."¹⁰⁰ Once cleared, though, the tract sat vacant for nearly two decades. As the clearance phase was completed in Central Waterfront, the city won a second federal grant, this time from the Community Development Block Grant program, to clear the residential waterfront in the black Long Wharf area. Bulldozers flattened a fifteen-acre tract on the south side of New South Front Street, extending from Trent Court to First Street.¹⁰¹ New Bern Towers, an 106-unit eight-story apartment tower for the elderly and handicapped, opened on part of site in 1980. The rest, though, remained vacant and overgrown fourteen years later.¹⁰²

For New Bern's African American population, a more gratifying story could be found in the progress of the Civil Rights Movement in the period. Lee Morgan, who arrived in the city in 1962 after a stint as a Washington, DC, school teacher, recalls feeling that a lot of progress needed to be made. "I could not have my son attend the school that was nearest to us. He had to go to the all-black school . . . even though we had just come from where I had been a teacher in 1954 when the schools were integrated" in compliance with the Supreme Court's landmark *Brown v Board of Education* decision. "I said, 'Lord what have I gotten into!'"¹⁰³ New Bern schools finally were desegregated in 1965, an action that kicked off years of tensions climaxing in an April 1968 riot in which twenty-two businesses were damaged and the National Guard was called out.¹⁰⁴

Ultimately, though, local white and black leaders joined hands to open doors that had been closed since the Disfranchisement period. "The Civil Rights Act of 1964 really was the change that began to cause things to happen," Morgan says. "Prior to that I remember going to the Holiday Inn. There was a sign outside that said 'Welcome Teachers' -- the all-white association of teachers was meeting there So I went in, and

the lady said, 'I'm sorry, I can't serve you,' and of course I left But when the Civil Rights Bill was enacted, that same hostess was working at the Holiday Inn . . . and eventually we went in to eat."¹⁰⁵

Following the 1964 Civil Rights Act came the 1965 Voting Rights Act, which guaranteed black Americans equal access to the ballot box. In 1971, Lee Morgan won election to New Bern City Council. For the first time since Disfranchisement, African Americans in New Bern had a formal voice in the city's government. In 1977, white and black citizens voted together to elect Lee Morgan mayor of the city. Once in office, Morgan proved so popular that he was re-elected in 1979, and elected again in 1989.¹⁰⁶

Population in New Bern grew impressively during the 1970s and especially the 1980s. And for the first time since the turn of the century, the black percentage of New Bern's population increased slightly relative to the white percentage: African Americans advanced from 38% in 1970 to 43% by 1990. The increase was small in real terms, but powerful in what it symbolized for New Bern's African American history. For three-quarters of a century African Americans had often felt compelled to leave their hometown and journey North to find opportunity. Now, with the successes of the Civil Rights movement, that had finally begun to change.

New Bern Neighborhoods and Buildings: Maps.

Map 1: Long Wharf and Greater Duffyfield Study Areas, 1993

Map 2: Price's "Plan of the Town of New Bern," ca 1834

At the lower right is the earliest section of New Bern. To the left are the streets of Long Wharf. North of Queen Street, in what will become Greater Duffyfield, only Dryborough has been laid out.

(map reproduced from copy in the Kellenberger Room, New Bern library)

Map 3: Shotwell Map of New Bern, 1866

Long Wharf is at left, already largely built up. The beginnings of Greater Duffyfield -- Dryborough and the Pasteur Street area -- are shown north of Queen Street, with some buildings already in existence.

(original map in collection of Duke University archives)

Map 4: "Gray's New Map of New Berne," 1882

Again, Long Wharf streets and buildings may be seen clearly. In the Greater Duffyfield area, Scott Town is now visible north of Elm Street, and dotted lines show the streets that will be developed as Reizensteinville.

(map reproduced from Sandbeck, Historic Architecture)

Map 5: Eagle Map of New Bern, 1913

This map of subdivisions documents the growth of Greater Duffyfield. "B" is Dryborough and "H" is Jerkinstown, both extant before the Civil War. Other areas date from the post-war decades, including Scott Town ("N"), Pavietown ("M"), Reizensteinville ("O"), Duffytown/Mechanicsville ("J"), and West End ("P").

(original map in the North Carolina Collection, UNC Chapel Hill)

PART TWO: NEIGHBORHOODS AND BUILDINGS

An Introduction to New Bern's African American Neighborhoods

The notion of a "black neighborhood" or a "white neighborhood" is a relatively new thing in New Bern's long history. For the century and a half prior to the Civil War, slaves scattered like salt-and-pepper throughout town on the property of their masters. Many free blacks also lived in town, one of the most notable being the prosperous tailor John R. Green whose handsome two-story house still stands on Johnson Street.

The closest thing to a black neighborhood that existed before the Civil War probably would have been found at the outskirts of the city. Several scholars have documented African American clusters at the edges of other Southern towns, made up of some free blacks and also plantation slaves "hired out" by their masters to businessmen in town.¹⁰⁷ "Town taxables lists" for New Bern mention "negro houses" at the city's rim, though less-wealthy whites seem to have lived in these areas as well.¹⁰⁸ More research is needed to document the patterns that existed.

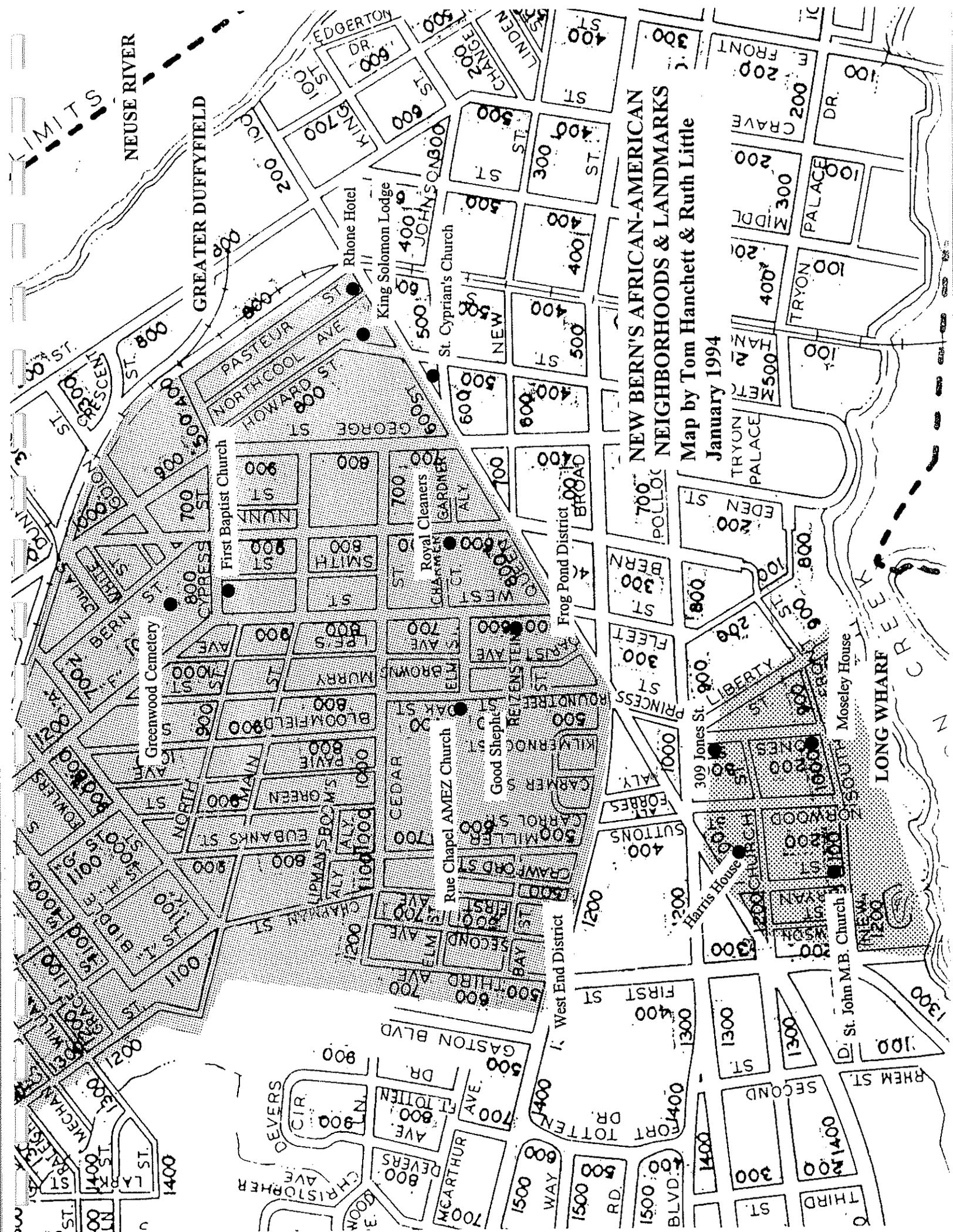
The habit of intermingling persisted for some years after the Civil War, even on such important avenues as Middle Street in the heart of the city. Records of the Freeman's Bureau Bank in the early 1870s included several black depositors living and working on Middle Street. Among them were 26 year old Samuel Jackson who resided with his two children at his blacksmith shop, and 25 year old William Jones who with his wife Rosanna ran a store opposite the City Market.¹⁰⁹ Isaiah P. Hatch, who later wrote a memoir of his youth in black New Bern during the 1870s and 1880s, recalled similarly that John T. Havens, African American "shoe-maker, well-known citizen of New Bern and society man, rented a two-story building on Middle Street. His family lived upstairs and his shoe shop was downstairs . . . where the First Citizens Bank [New Bern Arts Council today] now stands."¹¹⁰ According to the city directory, Havens and his family remained at that location as late as 1893.

Long Wharf and Greater Duffyfield areas, today New Bern's main African American neighborhoods, probably coalesced gradually. Historically, in the era before easy automobile transportation, a city's edge was where housing was roughest and most affordable. Prior to the Civil War both Long Wharf and what is now Greater Duffyfield lay at the rim of New Bern, and had attracted scatterings of black and white settlers. Then, after Emancipation, black people poured into New Bern in large numbers. Many of these newcomers settled in the rim areas where houses were inexpensive. New streets were laid out, and new buildings erected. By the early years of the twentieth century Long Wharf and Greater Duffyfield became identified in New Bern minds as predominantly black districts.

An Introduction to New Bern's African American Architecture

Although few pre-1900 buildings remain in the Long Wharf and Greater Duffyfield neighborhoods, there are block after block of houses, stores, churches and institutional buildings constructed during the first half of the twentieth century that constitute a significant collection of African American buildings. The five basic house types -- the **1 1/2 story cottage**, the **I-House**, the **2-story front-gable house**, the **1-story front-gable house**, and the **1- and 2-story Craftsman and Foursquare style house** -- that predominate in these neighborhoods are all single family houses that functioned as both owner-occupied and rental housing during the historic period. Unlike such North Carolina African American neighborhoods as East Wilson, where street after street of similar shotgun houses and small duplexes stand as a legacy to tenancy and crowded living conditions, New Bern's black neighborhoods are lively mixtures of types of houses and other buildings that were often built by African Americans themselves. Even the rental houses are generally roomy and comfortable.

But New Bern's black population did not always have such livable housing. If we could stroll down such streets as Queen Street, Broad Street or Jerkins Alley (now North Cool Street), for example, in 1911 we would see interspersed among larger, well-built houses the "negro shacks" and "negro tenements" that are shown on Sanborn maps of this period. These were small housing units of one or two rooms crowded close together in



NEW BERN'S AFRICAN-AMERICAN NEIGHBORHOODS & LANDMARKS

Map by Tom Hanchett & Ruth Little
January 1994

NEUSE RIVER
GREATER DUFFYFIELD

LONG WHARF

LIMIT S

MOSELEY HOUSE

COBBERG ST

NOTION ST

BERN ST

FOKLES ST

WILKINSON ST

GEORGE ST

MECHANIC ST

LAKE ST

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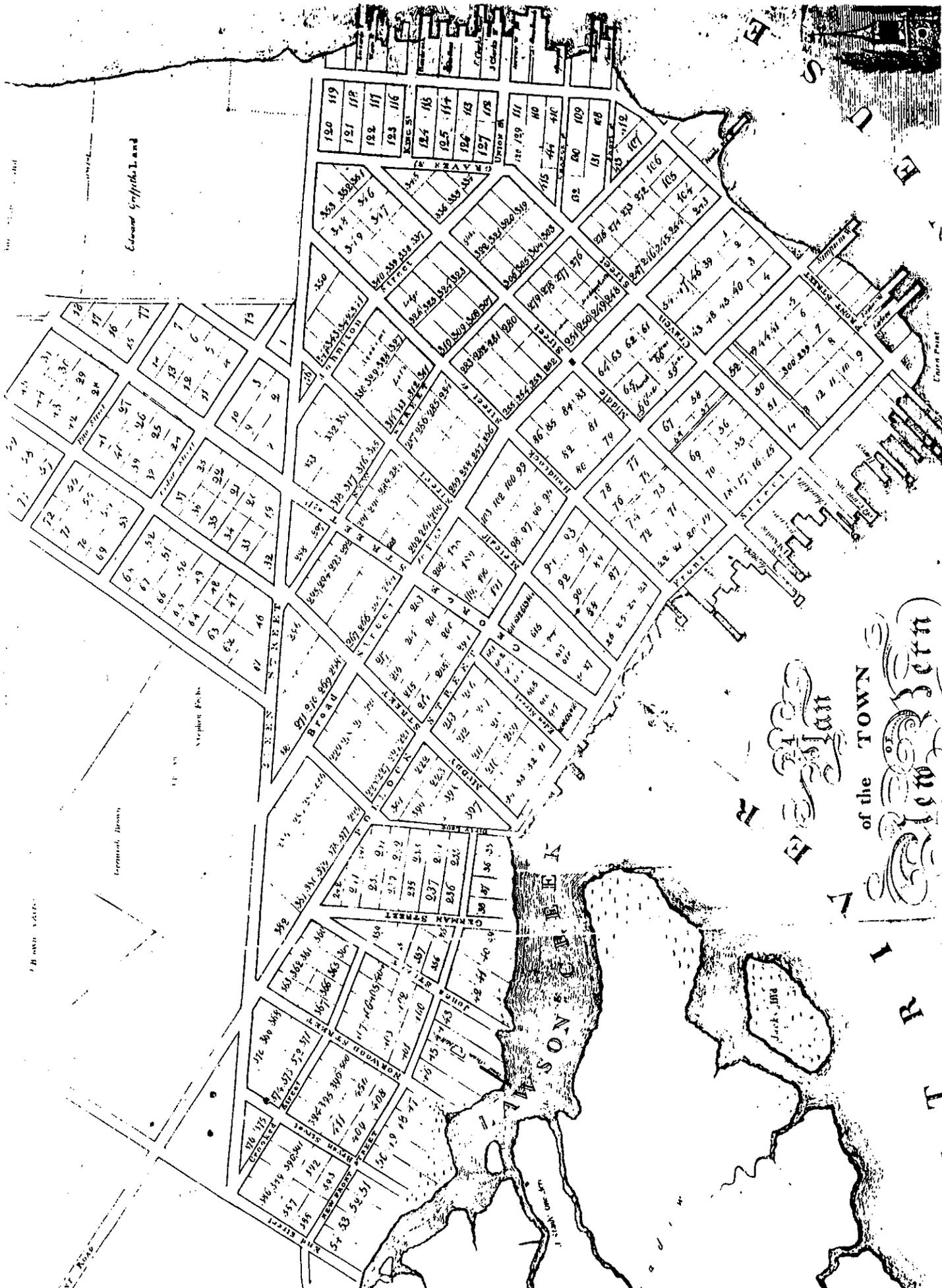
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BROWN STREET

S. S. STREET

MADISON STREET

WILSON STREET

MORNING STAR STREET

HARRISON STREET

KING STREET

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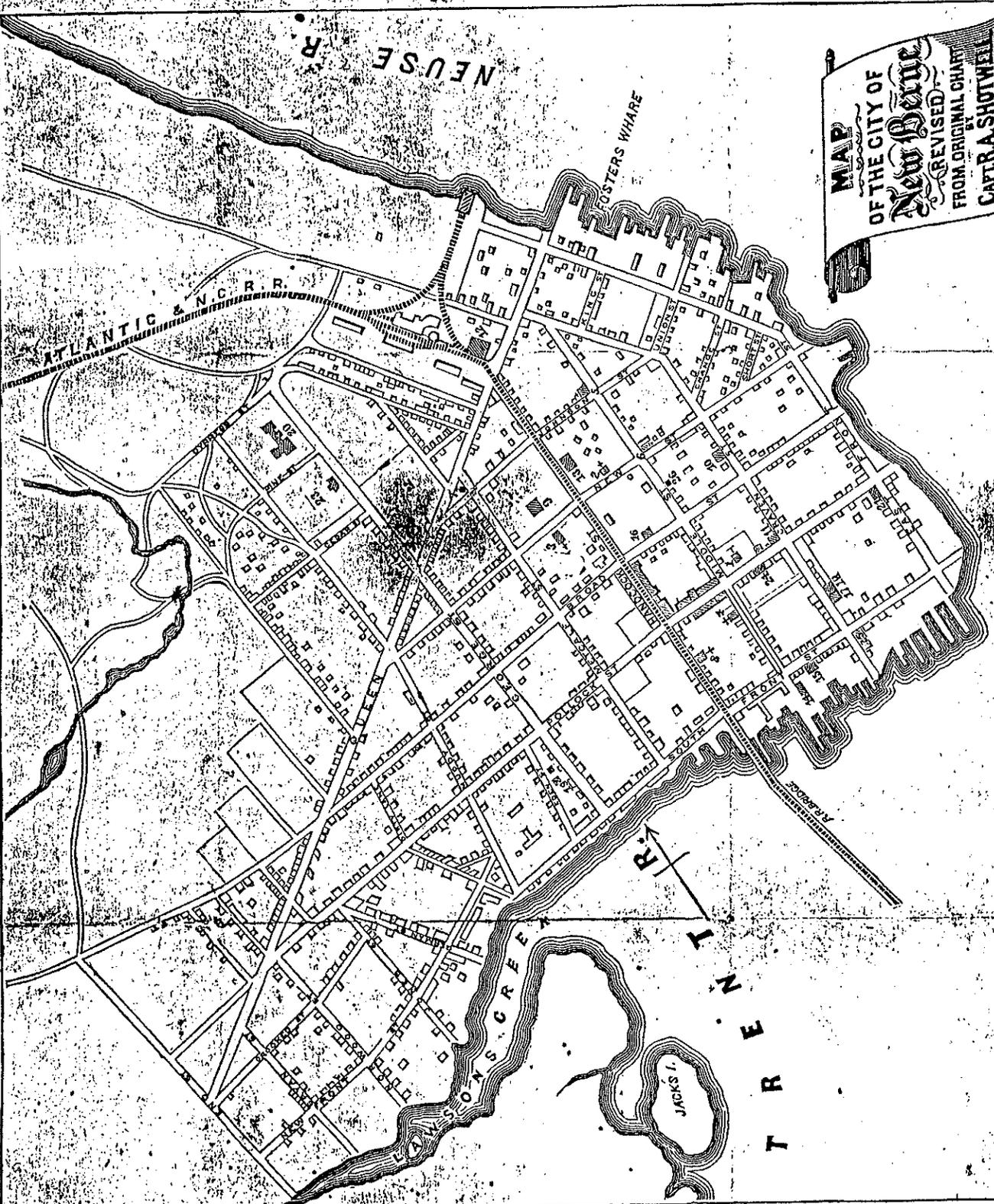
KING STREET

THOMAS STREET

WILSON STREET

MORNING STAR STREET

MAP
 OF THE CITY OF
New Bern
 REVISED
 FROM ORIGINAL CHART
 BY
CAPT. R. SHOTWELL
 NOV. 1866.



Index.

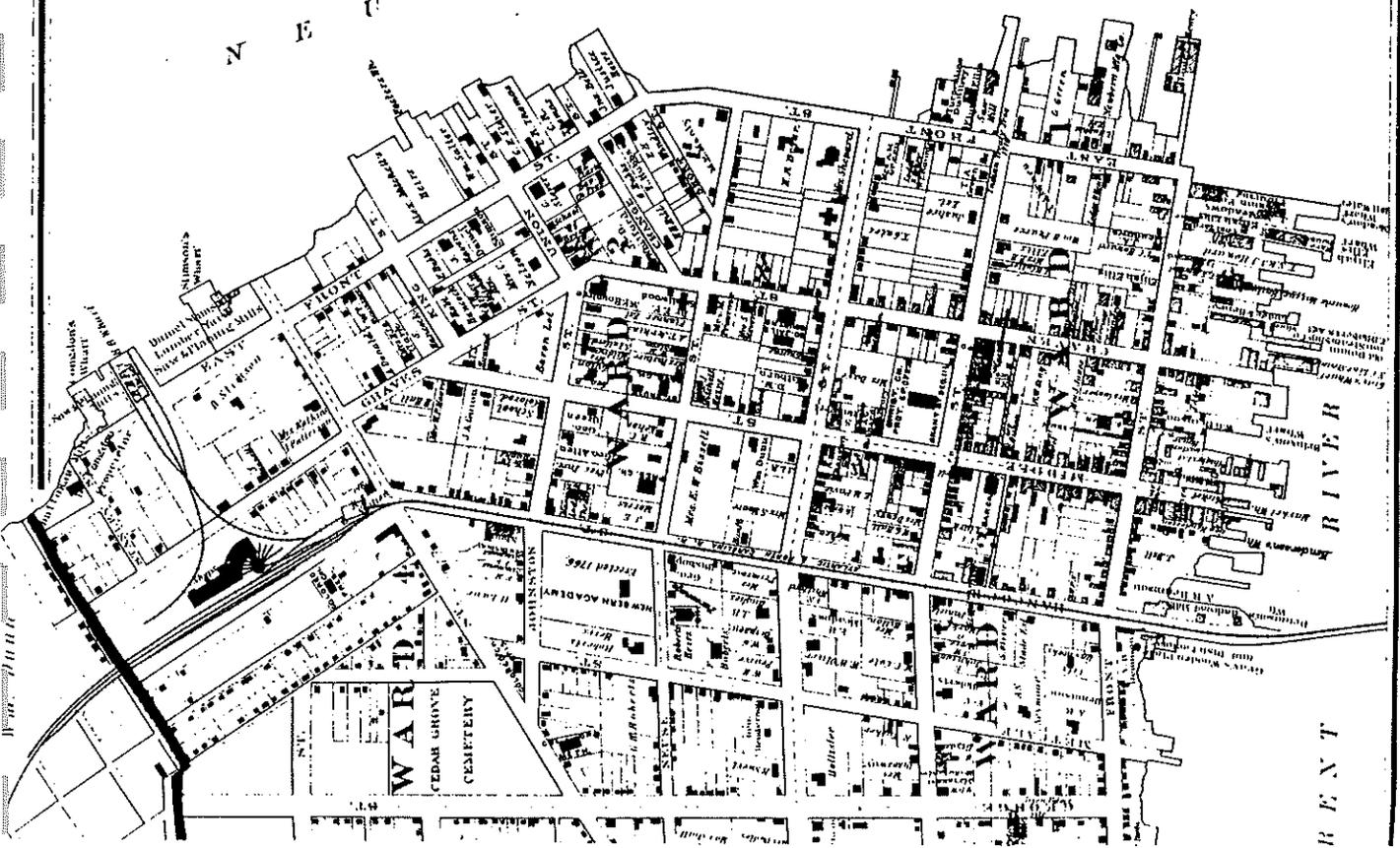
- 1 Episcopal Church
- 2 Presbyterian "
- 3 Methodist "
- 4 Baptist "
- 5 Congl. "
- 6 Catholic "
- 7 St. Cyprian's (col.)
- 8 M. E. (colored)
- 9 Academy
- 10 County Jail
- 11 Post Office
- 12 R. E. Station
- 13 Masonic Hall
- 14 Market
- 15 Gaston House
- 16 Washington Hotel
- 17 Fireman's Hall
- 18 Journal of Commerce office
- 19 Site of Gov. Tryon's Palace
- 20 Orphan Asylum
- 21 Custom House
- 22 Cedar Grove Cemetery
- 23 New Cemetery
- 24 Bank

New Bern, N. C.

Settled by Swiss and German Peasants in 1710.
 Incorporated as a town in 1723.
 Population, - - 200.
 Incorporated as a city in 1865.
 Population, - 5,700



N E U S E R I V E R



GRANT'S NEW MAP OF
NEW BERN
CHAYES COUNTY,
NORTH CAROLINA.

Scale: 330 Feet One Inch.

T R E N T

C R E E K

LAWSON'S

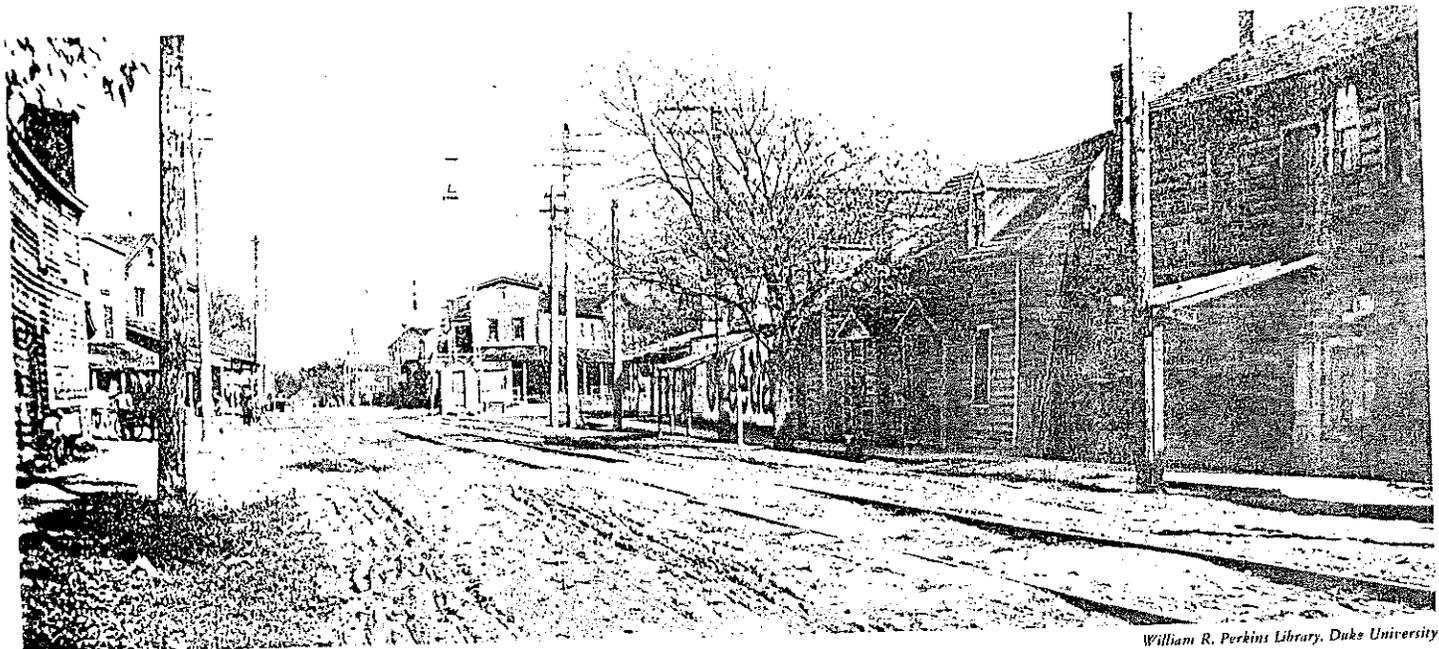
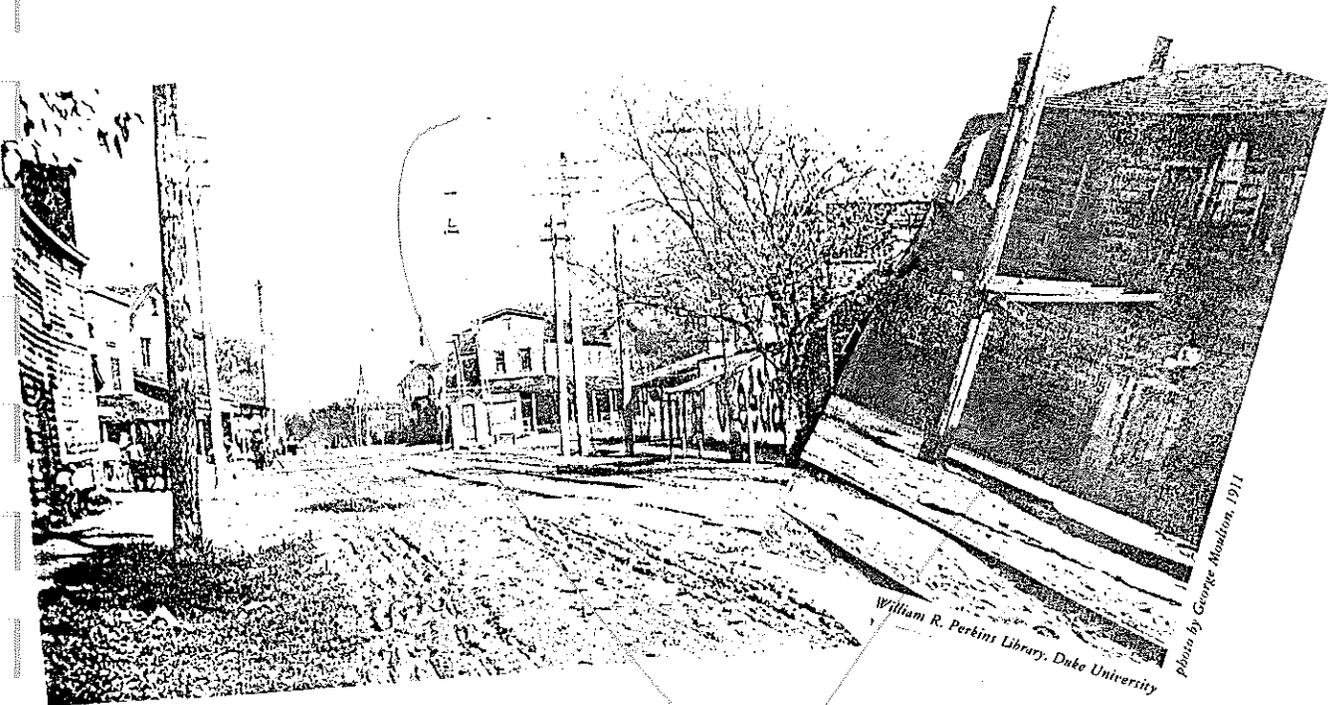


photo by George Moslton, 1911

William R. Perkins Library, Duke University

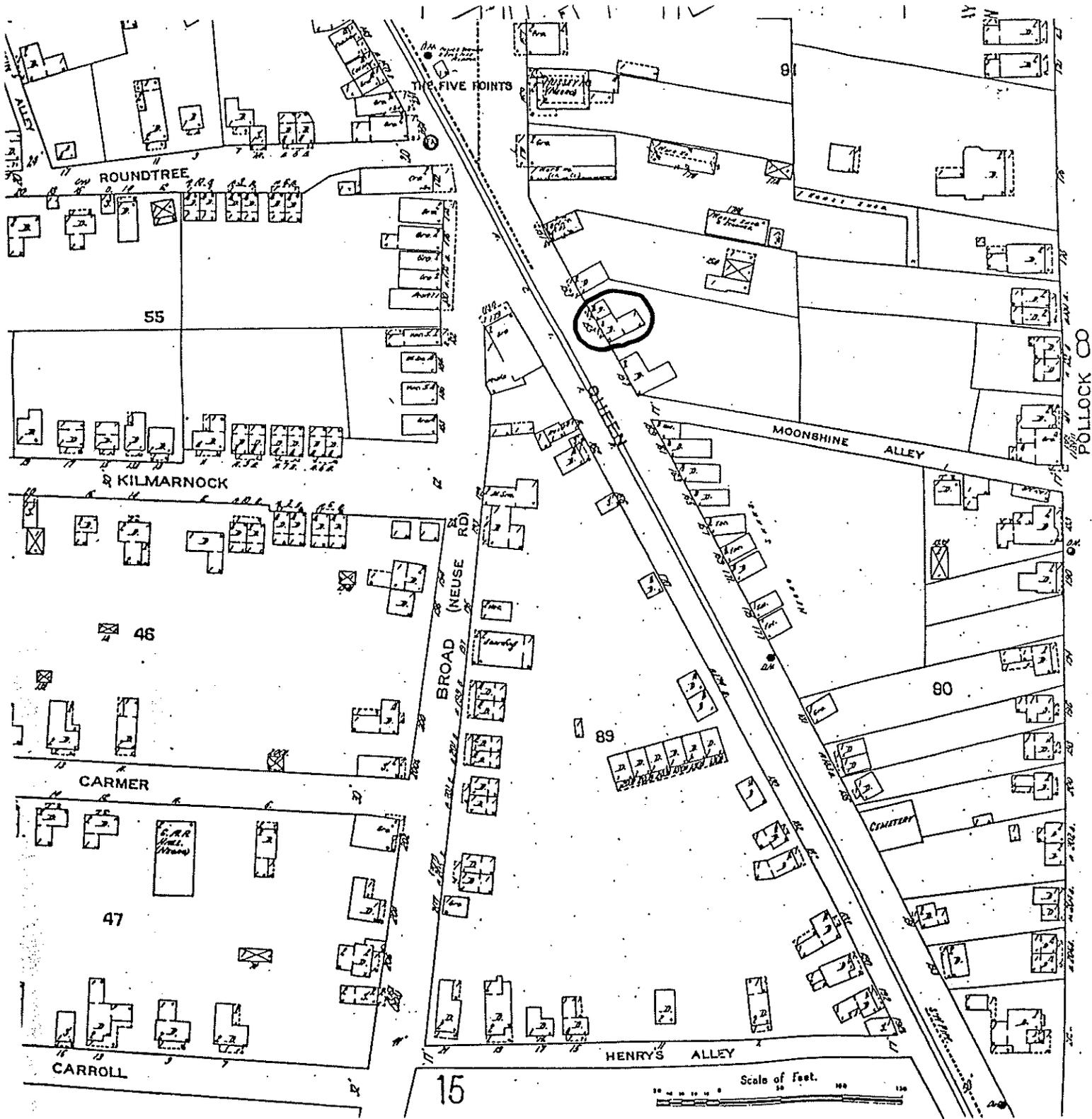
groups of eight to ten. They were probably of substandard construction and represented living conditions no better than slave quarters. (Fig. 1 View of the 1000 block of Queen Street, 1911, from *A New Bern Album*, John B. Green III (New Bern: The Tryon Palace Commission, 1985). This view of Five Points in 1911, looking northeast up the 1000 block of Queen Street, shows ramshackle one and-two story frame houses and stores set on the edge of the dirt street and crowded close together. The second building on the right is a duplex, and its two front doors with little wooden stoops are clearly visible. This type of duplex, 1 1/2 stories high, with a living unit in each side and dormer windows in the attic, stood throughout Long Wharf and Greater Duffyfield until at least 1931, although those in the path of the 1922 fire were destroyed.¹¹¹ The section of the 1913 Sanborn Map



William R. Perkins Library, Duke University

Photo by George Moulton, 1911

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showing this block clearly shows the footprint of this duplex. (Fig. 2: Sheet 14, Sanborn Map of 1913, Duplex is circled) Compared to earlier tenements such duplexes were a considerable improvement, but certainly not as spacious and private as the single-family rental houses that became the norm during the 1920s.

The Sanborn Maps of New Bern began mapping the black neighborhoods in 1898, and show numerous groups of 1 and 1/2 story and 2-story duplexes with side-gable roofs (the ridge of the roof was parallel to the street) such as this one on Queen Street. For example, the 1908 Sanborn map shows a large group of such duplexes on Jerkins Alley, one block west of Pasteur Street. These continued to be built up to the 1922 fire, but many of them burned. These small duplexes may have been built to house the huge influx of blacks who moved into New Bern after the Civil War.

Old accounts of Long Wharf and Greater Duffyfield by African American newcomers confirm the high numbers of substandard dwellings that formerly characterized the neighborhoods. In 1922 Annie Shepard experienced a severe culture shock when she moved from Durham to New Bern to marry Isaac Smith, Jr. and found New Bern's black neighborhoods full of houses that were so dilapidated that they leaned.¹¹² In 1993 Mayor Lee Morgan recalled that when he moved to New Bern in 1962, there were:

a number of dirt streets in Duffyfield, about five miles, roughly, of dirt streets. There were certain "thoroughfares," but once you turned off of those streets it was dirt. Very few brick homes, more wood-type homes, and a number of vacant lots.¹¹³

The present streetscape bears little resemblance to the early twentieth century appearance of these neighborhoods, because the shacks, tenements, dependencies, and duplexes are gone. This transformation occurred through a variety of forces, including the Great Fire and various city government programs after World War II. The houses built after the 1922 fire provided a better standard of living even to renters. Almost all of the rental units built after the fire were single-family houses. Long Wharf and Greater Duffyfield today contain orderly rows of single-family houses, little different from those found in New Bern's white working class neighborhoods.

None of the current Long Wharf and Greater Duffyfield house types are unique to these neighborhoods; all are found throughout New Bern in both white and African-American neighborhoods. Many of the present houses are early twentieth century in date, but the smaller housing units that crowded between and behind these houses are gone. Long Wharf and Greater Duffyfield houses represent the same types of dwellings that working class and middle class whites occupied in central New Bern from the mid-nineteenth to the mid-twentieth centuries -- although those in central New Bern tended to be

larger and more finely finished than their counterparts in the African American neighborhoods.

Even at their high point at the turn of the century, New Bern's black neighborhoods contained none of the architectural showplaces found in white areas. The brief era of opportunity following the Civil War allowed a slice of the African American community to attain a modest prosperity, but that advancement put even the most elite blacks merely at par with middle-class whites. The churches, businesses and houses of leading African American families often seem distinctly ordinary to today's eyes. It is important to realize what achievement those snug, unpretentious structures represented.

What is not present at the lower end of the housing spectrum is also revealing. There are very few of the narrow one-story front gable houses, one-room wide, known as "shotgun houses," which are a symbol of black housing in some cities of the Deep South such as New Orleans, and which are found by the hundreds in such eastern North Carolina towns as Wilson. New Bern probably had more of these in the early twentieth century than it does now, but never as many as in cities such as Wilson, where long blocks of virtually identical rental houses line street after street. Instead, there are a great diversity of house forms within each block in Long Wharf and Greater Duffyfield. There are only a few blocks in these areas where long rows of identical rental houses stand, as, for example, the West End neighborhood, built in the 1910s with rows of 2-story front-gable rental houses.

The absence of shotguns, duplexes, and rows of identical houses is a significant indication that these neighborhoods developed not solely as rental areas, but as diverse streets with a mixture of homeowners and tenants. Tenants generally lived one family to a house, and each house was usually large enough so that life was comfortable. There were chances for upward mobility; for example African American businessman Isaac Smith, Jr. -- probably the largest rental property owner in the Greater Duffyfield area -- worked out affordable terms so that some of his tenants were able to buy their houses.¹¹⁴

Typology of Building Types:

The five main house types are the 1 1/2 story cottage, the I-House, the 2-story front gable house, the 1-story front gable house, and the Bungalow/Craftsman style house of 1 or 2-stories:

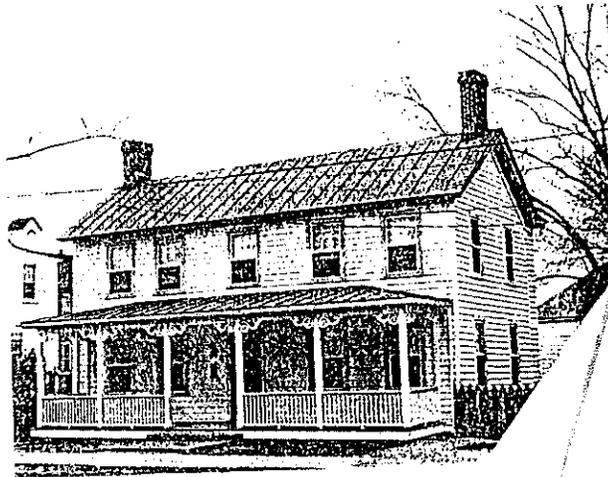
1 1/2 story side-gable house (story and a jump cottage): 19th century

This small, compact house type appears to be the earliest type that survives in New Bern's black neighborhoods. The small side-gable dwelling, often with dormer windows in the attic, was one of the earliest house forms in New Bern, built from the eighteenth century well into the nineteenth century. These hall-parlor plan houses usually had exterior end chimneys, front porches, and rear shed rooms. It is possible that some of these in Long Wharf and Greater Duffyfield are antebellum in date, and may have housed free black families, or may date from the Reconstruction Era and housed freedmen.

I-House (2-story side-gable one room deep house): ca. 1880-ca. 1900

This venerable vernacular house type was built throughout North Carolina from the 18th to the early 20th centuries. It was perhaps the most popular house type for middle-class farmers in Craven County from the 1880s to the 1920s, but was not often built in New Bern because its orientation with the long facade parallel to the street did not fit on most narrow New Bern lots. When built on an urban lot in the Long Wharf and Greater Duffyfield areas, it probably represents an owner-occupied house as it would not have been a cost-effective way to built rental houses.

Most documented I-houses in Long Wharf and Greater Duffyfield were built during the "Era of Opportunity" in the 1880s and 1890s, although some may date from the early



George H. White House
 519 Johnson Street
 late eighteenth century; enlarged ca. 1890

20th century. For example, prominent black lawyer and political leader George H. White rebuilt an earlier house at 519 Johnson Street (**Fig. 3**), in a block of mixed white and black residences, as an I-House about 1890. Although five bays wide rather than the usual three bays wide, the house is otherwise of plain construction like the other examples in Long Wharf and Greater Duffyfield. The presence of I-Houses in these neighborhoods indicates the extent to which successful African Americans were able to buy lots and build comfortable middle-class houses for their families.

A number of African American carpenters and brickmasons worked in New Bern neighborhoods during the early and mid twentieth century. A Mr. Rhem did much carpentry work for the Isaac Smith family during the first decades of the century, including the construction of the Isaac Smith, Jr., residence on Johnson Street. William S. Jordan, "a master brick mason" according to fellow bricklayer Louis Foy, built numerous concrete block structures from the 1940s until his retirement in the 1960s. Two others who are still remembered are James White and a Mr. Coley (Collie?).¹¹⁵

2-story front gable "Straight up-and-down house": ca. 1880-ca. 1930

Although this house type is the most distinctive type in the study area, it is not limited to New Bern's African-American neighborhoods. Sandbeck notes that the traditional two-story front gable form was well suited to the narrow city lots that were subdivided from large lots by New Bern speculators in the late nineteenth and early

twentieth century for the construction of rental and speculative housing. These generally have a side-hall plan, a single interior chimney and a one or two-story rear kitchen ell. The larger examples built in the better sections of New Bern are three bays wide, with full-width late Victorian or classical front porches and pedimented gables. Examples in white neighborhoods stand at 720 Pollock Street, 721 Pollock Street, 723 Pollock Street, 724 Pollock Street, 205 and 207 King Street and 505 New Street, all built as rental properties by white landlords between ca. 1880 and 1900. Plainer, cheaper versions of the type are only two bays wide and may not have a side hall. This form was most widely used for rental housing built from about 1900 to 1930 in the predominantly black neighborhoods, thus the type lasted much longer in black neighborhoods than in white.¹¹⁶ The type was almost invariably built as rental property, but was sometimes later sold to owner-occupants.

A few of these houses were present in the Five Points area in 1898, the first time that the Sanborn Company mapped any black neighborhoods.¹¹⁷ By 1908 a small section of Long Wharf and several sections of Greater Duffyfield between Queen and Cypress, from the railroad tracks west, were mapped for the first time, and the type appears throughout the mapped sections, in Long Wharf and along Queen, Bern, and West streets. The 900 block of Queen Street contains a row of ten 2-story front gables, seven on the north side of street, three on the south side, all with 1-story front porches. *Few/none survive?*

Long-time Greater Duffyfield resident Mrs. Annie Day Donaldson, whose grandfather, Isaac H. Smith, built many of these dwellings as rentals, refers to these houses as "straight up-and-down houses."¹¹⁸ Most of the examples in Long Wharf and Greater Duffyfield are two bays wide yet have a side hall plan. The tall, narrow shape maximizes the narrow lots, and provides a sizable, six to eight room single-family house that was much more comfortable than smaller, multi-family houses. Two sample floor plans for this house type, 601 and 608 First Avenue in the West End subdivision, built between 1911-1924, show that 601 has a side-hall plan, while 608 lacks a hall because the front door opens directly into the living room. (Figs. 4, 5, following pages)

The "straight up-and-down house" has a relatively limited range in North Carolina, being found generally in such coastal cities as Elizabeth City, New Bern, and Wilmington. Examples in Elizabeth City's Shepard Street-South Road Street Historic District, a black neighborhood, were built between ca. 1900 and the 1920s, often as rental property.¹¹⁹

Occasionally the house form appears in cities further inland, such as in Raleigh's Oakwood neighborhood. The type is found in both white and black housing districts.

