

State of North Carolina
Division of Archives and History

_____ COUNTY

INDIVIDUAL PROPERTY FORM FOR

_____ QUAD

MULTIPLE RESOURCE OR _____ THEMATIC NOMINATION

1 NAME

HISTORIC

Durham Hosiery Mills No. 2/Service Printing Company Building .1

AND/OR COMMON

2 LOCATION

STREET & NUMBER

504 E. Pettigrew St.

____ NOT FOR PUBLICATION

CITY, TOWN

Durham

____ VICINITY OF

CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT

2nd

STATE

North Carolina

CODE

037

COUNTY

Durham

CODE

063

3 CLASSIFICATION

CATEGORY

OWNERSHIP

STATUS

PRESENT USE

___ DISTRICT

PUBLIC

OCCUPIED

___ AGRICULTURE

___ MUSEUM

BUILDING(S)

___ PRIVATE

___ UNOCCUPIED

COMMERCIAL

___ PARK

___ STRUCTURE

___ BOTH

___ WORK IN PROGRESS

___ EDUCATIONAL

___ PRIVATE RESIDENCE

___ SITE

PUBLIC ACQUISITION

ACCESSIBLE

___ ENTERTAINMENT

___ RELIGIOUS

___ OBJECT

N/A

___ IN PROCESS

YES RESTRICTED

___ GOVERNMENT

___ SCIENTIFIC

___ BEING CONSIDERED

___ YES UNRESTRICTED

___ INDUSTRIAL

___ TRANSPORTATION

___ NO

___ MILITARY

___ OTHER

4 OWNER OF PROPERTY

NAME

City of Durham, Mayor Charles Markham

STREET & NUMBER

101 City Hall Plaza

CITY, TOWN

Durham

____ VICINITY OF

STATE

North Carolina

5 LOCATION OF LEGAL DESCRIPTION

COURTHOUSE,

Durham County Register of Deeds

REGISTRY OF DEEDS, ETC

Durham County Judicial Building

STREET & NUMBER

201 E. Main St.

CITY, TOWN

Durham

STATE

North Carolina

6 FORM PREPARED BY

NAME / TITLE

Claudia Roberts Brown
Consultant to the City of Durham

ORGANIZATION

DATE

June 1984

STREET & NUMBER

301 E. Poplar Ave.

TELEPHONE

919/968-1181

CITY OR TOWN

Carrboro

STATE

North Carolina

7 DESCRIPTION

CONDITION		CHECK ONE	CHECK ONE
<input type="checkbox"/> EXCELLENT	<input type="checkbox"/> DETERIORATED	<input type="checkbox"/> UNALTERED	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ORIGINAL SITE
<input type="checkbox"/> GOOD	<input type="checkbox"/> RUINS	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ALTERED	<input type="checkbox"/> MOVED DATE _____
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> FAIR	<input type="checkbox"/> UNEXPOSED		

DESCRIBE THE PRESENT AND ORIGINAL (IF KNOWN) PHYSICAL APPEARANCE

The structure that has housed Service Printing Company since 1947 is the remaining, eastern portion of the Durham Hosiery Mills Company's Mill No. 2 built in 1916. Although it is only a portion of the original structure, the building is easily recognizable as a textile mill. The pilastered brick elevations, tall segmental arched windows, heavy curved rafter ends exposed in the eaves, and monitor roof are typical of industrial construction early in this century.

The Durham Hosiery Mills' No. 2 Mill (DHM No. 2)/Service Printing Company Building is the only structure in its block, the rest of which is overgrown with trees and underbrush. The main elevation of the tall one-story building faces north and directly abuts the narrow sidewalk along E. Pettigrew St.; a small gravel parking area adjoins the east elevation. An untended field of tall grass surrounds the building and parking area. Until the mid 1960s, the large block was subdivided into five smaller blocks: the northwesternmost block was occupied by the DHM No. 2/Service Printing Company Building and the other blocks were lined with commercial buildings and small frame laborers' houses. As part of Durham's urban renewal projects of the 1960s and 1970s, all of the buildings in the four commercial and residential blocks were razed and the narrow streets in between removed, leaving one very large block empty except for this lone industrial building near its northwestern corner. Front steps, foundations, and the impressions of the former streets, some of which are still marked by signs painted on the slender concrete obelisks popular early in this century, remain visible through the block's thick underbrush.

