

ARCHITECTURAL CONTEXT

The architectural significance of the study area is derived from the varied styles of the primarily residential and religious buildings in the area, with the absence of Revival styles as significant as the prominence of Modernist-style buildings in the area. The earliest buildings in the district follow national trends, though are generally less ornate, representing the adaptation of the forms and styles to the homes of middle- and working-class residents. However, by the mid-twentieth century, styles diverged noticeably from those utilized in white neighborhoods of the same era.

Historian M. Ruth Little, in her study of mid-twentieth century neighborhoods in Raleigh notes that, “for these [African American] groups the traditional status quo represented oppression. Modern design was a new beginning, without the associative values of Colonialism and other Revival styles.” Thus, while Colonial Revival details were sometimes applied to Ranch and Split Level houses in the study area, the near-complete absence of true Revival style buildings, in favor of forward-looking Modernist designs is illustrative of a distinctly African American trend. As in Raleigh, a “startling divergence of architectural taste between middle-class whites and blacks [emerged]...Blacks looked toward a brighter future and chose clean modern forms; whites preferred expressions of the Colonial Revival style that harkened to an era of white dominance.”⁶⁵

While Modernism in Raleigh during the same era was led by leading white architects associated with the School of Design at North Carolina State University, in Greensboro, it was African American architects, most associated with the Architectural Engineering program at North Carolina Agricultural & Technical State University that were at the forefront of Modernism. Many worked in some capacity with the white firm of Loewenstein-Atkinson Architects, AIA, the first firm in the city to hire African American architects, though all went on to establish their own, highly successful firms. As residents of the study area, W. Edward Jenkins and William Streat in particular, furthered the architectural narrative of East/Southeast Greensboro toward Modernism.

Finally, the development patterns in the study area followed national trends with the earliest platted developments following grid patterns with relatively narrow, urban residential lots. Later plats, particularly at the south end of the study area were established with curved streets and wide, sometimes irregularly shaped lots that could accommodate Ranch and Split Level suburban house forms.

⁶⁵ Little, Margaret Ruth. “Getting the American Dream for Themselves: Postwar Modern Subdivisions for African Americans in Raleigh, North Carolina.” *Buildings & Landscapes: Journal of the Vernacular Architecture Forum*, Vol. 19, No. 1 (Spring 2012), pg. 73.

Residential Architecture

Popularized by a group of nineteenth century English architects, the Queen Anne style borrowed heavily from the Medieval models of the Elizabethan and Jacobean eras, having little to do with the 1702-1714 reign of Queen Anne as the name implies. The style was popular nationwide in the late-1800s, spread through pattern books and mail-order house plans as well as via the expanding railroad network along which precut architectural details were distributed.⁶⁶ The style reached its peak in North Carolina from 1890 to 1913, aligning with the earliest development in the study area, that along Martin Luther King Jr. Drive.

The style is characterized by asymmetrical forms, large porches, a variety of material textures, steeply pitched gables, and abundant ornamentation.⁶⁷ The c.1898 house at 1813 Martin Luther King Jr. Drive (GF5499) is the best one-story example of the style in the study area. It features a steeply pitched, hipped roof with projecting, pedimented bays connected by a wraparound porch supported by turned posts. The c.1900 house at 1700 Martin Luther King Jr. Drive (GF5520) is a two-story example of the style, also with projecting, pedimented wings and bays with wood shingles in the gables. The wraparound porch is supported by turned posts with sawn brackets.

Throughout the 1920s and 1930s, the Craftsman style dominated residential construction at the very south end of the study area, along and adjacent to Martin Luther King Jr. Drive, and in the north half of the study area, between East Gate City Boulevard and East Market Street. An extension of the Arts and Crafts movement of the early twentieth century, the style was dominant nationally starting around 1905 and had become popular in North Carolina by the 1910s. One- or one-and-a-half-stories in height with compact building footprints, Craftsman-style bungalows were well suited to narrow, early-twentieth-century



Figure 11: 1813 Martin Luther King Jr. Drive (GF5499)



Figure 12: 1700 Martin Luther King Jr. Drive (GF5520)



Figure 13: Joseph D. Overman House (GF5519) 2002 Martin Luther King Jr. Drive

⁶⁶ Virginia Savage McAlester, *A Field Guide to American Houses* (New York, NY: Alfred P. Knopf, 2015), 350.

⁶⁷ Bishir and Southern, *A Guide to the Historic Architecture of Piedmont North Carolina*, 541; McAlester, *A Field Guide to American Houses*, 346-370.

urban lots. Further, the form was adaptable to front-gabled, side-gabled, and hipped roofs, providing versatility in construction and appearance. Finally, when minimally detailed, as many in the study area are, the bungalow was inexpensive and easily built. Characteristic details of the Craftsman style include deep eaves with knee brackets; exposed rafters and purlins; and porches supported by heavy, tapered posts on brick piers.⁶⁸ The c.1920 Joseph D. Overman House at 2002 Martin Luther King Jr. Drive (GF5519) is among the earliest, most decorative, and most intact examples of the style in the district. It retains characteristic four-over-one wood-sash windows, wood shingles in the gable, knee brackets, exposed rafter tails, and a partial-width porch supported by tapered wood posts on brick piers. The c.1930 Wesley Arledge House at 501 South Benbow Road (GF4609) illustrates a one-and-a-half-story, brick example of the style with four-over-one wood-sash windows, knee brackets in the gables, and two-part brick piers supporting the porch.



Figure 14: Wesley Arledge House (GF4609) 501 South Benbow Road

Revival styles, most notably the Colonial Revival and Tudor Revival styles, were popular in white suburbs nationwide from the 1920s through the 1940s, with the Colonial Revival style in use through the 1960s and later. However, they were rarely used in the study area, especially for residential buildings where the preference was for modern styles. The few notable examples that exist include the c.1926 Dr. S. P. Sebastian House at 1401 McConnell Road (GF1692), an outstanding example of the Tudor Revival style. Loosely adapted from a variety of late Medieval and early Renaissance precedents, the Tudor style was a popular suburban residential style in the United States for much of the early twentieth century. It is characterized by half-timbered walls, tall narrow windows or diamond-pane casement windows, steep gables, arched entryways, and irregular forms.⁶⁹ The Sebastian House incorporates a brick veneer, faux-half-timbering at the second-floor level, six-over-six windows, a batten door, and a clipped-front-gabled wing with decorative basketweave brick.



Figure 15: Dr. S. P. Sebastian House (GF1692) 1401 McConnell Road

Colonial and classical architecture were experiencing a nationwide resurgence as part of an eclectic phase of architecture that took inspiration from the American 1876 and 1893 expositions. The Colonial Revival style is generally characterized by an elaborate front entrance, typically centered on a symmetrical façade, and paired windows and dormers.⁷⁰ The c.1950 John D. Henry House at 1500 South Benbow Road (GF6060) is illustrative of how the

⁶⁸ Bishir and Southern, *A Guide to the Historic Architecture of Piedmont North Carolina*, 535; McAlester, *A Field Guide to American Houses*, 567-578; Catherine W. Bishir, *North Carolina Architecture* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1990), 498-505.

⁶⁹ Bishir and Southern, *A Guide to the Historic Architecture of Piedmont North Carolina*, 543; McAlester, *A Field Guide to American Houses*, 449-466.

⁷⁰ McAlester, *A Field Guide to American Houses*, 409-432.

style was applied to mid-twentieth century houses. It has a symmetrical façade with double-hung windows, a simple gabled entrance, and gabled dormers on the façade.

Like most metropolitan areas in the state, Greensboro experienced significant growth in the post-World War II era with the population increasing by 25% between 1940 and 1950 and another 60% (approximately 35,000 residents) between 1950 and 1960. The increased population coupled with a pent-up demand for housing in the preceding decades, resulted in unprecedented building construction throughout the 1950s and 1960s. Constructed from the late 1940s through about 1960, Minimal Traditional-style houses are small houses characterized by a very simple rectangular, side- or front-gabled form, flush eaves, and a lack of architectural detail or ornamentation. The small size and compact footprints of these houses were both well suited to urban lots and inexpensive to build.⁷¹ Examples in the study area include pockets of Minimal Traditional-style housing along the 1400-1500 blocks of Julian Street and the 900 block of East Florida Street, as well as on vacant lots throughout the area. The c.1960 Claude Patterson House at 1112 Stephen Street (GF6071) is typical of the style with a compact, rectangular footprint, flush eaves, asbestos siding, two-over-two horizontal-pane windows, and a four-light-over-four-panel door sheltered by a small gabled stoop.

By the mid-1950s, however, the traditional forms of the Minimal Traditional style had begun to fall out of favor, even for small-scale housing, being slowly replaced by a preference for the streamlined, modern aesthetic of the Ranch house. The earliest Ranch houses in the study area, can be classified as Archetypal Ranches, characterized by large-pane picture windows in the public living spaces and expanses of brick veneer below high bedroom windows set in vertical wood siding.⁷² These small-scaled Archetypal Ranches were constructed in large numbers in the early- to mid-1950s in the speculatively built southwest portion of the Clinton Hills development (along South Side Boulevard, Bellaire, Cambridge, Curry, East Florida, Oxford, and Stephens streets). Despite nearly identical floor plans, details



Figure 16: John D. Henry House (GF6060) 1500 South Benbow Road



Figure 17: 1400 block Julian Street



Figure 18: Claude Patterson House (GF6071) 1112 Stephen Street

⁷¹ McAlester, *A Field Guide to American Houses*, 586-589.

⁷² Little, Margaret Ruth. "Getting the American Dream for Themselves: Postwar Modern Subdivisions for African Americans in Raleigh, North Carolina." *Buildings & Landscapes: Journal of the Vernacular Architecture Forum*, Vol. 19, No. 1 (Spring 2012), pg. 82.

vary slightly throughout the development with the 1956 Charles W. Pinckney House at 1814 Curry Street (GF6068) having a hipped roof, grouped double-hung windows with fixed transoms to the left of the entrance, and high paired windows within sided bays at the left end of the façade. The 1956 Bert C. Piggott House at 801 Cambridge Street (GF6780) has a side-gabled form, brick veneer throughout, picture windows on the right end of the façade, and double-hung windows on the left end.

Larger Ranch houses were constructed throughout the south part of the study area, south of Julian Street, throughout the 1950s, 1960s, and 1970s. These typically wide, low, one-story houses, most often constructed with brick veneers, were attractive to middle-class families as both a low-maintenance alternative to siding, which required regular repainting, and as a more expensive material, illustrating their upward economic status. Additionally, the open floor plans with centrally located kitchens represented the family-centered focus of the 1950s house, a direct response to the fragmentation of rooms separated by hallways that earlier house forms provided. Finally, the Ranch house often included an attached garage or carport, supporting an increased trend in automobile ownership nationwide in the decades after World War II. The c.1958 Jones Jeffries House at 1900 South Benbow Road (GF6057) is a good example of the style with an elongated form, Roman-brick veneer that further accentuates the horizontal form, an inset entrance bay with contrasting stone veneer, and an attached carport on the right end. The c.1962 Roy D. Moore House at 1105 Ross Avenue (GF6790) is a typical example of the style with a five-bay-wide façade, brick veneer, twenty-light bow window to the right of the entrance, and an inset carport at the right rear that is supported by full-height brick walls. While the Colonial Revival style was not popular in the study area, several Ranch houses employed Colonial Revival-style symmetry and detailing. The c.1969 House at 1216 East Side Drive (GF6784) illustrates this with a symmetrical façade, brick quoins at the building's corners, a shallow dentil cornice, double-hung six-over-nine wood-sash windows, and an entrance bay with a classical surround.



Figure 19: Charles W. Pinckney House (GF6068) 1814 Curry Street



Figure 20: Bert C. Piggott House (GF6780) 801 Cambridge Street



Figure 21: Jones Jeffries House (GF6057) 1900 South Benbow Road



Figure 22: Roy D. Moore House (GF6790) 1105 Ross Avenue

While the Ranch form remained popular into the 1970s, by the mid-1960s, the Split Level form had also become popular in the study area. This was due in part to a considerable number of speculatively built Split Level houses in the Benbow Park development at the southeast end of the study area. The Split Level form is composed of three or more staggered levels separated by partial flights of stairs. This allowed for a separation of public and private spaces within the house, providing “privacy, noise control, and good interior circulation.” The form was attractive to buyers because it looked more like a two-story house without the expense of constructing a full two stories. It was well-suited to developments with uneven terrain, as the stories could be partially built into sloping lots.⁷³ Garages, when present, were typically located at the lowest level of the house. Stylistic characteristics applied to the form may include Colonial Revival or Contemporary detailing, while others mimic the Archetypal Ranch with paired down Modernist detailing. The 1962 Walter Johnson House at 1802 Carlton Avenue (GF6067) is an example of the speculatively built houses in Benbow Park. It has a brick veneer at the first-floor levels and aluminum siding at the upper level, which is cantilevered slightly. Colonial Revival detailing includes eight-over-eight wood-sash windows, a dentil cornice on the one-story section, and a sixteen-light wood-framed picture window to the left of the entrance. The form was also utilized by architects who applied distinctive Modernist detailing to the interiors, as was the case with the c.1965 William Street House at 1507 Tuscaloosa Street (GF4863).



Figure 23: 1216 East Side Drive (GF6784)



Figure 24: Walter Johnson House (GF6067) 1802 Carlton Avenue



Figure 25: William Street House (GF4863) 1507 Tuscaloosa Street

An impressive number of noteworthy examples of the Modernist style are present in the study area. The proximity of North Carolina Agricultural & Technical State University and their department of Architectural Engineering furthered both a training in, and appreciation for, Modernist styles. The influence of prominent African American architects who resided in the study area and designed Modernist-style houses for themselves and their neighbors further led to a concentration of Modernist, architect-designed buildings that is higher than typical mid-century neighborhoods. The houses, most of which date from the late 1950s through the early 1970s, are characterized by flat, shed, and low-sloped gabled roofs with deep overhangs, exposed roof beams and purlins, large banks of windows, recessed entries, natural materials, and grouped windows that blur the distinction between interior and exterior spaces. Perhaps the most recognizable and well-known example of Modernist architecture in the study area is the 1959 Kenneth Lee House at 1021 Broad Avenue

⁷³ McAlester, *A Field Guide to American Houses*, 613-614.

(GF6168). Designed by W. Edward Jenkins, the house features a low-sloped, nearly flat, roof with clerestory windows lighting the main living and dining spaces. A flat-roofed carport on the façade and grouped windows contribute to the horizontality of the building. Taking advantage of the sloped site, the rear of the house has an exposed basement level. The c.1966 Milton H. Barnes House at 2219 Lakeland Drive (GF6066) employs a more traditional Ranch form, but is set apart by Modernist detailing including paired doors flanked by decorative, pierced concrete-block walls that screen the windows behind them.

Additional Modernist-style residences are highlighted in the Recommendations section of the report.



Figure 26: J. Kenneth Lee House (GF6168) 1021 Broad Avenue



Figure 27: Milton Barnes House (GF6066) 2219 Lakeland Drive

Religious Architecture

Churches in the study area are as varied as residential resources and display a wide variety of forms and styles including Gothic Revival, Colonial Revival, Minimal Traditional, and Modernist.

The earliest churches in the study area, dating from the 1920s, were constructed in the Gothic Revival style. The Gothic Revival style was popular in North Carolina as early as the antebellum period, but was most common in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, especially for religious buildings. The style features steeply pitched, gabled roofs, pointed arches, trefoils or quatrefoils, and crenelated parapets.⁷⁴ The 1927 Grace Lutheran Church at 1315 East Washington (GF9142) is distinctive for its tiled roof, brick buttresses separating the four-bay façade, and open timber framing at the front-gabled entrance. The c.1928 Saint Mary's Catholic Church at 1412 Gorrell Street (GF9137) is more characteristically Gothic Revival in its detailing with a pointed-arch at the main entrance, pilasters between the bays, and a square bell tower with crenelated parapet.

By the 1950s, the Colonial Revival style, though not popular for residential construction in the study area, became the preferred style for religious building. The formality of the style was well suited to imposing, often symmetrical, sanctuaries. The style is characterized by symmetrical brick exteriors, pedimented gables, cornices, and classical door surrounds. The 1951 Union Memorial United Methodist Church at 1012 East Gate City Boulevard (GF9132) features a T-shaped plan with a two-story entrance/bell tower at the northeast intersection of the two wings. It has a brick veneer, projecting brick pilasters between the bays, a shallow cornice, and a small rose window in the east gable. The 1963 Russell Temple Christian Methodist Episcopal at 1010 Bennett Street (GF9129), the second church in the study area constructed by the congregation, also features a T-shaped plan. The front entrance has a pedimented surround below a stuccoed, pedimented front gable. It retains rectangular stained-glass windows on the façade and side elevations and a simple square tower below a lantern with vinyl lights and a slender spire.



Figure 28: Grace Lutheran Church (GF9142) 1315 East Washington Street



Figure 29: Saint Mary's Catholic Church (GF9137) 1412 Gorrell Street



Figure 30: Union Memorial United Methodist Church (GF9132) 1012 East Gate City Boulevard

⁷⁴ Bishir and Southern, *A Guide to the Historic Architecture of Eastern North Carolina*, 446.

By the mid-1960s the front-gabled, Colonial Revival forms of the previous decade, while still employed within the study area, were adorned with modernist detailing. The c.1965 Pilgrim Baptist Church at 711 Oxford Street (GF6774) is illustrative of this trend with deep eaves on the facade, metal awning windows, and blind sidelights and transom on the façade that extends all the way up to the gabled roofline. In lieu of a portico, the main roofline is extended to cover the entrance, supported by tall, slender posts. The 1966 Trinity African Methodist Episcopal Church at 631 East Florida Street (GF2086) though similar in form to the 1951 Union Memorial United Methodist Church at 1012 East Gate City Boulevard (GF9132) has distinctively Modernist detailing. The façade features a prowed front gable up to which extend stained glass panels above the paired entrances to the building, separated by a full-height brick pilaster. Each set of paired doors has wide, three-light sidelights and is sheltered by a shared flat roof. The most Modernist element of the church is the square bell tower that is located on the front (southeast) elevation of a gabled wing at the rear of the right (northeast) elevation. The bell tower has a pierced concrete screen that extends the full height of the façade.

By the 1970s, the religious architecture of the study area was distinctly Modernist, with most designed by Greensboro's prominent African American architects. The 1970 St. Matthews United Methodist Church at 600 East Florida (GF9131), designed by W. Edward Jenkins, breaks fully from the front-gabled form historically used for churches. Instead, the church has a roughly rectangular, flat-roofed base with a projecting octagonal form that rises from the center of the flat-roof to light the sanctuary topped by a combination hipped and gabled roof. Alternating elevations of the octagonal structure have gabled roofs with stained glass filling the entire gable. A bell tower rises from the top of the octagonal form.

The c.1975 St. Stephen United Church of Christ at 1000 Gorrell (GF9136) and the 1976 Metropolitan United Methodist Church at 1701 East Market Street (GF9139) both return to the traditional front-gabled form, but instead of centering the main entrance in the gable, have relegated the entrance to a side or



Figure 31: Pilgrim Baptist Church (GF6774) 711 Oxford Street



Figure 32: Trinity African Methodist Episcopal Church (GF2086) 631 East Florida Street



Figure 33: Saint Matthews United Methodist Church (GF9131) 600 East Florida Street



Figure 34: Saint Stephen United Church of Christ (GF9136) 1000 Gorrell Street

rear elevation, instead reserving the full-height front gable for Modernist detailing. St. Stephens UCC has a deeply prowed gable, below which is an angular, cutaway bay with a stone veneer and fixed stained-glass windows. Metropolitan United Methodist Church also features a steeply sloped roof with front gable. The five-bay façade has three near-full-height arched stained-glass windows with projecting arched brick surrounds and each bay is separated by projecting brick pilasters, all of which contribute to the perceived verticality of the building. Finally, both churches are sited with deep grassy front lawns that provide an intentional distance from which the facades are best viewed and appreciated.



Figure 35: Metropolitan United Church of Christ (GF9139) 1701 East Market Street

Architect Profiles

The architectural history of southeast Greensboro is not complete without a discussion of these four prominent African American architects, two of whom lived in the study area, and all of whom made significant contributions to Greensboro's built environment and Modernist narrative.

Though none were Greensboro natives, W. Edward Jenkins, William Streat, Gerard Gray, and Clinton Gravely all found their way to Greensboro by the mid-twentieth century. The parallels between the lives and career paths are significant. They each served in the Army Corps of Engineers, and all served during World War II except Gravely, who was too young. All four men either attended or taught in the Department of Architectural Engineering at North Carolina Agricultural & Technical State University. Jenkins, Streat, and Gravely worked for the progressive-minded Edward Loewenstein, who specialized in Modernist designs and openly recruited architects of color, and eventually all four men established independent firms. Together they represent the first African Americans to be registered architects in North Carolina, the first to be hired by a white firm in the state, and the first to join the North Carolina chapter of the American Institute of Architects. They each faced the challenges of racism in the mid-twentieth century, and they each contributed to their field not only in achieving greater racial equality but also as leaders of the Modern movement in Greensboro.

Edward Jenkins

Edward Jenkins was born in Raleigh in 1923. He graduated from Washington High School, then served in the Army Corps of Engineers from 1943 until 1946. He attended North Carolina A&T University in Greensboro where he studied architectural engineering, supported by the GI Bill. In 1949, as he was completing his degree, his wife and daughter also relocated from Raleigh to Greensboro. The Jenkins family lived in a mill house on Boyd Street that was built for Cone Mills.

Although Jenkins struggled initially to find work and took a job as a telephone lineman, a relative who worked as a maid for the Cone family helped him get his first architecture position. She mentioned him to the Cones, who suggested he meet with their son-in-law, Edward Loewenstein, a prominent architect in the city known for his modernist designs. Jenkins was the first African American hired by the firm of Loewenstein and Atkinson, which was the first white firm in the state to hire African American architects. Jenkins became a registered architect in 1953, only the third African American to acquire an architectural license in North Carolina. His daughter, Miltrene Jenkins Barden, recalls that when he arrived to take the registration exam, the test proctors assumed he was the janitor. He later became the first African American to serve on the North Carolina Board of Architectural Registration, signing the same licenses during his term from 1975 to 1980.

While working with Loewenstein, Jenkins designed several high-profile buildings for both Black and white clients. The 1959 Dudley High School Gymnasium was one his most celebrated



Figure 36: Saint Matthews United Methodist Church (GF9131) 600 East Florida Street

designs, and earned awards from the National Association of School Architects, the American Institute of Steel Construction, and the local American Institute of Architects chapter. Jenkins also designed residential buildings, including the c.1950 William and Wilhelmina Goldsborough House at 1411 Marboro Drive, the c.1954 William Hampton House at 1207 Ross Avenue, the c.1956 Bishop Wyoming Wells House/Justice Henry and Shirley Frye House at 1401 South Benbow Road, and the 1959 J. Kenneth Lee House at 1021 Broad Avenue. Jenkins also designed the c.1959 E.E. and Ella Smith House at 1403 Ellis Street and the Smith Funeral Home at 717 Ashe Street, although the funeral home was forced to relocate during urban renewal and the original building was demolished. These homes formed the Neighbors United neighborhood, and Jenkins received a lot in the neighborhood as payment for the Goldsborough House. He designed his own home at 1301 Ross Avenue c.1956.

In 1962, Jenkins established his own practice. One of first buildings he designed was the 1965 Cumberland Professional Building at 107 North Murrow Boulevard, where he and other African American professionals had their offices. He then designed and moved to a new office at 1102 East Market Street around 1970, which he shared with Civil Rights attorney Kenneth Lee. Barden recalls that he would lean back in his chair to visualize a new building before drawing, and that he would regularly work late into the night every day, including Sundays. He was licensed in several states throughout the Southeast and later opened additional offices employing surveyors and draftsman.

Jenkins maintained a close relationship with NCA&T throughout his career. He assisted the NCA&T Department of Architectural Engineering with earning accreditation from the Accreditation Board for Engineering and Technology in 1969. He designed the Business and Math Building in 1966, Aggie Stadium in 1981, and the McNair School of Engineering in 1984. He was active in alumni organizations, helped raise scholarship funds, and offered positions in his office to students enrolled in the Architectural Engineering program.

In 1970, Jenkins designed a new sanctuary for St. Matthew's United Methodist Church at 600 East Florida Street after the congregation was forced to relocate from Warnersville during urban renewal. In 1971, he joined other community leaders in founding the Greensboro National Bank to provide home loans to African Americans, and he served on its board of directors until 1991. He designed the bank building at 100 South Murrow Boulevard in 1972, which remains extant and now serves as a branch of Mechanics & Farmers Bank.

Barden recalls that she was unaware of how extraordinary Jenkins was until she moved away from Greensboro in the early 1970s and discovered her peers were in disbelief that an African American man could find success as an architect. But Jenkins had been an important figure in breaking down racial barriers in his field. In addition to becoming the third African American registered architect in North Carolina, the first African American employed by a white firm in North Carolina, and the first African American to serve on the North Carolina Board of Architectural Registration, he was also the first African American to join the North Carolina Chapter of the American Institute of Architects and a member of the American Association of Architects. Like Jenkins, many in the neighborhood "were struggling hard to provide for their family," observed Barden, but they were also "doing something to help African Americans, doing something to help humanity."⁷⁵

⁷⁵ Personal Interview with Miltrene Jenkins Barden (community resident) by Eric Woodard (project volunteer), via telephone, July 2020; Catherine Bishir, "Jenkins, W. Edward (1923-1988)," *North Carolina*

William Streat

William Streat was born and raised in Virginia in 1920 and graduated from St. Paul's High School in Lawrenceville with a certificate in drafting in 1937. He earned a bachelor's degree in construction from the Hampton Institute in Hampton, Virginia, in 1941, then served in World War II in the Army Corps of Engineers and with the Tuskegee Airmen. He continued his education following the war with a bachelor's degree in architecture from the University of Illinois in 1948, a master's degree in architectural engineering from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology in 1949, and additional study in civil engineering at Duke University and the University of California at Berkeley, in architectural criticism at Harvard University and MIT, and in city and regional planning at Columbia University.



Figure 37: Barbara Gore House, 1208 East Side Drive

Streat served as the chair of the Department of Architectural Engineering at NCA&T in 1949, continuing in that role until his retirement in 1985. During his time as chair, the department grew to enroll two hundred students, added a master's degree program, and earned accreditation from the Accreditation Board for Engineering and Technology in 1969 with the help of Greensboro architect and alumni Edward Jenkins. Streat also taught classes including advanced design and structural engineering.

From 1950 until 1952, Streat worked for Edward Loewenstein's architectural firm as a structural consultant. In 1952, he became the second African American registered architect in North Carolina, and established his own firm in 1954. He joined Edward Jenkins as the only two African American members of the North Carolina chapter of the American Institute of Architects in 1961.

The majority of Streat's work included modernist residential designs, including his own 1962 home at 1507 Tuscaloosa Street, the 1965 Dr. Frank and Gladys White House at 1206 East Side Drive, the 1966 Earl F. Davis House at 1103 South Benbow Road, and a 1987 addition for Barbara Gore's house at 1208 East Side Drive. Although he focused on residential designs, he also designed the Episcopal Church of the Redeemer at 901 East Friendly Avenue, just west of the survey area, which was built in 1956 and expanded in 1967.⁷⁶ Streat retired from teaching in 1985, but continued to accept limited design commissions until his death in 1994.

Architects & Builders: A Biographical Dictionary, <https://ncarchitects.lib.ncsu.edu/people/P000349> (accessed August 2020); "Willie Edward "Blue" Jenkins (1923-1988)," *NC Modernist*, <https://ncmodernist.org/jenkins.htm> (accessed August 2020).

⁷⁶ Sally Warther, "Streat, William Alfred, Jr. (1920-1994)," *North Carolina Architects & Builders: A Biographical Dictionary*, <https://ncarchitects.lib.ncsu.edu/people/P000348> (accessed August 2020); "William Alfred Streat, Jr., AIA (1920-1994)," *NC Modernist*, <https://www.ncmodernist.org/streat.htm> (accessed August 2020).

Gerard Gray

Gerard Gray was born in South Carolina in 1919 and graduated from high school in Bennettsville in 1937. He relocated to Greensboro to enroll in the architectural engineering program at NCA&T, and he received his bachelor's degree in 1942. He served in the Army Corps of Engineers during World War II, then continued his education with a master's degree in architectural engineering from the University of Illinois in 1949 and additional study at Penn State, the University of Colorado, Michigan Tech, and the U.S. Navy Civil Engineering School. He took a position as a draftsman for a firm in Philadelphia, then returned to the Army Corps of Engineers to serve in the Korean War. In 1953, he returned to Greensboro to accept a position as a professor at NCA&T. He taught classes on working drawings, building materials, and architectural history. With William Streat and Edward Jenkins, he assisted the Department of Architectural Engineering to achieve accreditation in 1969. He then served as the Director of the Physical Plant from 1974 until 1981.



Figure 38: Eugene and Lorena Marrow House, 1204 East Side Drive

In the late 1950s, while also teaching, Gray worked as a part-time draftsman for Greensboro architect Thomas P. Heritage. He then established his own architectural firm in 1961, focusing on modernist residential designs for prominent African American residents in east Greensboro. His work within the survey area includes the 1964 Dr. Alvin and Gwendolyn Blount House at 1224 East Side Drive, and the 1968 Eugene and Lorena Marrow House at 1204 East Side Drive. He also designed the 1961 Dr. Melvin Alexander House at 1200 Moody Drive, the 1968 Dr. Charles and Fannie Fountain House at 211 North Dudley Street, and the 1972 Joe and Eunice Dudley House at 1316 Youngs Mill Road. In 1962, he became the third African American member of the North Carolina chapter of the American Institute of Architects.

In 1982, Gray left NCA&T to accept a position as the Vice President and Director of Physical Plant at Prairie View A&M University in Texas. He retired in 1984 and returned to Philadelphia, where he remained until his death in 2001.⁷⁷

Clinton Gravely

Clinton Gravely was born in Reidsville, North Carolina, in 1935. While in high school, he often worked with his father and grandfather's contracting business, sometimes drawing simple design plans or roughing out houses. He enrolled in the architecture program at Howard University with the intention to take a few classes to help with the family business, but he was encouraged by his hometown principal to earn his degree. Following that advice, Gravely graduated from Howard in 1959.

⁷⁷ Sally Warther, "Gray, Gerard E. (1919-2001)," *North Carolina Architects & Builders: A Biographical Dictionary*, <https://ncarchitects.lib.ncsu.edu/people/P000607> (accessed August 2020); "Gerard E. Gray, AIA (1919-2001)," *NC Modernist*, <https://www.ncmodernist.org/gray.htm> (accessed August 2020).

After graduation, Gravely served in the Army Corps of Engineers at Fort Benning, Georgia, where he coordinated on-post construction projects. After less than a year, he began seeking a job that would take him back to North Carolina. Although he got invited to several job interviews, when employers realized he was African American, they would sometimes refuse to interview him. In 1961, he took a job with Greensboro architectural firm Loewenstein-Atkinson, one of the few white firms in the state that hired African Americans at that time. He was first hired as an Architect in Training, since he was not yet a registered architect. When he passed the licensing exam and traveled to the North Carolina chapter of the American Institute of Architects meeting in Wilmington to be inducted, he recalled that no one talked to him except one man, who questioned his choice to become an architect and intimated that he could not be successful with African American clients.

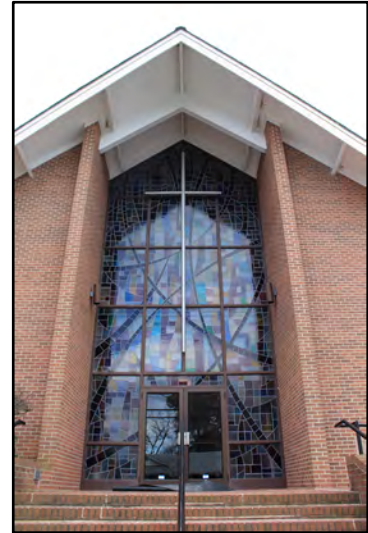


Figure 39: Providence Baptist Church (GF9141) 1106 Tuscaloosa Street

To increase his value to Loewenstein's firm and help bring in business from white clients, Gravely decided to pursue a specialty, seeking training in the construction of fallout shelters at NCA&T. He was invited to assist the course instructor with writing a book on the subject, and afterward he found that his expertise in this area often led white clients to be more open to his other designs.

With Loewenstein's support, Gravely established his own design firm in 1967, and in the early years he sought business in Durham, Raleigh, and Charlotte in addition to Greensboro. In the survey area, Gravely designed the 1967 Providence Baptist Church at 1106 Tuscaloosa Street. He also designed the 1967 Norman Curtis House at 3109 Watauga Drive, his own 1974-1977 house at 601 Callan Drive, and the 1991 F.D. Bluford Library at 1601 East Market Street on the NCA&T campus. In 1996, Gravely was awarded the Outstanding Architect of the Year by the North Carolina chapter of the National Organization of Minority Architects. Gravely is still actively designing, and his firm has completed nearly nine hundred projects since its establishment in 1967.⁷⁸

⁷⁸ "Clinton Eugene Gravely, AIA (1935-)," *NC Modernist*, <https://www.ncmodernist.org/gravely.htm> (accessed August 2020); Ross Howell, Jr., "The Wright Stuff: Clinton E. Gravely's odyssey in Modern architecture," *O'Henry Magazine*, www.ohenrymag.com (accessed August 2020).

Development Context

Greensboro's residential development in the early and mid-twentieth century was reliant on three basic factors: new transportation technology, the evolution of public policy, and the previously existing patterns of development.⁷⁹ While the streetcar followed existing white development, the automobile allowed for broad patterns of suburban development. However, many African American families, with fewer opportunities for automobile ownership, especially in the pre-World War II era, were limited to neighborhoods within walking distance of jobs, schools, and commercial areas. An expanded public role in development, in the form of the creation of water and sewer systems, road paving, and other infrastructure, was initially focused on areas that had already been developed. Again, the extension of public infrastructure to African American neighborhoods was secondary to that of white neighborhoods. Finally, through zoning and restrictive covenants, early- and mid-twentieth century residential development followed established patterns of economic and racial segregation.

Five different geographic areas were identified within the study area, each with a distinct development story. The earliest of these is Nocho Park, at the north end of the study area. Platted from 1924 to 1926 it extends from Washington Street all the way down to Julian Street. Clinton Hills, which abuts the south end of Nocho Park was platted in 1926 and extends southwest from Julian Street to Curry Street with areas south of East Florida Street replatted in the mid- to late-1950s. Benbow Park, platted from 1959-1962, is located southeast of Clinton Hills, though the two developments are generally considered to be part of a single Benbow Road neighborhood today.

Redevelopment efforts that began in the 1950s resulted in the clearing of land for Greensboro's third public housing development, Ray Warren Homes, in 1959. Additionally, in the early 1970s, land in the northwest corner of the study area, west of the Nocho Park development was cleared and reorganized as the Washington Street Redevelopment project.

Nocho Park Subdivision

South Benbow and McConnell roads; East Bragg, Douglass, Duke, Gorrell, Law, Logan, Perkins, Sloan, and East Washington streets; East Gate City Boulevard

The largest early-twentieth century development in East Greensboro, Nocho Park was platted in three separate plats dating from 1924 to 1926. Nocho Park was part of an era of significant early twentieth century growth. However, that growth was largely focused on white developments west of downtown where Irving Park, Westerwood, Sunset Hills, Lindley Park, Hamilton Lakes, and Sedgfield were all begun between 1911 and 1930. The growth of Scott Park, College Heights, and eventually Clinton Hills in east Greensboro represented a "dual-market" in Greensboro, planned segregated developments that remained the practice through the 1960s.⁸⁰

⁷⁹ Baylin, "An Historical Study of Residential Development in Greensboro, 1808-1965," 71.

⁸⁰ Baylin, "An Historical Study of Residential Development in Greensboro, 1808-1965," 77-81.



Figure 41: Map of Nocho Park

Greensboro’s premier African American neighborhood in the early twentieth century, the growth and development of the Nocho Park neighborhood aligns with a period of significant growth for both Bennett College—which was largely rebuilt with brick Georgian Revival-style buildings in the 1920s and 1930s—and North Carolina Agricultural & Technical State University. White developers Matheson-Wills Real Estate and Benbow & White, purchased pastureland of the former Benbow Dairy and laid out the sprawling neighborhood, which included land reserved for a hospital (the 1927 L. Richardson Hospital) and twelve-acre park that included the 1937 Windsor Community Center.⁸¹ Additionally, the Washington Street School, just west of the development, and the 1929 Dudley High School, to the east made the area an ideal neighborhood for families as well as teachers and administrators. The development was named for Jacob Robert Nocho, a local black educator and Reconstruction-era state politician.⁸²

The neighborhood is located on a relatively flat plane with streets arranged in a grid pattern with the exception of diagonal streets extending adjacent to the L. Richardson Hospital and the curvilinear East Side Drive extending along the west side of Nocho Park. Streets are paved with

concrete curb and gutter and sidewalks extend along most blocks. The sidewalks, coupled with narrow lots—most measuring 50’ wide by 150’ deep—are typical of early twentieth century urban, walkable neighborhoods.

Because the development spanned World War II, there is more variation in building styles than in later, postwar developments. Residences from the late 1920s through the 1930s are largely built in the Craftsman style. Popular for its compact footprints, the style was well suited to the area’s narrow urban lots and the small, one-story houses were easily constructed by local African American builders. The style was also easily adapted to duplexes, especially in the north end of the development, to house both blue- and white-collar workers including bellman, bricklayers, barbers, laborers, and teachers.⁸³ Larger one-and-a-half-story examples of the style as well as small-scale cottages with Colonial or Tudor Revival detailing, located on Law,

⁸¹ Briggs, Benjamin. “The Secrets of Nocho Park, Clinton Hills, and Benbow Park.” <https://preservationgreensboro.org/the-secrets-of-nocho-park-clinton-hills-and-benbow-park/> Accessed August 1, 2020.

⁸² Briggs, Benjamin. “The Secrets of Nocho Park, Clinton Hills, and Benbow Park.” <https://preservationgreensboro.org/the-secrets-of-nocho-park-clinton-hills-and-benbow-park/> Accessed August 1, 2020.

⁸³ Brown, Marvin, pg. 211.

Gorrell, and Sloan streets and along South Benbow Road housed the area's growing middle-class population. When construction resumed after World War II, groups of Minimal Traditional-style houses were constructed, especially in the southeast part of the neighborhood. The compact, one-story houses were widely popular because they were quickly and inexpensively built and were thus an efficient response to the post-war housing shortage. The minimal detailing for which the style is named, tends toward the Colonial style.

In 1957, construction was completed on O'Henry Boulevard, bordering the east side of the neighborhood, complete with looped on- and off-ramps that cut into Nocho Park. In 1959, Ray Warren Homes was completed on the west side of the neighborhood, resulting in the re-platting of the southwest part of Nocho Park. Both of these limited connectivity to and through the neighborhood. Additionally, the continued growth of North Carolina Agricultural & Technical State University has resulted in the early twenty-first century demolition of all historic housing north of Perkins Street in order to allow for the construction of additional student housing.



Figure 42: 500 block South Benbow Road



Figure 43: 1100 block Gorrell Street

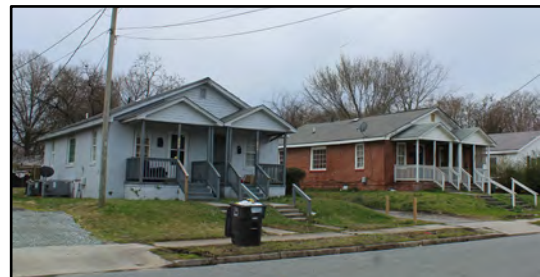


Figure 44: 1500 block McConnell Street



Figure 45: 1400 block Julian Street

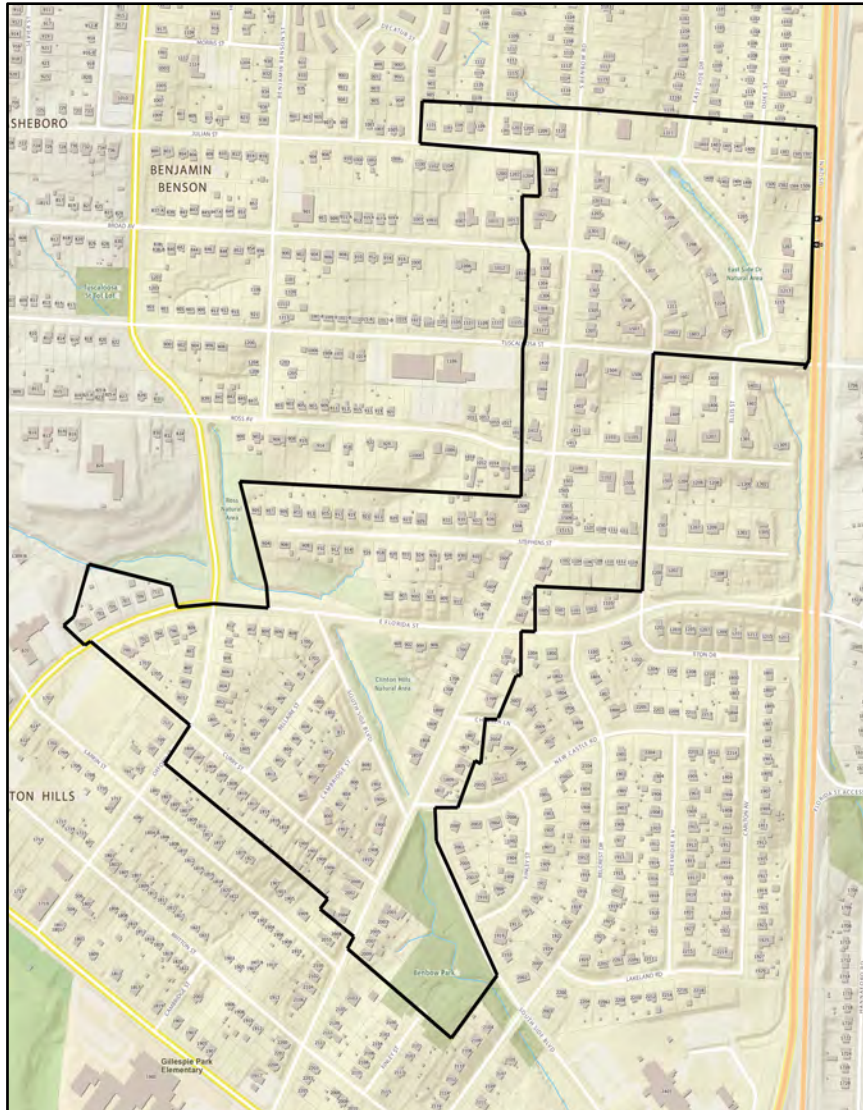


Figure 46: Map of Clinton Hills Subdivision

Clinton Hills Subdivision

East Side and Marboro drives; Bellaire, Cambridge, Curry, East Florida, Julian, Oxford, Stephens, and Tuscaloosa streets; South Benbow Road; Broad Avenue; South Side Boulevard

Laid out in 1926 by white developers on formerly agricultural lands, the Clinton Hills development (GF9144 and GF9147) may be the first African American suburban development in Greensboro to utilize curvilinear street patterns. Located just south of the Nocho Park development, it is one of a number of subdivisions platted as a response to the growth of Bennett College and NC A&T in the early twentieth century. Yet, by the late-1920s, the land east and southeast of Benbow Road was one of only a few pockets of undeveloped land within

the corporate limits of Greensboro. Further, the African American developments in east Greensboro were the exception to extensive post-World War II growth outside of the corporate limits. Thus, this area featured land that had been planned and platted, but as late as 1957 remained largely unbuilt.⁸⁴

The two 1926 plats of Clinton Hills are arranged with South Benbow Road as the main north-south thoroughfare through the neighborhood. The northern plat, which extends mostly east from South Benbow Road, has lots arranged around curved streets that follow a natural ravine that extends as a natural boulevard down the center of East Side Drive. The southern plat, which extends mostly west from South Benbow Road, is also oriented around a green space on South Side Boulevard that was platted to be a boulevard similar to that on East Side Drive. However, it was not completed because houses were never constructed on the north side of

⁸⁴ Baylin, "An Historical Study of Residential Development in Greensboro, 1808-1965," 84-87.

the street and that area remains a natural area. A second green space, designated as Benbow Park, extends on the east side of South Benbow Road.

Lots throughout the development were platted with consistent 50' street frontage. However, in the north part of the neighborhood, lots were frequently combined to create lots with 100' to 150' of frontage to accommodate the sprawling Ranch and Modernist-style houses constructed in that area. Conversely, the south end of the neighborhood remained largely undeveloped and in 1956, much of it was re-platted with slightly large lots (most measuring 60' of street frontage) and to accommodate alterations to the street grid along Bennett, East Florida, and Oxford Streets.

Houses in the north part of the neighborhood were largely custom built and thus display a wide variety of forms and styles. A number of them were designed by one of Greensboro's noted African American architects and collectively they represent some of Greensboro's best examples of Modernist residential architecture. Others in the northern part of the neighborhood and extending along South Benbow Road were more typical Ranch houses or cottages with Colonial or Tudor Revival detailing.

Houses in the re-platted south end of the neighborhood, along Bellaire, Cambridge, Curry, East Florida, Oxford, and Stephens streets were speculatively built by Joseph Koury and Bill Kirkman, white builders who went on to develop the adjacent Benbow Park subdivision. They represent a limited number of four-bay-wide, hipped and side-gabled forms executed with varying details. The small-scale, Ranch houses all have brick veneers and while several have Colonial Revival-style detailing including multi-light windows with paneled aprons, most have more Modernist detailing including including grouped awning windows in the public space and high awning windows lighting the bedrooms.



Figure 47: 1200 block Julian Street



Figure 48: 1800 block Curry Street



Figure 49: 900 block Stephens Street

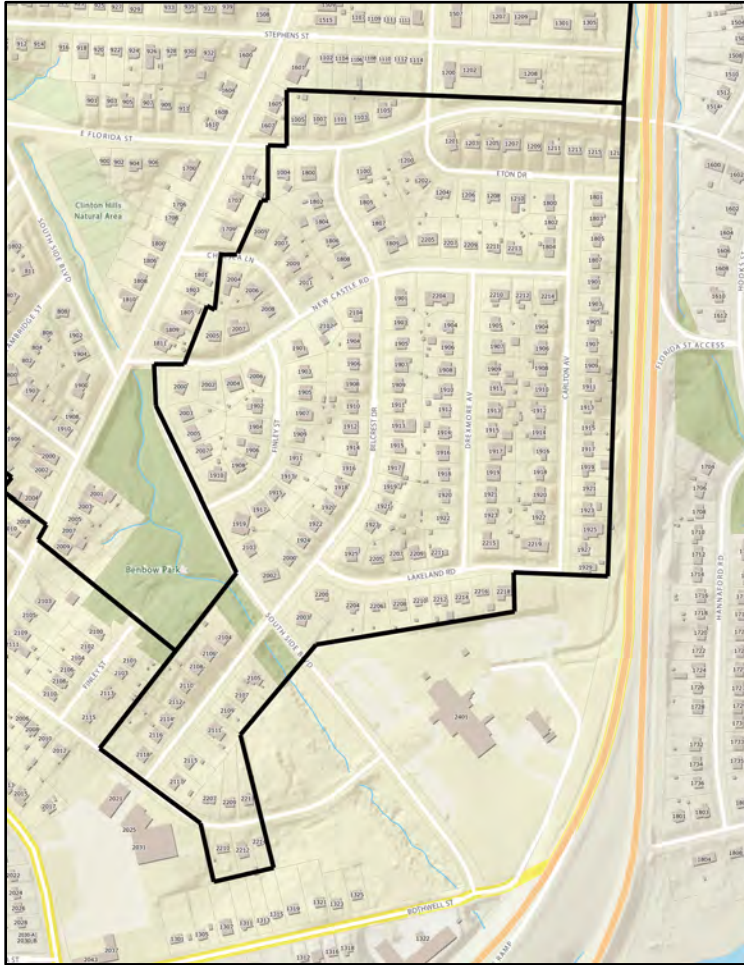


Figure 50: Map of Benbow Park Subdivision (GF9143)

Benbow Park Subdivision

Belcrest, Eton, and Lakeland drives; Carlton and Drexmore avenues; Britton, Finley, and East Florida streets; Chelsea Lane; New Castle Road; South Side Boulevard

Developed in five separate plats dating from February 1959 to February 1962, the Benbow Park subdivision (GF9143) illustrates Olmstedian principles, including curvilinear streets, large lots with deep setbacks, and the retention of mature tree canopies. The west part of the subdivision, along South Benbow Road was originally platted as part of the adjacent Clinton Hills development. However, when it remained undeveloped by the late 1950s, the land was replatted and developed with the Benbow Park subdivision. While this area was already within the corporate limits, the development of Benbow Park followed a large annexation of land in 1957, the result of which was a focus on concentrated development



Figure 51: 1100 block of East Florida Street (GF9143)

within the corporate boundaries where public utilities were available. Yet, the African American neighborhoods in the southeast part of the city saw relatively static growth in the 1950s and 1960s when compared with the growth of white neighborhoods in the west and northwest.⁸⁵

The Clinton Hills and Benbow Park developments are linked in a number of ways. The streets that intersect South Benbow Road on the west side of the Benbow Park subdivision, are located at regular intervals and align with the street grid of the Clinton Hills subdivision on the opposite side of Benbow Road. Additionally, the greenspace and public park located just southwest of the Benbow Park subdivision bears the name of the subdivision, despite having been platted with the Clinton Hills development.

⁸⁵ Baylin, “An Historical Study of Residential Development in Greensboro, 1808-1965,” 90.

Streets within the subdivision curve throughout in response to the gentle rolling terrain, to slow traffic, and to provide varied views as one moves through the area. In the southwest part of the subdivision, houses on corner lots are angled to face the intersections, a practice typical in postwar developments and espoused by the Urban Land Institute.⁸⁶ Streets and building lots on the east side of the subdivision are largely straight and rectangular, respectively, a response to the north-south North O’Henry Boulevard (US-220) that borders the east end of the subdivision.

Houses in the subdivision were almost entirely speculatively built with several variations of the Ranch and Split Level forms repeated throughout the subdivision. Colonial Revival details on the majority of the houses—including multi-light double-hung windows, paneled aprons, modillion and dentil cornices, paneled doors, and classical surrounds—stand in stark contrast to the more Modernist styles and details found in the adjacent Clinton Hills development. Their presence is indicative of the subdivision’s development by white developers and builders who employed the styles and details popular in white subdivisions of the era. Most of the houses in the subdivision were constructed using one of the following four forms.

Four-bay Ranch

Side-gabled, four-bay Ranch houses are one of the most common forms in the subdivision. Several have a projecting center bay, sheltered by the main overhang of the roof, while others have a stepped roofline, allowing for one half of the façade to be inset by about a foot. Most have double-hung windows with paneled aprons. A few have more Modernist detailing including grouped awning windows in the public space and high awning windows lighting the bedrooms.



Figure 52: 1202 Eton Drive

Five-bay Ranch

A number of side-gabled Ranch houses have five-bay facades, emphasizing the horizontality of the form. These are most often detailed with double-hung windows and Colonial Revival-style door surrounds.



Figure 53: 2214 New Castle Road

Ranch with Projecting Front-gabled Wing

A variation on the four-bay Ranch, this house has a two-bay-wide, projecting, front-gabled wing on one end of the façade. The wing typically has double-hung windows and partial gable returns. The main body of the house has the entrance and a large window—either paired windows, a bow window, or a picture window—lighting the interior living space.



Figure 54: 1905 Drexmore Avenue

⁸⁶ Mott, Seward and Max Wehrly (editors). *The Community Builders Handbook* (Washington D.C., Urban Land Institute, 1947).

Split Level

Split Level houses were constructed throughout the subdivision, though the largest concentration of them is along Carlton Avenue at the east side of the development. The houses most often have brick veneer on the one-story wing and the lower level of the two-story wing with wood or aluminum siding or vertical board-and-batten above. Colonial Revival-style details include eight-over-eight wood-sash windows, partial gable returns, cornices, and exposed purlins supporting the cantilevered second floors. Picture or bow windows on the one-story section light the main living space. Several examples have classical door surrounds and, in rare instances, porches shelter the entrances.



Figure 55: 1805 Carlton Avenue

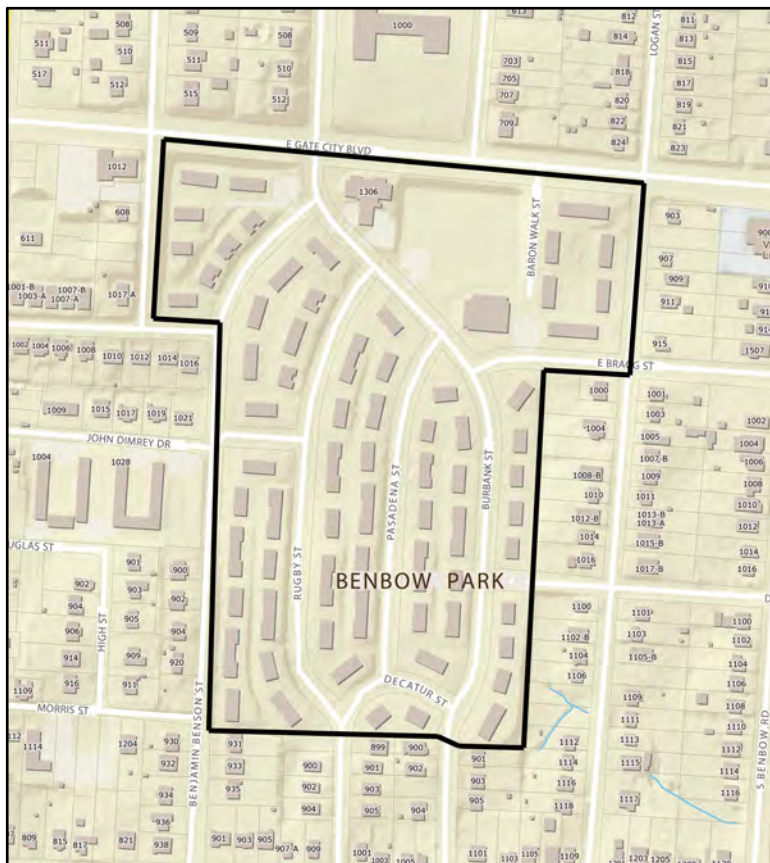


Figure 56: Map of Ray Warren Homes (GF9133)

housing and the street patterns realigned to construct the development.

The layout of the development is consistent with mid-twentieth century suburban residential development with the one- and two-story buildings, though closely spaced, arranged around

Ray Warren Homes

1300 East Gate City Boulevard

Built in 1959 Ray Warren Homes (GF9133) was Greensboro's third public housing development and its first integrated development. The complex of 70 buildings (containing 236 housing units) was named for Ray Warren, the Greensboro Housing Authority's first Executive Director (serving from 1941-1956).

The development replaced early twentieth century housing that had been designed in 1937 by the Home Owner Loan Corporation (HOLC) to be "fourth grade" housing, "largely consisting of cheap type of negro cottages." The 1950 Sanborn map shows dense housing only at the northwest corner of the development, with much of the remaining land still vacant. The area was cleared of existing

curvilinear streets. Mature trees shade the grassy lawns around the buildings, some of which are oriented toward concrete paths between the buildings.

The buildings are mostly two-story, side-gabled, brick four-plexes with stepped rooflines that divide each building into two adjacent duplexes. Other buildings are one-story handicap accessible units. The buildings all have brick veneers, vinyl windows, flush eaves and wood shingles in the gable ends. Doors are solid wood doors and are sheltered by either front-gabled, single-bay porches or hip-roofed, two-bay porches, each supported by square posts.

Similar to the natural green spaces planned for inclusion in middle- and upper-class suburbs, the housing development includes a paved basketball court, a baseball field, and a modern playground on the north end, adjacent to Gate City Boulevard. Adjacent to the park is a community building housing the Boys & Girls Club, a Kids Café, and the management office for the complex. Southeast of the community building is the R. W. Child Development Center (715 Burbank).



Figures 57 and 58: Ray Warren Homes (GF9133)

Washington Street Redevelopment

Bennett, High, Hargett, Perkins, and East Washington streets

The Washington Street Redevelopment (GF9145) dates to the 1970s. Home Owner Loan Corporation (HOLC) maps and notes from as early as 1937 designate this area as “third grade” housing, but a “good residential section” with “close proximity to colored college being a contributing factor.” The 1950 Sanborn map shows a dense collection of small homes, albeit on misaligned streets, the product of gradual, organic development over time. While Clinton Hills and Benbow Park experienced significant growth from the 1950s through the 1970s, this area appears to have declined.

The Redevelopment Commission of Greensboro, established in 1951, targeted the area in the 1960s with the redevelopment plan implemented in the early 1970s. The City of Greensboro cleared the



Figures 59 and 60: 400 and 500 blocks of Hargett Street (GF9145)



Figure 61: Map of Washington Street Redevelopment (GF9145)

land, reserving only two houses in the 500 block of Bennett Street and a handful of buildings near the intersection of East Washington and Law Streets. Once cleared, they altered the street grid, removing Best and Armstrong/Connell Road entirely to create longer and wider blocks, and creating the loop at the west end of Perkins Street (which originally extended west all the way to Bennett Street). The full block bordered by East Washington, Law, Gorrell, and Hargett streets was reserved for the Washington Street School. Original plats from 1971, 1973, and 1977 show large rectangular lots measuring 75-90' wide and 147-170' deep. Following recommendations espoused by the Urban Land Institute in the 1950s and 1960s, the plat included roughly square-shaped lots at the corners of blocks, which allowed for a single lot to face each of the cross-streets. However, the plan was not carried out with those lots in place.

Housing throughout the development is very consistent, though with slight variations evident between the three separately platted areas. The repetitive Ranch and Split Level forms are indicative of construction by a single entity. While the Benbow Park subdivision was similarly constructed with repetitive Ranch and Split Level forms, the curvilinear street pattern, narrower streets, and mature trees serve to both identify the neighborhood as a cohesive, contained entity, and contribute character to the streetscape that is generally lacking in this area.