Fig. 4. 601 First Avenue,
Floorplan

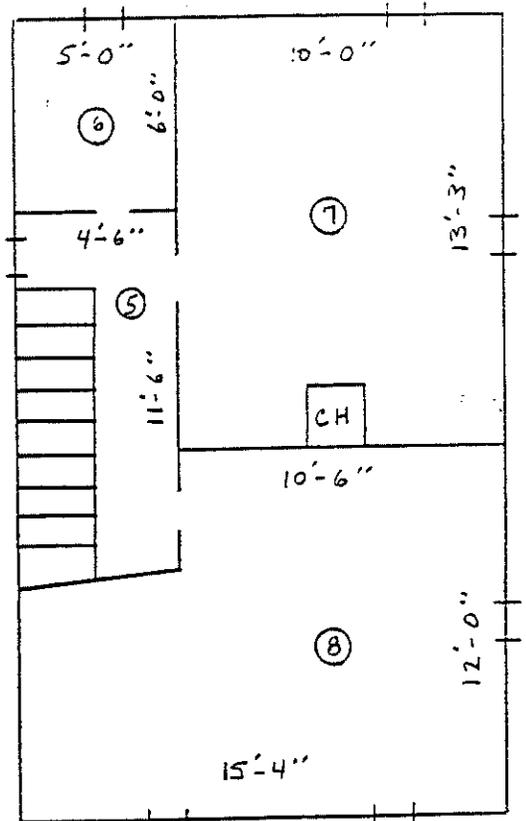
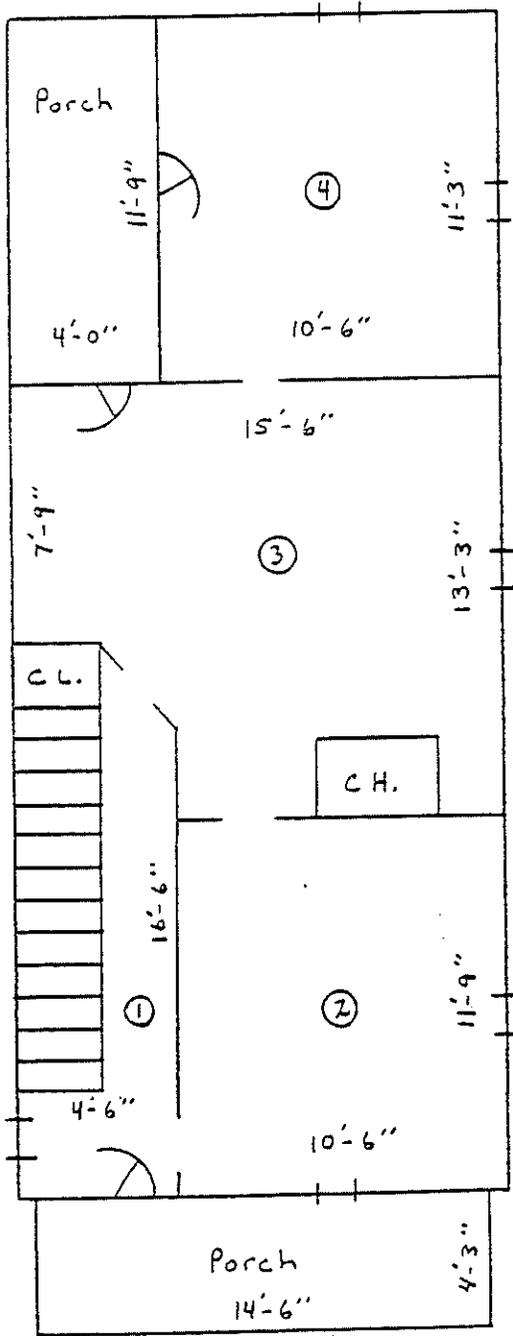
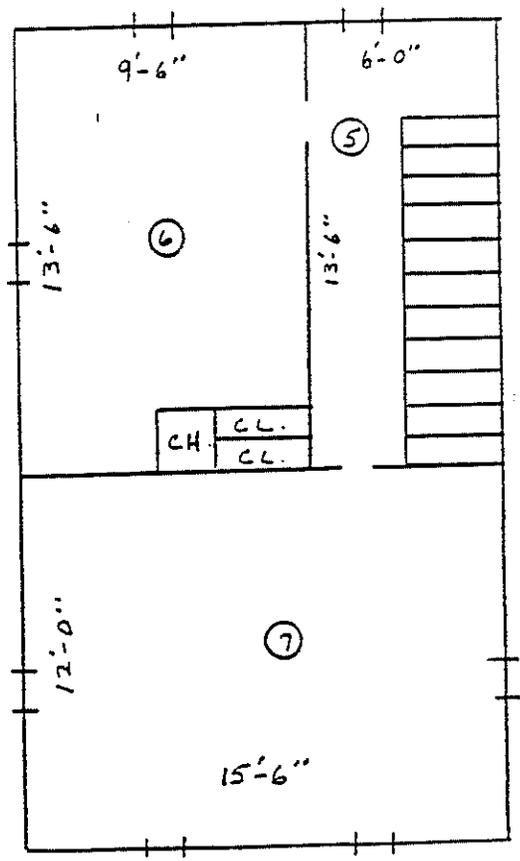
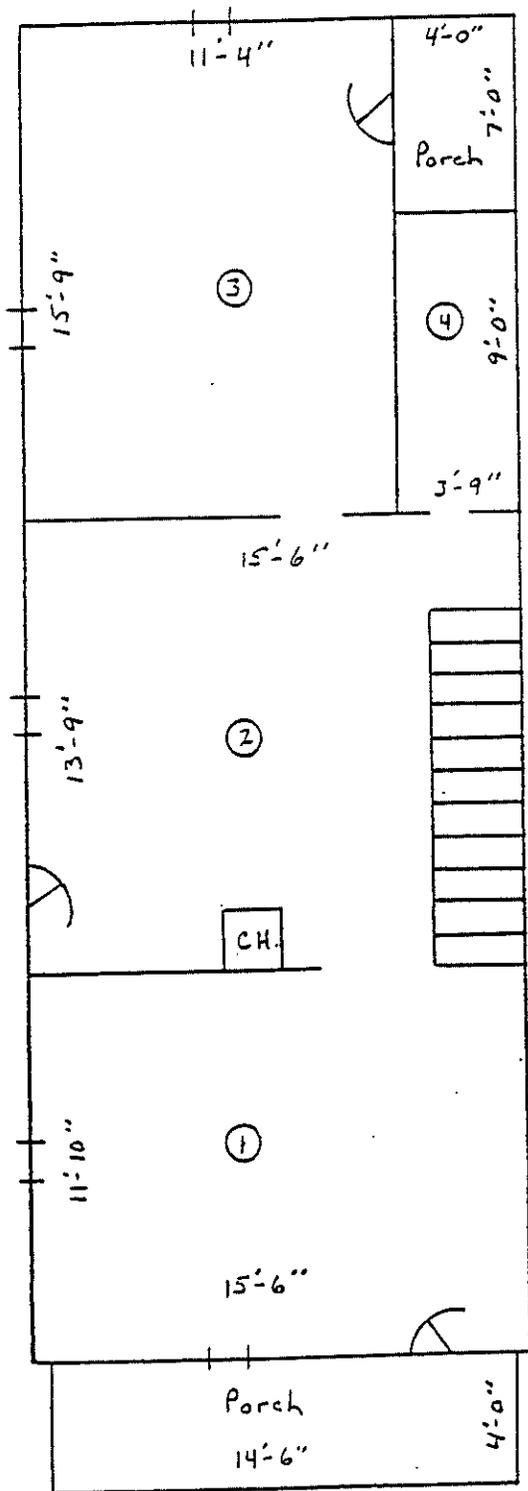


Fig. 5. 608 First Avenue,
Floorplan



1-story front gable (shotgun if no hallway): ca. 1900-ca. 1930

The narrow 1-story front-gable house is a "shotgun" if it has no side hall; otherwise the type will be referred to as a 1-story front gable. The shotgun did not appear in sizable numbers in African American neighborhoods in New Bern until the 1920s. One of New Bern's largest group of shotgun type houses lines the west side of Third Avenue.

A review of early Sanborn Insurance maps indicates that there once were a few more shotguns, mostly located along dirt alleys and in less desirable locations. Care must be taken in reading the maps; on the 1898 Sanborn Map of Five Points, and on the next Sanborn Map of 1904, many of the restaurants and shops appear to have a shotgun form, but most are either 1 1/2 or 2 stories high. There are only a few houses on the 1904 map that may have been true shotguns. On the 1908 Sanborn Map a handful of shotgun houses appear on Driburg Alley (now gone) off Bern Street. There are scattered shotguns on the 1913 Sanborn Map, such as a few on McCarthy's Alley (Sutton's Alley today) off Broad Street. The 1924 map shows the earliest large clusters of shotguns. There are ten shotgun houses facing each other on Moore's Avenue (the street disappeared when Trent Court was developed), near the lumber mill at the corner of South Front & Bern streets in Long Wharf. Perhaps these were built as mill housing. On the same map a row of six shotgun houses appear on Jerkins Alley (now North Cool Street) in Greater Duffyfield. These were brand new, since the 1922 fire destroyed this area. The 1931 Sanborn Map shows that Third Avenue, the last street to develop in the West End subdivision, is almost completely lined with shotguns, although there are some wider 1-story front-gable houses among the shotguns. Much of the Third Avenue construction was by white developer Steve Fowler. The 1931 map shows shotguns on Howard Street facing the side of Cedar Grove Cemetery, in Mechanicsville on Raleigh and Mechanics streets, and in other areas that had developed in the 1920s. Except for those along Third Avenue, nearly all the shotgun houses shown on these Sanborn maps are now gone.

Bungalow/Craftsman 1 and 2-story houses: 1915-1940

From the 1920s to the 1940s middle-class black families built 1-story Bungalows and 2-story Craftsman style houses, often of brick. The 2-story houses with a square floor plan, usually containing four rooms and no hall, are known as foursquares. Stylish bungalows and foursquares were the houses of choice for New Bern's leading black citizens. The widow of Isaac H. Smith, Sr., one of the wealthiest African Americans in

New Bern, rebuilt the family home on Johnson Street, which burned in the 1922 fire. Mrs. Smith built a large brick foursquare, with an ample front porch with brick pillars and a patterned brickwork railing. Her granddaughter, Annie Day Donaldson, recalled in a 1993 interview what a grand house it was:

The brick house was one of the first [in the New Bern black community] to have running water, I think. It had a big cistern in the back. And they had horses and carriages, and people to work in the home, and hand-painted murals on the wall.¹²⁰

Next door, her son Isaac H. Smith, Jr., who took over his father's rental property business, had a local carpenter named Rhem built a 2-story frame Craftsman style house for his family. (Fig. 6 600 block of Johnson Street, from left: Isaac Smith, Jr., House, Mrs. Isaac Smith, Sr., House, rental house, rental house)



Post-World War II Ranch Houses:

Following World War II, rather than moving out to new suburban neighborhoods as did many white New Bern families, black families typically remained in their old neighborhoods. They built brick ranch houses on lots still vacant in Greater Duffyfield from the 1922 fire along Bern, Smith, Nunn and other streets. These 1950s and 1960s houses were the final phase of construction in New Bern's black neighborhoods. Almost no construction has taken place in these neighborhoods since the 1960s.

Churches and Institutional Buildings:

There are approximately two dozen churches located in Long Wharf and Greater Duffyfield. As with the housing in these black neighborhoods, the numerous brick Gothic Revival church buildings located throughout the area indicate the prosperity of the congregations who built these buildings.

Long Wharf: History and Architecture

Though all of its buildings today date from the very late nineteenth and twentieth centuries, Long Wharf's history stretches back over two hundred years. The district lies along the Trent River and its tributary Lawson's Creek, just west of Tryon Palace. It seems likely that its name derived from wooden wharves that once extended along the Trent River -- though no such structures are shown in the Long Wharf area on surviving maps. Comprising roughly ten blocks, the Long Wharf district was laid out as an extension of New Bern's original street grid in 1779. The main avenues are Walt Bellamy Drive (called New South Front Street until 1994 -- an extension of South Front Street in the original grid) and Pollock Street. Between these two main avenues is Church Street (originally Crooked Street), and cross streets including Liberty (called German Street until the anti-German furor of World War I!), Jones, Norwood, Bryan and Lawson streets. All except Lawson (added sometime around the start of the twentieth century) were shown on that 1779 map.

Tax records from the 1820s and 1830s listed several "negro houses" here, both black-owned and white-owned.¹²¹ Long Wharf's early landowners included some of New Bern's leading free black citizens. The illustrious "Barber Jack" -- John Carruthers Stanly -- was shown on the "Town Taxables" lists as owning Town Lot 39 at the southwest corner of German and New South Front streets in 1828, and Town Lots 368 and 369 at the intersection of Trent, Queen and Pollock streets in 1826 and 1830. Fellow free black barber John R. Good had property nearby: Town Lots 40 and 41 on New South Front Street between German and Jones streets, listed in 1830. Neither Good nor Stanly lived in Long Wharf, but merely held these lots as investments. Brickyards and a steam mill also flourished along the river before the Civil War.¹²²

After the Civil War, Long Wharf continued as a major locus of black residence. Black leader Oliver Dudley lived on Jones Street near Crooked (today Church) Street, according to the 1880 - 81 city directory. Real estate dealer and County Commissioner

R. G. Mosely resided in a commanding two-story residence that still stands at Jones and New South Front. New Bern's second A. M. E. Zion Church, after St. Peter's downtown, built its first permanent home here about 1880 -- Clinton Chapel A. M. E. Zion. Greys Map of 1882 showed both that church on Crooked Street, and also a "Colored Baptist Church" (St. John Missionary Baptist) at the corner of Bryan and New South Front streets. Newer edifices occupied by those two congregations stand on those sites today.

Long Wharf did not become completely black, interestingly, until well into the twentieth century. One indication of that is the location of New Bern's Pentecostal Holiness Church on Pollock Street in the district; in its early days around the turn of the century the Pentecostal Holiness movement was often interracial. More directly, local historian John B. Green III remembers that his father's white baseball team played tough white teams from that area in the 1920s and 1930s. The 1938 New Bern city directory (the first to print lists of residents by street) showed blacks and whites still intermingled on Pollock Street and on nearby Bern Street. When authorities sought a site for the city's first public housing for whites, Trent Court in 1940, they selected land on New South Front Street between Liberty and Bern streets at that edge of Long Wharf.

Louis Foy, who was born on Church Street in 1931 and has lived there for much of his life, confirms that in his youth "there was black and white mingled" on Pollock and Liberty streets, while African Americans predominated on Jones, Church, and New South Front Streets. Foy remembers streets paved with oyster shells, and recalls seeing Clydesdale draft horses and oxen with clipped horns hauling carts laden with lumber from the mills along the water. Some of Long Wharf's leading black citizens were grocers, notably George A. Moore on Jones Street, and Leinster Woods on Lawson Street. Other black Long Wharf residents included carpenters, millhands, and several families who farmed plots out in the country -- "Not big farms, you know, but enough to eat and sell." Many African American women worked as domestics in nearby white neighborhoods. "I can still visualize numbers of blacks, some of them with big baskets of laundry on their heads, walking out Queen Street to Ghent to put in a full day's work."¹²³

Among the white residents of Long Wharf that Foy remembers was the McCarthy family, who operated a grocery and general merchandise business -- T. F. McCarthy and Son -- at the Pollock Street / Queen Street intersection and lived nearby. The McCarthys

bought and sold land, were active in local politics and owned a large interest in the New Bern and Ghent streetcar line. Callaghan "Cally" McCarthy also made some of New Bern's earliest concrete blocks; several structures in the vicinity are constructed of distinctive blocks, smaller than today's standard size, which Foy attributes to McCarthy.¹²⁴

Long Wharf may have retained a sizable number of antebellum and late nineteenth century houses until recently, since this neighborhood was not affected by the 1922 fire that burned some 1,000 houses in the Greater Duffyfield neighborhood. However, the neighborhood is presently much more sparsely developed than the Greater Duffyfield area. Presumably many of Long Wharf's older houses had deteriorated and were demolished in the twentieth century. Some may have been moved out of the neighborhood. For example, an early nineteenth century cottage now at 309 Bern Street resembles a house that Foy recalls having been moved from Church Street in Long Wharf, and may be the same house.¹²⁵

LONG WHARF'S SIGNIFICANT BUILDINGS

Story and a Jump Cottages in Long Wharf:



(Fig. 7)

House, 1123 Church Street, Long Wharf, ca. 1900.

This is one of only a few surviving cottages scattered throughout Long Wharf. Sylvia Moseley lived here in 1904, and its construction date is unknown.¹²⁶ According to Louis Foy, who lives down the street, there once were two more houses identical to this one next door.

I-Houses in Long Wharf:

(Fig. 8)

Robert G. Moseley House, 203 Jones Street, Long Wharf, ca. 1887.

This I-House has interior end brick chimneys, a high foundation, and its front porch posts were replaced with Craftsman style posts, probably in the 1930s. It is said to have been built in 1887, and in 1893 it was inhabited by Robert G. Moseley, a prominent African American real estate dealer who was elected to the Craven County commission in 1898.¹²⁷ The 1913 Sanborn Map shows a small building labeled "Gro." next door on the corner. The 1893 City Directory listed Moseley's real estate office next door to his house, possibly this same building. It has been demolished.¹²⁸



(Fig. 9)

Charles H. Harris House, 1020 Church St., Long Wharf. ca. 1880-1890.

This I-house with an exposed face chimney, sawnwork raking cornice, a hall-parlor plan with decorative vernacular sawnwork mantels and an original 2-story rear ell is, according to Peter Sandbeck, one of the most intact and interesting houses standing in Long Wharf. This is a late use of the exposed-face chimney form so prevalent in New Bern and Craven County during the early and mid-nineteenth century. The use of the old-fashioned exposed chimney form is consistent with the highly traditional building practices seen throughout Long Wharf, and other examples are said to have once stood nearby.¹²⁹ Charles Harris, a mill hand, lived here with his wife Hattie in 1904. Harris may have been a skilled carpenter, and possibly built this house for his family. A large lumber company was located a few blocks away, on the Trent River at the foot of Bern Street since at least 1898, and Harris may have worked there.



(Fig. 10)

Smith House, 312 Jones Street, Long Wharf, ca. 1890.

This small scale I-House was presumably built ca. 1890. It has a narrow center hall plan, with a nicely turned staircase and tongue and groove interior sheathing.



(Fig. 11)

309 Jones Street, Long Wharf, ca. 1880-1890.

This I-House across the street from the above house has, according to Sandbeck, some of Long Wharf's finest late nineteenth century sawn ornament.¹³⁰ The house has a deep overhanging cornice supported by sawn brackets and delicately sawn bargeboards decorating each gable end. It has one exterior end brick chimney. At the first floor level the windows have unusual six-over-nine sash, while the other windows have original six-over-six sash.



(Fig. 12)

Lillian William House, 216 Lawson St., Long Wharf, 1902-03.

This truncated I-House has three openings in the first story facade and two windows in the second story facade. These upstairs windows are shorter, indicating that the second floor ceiling is lower than the first floor. It is said to have been constructed in 1902 - 03 by the builder Curtis (Ben) Woods.¹³¹

Two-story front gable houses in Long Wharf:

(Fig. 13)
Silas & Matilda Woods House, 228 Lawson Street, Long Wharf, ca. 1910.
This is a 2-story front gable house standing on the west edge of Long Wharf. It is an unusual example of this house type, for it was apparently built for the Woods, owner-occupants, between 1900 and 1911 by Curtis Woods, who lived nearby. Silas was a barber whose shop was at 200 1/2 Broad Street in downtown New Bern.¹³² Although plain, the Woods House is slightly better detailed than the typical rental house of this type, with a door and two windows on the first story facade, and two windows on the second story facade. It has gable eave returns, two-over-two sash windows, a hipped front porch, and a one-story kitchen ell.



(Fig. 14)
George A. & Susie Moore House, 305 Jones Street, Long Wharf. ca. 1925.
 This may be another example of an owner-built 2-story front gable. George and Susie Moore lived here from 1926 until 1947, and apparently owned the Craftsman-influenced house, which has large eave brackets on the upper front gable and on the front-gabled porch. George Moore was treasurer of the New Bern Negro Business League in 1926. He owned a grocery on Pollock Street.¹³³ (Moore's son, a colonel in the Air Force, built the brick ranch style house next door for himself in the 1950s, neighbors recall.¹³⁴)



(Fig. 15)
Houses, 204-206 Norwood Street, Long Wharf, 1937.
 This pair of late 2-story front gable houses were built, according to city directories, in 1937.¹³⁵ These are Craftsman style houses with a porch room above the first floor porch, giving them extra interior space.

Long Wharf 1-Story Front Gable Houses:



(Fig. 16)

1218 and 1220 New South Front St., Long Wharf, pre-1924.

These appear on the 1924 Sanborn Map across from manufacturing complexes on the south side of New South Front Street along Lawson Creek. They may have been built as mill housing. It is not known if these have shotgun plans. There are small numbers of these remaining throughout Long Wharf.

Churches and Institutional Buildings in Long Wharf:

Long Wharf has only a few churches and stores, most of which are of post-1930 construction. The oldest known church building is



(Fig. 17) *St. John Methodist Baptist Church, 1130 New South Front St. (corner Bryan street), 1926.*

This congregation, established in Long Wharf in 1856, built this handsome brick Classical Revival style church in 1926, according to the marble cornerstone. The polychrome brick detailing is similar to brickwork on other churches and houses in New Bern's black neighborhoods.



(Figure 18)
Clinton Chapel AME Zion Church, Church (formerly Crooked) St., 1882
(demolished).

This congregation initially gathered at Fort Totten immediately after the Civil War. By 1879 the group had grown strong enough to purchase this lot, according to congregation records, and in 1882 it dedicated the handsome wooden church building pictured above as the first permanent home of Clinton Chapel A. M. E. Zion Church (photo courtesy of Bernard George, New Bern Zoning Administrator).¹³⁶ The 1882 wooden structure was replaced with a brick edifice in the 1960s.

Greater Duffyfield: History and Architecture

While Long Wharf was an important place of black settlement before the Civil War, the much larger area now called Greater Duffyfield became New Bern's major African American district during heady decades after the War. About a third of the area was actually laid out in antebellum days, by hopeful entrepreneurs looking ahead to the city's eventual expansion. After 1865, though, development beyond Queen Street really took off. African Americans were flocking to New Bern, drawn by opportunities for education and employment; black population grew by nearly 25% each decade from the 1860s to the century's end. Entrepreneurs recognized that the arrivals would need housing, and new subdivisions sprang into being beyond Queen Street.

Part of the area belonged to a Dr. Duffy, who was known for his sympathy toward blacks both before and after the War. This individual was likely either R. N. Duffy, a noted white druggist who became a member of the Freedmen's Bank in 1871, or Walter Duffy, a white physician whose son Hervy became a Freedmen's Bank member about the same time.¹³⁷ At least two black Freedmen's Bank members listed their residences in the 1870s as "Dr. Duffy's land," and black community leader Isaiah P. Hatch later wrote that when his family had arrived in New Bern during the Civil War they took up farming on "rented land in Duffyfield."¹³⁸

Both blacks and whites played roles in transforming the farmland around "Duffyfield" into streets of houses. In the years immediately after Emancipation, no African Americans had yet amassed the capital needed for real estate development on a large scale. So the men who laid out the new streets were whites, often people who had close contact with the black arrivals, or sometimes merely businessmen with an eye for profit. Once the streets were laid out, however, both blacks and whites took up the task of constructing houses. The relative prosperity of New Bern's black community can be seen by the predominance of two-story houses in the area, both rental and owner - occupied, and the scarcity of the one-story "shotgun" houses common in many other African American neighborhoods in North Carolina.