The four-sided DHM No. 2/Service Printing Company Building is irregularly shaped, its front and rear elevations parallel to each other but of different lengths. As originally constructed, the tall one-story structure conformed to the acute angle of the southeast corner of the intersection of E. Pettigrew and Dillard streets so that its exterior walls formed a parallelogram. The north and south elevations were 225 feet long and the remaining facades were 100 feet long. The building's monitor roof was in the shape of a long rectangle parallel to E. Pettigrew St. and a single brick fire wall perpendicular to E. Pettigrew divided the structure into two unequal areas with trapezoidal perimeters. (The mill operations formerly housed in each of these two areas of the mill have not been determined.) After a fire destroyed the west end of the building in 1979, the ruins of the larger portion were removed, leaving the existing structure and the fire wall for its west elevation.

8 SIGNIFICANCE

NATIONAL

STATE

LOCAL

PERIOD	AREAS OF SIGNIFICANCE -- CHECK AND JUSTIFY BELOW			
<input type="checkbox"/> PREHISTORIC	<input type="checkbox"/> ARCHEOLOGY-PREHISTORIC	<input type="checkbox"/> COMMUNITY PLANNING	<input type="checkbox"/> LANDSCAPE ARCHITECTURE	<input type="checkbox"/> RELIGION
<input type="checkbox"/> 1400-1499	<input type="checkbox"/> ARCHEOLOGY-HISTORIC	<input type="checkbox"/> CONSERVATION	<input type="checkbox"/> LAW	<input type="checkbox"/> SCIENCE
<input type="checkbox"/> 1500-1599	<input type="checkbox"/> AGRICULTURE	<input type="checkbox"/> ECONOMICS	<input type="checkbox"/> LITERATURE	<input type="checkbox"/> SCULPTURE
<input type="checkbox"/> 1600-1699	<input type="checkbox"/> ARCHITECTURE	<input type="checkbox"/> EDUCATION	<input type="checkbox"/> MILITARY	<input type="checkbox"/> SOCIAL/HUMANITARIAN
<input type="checkbox"/> 1700-1799	<input type="checkbox"/> ART	<input type="checkbox"/> ENGINEERING	<input type="checkbox"/> MUSIC	<input type="checkbox"/> THEATER
<input type="checkbox"/> 1800-1899	<input type="checkbox"/> COMMERCE	<input type="checkbox"/> EXPLORATION/SETTLEMENT	<input type="checkbox"/> PHILOSOPHY	<input type="checkbox"/> TRANSPORTATION
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> 1900-	<input type="checkbox"/> COMMUNICATIONS	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> INDUSTRY	<input type="checkbox"/> POLITICS/GOVERNMENT	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> OTHER (SPECIFY) black achievement
		<input type="checkbox"/> INVENTION		

SPECIFIC DATES 1916 BUILDER/ARCHITECT

STATEMENT OF SIGNIFICANCE

The Durham Hosiery Mills No. 2/Service Printing Company Building represents the intersection of two of the aspects for which Durham is best known -- the significant achievements of the city's sizable black population during the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries and the tremendous successes of the local textile industry from the 1880s into the 1920s. The building is the remaining section of Durham Hosiery Mills' No. 2 Mill, constructed in 1916 to replace an obsolete frame building on the site. Part of the company founded by Durham's textile pioneer, Julian S. Carr, this plant was one of the very few mills in North Carolina to employ a black labor force during the early twentieth century, preceded only by the Coleman Manufacturing Co. in Concord. The employment of blacks at the Durham plant is important both for its early date and long duration: Durham Hosiery Mills No. 2 began production with black labor in 1904 and continued to employ a black labor force until at least 1919 and probably until 1929 when the plant closed. Until the urban renewal projects of the 1960s, the 500 block of E. Pettigrew St. containing the mill was at the west edge of a once thriving commercial district in Hayti, Durham's premier black neighborhood. In 1947, the building was converted from manufacturing to commercial use when it became the home of Service Printing Company, founded in 1932 as a branch of the black newspaper, The Carolina Times. (The Carolina Times occupied the west end of the building from 1958 until it was destroyed by fire in 1979.) Today, Service Printing and the building it occupies are the only commercial survivors of Hayti, virtually erased from Durham's landscape by the mid 1970s.

CRITERIA ASSESSMENT

- A. The Durham Hosiery Mills No. 2/Service Printing Company Building is significant as one of the very few mills in North Carolina to employ a black labor force during the early twentieth century.
- B. The Durham Hosiery Mills No. 2/Service Printing Company Building is significant for its associations with Julian S. Carr, who pioneered Durham's textile industry and founded Durham Hosiery Mills, the world's largest manufacturer of cotton in the 1910s.

The Durham Hosiery Mills Corporation was founded in 1898 when Julian S. Carr merged his Golden Belt Hosiery Company, which he and John W. Smith had formed in 1894, with George W. Graham's Durham Hosiery Company, also established in 1894. Graham and Smith retired, and Carr installed the new corporation in the upper floors of the Fallon and Martin tobacco brokerage on Morris St., at the northwest edge of downtown Durham. Boosted by the 1897 Dingley Tariff (which placed hosiery on the "protected" list) and large military orders prompted by the Spanish-American War, Carr's business expanded so rapidly that it soon outgrew the Morris St. accommodations.¹ In 1901 he built the distinctive Durham Hosiery Mills No. 1 Mill (NR), a large four-story brick structure with a Romanesque Revival style tower on Angier Ave., southeast of the downtown area.

By the time the new plant opened, the treasurer of Durham Hosiery Mills, Julian S. Carr, Jr., had assumed direction of the company. According to Durham historian William K. Boyd, the younger Carr "possessed an imagination similar to that which characterized the pioneers of the tobacco industry. He had a vision of a world wide market for hosiery, and for that market the existing plant and supply of labor were not sufficient."² When Carr decided in 1903 to expand his company further with a second hosiery mill in Durham, he also took the daring step of manning the new plant with black laborers.

Carr's second hosiery mill was the first textile mill in Durham and reportedly only the second in the entire South to employ blacks as operatives. Until the turn of the twentieth century, blacks had held only menial jobs in the nation's burgeoning industrial work force. Although the tobacco industry employed many blacks, they worked only in the dirty operations such as stemming (pulling the leaves from the stems), and the very few blacks in textile mills swept floors and performed other custodial tasks.³

9 MAJOR BIBLIOGRAPHICAL REFERENCES

- Boyd, William K. The Story of Durham. Durham: Duke University Press, 1925.
- Jackson, Arthur F., Jr. Report on the history of Durham Hosiery Mills No. 2/ Service Printing Company Buidling prepared for Hayti Redevelopment Commission, April 1983.

10 GEOGRAPHICAL DATA

ACREAGE OF NOMINATED PROPERTY less than 1 acre

UTM REFERENCES

A	17	689500	3,918,465,0
	ZONE	EASTING	NORTHING
C			

B			
	ZONE	EASTING	NORTHING
D			

VERBAL BOUNDARY DESCRIPTION

Durham County Tax Map 41, Block 2, Lot 2

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Durham Hosiery Mills No. 2/

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The pilasters reinforcing the thick exterior brick walls in one to four common bond combine with the interior wood posts and trusses to form the building's structural system. On the main, east, and south elevations, pilasters alternating with tall segmental arched windows or doors create a regular pattern across the facades. The pilasters and windows "rest" on a simple brick water table. On the east elevation, each pilaster reaches to a heavy curved rafter end in the very shallow gable of the main roofline. Above, the five-foot-tall monitor echoes the main block in the similar pitch and exposed rafter ends of its roofline. Sheathed in weatherboards in its east gable end, the monitor is lined with windows (now covered with sheet metal) on its north and south sides. On the south (rear) elevation, which features a flat brick cornice, the varying heights of the pilasters and weathering of the brick recall the shallow gable roof of a masonry addition that was removed in the early 1930s. (All of the fenestration on this wall has been bricked in.) The building's west facade, originally the interior fire wall, is solid brick and taller in the middle where it rises the full height of the monitor to end in a stepped parapet. This blank wall is interrupted only by the remains of two closely spaced pilasters that begin approximately six feet above the foundation.

A flat parapet distinguishes the narrow, four-bay main facade. Unlike the rear facade with its simple corbelling at the cornice, the parapet of the main elevation projects to the plane of the pilasters and features two short rectangular recessed panels, each the width of two bays. Concrete coping surmounts the parapet, which wraps around to the northernmost bay of the building's east elevation. As originally constructed, the four bays of the main facade consisted of a door at the east end and three windows; later, the window at the west end of this facade was converted to a door. All of the fenestration is segmental arched with splayed lintels of three courses of headers above multi-paned transoms. The original fifteen-over-fifteen double-hung sashes have been replaced with plate glass. On the east elevation, the large multi-paned sashes remain, but the transoms have been filled with plywood sheets. Attached to the facade, a three-dimensional sign of 1940s vintage bearing the name "Service Printing Co." in paint and neon hangs over the sidewalk above the main entrance.

