Historic and Architectural Resources of African-American Neighborhoods in Northeastern Winston-Salem ca. 1900-1947

National Register of Historic Places
Multiple Property Documentation Form

Prepared by

Langdon E. Oppermann
Historic Preservation Planning
1997

PS Form 10-900-b
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United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

National Register of Historic Places
Multiple Property Documentation Form

This form is used for documenting multiple property groups relating to one or several historic contexts. See instructions in How to Complete the Multiple Property Documentation Form (National Register Bulletin 16B). Complete each item by entering the requested information. For additional space, use continuation sheets (Form 10-900-a). Use a typewriter, word processor, or computer to complete all items.

__X__ New Submission ____ Amended Submission

A. Name of Multiple Property Listing

Historic and Architectural Resources of African American Neighborhoods in Northeastern Winston-Salem, North Carolina (ca. 1900-1947)

B. Associated Historic Contexts

(Name each associated historic context, identifying theme, geographical area, and chronological period for each.)

I. African-American Development in Winston Associated with the Launching and Boom in the Tobacco Industry, 1873-1900.

II. The Realization of the African-American Community in Northeast Winston-Salem, 1900-1947

C. Form Prepared by Langdon E. Oppermann, 1997

name/title Langdon Edmunds Oppermann, Preservation and Planning Consultant

street & number 1500 Overbrook Avenue **telephone** 919-721-1949

city or town Winston-Salem **state** North Carolina **zip code** 27104

D. Certification

As the designated authority under the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966, as amended, I hereby certify that this documentation form meets the National Register documentation standards and sets forth requirements for the listing of related properties consistent with the National Register criteria. This submission meets the procedural and professional requirements set forth in 36 CFR Part 60 and the Secretary of the Interior's Standards and Guidelines for Archeology and Historic Preservation. (___ See continuation sheet for additional comments.)

_____ _____

Signature and title of certifying official **Date**

_____

State or Federal agency and bureau

I hereby certify that this multiple property documentation form has been approved by the National Register as a basis for evaluating related properties for listing in the National Register.

_____ _____

Signature of the Keeper **Date**

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Provide the following information on continuation sheets. Cite the letter and the title before each section of the narrative. Assign page numbers according to the instructions for continuation sheets in How to Complete the Multiple Property Documentation Form (National Register Bulletin 16B). Fill in page numbers for each section in the space below.

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Primary Location of Additional Data

_X__ State Historic Preservation Office
___ Other State agency
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SECTION E: ASSOCIATED HISTORIC CONTEXTS

Introduction

Once the city of Winston-Salem was filled with signs of the lively history of its African-American community. There were grand houses along East Fourteenth Street and Depot Street where doctors and lawyers lived. There were offices and printers, cafes and theaters, churches and dance halls, a library, a YWCA, and houses for rich and poor in the Depot Street area, now Patterson Avenue. The smaller houses and the community its residents built told the story of the migration of thousands of sharecroppers to work in the factories of the R.J. Reynolds Tobacco Company. They were followed by teachers, entrepreneurs and other professionals who bought houses and created middle-class neighborhoods as early as the turn of the century. Portions of the East Winston neighborhood, today considered the center of black commercial and cultural life, developed as a white neighborhood in the late nineteenth century. That changed in 1941, when Jasper Carpenter, an African-American chauffeur, bought a house on East Fifth Street. Within a year, his white neighbors moved away, white churches sold their buildings to black congregations, and the neighborhood turnover was complete.

Winston-Salem's unusual and distinctive African-American history was a result of the extraordinary boom period in the city at the close of the nineteenth century and in the early years of the twentieth century when the tobacco industry began its exceptional growth. Prestigious black neighborhoods were developed in the city, largely on the east side. The Depot Street neighborhood was the first, being close to the tobacco factories where most African-Americans worked. It developed into a residential and commercial hub, the birthplace of numerous churches and institutions, and the site of dignified office buildings and dwellings. As the African-American population grew, it expanded to the north and especially to the east, adjoining established white neighborhoods and at times surrounding them. In the 1930s and 1940s, as the population continued to grow, a remarkable turnover occurred as white residents left their eastern neighborhoods and an affluent middle-class of African Americans moved into the houses and churches there. Many of these buildings remain despite continuing development in this century and the destruction brought about by public and private redevelopment projects. They are reminders not only of the exuberance and prosperity which Winston-Salem enjoyed, but of the exceptional opportunity the growing city of Winston-Salem offered to its residents, both black and white, in the first half of this century. African-American history in Winston-Salem is the story of a society composed of a large working-class population, first attracted to the city by burgeoning factory jobs, and the parallel rise of a black professional class whose influence is seen in surviving community landmarks and institutions.

This discussion focuses on African-American neighborhoods within the boundaries of this Multiple Properties Documentation Form (MPDF) and how they developed. Beginning in the 1890s the city's

most successful African-American professionals lived primarily in three neighborhoods: Depot Street (today's Patterson Avenue), Columbian Heights (outside the MPDF boundaries), and East Fourteenth Street. All were characterized by fashionable houses in the popular styles of the time, as well as smaller houses for the less well-to-do. In the East Winston neighborhood, the majority of the earlier dwellings were not built for blacks, but became predominantly so as a growing and increasingly prosperous black population moved into sections of that area and white residents moved out. Reynoldstown was established for employees of the R.J. Reynolds Tobacco Company and, like much of East Winston, was originally occupied by white residents. Smaller neighborhoods also remain; Dreamland Park started as early as the 1920s just outside the city limits, and has always been an African-American neighborhood, while Slater Park and Skyland Park, also built for African Americans, were later developments dating primarily from the 1940s.

I. AFRICAN-AMERICAN DEVELOPMENT IN WINSTON ASSOCIATED WITH THE LAUNCHING AND BOOM IN THE TOBACCO INDUSTRY, 1873-1900.

General Development and Historical Background of Winston and Salem

Early Background

Forsyth County's earliest occupants were Indian tribes who settled along streams and created trading trails paralleling ridge lines. By the early eighteenth century, the Indian population of the area had been severely reduced after the arrival of Europeans brought smallpox and typhus, Indian slavery, and war, and by the early years of the nineteenth century entire tribes had been reduced to insignificant numbers.[1]

The topography and creek system of Forsyth County greatly influenced its white settlement and development. Because inland waterways were inadequate for transportation, land transportation was the only alternative. Travelers followed the Appalachian valleys northeast to southwest. Chiefly for this reason, the piedmont of North Carolina was settled neither by immigrants fresh from Europe nor by those moving west from eastern Carolina. Rather, the area was settled during the eighteenth century mainly by German immigrants from other colonies reaching the area by the "Great Wagon Road" down the valleys from Pennsylvania. Because these were also the principal arteries of trade, contacts with eastern North Carolina, both cultural and economic, were limited.

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[1] NCAIA, Architectural Guide, p. 6; also Smith, Long Lance, p. 14. In 1838, federal and state governments removed at gunpoint 20,000 Cherokees from Alabama, Georgia, Tennessee and North Carolina. They sent the Cherokees west of the Mississippi on a forced march known as the "Trail of Tears." Four thousand Cherokees died on the way. A small group hid in the mountains of western North Carolina; their settlement was later made into an extant reservation.

Salem

The major settlers in present Forsyth County were members of a German-speaking, theocratic group called the Moravians.[2] The Moravians, whose village grew into the city of Winston-Salem, introduced African-Americans to their communities from the start. In 1753 a small band of Moravians reached the area and established the communities of Bethabara and Bethania. A large tract of land known as Wachovia was laid off by the General Assembly in 1755 for the Moravians.[3] In 1763 the Moravian Church elders planned and began building the community of Salem on a site in the center of the Wachovia Tract thought to be a good location for commerce.[4] Salem was laid out in a grid pattern with a central public square, and within only five years had become well established as the trading and farm service center for the Wachovia Tract and surrounding areas.[5] New and improved roads were built in all directions from Salem, facilitating the development of outlying communities, both Moravian and non-Moravian. Within the county the Indians' trail pattern was adopted and improved by the early white settlers; many segments of this trail pattern continued to influence the pattern of development in and around Winston-Salem and remain in use today.[6]

The first Moravians brought African-Americans to Wachovia from Moravian settlements in the Caribbean, where slavery was an integral component of Moravian life and work. Today's apologists assert that slavery was seen by Moravians as an unacceptable institution, and that early Moravians here were opposed to slavery and only used slave labor when it was necessary. However, Jon Sensbach's thorough research of Moravian records shows that the Moravians had no moral opposition to enslaving others; their restrictions against certain uses of slaves were imposed to protect their economy and to shield whites from what they saw as "harmful" influences.[7]

As early as the 1770s, Moravians were increasingly turning to slave labor for help. Sensbach states:

> White Moravians had no moral objection to the institution of slavery. They evangelized heavily to enslaved Africans throughout the West Indies and they believed that

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[2] Taylor, Frontier to Factory, p. 1.

[3] The meaning of the word Wachovia is not known. It may have come from words meaning meadow land, or from the name of Count Zinzendorf's valley in Austria.

[4] Powell, Gazetteer, p. 512. The name Salem, meaning "peace," is said to have been selected by Count Nikolaus Zinzendorf, patron and leader of the Moravian Church, prior to his death in 1760.

[5] NCAIA, Architectural Guide, p. 8.

[6] Ibid., p.6.

[7] Sensbach, A Separate Canaan.

> Christianity enjoined more humanitarian treatment of slaves. But their desire to convert bondsmen to Christianity did not mean they thought slaves should be set free. On the contrary, white Brethren, like most Europeans, believed slavery had been ordained by God, and they interpreted certain passages in the Scriptures to say that *Africans* in particular had been consigned by God to perpetual bondage. This interpretation, combined with a belief in the racial superiority of whites, allowed Moravians to buy slaves to help build the Wachovia settlement.[8]

Still, in the 1770s the slave population in the Wachovia settlement remained small, as in the rest of the piedmont region, numbering only about twenty-five in contrast to the several thousand slaves in eastern North Carolina and in the South Carolina lowcountry. In Salem and generally elsewhere in the Wachovia tract, property and houses were owned by the church and leased or loaned to individual Moravians. Likewise, a similar arrangement existed for slaves. As a rule, individuals were not allowed to own slaves. Instead, the church bought the slaves and rented them out to whites, fearing that too many slaves would put whites out of work, or Moravians rented slaves from other, non-Moravian neighbors.[9] The first *purchase* of a slave by a Moravian recorded in Wachovia was in 1769. It was not until Jacob Meyer came to run the Salem Tavern in the 1770s and brought his slaves Peter and Louisa with him that an individual owned, rather than leased, a slave in Salem proper.[10]

Sensbach's in-depth research indicates that "...the Moravians, despite their declarations of humanitarian treatment of slaves, also used violence on occasion to remind slaves of their 'place.'" Elders attempted to separate the races socially, instructing whites to avoid becoming "too friendly with the Negroes" for fear of their becoming 'fresh:' "The main fault with our Brethren is that they are always with the Negroes in jokes and fun, and the next day they beat them like dogs."[11]

In eighteenth-century Salem, relations between the races were greatly improved if the slaves joined the Moravian church. In so doing, they benefited from greater respect, more humane treatment, and better chance for advancement than otherwise available.[12] Within this context, African Americans took

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[8] Sensbach p. 9. See also Winthrop Jordon, *White Over Black: American Attitudes Toward the Negro 1550-1812* (Chapel Hill, 1968).