Today most of the buildings in Greater Duffyfield date from the last decade of the nineteenth century and the early decades of the twentieth. As black businessmen got squeezed off Middle Street downtown, they gravitated to Five Points -- the bustling intersection of Queen and Broad Streets. Blue-collar householders bought or rented dwellings on new avenues extending several blocks northwest of Queen Street, while the leading black families built handsome houses closer to Queen especially on Bern, George and West streets. West Street, in particular, emerged as the city's major African American institutional avenue by the mid-twentieth century, home to New Bern's main black high school, black hospital, and black public library.

Residential architecture in Greater Duffyfield exhibits the same basic types as in Long Wharf, although whole blocks from Pasteur Street on the east to Bern Street on the west and north along the railroad tracks were built after the 1922 fire, which destroyed some 1,000 African American houses. Entrepreneurs probably built rental property in Greater Duffyfield from the beginning of these developments in the mid-nineteenth century. Numerous rental property developers, primarily white, bought small parcels of land and erected small groups of houses here and there. Four of the developers in the Greater Duffyfield area that have been identified are African American businessman Isaac Smith, Sr., who built housing from the late 1880s to his death in 1915; his son Isaac Smith, Jr., who carried on his father's business and built housing in the 1920s and 1930s; Dr. William Pinnix, a white druggist who built rental houses in both black and white neighborhoods in the 1920s; and Steve Fowler, a white developer who constructed rental dwellings in West End.

In addition to residences, the streets of Greater Duffyfield also contain a lively mixture of stores, businesses, and community buildings -- a traditional urban pattern that once characterized all of New Bern. The churches, shops, fraternal buildings, and even a combination cleaners/nightclub are extremely important in determining the character of this neighborhood. Although many of these nonresidential structures have been converted to residential use or are unused, their presence in the streetscape creates a more vibrant and interesting atmosphere than neighborhoods which are strictly residential.

City officials and many residents today refer to a vast area northwest of Queen Street as "Greater Duffyfield." Half a dozen or more smaller settlements and subdivisions comprise the district -- among them Dryborough, the Pasteur Street area, Jerkins Town,

Scott Town, Pavie Town, Reizensteinville, and West End.¹³⁹ Residents often identify with these historic names more than with the appellation "Greater Duffyfield." One should be aware, as well, that important parts of post-Civil War black New Bern also extended across Queen Street, especially onto Johnson Street and Bern Street near St. Cyprian's Episcopal Church and St. Peter's A. M. E. Zion.

The following sub-sections discuss the history of each of these smaller areas in order of their creation, first describing the tract's initial layout, and then summarizing its subsequent history.

Dryborough

LAYOUT:

The first platting of avenues beyond Queen Street occurred in 1806 when a wealthy white Wilmington-area investor named William Dry bought a tract of land and gave it to his newly married daughter Susan and her husband Benjamin Smith. Benjamin, who became governor of North Carolina 1810 - 1811, had the parcel laid out in streets and lots, and offered the property for sale. A scattering of houses slowly went up over the next several decades and part of the tract was used to create part of Cedar Grove Cemetery.¹⁴⁰ By 1859 enough citizens lived in the area for officials to enlarge New Bern's town boundaries and formally make North George, North Bern, and North West streets part of the city.¹⁴¹ Included in this land was the site of a pond shown on colonial-era maps; that body of water disappeared during the nineteenth century, but a portion of Dryborough is still referred to as "Frog Pond."

As elsewhere in New Bern, Dryborough's antebellum residents seem to have included both blacks and whites. A reminiscence of New Bern on the eve of the Civil War, written by white Lavinia Cole Roberts, mentioned several houses of whites and blacks already extant in the area known as Frog Pond.¹⁴² "Town taxables" records for 1860 listed eight free blacks among the lot owners in Dryborough.¹⁴³ After the Civil War, Dryborough became a favorite residential location for African American leaders. Among those listed in the 1880 - 81 city directory were former alderman Amos York on George Street between Queen and Cedar, and education advocate Israel B. Abbott a block away on Bern Street between Queen and Cedar.

SUBSEQUENT HISTORY:

Much of Dryborough burned in the Great Fire of 1922, but afterward the area arose like a phoenix from the ashes to become a major locale for New Bern's African American leaders, and also a center for community institutions. Adding to the desirability of the area was Kafer Park, created from burn-over land on George Street during the New Deal of the 1930s. New Deal funds also constructed an Armory at George and Queen streets (today New Bern Police Station), and a Community Center up George.¹⁴⁴ After WWII, ranch-style houses filled the rest of the vacant lots along George and Bern streets, rounding out a vibrant district.

Within Dryborough, the two-block area bounded by Queen Street on the south, West Street on the west, Bern Street on the east and Cedar Street on the north (sometimes known as the old Frog Pond area), retains such a high density of pre-1940 buildings that it is a potentially eligible National Register district. Within this potential district, one notable collection of structures is 600-700 block of West Street, between Queen and Cedar streets, which survives largely intact -- though some individual buildings have been remodeled. This block contains several substantial late nineteenth and early twentieth century houses, plus the West Street School site, the 1947 Charlotte S. Rhone Cultural Center (608 West St.), the 1938 Good Shepherd Hospital (603 West St.), the large concrete block I. P. Hatch Funeral Home, built in 1946, which had apartments on the second floor, and an old frame store two doors south. Dr. Fisher's 1904 medical office still stands at 830 Queen Street just around the corner. Another notably intact area within this potential district is the 700 block of Bern Street. Along with well-preserved residences, the block includes the impressive brick Neoclassical Revival two-story Royal Cleaners, 711 Bern Street, which had a nightclub on the second floor.

The Pasteur Street Area

LAYOUT:

Second part of Greater Duffyfield to develop was the Pasteur Street area: Pasteur Street, Jerkins Alley (now North Cool Street) and Howard Street. This narrow strip of land bounded by Cedar Grove Cemetery, Queen Street and the Atlantic and North Carolina Railroad tracks was laid out during development of the railroad line in 1856. Formerly farmland owned by the Griffith and Pasteur family, the tract extending from Cedar Grove Cemetery to the Neuse River was assembled by white entrepreneur Alonzo T. Jerkins and

partners.¹⁴⁵ Jerkins was a banker and textile mill owner who ranked among New Bern's leading citizens during the 1840s - 1860s.¹⁴⁶

The area quickly became a favored spot for black railroad workers and others. Shotwell's 1866 map of New Bern showed buildings already completely lining its streets. Important early structures included the King Solomon Masonic Lodge and Ebenezer Presbyterian Church, as well as the residences of both black lawyer George H. White and leading businessman /politician Edward Dudley.

SUBSEQUENT HISTORY:

The Pasteur Street area was thoroughly destroyed by the Great Fire of 1922, with only two or three exceptions, the most notable being the handsome Italianate style King Solomon Masonic Lodge #1 on Howard Street.¹⁴⁷ After the fire, some blacks and whites expected the area to become popular again. The Rhone family erected its handsome two-story brick hotel at Queen and North Cool Streets, and white investor Dr. William Pinnix built a tight-spaced row of six rental houses facing Pasteur Street.¹⁴⁸ But black population in New Bern was declining during the 1920s - 1940s, and the adjacent railroad yard that had made the area so desirable was no longer eager to employ skilled African Americans. Development stalled in the Pasteur Street area after the mid 1920s. Only a couple dozen other houses went up, mostly one-story cottages. Today many lots still are vacant.

Jerkinstown

LAYOUT:

Jerkinstown was also created by the entrepreneurial Alonzo T. Jerkins as part of the speculative fever that accompanied construction of the Atlantic and North Carolina Railroad. In 1857 Jerkins bought land straddling the new rail line, and filed a plat map for a development of about ten blocks. He oriented his streets to the angle of the railway, not to New Bern's established grid.¹⁴⁹ Jerkins' subdivision, however, was located too far out of town to find many buyers interested in building houses until long after the Civil War.

SUBSEQUENT HISTORY:

The street pattern of Jerkinstown survives virtually unchanged, including "A," "G," "H," and "I" streets and Fowler's Lane. The modest houses date mostly from the first half of the twentieth century.

Scott Town

LAYOUT:

Scott Town was New Bern's first post-Civil War neighborhood, but its creation probably represented more a continuation of pre-war practices rather than a new departure sparked by the War or Emancipation. Partners Reuben Gray and Adam Scott, who owned a tract of farmland west of Dryborough, died without wills. In 1866 their heirs sued to have the tract broken into lots and auctioned off, in order that the inheritance might be divided up equitably. The result was an area of seven blocks lying between Elm Street and Cedar Street from West to Miller streets.¹⁵⁰

SUBSEQUENT HISTORY:

Much of Scott Town was bulldozed for the creation of the Craven Terrace public housing development circa 1940. Today the 700 blocks of Elm Street and Oak Avenue, and the blocks of Cedar Street between West and Miller streets, remain from the Scott Town subdivision. Most houses in the area date from the first half of the twentieth century.

Greenwood Cemetery

LAYOUT:

Sometime in the mid-nineteenth century, Greenwood Cemetery for African Americans was created one block beyond Cedar Grove Cemetery. The burial ground occupied a parallelogram-shaped tract north of Cypress Street. City records listed sexton John S. Gaskins appointed to superintend the cemetery in 1872; burials began to be officially recorded in 1882.¹⁵¹

SUBSEQUENT HISTORY:

Bounded by Cypress, Bern, F and A streets, this well-kept cemetery with stylish monuments is another indication of the long and prosperous history of New Bern's African American population.

The oldest group of gravestones are thirteen decorative head and footstones of sandstone and marble with death dates from 1816 to 1859. (Fig. 18) These antebellum gravestones apparently are among the few physical survivals of New Bern's free black

community, the largest of any town in North Carolina, and are the finest group of antebellum monuments to African Americans known to exist in North Carolina. These are arranged in two crowded rows, with the footstones incorrectly spaced in relation to the headstones, indicating that they were moved here from other graveyards after Greenwood Cemetery was opened. The beauty of the stone craftsmanship and interesting epitaphs on some of the stones raises many questions about the African American families, presumably



free black, that erected these markers in graveyards now apparently destroyed. For example, the marble headstone of Baroque style for Robert Walker, who died in 1846, aged twenty-six, is inscribed "This monument is erected by Charlotte his widow as a tribute of affection." The marble headstone of Elisha Brinson, who died in 1858, aged sixty-nine, is inscribed: "He was a Leader and a faithful servant of the M. E. Ch." The longest and most impressive epitaph is for John Cook, who died in 1856, aged sixty-five. It notes that he was a "Colored Preacher," born in Africa and brought to the United States in 1805. He joined the Methodist Church in New Bern in 1818. The final sentence reads: "This monument was erected to his memory by his brethren and friends white and colored."

The gravestones throughout the rest of Greenwood Cemetery are equally fine examples of marble and granite craftsmanship. Two of the earliest stones that appear to be original to this cemetery have death dates of 1864 [Lorenzo Dow Kennedy] and 1872. Some of the family plots are edged with brick or granite curbing. The grounds, which occupy about three square blocks, are bisected by a dirt drive running the full length.

Pavie Town

LAYOUT:

The neighborhood of Pavie Town, adjoining "the Negro or Colored Cemetery," appeared on maps in the late 1880s. It was created by the family of Edward Pavie, one of New Bern's busiest white contractors.¹⁵² Pavie likely employed numbers of African Americans on his crews, which may have helped him recognize New Bern's growing market for inexpensive housing. The official map of the subdivision was filed at the courthouse in 1892 by family member George W. Pavie, who gave his address as Morristown, New Jersey.¹⁵³ Pavie Town's layout, with small lots and narrow oddly angled streets, may indicate that this subdivision was intended from its inception for African Americans.

SUBSEQUENT HISTORY:

The Pavie Town street system survives virtually as platted, and the developer is remembered in the name of Pavie Street. Most of the tightly-packed houses in the area date from the first half of the twentieth century.

Duffy Town/Mechanicsville

LAYOUT:

H. B. and Juliet C. Duffy formally platted Duffy Town in 1891.¹⁵⁴ It is probable that this subdivision represents the nucleus of the antebellum farmland known as "Duffyfield."

One street name in the subdivision confirms that link. Freedmen's Bank records had included an 1871 application on behalf of a black woman named Rosetta Biddle Latham, "parents Tena and Annesley Biddle (dead), raised in New Bern by Dr. Duffy."¹⁵⁵ Today's Biddle Avenue, adjacent to the Duffyfield Elementary School building (see above), likely memorializes Rosetta Biddle Latham and her family.

A few years after it was initially laid out, Duffy Town was slightly expanded and renamed "Mechanicsville."¹⁵⁶

SUBSEQUENT HISTORY:

The Duffy Town / Mechanicsville street system survives virtually as platted. A landmark in the area is the Duffyfield School. The present building at Biddle Street and Myrtle Street appears to date from the 1960s, replacing a much earlier facility. Most of the modest houses in the vicinity date from the first half of the twentieth century.

Reizensteinville

LAYOUT:

Reizensteinville was officially laid out in 1891 by one Charles Reizenstein.¹⁵⁷ Charles and his wife Mary began buying and selling property in the New Bern area in 1887 and continued until about 1907. Little is known about the pair; they never appeared in the city directories and death records have not been found.

SUBSEQUENT HISTORY:

Much of Reizensteinville fell before the bulldozers around 1940 during creation of the Craven Terrace public housing development. Some houses were moved elsewhere, according to New Bern resident Louis Foy -- among them a handsome bungalow from Miller Street that now stands at the northeast corner of West and Queen streets.¹⁵⁸ Today Miller Street and small sections of Carroll, Carmer, Kilmernock, Roundtree and Reizenstein streets survive. Most houses in the area date from the first half of the twentieth century.

West End (The Avenues)

LAYOUT:

The last subdivision in the study area -- and one of the last major African American subdivisions to be platted until the 1960s in New Bern -- was West End. In March 1911 a civil engineer drew three streets extending north from Broad Street, beyond the existing Chapman Street -- First Avenue, Second Avenue and Third Avenue -- plus cross streets of Bay, Elm and Cedar.¹⁵⁹ Two of New Bern's busiest white investors created the subdivision: Thomas A. Uzzell and J. A. Stewart. Uzzell was an officer of The Peoples

Bank, while Stewart headed half a dozen major enterprises, including the New Bern Power Company, Dover Lumber Company, Stewart's Sanitarium, and the Vanceboro Real Estate and Development Company.¹⁶⁰

New Bern was then in the heyday of its lumber boom, and buyers both black and white snapped up the lots. In short order, houses went up on most of the land. There were solid bungalows erected by African American homeowners, clusters of two-story rental houses, and also a long row of one story "shotgun" houses. These last, constructed for rental by New Bern's white Fowler family, represented a rarity in the Neuse River city. These little two- or three-room cottages, nicknamed "shotguns" because the rooms were lined up such that a bullet fired through the front door would go through each room and come out the back, were very common in most other North Carolina cities. The row on Third Avenue in West End, though, seems to have represented one of New Bern's only sizable clusters of the housetype.

SUBSEQUENT HISTORY:

Today, more than any other African American area in New Bern, West End looks almost as it did when it was first built. The close-spaced houses with their friendly porches form an almost unbroken streetscape, with few vacant lots, creating one of New Bern's most visually striking architectural ensembles. The mix of owner-occupied bungalows and mostly two-story rental cottages testifies to the vitality of New Bern's black community at the beginning of the twentieth century.

SIGNIFICANT BUILDINGS IN GREATER DUFFYFIELD

Story and a Jump Cottages in Greater Duffyfield:



(Fig. 19)

House, 512 West Street (Dryborough area), 19th century.

This is one of the best-preserved examples of this type, and is located two houses from the corner of Queen and West streets in the old Frog Pond area. This has a single exterior end brick chimney with no brick bond, six-over-six sash windows in the front elevation, four-over-four sash in the gable end, a shed front porch and rear shed rooms. Sanborn first mapped this area on the 1898 map, where this house is shown as Number 13 West St. St. Stephens Chapel was then located immediately to the south. The 1866 Map of New Bern by Capt. Shotwell shows a number of buildings in this block, and one of them may indeed be this house. Further research to document the early history of this dwelling and the other remaining examples would be desirable.

I-Houses in Greater Duffyfield:



(Fig. 20)

612-614 West Street (Dryborough area), 1880s.

This large I-House is five bays wide at the first story facade level, while the second story facade has four windows. It is one of the earliest and most stylish I-houses in the Greater Duffyfield area, with a central chimney, an ornate sawnwork bargeboard, and a deep overhanging cornice supported by sawn brackets. The windows have six-over-six sash; the hipped front porch has plain posts. This section of the block first appears on the Sanborn Maps in 1908, when the house is labeled 25 West St. and is a single-family dwelling (sheet 16). By 1924 it has become a duplex, and the second door was presumably added at this time. There were a number of buildings in this block on Gray's 1882 Map, and this house may be one of them. Deed research to document ownership would be desirable.



(Fig. 21)
Aldrich House, 415 Bern St. (Dryborough area), ca. 1900.

This unusual and well-preserved I-house is four bays wide, rather than the usual three bays, but has only one front door. The four-bay width is reminiscent of a local Federal house form, and this may be antebellum in construction date. Another explanation of the four bay width is that this may have originally been a duplex, and one door has been converted to a window. It has two-over-two sash windows, an original front porch with chamfered bracketed wooden posts, two exterior end brick chimneys and a 2-story rear shed or ell. Sarah and Walter Aldrich (porter) lived here in 1904; by 1907 Isaac Aldrich, a carpenter, lived here.



(Fig. 22)
Rev. Miles Spruill House, 1111 Cedar St., ca. 1900.

This is a well-preserved example of an I-House, with one exterior end brick chimney and a hipped front porch. It occupies a large corner lot. The Rev. Spruill, pastor of Star of Zion Baptist Church, lived here from 1904-1921 and may have built it.



(Fig. 23)

1131 "G" Street (Jerkeinstown area), 19th century?

This is the only example of an I-House in the Jerkeinstown subdivision. The street was first mapped on the 1924 Sanborn Map, but the house is obviously much older than this. The large central chimney is extremely unusual for this house type, but was common in very early New Bern houses. The house has two front doors and six-over-six sash windows. In 1924 this was a single family house, thus the second front door may be a more recent addition or may be original. Perhaps this house predates the Jerkeinstown subdivision. It is also possible that it was built in another part of town and moved to this lot at a later date.

2-story front gable houses in Greater Duffyfield:

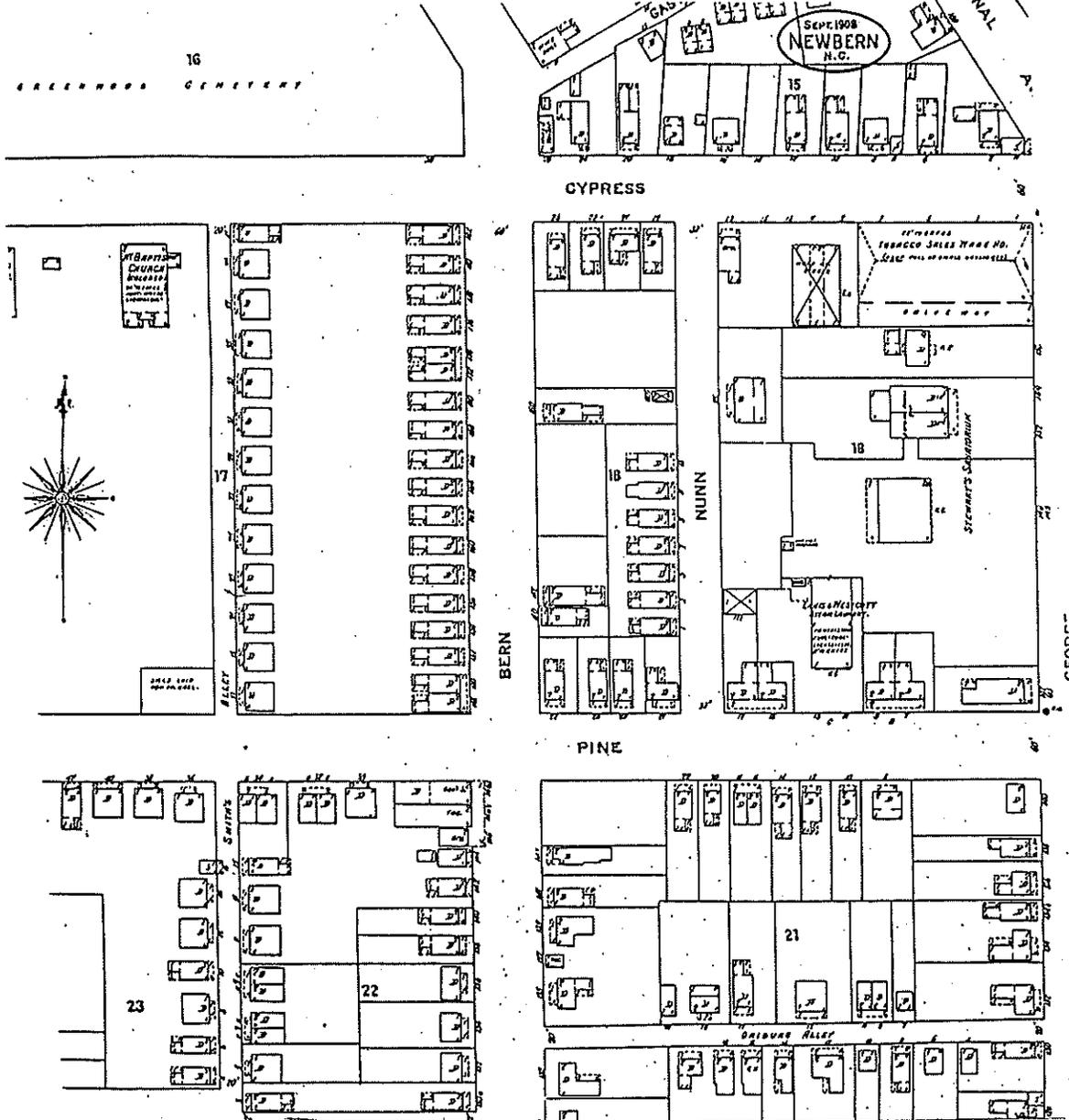
There are large numbers of these houses in Greater Duffyfield: most were built after the 1922 fire, but many of them built before the fire were destroyed.



(Fig. 24)

711 and 713 New Street (Five Points area), ca. 1900.

This pair of 2-story front gables are among the largest and best-finished examples in Greater Duffyfield, and may be the oldest of the type. Both are three bays wide, with six-over-six sash windows, molded gable eave returns and hipped front porches. These surely have side hall plans. New Street was laid out prior to 1866, and these may be very early examples of this house type.



(Fig. 25)
 2-story front gable houses, west side of Bern Street between Pine and Cypress streets (Dryborough area), ca.1900. [burned 1922]
 Isaac H. Smith Sr., the most prominent black developer in New Bern, built this solid row of houses with porches and 1-story rear ells. These appear on the 1908 Sanborn Map, Sheet 20. Two are double units, forming duplexes; the other fourteen are single units. These were rental houses on Smith's land here known as "Smithtown." All of them burned in the 1922 fire. Isaac Smith Jr. sold this land after the fire to pay back taxes on his father's estate, and it developed with owner-occupied houses, including a number of brick ranches, in the 1940-1970 period.¹⁶¹

Other scattered examples of the two-story front gable house appear on the 1908 Map throughout the rest of this section, from Queen Street north to Pine (now Main) Street. The west side of Nunn Street had seven single 2-story front gable houses in a row. Pine, West, and Bern had several small groups of 2-story front gable houses, sometimes a pair of these was built on a single lot. Like those on Bern Street, all of these burned in the 1922 fire.



(Fig. 26)
2-story front gable houses, 847 - 859 Pasteur Street (Pasteur Street area), ca. 1923.

This group of six houses facing the railroad tracks were built by a white landlord and still stand. These were built just after the 1922 fire by Dr. William Pinnix, a white druggist. Isaac Smith Jr. was his property manager. Dr. Pinnix passed the houses to his daughter Nettie Pinnix Cox, who sold them to Norris Dillahunt, the buyer of Isaac Smith Jr.'s rental property about this time.¹⁶² These Pasteur Street houses are well-preserved, with hip-roofed front porches. Dr. Pinnix, like his father before him, owned rental property in both white and black New Bern neighborhoods. The I-House in the left foreground dates from about 1890, and is one of the few buildings in this area that survived the fire.



(Fig. 27)
2-story front gable row, east side of First Avenue
between Broad Street and Bay Street (West End area), ca. 1913.

The West End neighborhood, platted in 1911 on the north side of Broad Street by two prominent white New Bern developers, has the largest concentration of two-story front gable houses of any subdivision in Long Wharf and Greater Duffyfield. The nine-block neighborhood consists of 1st, 2nd and 3rd Avenues and the cross streets of Bay Street and Elm Street. Whole block faces along First, Second and Third Avenues are lined with narrow, two-bay "straight up-and-down houses," all built as rentals. These were built between 1913 and 1924, but may predate the 1922 fire, since its destruction did not extend this far west.¹⁶³ This neighborhood is a potentially eligible National Register district because it is the best collection of two-story front gable houses in New Bern's black neighborhoods.

Such houses were sometimes built in large groups on a tract subdivided into very narrow lots. The 1913 Sanborn map showed a small subdivision across from the West End neighborhood, on the south side of Broad Street, that had twenty-four 2-story front gable houses, arranged in a row along Broad Street and in two rows of seven each to the rear on Barber Street -- all now demolished.



(Fig. 28)

Laura W. Spencer House, 819 Miller St. (Reizensteinville area), ca. 1926.

This house is unusual because it was apparently built for its owner rather than as rental property. The house is wider than the usual rental house, being three bays wide at the first story level, and has a Craftsman style two-story porch with brick posts with decorative brickwork capitals, and eave brackets on the porch gable and main house gable. The interior was not available for inspection, but probably has a side hall plan. Laura W. Spencer owned and lived here from 1926-1947, and apparently built the house in the mid-1920s.

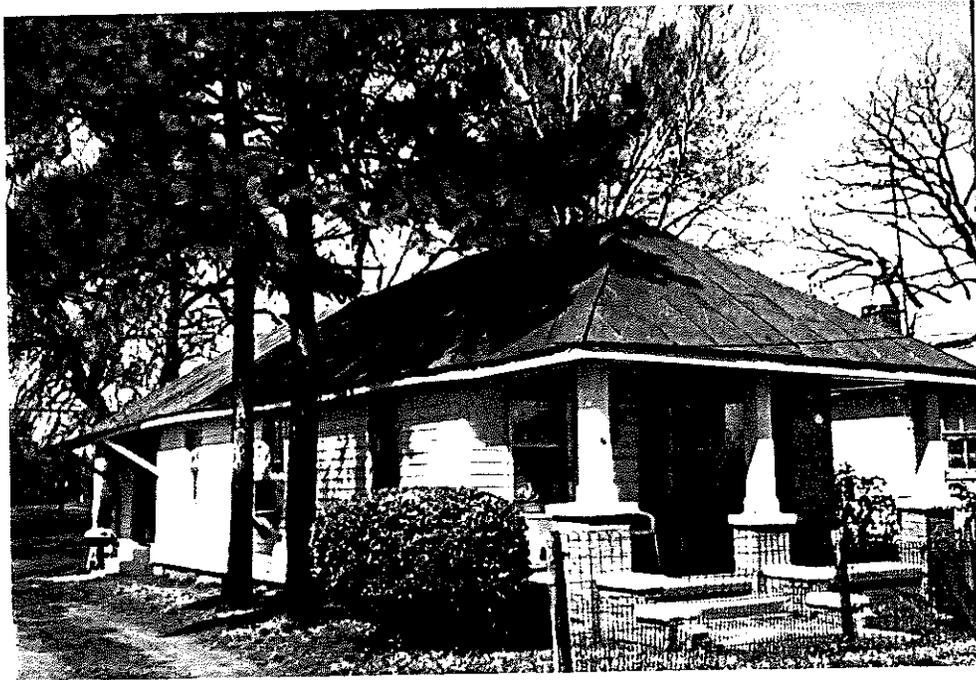
1-story front gable houses in Greater Duffyfield:

Isaac Smith Jr. built a number of 1-story front gable rental houses in the late 1920s and early 1930s in Greater Duffyfield. Some of his were shotguns, some were two rooms wide. He used a black carpenter named Rhem to do most of his building.

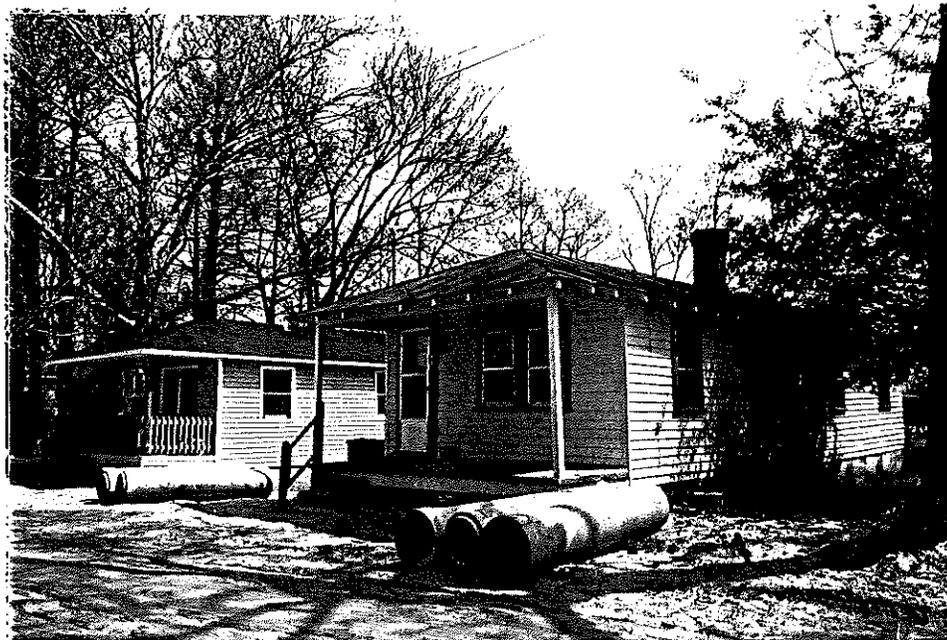
None of the interiors of the following houses were inspected. Some of these may have side-hall plans and some may have shotgun (no side hall) plans.



(Fig. 29a)
800 block of Green Street (Scott Town area), 1925.
This row of houses are said to have been built in 1925.¹⁶⁴



(Fig. 29b)
809 Miller St. (Reizensteinville area).
According to tax records this house, with a hipped roof engaging the front porch and bungalow posts, was built in 1925.¹⁶⁵



(Fig. 30)
818 & 820 Pavie Street (Pavie Town area), 1935 - 36.
This pair of front-gable houses have low hipped roofs that engage front porches. They are said to have side hall plans and to have been built in 1935 - 36.¹⁶⁶

Bungalows and Foursquare Houses in Greater Duffyfield:

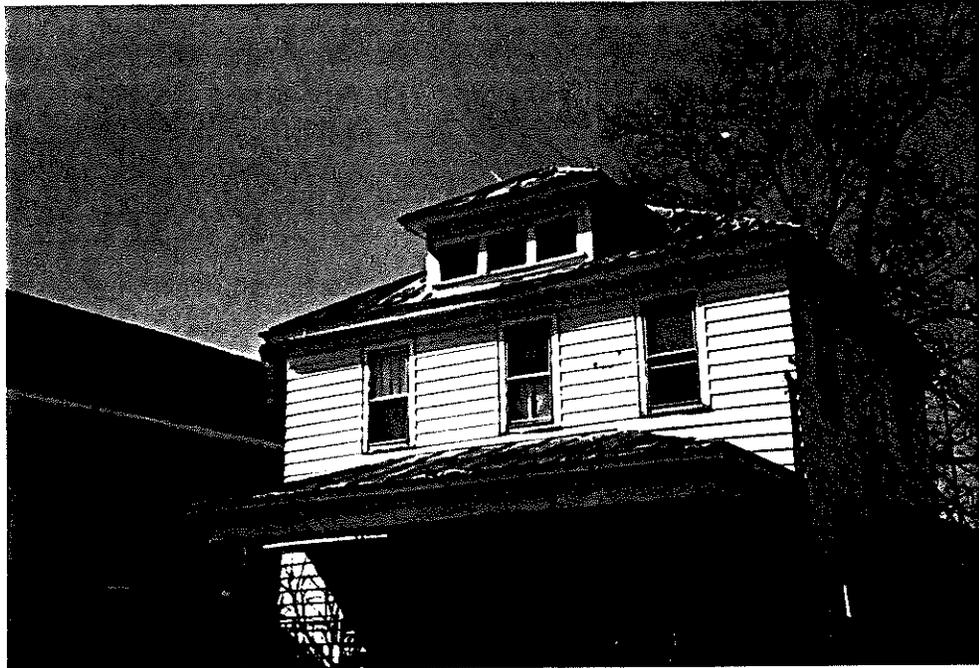
The primary concentration of these large, modestly stylish middle-class houses is along Bern and West streets in the Dryborough area, where many of the professional and business leaders in the Greater Duffyfield area lived. Like Mrs. Isaac H. Smith, Sr., whose frame house on Johnson Street burned in the 1922 fire and who rebuilt a large brick Craftsman house in its place, New Bern's affluent families erected stylish houses, often of brick, to replace their own homes after the fire. Two of the following examples were built by educators at West Street School; two were built by brick masons.



(Fig. 31a)

J. T. Barber House, 621 West St. (Dryborough area), ca. 1925.

J. T. Barber, long-time principal of West Street School, built this handsome 2-story brick Craftsman style house about 1925 on the same block as the school.



(Fig. 31b)

Harvey House, 725 West St. (Dryborough area), ca. 1925.

This 2-story frame Craftsman house was built for Mr. and Mrs. Harvey, who worked at the school.



(Fig. 32a)

Sparrow House 731 West St., corner Cedar St.(Dryborough area) ca.1925.

This 2-story brick house was built by Mr. Sparrow, a brick mason, for himself. The yellow and red polychrome brick patterning in the walls is quite impressive.



(Fig. 32b)
Horne House, 803 West St. (Dryborough area) 2-story frame ca. 1925.



(Fig. 33)
Sam Poole House 723 Bern St. (Dryborough area), ca. 1925.
This 2-story brick Craftsman style house was built by brick layer Sam Poole for himself.



(Fig. 34)
602 First Avenue (West End area), 1922.
This is an example of this house type in other sections of Greater Duffyfield. It is a well-preserved 2-story Colonial Revival side-hall house, three bays wide, with hip roof, front gabled dormer, and original front porch with turned posts and balusters. According to tax records it was built in 1922.¹⁶⁷

Churches in Greater Duffyfield:

As with the housing in these black neighborhoods, the numerous brick Gothic Revival church buildings located throughout the area indicate the prosperity of the congregations who built these buildings.

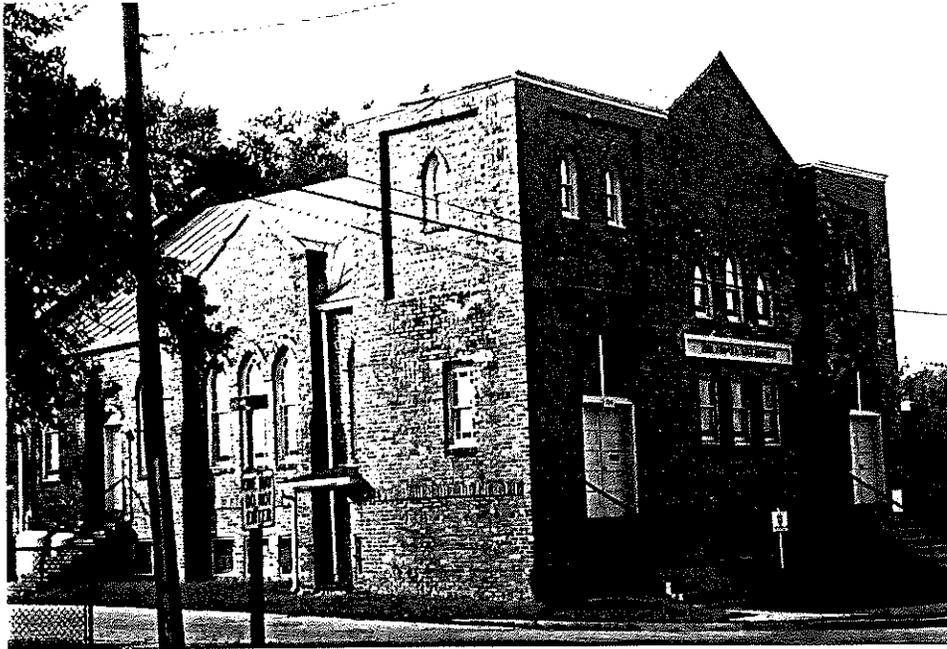


(Fig. 35) *First Baptist Church, Cypress Street (Dryborough area), 1908.* This is the oldest known unaltered church building in Greater Duffyfield, with a 1908 cornerstone. It faces the entrance to Greenwood Cemetery. The brickwork of this handsome brick Gothic Revival style building appears to be original.

The brick Gothic Revival style *St. Cyprian's Episcopal Church* in the triangle between Queen and Johnson streets, across from Cedar Grove Cemetery, was designed by noted New Bern architect Herbert Woodley Simpson and built in 1912-13 by a congregation established in 1866. An earlier building stood here on the 1866 map. This church was not burned by the 1922 fire. It is located across Johnson Street from the homes of the most prominent black families in New Bern during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

Another early congregation was that of *Ebenezer Presbyterian Church*, which was located on Pasteur Street as early as 1882, when it appears on Gray's Map. This burned in 1922 fire and this simple brick Romanesque Revival style church was built at 734 Bern St. (Dryborough area) in 1924, according to the cornerstone.

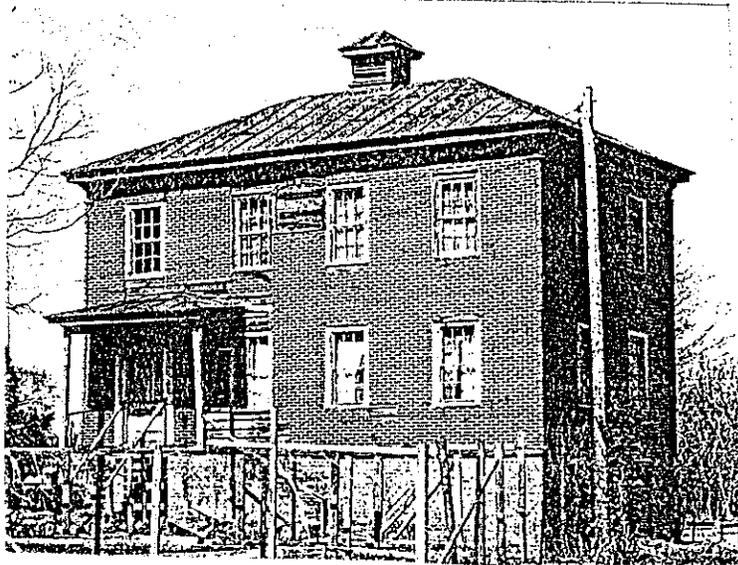
The *Star of Zion Methodist Baptist Church*, cornerstone 1896, located on Miller St. (Reizensteinville area) across from Craven Terrace Public Housing, is a very old building, but the brick veneer appears to be a more recent addition.



(Fig. 36)
Rue Chapel AME Church, northwest corner of Oak & Elm streets
(Reizensteinville area), 1941.

This brick Gothic Revival church with two unevenly sized towers was built, according to the cornerstone, in 1873 and rebuilt in 1941. The congregation proudly engraved the names of the builders, "Joseph F. Lewis, Willie Becton, Builders" on the cornerstone. The congregation's fight to save the building from demolition during construction of the adjacent Craven Terrace project is mentioned in the autobiography of black leader I. P. Hatch.

Commercial/Institutional Buildings in Greater Duffyfield:



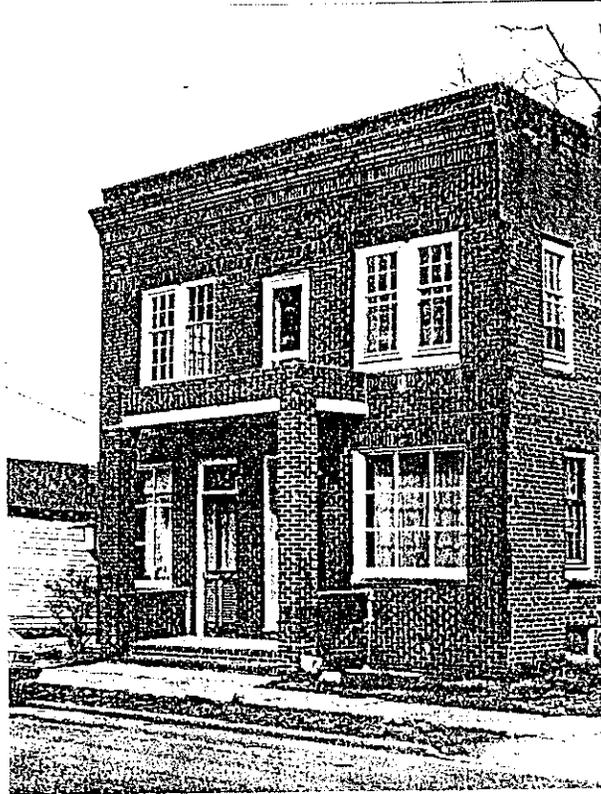
(Fig. 37)

King Solomon Lodge No. 1, Howard Street (Pasteur Street area), ca. 1870. This architecturally distinctive 2-story frame Italianate Masonic lodge has been a focal point for New Bern African-Americans since its construction. It originally stood on Queen Street next to Cedar Grove Cemetery but was moved to its present site nearby on Howard Street about 1920 when Cedar Grove Cemetery expanded.



(Fig. 38)

Dr. Hunter Fisher's Office, 830 Queen Street (Dryborough area), ca. 1908. The 1904 Sanborn map does not show this office; the 1908 Sanborn map shows it. Dr. Hunter W. Fisher had his office here from 1920-1947, according to Logsdon. There was a restaurant next door that was torn down by 1908.¹⁶⁸



(Fig. 39)

Rhone Hotel. 512 Queen Street (Pasteur Street area). 1923.

This two-story brick hotel is significant as the first hotel built for blacks in New Bern. It was constructed by the Rhone sisters, Henrietta, Amy and Charlotte, right after the 1922 fire. The building's well-detailed brickwork, including a prominent corbelled cornice, is similar to New Bern's commercial buildings of the period. Charlotte lived upstairs and operated the hotel until about 1955. Charlotte Rhone is said to have been the first black registered nurse in North Carolina and also helped establish the first library for blacks in New Bern, the Charlotte S. Rhone Library on West Street, about 1930. She was the sister-in-law of Isaac Smith Sr.¹⁶⁹ The following reminiscences of the Rhone sisters' great-niece Annie Day Donaldson describe the heyday of the hotel:

At the time there wasn't any accommodations for black people. We had a lot of north-south travelers, you know, and people had to have somewhere to stay. Usually it was people who were chauffeuring. The downstairs was the kitchen and dining room.... The sisters, Amy, Etta, and Charlotte, lived upstairs. They had four or five bedrooms, and I think two baths....I remember when Silas Green the minstrel would come through town. They would keep him. He would always give us passes for the show. And the tent was right on that corner, going back toward the hotel.¹⁷⁰



(Fig. 40)

Royal Cleaners and Club. 711 Bern Street (Dryborough area), ca. 1928.

This 2-story brick Classical Revival building housed the Royal Cleaners on ground level and a nightclub on the second story. It was built and operated by Otis E. Evans, an African-American county farm agent. It is not on the 1924 Sanborn Map (sheet 18) but is present on the 1931 Sanborn Map (sheet 22), thus was built between 1924 and 1931.

Isaac Smith Jr.'s daughter, Annie Day Donaldson, recalls that the upstairs nightclub was one of the few establishments in New Bern which blacks could rent for special parties, and she attended sorority and alumni parties there.



(Fig. 41)
Isaac Smith Jr. Real Estate and Insurance Agency, 906 Queen Street, 1932?
 This is a 2-story brick flat-roofed commercial building probably built about 1932 by Isaac Smith Jr. as his office. According to his daughter it was one of the first brick buildings constructed by a black businessman in New Bern.



(Fig. 42)
Good Shepherd Hospital and Disosway Memorial Clinic.
603 West Street (Dryborough area), 1938.
 This complex contains the hospital, a one-story flat-roofed brick building, and the clinic, a two-story flat-roofed brick building. Both buildings are well-preserved examples of the minimal classical style popular in institutional buildings of the period.

PART THREE: RECOMMENDATIONS

Celebration and Preservation of New Bern's Historic African American Neighborhoods

The survey of Long Wharf and Greater Duffyfield and this survey report are merely the beginning of the recognition of New Bern's historic African American communities. Subsequent steps are needed to continue this work:

- (1) Undertake detailed research on a number of key buildings to more closely determine dates of construction and history of occupancy.
- (2) Recognize and protect key landmarks and significant collections of buildings through listing in the National Register of Historic Places and perhaps through local historic landmark designation.
- (3) Celebrate these places and their history through publication. This could take the form of a brochure with a walking tour initially and lead eventually to a book. A "picture day" at the local library, when citizens could bring in their old photos, has worked in other communities. The library would make copies of such pictures that could be used in a future publication.
- (4) Explore the use of other media, in addition to print. A "books-on-tape" audio cassette on the African American history of New Bern would appeal both to visitors and also to elderly residents for whom print is difficult. A video history of New Bern's African American architecture might also be produced.

(5) Encourage the adaptive reuse of vacant buildings, such as the frame grocery store on the east side of the 600 block of West Street, and the King Solomon Lodge on Howard Street. Perhaps the City of New Bern can adjust local zoning regulations to allow some of the vacant neighborhood stores and other commercial buildings to be restored to commercial uses, which encourage neighborhood vitality.

(6) Amend the current zoning ordinance to adopt design standards for mobile homes in these neighborhoods. The current zoning classification for the majority of the survey area is R-6 Residential, which allows mobile homes as a permitted residential use type. Such structures are not compatible with existing older houses in terms of massing, scale, window patterns, materials, and setback on the lot. Their presence on a block tends to erode the rhythmic patterns of a cohesive streetscape, creating gaps. However, mobile homes often provide affordable housing. Therefore, the City should consider amending the ordinance to enact design standards that will help mobile homes "fit" more appropriately into these neighborhoods. (Mobile homes should probably be prohibited in those areas determined eligible for the National Register of Historic Places).

(7) Recommend the establishment of a systematic program of "infill construction" on vacant lots in the survey area, especially in Long Wharf which suffers from a higher degree of vacant land than does Greater Duffyfield. Housing should be compatible with surrounding structures. Utilize housing groups such as Habitat for Humanity of Greater New Bern and other non-profits such as a housing development corporation to acquire the lots and construct the houses. Work with local architectural firms to develop prototype house plans that would fit on the lots. The Habitat for Humanity House at 222 Jones Street is a good example of this approach. Also, be on the lookout for historic buildings that will be demolished in other parts of the city or county; consider whether these might be moved onto vacant lots in the survey area and rehabilitated for the same cost as new construction.

(8) Many of the buildings in the survey have been insensitively remodeled over the years. Removal of original porch features, use of replacement windows, and the addition of synthetic sidings have diminished the architectural integrity of many structures and will hinder National Register eligibility. Efforts should be made by the City's Historic Preservation Commission and the New Bern Preservation Foundation to provide technical assistance to homeowners wishing to make improvements to their houses. The City should also develop a set of rehabilitation guidelines for City-sponsored housing programs aimed at preserving character-defining elements of buildings.

To be eligible for the National Register of Historic Places, a building or a district must retain "substantial integrity of building materials and workmanship." In this district, the chief character-defining elements include: the overall shape of the building, the shape and detailing of window and door openings, the width of siding, and the presence of a porch and type of porch posts. Replacement siding should replicate the proportions of the original weatherboard. Original trim around doors, window, and eaves should not be removed or hidden beneath artificial siding. The significance of using like materials and proportions for replacement porch posts cannot be overemphasized.

(9) Attempt to combat the problems of absentee property ownership, which make it difficult to remedy substandard housing in the neighborhood. Encourage programs aimed at increasing homeownership, in order to instill pride in the neighborhood and serve as an incentive for housing improvements.

Note: The list of potentially eligible properties below is not a complete list for Long Wharf and Greater Duffyfield; there are certainly other buildings and/or districts that may prove to be eligible. None of the buildings on this list have been inspected on the interior, and substantial interior alterations might render a building ineligible because of a lack of architectural integrity.

Individual Buildings Potentially Eligible for the National Register of Historic Places:

King Solomon Lodge #1, Howard Street
Greenwood Cemetery, Cypress Street
First Baptist Church, Cypress Street
St. John M. B. Church, New South Front Street
Rhone Hotel, Queen Street
Rue Chapel A. M. E. Zion Church, Oak Street
R. G. Moseley House, 203 Jones Street
Charles H. Harris House, 1020 Church Street
House, 309 Jones Street

Districts Potentially Eligible for the National Register of Historic Places:

DRYBOROUGH DISTRICT, roughly bounded by Queen, West, Bern and Cedar streets. This contains such individually eligible landmarks as Dr. Fisher's ca. 1908 Office, Good Shepherd Hospital, Disosway Memorial Clinic, Royal Cleaners & Club, the I-House at 612-614 West Street, and a number of brick and frame Foursquare and Craftsman houses built by prominent African American families in the 1920s. The boundaries of this district need to be studied to determine if a larger area is eligible.

WEST END DISTRICT (The Avenues), bounded by Broad Street, First Avenue, Cedar Street and Third Avenue. West End, platted in 1911 and built largely between 1913 and 1924, contains the largest concentration of two-story front gable houses in New Bern's African-American neighborhoods.

GREENWOOD CEMETERY DISTRICT? The cemetery and the rows of buildings overlooking it on the east, along North Bern Street, and on the south, along Cypress Street, are potentially eligible because of the substantial significance of the cemetery, First Baptist Church, and the concentration of early twentieth century 2-story front gable houses. "F" and "A" streets on the north and west of the cemetery have lost most of their historic buildings and are probably not eligible for inclusion in the district.

LONG WHARF DISTRICT? A district in Long Wharf is more problematic because of this neighborhood has lost much of its historic fabric. Perhaps some portion of Jones and Church streets, including the individual houses mentioned above, might be eligible.

Notes

¹ Peter Sandbeck, The Historic Architecture of New Bern and Craven County, North Carolina (New Bern: Tryon Palace Commission, 1988), p. 3. Joni Lynn Webb, "Commoners and Courtiers in the New World: Von Graffenreid's Settlement at New Bern" (UNC M.A. Thesis, 1981). Graffenreid's initial settlers seem not to have had slaves, but Graffenreid himself owned two African Americans who he brought along as personal servants. Vincent Todd and Julius Goebel, Christoph von Graffenreid's Account of the Founding of New Bern (Spartanburg, SC: The Reprint Company, 1973), pp. 91, 251, 263, 267.

² Alan D. Watson, A History of New Bern and Craven County (New Bern: Tryon Palace Commission, 1987), p. xiv.

³ Sandbeck, Historic Architecture, p. xiv. Watson, History of New Bern and Craven County, pp. 63 - 64.

⁴ John Hope Franklin, From Slavery to Freedom: A History of Negro Americans (New York: Vintage Books, 1969), pp. 78 - 83. Jeffrey J. Crow, The Black Experience in Revolutionary North Carolina (Raleigh: North Carolina Department of Cultural Resources, 1977), p. 2. See also Marvin Kay and Lorin Cary, "A Demographic Analysis of Colonial North Carolina, with Special Emphasis on Slave and Black Populations," in Jeffrey Crow and Flora Hatley, eds., Black Americans in North Carolina and the South (Chapel Hill: UNC Press, 1984), pp. 71 - 121.

⁵ William S. Powell, ed., "Tryon's Book on North Carolina," North Carolina Historical Review 34:3 (July 1957), pp. 406 - 415. Also William S. Price, Jr., "North Carolina and the First British Empire: Economy and Society in an Eighteenth Century Colony," in Lindley Butler and Alan Watson, eds., The North Carolina Experience: An Interpretive and Documentary History (Chapel Hill: UNC Press, 1984), especially p. 92.

⁶ Crow, Black Experience in Revolutionary North Carolina, p. 98.

⁷ Stantonburg was located near Wilson, a considerable distance inland. New Bern Spectator, December 18, 1830. David S. Cecelski, "The Shores of Freedom: The Maritime Underground Railroad in North Carolina, 1800 - 1861," North Carolina Historical Review 71:2 (April 1994), pp. 174 - 203.

⁸ Cecelski, "Shores of Freedom," p. 200.

⁹ Watson, History of New Bern and Craven County, pp. 307 - 10. Also John Hope Franklin, The Free Negro in North Carolina, 1790 - 1860 (Chapel Hill: UNC Press, 1943), pp. 31 - 32, 94, 107 - 08, 131, 190 - 91. In 1820 the Census counted 268 free blacks residing in New Bern. By 1830, the Census counted 1,766 slaves and 367 free blacks. Sandbeck, Historic Architecture, pp. 37, 91. Free black numbers grew faster in percentage terms, in fact, than either whites or slaves, hitting 689 people in 1860. For more background on free blacks in North Carolina, consult Ira Berlin, Slaves Without Masters: The Free Negro in the Antebellum South (New York: Pantheon, 1974), pp. 92 - 99, 251.

¹⁰ Franklin, Free Negro in North Carolina, p. 131.

¹¹ Quoted in Sandbeck, Historic Architecture, p. 90. Watson, History of New Bern and Craven County, p. 310. Black women also sometimes worked as craftspeople, for instance Catherine Stanly who made dresses for white customers. Franklin, Free Negro in North Carolina, p. 143.

¹² Green's house at 411 Johnson Street still stands and is marked by a plaque. Sandbeck, Historic Architecture, pp. 279 - 80.

¹³ Like Green, Stanly also had his house on Johnson Street. Sandbeck, Historic Architecture, pp. 277 - 78. Stanly was so wealthy that he was able to buy slaves and set them free. Loren Schweningen, "John Carruthers Stanly and the Anomaly of Black Slaveholding," North Carolina Historical Review LXVII: 2 (April 1990), pp. 158 - 192. Franklin, Free Negro in North Carolina, pp. 31 - 32, 126 - 28, 14, 149 - 50, 158 - 62. Other free blacks also owned slaves. Already in 1790 the census listed three such prosperous individuals in Craven County: Samuel Simmons, Ann Russel, and John Allen. By the 1830 census, fourteen free blacks at New Bern were listed as possessing slaves. Watson, History of New Bern and Craven County, p. 310.

¹⁴ Franklin, From Slavery to Freedom, p. 202. Watson, History of New Bern and Craven County, p. 311.

¹⁵ Sandbeck, Historic Architecture, p. 35. Watson, History of New Bern and Craven County, p. xiii.

¹⁶ Watson, History of New Bern and Craven County, pp. 289 - 93.

¹⁷ On New Bern's economy of the eve of the Civil War, see Watson, History of New Bern and Craven County, pp. 255 - 63.

¹⁸ Watson, History of New Bern and Craven County, p. 307.

¹⁹ Hugh Talmadge Leffler and Albert Ray Newsome, North Carolina: The History of a Southern State (Chapel Hill: UNC Press, 1973), p. 458.

²⁰ Joe A. Mobley, James City: A Black Community in North Carolina, 1863 - 1900 (Raleigh: North Carolina Department of Cultural Resources, 1981), pp. 2, 5. Sandbeck, Historic Architecture, p. 123. Eric Anderson, Race and Politics in North Carolina, 1872 - 1901: The Black Second (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1981), pp. 8 - 9. Harper's Weekly, February 21, 1863. Among the arrivals was Joseph Charles Price, a boy whose mother brought him to the city in hope of education. The hope fulfilled, the young man moved to Wilson, North Carolina, to teach school and later became the educational leader of the A. M. E. Zion church, serving as founding president of Livingstone College in Salisbury and becoming a major national spokesman on race matters in the years before Booker T. Washington took on that role. Paul Yandle, "Joseph Charles Price and His 'Particular Work,' Part 1," North Carolina Historical Review LXX:1 (January 1993), pp. 40 - 56. Others young arrivals during the War included future A. M. E. Zion minister W. H. Whidbee, and future New Bern funeral director Isaiah Hatch. Star of Zion, October 5, 1899. Isaiah P. Hatch, An Autobiography of I. P. Hatch of New Bern, N.C. (New Bern: privately published, 1964) [copy in collection of the Kellenberger Room, New Bern Public Library].

²¹ Quoted in Mobley, James City, p. 7.

²² Mobley, James City, pp. 7 - 9.

²³ Colonel Beecher's widow later published her memories of the regiment's activities. Frances Beecher Perkins, "Two Years With a Colored Regiment," New England Magazine new series 17 (1897 / 98), pp. 533 - 43. Lyman Beecher Stowe, Saints, Sinners and Beechers (Indianapolis: Bobs-Merrill, 1934), p. 384. On the Thirty-Fifth, as well as the Thirty-Sixth and Thirty-Seventh, also recruited at least in part at New

Bern, see Richard Reid, "Raising the African American Brigade: Early Black Recruitment in Civil War North Carolina," North Carolina Historical Review 70:3 (July 1993), pp. 266 - 301. David A. Norris, "Black Union Soldiers of North Carolina," The State 61:7 (December 1993), pp. 28 - 31. Joseph T. Glatthaar, Forged in Battle: The Civil War Alliance of Black Soldiers and White Officers (Glencoe: New York Free Press, 1990), p. 240. Official Army Register of the Volunteer Force of the United States Army for the Years 1861, '62, '63, '64, '65, Part VIII Washington: Adjutant General's Office, 1876), p. 206. William A. Gladstone, United States Colored Troops, 1863 - 1867 (Gettysburg: Thomas Publications, 1990). An 1893 report on New Bern's Civil War-era National Cemetery listed 424 "colored Union soldiers" among its 3294 burials. 1893 New Bern city directory, p. 20.

²⁴ Quoted in Perkins, "Two Years With a Colored Regiment," p. 535.

²⁵ Quoted in Perkins, "Two Years With a Colored Regiment," p. 536.

²⁶ Mobley, James City, pp. 21 - 22. On education efforts among the former slaves during the War, see New Bern Sun Journal, August 16, 1974.

²⁷ Quoted in Mobley, James City, p. 4.

²⁸ On Reconstruction and late nineteenth century history in North Carolina, the best recent work is Paul Escott, Many Excellent People: Power and Privilege in North Carolina, 1850 - 1900 (Chapel Hill: UNC Press, 1985).

²⁹ The branch at New Bern was the first organized in North Carolina: subsequent branches opened at Raleigh and Wilmington. Cashiers of the New Bern branch over the years of its existence included Edward Woag, A. A. Ellsworth, C. A. Nelson, all white, and a black pastor named William Steward. Local deposits at one point stood at over \$40,000, a considerable sum in the 1860s. Charles R. Osthaus, Freedmen, Philanthropy and Fraud: A History of the Freedmen's Savings Bank (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1976), especially pp. 30, 232. Also Franklin, From Slavery to Freedom, pp. 314 - 15. Watson, History of New Bern and Craven County, p. 451.

³⁰ For a profile of one white New Bern Republican, William J. Clarke, see Escott, Many Excellent People, p. 142. African Americans in New Bern, as elsewhere in the South, were adamant in their support of the Republican Party, the party of Lincoln, and in their distrust of the Democratic Party, which was led largely by members the pre-war white elite. Said a New Bern black Republican group when asked why they did not support the Democrats: "Treat us like men and all will be well, that is all we ask, for we are men among men. We are free as you are, and we intend to be free from you until you learn to respect us as free men, but if you expect us to vote away our freedom, you are certainly mistaken." Quoted in Watson, History of New Bern and Craven County, p. 434.

³¹ Watson, History of New Bern and Craven County, p. 437, 471.

³² Frenise Logan, The Negro in North Carolina, 1876 - 1894 (Chapel Hill: UNC Press, 1964), pp. 32 - 22. Lefler and Newsome, North Carolina, p. 552. African Americans were unable to achieve representation in proportion to their population anywhere in the state in this period. Escott, Many Excellent People. Anderson, Race and Politics in North Carolina.

³³ George White would be the South's last black United States Congressman until the Civil Rights era. Anderson, Race and Politics in North Carolina. Logan, Negro in North Carolina, pp. 32 - 33. Lefler and Newsome, North Carolina, p. 552. The number and method of choosing New Bern aldermen shifted continuously through the late nineteenth century as the Republican majority and the more economically powerful Democratic minority struggled for control. The Board had 10 members in 1869, shifted back to 7 members in 1871, to 11 members with unequal ward representation in 1875, to 5 in 1877, to 8 in 1879, to

5 in 1895, to 11 under Governor Russell in 1897, to 12 under the Democrats in 1899. Watson, History of New Bern and Craven County, pp. 439 - 40, 471, 505 - 06.

34 Watson, History of New Bern and Craven County, p. 471.

35 Elliott and Logsdon, "New Bern African American Neighborhoods."

36 Sandbeck, Historic Architecture, pp. xv, 123 - 28.

37 Sandbeck, Historic Architecture, pp. 125, 128 - 29. Watson, History of New Bern and Craven County, pp. 521 - 28.

38 Watson, History of New Bern and Craven County, p. 559. John B. Green III, A New Bern Album: Old Photographs of New Bern, North Carolina and the Surrounding Countryside (New Bern: Tryon Palace Commission, 1985), pp. 114 - 15.

39 The St. Peter's congregation was originally known as Andrew Chapel. William J. Walls, The African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church: Reality of the Black Church (Charlotte: A. M. E. Zion publishing House, 1974), pp. 186 - 90. Watson, History of New Bern and Craven County, p. 413. On Hood, see also Logan, Negro in North Carolina, pp. 43, 99, 143, 171 - 72. The Hancock Street location was shown on the 1866 Shotwell map. St. Peter's dedicated a new building facing Cedar Grove Cemetery in 1886, described in detail in the Star of Zion, August 27, 1886 (Also profile of lay leader G. S. Fisher, Star of Zion, December 10, 1886).

40 Watson, History of New Bern and Craven County, pp. 575 - 76. On dedication of a new building for Clinton Chapel, see the Star of Zion, July 30, 1886.

41 Sandbeck, Historic Architecture, pp. 288 - 89. Watson, History of New Bern and Craven County, pp. 575 - 76. Pictures of Ebenezer Presbyterian and of the original building of St. Cyprian's Church, a former white Baptist church, may be found in Green, New Bern Album, pp. 177, 184. Many of New Bern's free black leaders had evidently favored the Episcopal denomination even before the Civil War. "They dress elegantly and have taken the Episcopal Church," wrote white leader James A. Bryan to his brother in 1854. "The pastor has a tremendous Sunday School of the Negro Elite." Quoted in Watson, History of New Bern and Craven County, p. 311.

42 1880 - 81 New Bern city directory. On a labor meeting at Red Church on West Street 1881, see Mobley, James City, p. 72.

43 About 1870, Israel B. Abbott and J. B. Brown created the Young Men's Intelligent and Enterprising Association to step up the push for education. Watson, History of New Bern and Craven County, pp. 451, 564, 568. Efforts continued through the decade. Mobley, James City, p. 69. On debates over financing of public education in the 1880s, see Logan, Negro in North Carolina, p. 158, 160 - 61.

44 West Street School in the early twentieth century is pictured in Green, New Bern Album, p. 188. Today the building is gone, but a large commemorative stone tablet marks its site.

45 Watson, History of New Bern and Craven County, p. 569. Logan, Negro in North Carolina, p. 144. A brief article on the normal school appeared in the Star of Zion, August 27, 1886.

46 William C. Turner, "African-American Education in Eastern North Carolina: American Baptist Mission Work," American Baptist Quarterly XI:4 (December 1992), pp. 290 - 308. Watson, History of New Bern and Craven County, p. 573, 599 - 600. See also J. A. Whitted, A History of Negro Baptists in North

Carolina (Raleigh: Edwards & Broughton, 1906). An ad for the New Bern "Collegiate and Industrial Institute" appeared in the Star of Zion, November 26, 1908. For a photograph of the A. M. E. Zion Church's "Eastern Carolina Industrial Academy," see the Star of Zion, June 24, 1915.

47 Watson, History of New Bern and Craven County, pp. 447 - 48, 520.

48 Three of New Bern's nineteen lawyers were black -- Williamson, O'Hara, and White -- according to the 1893 New Bern city directory. On lawyer James O'Hara, also a leading political figure in this era, see Eric Anderson, "James O'Hara of North Carolina: Black Leadership and Local Government," in Howard Rabinowitz, ed., Southern Black Leaders of the Reconstruction Era (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1982), pp. 101 - 27.

49 Glenda Gilmore, "Gender and Jim Crow: Sarah Dudley Pettey's Vision of the New South," North Carolina Historical Review LXVII: 3 (July 1991), p. 267. That ranking continued through the 1880s. Watson, History of New Bern and Craven County, p. 548.

50 Watson, History of New Bern and Craven County, p. 566. See also Gilmore, "Gender and Jim Crow," pp. 261 - 85. The Star of Zion moved to Petersburg, Virginia, then in 1886 to Salisbury, North Carolina, and ultimately to Charlotte in the 1890s where it continued into the mid twentieth century. Issues beginning in 1884 are available on microfilm in the North Carolina Collection, Wilson Library, UNC Chapel Hill.

51 Watson, History of New Bern and Craven County, pp. 548, 566.

52 Mark T. Taylor, "Seiners and Tongers: North Carolina Fisheries in the Old and New South," North Carolina Historical Review LXIX: 1 (January 1992), pp. 1 - 33.

53 Watson, History of New Bern and Craven County, p. 545. Logan, Negro in North Carolina, p. 101.

54 1893 New Bern city directory. For a photograph of a black New Bern street vendor, see Green, New Bern Album, p. 233.

55 Those involved included John F. Fisher, Merritt Whitey, William L. Lassiter, Raphael O'Hara, J. P. Stanly, Frank B. West and William Crispin. The institution failed in 1915. Watson, History of New Bern and Craven County, pp. 542 - 43. This New Bern bank pre-dated two better-known black financial institutions in the state: the famous North Carolina Mutual Life Insurance Company, organized in 1898, and the long-lived Mechanics and Farmers Bank, chartered in 1907, both of Durham. Walter Weare, Black Business in the New South: A Social History of the North Carolina Mutual Life Insurance Company, 2nd ed. (Durham: Duke University Press, 1993), pp. 29 - 32, 81 - 82.

56 It is not known whether Smith was himself a slave as a youth. Craven County Register of Deeds Office: grantor - grantee books. This biographical sketch draws also on the Raleigh News and Observer, August 24, 1899.

57 In 1894 Smith had participated along with George H. White in the negotiations which brought about Fusion statewide. Smith was one of only five African Americans to win election to the North Carolina legislature in 1899. Once in office, he was an outspoken foe of Disfranchisement efforts, attempted to secure a compulsory education law for black children ages six to eleven, and pushed for passage of legislation to reimburse shareholders in the failed Freedmen's Bank. Helen Edmonds, The Negro in Fusion Politics in North Carolina, 1894 - 1901 (New York: Russell and Russell, 1973), pp. 36, 106 - 08, 180 - 81. Smith served a single term 1899 - 1900. John Cheney, Jr., North Carolina Government, 1585 - 1979: A Narrative and Statistical History (Raleigh: NC Department of the Secretary of State, 1981), p. 477. On

Smith's activities in Raleigh, see for instance the Raleigh News and Observer, January 10, 1899, New Bern Journal, January 10, 11, 19, 27, February 19, 1899.

58 Smith's detailed will, leaving substantial amounts to Episcopal Church organizations and educational institutions as well as to his family, ran more than eight over-sized pages. Craven County records of wills, book ?, pp. 359 - 367.

59 Watson, History of New Bern and Craven County, p. 554.

60 Watson, History of New Bern and Craven County, p. 560. Sandbeck, Historic Architecture, pp. 297 - 98. On two other social aid organizations, the Powell Rising Star and the Loving Union, see the New Bern Journal, February 17, 1899.

61 Watson, History of New Bern and Craven County, p. 508. Logan, Negro in North Carolina, p. 205.

62 Watson, History of New Bern and Craven County, p. 563. Logan, Negro in North Carolina, p. 204.

63 Watson, History of New Bern and Craven County, p. 576. Mobley, James City, p. 75. "A colored excursion of eight coaches came over from Wilmington yesterday on the A.C. Line and returned last night at 10 o'clock. A game of [base]ball at the Fair grounds between Wilmington and New Bern resulted in a victory for the home team by a score of 10 to 7. The New Bern team made 6 runs in the 9th inning." New Bern Journal, July 14, 1900.

64 Watson, History of New Bern and Craven County, p. 550.

65 Watson, History of New Bern and Craven County, p. 495. J. K. Rouse, The Noble Experiment of Warren C. Coleman (Cabarrus County, North Carolina: privately published, 1972).

66 Sandbeck, Historic Architecture, pp. 297 - 98.

67 Gilmore, "Gender and Jim Crow."

68 Walls, African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church, p. 187. A state historical marker honoring Hood stands in New Bern on Broad Street at George Street. Lenwood G. Davis, A Travel Guide to Black Historical Sites and Landmarks in North Carolina (Winston Salem: Bandit Books, 1991), pp. 145 - 46. Among New Bern's many subsequent A. M. E. Zion leaders was Rev. James Henry Mosely, born in the city in 1864 and educated at New Bern's normal school under the leadership of George H. White. Mosely founded several churches in Craven County, and served as Principal of the Pleasant Hill public school. Star of Zion, November 30, 1899.

69 Edmonds, Negro and Fusion Politics. Anderson, Race and Politics in North Carolina. Escott, Many Excellent People. Watson, History of New Bern and Craven County, p. 469. Richard L. Watson, Jr., "Furnifold M. Simmons and the Politics of White Supremacy," in Jeffrey Crow, Paul Escott and Charles Flynn, Race, Class and Politics in Southern History: Essays in Honor of Robert Durden (Baton Rouge: LSU Press, 1989), pp. 126 - 72. (especially 158 - 59).

70 Headline from the Charlotte Daily Observer, August 24, 1897. Interestingly, as recently as 1886, the white Daily Journal of New Bern had argued "Drawing the color line is wrong in principle. . . . The negroes are citizens and have the right of suffrage." See story reprinted in the Star of Zion, November 26, 1886.

71 Edmonds, Negro in Fusion Politics, p. 112.

⁷² Raleigh News and Observer, September 18, 1898.

⁷³ Raleigh News and Observer, September 18, 1898.

⁷⁴ Quoted in J. Morgan Kousser, The Shaping of Southern Politics (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1974), p. 190.

⁷⁵ White Supremacy Clubs to stage "Grand Rally" on July 26: New Bern Journal, July 13, 1900. Reported July 27, 1900. Editorial urges the "colored voter" not to vote. New Bern Journal, July 30, 1900. Election returns, New Bern Journal, August 3, 1900.

⁷⁶ On the progress of the new charter through the North Carolina legislature, see the New Bern Journal, January 8 - 24, 1899. On the primary for this new Council, New Bern Journal, January 11, 1899. On the Trustee situation, New Bern Journal, February 2, 3, 5, 12, 1899. The bill establishing the new charter was ratified February 20. New Bern Journal, February 21, 1899. Edmonds, Negro and Fusion Politics, p. 188.

At the same time, the County Commission was reorganized, for a similar purpose. Instead of being elected by the people, Commissioners would be appointed by county Justices of the Peace (Justices were selected by the state Legislature, controlled by Democrats, who boasted their policy of no Negro appointments. New Bern Journal, March 1, 1899). Also, four new seats were added to the three-person Commission in order to dilute the power of sitting Republicans. Existing commission: R. G. Mosely (black), John Biddle (white), R. P. Williams (white). New members: E. W. Smallwood, H. C. Wood, S. W. Latham, W. C. Brewer. New Bern Journal, January 25, 27, February 2, 3, 12, 13, 1899.

Similar strategies also eliminated most black and white Republican officials appointed by Craven County's Board of Commissioners. "Whereas this board mistaking its powers did on the first Monday in December 1898, fail to qualify and induct into office the following named county officers, to wit: Clerk of Superior Court, treasurer, register of deeds, and surveyor; and Whereas at the said meeting each of the aforesaid candidates elected to each of said offices failed to tender for approval their several official bonds as required by law. . . do hereby declare each of the aforesaid offices vacant." In their place, W. M. Watson was appointed clerk of Superior Court, Ernest M. Green register of deeds, Thomas Daniels treasurer, and Daniel Lane surveyor. Democrats were unable to make a clean-sweep, however. "The official bond of [black physician] Dr. W. L. Lassister, Coroner-elect, was presented through his attorney Raphael O'Hara" and accepted -- he evidently was able to retain his seat at least briefly. New Bern Journal, January 14, 1899.

⁷⁷ New Bern Journal, July 24, 1900. On debates over passage of Jim Crow railroad car segregation in North Carolina, see for instance the New Bern Journal, January 31, February 2, March 1, 1899. A ringing speech by White on the issue of "white supremacy" was reprinted in the Star of Zion, February 9, 1899. On black resistance at the national level, see for instance coverage of the conference of the National Afro - American Council, Star of Zion, January 5, 1899.

⁷⁸ Anderson, Race and Politics in North Carolina, p. 308. Not until the 1928, when Chicagoan Oscar de Priest won election, would there be another African American Congressman in Washington. No blacks would serve from the South until the Civil Rights era of the 1960s. Helen Edmonds, Black Faces in High Places: Negroes in Government (New York: Harcourt, Brace, Jovanovich, 1971), pp. 9 - 10. George H. White died in Philadelphia, December 28, 1918. New Bern Sun Journal, December 27, 1975, July 2, 1976. Today a marker on Broad Street near Metcalf points visitors to White's 1890 residence at 519 Johnson Street, which still stands. Davis, Travel Guide to Black Historical Sites, pp. 146 - 47. Sandbeck, Historic Architecture, pp. 285 - 86. On the wider exodus sparked by the White Supremacy campaign, see an 1899 editorial in the Star of Zion: "The exodus of the Negroes from this State now, like the cloud seen by the prophet Elijah, is no larger than a man's hand. Whether it will grow larger and cover the entire State depends upon the future actions of the whites toward the blacks, and upon the result of the proposed

depends upon the future actions of the whites toward the blacks, and upon the result of the proposed constitutional amendment." Star of Zion, May 4, 1899. Significantly, the number of black farm operators in Craven dropped sharply after 1900, declining 22% in the years 1910 - 1925 alone. Watson, History of New Bern and Craven County, p. 583.

79 Watson, History of New Bern and Craven County, p. 550. New Bern Journal, March 13, 1900. Among the hundred or so prosperous African Americans listed in the 1893 New Bern city directory, nine (almost ten percent of the total) worked at the A & NC RR shops. Jobs included blacksmith, fireman, car cleaner, and operator of the facility's stationary steam engine. Along with these skilled workers, the railroad undoubtedly made use of unskilled black laborers.

80 Sandbeck, Historic Architecture, pp. 130, 152, 435 - 37.

81 Sandbeck, Historic Architecture, p. 149.

82 Watson, History of New Bern and Craven County, pp. 579, 604 - 06. Raleigh News and Observer, April 6, 1941.

83 Sandbeck, Historic Architecture, p. 151. Watson, History of New Bern and Craven County, pp. 594 - 95. For photographs, see Green, New Bern Album, pp. 286 - 89.

84 Annie Day Smith Donaldson, interview with Ruth Little and Tom Hanchett in New Bern, November 16, 1993.

85 Trained at Knoxville College in Tennessee, Daves traveled for fourteen years employed by the state of North Carolina as a dental hygienist in rural schools, before lawyer Raphael O'Hara convinced him to settle in New Bern. In 1990 his house still stood at 416 Bern Avenue. New Bern Sun Journal, March 18, 1990.

86 Louis Foy, interview with Tom Hanchett in New Bern, April 8, 1994. The building disappeared from city directories in the late 1930s - early 1940s, indicating it may have been torn down during creation of the adjacent Craven Terrace public housing project.

87 1926 directory: New Bern Negro Business League, 94 Queen Street. Lewis C. Starkey, rentals and collections 94 Queen [between Bern and George], house 19 Forbes. Simeon Hatch, funeral director 12 Kilmarnock, house 42 Elm (not affiliated with I. P. Hatch). George A. Moore, grocer 192 Pollock, h 52 Burn. Hugh L. Whitley, Merritt Whitey & Sons funeral directors 76 Burn, house 72 Burn. Henry P. Kennedy, pharmacist 5 Points Drug Store, h 71 George. (proprietor of Drug is wife Maggie).

88 Green, New Bern Album, pp. 152 - 53. John B. Green III, telephone interview with Thomas Hanchett, January 2, 1994. Other research points to the 1900s as the decade when a number of "black main streets" came into being. Dana F. White, "The Black Sides of Atlanta: A Geography of Expansion and Containment, 1870 - 1970," Atlanta Historical Journal 26: 2 - 3 (Summer - Fall 1982), pp. 199 - 225. Jerry Cross, "Washington Street Historic District, High Point" (unpublished report, 1982, in the files of the North Carolina Division of Archives and History). Also see Wilmouth Carter, The Urban Negro in the South (New York: Vantage, 1961) for a sociologist's period study of Raleigh's black main street.

89 Lee R. Morgan, interview with Thomas Hanchett, November 16, 1993.

90 This partial list of Five Points businesses is based on the 1947 - 48 New Bern city directory. Residents remember George Dowdy's cafe as "one of the elite Negro restaurants, . . . a cultural center where people met to communicate." Foy interview.

91 The Memo, May 1987. Watson, History of New Bern and Craven County, p. 599. 1941 city directory.

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- 92 New Bern Sun Journal, July 2, 1976. Watson, History of New Bern and Craven County, pp. 603 - 04. Whites had earlier secured a sizeable New Deal grant to renovate the white-only New Bern Public Library. Emergency Relief in North Carolina (1936), pp. 182, 185.
- 93 New Bern Sun Journal, July 2, 1976. Since 1973, the building has been owned by the Climbers Club, a New Bern affiliate of the North Carolina Association of Negro Women's Clubs. New Bern Sun Journal, February 28, 1990.
- 94 Plaques in the office building at Craven Terrace list the men involved with the original project, and the 1952 expansion. In 1941, James M. West was chairman, and Rev. R. I. Johnson chaired the "Colored Advisory Committee," while A. Mitchell Wooten was architect and John J. Rowland associate architect. In 1952, Rowland served as chief architect. Sandbeck, Historic Architecture, p. 426. New Bern Sun - Journal, July 2, 1976. "For New Bern, where two-thirds of all dwellings were substandard, the USHA planned a project of 434 units." Douglas Carl Abrams, Conservative Constraints: North Carolina and the New Deal (Jackson, Mississippi: University Press of Mississippi, 1993), p. 256.
- 95 Emergency Relief in North Carolina (Raleigh: North Carolina Emergency Relief Administration, 1936), pp. 130, 382. Census records showed blacks as 48% of the county population in 1930, and 45% in 1940. United States Bureau of the Census, 1940 Census: Statistics of Population. Abrams, Conservative Constraints, chapters 5 and 6.
- 96 Green, New Bern Album, pp. 330 - 51.
- 97 Sandbeck, Historic Architecture. Colin W. Barnett, The Impact of Historic Preservation on New Bern, North Carolina: From Tryon Palace to the Coor - Cook House (Winston Salem: Bandit Books, 1993).
- 98 Sandbeck, Historic Architecture, pp. xvi, 149.
- 99 New Bern Sun Journal, June 10, 1989, April 6, 1990, March 24, 1991.
- 100 For a photograph of some of the structures demolished, see Green, New Bern Album, p. 282. Sandbeck, Historic Architecture, p. xvi. Redevelopment Commission chair was John G. Dunn, and Eric Hill Associates of Atlanta, Georgia, prepared the renewal plans. New Bern Sun Journal, October 23, 1968, July 27, 1969, July 20, 1973, November 14, 1974, December 17, 1976, November 1, 1984, October 12, 1989. In the early 1960s, the city had considered a similar type of project focused on Greater Duffyfield and Long Wharf, but decided against it. New Bern Sun Journal, July 16, 1962.
- 101 New Bern Sun Journal, February 4, 1975.
- 102 New Bern Sun Journal, July 10, 1980, June 11, 1993.
- 103 Morgan interview.
- 104 On events in 1965, see unattributed clipping in the North Carolina Collection Clipping File, UNC Chapel Hill. On a 1965 cross-burning, New Bern Sun Journal, November 6, 1965. On the 1968 unrest, Raleigh News and Observer, April 10, 1968. New Bern Sun Journal, April 10, 1968. Watson, History of New Bern and Craven County, p. 606.
- 105 Morgan interview. Local black leaders in the Civil Rights Movement included Rev. Leon "Buckshot" Nixon, Rev. W. G. Hickman and attorney Reginald Fraizer. Also active were members of the Vail family, including William G. Vail whose employment as an electrician at Cherry Point Marine Base insulated him

somewhat from fears of economic reprisal. Bernard George, New Bern Zoning Administrator, interview with Tom Hanchett, April 8, 1994.

¹⁰⁶ The 1989 election was New Bern's first since the 1900s in which citizens elected representatives by districts, instead of at-large. New Bern Sun-Journal, October 1, 1989. Voters chose Morgan as Mayor, Julius Parnham as 1st Ward Alderman, Robert Raynor as 2nd Ward Alderman, and Barbara Lee as 5th Ward Alderman, all African Americans. Filling out the Board were three whites: Bill Ballenger from 6th Ward, Don McDowell from 4th Ward, and Pat McClanahan from 3rd Ward. Morgan garnered 55% of the vote, racking up majorities in every ward except the 6th. New Bern Sun-Journal, October 11 & 12, 1989.

¹⁰⁷ On this pattern elsewhere in the South, see especially Richard Wade, Slavery in the Cities: The South, 1820 - 1860 (New York: Oxford University Press, 1964), pp. 55 - 79, 275. On the persistence of intermingling well after the Civil War, see John P. Radford, "Race, Residence and Ideology: Charleston, South Carolina, in the Mid-Nineteenth Century," Journal of Historical Geography 2:4 (1976), pp. 329 - 46. Cary D. Wintz, "The Emergence of a Black Neighborhood: Houston's Fourth Ward, 1865 - 1915," in Char Miller and Heywood Sanders, Urban Texas: Politics and Development (College Station: Texas A & M university, 1990), pp. 96 - 109. Also John Kellogg, "The Formation of Black Residential Areas in Lexington, Kentucky, 1865 - 1887," Journal of Southern History 48:1 (February 1982), pp. 21 - 52. John Kellogg, "Negro Urban Clusters in the Post-Bellum South," Geographical Review 47 (July 1977), pp. 310 - 21. Howard Rabinowitz, Race Relations in the Urban South, 1865 - 1890 (New York: Oxford University Press, 1978).

¹⁰⁸ Green interview.

¹⁰⁹ Bill Reeves, North Carolina Freedman's Savings and Trust Company Records (Raleigh: North Carolina Geneological Society, 1992). Jackson is record 1679, Jones is record 1780.

¹¹⁰ Hatch, Autobiography of I. P. Hatch, pp. 38 - 41.

¹¹¹ This particular duplex form is found sprinkled throughout the African-American neighborhoods up through the 1931 Sanborn Map, usually occurring singly, or in groups of two or three. See Sheet 8, 1924 Sanborn Map, for examples on New South Front Street in Long Wharf. See Sheet 22, 1931 Sanborn Map, for examples in the Five Points area, the first block of Bern St. north of Queen Street.

¹¹² Donaldson interview.

¹¹³ Morgan interview.

¹¹⁴ Donaldson interview.

¹¹⁵ Jordan was listed as "bricklayer," living at 207 Norwood Avenue, in the 1947 - 48 city directory. In 1969 he was listed as "retired," at the same address. According to Foy, Jordan's wife is still alive. Foy interview with Hanchett. Louis Foy, interview with Greg Sekula, February 1994. Donaldson interview.

¹¹⁶ Sandbeck, Historic Architecture, pp. 166, 212, 213, 214, 251, 252.

¹¹⁷ Sheet 11, Sanborn Insurance Company Map of New Bern, 1898.

¹¹⁸ Donaldson interview.

¹¹⁹ Tom Butchko, "Shepard Street-South Road Street Historic District" nomination, Elizabeth City, 1993 (copy on file at North Carolina Historic Preservation Office)

¹²⁰ Donaldson interview.

121 Elliott and Logsdon, "New Bern African American Neighborhoods," pp. 8 - 9. Neither Stanly nor Good lived on their Long Wharf lots, but instead held them for investment and lived elsewhere in town.

122 Sandbeck, Historic Architecture, pp. 93 - 94. A Union hospital may have stood in Long Wharf during the Civil War. Resident Louis Foy recalls descriptions of a three-story building on the north side of the 1100 block of Church Street, and he remembers finding many uniform buttons during his youth on the block in the 1930s. Foy interview with Hanchett.

123 Foy interview with Hanchett.

124 Foy interview with Hanchett. On the McCarthy family, see the 1920 - 21 city directory.

125 Foy interview with Sekula. Sandbeck, Historic Architecture, p. 81.

126 Elliott and Logsdon, "New Bern African American Neighborhoods," p. 13.

127 Elliott and Logsdon, "New Bern African American Neighborhoods," pp. 5, 13.

128 Elliott and Logsdon, "New Bern African American Neighborhoods," p. 13.

129 Foy interview. Sandbeck, Historic Architecture, p. 427.

130 Sandbeck, Historic Architecture, pp. 428, 429.

131 Elliott and Logsdon, "New Bern African American Neighborhoods," ____.

132 Elliott and Logsdon, "New Bern African American Neighborhoods," p. 11.

133 Elliott & Logsdon, first draft of report, p. 8; second draft of report, p. 13.

134 Foy interview with Hanchett.

135 Elliott & Logsdon, p. 13.

136 The Clintonian: Clinton Chapel AMEZ Church Centennial (New Bern: Clinton Chapel, 1982?).

137 In 1871, the bank received an application to become a depositor from R.N. Duffy, "druggist at the Market." (record # 2030). Also that year, an application was made on behalf of Hervy B. Duffy, age 14, son of Walter Duffy M.D. (deceased) and Mrs. Elizabeth B. Duffy, residence Union Street. White complexion. Siblings Walter, Charles, Mary. (2348). In 1872 the Bank received an application for Charles Duffy, Jr., age 33, born & raised in Onslow County now residing in New Bern, white complexion, wife Mitty. (2949) Reeves, North Carolina Freedman's Savings and Trust Company. For a photograph of a white Dr. Leinster Duffy who ran a drug store at Five Points circa 1910, see Green, New Bern Album, p. 152.

138 Freedmen's Bank applicants mentioning the Duffy family included Isaac Wilkin (record # 1453), John Thomas (1456), and Shade Russell (2978). Reeves, North Carolina Freedman's Savings and Trust Company. Said I. P. Hatch, "In New Bern, my father farmed and fished for a living. He rented land in Duffyfield from Edward Richardson and Herbert [Hervy?] Duffy. Part of the land was on Trent Road and part in what is now known as Larksville. I farmed there too until I became eighteen years of age." Hatch, Autobiography of I. P. Hatch, pp. 9 - 10.

139 The subdivisions comprising Greater Duffyfield are shown most clearly on the 1913 Map of Newbern, Its Subdivisions and Additions, Compiled by Raymond Eagle, Civil Engineer, hereafter referred to as the 1913 Eagle map.

140 Sandbeck, Historic Architecture, pp. 440 - 43.

141 Dry was not from New Bern, but from the Cape Fear region. Sandbeck, Historic Architecture, p. 130. Watson, History of New Bern and Craven County, pp. 51 - 52.

142 Elliott and Logsdon, "New Bern African American Neighborhoods," pp. 21 - 23.

143 Elliott and Logsdon.

144 Sandbeck, Historic Architecture, pp. 298 - 99.

145 Craven County Register of Deeds Office: deed book 64, p. 63 - 65. Construction on the Atlantic and North Carolina Railroad was begun in 1855 and completed in 1858. Watson, History of New Bern and Craven County, pp. 289 - 91.

146 On Jerkins, see Watson, History of New Bern and Craven County, p. 336.

147 Sandbeck, Historic Architecture, pp. 297 - 98.

148 Sandbeck, Historic Architecture, pp. 296 - 97.

149 Craven County Register of Deeds Office: deed book 64, p. 94.

150 Bringing suit were Wesley Gray, David Porter Scott, and others. Court documents included a map of the tract as subdivided, and a complete list of the lot buyers at the auction (with no indication of race, unfortunately). Records of Equity Court, Spring 1866, pp. 25, 33, 49 - 53. On file in the North Carolina State Archives, Raleigh.

151 New Bern City Council Minutes, May 27, 1872. Sandbeck, Historic Architecture, pp. 448 - 49.

152 Sandbeck, Historic Architecture, pp. 131, 142.

153 Craven County Register of Deeds Office: deed book 106, p. 385; deed book 107, pp. 511 - 12. The streets showed up a few years earlier on the 1888 Sanborn Insurance Map. Edward Pavie acquired at least part of the land -- noted as adjacent to "the Negro or Colored Cemetery" -- in 1884. Deed book 80, pp. 58 - 59.

154 Craven County Register of Deeds Office: deed book 105, pp. 206 - 07.

155 Rosetta's husband was Bristow Latham. Reeves, North Carolina Freedman's Savings and Trust Company, record # 2407.

156 Craven County Register of Deeds Office: deed book 116, p. 530.

157 Craven County Register of Deeds Office: grantor-grantee books; deed book 105, pp. 56 - 57. Interestingly, the subdivision's main streets were already shown as dotted lines on Gray's Map of New Bern, 1882.

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- 158 Another Miller Street house was moved to Roundtree Street. Foy interview with Hanchett.
- 159 The engineer was C. H. Gochnauer. Craven County Register of Deeds Office, book 187, pp. 1 - 12. (Shown as same on 1913 Eagle Map).
- 160 Stewart also operated Stewart's Hall on Middle Street and served as secretary-treasurer of Enterprise Brick & Tile Manufacturing. An advertisement for Stewart's investment services prominently shared the front cover of the 1911 - 12 New Bern city directory with an ad for Uzzell's People's Bank. The People's Bank building downtown on Middle Street is now home of the New Bern Arts Council. Sandbeck, Historic Architecture, p. 365.
- 161 Donaldson interview. Sanborn Maps, 1908, 1913, 1924.
- 162 Donaldson interview. Craven County Deed Book 916, p. 390, 1978. Sanborn Maps of 1913, 1924.
- 163 The 1913 Sanborn Map, sheet 15, shows that the first block of First Avenue, between Broad and Bay streets, is still vacant, however Sheet 21 of the same year shows a number of these houses built in the two northern blocks of 1st and 2nd streets. On Sheet 12 of the 1924 Sanborn Map, all of the houses in the first block are now in place.
- 164 Lodgson, p. 31.
- 165 Lodgson, first draft of report, p. 17.
- 166 Lodgson, first draft of report, p. 18.
- 167 Elliot and Lodgson, first draft of report, p. 24.
- 168 See also Sandbeck, Historic Architecture, p. 299.
- 169 Donaldson interview. Sandbeck, Historic Architecture, pp. 296 - 97.
- 170 Donaldson interview.

A Note on Sources:

New Bern's African American heritage is among the best-documented in North Carolina, but the information has been scattered in many places. For a full list of sources consulted in this study, see the Notes. The following are some of the most important secondary and primary resources.

The renowned black historian John Hope Franklin based part of his first book, The Free Negro in North Carolina, 1790 - 1860 (1943), on New Bern research. Others followed in his footsteps over the years, notably Helen Edmonds, The Negro in Fusion Politics in North Carolina, 1894 - 1901 (1951); Frenise Logan, The Negro in North Carolina, 1876 - 1894 (1964); and Eric Anderson, Race and Politics in North Carolina, 1872 - 1901: The Black Second (1981).

In addition to mentions in wider discussions of black history, New Bern's African American heritage is also touched upon in the city's impressive collection of recent local histories: John B. Green III, A New Bern Album (1985); Alan D. Watson, A History of New Bern and Craven County (1987); Peter Sandbeck, The Historic Architecture of New Bern and Craven County, North Carolina (1988). The black James City district, created just outside New Bern to house freedmen during the Civil War, is the subject of Joe Mobley's James City: A Black Community in North Carolina, 1863 - 1900 (1981).

Several types of primary materials were consulted for the present study. Detailed maps showing individual buildings were prepared by the Sanborn Map Company for 1885, 1888, 1893, 1898, 1904, 1908, 1913, 1924, and 1931 (though the earliest cover only a small portion of the central city), and are on file in the North Carolina Collection at UNC Chapel Hill. Deed records are held in the Register of Deeds Office in the Craven County Courthouse in New Bern. Some of these records, along with city council and county commission minutes and some "town taxables" lists, may also be consulted on microfilm at the State Archives in Raleigh. The fullest collection of newspapers on microfilm exists in the Kellenberger Room of the New Bern Public Library, though scattered issues are on microfilm at the State Archives and at the North Carolina Collection. City directories, which list residents with their occupations and addresses, were published only sporadically in this small city. Collections may be found in the Kellenberger Room (K) and in UNC's North Carolina Collection (N). Directories extant are those for 1880 - 81 (KN), 1893 (N), 1896 (K), 1904 - 05 (K), 1907 - 08 (KN), 1911 - 12 (K), 1914 - 15 (K), 1916 - 17 (N), 1918 - 19 (KN), 1920 - 21 (N), 1926 (N), 1931 - 32 (N), 1937 (K), 1941 (K), 1947 - 48 (KN), 1951 - 52 (KN). Beginning in the 1960s directories were issued every year or so, and are available in both collections.

Acknowledgements:

The authors wish to thank the people and institutions that helped make this report possible. Several New Bern residents graciously shared their memories of city history: Nettie Pinnix Cox, Annie Day Smith Donaldson, Louis Foy, Silvia Gaskins, Bernard George, John B. Green III, and Lee Morgan. Historic preservationists Scott Power, Peter Sandbeck, and especially Catherine Bishir helped smooth the way, and the North Carolina Historic Preservation Office and New Bern's Kellenberger Historical Foundation provided financial assistance. Catherine Hanchett contributed information on Civil War history, and Carol Sawyer offered research help. Invaluable assistance was provided by librarians at the Kellenberger Room of the New Bern Public Library, at the State Archives in Raleigh, and especially at the North Carolina Collection of the University of North Carolina in Chapel Hill. Special thanks to Gregory Sekula of the City of New Bern planning office. His appreciation of New Bern's diverse heritage and his energetic work on behalf of historic preservation made this project a particular pleasure.

It is encouraging to note the interest the Colored people in this State are taking in the acquiring of homes and landed property . . . [we] are building comfortable houses, paint and plastering are not being neglected. . . . These things are evidences of material progress and speak well of our economy and saving propensities Let us therefore try to make more, work more, and save more. The eyes of the world are watching us

Star of Zion, September 17, 1886

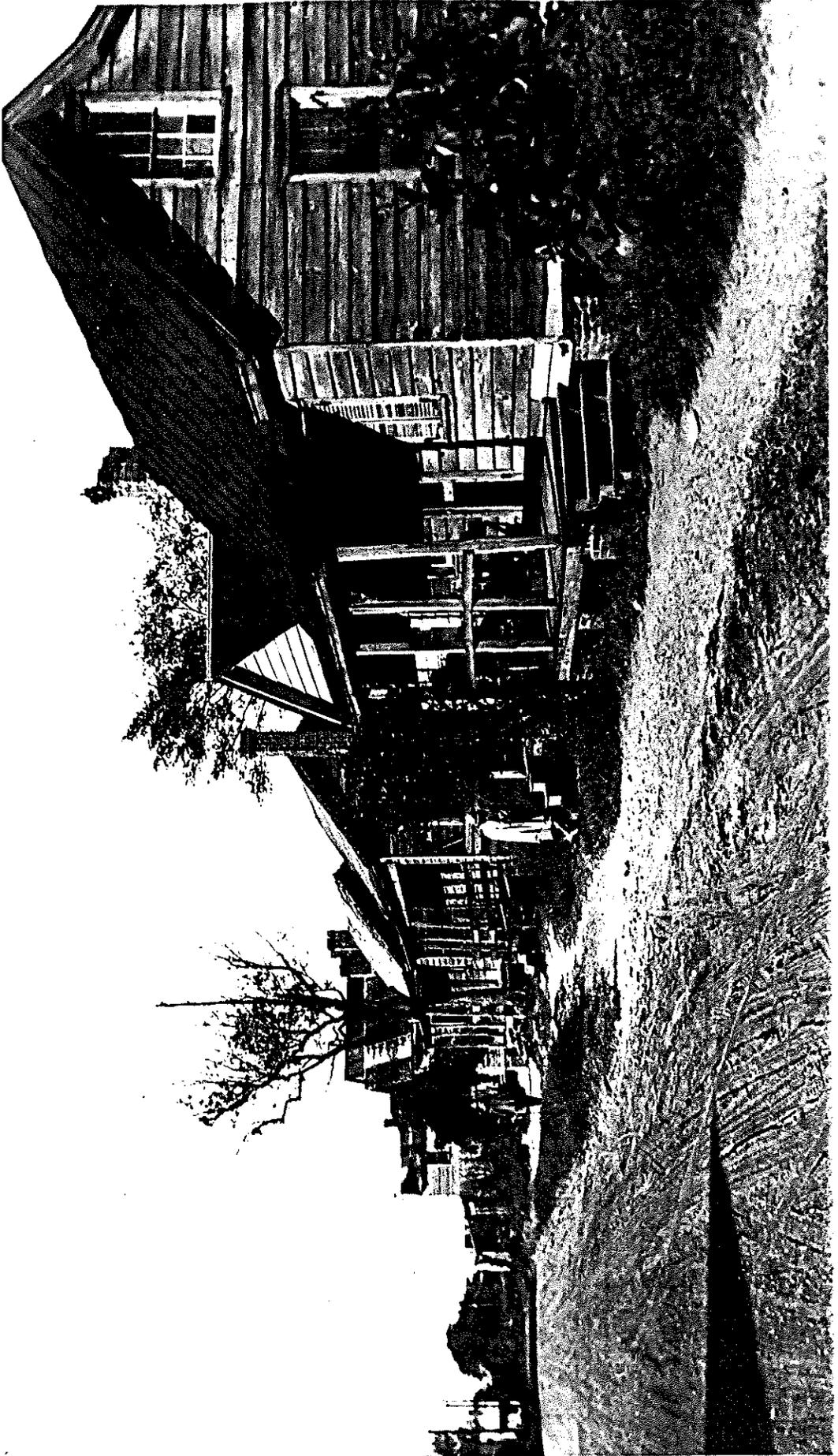
Appendix:

This set of eight documentary photographs gives a glimpse of Greater Duffyfield about 1940. The photos, in the collection of the New Bern Housing Authority, record structures demolished during construction of Craven Terrace.

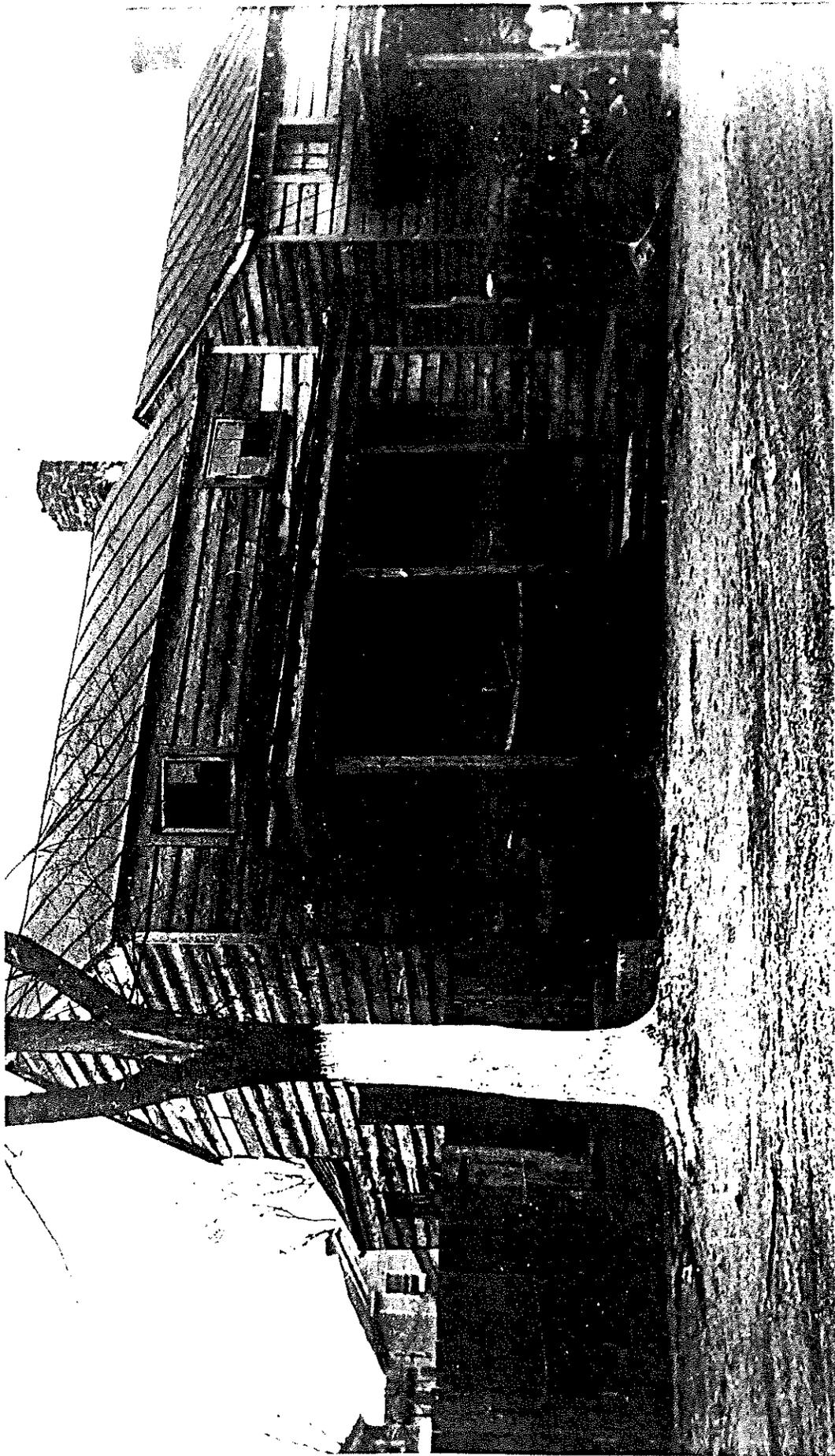
One photo shows an I-house in the foreground, and three 2-story front gable houses in a row beyond it. This scene looks much like parts of the neighborhood that survive to the present day.

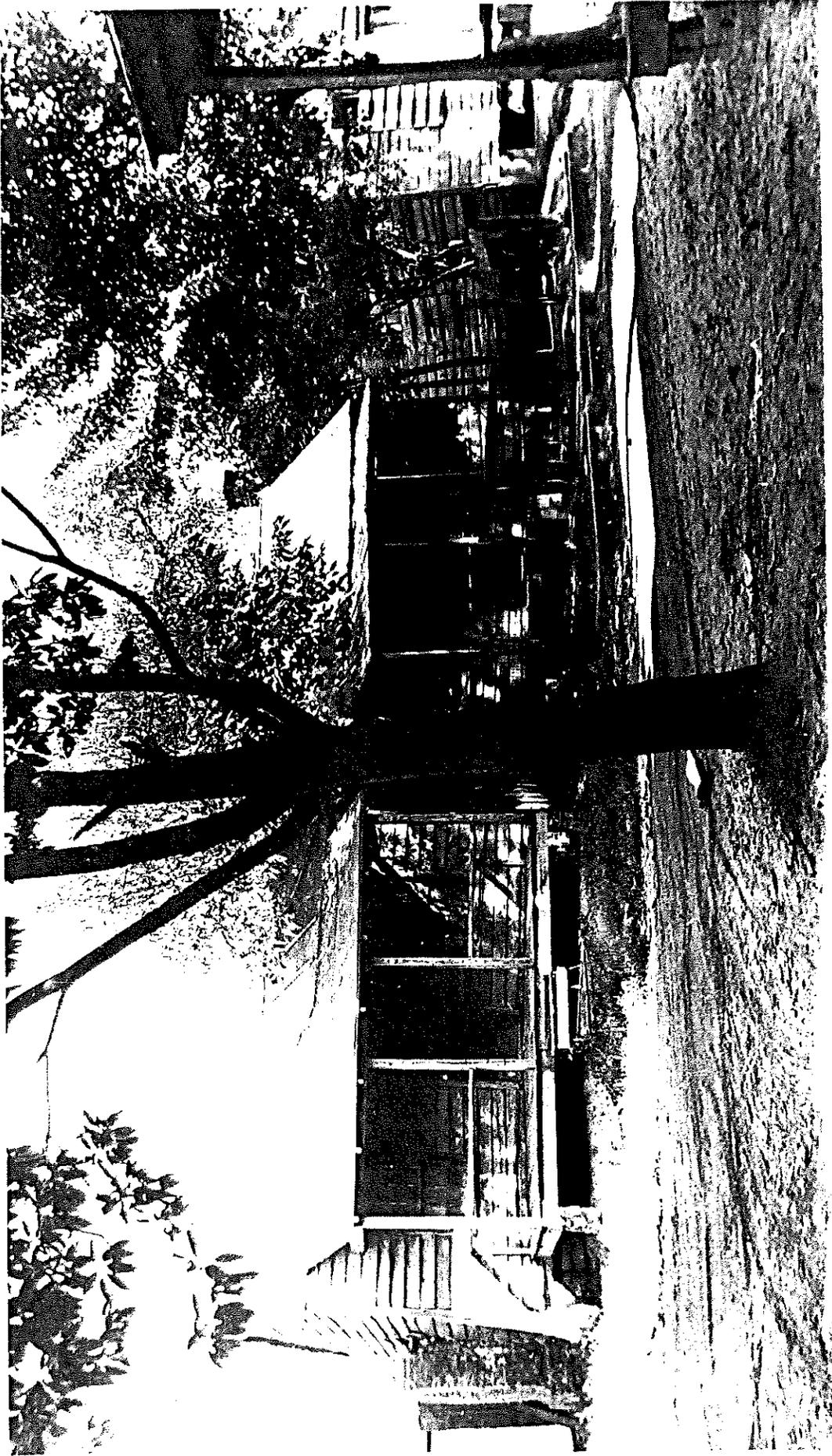
The other seven photos, though, depict an architectural type that is now rare. This is the 1 story or 1 and 1 1/2 story side-gable house. The photos show rows of these humble cottages spaced close together, probably built as inexpensive rental dwellings. Sanborn maps suggest that such houses were once common throughout New Bern's African American neighborhoods; virtually all are now gone.

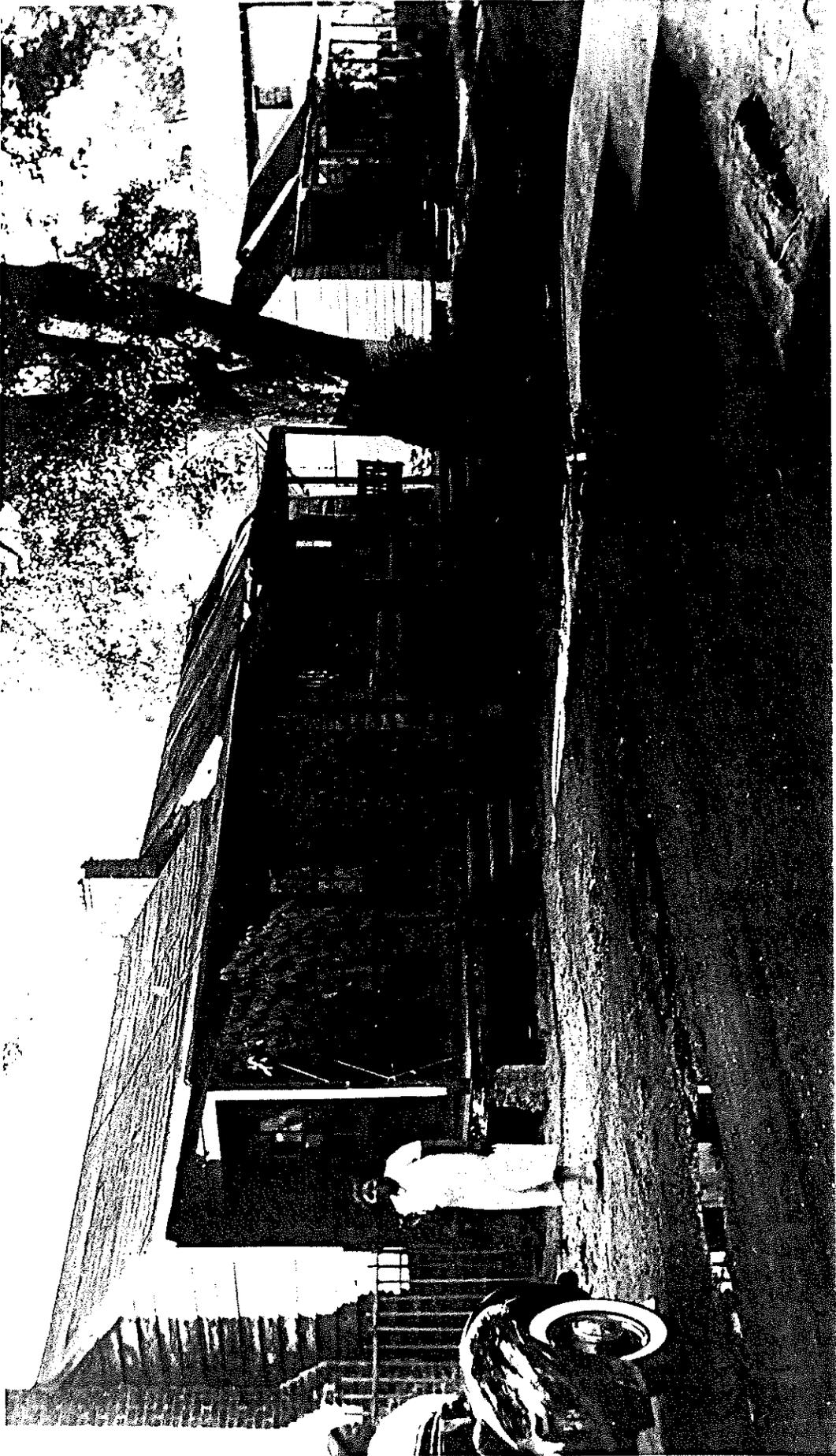
In all the photographs, note the dirt streets and -- in these years of the Great Depression -- the lack of paint. Today in the 1990s, Greater Duffyfield is a much less ramshackle area than it was half a century ago.

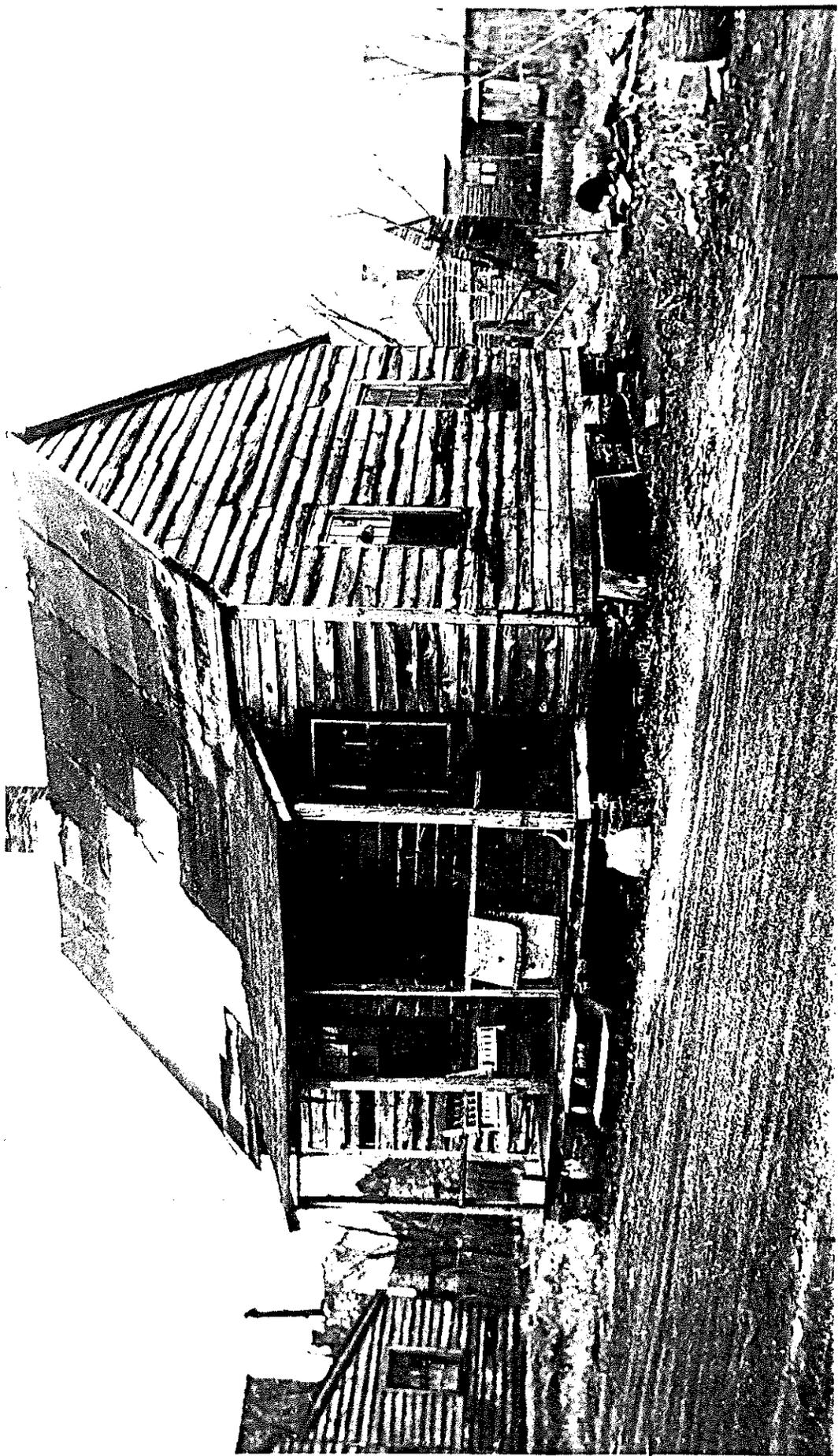












SUBDIVISION NAME

1. City of New Bern
2. Craven Terrace
3. Dryboro
4. Elmview
5. Evergreen Cemetary
6. Forbes
7. Grantham - Lee
8. Green Heights
9. Greenwood Cemetary
10. Hattie Estelle Lancaster
11. Hendersonville
12. J.P. Stanfey
13. J.S. Müller
14. Jerkinsville
15. Larksville
16. Mechanicsville
17. Pavietown
18. Reizensteinville
19. Scott Eq. Dkt. '66'
20. Washington Park
21. West End
22. West End Lots