Plywood-sheathed partitions extending from floor to ceiling divide the interior of the DHM No. 2/Service Printing Company Building into a sales, service and office area at the north end of the building, a graphics preparation area, and a large area for printing operations that occupies most of the structure. Typical of early twentieth-

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century industrial construction, the building's structural system remains apparent throughout: the fifteen- to sixteen-foot-tall exterior walls of brick are exposed; slightly tapered wooden columns evenly spaced across the floor support eight- by twelve-inch chamfered ceiling beams to which they are attached by heavy metal plates; and wide beaded boards resting on the chamfered beams cover the ceiling. In the front portion of the building, fixed eight-foot-tall paneled wooden partitions define two offices. The rest of the customer area is open except for a wooden service counter.

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The only previous endeavor to engage blacks as factory operatives had been implemented with the guidance and financial assistance of several Durhamites. In 1897, the efforts of Tarheel black capitalists to establish a cotton mill in Concord, N.C., in which blacks would serve both as management and laborers attracted the support of Washington Duke. The mill was named the Coleman Manufacturing Company for its secretary-treasurer and manager, W. C. Coleman; its president was black Durham businessman Richard Burton Fitzgerald. In spite of considerable financial support from the Dukes for plant construction, machinery and raw materials, the Coleman Mill encountered many obstacles. From its opening in 1901, it was continually short of capital and its backers were wary of investing further because it had inadequate insurance, a problem which its black management attributed to their color.⁴ The replacement of Coleman by a white manager in 1903 was too late to avoid foreclosure on a loan by Benjamin Duke in 1904. Duke family chronicler Robert F. Durden notes that the failure of the Coleman Mill emphasizes "the plight of the blacks and the precariousness of their economic stake in the industrializing New South."⁵

The story of the Coleman venture, certainly well known among North Carolina's textile manufacturers of the day, both underscores the importance of Carr's decision to man his second hosiery mill with blacks and helps to explain the absence of any blacks among its management. In contrast to the Coleman Mill, Durham Hosiery Mills No. 2 was a success. In 1903, Durham Hosiery Mills leased the complex of buildings at the southeast corner of E. Pettigrew and Dillard streets that previously had been the Carolina Furniture Co. factory.⁶ The hosiery company razed the plant's two-story storage buildings, enlarged the principal factory of frame and brick construction, and began operation in the fall of 1904, at about the same time it purchased the property.⁷ The new mill produced "cheap socks out of cotton that had formerly been classed and sold as waste."⁸

Although Durham Hosiery Mills No. 2 got off to a shaky start, most problems appear to have been resolved with training of the black labor force, previously unfamiliar with the textile machinery and routines.⁹ The 1907 Sanborn Maps for Durham note that the mill had 150 hands operating 102 knitting machines on a single, day shift. An article written by Julian S. Carr for System magazine reveals that Durham Hosiery Mills No. 2 operated with black operatives until at least 1919 and there is no indication that the composition of the mill's work force ever changed for the rest of its existence.¹⁰ The most significant later development at the plant occurred in the mid-1910s when the former furniture factory was replaced with a larger one-story brick building, the remainder of which is the subject of this nomination.

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The 1919 article by Carr from which the following excerpts are¹ taken is the most comprehensive known account of Durham Hosiery Mills No. 2:

There was a distinct shortage of white workers, and we could not have manned the mill with trained hands. When we announced the plan, the opposition was instant; the advisory spirits told us that the rhythm of the machines would put the darkies to sleep and thus we could get no work out of them; the white workers said that we were taking bread out of their mouths (although there were not enough whites to go around) and variously threatened to blow up or burn down the factory. We selected a white man as machine fixer and immediately the girls of the town refused to speak to him. But we went ahead to see the thing through.

John O'Daniel acted as recruiting agent; he was an ex-slave who had been in the family since beyond memory as a kind of coachman and general handy man. Something of a character, he considered himself a member of the Carr family. Of course he was a strong and diligent church member.

That negro mill started with 50 hands; it went on a paying basis in about 18 months and today employs about 400 people, turning out from 2,500 to 3,000 dozen pairs of socks a day. The force still shifts, but 200 of them have been with us at least four years, and another 150 have passed the eight year mark . . . and the factory has only been in operation 14 years.

And they are capable, too. . . . In six months the negroes hit an average of six dozen pairs in a nine hour day, which is standard.¹¹

Although Durham Hosiery Mills remained one of the world's largest manufacturers of cotton hosiery from the 1910s into the 1920s, throughout this period the demand for cotton hose declined as silk and synthetic hosiery became more popular. The company began to curtail its operations in 1928 as the national economy weakened. The sharp drop in sales that followed the stock market crash dealt a severe blow to Durham Hosiery Mills. The company closed its mills one after the other, beginning with the No. 2 mill, until the last of its fifteen mills ceased operations at the end of 1938.¹² After standing empty for several years, the former No. 2 mill was leased for a tobacco warehouse from the late 1930s to the mid 1940s when it once again assumed an important place in Durham's black community as the home of one of its major media resources.¹³

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By the time Durham Hosiery Mills No. 2 closed its doors, the blocks immediately east and west had evolved as one of the commercial districts in Hayti, the largest and most prominent of Durham's black neighborhoods and the retail, service and social center of the city's black community. The commercial area along E. Pettigrew St., known as "Mexico" because it was lively regardless of the day or time, included a few dozen shops, two hotels, two filling stations, and an undertaking parlor. Hayti had its genesis in the post-Civil War period of expanding industrial locations and grew steadily throughout the rest of the nineteenth century and into the twentieth. The successes of the financial institutions begun by Durham's black businessmen -- the North Carolina Mutual Life Insurance Company established in 1898 and Mechanics and Farmers Bank dating from 1908 -- facilitated the establishment of a broad range of black enterprises and supported commercial and residential construction across Hayti. The neighborhood soon became the commercial extension of Parrish St., the downtown Durham location of the N. C. Mutual and Mechanics and Farmers Bank which was characterized in 1915 by Booker T. Washington as "the black financial capital of the world."¹⁴

Despite the Depression, Hayti's commercial areas prospered throughout the 1930s when most of the frame stores along E. Pettigrew St. were replaced with brick buildings, the most popular of which were the Wonderland Theatre and the Biltmore Block containing a hotel, drug store and restaurant. The area's market for commercial space was healthy.¹⁵ Durham Hosiery Mills sold its E. Pettigrew St. property in April, 1945; within five months the former mill had changed hands two more times.¹⁶ Day F. Reed, a managing partner in Service Printing Company, purchased the building in October of 1945.¹⁷ By 1947, when Service Printing moved to 504 E. Pettigrew St. (the east end of the converted mill that remains today) the building had been subdivided into several units for retail shops and service enterprises.¹⁸

Service Printing Company began in 1932 when Mr. and Mrs. T. D. Parham purchased The Carolina Times job printing operation. Under the strong and able direction of its publisher, Louis Austin, The Carolina Times, North Carolina's oldest black publication, had become the principal medium for the advocacy of equal rights and dignity for black Durham.¹⁹ In 1939, the Parhams turned over management of Service Printing to three Raleigh businessmen, Nathaniel B. White, Walter Swann, and Day F. Reed, who in 1940 were joined by George D. White, Jr. The four men bought the company in 1941 for \$800 and incorporated it in 1956, the same year the company purchased the Durham Hosiery Mills No. 2/Service Printing Company Building from Reed and his wife.²⁰

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Today, Service Printing is one of North Carolina's oldest black print shops, running one of the state's oldest linotype operations. For the past six decades, Service Printing and The Carolina Times, which moved into the printing company's building in 1958, have fulfilled vital communications services for Durham's black community. According to a brief history of the two firms written in 1983,

The printing and information needs of the many diverse clients in Hayti and Durham had to be met in order to maintain the integrity of the local businesses. The needs of the old Biltmore Hotel and Donut Shop for menus and advertisements, the North Carolina Mutual, Southern Fidelity and Bankers Fire Insurance Companies for insurance forms, St. Joseph's A.M.E. and White Rock Baptist Church for programs, the Durham Business and Professional Chain, and the Durham Committee on Negro (Black) Affairs for notices and political bulletins, and the prominent and not so prominent families for wedding announcements, business cards, as well as the facts about national and local issues were met principally by these two firms.²¹

Due to the size of Durham's black community, racial segregation, and the mutually supportive nature of the Hayti business environment, the black commercial districts along E. Pettigrew and Fayetteville streets were vital for several decades. In the late 1950s, however, the area began to deteriorate.²² Federally funded urban renewal programs begun in the 1960s offered a new neighborhood with modern facilities in return for the black community's support of demolition of existing buildings and construction of the East-West Expressway through Hayti. Although the Redevelopment Commission purchased the Durham Hosiery Mills No. 2/Service Printing Company Building in 1975, Service Printing, The Carolina Times, and E. N. Toole and Sons Electrical Company (another occupant of the building) argued that the funds allocated for their relocation were insufficient and refused to move. In 1979, a fire caused such extensive damage to the west end of the building that The Carolina Times and E. N. Toole and Sons were forced to relocate.²³ The gutted portion of the structure was destroyed, leaving the Service Printing offices and plant which had suffered only minor smoke and water damage. By this time, redevelopment efforts had become stymied after virtually all of Hayti had been razed, leaving the east end of the Durham Hosiery Mills No. 2/Service Printing Company Building and the printing firm that occupies it as the only reminders of Hayti's once thriving commercial districts.

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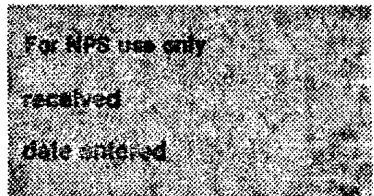
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NOTES

¹William K. Boyd, The Story of Durham (Durham: Duke University Press, 1925), p. 124.

²Ibid., p. 125.

³Robert F. Durden, The Dukes of Durham, 1865-1929 (Durham: Duke University Press, 1975), p. 157.

⁴Ibid., pp. 146-47.

⁵Ibid., p. 147.

⁶Boyd, p. 125; and Sanborn Map Co., "Durham, North Carolina," 1902 and 1907 series, originals in the North Carolina Collection at Wilson Library, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.

⁷Sanborn Map Co., 1907 series; and Durham County Register of Deeds (DCRD), Deed Book 31, page 443.

⁸Julian S. Carr, Jr., "Building a Business on the Family Plan," System, July 1919, excerpts reprinted in Boyd, p. 125.

⁹Ibid.

¹⁰Ibid.

¹¹Ibid., pp. 125-26.

¹²Wilbur F. Partin, former employee of Durham Hosiery Mills, interview in Carrboro, May 1982.

¹³Sanborn Map Co., 1937 series; and Durham city directories for the 1930s and 1940s, in the North Carolina Room of the Durham Public Library.

¹⁴Arthur F. Jackson, Jr., HUD Planning Intern, report on the history of the Durham Hosiery Mills No. 2/Service Printing Company Building prepared for Hayti Redevelopment Commission, April 1983, p. 8c.

¹⁵Sanborn Map Co., 1913 and 1937 series, original copies with "paste-over" revisions, in the North Carolina Room of the Durham Public Library.

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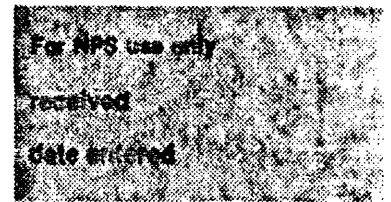
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- ¹⁶DCRD, Deed Book 151, page 574, and Deed Book 159, page 77.
- ¹⁷DCRD, Deed Book 159, page 399.
- ¹⁸Sanborn Map Co., 1937 series, original copy (with paste-over revisions made in the late 1940s and early 1950s) in the North Carolina Room of the Durham Public Library.
- ¹⁹The Carolina Times originated in 1921 as the Standard Advertiser. Austin published the paper until his death in 1971 when he was succeeded by his daughter, Mrs. Vivian Edmonds. Arthur F. Jackson, Jr., p. 8c; and Milton Jordan, "Fire Didn't Stop Black Newspaper," The Charlotte Observer, 26 February 1979, Section B, p. 1.
- ²⁰Service Printing Company training manual, n.p., on file at the printing company offices at 504 E. Pettigrew St.; and DCRD, Deed Book 2311, page 321.
- ²¹Arthur F. Jackson, Jr., p. 8b.
- ²²Ibid., p. 8c.
- ²³Milton Jordan.

ST. JOSEPH'S EPISCOPAL CHURCH

DUKE EAST CAMPUS

MAIN ST.

ERVIN MILL

PETTIGREY ST.

ERVIN RD.

SWIFT AVE. (E.K. Farris' daughter describes this as an "English Lane" in her speech)

BLACK-TALL HOUSE

Bachelors
sheriff -
House gone

SATTER-FIELD HOUSE

Owner of Clay
Lumber company -
House gone

SUNNY-SIDE

J.H. Erwin, Sr.
home

E.K. POVE HOUSE

Home of pious
Claudia Erwin

WILLIAM ERVIN HOUSE

Brother of
J.H. Erwin

Built Erwin Mill -
House gone (see article)

* adjacent Satterfield
House (to East)
Threatened by
nursing home
expansion

WEST DURHAM COMMUNITY