[9] Sensbach, p. 10

[10] Interview with Mel White. Until this time, Jacob Meyer had run the tavern in Bethabara. When he was recruited to run Salem's Tavern, great controversy ensued over whether he could bring his slaves. By 1791 when George Washington visited Salem, there were 218 white persons, two "Negro" men, and one Negro woman living in Salem.

[11] Sensbach p. 12. Minutes of *Aufseher Collegium*, the board responsible for the material and financial affairs of the Moravian community, Feb. 7 and April 10, 1776.

[12] Sensbach, p. 38.

advantage of the chance to develop skills as craftsmen, contributing to the Moravian reputation as among the finest craftsmen in the South.[13] During this time, black church members shared their lives with white Brethren, worshipped together in their churches, and were buried next to whites in the graveyard, God's Acre. By the late eighteenth century, however, Moravians were becoming more aware of the attitude of neighboring non-Moravians toward African Americans and were feeling pressure to conform to the black-white relations practiced by outsiders.[14] Although in the Moravian churches blacks had typically been requested to "come and sit among the white people," by 1789 the Moravians "show[ed] them to a back bench."[15] Interestingly, a few years later in 1792 Moravian records expressed concern over the "different treatment" of African Americans.

In the first half of the nineteenth century many changes occurred in Salem as a result of increased exposure to non-Moravian influences. Both the attitudes and the rules of the Salem community began to change, including attitudes towards African Americans. White Moravians began distancing themselves from blacks in the churches, until blacks were excluded altogether. Even in Salem, where the early Moravians had anticipated an impartial and just religious community, society became more racially stratified, as it was elsewhere. Slavery became more deeply entrenched, and this worried the Church.[16] In an 1814 meeting, church elders decided that slavery diminished the work ethic of whites and an existing rule prohibiting Negroes in Salem was confirmed. Nevertheless, by the 1820s some individual Moravians owned slaves against the Church's rule, and other changes in attitude were becoming evident.[17]

Segregation in the Moravian community had taken over, as blacks were separated out of both the church and the graveyard. The last black Moravian known to have been buried in God's Acre, alongside whites, was the slave Peter Oliver in 1810. And in 1822 the Salem Female Missionary Society was formed with one of its chief missions being to organize religious work among African Americans. Perhaps the Society's chief accomplishment was creation of a separate congregation for blacks -- segregation in the churches -- and a small log church consecrated in 1823. A few years later the Society began a "Sunday School for Negroes" and taught reading, writing and studying the Bible. This lasted only a short time before being discontinued in 1830 when the General Assembly passed a law reinforcing a clause in the

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[13] Sensbach, "African-Americans in Salem," p. 38.

[14] Taylor, Frontier to Factory, pp. 18-19; Fries and others, Records of the Moravians, vol. VII; and Fries and others, History of a County.

[15] Fries and others, Records of the Moravians, vol. V, p. 2276.

[16] Sensbach, "African-Americans in Salem," p. 36.

[17] Taylor, Frontier to Factory, p. 19, and Fries and others, History of a County, p. 104.

slave code which prohibited education for slaves. The law did not prohibit education for free blacks, but lack of funds and opportunity had the same effect.[18]

As Moravians became more assimilated into the culture of the surrounding South, even the church elders expressed concern over what their neighbors thought of them: "In a slaveholding state most of the visitors....expect colored people to serve them as they are generally used to them...."[19] The church elders also found it increasingly difficult to enforce their rules against slavery. In 1836 the Salem Cotton Company, owned by Moravian businessman Francis Fries and Moravian stockholders, began operation using slave labor. By 1847, after almost a century of agitation, and after finding it more and more difficult to enforce Salem's slave rules, the church abolished all restrictions on the buying or owning of slaves.[20] Moreover, in Salem in 1856 the Moravian Church abolished its control over private businesses, land ownership, and residency, and by the end of that year by Act of the General Assembly, Salem was incorporated as a North Carolina municipality. By this time, at least four major industrial establishments had developed on the outside of Salem.[21]

Early Growth of the African-American Community in Winston

The new town of Winston was created in the mid-nineteenth century era of industrial development and population growth. In 1849 when Forsyth County was carved out of Stokes County, the Moravian Church in Salem sold a fifty-one-acre tract just north of town to be the new county seat.[22] Named Winston in 1851, the town was laid out in an extension of Salem's grid pattern. The original Winston plan was bounded generally by present First and Seventh streets, and by Spring and Depot streets (Depot

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[18] Taylor, Frontier to Factory, p. 19. Taylor cites Nora Lea Rogers Reese, "The Moravian Attitude toward the Negro and Slavery," (typewritten ms Duke Univ., 1966) p. 11, and Jerry L. Cross to Jerry Cashion (historians at N.C. Division of Archives and History), Memo, Feb. 4, 1981, p. 3.

[19] Statement by the Aufseher Collegium cited in Fries and others History of a County, p. 105.

[20] Fries and others, History of a County, pp. 105-106.

[21] NCAIA, Architectural Guide, p. 9; also Fries and others, History of a County, pp. 98-100. Establishments were west of Salem (Salem Cotton Manufacturing Company, 1836, on what is now Brookstown Avenue), in Waughtown (Nissen Wagon Works, 1834), and south of Salem (Fries Woolen Mill, ca. 1840; F. and H. Fries Company, 1846; and Spach Wagon Works, 1854).

[22] Taylor, Frontier to Factory, pp. 2-3; and Powell, Gazetteer, p. 540. Salem itself had refused the offer to become the county seat in an attempt to protect the religious community from outside influences. The new county was named for Colonel Benjamin Forsyth, a Stokes County hero in the War of 1812. Winston was named for Major Joseph Winston (1746-1814), a Revolutionary leader and, like Forsyth, a Stokes County native.

is today's Patterson Avenue). Outlying development continued the pattern of Indian and early white roads.[23]

The new town of Winston, together with the coming of the railroad, was to transform the area from domestic enterprise to industry and mass production. The 1850 census for Forsyth County shows a small, diverse industrial base in an overwhelmingly agricultural county.[24] All told, the industries employed almost 300 people. Almost all of those workers were white, as were most of the rest of the 11,000 county residents. Slaves and free blacks made up less than fourteen percent of the population, and most were on farms where the majority of county residents lived and worked.[25] In 1850, piedmont farmers were more concerned with subsistence crops than they were with staples, such as cotton or tobacco. Corn, wheat, and rye were the major crops produced from Forsyth's 51,000 acres of improved farmland. King Tobacco had not yet arrived. As late as 1860 the total number of slaves in the towns of Winston and Salem was only slightly over three hundred.[26] Just after the Civil War in 1867 the principal products of Winston remained wheat and dried fruits and berries. Local manufacturing was confined to three wagon works, a textile mill, flour mill and two carriage works in the three towns of Salem, Winston, and Waughtown.[27] By 1870 Winston was still a small town with a population of only 473, and tobacco manufacturing as an industry was as yet unknown.

Growth came suddenly to Winston. In 1873 the railroad connection from Greensboro was completed, and by 1880, after the explosion of the tobacco industry, Winston's population multiplied to 2,854 and then almost quadrupled by 1890.[28] The rail connection attracted new entrepreneurs and a new era to the city, providing jobs and opportunity, and it made possible the successes of the African-American population it drew.[29] Among the more enthusiastic of the new entrepreneurs was Richard Joshua Reynolds, a young man who left his father's tobacco company in Virginia to come to Winston in 1873 because he had learned of Winston's railroad connection and of its brand new tobacco sales warehouse.

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[23] NCAIA, Architectural Guide, p. 8.

[24] These included grist mills, sawmills, wagon factories, tanneries, cotton and woolen mills, iron foundries, and bakeries.

[25] 1850 census.

[26] By contrast, at the same time one family in Wilmington owned more than 200 slaves. Brownlee, p. 49.

[27] Brownlee, p. 51.

[28] Census records and Smith, Industry and Commerce, p. 5.

[29] Winston and Salem profited tremendously from the completion of the Northwest N.C. Railroad extension from Greensboro in 1873 and other railroad connections made later in the 1870s. A year earlier in 1872, Hamilton Scales had established the city's first tobacco factory, Major T. J. Brown opened the city's first tobacco warehouse, and P.H. Hanes established a plug tobacco factory. In the same year a construction company and lumber company were started in this still small town.

Reynolds immediately bought a lot next to the railroad tracks east of town on Depot Street, now Patterson Avenue, and built a red, two-story wooden factory. He hired twelve seasonal workers and was in business.

To expand in his second year he borrowed money and by 1876 his worth was between $20,000 and $30,000. By his third season he doubled the size of his factory and employed seventy-five people. He was not without competition: a dozen new tobacco makers opened their doors in Winston between 1874 and 1879.[30] Reynolds and others like him thus contributed to the rapid transformation of the two small country towns to an industrial city. Reynolds continued to enlarge his plant every two years, and within four decades his firm had one hundred buildings, a work force of 10,000, and millions of dollars in profits.[31] R.J. Reynolds was known for his almost total dependence upon black labor and his company sent trains to South Carolina and eastern North Carolina to bring back factory workers.[32] Many were black tenant farmers lured by stories of ready pay and steady work; Reynolds's trains returned them to their families each weekend. As these African Americans came for what were then seasonal jobs, they settled in the north and eastern parts of the small city, especially in the Depot Street area around the new Reynolds factories. These temporary workers lived in rows of small quarters near the factories and the train tracks.

Chiefly because of the burgeoning tobacco industry, the two towns' businesses grew rapidly throughout the 1870s, as did the county's. In 1872 Forsyth County's population was 13,050 with eighty-nine businesses. Only five years later the county had grown by thirty-eight percent to 18,000 with 102 businesses.[33] By the decade's end the first telephones were installed and Wachovia National Bank was founded. Winston's boom gained speed in the 1880s. In 1880, seven years after the coming of the railroad, Winston had eleven tobacco factories; by 1888 it had twenty-six.[34] The thousands of people flooding to town to work in the factories created an equal demand for housing and for services. By now, African Americans made up about forty percent of the population, and that figure generally remained steady as the population continued to grow. The neighborhoods near the tobacco factories expanded, and it is believed that a few small African-American businesses were started.

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[30] Reynolds and Shachtman, Gilded Leaf, p. 42.

[31] Glenn, "W-S Riot of 1918," and Nathans, Quest for Progress, p. 65.

[32] Brownlee, p. 49, and Dunston, Struggle for Equality, p. 6.

[33] Branson, Business Directory, 1872, pp. 93-95, and 1877, pp. 115-117. In 1872 Branson listed 26 manufacturies, 39 merchants, and 24 mills. By 1877 there were 76 manufacturies, 102 merchants, and 31 mills.

[34] Tise, Building and Architecture, p. 22.

Prosperity continued. In 1887 electric street lights were turned on in Winston, and after much effort the Roanoke and Southern Railroad (now the Norfolk and Western) connected Winston to the important tobacco cities of Danville and Richmond, Virginia, in 1889. Another line extended westward to North Wilkesboro.[35] These additional railways generated additional depots near the factories on Depot Street.[36] Winston had become an important regional city. Its tobacco industry was growing and maturing, and two railroads now carried its products to outside markets.

The 1890s were a decade of continued growth and expansion of Winston and Salem as the city's population approached 14,000. The black population in Winston more than doubled in ten years. Racial harmony was strained as the influx of blacks threatened the white power structure. A race riot in 1895 confirmed the fears of many whites, and the town council began to enact laws making it difficult for African-Americans to vote.[37] Additional tobacco factories were established, thirty-seven in 1894 in Winston alone.[38] Winston was also developing other industries: foundries, textiles, tobacco, and furniture were the core of its success. African Americans were involved in all of these industries except textiles, which hired only white textile workers.

Patterns of Neighborhood Development

A number of factors influenced the locations of African-American neighborhoods, including racial segregation, topography, transportation, relationship to workplace, and existing development in the city. While Winston-Salem's growth and prosperity benefitted blacks as well as whites, the lives of the two races were separate and far from equal. This is clearly evident from laws enacted in the early decades of this century, although social rules and patterns had a greater impact on the residential areas available to blacks. After the Civil War blacks had been endowed with certain privileges of freedom through federal law in the 1870s, enabling talented blacks to be trained and employed as skilled artisans through the 1890s. Political changes at the turn of the century lessened these gains when the 1898 elections restored white supremacy to North Carolina.[39] The victorious Democratic Party reinforced white supremacy through the enactment of poll taxes, grandfather clauses, and other disenfranchising measures

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[35] Taylor, Frontier to Factory, p. 37, and Fries and others, History of a County, p. 189.

[36] The two adjoining towns, known as the "Twin Cities," became increasingly interdependent so that in 1879 and again in 1885 the General Assembly authorized the combining of Winston and Salem. The drive to combine the two towns grew stronger; however, it was not until a popular vote of the people in 1913 that the two cities were formally joined and Winston-Salem, the name used for years, became its official name.

[37] Winston-Salem Journal, 9/26/1991.

[38] Tise, Building and Architecture, p. 22.

[39] Nathans, Quest for Progress, p. 81.

which set back the movement for equality of blacks for several generations, making opportunities increasingly restricted after 1900.[40]

Segregation also had direct effects on housing. In his book The Strange Career of Jim Crow, C. Vann Woodward identifies methods by which cities developed patterns of mandated segregation. In 1912 Winston-Salem was among the earliest cities to follow the method invented in Richmond, Virginia, of designating blocks throughout the city black or white according to the majority of the residents of the block, forbidding any person to live in any block "where the majority of residents on such streets are occupied by those with whom said person is forbidden to intermarry."[41] In Winston-Salem, although the ordinance was thrown out within a year, the city was becoming more racially segregated with each decade. Other cities followed the same course, becoming equally segregated in their housing patterns.

The more prevalent method for segregation of neighborhoods was accomplished simply by the differences in the economic status of blacks and whites. This was true in the large majority of American cities, as well as in Winston-Salem, where most black neighborhoods were in the "bottoms," or the low-lying and marshy lands near streams. These were the least desirable living areas: prone to flooding, invaded by mosquitoes, rats, and snakes for over half the year, and hotter than the higher elevations which received a breeze. The names of several early black neighborhoods in Winston-Salem included the word "Bottom," and even much of the finer early black neighborhoods, such as Columbian Heights, were built on floodplains.

Changes in transportation also had a strong influence on housing patterns in Winston and Salem. In the late nineteenth century in the days before the automobile, black and white and rich and poor lived side by side, not as equals but at least in juxtaposition as neighbors. The wealthy whites preferred to live close to downtown with their black servants and employees nearby. Generally the wealthier families lived on main streets and their less-well-off neighbors lived on the side streets. Because of limited transportation, residential areas for both races were within walking distance of workplaces. Until the latter part of the nineteenth century, residential development was generally confined to the areas included within the Winston and Salem plats and the areas immediately surrounding the mills in North Winston and East Winston, West Salem, Southside, and Waughtown. Incoming black workers settled in small clusters of houses nestled around the numerous tobacco factories in the northern and eastern parts of the city, and industrial establishments developed adjacent mill villages to house their employees.[42] The

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[40] Reynolds and Shachtman, Gilded Leaf, p. 66, also Nathans, Quest for Progress, p. 3.

[41] Woodward, Jim Crow, p. 100. There was a movement in North Carolina in 1913 to segregate the races in rural districts. In addition, North Carolina was one of two states requiring that textbooks used by the public school children of one race be kept separate from those used by the other (p. 102).

[42] Smith, Long Lance, pp. 4 and 13; and Dunston, Struggle for Equality, p. 7.

Depot Street area adjacent to the tobacco factories bordered the railroad tracks, factories, a stone-cutting establishment, and a guano warehouse.[43]

The face of the city changed during the 1890s. The young town of Winston was becoming one of the leading industrial powers of the New South that was emerging from the ashes of the Civil War. In 1897 the impressive new Romanesque Revival courthouse was completed, and a hydroelectric dam was built west of the city to supply, for the first time in the state, long-distance electric power to the city and its industries. By this time, residential areas for both races were well established close to their work places. New methods of transportation in the 1890s changed the city's housing pattern and outward expansion began in earnest. The streetcar lines opened in Winston and Salem, leading to the development of exclusive, predominantly white suburbs such as West End (west of Winston) and Washington Park (south of Salem), which were developed along the cities' new streetcar lines and boasted paved streets and electric lights. Wealthy whites left the center city for these suburbs, thus widening the social gulf between classes and further separating the races. These new higher-income residential developments for whites grew to the west and south on higher elevations and away from employment centers and the developing commercial center surrounding the courthouse. Small "pocket neighborhoods" developed within these new suburbs where African Americans who worked as maids, cooks, gardeners, and chauffeurs lived. The neighborhood of East Winston, between First and Seventh streets east of downtown, also developed as a stable white residential area.

Across town to the east, African Americans were building their own neighborhoods and institutions. A key area of African-American development which began in the 1870s was along Depot Street–today's Patterson Avenue–just as the tobacco industry was launched. The neighborhood's continued development coincided with the rise of that booming industry. Although much of the Depot Street area was razed in the 1960s, an historical picture of the area emerges from Sanborn maps. The first Sanborn maps of Winston and Salem were made in 1880, but did not include the still-emerging Depot Street. The second set of maps, made in 1885, was the first to show some of the Depot Street area, where three frame tobacco factories were already in operation in the block bounded by Church and Chestnut, Fifth and Sixth streets.[44] Others were to the south between Depot and Chestnut streets. Of interest are the "Tenem'ts," boarding houses, lunch rooms, and grocery stores that were already present. By 1890 other portions of Chestnut Street were lined with tobacco factories, with one block of Chestnut Street showing seven buildings used by three tobacco companies.[45] The Northwestern North Carolina (NWNC) Passenger Depot was a three-part, hipped-roof building just east of the tracks between Third and Fourth streets (now

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[43] Sanborn Maps.

[44] H. Scales Tobac. Fac., T.F. Williamson & Son Plug & Twist Tobac. M'F'G., and Bitting & Whitaker Tobac. Fac.

[45] The three were N.S. & T. J. Wilson's Tobacco Factory, T.F. Williamson & Co. Plug & Twist Tobacco M'F'G., and W.A. Whitaker Tobacco Factory. One block south were Bailey Bros Tob. Factory and Brown and Bro. Tabac [sic] Factory, with its warehouse to the east.

demolished.) The "electric street railway" also ran here. Warehouses, two ice houses, and several "shanties" and tenements surrounded the depot. The map distinguished some of these as "Negro Tenements."

The Sanborn maps give more information by 1895, when heavy clustering of tobacco factories and warehouses in this area continued, and groups of buildings throughout the area are labelled as "Negro Tenements." These tenements were near the trestle, the coal yard, the stone-cutters, and near the three depots from which Depot Street took its name. The Southern Railroad Passenger Depot (NWNC Division) stood on the west side of the tracks, just east of Chestnut Street between Third and Fourth streets. Farther south was the Norfolk and Western Depot, serving both freight and passengers, and nearby, the freight depot of Southern Railroad, known as the Salem Depot. Large covered platforms extended to the north.

Twenty or more tobacco factories and warehouses are shown on maps of the Depot Street area alone in 1895 including those of R.J. Reynolds, Brown Brothers Company, and T.F. Williamson and Company. Some of these companies remain in the area today. By this time the Sanborn maps clearly show that a significant African-American presence had been established north of the cluster of tobacco factories. As black settlement expanded to the north, so did the areas included in the Sanborn Maps. From north of Seventh Street, numerous "Negro Tenements" are shown, but the maps now also show rows of Negro dwellings, including two-story row houses with front bay windows on Depot Street, and large two-story houses on sizeable lots with dependencies, facing Chestnut Street north of Seventh. Two "Colored" schools, including the Depot Street School, at least three Negro churches, and a Negro hotel (Hotel Bethel) on a single map indicate this was a populated residential section, housing poorer residents as well as those with some means.

The 1900 Sanborn Map shows, in a block between Depot and Chestnut streets, tobacco factories surrounded by tiny one-story square dwellings. To the west were buildings of the R.J. Reynolds Tobacco Company. By 1912, all the dwellings on that block had been demolished for factory expansion. Other larger one- and two-story houses, however, were being built slightly north, from Fifth to Eighth streets, in the expanding neighborhood. The 1917 Sanborn Map shows Chestnut and Depot streets lined with houses, as are the streets around them. On one side of Chestnut were small houses, on the other were large houses, while Depot Street was lined primarily with duplexes.[46]

An Emerging Middle Class

It is well known that Winston and Salem's rapid expansion provided jobs for whites; less recognized is that that held true for African Americans as well, and at all socio-economic levels. African Americans did not just hold industrial jobs. As Adelaide Fries states, "Making their way within the oppressive and

[46] 1917 Sanborn Map, p. 50.

discriminatory conditions typical of the post-Reconstruction South, a number of black individuals achieved some success and prominence. Receiving occasional but crucial assistance from the white community--also typical of post-Reconstruction black-white relations--blacks began to establish businesses, enter professions, provide services, and work for the improvement of their own community."[47]

As early as the 1880s, Winston-Salem was known as a place of unusual possibility for African Americans. Like Durham, Winston-Salem had a reputation as an area of social, economic, and professional opportunity for blacks, and many with ambition came from around the South as Winston-Salem and its Depot Street neighborhood became home to a prosperous and growing black middle class. Humphrey H. Hall graduated from Leonard Medical School at Shaw University in 1887 and came to Winston to become the first black physician to practice there. After a few years, he wrote to his friend, John Fitts, then a law student at Shaw, suggesting that Winston was a good place for a young lawyer to become established. Fitts arrived in 1892 or 1893 as the first black lawyer, and soon encouraged another young lawyer, James S. Lanier, to settle here. Other lawyers and doctors followed, each making their contributions to the fast-changing community. Dr. Hall built a fine two-story house on Seventh Street next to the Hotel Bethel a block from Depot Street, and opened his office in the same neighborhood, later constructing the Hall Building in 1913, one of the neighborhood's premier office and commercial buildings. Lanier came to Winston sometime between 1895 and 1898, when he joined Rev. J.T. Gibbons and Dr. J.W. Jones as owner, editor, and publisher of *The Herald*, a newspaper especially for African Americans. He lived near Dr. Hall on Chestnut Street across from Lloyd Presbyterian Church, where he also built a two-story house. Lanier was a member of Lloyd Church and founder of Grace Presbyterian Church. He became a respected civil and criminal lawyer, and on Chestnut Street he brought up a son who became United States Ambassador to Liberia.[48] Dr. Jones not only worked with Lanier on the newspaper, but shared office space with him on Main Street. Jones was a prominent African-American physician. A native of Warrenton, he was, like Dr. Hall, an early graduate of Shaw University. He came to Winston at least by December 1891 and, in addition to his successful medical career, was active in the community, particularly in the Depot Street neighborhood where he lived. He was president of the Citizens Bank and Trust Company, an African-American enterprise, and was for seventeen years the Grand Chancellor of the Knights of Pythias of North Carolina, whose Winston-Salem building was built in 1902 on Jones's property, replacing the Hotel Bethel.[49]

Perhaps the most amazing is the story of Simon Atkins. Simon Green Atkins (1863-1934), a well-educated black man born in Chatham County, came here from Livingstone College in Salisbury in 1890 to be principal of the Depot Street School (Colored Graded School), then the largest and most important

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[47] Fries, pp. 256-257.

[48] Society for the Study of Afro-American History (SSAH) 1996 calendar, city directories, Sanborn maps, interviews.

[49] Obituary 5/4/1928; death certificate; Lloyd Presbyterian Church session records (Jones joined 1/18/1891).

public school for blacks in the state.[50] In Salisbury, Atkins had been head of the grammar school department for six years and for two years the treasurer of the college. He had been one of the founders of the North Carolina Negro Teachers' Association, organized in 1881, which he served for several terms as secretary and as president until 1927. Atkins had an immediate impact on the community. In January of 1891, only one year after moving here, he appeared before the local Board of Trade to request assistance for establishing a Negro college, and suggested the development of a suburb for the increasing number of black professionals in the city.[51] The purpose was to promote black home ownership. Atkins was successful. On June 3, 1891, the Inside Land and Improvement Company was incorporated by eleven prominent white men who assembled the land that was to become the Columbian Heights suburb.[52] A plat was drawn in 1892 by Jacob Lott Ludlow, the city engineer who also drew the plats for the white suburbs of West End and Washington Park.

The development was a success. Columbian Heights soon became *the* place for African Americans to live. City directories from the first decades of this century show among its residents lawyers, doctors, teachers, ministers, as well as skilled craftsmen. Simon Atkins appears to have been one of its first residents, living on Cromartie Street by 1892.[53] That year he started Slater Industrial Academy, beginning classes in a one-room, frame structure with twenty-five students and one teacher.[54] Black citizens had raised $2,000 of the $2,500 required by the state legislature, and R.J. Reynolds contributed the remaining $500, apparently his first direct contribution to the African-American community. The academy had already been deeded a lot by the Inside Company in September 1892 when it was chartered.[55]

In 1895 Atkins resigned from the Depot Street School to work full time with Slater, which by then was called the Slater Normal and Industrial School. It came under state supervision that year and received a legislative charter in 1897. The school grew rapidly and expanded under Atkins's leadership until the state bought the property in 1905 and took full control.[56] In 1925 it became the Winston-Salem Teachers' College, with a curriculum including four years of college work and concentrating on advanced

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[50] Steele, "Key Events," p. 23. The frame school was built by the city in 1887.

[51] Powell, Dictionary of N.C. Biography, vol. I, p. 60, and Tilley, The R.J. Reynolds Tobacco Company, p. 524.

[52] Corporation Deed Book 1, pp. 72-74.

[53] Fries, History of a County, p. 273.

[54] Davis, Black Historical Sites, p. 178. The school was named for John F. Slater, a white New York philanthropist who donated money to support it.

[55] Tilley, R.J. Reynolds Tobacco Company, p. 524, and Deed Book 39, p. 401 (9/1/1892).

[56] Powell, Dictionary of N.C. Biography, vol. I, p. 60.

education for teachers and principals for the black elementary schools of the state. It is said to have been the first African-American institution in the United States to grant degrees for teaching in the elementary grades. Atkins served as president until his retirement shortly before his death in 1934, when he was succeeded by his son, Francis L. Atkins.[57] In 1969 the school was given university status by the state and named Winston-Salem State University (WSSU). The Columbian Heights neighborhood has not fared as well. The success and expansion of WSSU through the years dictated demolition of parts of its neighborhood, and in 1992 the remaining blocks were demolished. Today portions of two blocks remain, including Dr. Atkins's house which is listed in the National Register (NR 1987).[58]

Linwood W. Kyles was also attracted by Winston-Salem's reputation. He later became bishop and a leader of interdenominational and interracial organizations throughout the country, and a member of the executive committee of the Federal Council of Churches in America. He addressed the world Christian Endeavor Conference in Budapest in 1936; he was the only Negro delegate from America and was officially chosen as one of the speakers for the United States delegation. Kyles lived on Depot Street in his early years in Winston, later moving to an impressive house on East Fourteenth Street and acquiring significant real estate.

Depot Street developed as a strong educational and religious center in the late nineteenth century, and there is considerable documentation of the early churches here. St. Paul's Methodist Episcopal began in the latter part of May, 1871, under a brush arbor near Liberty Street, as the first church, black or white, organized in the town of Winston (as opposed to Salem).[59] The congregation built a church on Seventh Street west of Chestnut between 1879 and 1886, but the land soon was wanted by the Southern Railroad. According to tradition, the Reverend Isaac Wells, who twice pastored the church, refused permission, so the end of a crosstie was built right up against the church's foundation, giving it the name "The Church on the Railroad." It was said that passing trains caused great noise and vibration, but services never stopped.[60] The 1895 and 1900 Sanborn Maps show a "Negro Church" and "St. Paul's ME Church (Colored)" on the south side of Seventh Street touching the line depicting the Southern Railroad track. One- and two-story dwellings are nearby. In the 1890s, three churches spun off from St. Paul's. These were Saints Home United Methodist (1893, in the Boston Cottages neighborhood), Mt.

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[57] Powell, Dictionary of N.C. Biography, vol. I, p. 60.

[58] Slater Hospital was another, less successful venture in the neighborhood. It was founded in 1902 as the first hospital to serve African Americans in Winston-Salem. Booker T. Washington was once guest speaker before the hospital closed in 1912. Dr. Atkins also participated in establishing the Columbian Heights Graded School in 1905.

[59] Brush arbors were generally roughly hewn wooden structures with crude benches. The Reverend J.C. Alston, later pastor of Lloyd Presbyterian Church, helped establish St. Paul's, although he was not its pastor. The white Winston Baptist Church was organized on Sept. 22, 1871, at the Forsyth County Courthouse, with an itinerant missionary preaching twice a month, first at the courthouse and later in a schoolhouse. The first church building was built by 1876.

[60] Oliver, Smith, and Ashley, unpublished memoir.

Pleasant Methodist Church (1892, East Fourteenth Street neighborhood), St. Andrews Grace United Methodist, St. James Church, and Mays Chapel in Happy Hill.[61]

Also originating in the Depot Street area was Winston-Salem's first black Baptist Church, built in 1882. The congregation had earlier worshipped at the homes of friends, in the woods in outdoor arbors, and in Hinshaw's Hall, a community building which stood at the corner of Fourth and Depot.[62] With the help of Dr. Henry A. Brown, pastor of the white First Baptist Church, the congregation organized in 1879 and asked the Reverend George W. Holland of Franklin, Virginia, to come to Winston to help establish the church. Holland had organized several churches in Virginia before moving to Winston. He and his members bought a lot in 1879 at Sixth and Chestnut streets for $75 with the help of the Moravian Church (United Brethren of Salem). In 1882 a wooden church was built there, a block from St. Paul's on Sixth Street near Chestnut.[63] The frame building stood on brick pillars and faced Sixth Street. In the mid- 1880s, the basement was enclosed and the city's Graded School System was organized there until completion of the Depot Street School in 1887. At this time the building was turned to face Chestnut Street. Baptisms were held in Belo's Pond near the site where Union Baptist Church now stands on Northwest Boulevard. The 1900 Sanborn Map shows a small frame church, "Baptist Church (Colored)," facing Chestnut Street. It also shows a larger church with the same notation, this one facing Sixth Street and showing two front corner towers. The note "not finished" indicates the congregation in 1900 was building a new, larger church just around the corner from the smaller church. Church records use 1902 as the date of this new church, and photographs show a large stylish brick church with Gothic stained glass windows and tall peaked spires. The stately building attests to the success and sophistication of Winston-Salem's African-American community at the turn of the century.

Among other churches started here is the earliest remaining building in the area, Lloyd Presbyterian Church at 748 Chestnut Street. It is one of only two churches still standing in the area. Lloyd is believed to have been founded in the early 1870s when the black members of the predominantly white First Presbyterian Church asked the church for letters of dismissal so they could join the Negro Church of Winston, a black Presbyterian Church affiliated with the northern Presbyterians.[64] Church records

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[61] St. Paul's History, 1976.

[62] In interviews, the author was told Hinshaw's Hall stood on the corner of 4th and Chestnut. However, the 1890 Sanborn Map shows a "Hall; Open Under" at 4th and Depot, whereas near the corner of 4th and Chestnut was a guano warehouse at the end of a railroad spur (SM 1890 and 1895).

[63] Society for Study of Afro-American History (SSAH), 1994 calendar; and Winston-Salem Journal, 11/12/1996.

[64] Interview, Elizabeth "Lovie" West. The earliest extant set of minutes from the church dates from 1886.

document that the members held services and Sunday School in Citizens Hall in the community until they built the church later known as Lloyd Presbyterian.[65] Members and friends are said to have built the church themselves. Women nailed the weatherboards on the outside as high up as they could reach, according to oral history, and the men finished the job at the top. During research of the church for preparation of this Form and the National Register nomination, it was determined from Sunday School minutes and Sanborn Maps that a small first church was built, probably in 1894, and the new, current Lloyd Presbyterian Church built between 1900 and 1907. The oldest black church building in Winston-Salem outside of the Moravian tradition and the finest Carpenter Gothic-style structure in Forsyth County, the well-preserved building features pointed-arch windows, frame interpretations of buttresses, a recessed apse, and a square steeple with a bellcast roof. Lloyd Church's building illustrates that there was an interest in and awareness of contemporary decorative trends in Winston's black community at the turn of the century.

Lloyd Church is credited with establishing a parochial school under the leadership of George H. Willis. In her history of the county, Adelaide Fries notes that Willis established a private graded school for blacks prior to World War I in the Citizen's Building, or Citizen's Hall, near Lloyd Church and Chestnut Street. He served as principal and his wife, Hattie, was a teacher.[66] The building is included in city directories as early as 1889-1890. The school operated until 1934.

Like St. Paul's, First Baptist, and Lloyd, St. James African Methodist Episcopal Church was established in the Depot Street neighborhood. It was begun in 1877 as an offshoot of St. Paul's Methodist Episcopal Church and organized formally in 1882 on Chestnut Street between First and Second streets. It quickly moved to the corner of Depot and Fourth Street where it remained until 1886. By 1888 St. James was again in a new building, on Third Street between Maple Street and Ridge Avenue, and there were several additional moves to come. The congregation continues today.[67]

Still more important churches clustered in the Depot Street area. Goler Memorial African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church at 630 Patterson Avenue remains an active church today. Founded as the Winston Tabernacle African Methodist Episcopal (AME) Church in 1881, it held its first worship service in the Forsyth County Court House. For the next several years the congregation moved from one place to another in the Depot Street neighborhood. Its first site was at Fourth and Chestnut streets; the next was at Third and Depot; then by 1886 it moved to a one-room log structure on Eighth Street. By 1895 the

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[65] Lloyd Church history, and Winston-Salem Journal, 9/15/91.

[66] Fries, History of a County, p. 272.

[67] SSAH 1994 calendar. In 1964, urban renewal forced the congregation to move to its current location farther north on Patterson Avenue near 15th Street, in a handsome brick building across from the city's new main post office.

Sanborn map shows the "Negro Methodist Church" on its present site on the southwest corner of (then) Depot and Seventh streets on land given to the congregation by Dr. W. H. Goler.[68]

Other African-American residential areas were developed during this 1890s decade of expansion. Among them was Boston Cottages, an area northwest of the city developed by the Boston Cottages Company, an investment company of fifteen white men chartered in 1892. Unlike other similar charters, the wording of the Boston Cottages charter includes the phrase "to erect cottages," indicating that housing was to be aimed at a lower income group than, for instance, Columbian Heights. Plats of the grid plan neighborhood were drawn in 1891 and 1894, and the area is shown on the 1895 Sanborn Index Map. For the most part, the Boston Cottages neighborhood was always occupied by African Americans. Most were renters but there were black owners as well in this neighborhood of one-story, small to medium-sized frame houses. Adelaide Fries notes that "there was a county school for Negroes located in Boston (Kimberly Park) [sic] and one on the south side of town as well."[69] Early tax maps and the two plat maps described above show an L-shaped "colored school" or "School House" on what would be today the southwest corner of Grant and Taft avenues. After 1900 a small neighborhood of white textile workers grew up south of Boston Cottages near today's Thurmond Street. Boston Cottages is outside the boundaries of this MPDF.

II. The Realization of the African-American Community in Neighborhoods in Northeastern Winston-Salem, 1900 to 1947.

The growth of Winston-Salem continued in the new century, and the city's black population grew at a rate equal to the white. In 1900, the city was forty percent black with 5,500 African Americans. Tobacco factories became increasingly mechanized after 1909 and work became year-round rather than seasonal, bringing more workers and more permanent housing. By 1910 total population had increased by sixty-six percent, with blacks remaining at about forty percent of the total, or 9,000, indicating a parallel sixty-six percent growth in the black population. The rapid growth continued, increasing by over 113% to 48,000 in 1920, and was second only to Baltimore in a federal index of industrial cities in the South.[70] African Americans were at almost forty-three percent, indicating an even larger growth in the black population. By 1930 Forsyth County had grown from one of the smallest in the state to one of the most populous. Winston-Salem showed an increase of fifty-five percent over 1920 and the proportion of blacks held steady at forty-three percent with about 33,000 blacks in the city in 1930. Since 1915 Winston-Salem had been the largest city between Atlanta and Washington, D.C., but by 1930 Charlotte's

[68] SSAH 1994 calendar. Goler later became bishop and president of Livingstone College.

[69] Fries, History of a County, p. 272.

[70] Hood, "Winston-Salem's Suburbs: West End to Reynolda Park," in Bishir & Earley, Early Suburbs, p. 64.

factories.[76] Two years later the Moravian Bishop in his annual *Memorabilia* stated that "In the tobacco industry 1917 is the greatest year the city has seen. Sales have come to be thrice instead of twice a day at each of the warehouses....Wages have been increased again and again [for] the ordinary day laborer in the tobacco factories ...."[77] The city's financial success was at its height in the 1920s. With the influx of new residents vast business and professional opportunities opened, and Winston-Salem became home to a prosperous and growing black middle class. Living in the city were African-American attorneys, physicians, dentists, ministers, factory workers, barbers, restaurant owners, grocers, dry cleaners, funeral directors, woodworkers, chauffeurs, domestic servants, insurance agents, teachers and others, with the center of African-American life in the Depot Street area just east of downtown where Reynolds's first tobacco workers had created a community.[78] Winston was known in the southeast, as was Durham, as a place of opportunity for blacks *and* whites, and people came here from all around, especially South Carolina and Virginia as well as North Carolina.[79]

With the beginning of the Depression after the Crash of 1929, construction slowed throughout most of North Carolina. Deed abstracts show a large number of houses passing into the ownership of banks, mortgage and real estate concerns. Even so, Winston-Salem was not hit as hard as many communities. Indeed, "with millions of unemployed Americans smoking cigarettes, Reynolds and other tobacco companies thrived. In 1931 Fortune magazine celebrated the firm's status as 'America's most profitable tobacco concern,' with profits of some $300 million a year."[80] As a result, there were jobs in the city's tobacco factories and none of the city's major industries folded, although production was reduced. After 1933 public relief funds helped the construction industry to recover, but even so, the building boom faded until after World War II.

Depot Street Neighborhood

Initially developed as a result of its proximity to tobacco factories, and already established by the turn of the century, in the new century the Depot Street area became the business, cultural, and social hub of the black community, home to black real estate offices, doctors' and lawyers' offices, drugstores, printing presses, barbershops, beauty shops, three funeral homes, two movie theaters, churches, schools, and cafes, as well as single-family and duplex housing. Increased inner-city growth of the African-American

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[76] Taylor, Frontier to Factory, pp. 55-56, and Brownlee, A Pictorial History, p. 149. He built factory No. 8 and the largest, No. 12, and enlarged No. 256, his oldest.

[77] Rt. Rev. Edward Rondthaler, The Memorabilia of Fifty Years, pp. 360-361.

[78] A sampling of occupations from city directories.

[79] Oral interviews conducted by Oppermann.

[80] Bishir, N.C. Architecture, p. 448.

population led to the organization of several service-oriented associations to help residents with relocation, housing, and jobs. Hinshaw's Hall with its open first floor had been built before 1890, and Citizens Hall near Lloyd Church already housed the Oddfellows.[81] A new building, Pythian Hall, was built in 1902 on the corner of Seventh and Chestnut streets to house the Prince Hall Masons and the Knights of Pythias. (It was sometimes referred to as Masonic and Pythian Halls.) In time its second floor hall became the meeting place for several chapters of each as well as numerous additional fraternal organizations created by African Americans in the city. These organizations helped hundreds of rural migrants adjust to city life, finding jobs and housing for people who had always lived on farms. Pythian Hall's first floor housed offices, including a printing business operated by J.R. Gleaves. Gleaves had his press in one section of the building and produced a newspaper for African-American readers in an adjoining section. In other offices on the first floor were funeral homes, among several in the neighborhood providing a range of services in the black community.

The neighborhood's churches continued to grow and new ones were established. By 1907, the congregation of St. Paul's Methodist Episcopal Church had moved from the railroad track and built a large, frame church on the corner of East Seventh and Chestnut streets. A documentary photograph shows a handsome frame church with Queen Anne detailing, Gothic stained-glass windows and spire-topped towers at the front corners. A private school is believed to have operated out of the basement.[82] The next Sanborn map shows that by 1912 the pre-1895 "Church on the Railroad" had been demolished. (In 1961 the congregation of St. Paul's moved to a new building on New Walkertown Road and the 1907 building was demolished for a parking lot.[83])

In 1902 the congregation of the First Baptist Church completed its new Gothic Revival-style brick church, and by 1907, the Sanborn Map shows that their earlier building facing Chestnut Street was vacant.[84] Between 1907 and 1911, the congregation bought two buildings on Depot Street, one for use as the parsonage and one for a funeral home. As the congregation grew, First Baptist became one of the leading congregations in the state. The First Baptist congregation built the Mission House (demolished by 1906) and helped young African Americans attend Shaw University in Raleigh. The congregation also organized the Orphans House in Waughtown (built before 1906); later it became the Memorial Industrial Home.[85] The church and all of these buildings are gone today. In 1920 the congregation moved its

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[81] Sanborn Maps.

[82] Mrs. Sarah Oliver, St. Paul's historian.

[83] Interviews, Dr. William J. Rice and Moses Lucas.

[84] 1907 Sanborn Map.

[85] First Baptist Church yearbook.

parsonage out of the neighborhood, and in 1955 built a grand new church in East Winston at 700 Highland Avenue.[86]

Goler Memorial was also to make improvements in the new century. By 1907 its name was shown accurately on the Sanborn Map as Winston Tabernacle AME Church. The 1890s building was replaced around 1918 on the same site at Depot and Seventh streets with the present Gothic Revival brick church and named for Bishop Goler. After a fire destroyed the church's slate roof one Sunday night in 1941, a portion of the congregation split off to form Goler Metropolitan A.M.E. at the corner of Fourth and Dunleith streets in East Winston. The remaining congregation rebuilt the roof and continued using Goler Memorial, or "Old Goler," as it is affectionately called. The church has always been active in the city's political and social arenas.

"Spin-off" churches were formed in the twentieth century as well. Jefferson Davis Diggs, who had been pastor of St. Paul's Methodist Church, left there in 1904 to help establish a new church, Union Mission Holy Church, on the corner of Seventh and Vine streets one block east of Depot Street. The 1917 Sanborn Map shows "Union Mission Church (Negro)" at the southeast corner. Diggs later became bishop and the church was renamed in his memory. It moved from the neighborhood to a new building in 1957.[87] Like St. Paul's, Lloyd Presbyterian Church was responsible for spin-offs. A dance hall shown on Depot Street south of Seven-and-one-half Street was demolished before 1912 when the Sanborn map shows in its place "Grace Presbyterian Church (Negro)."[88] Grace Church was founded in 1907 by a group from the nearby Lloyd Church, including Attorney Lanier. Grace, like many of the neighborhood's churches, was eventually demolished for a parking lot.

Social and service organizations organized in Depot Street during the early years of the twentieth century were notable beyond the bounds of Depot Street and helped solidify the African-American community. In 1911 a small building was rented for use as a branch of the Young Mens Christian Association (YMCA). Simon Atkins was instrumental in starting the Y. Six years later a building at Sixth and

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[86] In 1892 white Winston Baptist Church, which had come to be known as Second Street Baptist Church because of its location, applied to the N.C. General Assembly for the name "First Baptist Church." This was granted in 1893, and Winston then officially had two First Baptist Churches. According to Paul McCraw, historian at the white church, "Many North Carolina black churches took the name First Baptist early on, and even today the First Baptist Church in many towns is black and the white church...has the name of the town." (WSJ 11/12/1996, p. B2.)

[87] Interview, Gloria Diggs Banks.

[88] 1917 Sanborn Map, p. 51.

Chestnut (now a parking lot) was rented for the Women's branch; it was later purchased and housed the Horton branch of the public library, the first library in the African-American community.[89]

The neighborhood is perhaps best known today for its early and mid-twentieth century commercial activities. From Depot Street's intersection with Third Street north to Liberty Street and extending westward to Main Street, the street was lined with large and small businesses. The first bank for African Americans founded in Winston was in Depot Street, the Forsyth Savings and Trust Company. Among the more notable of the commercial buildings built by African-Americans were the Goler Building, built by W.H. Goler in 1907 on the corner of Sixth Street, the 1910 Emma Building next door, the Bruce Building across Sixth Street, the Hall Building a block north, and the A. Robinson Building next to the Hall Building. The Goler Building stands high on the hill, visible from blocks away. Its facade veneered with rusticated hollow concrete blocks over the years has housed a general store, drug store, barbershop and cafe, and its second floor was used for decades as office spaces, including doctor's offices. At times the building also housed a restaurant, dance hall, and Chinese laundry. Mrs. Ola Mae Forte had a beauty school in the building. As testament to the success of her business, she is said to have been the first African American in the city to build a swimming pool at her home. The Emma Building housed similar retail establishments and had apartments upstairs with full bathrooms at a time when privies were more commonplace. The Emma Building was also built by W. H. Goler and named for his wife, Emma Unthank Goler. (It was not built by Jim Ellington nor named for his wife, as reported in earlier documents. Ellington's wife was named Evna Neal Ellington; they never owned the property.) The Emma Building has wording on the parapet reading "19 The Emma 10."[90]

The Bruce Building's most remembered tenant was Miss Naomi McLean's Star Stenographic School of Business. In the forty-six years that it operated, several hundred young African-American men and women came to learn typing. McLean opened a stenographer's office in 1939, and the school opened in 1941 in two small rooms and graduated six students its first year, later moving to larger quarters in the Bruce Building. Students were expected to wear office clothing and conduct themselves as though

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[89] In the 1940s, there was a need for a new Y. Wade Bitting, who worked at R.J. Reynolds making plug chewing tobacco, talked with superiors at Reynolds who agreed to match every dollar the workers could raise and help to build a Y on Depot Street. Bitting and others began a fundraising campaign to raise their share. Among other efforts, Bitting organized basketball and softball teams made up of workers from each of the Reynolds factory buildings. Supporters were charged fifteen cents to see their teams play. They were successful in raising the necessary funds, and in 1953 a new Y for men and women was built at Seventh and Depot with funds from black citizens, R.J.Reynolds Tobacco Company, and Hanes Knitting Mills. The new Y was built on the site of the former Depot Street School. The irony of R.J.Reynolds's assistance came years later in 1985 when the Reynolds Company bought the property and tore down the Y building to build a parking lot. (The current Y near Winston Lake was then built and opened in 1986.)

[90] The property was deeded in 1937 to Alice Reynolds, a member of the Unthank family who married Ulysses S. Reynolds, principal of E. 14th Street School. It later passed to her nephew James B. Unthank, who also moved into the 14th Street house. Unthank was a tennis enthusiast who had a tennis court in the back yard. The Emma Building is still owned by members of the Unthank family today.

in the work place. Miss McLean's poor health, the end of segregation, and the opening up of educational opportunities for African-Americans led McLean to close her school in 1987. She had been founder of the first black business school and the first black public stenographic office.[91] The Bruce Building also housed the Mason-Neely Drug Store, a barber shop, doctor's offices, a dentist's office, and the N.C. Mutual Insurance Corporation. The second home of the Horton Branch of the public library was on the first floor.

The Hall Building was built in 1913 by Dr. Humphrey H. Hall, the first black physician in Winston-Salem and responsible for organizing the black medical community and planning for the city's first black hospital.[92] His home was on Seventh Street next to Pythian Hall. In the two-story Hall Building with its keystone arches and a parapet reading "Hall Building, 1913" were Hooper's Grocery Store, Strong's Cafe, the Howard-Robinson Funeral Home and the Colored Union Association.[93] Apartments were on the second floor. Dr. Hall and his son, Dr. Leroy Hall, practiced medicine together in the Bruce Building in the 1930s. After the elder Hall's death, Dr. Leroy Hall moved his offices to the Hall Building.[94]

Depot Street had its start in the 1870s as a residential area. Over time, the dwellings evolved from humble "tenements" to shotguns, double shotguns, one- and two-story single-family houses, larger duplexes, and to apartment buildings. Rows of two-story brick and frame apartment buildings, each housing four families, were built on Patterson Avenue and especially on the side streets intersecting it in the 1930s and even into the 1940s. Today, only two remain in the area. They are typical of the many that stood in this neighborhood and similar to those elsewhere in the city, although their Y-plan front stair design is unusual to Winston-Salem. One building is on Chestnut Street south of Lloyd Church; the other is farther east, on Seventh Street east of Depot.

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[91] 1991 interview with Naomi C. McLean before her death in 1995; Winston-Salem Journal 10/3/1995. Naomi McLean moved to Winston-Salem when she was four years old, attended Slater State Normal School, then taught in Lexington, N.C. Her father was a graduate of Livingstone College in Salisbury. They lived on Cromartie Street in the Columbian Heights neighborhood.

[92] County deed records. Also ——, Older Black Women of the South, p. 143, quotes Madie Hall Xuma, Dr. Hall's daughter. Also, SSAH 1996 calendar. Dr. Hall was born in 1859 in Rowan County and graduated from Leonard Medical School at Shaw University in 1887 before coming to Winston as the first black physician in the city. Dr. Hall was responsible for urging John Fitts to move to Winston in about 1892 or 1893, becoming the first black lawyer in the community.

[93] The funeral home later moved to the A. Robinson Building next door. It is being nominated as a part of this MPDF.

[94] Dr. Hall's grandson, Harold L. Kennedy, his wife, former state representative Annie Brown Kennedy, and their partner H. Glenn Davis later renovated the cafe space for law offices of Kennedy and Davis before moving to the Nissen Building. Hooper's Grocery closed in 1962 when urban renewal relocated the neighborhood's residents, removing customers. The Hall Building was purchased by the R. J. Reynolds Tobacco Company in 1980 and demolished. Its lot is currently vacant and is owned by Ghuneem Furqan who operates the Pyramid Barber Institute in the A. Robinson Building next door.

Other African-American Neighborhoods

As the black population grew and expanded beyond Depot Street, Columbian Heights, and the other late nineteenth-century neighborhoods, proximity to work place remained an important determinant of the location of residential areas. In the nineteenth century, work in the tobacco factories had been seasonal, dependent on warm weather to redry the tobacco leaves. After the introduction of redrying machinery around 1909, work became year-round; as a result, still more new workers flocked to Winston, expanding existing black residential areas as well as pushing to the north, northwest and east.[95]

Winston-Salem's population trebled from 1910 to 1930.[96] This translated into a house building boom greater even than that of the decades before. By 1925 the city had seventy-three real estate companies taking advantage of the need for housing. The previous year, Winston-Salem had been the world's largest manufacturer of tobacco products, the nation's largest producer of men's knit underwear, the south's largest manufacturer of knit goods and woolen goods, and finally its largest producer of wagons.[97] It was in this climate of extraordinary growth and wealth that the city's residents of both races prospered. In the 1920s decade of unrestrained growth, numerous new suburbs, both black and white, were begun by development companies, and existing neighborhoods expanded.

East Fourteenth Street

One of the first of the more prominent black neighborhoods in early twentieth-century Winston-Salem was East Fourteenth Street, east of Liberty Street. This area was some distance north and east of Depot Street and the center of Winston and, unlike Columbian Heights and Boston Cottages, was not a planned development. Evidence from city directories, tax records and oral history indicates that a few families, black and white, owned most of the land in the area.[98] A major landowner was Rufus Foy, an African

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[95] Smith, Long Lance, p. 13; and Dunston, Struggle for Equality, p. 7.

[96] The 1933 Statistical Abstract of the United States shows the 1920 population of Winston-Salem at 48,395. Charlotte's population in 1920 was 46,338.

[97] Smith, Industry and Commerce, pp. 30-31.

[98] 1904-1905, 1911, and 1915 directories; tax maps; interviews with Evelyn Terry and Dr. William H. Bruce, Jr. Sanborn Maps. Sanford Byerly, a white possibly associated with the tobacco industry, owned land and lived near Liberty Street (then Germantown Road) in what was then called Blumtown, between Thirteenth and Fourteenth streets, while R.F. Byerly & Company, a white brick manufacturer, operated on Fourteenth Street in 1915. Hattie Avenue was called Byerly Street until the 1920s, and today's Dellabrook Street is said to have been named for a Byerly's daughter, Della. Another influential white family in the area was the Mickeys. The early name for Fourteenth Street until about 1915 was Mickey Mill Road, and the city directories show at least five Mickeys living there until only one remained in 1925. Dellabrook Street was still called Mickey Mill Road as an extension of 14th Street (formerly Mickey Mill Road), or Lincoln Boulevard as late as the 1940s.

American who in 1886 owned forty-two acres near Mickey Mill Road (East Fourteenth Street) and today's Bowen Boulevard. He was a successful farmer who sold some of the land for Smith-Reynolds Airport.[99] As early as November, 1892, his son Jordan Foy helped organize a Sunday School in a house. This was the genesis of Mt. Pleasant Methodist Church, a spin-off of the 1871 St. Paul's congregation near Depot Street. At least two buildings were built in the Foytown part of East Fourteenth Street to house the church.[100]

Architectural patterns, along with Sanborn and tax maps, indicate that the first subdivided development in this location came after the turn of the century. Dwellings on East Fourteenth Street spanned a range of decades and showed the increasing wealth of its residents. Several one-story frame Victorian cottages reflected the early dwelling construction there.[101] By 1915, East Fourteenth Street was clearly well-settled, for the city directory lists 109 families in residence. An auto garage was started by 1918, and by 1925 the area was home to 170 families. Predominant among the houses were bungalows and Colonial Revival houses from the teens, and continued use of those styles and the foursquare in the 1920s. Keeping up with changing styles, the 1930s brought the "period revival" houses to the street. In 1924 after the Depot Street School had burned (on present-day Patterson Avenue), the East Fourteenth Street School was built as a Colored Graded School on the corner of Cameron Avenue.[102] Apparently in order to provide ample school grounds and preserve the fine houses already there, a number of houses were moved from the soon-to-become school grounds to new locations on East Fourteenth Street. One house said to have been moved from the school site became home to the school principal, Ulysses S. Reynolds, who lived in the large turn-of-the-century house still standing at #1617.

Two neighboring houses on East Fourteenth Street, demolished in the mid-1990s, indicate the area's decades-long standing as a prestigious neighborhood. A small turn-of-the-century Victorian house was the home of Dr. Rembert Malloy, one of the city's most prominent African-American physicians. About thirty years later the Malloys built a new house next door, a large, two-story brick-veneer house in the popular Colonial Revival style. These two adjacent houses showed the continued viability of East Fourteenth Street as a desirable neighborhood.[103] Many of East Fourteenth Streets residents were prominent in their fields and successful financially. In 1906 African-American businessman Robert W.

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[99] Fries, History of a County, p. 261-262. The area of 14th Street from Woodland Avenue to Jackson Avenue was named Foytown for Rufus Foy's son, Jordan Foy, a carpenter who built many houses in that area and elsewhere in East Winston.

[100] Society for Afro-American History, 1994 calendar. The church has been demolished.

[101] Perhaps they were built by Jordan Foy.

[102] Additions to the "14th Street Colored School" were designed by local architects Northup & O'Brien in 1929. The school has been demolished.

[103] Both houses were demolished in 1993.

Brown started an insurance company with George W. Hill and W.P. Hairston. In the 1930s and 1940s under Hill's and Hairston's leadership, the company expanded to include real estate investments and home loans. This not only profited the company, but made it possible for thousands of black families to purchase real estate and finance their houses. That company was to become Winston Mutual Life Insurance Company in 1951.[104] A prominent family, the Hills were residents of East Fourteenth Street.

Charlie Jones was a perceptive African American who amassed a fortune of half a million dollars in real estate; when he died his widow, Savannah Medford Jones, is said to have tripled his holdings.[105] She also lived on East Fourteenth Street. Many others came to be a part of the city's thriving economy, and they prospered. In 1930, Who's Who in Colored America cited several Winston-Salem businessmen whose wealth had reached half a million dollars.[106] How rapidly things had changed from the 1880s when for the first time in Winston-Salem an African-American man built his own small house.[107]

The city directories show an interesting part of East Fourteenth Street's history: the businesses on the corner of Liberty and Fourteenth were white, and remained that way for decades, while those on the corner of Jackson and Fourteenth were black.[108] This African-American commercial area was active in the early 1920s; city directories show these buildings always served commercial purposes, generally as neighborhood grocery stores, barber shops and cleaners. Although they were among the few remaining early African-American commercial buildings in Winston-Salem today, they were demolished in 1993. Both the size and desirability of the East Fourteenth Street neighborhood today have been diminished as a result of urban renewal programs and a 1993 street widening. South of East Fourteenth Street and considered a part of its neighborhood, was Highland Avenue, another area of stylish houses of well-to-do African Americans. This area has been redeveloped.

East Winston

The name East Winston has denoted different areas at different times, reflecting the growth and expansion of the area throughout this century, and perhaps is best able to tell the story of the advancement and

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[104] Fries, p. 258.

[105] Interview, Louise Hamilton; and Fries.

[106] Interview, Louise Hamilton.

[107] Fries, p. 265.

[108] At the corner of Liberty and East 14th streets stood a group of early brick commercial buildings; most were demolished by the City in 1993. The earliest Sanborn map for the area is 1907. It shows the Crater Wholesale Company Building at the southwest corner with its neighbors soon replacing earlier buildings on their sites. Across Liberty Street on the southeast corner, the Moser Brothers Furniture Building was built between 1907 and 1912, and its southern neighbors by 1917. These were always white-owned businesses.

affluence of African Americans in Winston-Salem. East Winston had developed as a white neighborhood, a continuation of the grid pattern and numbered streets of downtown Winston. In fact, the Board of Aldermen ordained in 1910, "...that all streets running East and West, beginning at First Street, shall be numbered consecutively and in no case shall they have any other names. This applies to streets already named, and those hereafter to be opened."[109] At the turn of the century and in its early years, houses for white residents had been erected along East Third, Fourth and Fifth streets. The area beyond remained generally rural; farther east were farms including that of R. J. Reynolds at what is now the corner of First Street and Cameron Avenue. His trotting horses exercised on a track between present Third and Fifth streets where City Hospital was later built in 1913-1914. North of Fifth Street were trees and fields.[110]

Construction in East Winston flourished in the next decades with the erection of several institutions and hundreds of houses, testimony of its status as a distinguished white neighborhood. City Hospital was built in 1913-1914 (a north wing for black patients was added in 1922); Skyland School for whites was built in 1924 with its park and outdoor swimming pool; in 1925 the new Union Station was built on Claremont Avenue at Excelsior; and in 1928 the Junior League Hospital for Incurables was built on Kentucky Avenue on the eastern edge of East Winston.[111] The presence of these institutions reflected the stability and growth of the white neighborhood of East Winston at the time.

However, changes were underway in East Winston. African-American residents already occupied Columbian Heights south of First Street and other areas south of the white section. As the African-American community grew with the increasing mechanization of the tobacco factories and with the availability of jobs vacated by white servicemen during World War I, it expanded north of the white section. Eventually, African-American residential areas grew up on all sides of the white section. In the eastern part of the city in 1930, blacks lived in Columbian Heights and north to First Street. Whites lived from First Street north to Seventh Street, and farther east between Eighth and Ninth streets. Blacks, on

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[109] Board of Aldermen minutes, 8/5/1910; Neilson, p. 543. The grid pattern continued throughout the expansion of East Winston and over towards the northwestern part of the city where, for example, 25th Street becomes Arbor Road.

[110] Reynolds and Shachtman, Gilded Leaf, p. 92, and Campbell, "East Winston," 4/19/62. R.J. Reynolds closed his farm and racetrack, took the animals to Reynolda which was under construction at the time, and gave the land for City Memorial Hospital.

[111] Neilson, pp. 655-656; City Directories; *Words of Winston-Salem*, Summer 1997, pp. 28-29. Upon his death in 1918, R.J. Reynolds left a bequest of $120,000 for a "hospital building for white people of Winston-Salem," and $120,000 for "a hospital building for the colored people of Winston-Salem," the buildings to be constructed on the site of the City Hospital then in operation. The Junior League Hospital for the Incurables closed in 1937; the third floor then became the Child Guidance Clinic until 1942. The Cox Rest Home, or Cox Restorium, also used the building. The bottom two floors of the building were used by the Bowman Gray School of Medicine for classroom space from 1940 to 1982. The building was renovated and an addition added in 1984, and since 1983 has been used by the United Way as the Family Services Shelter for abused women and their children. It was the first unit of the statewide Baptist Homes for the Aging. The building still stands.

the other hand, lived north of Seventh to Eighteenth and Nineteenth streets, including the prominent East Fourteenth Street neighborhood. The area still farther north was occupied by whites. However, white residents were comfortable in "their" East Winston and irritated by the encroachment of blacks, even though at first the black expansion did not directly infringe upon the white section. As early as 1908, an African-American woman moved into a house at the corner of Woodland Avenue and Eighth Street in what was considered a white section, and was burned out.[112] By the late teens, as additional African-American residents began to breach the "color line" in the residential area of East Winston, there were threats and even a parade by the Ku Klux Klan.[113] By 1920 a few whites recognized that the growing black community would continue to expand within East Winston, and sold their houses to African Americans. Even so it was not until 1941 that Jasper Carpenter became the first African American to purchase a house in the white community around City Hospital.[114] As a result, white residents began a mass exodus in 1942 and "most all were gone in twelve months."[115] Winston-Salem's city directories distinguish between black and white residents, and help illustrate the rapid shift in East Winston as areas built for and lived in by whites became black housing. The neighborhood shift is confirmed by the directories of the early 1940s which show an amazingly rapid turnover from whites to blacks. Lawrence Street, for example, had fourteen houses which in two or three years switched from all white to all black occupants. These dramatic changes took place in different parts of East Winston in the 1930s and mostly in the 1940s, until by 1949 all of the area east of Liberty Street from Columbian Heights north to Nineteenth Street was black. This pattern appears to be unusual to Winston-Salem. In Raleigh, Wilson, and New Bern, for example, the black-white neighborhood patterns remained generally unchanged from their initial development until desegregation.[116]

As a part of the transformation of the East Winston neighborhood, many of the churches in the area that had been built for white congregations were bought, renamed, and used by African-American congregations. On East Fourth Street alone there are three such churches. First Calvary Baptist Church with its Tudor detailing was built to serve the white congregation of Grace Methodist Church. In 1942 after its members had moved out of the neighborhood, the church dissolved and sold its building to the First Calvary Baptist Church, an African-American congregation established in 1918. Since then the church building has undergone major alterations, including the addition of permastone and new Gothic-style windows. A similar story describes Mars Hill Baptist Church a few blocks east. Built for a white Moravian congregation with the name Fries Memorial Church, it was sold in 1944 to an African-

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[112] Campbell, "East Winston," 4/16/62.

[113] Ibid.

[114] City Memorial Hospital's "colored wing" was built in 1922.

[115] Campbell, "East Winston," 4/16/62.

[116] Personal communication, Claudia R. Brown and Linda H. Edmisten.

American congregation. It is a brick Gothic Revival-style building built in 1915 and remains remarkably intact, both inside and out. Still farther east on the corner of Dunleith and East Fourth streets is Goler Metropolitan African Methodist Episcopal (AME) Zion Church. It, too, was built to serve a white congregation (East Fourth Street Baptist Church, 1924), and was bought by a spin-off group from Goler Memorial AME Zion Church on Patterson Avenue after that church was damaged by fire in 1941. Both Mars Hill and Goler Metropolitan will be included in a second phase of nominations as a part of this Multiple Properties Documentation Form.

With each decade the name East Winston came to mean an increasingly larger area. By 1960 East Winston had become the largest of Winston-Salem's seven major communities with 34,000 people, better than a fourth of the city's total population. Over 28,700 of those were African-American residents.[117] In the early 1960s, along with its middle-class houses and businesses, East Winston still had a number of narrow, rutted dirt streets and alleys lined with modest frame houses. East Winston also had more churches than any other section of the city. The city's program of urban renewal concentrated heavily there and changed the character of this large area.

Reynoldstown (or Cameron Park)[118]

At the northeastern edge of the city, the R.J. Reynolds Tobacco Company established what is known today as Reynoldstown as a development for whites when the surrounding area of East Winston was still predominantly white. In 1917 the company purchased about eighty-five acres known as the "old Cameron land" to which a few additional lots were added. Close to the eastern terminus of the streetcar line and near the City Hospital grounds, the development became known as Cameron Park, and residents had to be employed by Reynolds Tobacco Company in order to live here. The development was started during World War I for the purpose of aiding in the "housing problem." A total of some 130 or 180 houses were built, "....paved streets and sidewalks were laid, sewer and water connections made, and all the conveniences of the city made possible." The project was designed to help workers become homeowners, and R.J. Reynolds planned to sell the houses at cost.[119] A 1921 newspaper reported, "The Cameron Park development is exclusively for white people, the company having provided for the colored employees in the development known as Dunleigh [sic] Avenue." Sixteen houses in the Dunleith development were sold on the same terms as those of Cameron Park and came to be occupied by the greatly expanding African-American population of East Winston.[120] The Dunleith houses were destroyed in the 1960s; however, the rest of Reynoldstown became an African-American neighborhood

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[117] Campbell, "East Winston," cites 1960 census.

[118] While the area apparently was called Cameron Park in its early days, current residents know it only as Reynoldstown.

[119] Deeds show that Reynolds sold no houses on some streets until 1938.

[120] Deed extracts, tax mapping office, and Winston-Salem Journal, Sunday, 9/11/1921, p. 3.

in a shift earlier than East Winston's and equally dramatic. Although north of Cameron Park, the construction of Atkins High School had a profound effect on the neighborhood. The school was among the large number built with the assistance of the Rosenwald Fund. While most Rosenwald schools were for rural African Americans, Atkins was built in the city for the specific purpose of preparing African-American high school students for better-than-laborer jobs. Atkins was built near the East Fourteenth Street Graded School, creating a large park on several blocks and shown on a 1938 map as "14th Street Park (Colored)." Today Atkins serves as a middle school.

Two families, one black and one white, can help describe the changes in this neighborhood in the early 1930s. The first is Asa and Millie Lee, both white, who moved into one of RJR's new rental houses in 1920. Ten years later in 1930, all of the Lees' neighbors in two blocks were white. However, by 1932 the Lees were the only white residents remaining, and when Gertrude and Rufus Johnson, he a black Reynolds employee, moved into the Lees' house in 1934, the transformation of this street from one of totally white residents to totally black was complete.

The second family were the Carters, a prominent African-American family. John A. Carter taught at Winston-Salem Teachers College (now WSSU), and was principal at Columbian Heights High School. He bought the lot at 1100 Rich Avenue in 1929, and by 1931 he and his wife, Alice M., had moved from Columbian Heights to their new two-story Colonial Revival house. Mr. Carter was the first principal of the new Atkins High School one block north. City Directories show that the Carters were the first African Americans to move near Reynoldstown. Their move here and the 1931 opening of Atkins High School for African-Americans were a forecast, and most likely the impetus, of the neighborhood's dramatic shift from an all-white to an all-black neighborhood in a matter of a year or two. City directories show that three blocks of Camel and Rich avenues, with the exception of the Carters, were occupied by whites in 1931. Just a year later the directory shows all of Cameron Park populated by management-level, professional African Americans.

Deeds show that it was not until 1938 that the Reynolds Company finally sold the houses, with all sold by 1942.[121] By 1938 the area had been solidly African-American for several years, thus all buyers were African-American. Today, most of Cameron Park remains, and is known as Reynoldstown.[122] Because the houses in the neighborhood were built on large lots, in the 1940s new houses were built between the old, making the neighborhood today one of alternating large bungalows and later minimal traditional houses. The alternating pattern of 1920s and 1940s houses helps to relate the progression from renters' houses to homeowners' and from white housing to black.

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[121] Except the lots at 923 and 927 Rich Avenue, which were sold in 1936. Both houses were built in 1938 and first occupied by African Americans.

[122] The neighborhood originally was 15 blocks bounded by E 8th Street, E 10th Street, Ferrell to the east, and the "Negro" housing along Dunleith on the west.

Dreamland Park

Dreamland Park is a small, secluded neighborhood northeast of East Fourteenth Street, little known even today. It was begun in the 1920s and has always been predominantly African American.[123] In the 1920s and 1930s, individual lots were sold to African Americans by the white Byerly family who owned land here and on Mickey Mill Road (now Dellabrook) where they lived.[124] They owned a neighborhood store still standing on Dellabrook at the corner of Attucks. Land was also owned by the Smithdeal Realty Co. The new owners lived in frame houses built in the 1920s and 1930s, some quite small, others sizable one-and-one-half-story bungalows, with most residents working in tobacco factories, including those of R.J. Reynolds, Brown & Williamson, and Taylor Brothers. Others worked for railroads, including Norfolk & Western and Southern Railroad. The area remained rural, retaining woods, pigpens, strawberry & blackberry patches; there were also at one time three stores, a school, and a church in the neighborhood. A dance hall once stood on the north side of Dunbar just west of Eldora Boulevard. Many of the houses remain today, as well as the church, greatly enlarged and altered.[125] One store, formerly known as Miss Sis's Store or the Dreamland Park Cash Store, was run by the Faust family (black) on the corner of Attucks & Booker. A store still operates on that site in a later building. Another store was in the east wing of a house on Booker Street; evidence of its door is still visible. The third store was the Byerlys'.

For many years the city limits stopped at Attucks Street and the easternmost bus stop was at Miss Sis's store or Byerly's store. Residents of Dreamland Park got their mail at a two-story, white-owned grocery store at East Fourteenth and Cameron Avenue known as the Red Store. Just before World War II, perhaps in 1941, Dreamland Park was added to the mail route and residents erected a long line of mailboxes on the corner of Attucks and East Fourteenth Street. Perhaps this new mail route was the reason streets finally were included in city directories in 1941, although the neighborhood had been developed over a decade earlier and most houses appear to have been built before 1940. For some years in the 1930s, Dreamland Park children went to the East Fourteenth Street School and its neighbor Atkins High School; however, according to a former resident, because Dreamland Park was not in the city limits, younger children attended the Dreamland Park Elementary School, built in the mid-1930s on Emerald Street at the north dead end. It no longer stands.

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[123] Streets today include Attucks, Dunbar, Booker & Emerald streets, Eldora Boulevard, Douglas Avenue, and part of Dellabrook Road. Today's Eldora Boulevard and Emerald Street were originally both named Lincoln Boulevard; plats show they were intended to be connected at the north near the creek.

[124] City Directories, interviews.

[125] Douglas Street may have been named for the Douglas family who lived on the corner of Douglas and Dunbar in a house demolished in early 1993.

Skyland Park

The Skyland Park neighborhood is also in the larger East Winston community. Made up of Maryland, Kentucky and Terrace avenues, it had originally been a farm owned by the white alderman J. Wilbur Crews (Salem Ward alderman 1931-1943). In 1928 the Junior League Hospital for Incurables was built on Kentucky Avenue in the new neighborhood east of City Memorial Hospital.[126] The earliest houses are bungalows, built for and originally lived in by whites when both hospitals and this part of East Winston were exclusively white. City directories inaccurately show only whites living there as late as 1949; however, residents report that African Americans began to move in in the 1940s and by the late 1940s it was predominantly black and many new houses were being built.[127] Deeds and tax records reflect this as well. Only three families, all white, are shown to have lived here from 1926 to 1940; their occupations are shown as a salesman, a locomotive engineer, and an electrician. By 1951 city directories show many families here, most in new houses. All were African American.

Slater Park

Middle-class African-American neighborhoods continued to be developed as the population grew and prospered. Located northeast of Reynoldstown and including Slater, Twelfth and Gerald streets and Addison Avenue, the Slater Park neighborhood was developed in the 1940s for professional and other well-to-do African Americans. By this time a large number of African Americans in Winston-Salem owned houses and cars, as reflected by the houses of Slater Park and elsewhere in the city. The neighborhood remains stable today.

The Emerging African-American Community

With the success of the city's industries and of her citizens in the twentieth century came deteriorating race relations. As African Americans prospered and as their numbers grew, they began to displace much of the white labor force. Similarly, African Americans sought an improved standard of living, including improved housing, and recognized the goals of union organizers who became active in the new factories and businesses. Many of the jobs vacated by young white men during World War I were filled by African Americans. Bishop Rondthaler in his annual *Memorabilia* alluded frequently to "race friction" and counseled unity.[128] As in other American cities, Winston-Salem saw race riots following World War I. Just six days after its end in November, 1918, a crowd of whites formed a lynch mob numbering nearly two thousand to hang a black man jailed for raping a white woman. After the mob stormed the

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[126] City Directories; *Words of Winston-Salem*, Summer 1997, pp. 28-29. See note 109.

[127] Interviews, Paul S. Bitting, Amos Wilson.

[128] Rt. Rev. Edward Rondthaler, The Memorabilia of Fifty Years.

jail, fire hoses were turned on and shooting began. Three people were killed and more than twenty wounded, and the white mob then invaded black neighborhoods where additional killings took place. The number of dead was never known, although there were reports of black bodies being hidden in railroad culverts and thrown into Belo's Pond.[129] The Sheriff's department later released the accused black man, acknowledging that he was not guilty. The riot unified the African-American community and caused it to push for more rights and better jobs.[130] Racial struggles carried over to the city's labor relations. By 1919 the housing and employment shortage was acute owing to an enormous influx of returning veterans.[131] Local workers began efforts to unionize and strikes plagued the manufacturers.

Although both tobacco and textiles spurred the city's rapid growth and expansion, it was chiefly the tobacco factories that provided jobs for African-Americans. Cotton manufacturers in Winston-Salem as elsewhere generally hired white workers, drawn mainly from poor farmers who preferred factory work to tenant sharecropping. For example, Hanes Mills boasted, "No Negroes save janitors are employed in the Hanes Cotton Mills.[132]" By contrast, in Winston-Salem in 1931, the tobacco industries employed thirty-three percent of black male adult workers in the city and forty-eight percent of black female adult workers.[133] In all the factories, as historian Wilbur Cash has pointed out, the pattern of the antebellum plantations was repeated; control over labor seemed simply to have been transferred from the old landholder to the employer. For instance, in his factories Reynolds had strict rules about talking on the job, but singing was encouraged. Standard spirituals and work-songs from the slave years were prevalent.[134] Work in the tobacco factories was difficult and all foremen were white, but the city's sixty-year population explosion indicates most workers considered it preferable to the life of a tenant farmer.

In the 1940s African Americans continued to fight for union representation. Two major strikes were held at Reynolds Tobacco Company in the 1940s, the first in 1943 after a widow was abused for slowing down on the job and a male co-worker died of a heart attack the same day. The second occurred in 1947, when the United Cannery Agricultural Packinghouse and Allied Workers of America, along with two Reynolds workers, Theodosia Simpson and later Velma Hopkins, pushed for and won better working conditions, wages, and benefits. In 1944 Velma Hopkins threw a switch that cut off power to all the machines in

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[129] Brownlee, Pictorial History, p. 149.

[130] Steele, "Key Events," p. 15.

[131] Glenn Thesis, "W-S Riot of 1918," p. 46.

[132] Reynolds and Shachtman, Gilded Leaf, p. 40, and Anderson, Education of Blacks in the South, p. 226-227.

[133] