HAYWOOD DENARD HARRIS. CENTRAL BUSINESS DISTRICT (CBD) OF GREENVILLE, NORTH CAROLINA. (Under the Direction of Dr. Ralph Birchard) Department of Geography, February, 1975.

The purpose of this study is to identify and evaluate the changing physical and functional structure of downtown Greenville, North Carolina. The study will discuss the primary factors influencing these changes and analyze to what extent they have affected downtown composition and spatial arrangements. An assessment of typical role and characteristics of both large and small city CBD's forms the basis for this study.[1]

The approach used in this analysis involves a sequential review of changes in type and location of shops over a fifty year period beginning in 1918. A study of this evolution provides the background for forecasting the future of Greenville's CBD.

The future viability of this area may not be the most critical problem facing the city, but it probably affects the most people. Being an area to which all citizens can lay claim, empty stores, unsightly structures, congested streets and sidewalks, and all other results of the inability of the CBD to adapt to new conditions, are causes of remorse to the urban population.

The problem of the CBD in continuing as the dynamic center of the city appears to have been an inability and/or unwillingness to respond to changing conditions. The fact that the city and its inhabitants have changed requires that a new look be taken of the downtown center.

---

[1]For the purposes of this study "small city CBD" refers to the central business district of urban areas with a population of 50,000 and less.

The success of the current urban renewal program indicates that downtown merchants and the city government have recognized the aforementioned problem and have taken initial steps to correct it.

The growth of East Carolina University on the east and southeastern edge of the CBD and the development of a large suburban shopping focus along the by-pass have greatly affected the downtown area. The outside shopping facilities, particularly Pitt Plaza Shopping Center, have served to pull away a large portion of potential downtown traffic; while the University, with its large on-campus student population, has served to draw traffic toward the downtown area. Many downtown merchants recognizing this potential have adjusted decor and merchandise catering to the growing University market.

Office buildings and new financial facilities are also changing the image and role of downtown Greenville. Through the urban renewal program, rehabilitated property to the north and west of the CBD is rapidly being developed primarily for these types of uses. Considerable daytime traffic will be generated by these activities and the proposed office complex planned for construction south of the CBD. The county courthouse and other government offices have and will continue to influence traffic to the downtown area.

THE CENTRAL BUSINESS DISTRICT (CBD)
OF GREENVILLE, NORTH CAROLINA

A Thesis

Presented To

The Faculty of the Department of Geography

East Carolina University

Geography Research Paper Number 22

In Partial Fulfillment

of the Requirements for the Degree

Master of Arts in Geography

By

Haywood Denard Harris

February, 1975

THE CENTRAL BUSINESS DISTRICT (CBD)

OF GREENVILLE, NORTH CAROLINA

BY

HAYWOOD DENARD HARRIS

APPROVED BY:

SUPERVISOR OF THESIS: Ralph E. Birchard

CHAIRMAN OF THE DEPARTMENT OF GEOGRAPHY: Robert E. Cramer

DEAN OF THE GRADUATE SCHOOL: Joseph Boyette /cm

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This is to express my most sincere appreciation to all those assisting in the development of this thesis. A special thanks to Dr. Ralph Birchard, my thesis advisor, for his patience, assistance and untiring support. His confidence and encouragement were primary factors in making this thesis a reality. Also, I wish to express my gratitude to Dr. Ennis Chestang, Dr. Robert Cramer, Chairman of the Geography Department, and my family (especially my father) for their influence, encouragement, and assistance.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

TABLE OF CONTENTS (Cont'd)

LIST OF TABLES

LIST OF TABLES
(cont'd)

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The future of the downtown area in any city may not be the most critical problem facing the city, but it affects the most people. Inasmuch as the CBD is an area to which all citizens can lay claim, empty stores, deteriorating buildings, poorly maintained streets and sidewalks, and fewer downtown patrons are unpleasant indications that the position of social and economic structure of the central business district (CBD) is declining and a fact of serious consequence for the entire population of the city.

Such a decline in viability will eventually result in losses in valuable property tax revenue needed for operation of municipal services. Deteriorating buildings begin to pollute the landscape and the CBD gradually loses its identity as the central focus of activity. In many cases, this decline is so gradual that few realize the consequences of such a trend until it is beyond control.

Expanded use of the automobile since World War II has caused the American cities to change from compact metropolises to loosely organized urban regions. Sale of state license plates according to the North Carolina Department of Motor Vehicles, has nearly tripled in Pitt County since 1948. The city of Greenville reports city license plates sales have almost tripled since 1958. Tied together with an extensive network of highways, this has served to provide additional impetus to suburban residential expansions. New patterns of movement have developed between home, work, shopping, recreation and other trip destinations.

Meanwhile, increasing urban population has meant increased congestion on downtown streets, inadequate parking, and poor circulation of both auto and shoppers. More convenient retail focuses, in the form of modern shopping centers, began to appear on major streets as driving distance became less important and actual driving time became more important.

These factors have played a significant role in decreasing the over-all appeal of the downtown area. The decline of potential CBD patrons has resulted in a steady out migration of many types of CBD activity. This loss of activity, called decentralization, has served to decrease the economic status and over-all image of the CBD. It appears that apathetic property owners and city officials are to be blamed for perpetuating this trend by failing to respond to needs for improvements in the downtown area.

The fact that the city and its inhabitants are constantly changing requires that at least a periodical investigation be made of the downtown area to determine how it is responding to change, its present strengths and weaknesses, and what measures should be taken to ensure its continuing viability or revitalization.

The importance of making a new assessment of the central business district has been pointed out by Larry Smith:

> Today's realization of the need to reappraise and challenge the functions being performed by our metropolitan areas and our central cities has been long in coming, but the trends toward re-appraisal are recognizable; and in spite of a diversity of influences and interests that are often conflicting,

> there is a growing urgency to spell out the way of the future. This is our chance for a fresh start, for incorporating the lessons we have learned the hard way to achieve an intelligent, balanced, and profitable relationship between our metropolitan areas and their respective CBD'S.[1]

Traditionally, metropolitan CBD's of 50,000 persons or more have been the central focus of a large portion of urban research. This trend has been influenced by the availability of comparable data compiled by the U.S. Bureau of Census on these Standard Metropolitan Statistical Areas (SMSA). An SMSA is broadly defined as a metropolitan area with at least one city of 50,000 inhabitants or more.[2]

Raymond Murphy implies that standardized statistical data are almost a necessity in the study of a city and its central business district.[3] It is noticeable from the limited amount of printed research on the small city CBD that this lack of appropriate data has negatively affected the amount of academic research of those urban areas of less than 50,000 persons.

Greenville, North Carolina, being the largest city in Pitt County and having a 1970 population of 28,112, is classified as a small city and as such has not received the attention of the U.S. Bureau of Census afforded larger urban areas. The lack of published data presents somewhat of a problem to this anaylsis; however, it is expected that the results of this study will be useful for comparative evaluation of other small city CBD's of similiar size and nature.

---

[1]Smith, Larry, "Space for the CBD's Functions," Journal of the American Institute of Planners, XXVII, No. 4 (1961) p. 35.

[2]SMSA data includes a summary of population and housing by actual count plus selected socio-economic characteristics factored from a percentage of total population. This data is aggregated by small homogeneous areas (census tracts) subdivided from the total SMSA.

[3]Murphy, Raymond, The American City, McGraw-Hill, 1966, p. 12.

The primary purpose of the study is to discuss and evaluate the changing physical and functional structure of downtown Greenville, North Carolina, and how these changes have precipitated alterations in the areas' role as a CBD. Factors causing these changes will be analyzed as to their actual formation, relationships, timing, and consequential impact on the downtown area.

Generalizations about these changes will be presented based on the writer's research and available data (i.e. population, traffic volumes, income, number of autos, etc.) which are expected to be useful in forecasting the future of downtown Greenville.

In general, the expected results are the development of a useful approach and/or criteria for comparatively assessing the current and future viability of the downtown area of cities less than 50,000; and more specifically, an assessment of the Greenville CBD in terms of its current and future viability.

Greenville, centrally located on the coastal plains of North Carolina, has developed as a marketing center for the surrounding agricultural area. Arterials span in all directions serving as farm-to-market roads as well as intra- and inter-regional highway links. However, James Woolverton's research on the external trade of Greenville reveals that its retail trade is primarily restricted to Pitt County.[4] The city's role as county seat, East Carolina University, and the local tobacco industry have provided the basic economic foundation for the downtown area as well as the whole city.

---

[4]Woolverton, James A. "An Analysis of the External Trade and Service Areas of Greenville, N.C." (unpublished masters thesis, East Carolina University, 1969), p. 30.

At some point in time, Greenville's growth reached a threshold whereas conditions were favorable for the beginning of a decentralization trend affecting the downtown area. Has this trend stopped or reversed itself? If it has not stopped, what functions are being drawn to suburban shopping sites (Figure 1)? Exactly what measureable impact is urban renewal having on the CBD? These questions are particularly perplexing to the writer whose interest in downtown Greenville spans more than a decade.

Since the term "Central Business District" may be rather vague and misleading, alternative terminology and definition will be one of the first areas of discussion. The analysis begins with a study of the historical development of the CBD and its relationships to the community it serves. Special attention will be given to the changes that have been taking place and the forces which contributed to these changes. Assumptions and theories related to downtown development, organization and function will be discussed and compared with prevailing characteristics and existing conditions.

The next step will be to review the problems of the small city CBD and the factors that presumable are causing them. This involves an inquiry and analysis of the role the small city CBD plays in the urban structure. A description of the general characteristics will then form the basis for more intensive study.

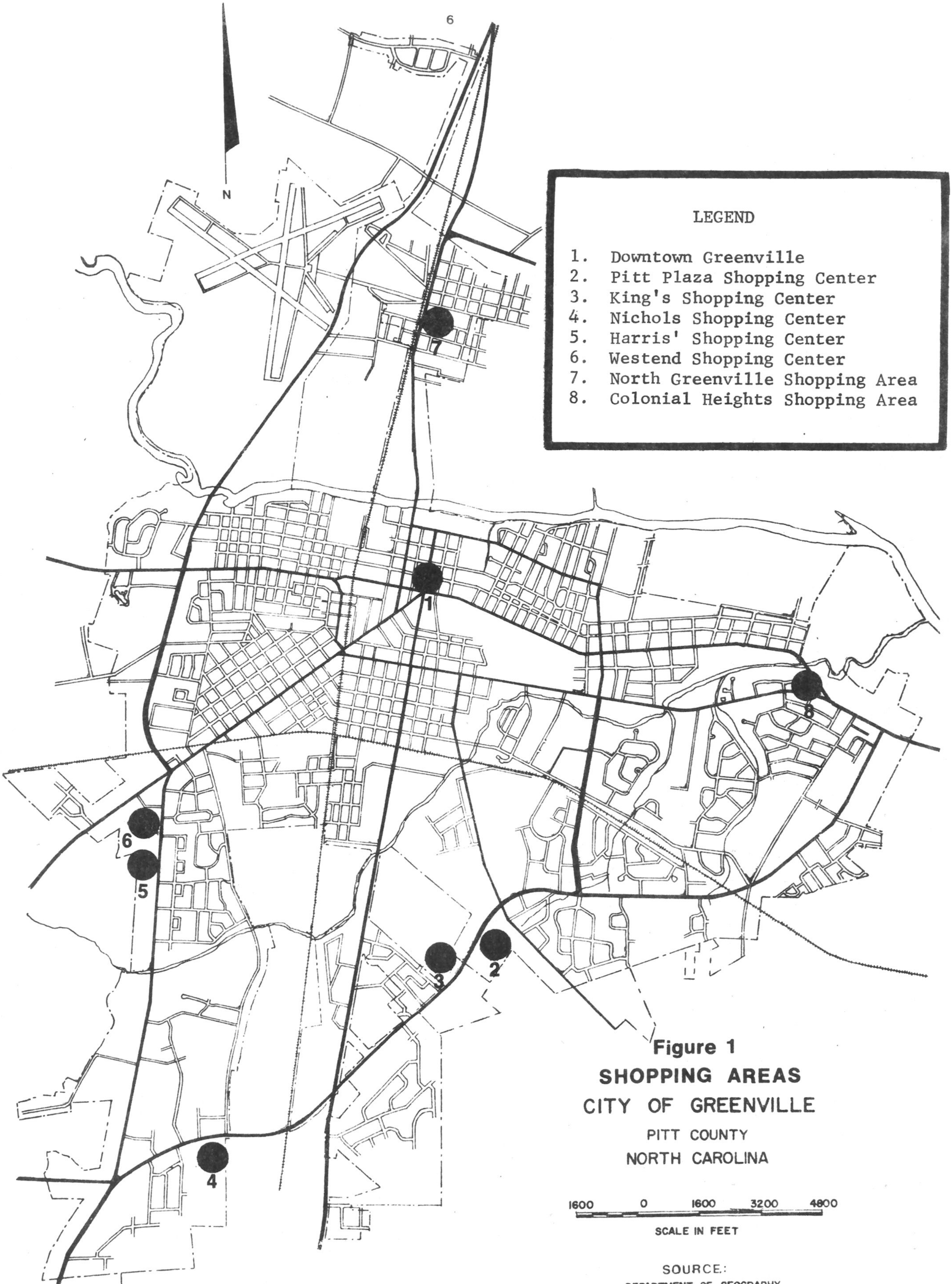


Figure 1
SHOPPING AREAS
CITY OF GREENVILLE
PITT COUNTY
NORTH CAROLINA

SOURCE:
DEPARTMENT OF GEOGRAPHY
EAST CAROLINA UNIVERSITY

Once the purposes of the downtown area have been determined, the ensuing analytical procedure will then be divided into two broad phases. First, there must be resolved those functions that should compose the small town CBD, if it is to be effective. Secondly, how should they be spacially arranged? In the process of making the above assessment, reference data on related topics will be used to help provide insight into modern locational desires and patterns of downtown functions.

Several decades of changes in type and location of function within the Greenville CBD will be investigated. From this research, it should be possible to determine what locations have proved to be most suitable for various types of uses. It then should be clear as to how general locational consideration, although modified because of urban size, have resulted in the present functional composition and spatial patterns of this downtown area.

Location decisions for most CBD functions are founded primarily on the same basic factors of accessibility, land cost, and surrounding land use. However, local variables such as topography, access to railroads and major highways, and land values have varying degrees of influence depending upon the type of function.

A study of these factors and their relationship to the locational decision of the various functions in downtown Greenville will provide the basis for the final assessment of the causes of problems and peculiarities of this small city CBD; and what course of action should be implemented to maintain or re-establish a viable central core.

CHAPTER II

THE ROLE AND CHARACTER OF THE CENTRAL BUSINESS DISTRICT

In identifying the role and character of the CBD it is important to define the term as explicitly as possible. This presents somewhat of a problem, the nature of which is indicated by Harwood and Boyce:

> The lack of uniformly accepted definition is most apparent when the central region of the city is considered. The term central business district has no commonly accepted meaning. To some observers the CBD includes all business, commercial and industrial activity which are located in the general "downtown" region of the city, as distinguished from both inlying and outlying residential districts.... To other analysts of the city center the CBD has represented only a small portion of the central region.[1]

Gruen, who was also concerned about the meaning of the term central business district, suggests that the term "metropolitan core" might be a more appropriate substitute:

> The expression "central business district" is not only illogical but plainly misleading. It implies that the heart of a city is meant to serve only business and though this is unfortunately true for the central areas of some American cities, it seems to me by no means desireable. What we mean then, by the term "metropolitan core," is the most highly urbanized area, which ideally should contain a complete range of the highest productive uses and most significant urban functions not only in the fields of business and civic administration, but also in cultural, recreational, social and spiritual activities as well, and residential quarters of high quality and density....The core should provide not only the most, but also the

---

[1]Edgar M. Harwood and Ronald R. Boyce, Studies of the Central Business District and Urban Freeway Development (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1959) p.9.

best, the rare and the unusual.[2]

Gruen's suggestion appears to be applicable particularly for larger metropolitan areas; however, its relevance to smaller city centers is rather questionable.

"Downtown" is often used synonomously in place of the term CBD. In an article published in the Journal of the American Institute of Planners, Charles Abrams identifies basic limitation to the usefulness of this term.

> Downtown is a recent colloquialism which doesn't even receive honorable mention in the Oxford Dictionary. Directionally it may be downtown in some cities, midtown or uptown in others, and there may be several downtowns, one downtown and one uptown. Simply put, it is the city's hub or hubs, on which people converge for business, trade, shopping, etc.[3]

Other studies have referred to the CBD as the "central traffic district," "central commercial district," and "downtown business district."[4] Although these terms may be adequate in some circles they do not have the universal acceptance of "CBD" or "downtown." Inasmuch as there does not appear to be a better substitute and because it is so commonly accepted, the central business district will continue to be used.

Webster's New Collegiate Dictionary refers to "central" as relating

---

[2]Victor Gruen, The Heart of Our Cities (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1964), p.47.

[3]Charles Abrams, "Downtown Decay and Revival," Journal of American Institute of Planners, XXVII, No. 1 (1961) p.3.

[4]Raymond S. Murphy and J. E. Vance, Jr., "Delimiting the CBD," Economic Geography, XXX (July, 1954), p. 189.

to or situated in the center, equally accessible from certain points."[5] The word "central" can also refer to importance or dominance as well as a geographic position. The word "business" is defined as an affair or matter or form of activity that is involved in the purchase or sale of commodities or in related financial transactions."[6] Thus, the "central business district" refers to the dominancy area of the city, in most instances centrally located, where one can attend to matters and affairs.

Historical Development

The origin of the CBD is tied to the commercial meeting places of early societies. These locations were primarily the sites of religious and political ceremonies. However, these areas quickly gained social significance as the habit of gathering, for these ceremonies caused people to gravitate to the same areas for social intercourse. Nelson points out that this "square" soon became a place for barter since sooner or later all people of the community were bound to be there and at any given time more people were assembled there than any place else in the community.[7]

Ancient Greek cities had centralized business districts called agoras which usually were located at the intersection of major east-west and north-south arteries. These agoras served a dual role as centers of

---

[5] Webster's New Collegiate Dictionary (Cambridge: G. and C. Merriam Co., 1959), p. 135.

[6] Ibid., p. 113.

[7] Richard N. Nelson, The Selection of Retail Locations (New York: F. W. Dodge Corporation, 1958) p. 3.

both business and politics, although Munford stresses that "its oldest and most persistent function was that of a communal meeting place. As usual, the market place was a by-product of the coming together of consumers who had many other reasons for assembling than merely doing "business."[8] Thus, the role of the CBD expanded to include political, social and marketing functions.

The importance of the social functions to the development and continuing viability of the central business district may be one area overlooked by responsible citizens. It appears there is much concern over the out-migration of retail stores but little has been shown for retaining other CBD inhabitants. Local merchants and shoppers may be upset by the departure of a department store from downtown, but appear to be unconcerned about the erection of a sports arena, museum, convention center or office complex in a suburban location. Munford implies that the social function of the early market place was nearly as significant as marketing functions. "In its primitive state, the agora was above all a place for palaver; and there is probably no urban market place where the interchange of news and opinions did not, at least in the past, play almost as important a part as the interchange of goods."[9]

Decentralization

The downtown area remained the unchallenged central focus of the city

---

[8]Lewis Munford, The City in History (New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, Inc., 1961), pp. 148-149.

[9]*Ibid.*, p. 149.

from the days of the agora to the twentieth century. The CBD enjoyed an especially strong position during the early days of the twentieth century as most travel was by streetcar or railroad whose lines converged on downtown, making it the most accessible point in the metropolitan area. After World War I, the expanding use of the auto and bus released urban dwellers from tracks. Along with the center of social, political, and marketing functions, the CBD became the center of congestion.

The advent of the auto and bus served to improve the accessibility of locations elsewhere than downtown. The expanded use of these means of convenience made increased urbanization possible. With the increased congestion in the downtown area, shoppers began to find it much more convenient to shop near home.[10]

The role of the CBD as the central marketing area has been greatly affected by the increased mobility of the suburban patron. Congested streets and inadequate parking have resulted in reducing the appeal of downtown as the retailing focus. Many retailers have responded to this problem by moving their establishments out of downtown to more accessible sites in the community. It is rather ironical that the retail functions, one of the later arrivals on the downtown scene, became one of the first to begin decentralizing.

---

[10]Nelson, Selection of Retail Locations, p. 9.

Nelson cautions that "decentralization has always occurred when there has been great population growth at some distance from the central market place or when congestion at the traditional market has reached such a point of inconvenience as to make profitable the creation of more accessible units elsewhere."[11] Smith indicates that the automobile was not the only cause of the decline of the CBD. Decentralization of all major categories preceded the automobile, although the process was accelerated by the expanding use of the automobile.[12]

Decentralization does not have a totally negative effect on the viability of a CBD. Exodus of non-compatible, traffic generating activities, such as drive-in restaurants and laundry and cleaning pick-up stations, have actually helped the CBD by decreasing congestion. However, failure to cope with other problems such as obsolete structure, empty stores, high land and rent costs and inadequate parking have resulted in a steady out-migration of retail outlets. Smith suggests this trend has been perpetrated primarily by the inability of the CBD to adapt to rapid changes brought about by population growth.[13]

Nelson suggests that, "decentralization occurred at first only in cities of more than a quarter million population...no real attack was

---

[11]Ibid., p. 9.

[12]Smith, "Space for CBD's Functions," pp. 37-38.

[13]Ibid., p. 29.

made on the smaller city downtown until after World War II."[14] At that time, major department stores and discount houses began locating on suburban sites with accompanying large parking area. In addition, shopping centers began to develop in the small city fringe areas. All served to intercept potential downtown patrons and to influence the out-migration of shops from the CBD.

CBD Land Values

Decentralization not only reduced volume but seriously affected downtown land values. Until decentralization started, land values gained in geometric proportion to population increase. Theoretically, as the population grew, downtown expanded vertically causing a pyramid effect on land values. Speculation also had an influence as land was traded at prices anticipating the effect population growth had on past land values.

Out-migration had a leveling influence on downtown land prices in both the large and small city CBD.[15] Despite this negative reaction, land prices in the CBD remain among the highest in the metropolitan area, largely because of the advantages of centrality.

Small Parcel Ownership

The Central Business District has also been suffering from the limitations of small parcel ownership. Larry Smith found that fragmentation of ownership and the holding of such property in estates or trusts have forced

---

[14] Nelson, Selection of Retail Location, p. 13.

[15] Ibid. p. 12.

many prospective CBD users to seek suburban locations rather than face the delays necessary to acquire additional land downtown.[16]

Absentee Ownership and Second, Third, ... Generation Ownership

The problem of deteriorating structures scarring the downtown landscape had not only been the result of decentralization reducing volume and land values, but also the result of apathetic ownership to maintenance needs of their properties. Lack of landlord interest in renovation has influenced numerous tenants to relocate in suburban areas where more land was available at a cheaper price.

Mix of Shops and Range of Goods

Another problem, partly the results of decentralization, is the poor mix of shops and limited range of goods in the small city CBD. Nelson refers to this area as the true "Main Street, USA, with all activities concentrated on one street several blocks long. While some retail outlets may be clustered, very frequently this concentration has all types of retail facilities intermixed." [17]

Some businesses are more compatible than others. As mentioned earlier drive-in restaurants and pick-up laundries are not particularly compatible with the CBD and adjacent businesses. Typically, such activities do not benefit neighboring businesses because they do not significantly contribute to the interchange of customers.

---

[16]Smith, "Spaces for the CBD'S Functions," p.39.

[17]Nelson, Selection of Retail Location, p. 13.

Nelson describes this relationship through his principle of compatibility. Briefly stated, this principle suggests that "two businesses, because of their adjacency, will do more volume together than they would if separated." [18]

"Main Street, USA" has traditionally benefited from the cumulative attraction of its many activities. Nelson's theory of cumulative attraction or cumulative generation refers to those competitive shops that can do more business because of their proximity to each other.[19] Until recently, no other business area in town could compare with the wide range of merchandise styles and prices available in the CBD.

Out-migration has resulted in the reduction of the cumulative attraction of the small city CBD. As competitive and complimentary outlets have moved out, the appeal of downtown has proportionately diminished. Unfortunately, in many cases, the range of goods left available are of lower quality and price and appeal to the lower income patron.

Characteristics

One study broadly identifies three main characteristics of the CBD drawing people from the urban area to its core:

1. Specialization - The CBD has more kinds of activities and more specialization of activities, thus most people have to make a trip there periodically.

2. Size - The CBD is generally the city's largest employment center, needing a range of different types of employees.

---

[18] *Ibid*. p. 66.

[19] *Ibid*,, p. 58.

3. Accessibility - The CBD is more accessible from all parts of the city than is any other place in the urban area.[20]

Nelson's observation of smaller city characteristics are more specific in nature:

1. There are usually no important shopping facilities outside of downtown.

2. "Main Street, USA" is a one-street concentration of downtown facilities--including department stores, clothing stores, variety stores, banks, office buildings, and government facilities in a strip several blocks long. Although the retail facilities may be clustered, very frequently all are intermixed.

3. Downtown is usually located at the intersection of main highways or on main highways and the railroad (on the station side). The center of the downtown area may have moved as much as two or three blocks from its original location.

4. Main Street congestion is more serious than any other city type. Bypasses have been built around many of these congested centers.

5. Service and auto facilities have been in "off" areas around downtown but are tending to shift to highway locations.

6. Older groupings of food stores and drugstores are ocasionally located outside of the downtown area, as are new shopping centers.

7. Downtown now has very little food and hardware merchandising.

8. Unlike larger cities where expansion has been in the form of growing incorporated suburban communities,

---

[20]J. Douglas Carroll, Jr., Roger L. Creighton, and John R. Hamburg, Transportation Planning For Central Area," Journal of the American Institutue of Planners, XXVII, No.1 (1961), p .30 .

> small city growth has been through the formation of low density subdivision, "suburban" in character, which are subsequently annexed to the city.[21]

Greenville CBD Character

By comparison, Greenville's CBD exhibits very similiar characteristics. Until the mid-sixties, shopping centers were non-existent and Evans Street unquestionably served as "Main Street, USA." Evans Street and connecting arterials were the most congested streets in the urban area and a by-pass was built in the late fifties and extended recently to circumvent this downtown congestion.

Service and auto facilities have moved from the fringes of the Greenville CBD to highway locations. Only two service stations remain in the CBD, which once contained one on nearly every street corner. All auto dealers and major food stores have departed the downtown area as have many drug stores. The CBD has lost considerable drawing power to new shopping centers which are increasingly dominating the landscape along the by-pass.

While most of Nelson's small city characteristics are applicable to Greenville; the downtown area did avoid the disadvantage of being located at the intersection of major highways or along railroad tracks. In addition, the center of downtown has remained relatively stable being centered at Fourth Street and Evans Street. Greenville's metropolitan growth has been principally through annexation of low density subdivision. The details of the Greenville CBD will be covered in the following three chapters.

---

[21] Nelson, Selection of Retail Locations, pp. 16-17.

Delimitation

Historically, the precise establishment of downtown area boundaries has presented difficult problems to the CBD analyst. Larry Smith suggests that these delimitation problems stem from the lack of clear, acceptable definition. Even the downtown area as defined by recent United States Censuses, often does not conform to the functional CBD areas identified for planning purposes.[22]

In an article published in 1937, Malcolm Proudfoot provides one of the earlier definitions of the CBD when he observed that "the retail heart of the city does a greater volume of business per unit area than elsewhere within the city. This area of concentration is manifested by the use of multistoried buildings of which retail stores usually occupy choice street-level frontages, service establishments are concentrated in upper-story offices and residential occupants are restricted to scattered hotels."[23] In 1949, Richard Ratcliff's definition, based on variance of land use intensity and land values, implies that the structual arrangements of the CBD is a reflection of basic economic forces arranging and rearranging downtown to maximize efficiency in the performance of its commercial functions.[24]

Later Murphy and Vance utilized these difficulties in developing their technique for delimiting the CBD. They observed that the point of maximum intensity was generally a street intersection around which

---

[22]Smith, Larry "Space for the CBD's Functions," p. 38.

[23]Proudfoot, Malcolm J., "City Retail Structures," Economic Geography. XIII October, 1937, p. 425.

[24]Ratcliff, Richard V., Urban Land Economics (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc. 1949) p. 376.

the average front-foot lot value was the highest. The peak land-value intersection was likely to be the point of highest pedestrian concentration and greatest vehicular congestion. From this center, various measures of intensity decreased toward the edges of the city.[25]

Utilizing floor space, building heights, and types of use analyzed by a block-by-block basis two formulas were developed with an accompanying set of criteria. The process referred to as the Central Business Index Method established that for a block to be considered CBD in character it must show a Central Business Height Index of one or more (CBHI = Central Business Space ÷ total ground-floor space) and a Central Business Intensity Index of fifty percent or more (CBII Space ÷ total floor space) x 100).[26]

The method described above was field tested on nine cities of 50,000 persons, or more. The authors expressed reservation about its usefulness to delimiting CBD's of smaller cities stating that "the block unit may result in too great a percentage error in smaller cities."[27] In addition its usefulness may be limited because many smaller cities CBD's have clearly discernable boundaries.

Greenville is one of those smaller cities whereby the CBD is relatively discernable from the remaining urban area. Before urban

---

[25]Murphy, Raymond E. and Vance, J.E. Jr., Economic Geography, XXX July, 1954), p. 189.

[26]Ibid. pp. 205-206.

[27]Ibid., p.122.

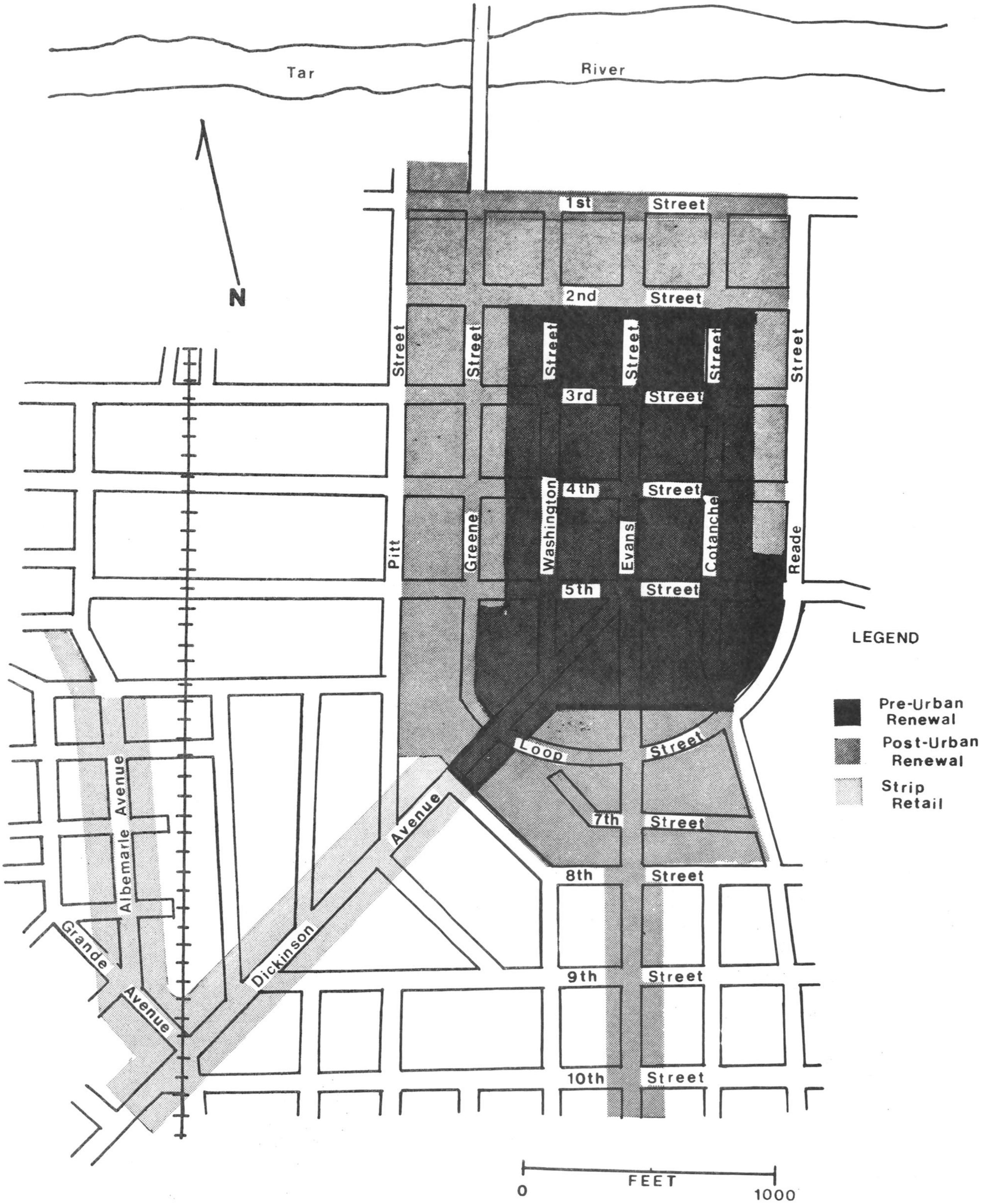
renewal began in the middle sixties, the CBD was generally bounded to the north by Second Street, to the east by a line halfway between Cotanche Street and Reade Street, to the south by an uneven line between Fifth and the new Loop Street (Sixth Street is non-existent in this area) and by a line to the west between Washington Street and Greene Street. In addition the CBD extended southwest on both sides of Dickinson Avenue to about Eighth Street (Figure 2).

From Eighth Street southwest along Dickinson Avenue, the principal land use is in the form of strip retail with a loosely defined nucleated commercial core centered on Tenth Street. This area has traditionally served auto transients, lower class neighborhood minorities and factory employees. Prior to 1950, this commercial area also served train transients. This strip commercial area and the businesses along Albermarle Avenue will also be analyzed as they have played an important role in past downtown viability.

Greenville's downtown redevelopment program, shown on Figure 2 as post-urban renewal, has had two phases: (1) from Second Street to the Tar River called the Shore Drive Project and (2) an area south of this generally between Pitt Street on the west to Reade Street on the east

Figure 2

DOWNTOWN GREENVILLE



south to Loop Street and then narrowing rapidly to a zone along Evans Street south to Tenth Street. The area between First Street and the Tar River is being developed as a park and recreation area and not part of the CBD. However, the Shore Drive area between First and Second Streets has been opened for sale for office development. Several professional office buildings have already located in the area (Figure 3).

The Redevelopment Commission's east and west boundaries generally approximate Reade and Pitt Streets, respectively. The redevelopment program is covered in more detail in Chapter V.

Summary

The role of downtown Greenville has changed considerably over the past twenty years. Previously, the CBD served as the central focus of most social, commercial, and governmental activities. The area now has lost a significant part of its social and commercial traffic to suburban shopping centers. Fortunately for downtown merchants, government activities at all levels have remained.

Pitt Plaza, a regional shopping center is located on the by-pass several miles east of downtown. This large shopping center draws patrons from the inner city as well as Pitt County and adjacent counties. The development of this center, in the mid-sixties, perpetuated decentralization of downtown commercial activities. In addition, a movie theater, nearby restaurants,

Figure 3

SHORE DRIVE URBAN RENEWAL AREA
Greenville, North Carolina
1974

This recreational open space is just north of First Street and the CBD. The bridge in the background connects the downtown area with north Greenville and beyond.

New office buildings occupy sites on the one block strip between First and Second Streets. IBM recently moved into this new facility.

and the provision of night-time shopping have negatively affected the social image of the CBD.

The expansion of competitive suburban shopping facilities resulted in reaction to several prevailing downtown characteristics. The problems of congestion and inadequate parking were two of its most negative features. Urban renewal programs have helped to partially solve these problems.

Generally, small parcel and absentee owners have an apathetic attitude toward the condition of central area stores. Deteriorating buildings have enhanced decentralization; and, coupled with factors mentioned above, assisted in reducing CBD appeal. Furthermore, the out-migration of shops has reduced appeal by minimizing the price and range of goods.

Loss of central area drawing ability is largely responsible for decreasing land values. To offset this trend, local officials have made an effort to restore viability by shifting the role of the CBD to a focus for office activity. It is hoped that by increasing office traffic more business will be generated for downtown retailers which in turn would improve the appeal and serve to offset declining land values.

CHAPTER III

FACTORS AFFECTING THE FUNCTIONAL AND SPATIAL EVOLUTION OF DOWNTOWN GREENVILLE

Changes in location are the result of an attempt to effect the most efficient land use possible. In essence, it is an attempt to correct the problem of locational maldistribution brought about by either economic, social, or technological changes, or any combination of these. This effort can be recognized from the intense competitive bidding by stores for use of desirable sites.[1] These so called "desirable sites" represent the optimum location most accessible to the largest number of prospective customers. According to R. M. Haig, noted economist, "the most favored spots are those from which the richest resources can be tapped with the lowest transportation cost."[2]

Efficiency of locational distribution is manifested in the cost of distance or space. The minimization of these costs lead to a most productive, or efficient spatial arrangement of retail activity. This productivity may be measured by net profits or rent paying ability.

Those stores that use selling space most intensively have a greater productivity or rent paying ability and are more successful in their bid for central locations. Those stores which do not use selling space so intensively have a lower rent paying ability and therefore, cannot compete

---

[1]Ratcliff, Richard U. "The Dynamic of Efficiency in the Locational Distribution of Urban Activity," In Harold M.Mayer and Clyde F. Kohn, Readings in Urban Geography, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1960, p. 319.

[2]Haig, R. M. Major Economic Factors in Metropolitan Growth and Arrangement, New York: Regional Plan of New York and Its Environs, 1926, p.21.

as well for the central sites.

From empirical observation, it is obvious that department stores, jewelers, clothing stores and other intensive users of space have successfully bought locations along Evans Street between Fifth and Third Streets. This two block strip represents the most heavily traveled strip by pedestrians and as such commands the highest rents. Also, as the university market increased, the gains in pedestrian traffic along Fifth Street have served to force property owners to demand higher rents. Two recent causalities of rental pressures were the replacement of a stable and a service station with a clothing store and fast food operation. Both have higher rent paying ability through their intensive use of space. Specific rental data was not available for publication.

Another concept responsible for the changes in patterns of retail land use involves the reaction of various types of businesses to population growth and redistribution. Certain types of stores find it profitable to locate where the numbers of people are increasing. Evelyn Kitagawa and Donald Bogue summarized this idea by stating that,

> "retail trade tends to follow the pattern of population settlement rather closely and that the pattern of population distribution is causative in a large part for the pattern of distribution is retail trade."[3]

More support is given to this statement from James Tarver's article, "Suburbanization of Retail Trade." It is his contention that lower or-

---

[3]Kitagawa, Evelyn M. and Donald J. Bogue, Suburbanization of Manufacturing Activity Within Standard Metropolitan Areas, Oxford, Scripps Foundation, 1955, p. 129.

der goods and service type of retail activity (i.e. convenience stores, those that furnish everyday needs as groceries, drug stores, etc.) tend to follow the population settlements, whereas stores specializing in higher order goods (i.e. jewelers, specialized clothiers, etc.) tend to defy decentralization and remain in the CBD."[4]

Population

Population growth within the City of Greenville more than doubled between 1918 and 1948 (Table 1). This increase was caused primarily by migration and natural increase (births in excess of deaths). The growth since 1948 has been primarily through annexation of spreading suburbs.

A review of Pitt County population totals provides a more realistic view of real population growth because county boundaries have remained the same. In-migration and natural increase have been the causes of the steady growth shown on Table 1. About 75,750 persons are expected in Pitt County by the end of this year (1974).

With the movement of people away from the centers of cities comes a similar migration of convenience stores following the population. White residents building and moving into the downtown study area had peaked by 1928 while black residents peaked shortly after 1958. From 1928 to 1958 white residents had declined from 170 dwellings to 116. Interestingly, convenience stores reached a high of fifty-seven in 1938 and have declined steadily through 1974 to a current total of twenty-two.

---

[4]Tarver, James D., "Suburbanization of Retail Trade," American Socio-Logical Review, Vol. 22, 1957, p. 433.

TABLE 1

POPULATION
Greenville-Pitt County
North Carolina
1918-1974

DATE	GREENVILLE	PITT COUNTY
1918	6,550	45,050
1928	8,750	52,900
1938	12,000	59,900
1948	15,900	63,300
1958	21,650	68,700
1968	26,800	73,100
1974	29,700	75,750

Source: Estimates interpolated and extrapolated from United States Bureau of Censuses, 1920, 1930, 1940, 1950, 1960, 1970.

Other factors that affect the patterns of retail land use include the changes in consumer mobility, income, level of technology, and expansion restrictions of CBD locations. "Mobility increases in proportion to the adoption and creation of new and mass forms of means of human movement."[5] With the increase in income and technological advancements came the wide-spread use of the automobile and improved street and highway facilities. These improved means of transportation enabled greater mobility of the consumer and thereby extended the limits of trade areas. Those businesses which most successfully exploited the whole of the expanding trade area tended to displace those with more limited patronage zones in the choice central locations.[6] Such types as specialized clothiers that draw from a large trade area and depend heavily on the mobility of their clientele tend to displace convenience stores depending on small trade areas for support.

Automobiles

Automobile license sales have shown an enormous increase since the beginning of statistical maintenance (Table 2). City license plates have multiplied more than seven times the estimate of 1811 plates sold in 1938. Meanwhile, state license plates for Pitt County show an increase of about five times the number of plates sold in 1938.

---

[5]Erickson, E. Gordon, Urban Behavior, New York: MacMillan Company 1954, p. 99.

[6]Ratcliff, The Dynamics of Efficiency in the Locational Distribution of Urban Activity, p. 319.

TABLE 2

AUTOMOBILE LICENSES SALES-PERSONS PER AUTO
Greenville-Pitt County
North Carolina
1918-1974

DATE	CITY LICENSE GREENVILLE*	PERSONS PER AUTO	STATE LICENSE PITT COUNTY **	PERSONS PER AUTO
1918	-	-	-	-
1928	-	-	-	-
1938	1811[1]	6.62	7,720	7.75
1948	3641[1]	4.36	13,202	4.79
1958	5474	3.95	16,953	4.05
1968	9855	2.71	27,237	2.68
1974	15,500[2]	1.91	36,504[2]	2.07

Source: * Averette, P.A., Finance Department, City of Greenville, North Carolina
** Miller, Jr. B.C., Department of Motor Vechicles, Raleigh, North Carolina

1. Estimates interpolated from 1934 and 1948 data.
2. Estimates extrapolated from current tag sales through August, 1974.

Persons per auto (P/A), steadily declining in both the city and county, indicates increasing ownership and availability of automobiles. From a high of 6.62 persons per auto in 1938, the P/A for Greenville has dropped to about 1.91 in 1974. Pitt County, showing a slightly higher P/A ratio, has dropped from 7.75 persons per auto to 2.07.

Traditionally, the P/A ratio of the city has been lower than the county. This might be construed to mean that more autos have been available in the city. This assumption is probably true but the comparison of city license sales and state license sales is not statistically sound and should be considered only for the purpose of showing trends. Data for city-state license sales is not available.

The use of the auto enhanced mobility and released the physical limitation on the geographic spread of retail stores caused by walking. In its place came the problems of traffic congestion and inadequate parking facilities. Coupled with these problems and the lack of physical space needed from expansion many retail businesses have responded by moving from their central locations to more spacious sites that offer ample parking, easy accessibility, and room to expand.

Income

Per capita income has grown steadily, especially since World War Two. Income in Greenville increased from $1000 in 1948 to about $3450 in 1974 (Table 3). Meanwhile Pitt County per capita income gained from $669 to a current estimate of $3280. This growth has been caused by such factors as an increase in higher wage industrial and government employment, greater productivity, and corporate

TABLE 3

PER CAPITA INCOME
Greenville-Pitt County
North Carolina
1918-1974

DATE	GREENVILLE	PITT COUNTY
1918*		
1928		
1938		
1948**	1000	669
1958	1123	887
1968	2349	2108
1974***	3450	3280

Source: * Data not available.
** Statistical Abstract of the United States 1948, 1950, 1960, 1970.
*** Estimates based on annual inflation rates and proportional relationships to projections provided by United States Consumer Income Reports P-60 June, 1974.

profits and inflation.

Retail Sales

Gains in per capita income have paralleled increases in per capita retail sales (Table 4). Greenville per capita sales have risen from $1294 in 1948 to a current estimate of $4196. Pitt County per capita sales have grown from $571 to about $2773 per person during the same time period.

The comparability of the census data and retail sales estimates provided by the North Carolina Department of Revenue is questionable. Several categories of sales were provided in the state data which have traditionally been omitted from census data.

An effort was made to delete non-related sales information from the state data. However, a large unclassified group in the state data prevented a further refinement of this information. Consequently, sales estimates for 1974 may be as much as five percent higher than the sum of those categories recognized by the Census of Business.

Nevertheless, retail sales have risen sharply. Greenville sales more than doubled between 1958 and 1968 while Pitt County sales (including Greenville sales) almost doubled during the same era. Using the data provided by the Department of Revenue, retail sales may have nearly doubled again for both city and county sales since 1967.

The large jump in sales between 1958 and 1968 can be attributed to increases in population, income and retail sales space. The total number of outlets in Pitt County fell from 721 in 1948 to 696 in 1958. Meanwhile, Greenville lost one store with a drop from 269 to 268. How-

TABLE 4

RETAIL STORES-SALES-SALES PER CAPITA
Greenville-Pitt County
North Carolina
1918-1974

DATE	GREENVILLE			PITT COUNTY		
	Number of stores	Sales (000)	Sales Per Capita	Number of stores	Sales (000)	Sales Per Capita
1918						
1928*	183	7,023	803	467	13,573	257
1938	202	6,724	560	550	11,885	198
1948**	269	20,582	1294	721	36,125	571
1958	268	31,251	1443	696	61,375	893
1967	355	63,161	2356	808	108,695	1486
1974***	-	124,634	4196	-	210,052	2773

Source: * Retail Distribution, United States Censuses, 1930, 1940.
** United States Censuses of Business 1948, 1958, 1967.
*** Stansbury, H.C., Director, Tax Research Division, North Carolina Department of Revenue.

ever, between 1958 and 1967 Pitt County gained 112 more outlets of which eighty-seven were located in Greenville. This growth in outlets resulted from commercial expansions along major arterials in the urban area. The downtown area lost approximately twenty-five outlets during this time frame.

The automotive group in Greenville is a good example of business reaction to CBD problems. Between 1948 and 1974, auto dealers decentralized from a maximum of nine in the CBD to zero.

Suburban Shopping Centers

Shopping centers must also be considered for their effect on patterns of retail land use. Generally, in the downtown area, an increase in retail outlets coincided with the increase of local population. However, in the early sixties, local marketing conditions in the downtown Greenville area had deteriorated such that any new retail growth would have to be in the form of outside shopping center development. By the mid-sixties, new centers were in operation both to the West and East. The impact of these new marketing centers resulted in a decline in CBD shopper goods outlets from 104 in 1958 to 90 at present (1974). During this same time period, convenience outlets dropped from forty-five to twenty-two and services declined from thirty-seven to twenty-four. Today, seven shopping centers with more than forty stores serve a sizeable majority of the Pitt County market once served by the CBD. Pitt Plaza, the largest center, contains about one-half of the total number of stores located in suburban shopping centers.

East Carolina University

One of the major factors influencing the growth of Greenville and the viability of downtown has been the growth and expansion of East Carolina University (ECU). From an initial enrollment of 174 students and ten faculty members in 1909, ECU now has over 15,000 students (including non-duplicated summer school students), and more than 750 faculty members on its main campus. Located on Fifth Street adjacent to the CBD, the University sprawls eastward across more than 150 acres. During the fall through spring terms, enrollment is about 11,000 students.[7]

The most rapid growth has been since 1958 (Table 5). Since that time, the number of students has nearly tripled. The University, with about half of its residential population housed within two blocks of the main downtown street, has served to exert significant pressures on the functional composition and spatial arrangement of CBD activities. Those streets particularly affected most by the influence of University patronage are Fifth Street and Cotanche Street. Numerous stores have been remodeled and converted to serve the student market. Food, clothing, and recreational outlets represent the major part of recent shifts in activity along the streets mentioned above.

These shifts in land use are not surprising when considering, that in a recent study conducted by Dr. Ralph Birchard of the Department of Geography, it was found that East Carolina students pumped about $17,200 a day into the local economy. Furthermore, the study revealed that the average student spent approximately $80.76 per month off-campus for meals and items (other than lodging). Comparing this average to the total student

[7]Office of Registration, East Carolina University, December 1974.

TABLE 5

NET ENROLLMENT GROWTH-EAST CAROLINA UNIVERSITY[1]
Greenville-Pitt County
North Carolina
1909-1974

DATE	NO. STUDENTS
1909	174
1918-19	544
1928-29	1317
1938-39	1826
1948-49	2105
1958-59	5123
1968-69	11453
1973-74	15150

[1]Net enrollment is the unduplicated head count for the year including summer school.

Source: East Carolina University.

body about 6.2 million dollars is contributed to the local economy annually.[8] It is obvious that a large portion of these funds are spent in the CBD.

[8]Birchard, Ralph, "Impact Study of ECU Students on the Economy of Greenville," (research conducted with the assistance of urban geography students and presented to Department of Geography, East Carolina University, Greenville, N. C., May 1974).

Summary

University and industrial growth provided Greenville with a steady population increase over the past fifty years. Income and automobile ownership gained proportionally to the population. Concurrently, the demand for goods and services increased.

Until the mid-sixties, downtown Greenville was the heart or central focus for the acquisition of goods and services. Since that time, suburban shopping centers have intercepted large portions of potential CBD sales. Chapter 4 provides a detailed summary of the functional and spatial evoluation of downtown Greenville as it reacted to changes in the factors mentioned above.

CHAPTER IV

FUNCTIONAL AND SPATIAL EVOLUTION OF THE GREENVILLE CBD FROM 1918 TO 1974

Nelson has suggested that retail stores dealing in expensive items whose brands were less well known and highly specialized stores requiring a very large trade area were most likely to remain in the central area.[1] Also, James Tarver ("Suburbanization of Retail Trade") claims that traditionally higher order goods such as jewelry and specialized clothing, have resisted decentralization.[2] It is evident that this trend has prevailed in Greenville's CBD. From the beginning of this study era jewelry and apparel outlets have shown a steady gain in number. Both groups have a high degree of specialized merchandise and depend upon very large trade areas. An outline of the total area being statistically analyzed is provided in Figure 4.

Only since 1968 has decentralization affected jewelry stores. From a high of nine outlets at that time, the number has decreased to six in 1974. Specialty apparel outlets grew from a total of three in 1918 to an impressive thirty four at present. This growth may be traced to the influence college students have effected upon the downtown apparel business.

Nelson also observed that decentralization more seriously affected those shopper outlets dealing in standard brand items in such lines as

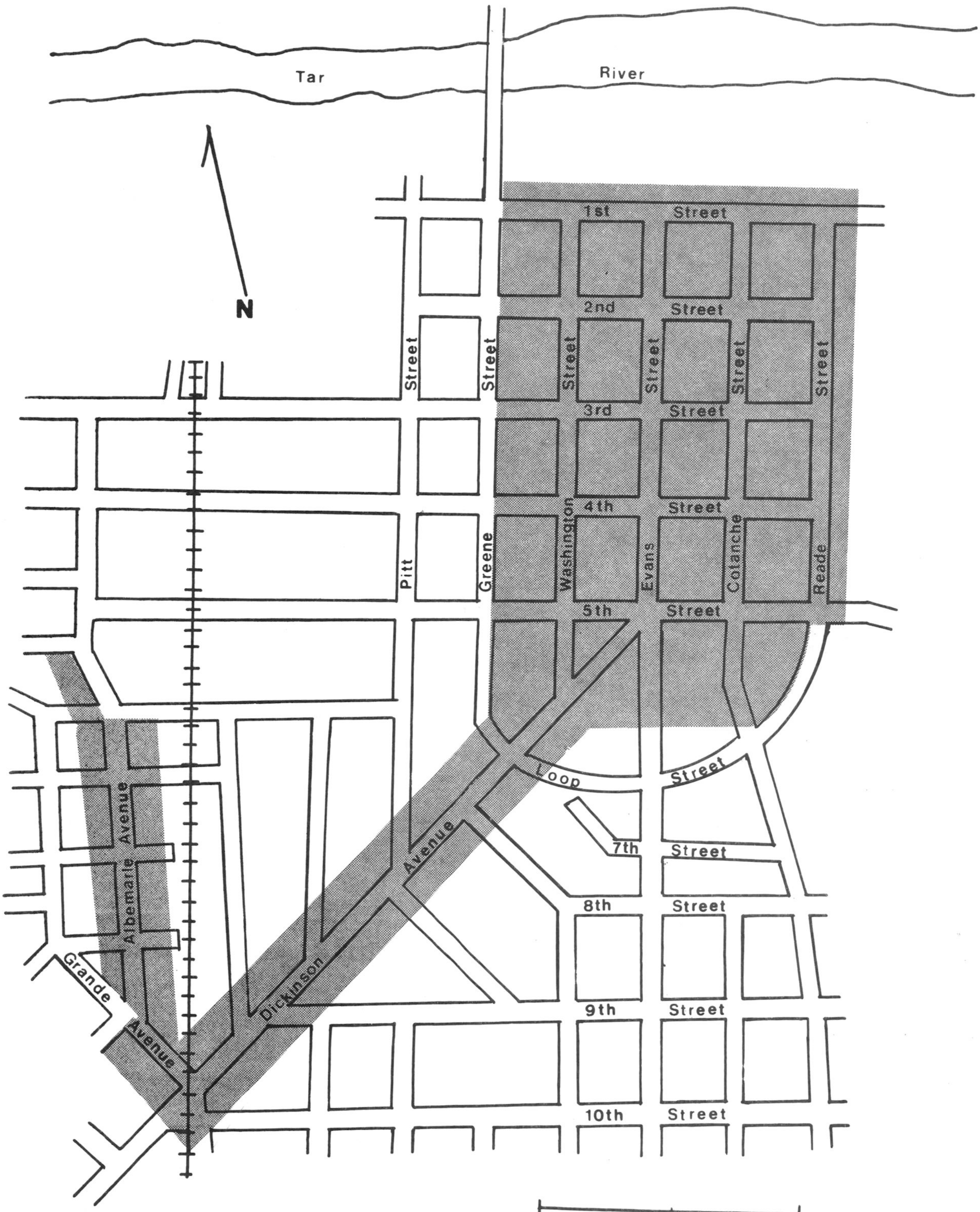
---

[1]Nelson, Selection of Retail Locations, p. 13.

[2]Tarver, "Suburbanization of Retail Trade," p. 433.

Figure 4

STUDY AREA (STATISTICAL)



appliances, automobile products, automobiles, hardware, and dry goods.[3] In Greenville, each of these categories had peaked in number by 1958. Of this group, automobile dealers and service stations have been the most seriously affected. Currently, there are no auto dealers in downtown They have declined rapidly from a high of nine in 1948. Meanwhile service stations, which were represented on almost every street in the study area, have dropped to two.

For the purpose of this study the functional components of the Greenville CBD have been grouped as follows:

Retail (Shopper)
Retail (Convenience)
Services
Financial
Office
Leisure
Warehouse-Industrial-Wholesale
Public
Quasi-Public
Parking
Residential

The retail group may be divided into the two broad categories of convenience goods and shopper goods. Convenience goods are those needed most often, particularly food, drug and variety store items. Shopper goods or comparison goods generally include general merchandise, apparel, furniture, and other retail. These items are not needed as frequently, and in

---

[3] *Ibid.* p. 12.

many cases are the objective of a single purpose trip. Conversely, the acquisiton of convenience goods are usually tied to other errands. Services include barber shops, tailors, beauty shops, cleaners, and shoe repair.

The office component is comprised primarily of doctors, realtors, insurance men and lawyers with a lessor number represented by engineers, brokers, accountants. Financial institutions in the group include both banks and loan companies.

The leisure component represents recreation activities (bowling, pool halls, theaters), restaurants, dance halls, and taverns. The public function refers to local, state, and federal land use while quasi-public includes churches, lodges, YMCA, and similar forms of land use which do not serve the total population of the area.

The wholesale and industrial functions include general warehousing and storage while parking refers to designated parking lots (off the street). The residential component is seperated into two broad categories: transient-including hotels and boarding houses and permanent-including private homes and apartments. Permanent housing units are further separated by race.

In compiling the data shown in Table 6 through 16 it was necessary to assign corner stores to those streets that appeared to serve as the primary artery for store patrons. Data was compiled from past Greenville City Directories and classified according to function. The tables, covering a fifty four-year span, show information compared by ten-year internals.

Shopper Retail

Retail outlets of the comparative shopper variety have traditionally been more heavily concentrated along Fifth Street, Evans Street and Dickinson Avenue. Evans Street has served as the most concentrated focus of this type of commercial activity (Table 6). The number of outlets has grown from twenty stores in 1918 to a high of thirty-four in 1968. The strength of comparative shopping along Evans Street is indicated by increases in total number of outlets between 1958 and 1968. During this period most other retail was declining. The influence of suburban shopping centers is largely responsible for the loss of five outlets since 1968.

Dickinson Avenue has been showing a decline in this type of retail activity since a high of thirty-two outlets in 1958. Again the interception of regional business by metro shopping facilities is blamed for this loss. However, it is worthy to note that only one outlet has been lost over the past six years indicating possible stabilization. This area, by tradition, has served as the poor man's CBD.

While Evans Street and Dickinson Avenue have been experiencing losses, Fifth and Cotanche Streets have been the only streets in the downtown area to show any gains in the retail shopper category. This

TABLE 6

RETAIL SHOPPER-TYPE BUSINESSES
1918-1974
Downtown Greenville, North Carolina

Street	1918	1928	1938	1948	1958	1968	1974
1st				1			
2nd			1	1	2		
3rd				2	2	3	2
4th	6	8	3	5	7	5	3
5th	3	13	16	17	19	15	21
Reade							
Cotanche		3	3	10	8	6	8
Evans	20	30	31	29	32	34	29
Washington	1	3	2	3	2	1	1
Greene		1				1	1
Dickinson	11	19	28	28	30	26	25
Albemarle				2	2		
TOTALS	41	77	86	98	104	91	90

Source: Greenville City Directories.

shift is in response largely to the new markets brought by University expansion. Outlets along Fifth Street have increased primarily at the expense of other categories of retail activity. The decentralization losses between 1958 and 1968 have been more than offset by gains since 1968. Many apparel shops catering to college students have replaced stores which used to serve a more regional market.

A recent shift in activities in Georgetown Shoppes next to the University on Cotanche Street helped to offset a decline in shopper activity begun in 1948. When Georgetown first opened, it was composed of mostly office, leisure, and service businesses. Since 1968, four shopper-type outlets have replaced service and office activities.

Fourth and Third Streets have served in secondary capacities as foci for comparative shopping centers. Activity of this type has been almost non-existent along the fringe streets of the CBD-except for Fifth and Cotanche Streets.

The importance of this retail activity to the commercial structure of Evans Street and Dickinson Avenue is evident even before the start of this study era. However, Fifth Street did not begin developing in this category until significant residential white, middle class growth had occurred eastward during the twenties and thirties (Figure 5).

Figure 5
PRIMARY RETAIL AREAS
Greenville, North Carolina
1974

Retail activity as observed from Five Points and Fifth Street looking north along Evans Street.

Retail activity as observed from Five Points and Evans Street looking east along Fifth Street.

Retail Convenience

By the nature of this type of goods customers generally make these purchases while on trips for other reasons or go the shortest distance possible if making a special trip. Such items as sold in food, drug and variety stores are needed on a regular basis. Stores selling these goods have found it advantageous to decentralize for the purpose of getting closer to suburban markets. In an effort to locate nearer their markets, food stores have dropped to seven from a 1928 high of thirty-six in the downtown area.

Convenience outlets had reached an all-time low of twenty-two stores in the downtown area by 1947 (Table 7). Through the years, Dickinson Avenue has traditionally been the primary focus for this type of outlet. It gained this status with a surge of growth from nine stores in 1918 to twenty-two stores in 1928. Meanwhile, Evans Street gained only one outlet increasing from thirteen to fourteen.

The increase during this period may be attributed to population growth in this direction. Corresponding with the development of industry in the area, particularly the tobacco processing variety, subdivision spread south and west. Over the past several decades, deteriorating neighborhoods have blighted the area and the population has moved further toward the suburbs.

The loss of local population based around Dickinson Avenue has caused a drop in number of stores to seven at present. Evans Street

TABLE 7

RETAIL CONVENIENCE BUSINESSES
1918-1974
Downtown Greenville, North Carolina

Street	1918	1928	1938	1948	1958	1968	1974
1st		1	1	2		1	
2nd							
3rd			1	1	1		1
4th	1	4	2	5	5	1	
5th	7	6	7	5	4	3	3
Reade							
Cotanche				1		1	2
Evans	14	14	16	12	12	10	7
Washington	1	3	1	1			
Greene		1	2	3	3	1	
Dickinson	9	22	23	20	16	12	7
Albemarle		2	4	6	4	3	2
TOTALS	32	53	57	56	45	32	22

Source: Greenville City Directories.

has also dropped from a high of sixteen in 1938 to seven. Fifth Street, Fourth Street, Greene Street, and Albermarle Avenue have also shown losses in the number of convenience outlets.

Only Cotanche Street has registered a gain in number of convenience outlets. Possibly picking up one lost by Fifth Street (which is shifting to more shopper retail), this gain may be attributed to the increase in students in the immediate vicinity.

Services

Similar to convenience outlets, service type businesses generally locate as close to their markets as possible. In downtown Greenville, Evans Street and Dickinson Avenue have represented the primary focus of service activities since before the start of this study period. Beauty shops, barbers, cleaners, tailors, and other similar activities have located along most every street in the CBD except the very fringes.

Dickinson Avenue, reaching a high of eighteen outlets in 1948, currently has only seven (Table 8). Evans Street has slowly declined from a high of ten shops in 1918 to three at present. Fourth Street has shown a recent gain from three to four service outlets.

Fifth Street shows a quick drop from five outlets in 1968 to two in 1974. This change occurred as a result of shifting retail patterns to more shopper type outlets. The construction of Georgetown Shoppes just off Cotanche Street resulted in a large gain from two to six in 1968. Since that time this street has lost one-half of these outlets.

The downtown focus of these activities is in the process of shifting from Dickinson Avenue to a rather even spread among the major

TABLE 8

SERVICE BUSINESSES
1918-1974
Downtown Greenville, North Carolina

Street	1918	1928	1938	1948	1958	1968	1974
1st							
2nd		2	1	3			
3rd	1	1	1	1	1		
4th	4	6	5	4	2	3	4
5th	3	4	3	4	4	6	2
Reade							
Cotanche	5	3	3	1	2	6	3
Evans	11	9	9	9	6	5	3
Washington	1	2		1			
Greene				1			1
Dickinson	11	12	13	18	16	14	7
Albemarle			2	6	6	5	3
TOTALS	36	39	37	48	37	39	23

Source: Greenville City Directories.

streets. Very few outlets have found it advantageous to locate on fringe streets.

By 1948, Albermarle Avenue had developed as a service center for the black population of that area. Since that time this street has gradually lost its importance for this type of marketing.

Reflecting the changes in technology and the increasing use of the automobile, horse stables declined from a high of six in 1918 to one in 1968. The last to go was a stable on Fifth Street which succumbed to the pressures of higher rent paying abilities of shopper types of retail outlets.

Services reached a peak in total outlets in the downtown area in 1948. In slightly more than twenty-five years, one-half of these shops have either gone out of business or moved out of the downtown.

Financial

Banks and other financial institutions have shown a preference for locating main offices in central locations because of their proximity to the greatest number of customers. Smaller branch outlets have been built in suburban areas for the convenience of the suburban market.

In the Greenville CBD, loan companies and banks have expanded significantly in the past sixteen years (Table 9). Planters Bank and more recently, Wachovia Bank have built new, main office facilities along Washington Street at Third and Fourth Streets respectively. The location of these two financial firms have definitely caused a shift in this type of commercial activity from the Five Points - Fifth Street area to

TABLE 9

FINANCIAL BUSINESSES
1918-1974
Downtown Greenville, North Carolina

Street	1918	1928	1938	1948	1958	1968	1974
1st							
2nd							
3rd							
4th				1		1	2
5th		1	1	1	1	2	1
Reade							
Cotanche					1		
Evans	1	4	4	4	5	6	6
Washington					1	2	3
Greene							
Dickinson	2	2	1	1	1	2	2
Albemarle						1	
TOTALS	3	7	6	7	9	14	14

Source: Greenville City Directories.

Washington Street. Both banks are now centrally located between city government and county government offices and growing professional offices.

North Carolina National Bank is building a new central banking facility at the corner of Greene and First Streets. Their old site at the corner of Dickinson Avenue and Fifth Street is in part of the urban renewal reclamation area. The relocation of this bank will add new impetus to the shifting focus of financial activity to the Washington Street vicinity. Figure 6 shows two photographs of the general vicinity of First and Greene Streets. The old houses and church were removed through the Shore Drive Urban Renewal Project. A new post office has been built on the southwest quadrant while the North Carolina National Bank building is shown under construction on the southeast quadrant.

Evans Street has steadily established its position as the central focus for loan companies. At present, six such businesses are located along this street. Branch bank outlets have been built along Fourth Street and on Dickinson Avenue. Financial outlets, having shown a slight loss between 1928 and 1938 because of the depression, gained in number to fourteen in 1968 and have remained relatively stable.

Growth in this type of commercial activity is helping the sagging viability of the downtown area. Serving a regional market, most all other types of businesses benefit from the traffic generating ability of these financial insitutions. A significant portion of the future of downtown businesses depends upon the continuing growth of the local financial industry.

Figure 6
REDEVELOPMENT OF FIRST AND GREENE STREET AREA
Greenville, North Carolina
1962-1974

Looking northeast toward the First Street Intersection these houses and the church along the east side of Greene Street were razed through urban renewal. (Photo compliments of the Greenville Redevelopment Commission.)

This photo is taken of the same general direction and shows the new North Carolina National Bank under construction in the background of First and Greene Streets. The new post office occupies one city block opposite the new back building.

Offices

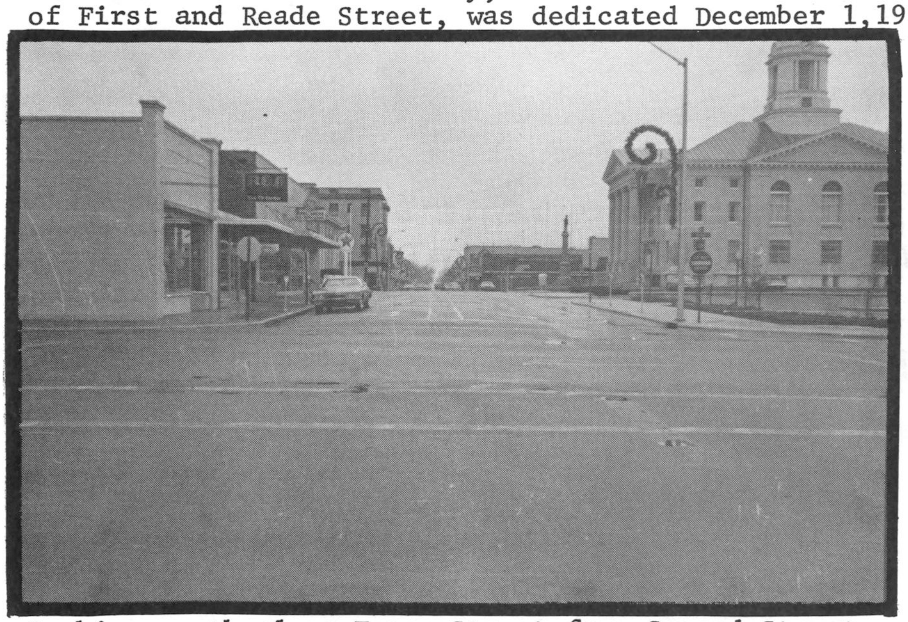
The office function of the Greenville CBD has evolved as one of the most important elements of the downtown commercial structure. Office users have maintained a steady growth throughout this study except for a brief slowdown during the depression. Prior to 1948, offices were generally restricted to the office building at the corner of Dickinson Avenue and Fifth Street, the office building back of the Pitt County Court House on Evans Street and second floor locations over first floor retail outlets. However, since that time the construction of small office buildings by lawyers, doctors, engineers, accountants, real estate and insurance agents have taken place within a two block radius of the Pitt County Courthouse at Third and Evans Street.

Generally, real estate and insurance have shown a propensity for locations along Cotanche Street and Evans Street. Lawyers have tended to locate along Third Street across from the courthouse and along nearby streets. Within the past six years, several law office complexes have been built along Washington and Greene Streets. Other professional services are rather scattered throughout the area.

Recently, several general office buildings have developed (and/or are under construction) in the urban renewal area north of the CBD. IBM recently completed a new building and the University's Regional Development Center at the corner of First and Reade Streets was dedicated in December, 1974 (Figure 7). Considerable space remains in this area for future office development.

Figure 7
OFFICE DEVELOPMENT IN DOWNTOWN GREENVILLE
1974

East Carolina Universities' Regional Development Center one of the newer office complexes in the downtown area. The facility, located at the corner of First and Reade Street, was dedicated December 1,1974.



Looking south along Evans Street from Second Street the recently remodeled Pitt County Court House and government office complex is on the right. The old post office (converted to federal offices) is on the left, partially obscurred by retail businesses.

It is evident that the Pitt County Court House and the former post office located at the corner of Third and Evans Street have served a magnets for the local office market. Third Street has developed as the central focus of office activity with more than forty-two individuals and/or firms represented at present (Table 10). Lawyers and law firms are the predominate users of this office space. Interestingly, this area has always been primarily office land use and not converted retail space. New office growth in the CBD has been at the expense of residential sites.

Expanding government operations have had a positive affect on both the downtown office and retail functions. Government offices, where demand has outstripped supply, have located near the respective courthouses in the private office sections. However, recent physical expansions of facilities at all government levels have served to aggregate many of these offices back into the new government office complexes. In the past ten years the county courthouse has been expanded, the city has moved part of its operation into the former Wachovia Bank building and the Federal Government has built a new post office and converted the old building into federal offices (Figure 7).

TABLE 10
OFFICE AND OFFICE BUILDINGS[1]
1918-1974
Downtown Greenville, North Carolina

Street	1918	1928	1938	1948	1958	1968	1974
1st							15+ 1# 2*
2nd	1	1		3	1	11 1# 1*	13+ 2# 1*
3rd	17 1*	25 1*	23 2*	29 2*	40 1# 2*	42 1# 2*	43 2# 2*
4th	2	4	4	3	4	6 1#	6 1#
5th	1*	1 1*	1 1*	1 1*	4 1*	8 1# 1*	8 1# 2*
Reade							
Cotanche		1	1	2	7 1#	22 2#	15 4#
Evans	16 1# 1*	14 1# 1*	9 1# 1*	13 1# 1*	13 1# 2*	14 1# 2*	13+ 2# 2*
Washington	2				4 1#	14 1#	10+ 2#
Greene				1	2	6 1#	10 3#
Dickinson						1	1
Albemarle	22 1#	20 1#	6 1#	11 1#	29 1#	11 1#	6 1#
TOTALS	60 2# 3*	66 2# 3*	44 2# 4*	63 2# 4*	104 5# 5*	134 10# 6*	139+ 19# 9*

[1] Abbreviations: +-Actual Data Note Available
#-Private Office Buildings
*-Government Office Buildings

Source: Greenville City Directories.

Leisure

Commercial activities of this type include restaurants, theaters, taverns, pool halls, and dance halls. The total number of leisure activities showed a drop between 1918 and 1928 from sixteen outlets to thirteen (Table 11). Businesses of this type have rebounded since 1938 from the negative effects of prohibition and the depression of the early thirties.

The years from 1948 to 1968 represented a rather stable period for leisure activities in the downtown area. Businesses along the streets of Fifth and Evans and Dickinson Avenue depended heavily upon the markets of nearby residential neighborhoods as well as regional patrons. Recently the latter two arteries have experienced declining neighborhood and regional markets through changing residential patterns and suburban shopping centers; and as a result, have experienced a loss in leisure activity. This loss represents more than one-half of the seven outlet decrease shown between 1968 and 1974.

Meanwhile, Fifth, Cotanche and Fourth Streets have gained as a result of new markets created by the expansion of the nearby university. The development of a restaurant in Georgetown Shoppes and the replacement of other businesses along Cotanche Street with taverns and pool halls resulted in a sizeable increase in leisure activity from two outlets in 1958 to five in 1968. Recently, three restaurants have been added to the north side of Fifth Street while one was lost on the south side. A new fast-food outlet has been opened and a tavern has been reopened on Fourth Street. The food service business has made an obvious shift from the

TABLE 11
LEISURE BUSINESSES
1918-1974
Downtown Greenville, North Carolina

Street	1918	1928	1938	1948	1958	1968	1974
1st							
2nd			1	1	1		
3rd							
4th	1						2
5th	3	3	3	4	4	5	7
Reade							
Cotanche	1				2	5	5
Evans	5	4	6	11	6	5	1
Washington					1		
Greene							
Dickinson	6	3	4	7	4	4	2
Albemarle		3	3	5	7	8	3
TOTALS	16	13	17	28	25	27	20

Source: Greenville City Directories.

Evans Street-Dickinson Avenue area to a focus on the Fifth Street intersection with Cotanche Street.

It has been suggested that Albermarle Avenue may have served as a black CBD. Based on the results of this analysis and the types of stores which have existed on this street, it has become apparent that typical outlets which comprise a CBD have not been available along Albermarle Avenue. Nevertheless, the street has represented an important commercial area for the Black community in the form of leisure or social functions. Clubs, theaters, and restaurants served a large neighborhood clientele until 1968. Since that time, as the civil rights movement gained momentum and more doors opened for the blacks, an out-migration of black people in the area has resulted in the decline of shops along the street.

Warehousing, Industry, Wholesaling

Dickinson and Albermarle Avenues have generally been the scene for the three above activities (Table 12). Tobacco warehouses, soft drink manufacturers, tobacco processors, and grocery and dry good wholesaling have been the trademark of commerce in this area. Railroad sidings, still in use today, serve as a reminder of the importance of this area as a receiving and distribution focus as well as a retailing center.

Decentralization of all of the above activities has resulted in the conversion of many of the old facilities to storage. Recently, the influence of urban renewal and the prospects for greater earnings on

TABLE 12
WAREHOUSES, INDUSTRIAL, AND WHOLESALE BUSINESSES
1918-1974
Downtown Greenville, North Carolina

Street	1918	1928	1938	1948	1958	1968	1974
1st							
2nd							
3rd	1					1	
4th	2		2				
5th	2	3	1	1	1		
Reade							
Cotanche	1		1	3	3	2	2
Evans	1	5	1	1	1		
Washington			1	2	1		
Greene			1	2	3	3	1
Dickinson	5	8	7	5	6	4	2
Albemarle	2	4	5	4	7	4	4
TOTALS	14	20	19	18	22	14	9

Source: Greenville City Directories.

property have encouraged the removal of these deteriorating buildings.

Albermarle Avenue has maintained its importance as an industrial employment center with boat manufacturing replacing tobacco warehousing activities. Until recently, bakery goods were produced on this street for regional as well as local markets. This firm has been replaced by a printing business.

Most all other streets in the study area (except First and Second) have had some warehousing or storage. Primarily, these activities were replacements of former retail outlets. Gradually these buildings have either been removed, remodeled for new retail, or are just vacant at this time.

Such industries as granite works, watch makers, machine craftsmen, ice cream, ice, newsprint and printers were typical of yesteryear. Today only newsprint and printing remain in the downtown area with the exception of Albermarle Avenue. Located along Cotanche Street and Dickinson Avenue, these industries represent nearly one-half of the nine activities shown as remaining in the CBD in 1974.

It is important to note that railroad transportation and freight services were important business activities on Dickinson Avenue. Passenger service was terminated in the fifties. The old passenger terminal and current freight office still stands at the intersection of Tenth Street and Dickinson Avenue.

Public

From its very beginning, downtown Greenville has depended upon government functions. For decades, county, state and federal activities have centered around the courthouse and post office at the intersection of Evans and Third Streets. The construction of a new post office at First and Greene Streets will not significantly alter the importance of government at this site as the old post office has been converted to a federal office building.

Government buildings have gradually increased since 1918 with most facilities locating along Third, Fifth and Evans Streets (Table 13). The construction of a new post office and the University's Regional Development Center has further increased the importance of First Street as a focus for public land use. The urban renewal tract north of First Street has been converted to a park and recreation site as part of the Shore Drive Redevelopment Program.

At the south end of Evans Street an elementary school once occupied the site of the newly remodeled library. To the north an armory was once located at the corner of Evans and Second Streets.

Fifth Street has traditionally been the center for local government. Prior to 1948, the city hall, and fire and police stations were located on the corner of Fifth and Cotanche Streets. The need for expansion of staff to serve a growing population resulted in the movement to larger, more modern facilities along Fifth Street between Washington and Greene Streets. Additional growth in local government has necessitated a third expansion move to the former office building vacated by Wachovia Bank across the street.

TABLE 13
PUBLIC LAND USE
1918-1974
Downtown Greenville, North Carolina

Street	1918	1928	1938	1948	1958	1968	1974
1st							2
2nd						1	1
3rd	1	1	2	2	2	2	2
4th							
5th	1	1	1	1	1	1	2
Reade	1	1	1	1	1		
Cotanche							
Evans	2	3	3	3	4	4	3
Washington							
Greene							
Dickinson							
Albemarle							
TOTALS	5	6	7	7	8	8	10

Source: Greenville City Directories.

The eastside corners of Fifth and Reade Streets have been public long before the beginning of this study area. A high school, later converted to a junior high school, was on the northeast quadrant until it burned in 1968. On the southeast quadrant a parking lot is now located where there once was a public swimming pool. It was closed in the late forties.

Additional changes in public land use are expected in the downtown area during the next decade. The University has options to develop the four block area between First and Fifth Streets along Reade Street. Initial plans called for several buildings including a motel and the recently completed Regional Development Center.

Public land use will eventually represent the northern and eastern boundaries of the CBD. Consequently, new lateral expansions of the downtown area (if ever needed) will have to be toward the south and west.

Quasi-Public

Churches, social clubs (non-profit), private schools, YMCA,... have steadily declined in the downtown area (Table 14). These activities have decreased from a high of fourteen in 1918 to four in 1974. This decline in number was interrupted slightly between 1948 and 1958 by the opening and subsequent closing of a black YMCA.

Of the seven churches originally located in the downtown area only three remained. Two were moved early in this study era while the other two were removed more recently by urban renewal. All churches with the exception of one were located in the fringe area of the CBD.

TABLE 14
QUASI-PUBLIC LAND USE
1918-1974
Downtown Greenville, North Carolina

Street	1918	1928	1938	1948	1958	1968	1974
1st	1	1					
2nd	1	1	1	2	1	1	
3rd		1	2	2	2	1	
4th							
5th	1						
Reade							
Cotanche	1	1					
Evans	5	2	1	1	1	1	1
Washington	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Greene	2	2	2	2	2	1	1
Dickinson	2	2	1	1			
Albemarle		1	1	1	1	1	1
TOTALS	14	12	9	10	8	6	4

Source: Greenville City Directories.

There was no particular concentration of other quasi-public land use. Generally these activities were also scattered throughout the fringe CBD area. Those in urban renewal areas have been removed except for a cemetery which legally proved to be impossible to move.

Parking

Parking lots are a modern day phenomena, having evolved as a necessity when population growth and the use of the automobile outgrew the on-street parking capacity of the downtown area. Prior to urban renewal, as buildings burned or were torn down in the CBD, they were often replaced with parking lots.

Greenville's early parking lots originated in this manner. A swimming pool on Fifth Street and an old house on Cotanche Street were replaced by parking lots during the late forties and early fifties.

During the early and mid-sixties, Blount Harvey's Department Store remodeled, Penney's Department Store burned, and an auto dealer at Fourth and Cotanche Streets relocated. Parking facilities either replaced all or part of the razed lots. By the mid-sixties, urban renewal had increased the pace of developing new lots considerably. Between 1968 and 1974, designated off-street parking lots increased from nine to twenty-four (Table 15).

The future of some of these lots may be questionable, as other types of land use (such as office buildings) increase their demand for downtown space. It is expected that some parking lots may be converted to commerce or replaced by parking buildings with retail on the ground floors.

TABLE 15
OFF STREET PARKING
1918-1974
Downtown Greenville, North Carolina

Street	1918	1928	1938	1948	1958	1968	1974
1st							
2nd							2
3rd							
4th						2	4
5th					1	1	1
Reade							2
Cotanche					1	2	7
Evans							1
Washington						2	4
Greene						1	1
Dickinson						1	2
Albemarle							
TOTALS					2	9	24

Source: Greenville City Directories.

Residential

The decline in white households in the CBD study area began after 1928 (Table 16). Meanwhile, black households increased steadily until interrupted by urban renewal in the mid-sixties. White households declined from 170 in 1928 to 116 in 1958 while blacks increased from 110 to 168 dwellings. Although blacks were slowly moving into white neighborhoods, the primary growth in black households came through the increasing density of slum dwellings along the CBD fringe. First, Second, Third, Reade, and Cotanche Streets had developed a heavy concentration of blacks by 1958. Clearing of the slum housing by urban renewal has removed all resident blacks and whites from the project area. Today, only a few scattered residents remain in the total CBD study area. Figure 8 shows the Reade Street area before and after urban renewal.

Interestingly, downtown boarding houses increased to eight by 1958 and by 1968 had declined to one. This sudden growth and subsequent decline parallel the failure of the housing industry to keep up with demand prior to 1960. The exceptional spurt in apartment growth and University dormitory expansion during the mid-sixties caused the rapid decrease.

Hotels declined from four in 1918 to one in 1968. The development of suburban motels, nursing homes, and to a lessor extent apartments influenced this loss. Currently there are no active hotels or boarding houses in the CBD study area.

Table 16

RESIDENTIAL LAND USE [1]

1918 - 1974

Downtown Greenville, North Carolina

STREET	1918	1928	1938	1948	1958	1968	1974
First	3W	-	-	-	-	-	-
	29B	36B	46B	54B	57B	7B	-
Second	6W	13W	11W	15W	13W	2W	-
	11B	13B	13B	14B	14B	2B	-
Third	19W	16W	7W	4W	2W	-	-
	1B	3B	5B	9B	10B	1B	-
	1H	-	-	-	-	-	-
	-	1BH	1BH	1BH	1BH	-	-
Fourth	5W	12W	12W	16W	11W	2W	1W
Fifth	6W	10W	12W	12W	3W	1W	1W
	1H	1H	-	-	-	-	-
Reade	1W	1W	-	-	-	-	-
	26B	28B	27B	41B	40B	10B	-
Cotanche	16W	24W	26W	26W	20W	8W	-
	12B	10B	13B	15B	16B	-	-
	-	-	-	-	2BH	-	-
Evans	14W	17W	13W	14W	10W	5W	1W
	3B	6B	8B	6B	6B	2B	-
	1H	1H	1H	1H	1H	-	-
	1BH	-	-	-	-	-	-
Washington	13W	16W	14W	15W	12W	4W	-
	6B	2B	5B	8B	7B	-	-
	-	-	1BH	1BH	1BH	-	-
Greene	29W	30W	32W	28W	27W	6W	2W
	13B	9B	11B	11B	12B	1BH	-
Dickinson	23W	22W	14W	11W	6W	3W	-
	1H	1H	1H	1H	1H	1H	-
	3BH	3BH	1BH	2BH	2BH	-	-
Albemarle	6W	9W	14W	7W	12W	1W	2W
	-	3B	3B	3B	6B	5B	4B
	-	-	-	-	2BH	-	-
TOTALS	141W	170W	155W	148W	116W	32W	7W
	101B	110B	131B	161B	168B	27B	4B
	4H	3H	2H	2H	2H	1H	-
	4BH	4BH	3BH	4BH	8BH	1BH	-

[1] W-White B-Black
H-Hotels BH-Boarding House

SOURCE: Greenville City Directories.

Figure 8
READE STREET URBAN RENEWAL
Greenville, North Carolina
1962-1974

This 1962 photograph is of the west side of Reade Street between Third and Fourth Street before urban renewal. (Photo compliments of the Greenville Redevelopment Commission.)

Reade Street, southward from First Street (after urban renewal) has been cleared of slums and widened to four lanes (1974). East Carolina University dormitories are in the background.

Summary

The preceding tables have illustrated the gradual evolution taking place in the downtown area. Urban renewal has almost completely removed residential, warehousing, industrial, wholesale and quasi-public functions from the CBD. Economic gain, or the lack of it, has been largely responsbile for the increases and losses shown by the other functions. Chapter 5 provides an evaluation and summary of the present functional and spatial pattern of Greenville's CBD.

CHAPTER V

THE PRESENT FUNCTIONAL AND SPATIAL PATTERN OF THE GREENVILLE CBD

Cities may be viewed as a general framework for the efficient spatial organization of productive and distributive facilities and the integration of economic activity in space. In the interest of efficiency and higher productivity, specialization in both task and area have developed. This specialization of task and area within the city has let to the concentration of economic activity at a node.[1]

The node (or CBD) is composed of a wide variety of dynamic economic activity both compatible and non-compatible in nature. By Larry Smith's assessment, typical larger city CBD activity and their spatial arrangement may be generally grouped into three major categories: high density office core; lower density retail core; and fringe. The high density office core includes prime multi-tenant offices, prime single occupancy offices (prestige), prestige retail, financial, and other mixed uses (not free-standing) such as services and eating and drinking establishments. The lower density retail core includes large retail companies (department stores), specialty and chain retail, multi-and single tenant offices, hotels, entertainment, banks, service and support uses, and luxury high-rise apartments. Located in the fringe area are necessary CBD services,

---

[1]Lampard, Eric E. "The History of Cities in the Economically Advanced Areas," <u>Economic Development and Cultural Change</u>, Vol III, 1954-1955, p. 81.

secondary retail and secondary office space. In addition, such activities as wholesale, middle-income residential apartments, neighborhood convenience retail, and loft industrial are in the fringe area.

Smith also identifies a group of activities as non-CBD including low rise or single family middle-income residential, low income private and public housing, industry, warehousing, suburban retail (shopping center) and low-rise office and other commercial. Generally, the location of these uses in the central area occurred as a result of utilization of obsolete space. He also mentions that public policy, tempered by a desire for centrality, influences the locations of civic and institutional uses in the downtown area.[2]

Murphy, Vance, and Epstein also suggest that typical CBD land use may be grouped into the three general categories of retail, office and non-CBD use. According to their definition, non-CBD uses are identified as industrial, wholesale, residential, public and organizational, and vacancy.[3] In another study, Murphy and Vance conclude that public land and buildings, and organizational and charitable institutions occupied large tracts of the downtown area and inasmuch as these were not "typical" CBD land uses they should be excluded from the downtown.[4]

---

[2]Smith, "Space for the CBD'S Functions," p. 38.

[3]Murphy, Vance, and Epstein, "Internal Structure of the CBD," p. 26.

[4]Raymond E. Murphy, and J. E. Vance, Jr. "A Comparative Study of Nine Central Business Districts," Economic Geography, XXX (October, 1954) p. 334.

Horwood and Boyce disagree with the exclusion of public office use from the core, and suggest instead that auto sales and service and end-of-street parking be eliminated as central area use "in recognition of the disfunctional (sic) aspect of automobiles in the core."[5]

Richard Nelson provides a more explicit list of incompatible CBD uses. For cities of medium size (25,000 to 250,000) he suggest that the following are non-CBD activities: gardening, drive-inn eating, glazing, laundromat, car dealer (new or used), laundry-cleaner, auto service and repair, bowling alley and mortuary.[6]

The results of this study substantiate Nelson's suggestions by quantitatively illustrating the decline of the above activities and several other uses (i.e., grocery, drug, ...) from the Greenville CBD. Also, it is apparent that downtown Greenville may be developing characteristics similar to those of larger cities, mentioned earlier by Larry Smith. He suggests that large city CBD activity and their spatial arrangement may be grouped as (1) high density office core, (2) lower density retail core and (3) fringe.[7]

The new office focus north and west of the CBD contains prime multi-tenate offices, prime single occupancy offices (prestige), financial, and a mix of other uses (mostly free-standing). Prestige retail, in the form of full line department stores, services, and eating and drinking establish-

---

[5] Horwood and Boyce, Central Business District and Freeway Development, p. 15.

[6] Nelson, Selection of Retail Locations. p. 76.

[7] Smith, "Space for the CBD'S Functions," p. 38.

ments, are noticeable non-existent. However, as the office function expands and the marketing conditions improve, the chances of the development of these activities improves concurrently.

The low density retail core is generally represented by the existing downtown retail focus minus a hotel, and high rise apartments.

The fringe area, as described by Smith, is rather typical of the local CBD fringe with the exception of wholesaling, loft industrial and apartments. However, Smith, Murphy and Vance identify these three activities as "non-CBD" and conclude that they should be excluded from the downtown area.

Functional Composition

Dean S. Rugg (Spatial Foundations of Urbanism) suggested that the single centered city had finished its growth about 1930 with the great increase toward suburbanization.[8] This trend did not begin in Greenville until several years later (Table 17). Convenience type retail reached a peak in 1938, while service and leisure activities had peaked by 1948. Surprisingly, shopper type retail did not reach its highest number of outlets until 1958.

Services, financial and office activities slipped slightly between 1928 and 1938. These declines were mostly in reaction of the depression of the early thirties.

A good indication of downtown Greenville's current marketing status is the apparent stabilizing of retail shopper outlets since 1968. After

---

[8]Rugg, Dean S., Spatial Foundations of Urbanism, (Dubuque, William C. Brown & Company, 1972) p. 6.

TABLE 17
FUNCTIONAL CHANGE BY TOTAL NUMBER OF OUTLETS[1]
1918-1974
Downtown Greenville, North Carolina

Year	Retail Shopper	Retail Convenience	Service	Financial	Office		Leisure	Warehouse Wholesale Industry	Public	Quasi-Public	Parking	Residential			
					General Office	Office Buildings						White	Black	Hotel	Boarding House
1918	41	32	36	3	60	2	16	14	5	14	-	141	101	4	4
1928	77	53	39	7	66	2	13	20	6	13	-	170	110	3	4
1938	86	57	37	6	44	2	17	19	7	9	-	155	131	2	3
1948	98	56	48	7	72	2	28	18	7	10	-	148	161	2	4
1958	104	45	37	9	104	5	25	22	8	8	2	116	168	2	8
1968	91	32	39	14	134	10	27	14	8	6	9	32	27	1	1
1974	90	22	24	14	139[2]	19	20	9	10	3	24	7	4	-	-

1. Data summarized for Tables 6 through 17, represents a fifty four year span compared by ten year intervals. It is worthy to note that the years tabulated are not necessarily the years of the highest number but do show distinctive trends.

2. Exact data was not available for individual office buildings under construction. This is a conservative estimate.

Source: Greenville City Directories.

showing gains through each ten-year increment between 1918 and 1958, the development of several suburban shopping centers altered this function's growth. The loss of only one comparative shopper outlet since 1968 suggest that this function may be defying decentralization pressures.

Another positive feature of the downtown economic picture is the growth of the office function through increasing professional services. Doctor representation in this group has decreased significantly since the construction of Pitt Memorial Hospital in the early fifties. However, the exceptional gains in law, real estate, and insurance firms have more than offset the loss of doctors in the central area. Free standing office buildings have nearly doubled during the past six years including those under construction.

Government and finance functions have made important expansions during the past sixteen years. The county courthouse was remodeled and new offices added; the city has moved part of its growing operations into the recently vacated Wachovia Bank Building; the Federal government has built a new post office while converting the old one to federal offices; and two of the three major banks have built main offices in the downtown area.

The importance of the above functions to the Greenville CBD is unmatched except by the University. The traffic generated by the University provides a significant portion of the basic cash flow needed to sustain commercial life. No longer can the downtown stores depend totally upon the regional trade.

Fortunately the University experienced considerable growth during the sixties, having doubled in size in less than a decade. The more than 10,000 students and their families provide day-time and night-time patrons for the CBD.

The importance of downtown as a residential focus is practically non-existent. White out-migration began after 1928 and by 1974 only eleven households remained of the more than 300 which existed in 1948. Recent urban renewal stopped the black family growth in the study area. Current urban renewal razed substandard housing south of Second Street. New buildings and parking lots stand today in place of the old slums.

Boarding houses gained from four in 1948 to eight in 1958. This was caused by the lack of transient housing in the form of motels in the urban area during that time. Both active hotels and boarding houses are non-existent in the study area at present.

Mix of Shops and Range of Goods

The drawing power of any central business district is proportional to its appeal to potential patrons. An important factor in CBD appeal is the drawing ability of a wide variety of stores selling a broad range of goods in both quality and price.

As mentioned earlier, decentralization has negatively affected the retail drawing power of downtown Greenville by reducing the number of retail outlets which in turn reduced the range of goods. One of the categories more severely affected is the limited price variety store that depended upon the lower income patron for support. When this study was completed only one store of this type remained in the downtown area, which once contained about seven such outlets.

The categories showing a decreasing trend in number of outlets include drugs, eating establishments (excluding drinking outlets), appliances-furniture, department store-general merchandise, and more recently jewelry. Also auto (sales, service and parts) and grocery stores have been declining. There are no auto dealers or full line grocery stores left in the CBD today (1974).

Meanwhile, apparel, food-eating and drinking and certain miscellaneous stores have shown a steady gain since 1948. The apparel outlets offer a full range of merchandise in both price and quality while the eating and drinking establishments offer a more conservative bill-of-fare in line with student schedule and limited budgets.

The results of a study conducted by D. Gordon Bennett of twenty-three major downtown areas in North Carolina indicate the strength of the apparel business in the Greenville CBD (Table 18).[9] Downtown Greenville has the highest percentage of downtown shoppers patronizing women's and men's apparel stores of any CBD within a fifty-mile radius. However, of the twenty-three downtown areas surveyed, Greenville ranked an impressive third in patronage of women's apparel outlets and a more impressive first in patronage of men and boy's shops.[10] Brody's, Blount

---

[9]Bennett, D. Gordon, and Hayes, Charles R., Downtown Shopper Characteristics and Media Coverage in North Carolina, State Planning Report 112.08, Department of Administration, State of North Carolina, April 1970, p. 33.

[10]_Ibid_, p. 33.

TABLE 18
PRIMATE STORE VISITED, BY PER CENT
North Carolina
1970

City	Department	Limit Price Variety	Women's Ready To-Wear	Grocery	Men's & Boys Clothing	Drug & Propriety	Others
Greenville	41.8	6.2	19.6	1.0	10.3	1.0	10.3
Wilson	58.5	30.8	8.7	1.0	....	....	1.0
Rocky Mount	65.6	13.6	12.7	1.8	0.9	2.7	2.7
Kinston	67.7	20.4	5.4	3.2	....	2.2	1.1
Goldsboro	75.7	18.8	0.9	2.8	....	....	1.8

Source: Table 7, "Downtown Shopper Characteristics and Media Coverage in North Carolina," State Planning Report 112.08, D. Gordon Bennett and Charles R. Hayes, April 1970, p. 33.

Harvey, Coffman's, Proctors, and others are responsible for this exceptional image.

Furthermore, the survey identifies a weakness in the drawing power of department stores and limited price variety stores. Of the five local cities, Greenville ranks fifth in percent of persons entering the CBD for the purpose of shopping in these types of outlets.

Compared to the total twenty-three city sample, Greenville ranked twenty first in department store draw and twenty second in limited price variety store draw.[11] By the end of this study, department stores, variety stores and general merchandise stores had decreased in number to less than one-half those available in 1948.

The influence of the University upon the apparel and eating and drinking outlets has and will continue to be positive. In addition, a growing downtown work-force in the form of office workers will expand the market base. Improved traffic circulation and parking will serve to enhance the appeal of these shops through improved accessibility.

The apparel industry is thriving in downtown Greenville through a broad mix of shops and wide variety of goods and prices. However, this study reveals that food-eating and drinks and department stores are limited in the upper range of price and quality of goods. Both these types of businesses have prime generating capabilities and expansion of such in the downtown area would benefit greatly the overall draw of the CBD.

---

[11] Ibid, p. 33.

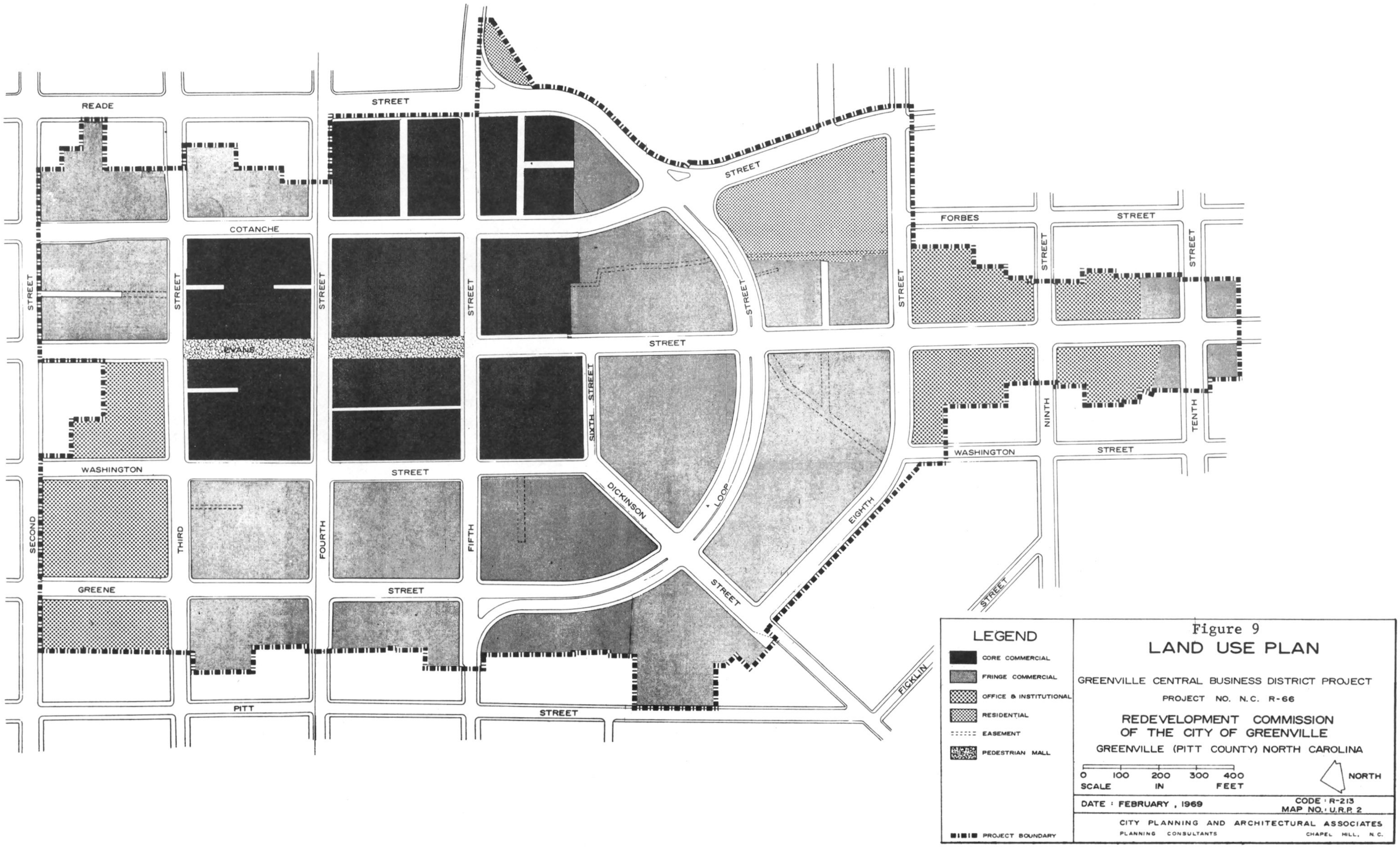
Current Urban Renewal

The downtown redevelopment project, undertaken by the Greenville Redevelopment Commission, is ambitious and well planned. As it became apparent that the CBD would lose the battle with suburban shopping centers, city officials and downtown merchants acted to offset this trend by systematically planning the rehabilitation of downtown.

In 1967, funds were approved by the Department of Housing and Urban Development to plan and implement this second project (Figure 9). The final approval and the execution phase became a reality in 1970.

The first stage of the project involved the construction of a loop street to tie in with Reade Street and Greene Street, the development of adequate and convenient parking, the re-routing of the traffic around the CBD and the relief of congestion. This phase is almost complete (1974). The second phase of the project is to develop a shopping mall between Third and Fifth Streets by closing Evans Street to vehicular traffic. Redevelopment officials hope this part will be completed in the 1975 calendar year.

The third phase of the project is the redevelopment of the area south of Fifth Street generally focusing on Evans Street to Tenth Street. Plans are to purchase the properties in the project area and convert their use to fringe commercial and office. This phase of the project is scheduled for completion in 1976 or beyond.


READE
STREET
COTANCHE
STREET
EVANS
STREET
WASHINGTON
STREET
GREENE
STREET
PITT
STREET
SECOND
THIRD
FOURTH
FIFTH
SIXTH STREET
DICKINSON
LOOP
STREET
EIGHTH
STREET
FORBES
STREET
NINTH
TENTH
WASHINGTON
STREET
FICKLIN
STREET
LEGEND
CORE COMMERCIAL
FRINGE COMMERCIAL
OFFICE & INSTITUTIONAL
RESIDENTIAL
EASEMENT
PEDESTRIAN MALL
PROJECT BOUNDARY
Figure 9
LAND USE PLAN
GREENVILLE CENTRAL BUSINESS DISTRICT PROJECT
PROJECT NO. N.C. R-66
REDEVELOPMENT COMMISSION
OF THE CITY OF GREENVILLE
GREENVILLE (PITT COUNTY) NORTH CAROLINA
0 100 200 300 400
SCALE IN FEET
NORTH
DATE : FEBRUARY, 1969
CODE : R-213
MAP NO. : U.R.P. 2
CITY PLANNING AND ARCHITECTURAL ASSOCIATES
PLANNING CONSULTANTS
CHAPEL HILL, N.C.

Local planners and officials feel the downtown mall will appreciably enhance the overall drawing power of the CBD. Certainly from an aesthetic view it will improve the downtown image and by the removal of automobiles will improve the environment and pedestrian personal safety. The management of this area will largely determine the extent of the mall's drawing power.

Provided the mall can maintain an attractive, safe image, the trend toward a higher percentage of comparative shopping outlets serving a regional market should increase. However, if officials fail to provide proper management, outlets in the mall could possibly lose their regional draw and be forced to close or shift their line of merchandise more toward convenience and service activities to serve whatever market they could attract.

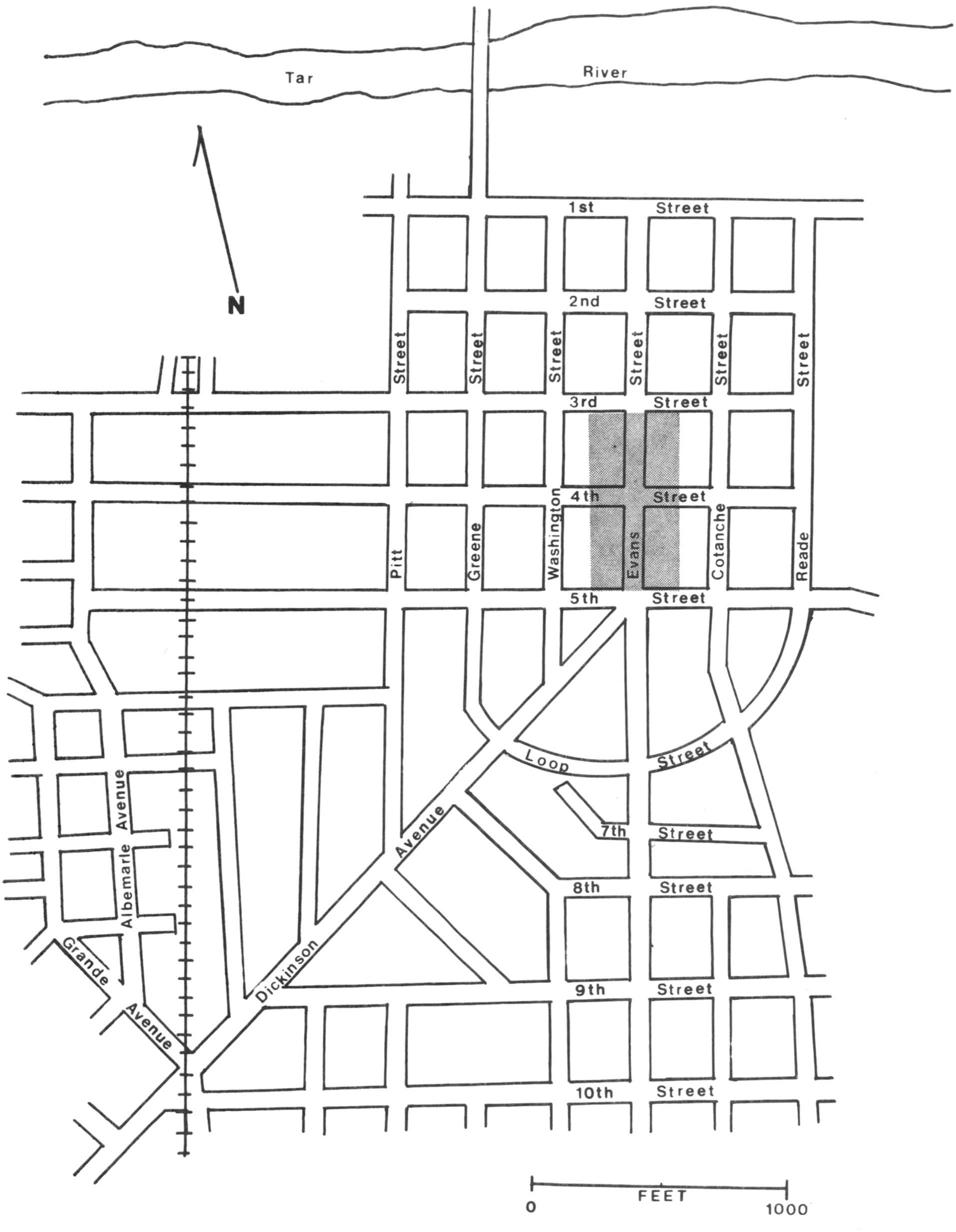
Core Area

The core of downtown Greenville is identified as Evans Street between Third and Fifth Streets (Figure 10). This area is generally excepted as the geographic center as well as the center of highest pedestrian activity (excluding university-oriented Fifth Street).

Over the past fifty-four years, this area has acquired an increasing concentration of comparative retail stores serving a regional market. A few convenience, service and financial outlets have been present in this two block strip, but primarily it has remained as the central focus of comparative shopping.

Figure 10

CORE AREA



The stores along this street derive considerable patronage from their cumulative attraction and resulting interchange of customers. A full range of apparel and jewelry outlets are available and combined with the gift shops, record shops and card shops (located in drug and variety shops) this area makes an interesting and convenient focus for browsing and shopping. Of the forty five stores in these two blocks, approximately two-thirds are of the comparative shopper variety. In 1918, less than one-third of these stores were of this type.

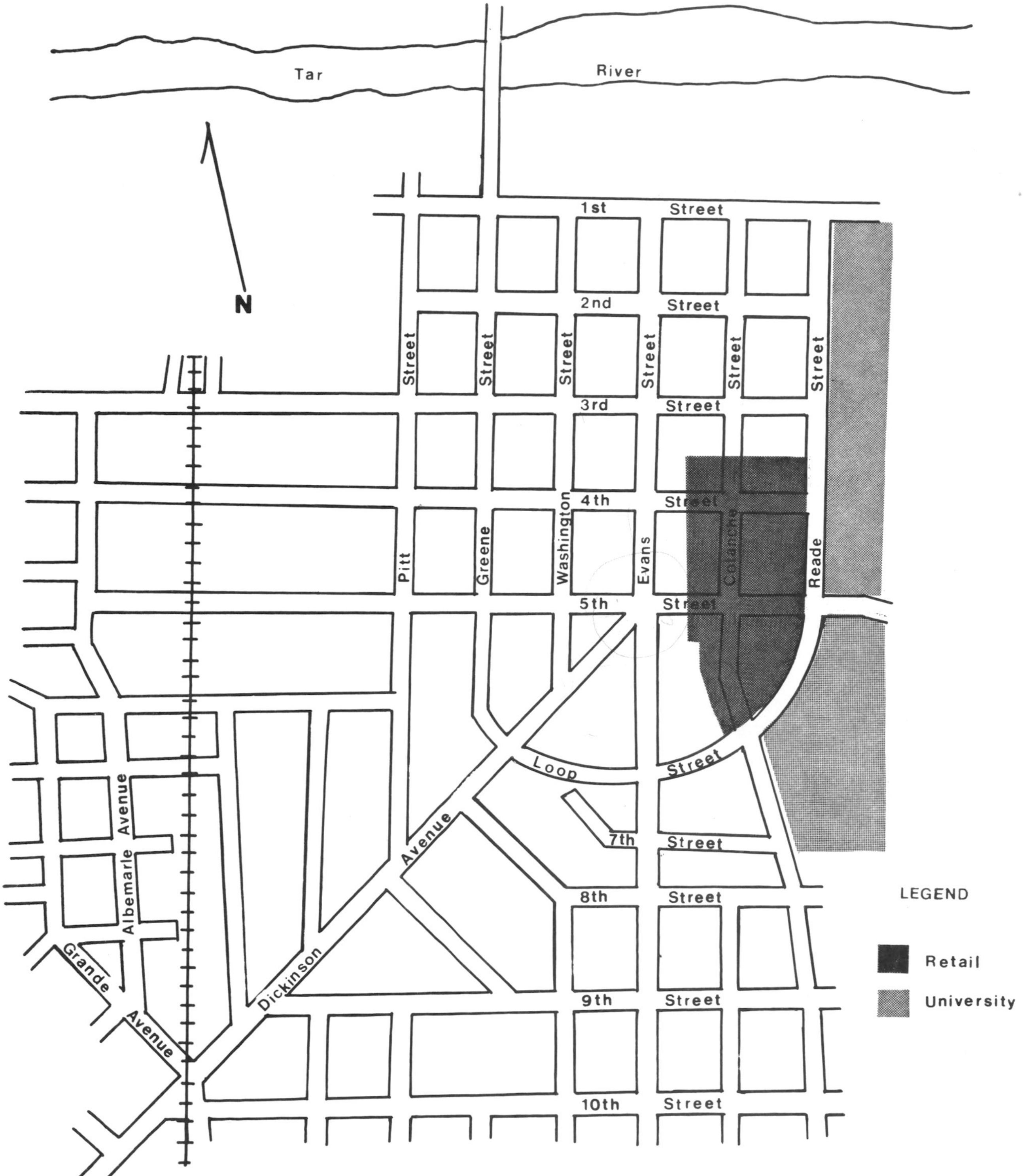
The trend toward comparative shopping began before the 1918 starting date of this study. This two block strip base slowly but steadily declined in total number of outlets as old stores were renovated and expanded. Concurrently, other functions have been displaced by comparative shopping outlets. This trend toward a higher percentage of shopper retail indicates that these types of stores are resisting decentralization pressures and this area is acquiring a more regional image.

Eastern Student Oriented Sector

The influence of East Carolina University on the east side of Greenville's CBD has been extensive. Seven specialty apparel shops catering to the University market now are located in a one block section of Fifth Street between Reade and Cotanche Streets. Within two blocks of the University, there are two pool halls, three taverns, two fast-service grocery stores, and eight restaurants (Figure 11). A ninth restaurant at the corner of Fourth and Reade Streets has recently closed.

Figure 11

EASTERN STUDENT ORIENTED SECTOR



Much of this change has occurred since 1968. At that time there were only four specialty apparel shops along Fifth Street between Reade and Cotanche Streets and five restaurants in a two block radius of the University.

Most of the new shops in the eastern sector of the CBD have opened since 1960. Coinciding with the rapid growth of student population at East Carolina University, these activities either outbid (through rents) other functions for their location or filled in as decentralization created vacant buildings. Full line grocery stores, auto dealers, gas stations, stables, beauty shops and barber shops represent a few of the many businesses replaced by clothing, food, and recreation types of outlets.

Georgetown Shoppes at the corner of the new Loop Street and Cotanche Street, and a branch bank and restaurant (presently closed) on Fourth Street between Reade and Cotanche Streets represent the only new store construction in this sector. Interestingly, Georgetown Shoppes, opened in the mid-sixties, initially contained primarily offices, convenience, and service outlets. Over the past five years it has shifted to more comparative shopping stores with offices still the dominate use on the second floor.

The University owns a four-block strip along Reade Street running from First to Fifth Streets. This area, forming the east boundary of downtown Greenville was cleared through urban renewal and is designated for university (or public) use. A university office building, housing the Regional Development Center, has been constructed on the north end of the strip at the corner of First and Reade Streets. A motel, classrooms, and dormitories have been discussed as possible uses for the remaining area.

Western and Northern Office and Government Sector

The shift toward office and government in this sector is well established (Figure 12). City, county, state and federal facilities circumvent the west and north sides of the downtown retail focus. Intermixed are main office buildings of financial institutions and legal offices. Figure 13 displays the new Wachovia Bank Building at the corner of Fourth and Washington Streets, west of the main retail core on Evans Street.

North of Second Street, between Reade Street and Pitt Street, several new office buildings are complete or under construction and more are planned. The availability of large building sites with underground utilities, improved highway access, and proximity of government facilities (including a new post office), and a new park, all add to the attractiveness of this area for office development. These new facilities are in sharp contrast to the slum housing that once occupied this area.

Southern Transition Zone

Similar to the north portion of the CBD, this area is scheduled to undergo near total rehabilitation (Figure 14). New streets and the replacement of substandard residents with office and fringe commercial are planned. The construction of new streets is well underway. The new Loop Street is complete from Fifth and Reade Strests to Dickinson Avenue.

Figure 12

WESTERN AND NORTHERN OFFICE AND GOVERNMENT SECTOR

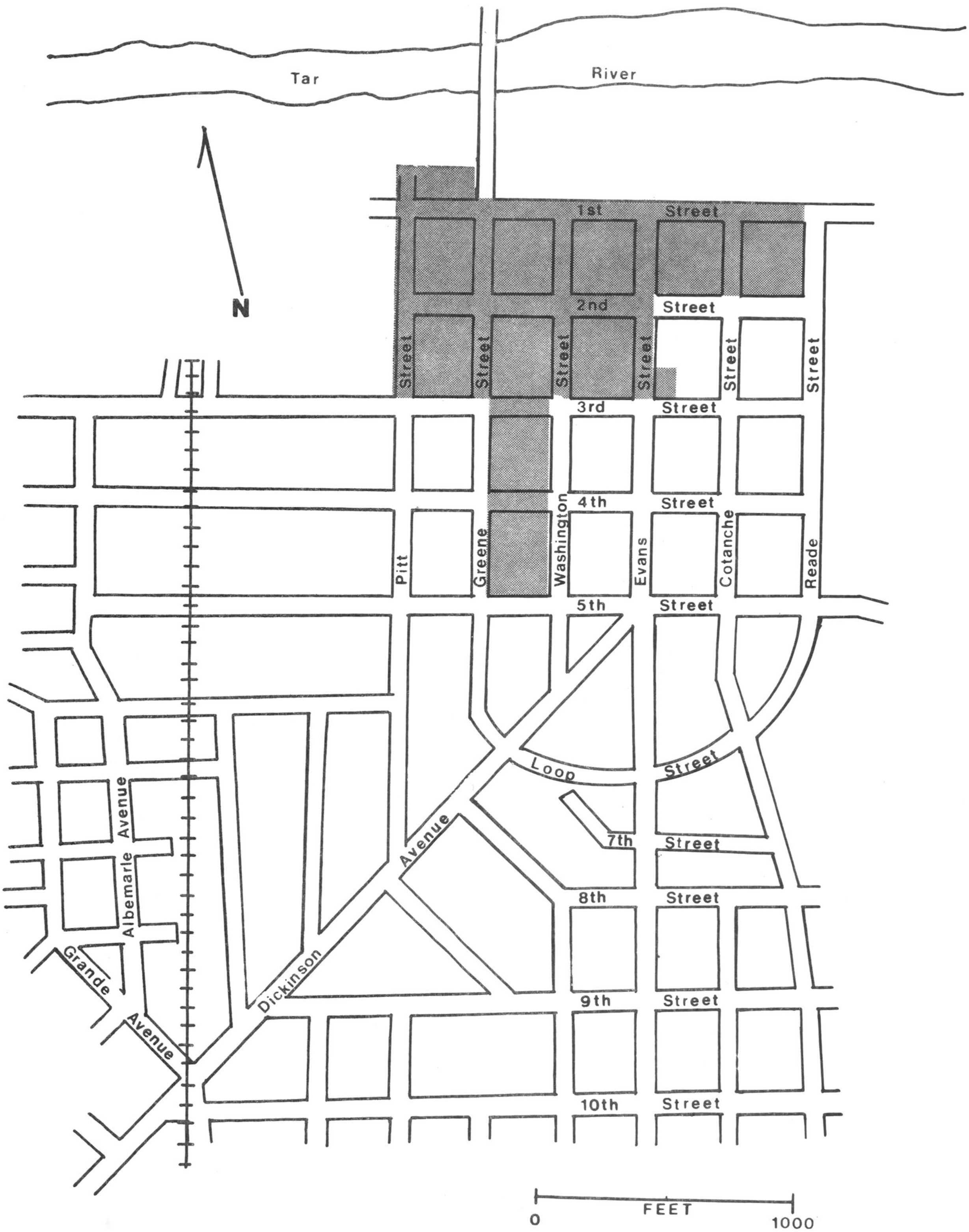


Figure 13

The new Wachovia Bank Building located at the corner of Fourth and Washington Streets.

Figure 15 shows a north view and a west view of Loop Street taken from the corner of an East Carolina University dormitory. Curbings, sidewalks, underground utilities, and shrubbery are typical of the sound planning that is found throughout the urban renewal redevelopment project. The completion of the Loop Street - Greene Street connection is expected by mid-1975. The widening of Greene Street will provide a four-lane artery circumventing the total CBD area.

Also in the urban renewal project is a plan to close Dickinson Avenue between Washington and Evans Street and connecting Dickinson with Evans via a one block link called Sixth Street. This change would result in the removal of the landmark, Five Points. The new city block is expected to be redeveloped as core commercial.

Figure 14

SOUTHERN TRANSITION ZONE

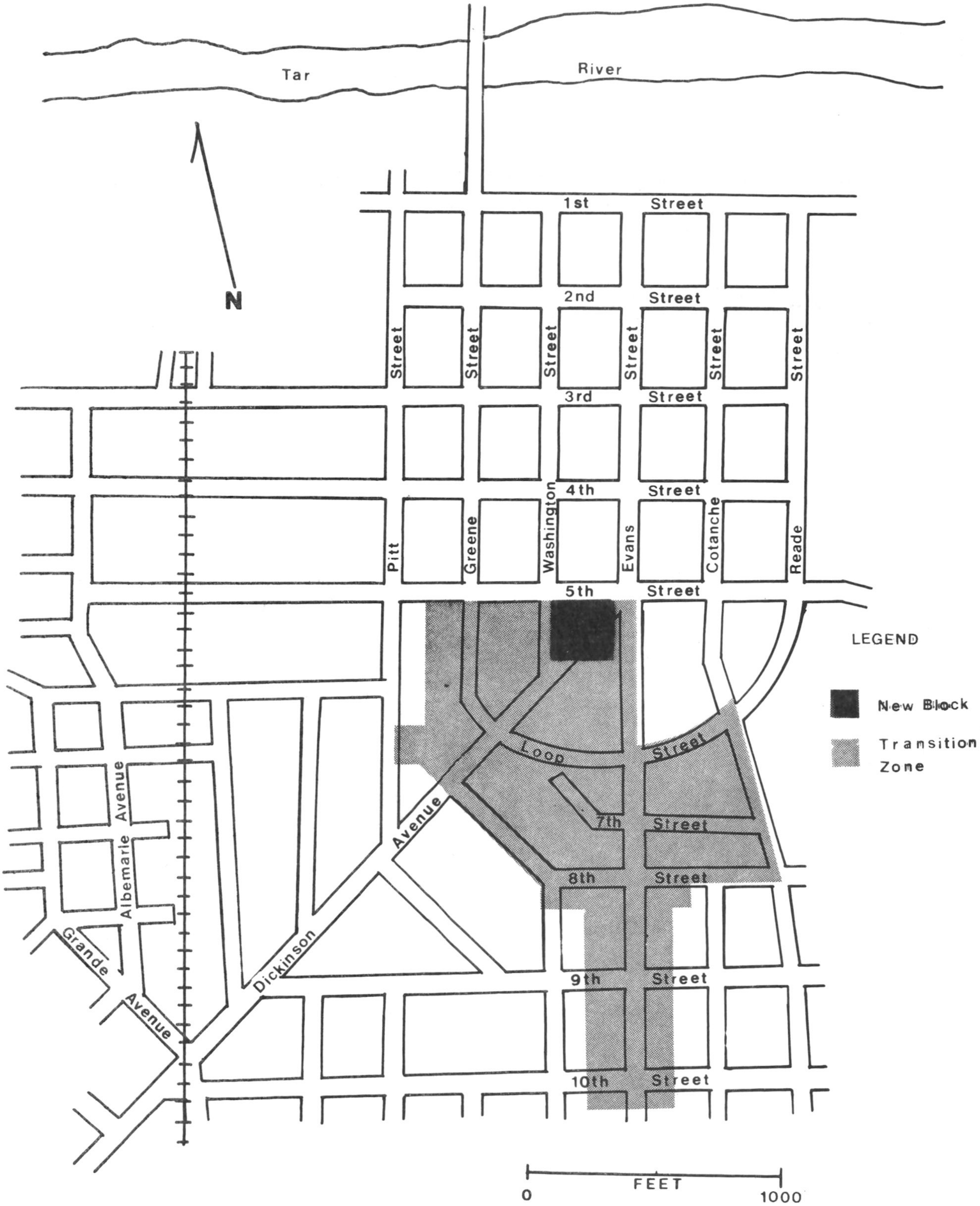


Figure 15

NEW LOOP STREET
Downtown Greenville
1974

Looking north along Loop Street toward the Fifth Street intersection and Reade Street, corner of Georgetown Shoppes is to the left of the photograph.

Looking west along Loop Street is the Cotanche Street intersection.

A large portion of that area between Loop and Eighth Street is expected to convert from residential to fringe commercial. Office and institution activities are planned for the strip of Evans Street between Eighth and Tenth Streets. The Redevelopment Commission is currently purchasing land in this area and razing and construction of new facilities are expected to be well underway by 1976.

Summary

Over the past twenty years, the functional composition and spatial structure of downtown Greenville has changed from a concentration of economic activities focusing on Evans Street to areas of economic specialization focusing on certain sections of the CBD. In the emerging pattern of land use, government, general office and financial activities are developing north and west of downtown. The eastern part of the CBD is heavily influenced by East Carolina University, whereby retailing has increasingly shifted to take advantage of student needs for goods and services.

To the south, office and light commercial is planned for Evans Street from Loop Street to Tenth Street. Land acquisition is currently in progress through the redevelopment program. Meanwhile, the core area has developed as a specialized center for comparative shopping goods.

The mix of apparel outlets and their range of goods is a favorable asset to the appeal of the downtown area. Also, the concentration of higher order goods and services (i.e., jewelry ...) has contributed significantly to the current image and drawing power of the CBD.

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSIONS

The primary objective of this study was to identify and evaluate the changing physical and functional structure of downtown Greenville. A secondary objective was to develop a method for analyzing small city CBD's utilizing readily available data. City directories provided the basic data source because it was found that most small, incorporated cities of 5,000 to 50,000 had city directories, some dating to the depression era.

The approach of analyzing number and location of business establishments proved useful in qualitatively assessing current and future viability. However, it was found that a more quantitative assessment would need to include analyses of population densities, purchasing power and retail sales by function; three types of data not usually available for small city CBD's.

Not surprisingly, urban renewal and East Carolina University have had the greatest influence on downtown Greenville since the coming of the automobile. The Shore Drive Project, by clearing slums north and east of the CBD, provided a park along the Tar River and suitable land for office and commercial development. The current Downtown Redevelopment Project has: (1) built a new, four lane loop street connecting Greene Street and Reade Street south of the CBD; (2) added off-street parking; (3) removed deteriorating buildings from the downtown area; and (4) has been influential in encouraging store owners to remodel the fronts and backs of their shops. A vehicle-free mall on Evans Street between Third and Fifth Streets and the rehabilitation of land use along Evans Street from Eighth Street to Tenth Street is in advanced planning and implementation is expected in late 1975 and 1976, respectively. Plans are to re-route Dickinson Avenue to Evans Street south of Fifth Street. This change will prevent a traffic bottleneck when the mall is developed.

Meanwhile, East Carolina University's rapid student growth during the sixties provided a corresponding increase in demand for certain goods and services. Land use along Cotanche and Fifth Streets has been greatly affected by the increased pressure.

Food, recreation and apparel outlets have increased appreciably in number and variety. A large portion of the estimated $17,200 daily student expenditures are spent not only in this area but all over the Greenville CBD. The University, through its influence on the three activities mentioned above has been largely responsible for the slowing of decentralization in the comparative shopper retail category and the leisure category.

This study identified that significant decentralization did not really begin in downtown Greenville until the late forties and early fifties. From then it increased steadily as congestion, lack of parking, and poor circulation increased through the pressures of an expanding population. The growing population base, higher incomes, increased auto ownership, and poor marketing conditions in the downtown area finally reached a threshold in the early sixties that served to spawn suburban shopping center development.

The leaders of Greenville and downtown merchants reacted positively to the challenge of rebuilding the downtown area. It is doubtful that they will be able to restore it to its former status as the marketing center of the community. Pitt Plaza and other suburban shopping centers will continue to maintain a firm hold on regional retail sales dollars. However, the well planned shift to more office activity, made possible through urban renewal, could help in restoring a significant portion of the CBD's lost social and economic status. Office patrons and an expanded central area employment base will help to draw more traffic to the downtown area.

The returning CBD traffic will find a more attractive shopping area, more parking, and wide circumferential streets. It is apparent that the challenge now to local leaders and merchants is to provide a wide-variety of items covering the full range of prices. They should concentrate on converting more single-purpose trips (excluding retail purchases) to multi-purpose trips (including retail purchases).

Noticeably lacking is the image and single-purpose trip attraction of a good quality, full line department store. Because of the marketing potential of surrounding neighborhoods, sales projections for such a store may not be adequate to induce new investments in this type of store. However, existing merchants, possibly Brody's or Blount Harvey's, could help fill this void by developing long-range plans to expand their physical plants and lines of merchandise to accommodate the existing markets and new markets expected to be generated by the office function and the University.

Empirical observation and the results of this study clearly identify that the CBD is on a realistic path to recovery. Distinct areas of specialization are developing in the pattern of land use. Retail sales from the lost regional population base are being partially replaced by the growing office employment base, the customer traffic they draw and East Carolina University students.

Comparative shopping outlets, having stablized since 1968, should begin to increase primarily along Fifth Street and Evans Street. The growth of this category should occur regardless of the trend toward larger stores in the downtown area. Convenience retail, leisure and service type activities are expected to stabilize at their present level and show increases along the fringe streets.

Financial activities are expected to level off with banking focused on Washington Street and loan companies remaining centered on Evans Street. Office developments will increase north and south of the CBD. Real estate and insurance show a definite tendency toward locating along Cotanche Street while legal offices are expanding in the vicinity of the Pitt County Court House.

Warehousing and wholesaling, almost non-existent in the CBD today, are not expected to increase in activity. However, light industry could develop in the north and south urban renewal areas.

Public and quasi-public activity are expected to remain at about their same level. It is worthy to note that government office patrons and government employees have played major roles in helping the downtown retail merchant through the past ten years. Their patronage will continue to provide needed customers and revenue for retailers. Contiguous parking will be an integral part in the planning of future developments in the CBD.

Boarding houses and single family dwellings are not expected to return to the downtown area. However, motels and multi-family units are needed and would enhance the availability of body day-time and night-time traffic. Should the University's plan to build a motel and dormitories along Reade Street become a reality, downtown Greenville would benefit considerably.

In summary, the expanding role of downtown Greenville, from a concentrated government and market center to a more diverse office and financial focus, will help to restore the viability of the important central core. Retailers should benefit considerably from the interception of traffic drawn to the CBD by other activities.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Abrams, Charles. "Downtown Decay and Revival." Journal of American Institute of Planners, Vol. 27, No. 1 (1961).

Berry, B.J.L. and Garrison, W. L. "A Note on Central Place Theory and the Range of Goods." Economic Geography, Vol. 34 (1958).

Berry, B.J.L. and Horton, F. E. Geographic Perspectives on Urban Systems, Englewood Cliffs: Prentice Hall, Inc. 1970.

Birchard, Ralph, "Impact Study of ECU Students on the Economy of Greenville." Research conducted for the Department of Geography, East Carolina University, Greenville, N.C., May, 1974.

Bohnert, J.E. and Mattingby, P.F. "Delimitation of the CBD Through Time." Economic Geography, Vol. 40 (1964).

Borchert, J.R. and Adams, R.B. "Trade Centers and Trade Areas of the Upper Midwest." Upper Midwest Economic Study, Urban Report Number 3 Minneapolis, 1963.

Bourne, Larry. Internal Structure of the City. New York: Oxford University Press, 1971.

Carol, H. "The Hierarchy of Central Functions within the City." Annals of the Association of American Geographers, Vol. 50 (1960).

Carroll, J. Douglas, Creighton, Roger L. and Hamburg, John R. "Transportation Planning for Central Area." Journal of the American Institute of Planners, Vol. 27, No. 1 (1961).

Carter, H. and Rowlea, G. "The Morphology of the Central Business District of Cardiff." Transactions, Institute of British Geographers, Vol. 38 (1966).

Casparis, J. "Metropolitan Retail Structure and It's Relation to Population." Land Economics, Vol. 43 (May, 1967).

Daily Reflector Press, Mullin-Kille, Greenville City Directory, Greenville: Daily Reflector Press, 1967.

Erickson, E. Gordon. Urban Behavior. New York: MacMillan Company, 1954.

Griffin, D.W. and Preston, R.E. "A Restatement of the 'Transition Zone' Concept." Annals of the Associations of American Geographers, Vol. 56 (1966).

Gruen, Victor. The Heart of Our Cities. New York: Simon and Schucter, 1964.

Haig, R.M. Major Economic Factors in Metropolitan Growth and Arrangement. New York: Regional Plan of New York and It's Environs, 1926.

Harris, C.D. and Ullman, E.L. "The Nature of Cities." Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, Vol. 242 (1945).

Hartman, G.W. "The Central Business District-A Study in Urban Geography." Economic Georgraphy, Vol. 26 (1950).

Harwood, Edgar M. and Boyce, Ronald R. Studies of the Central Business District and Urban Freeway Development. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1959.

Hershman, A. "Downtown-or the Suburbs?" Modern Industry, Vol. 26 (June, 1967).

Kitagawa, Evelyn M. and Bogue, Donald J. Suburbanization of Manufacturing Activity Within Standard Metropolitan Areas. Oxford: Scripps Foundation, 1955.

Klein, H.J. Urban Core and Inner City. Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1967.

Lampard, Eric E. "The History of Cities in the Economically Advanced Areas." Economic Development and Cultural Change, Vol. III, 1954-1955.

Munford, Lewis. The City in History. New York: Harcourt Brace and World, Inc., 1961.

Murphy, Raymond E. The American City: An Urban Geography. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1966.

____________ Internal Structure of CBD." Geographic Review, Vol. 31 (June, 1961).

____________ Problems and Prospects of the CBD." Geographic Review, Vol. 51 (April, 1961).

____________ and Vance, J.E. Jr. "A Comparative Study of Nine Central Business Districts." Economic Geography, Vol. 30 (July, 1954).

____________ "Delimiting the CBD." Economic Geography, Vol. 30 (July, 1954).

____________ "Delimiting the CBD," Readings in Urban Geography. Edited by Harold M. Mayer and Clyde F. Kohn. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1959.

____________ and Epstein, Bart J. "Internal Structure of the CBD." Economic Geography, Vol. 31 (January, 1955).

Nelson, Richard N. The Selection of Retail Locations. New York: F.W. Dodge Corporation, 1958.

Piedmont Press, Miller's Greenville City Directory, Asheville: Piedmont Press, 1918.

____________, Miller's Greenville City Directory, Asheville: Piedmont Press, 1928.

Proudfoot, Malcolm J. "City Retail Structures." Economic Georgraphy. Vol. 13 (October, 1937).

Rannells, J. The Core of the City. New York: Columbia University Press, 1956.

Ratcliff, Richard "The Dynamic of Efficiency in the Locational Distribution of Urban Activity," Readings in Urban Georgraphy. Edited by Harold M. Mayer and Clyde F. Kohn. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1960.

____________ Urban Land Economics. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1949.

Reinerman, M.W. "Mapping and Analyzing CBD of Small Urban Areas." Association of American Geographers, Vol. 53 (April, 1963).

Rugg, Dean S. Spatial Foundation of Urbanism, Dubuque: William C. Brown and Company, 1972.

Russwurm, L.H. "The Changing CBD Retail Mix, 1948-1958". Association of American Geographers, Vol. 53 (April, 1963).

Smith, Larry "Space for the CBD'S Function. Journal of the American Institute of Planners, Vol. 27, No. 4 (1961).

Stewart, C.T. "The Size and Spacing of Cities." Geographic Review, Vol. 48 (1958).

Simmons, James "The Changing Pattern of Retail Location." Research Paper No. 92. Department of Geography, University of Chicago, Chicago, Illinois, 1964.

Southern Directories Company, Miller's Greenville City Directory, Asheville: Southern Directory Company, Vol. 4, 1938.

__________, Miller's Greenville City Directory, Asheville: Southern Directory Company, Vol. 8, 1948.

__________, Miller's Greenville City Directory, Asheville: Southern Directory Company, Vol. 13, 1958-59.

Tarver, James D. "Suburbanization of Retail Trade," American Sociological Review, Vol. 22 (1957).

U.S Department of Commerce. Bureau of Census. Statistical Abstract of the United States: 1948. Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1948.

__________. Statistical Abstract of the United States: 1950. Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1950.

__________. Statistical Abstract of the United States: 1960. Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1960.

__________. Statistical Abstract of the United States: 1970. Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1970.

__________. United States Census of American Business: 1948. Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1948.

__________. United States Census of American Business: 1958. Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1958.

__________. United States Census of American Business: 1967. Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1967.

__________. United States Census of Population: 1920. Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1920.

__________. United States Census of Population: 1930. Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1930.

__________. United States Census of Population: 1940. Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1940.

____________________. United States Census of Population: 1950. Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1950.

____________________. United States Census of Population: 1960. Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1960.

____________________. United States Census of Population: 1960. Final Report PC (2), Subject Reports, Mobility for Metropolitan Areas. Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1963.

Vance, J.E., Jr. Review of The Core of the City, by John Rannels. Economic Geography, Vol.33 (1957).

Vernon, R., Changing Economic Function of the Central City." Cahiero de Geographie de Quebec, Vol. 15 (August, 1959).

Webster's New Collegiate Dictionary. Cambridge: G. and C. Merriam Co., 1959.

Weiss, E.B. "New Downtown to Downtown Shopper." Stores, Vol. 50 (February, 1968).

Weiss, Shirley "The CBD in Transition." Research Paper No. 1. Department of City and Regional Planning, University North Carolina, Chapel Hill, North Carolina, 1957.

Woolverton, James A., "An Analysis of the External Trade and Service Areas of Greenville, N. C." Unpublished masters thesis, East Carolina University, 1969.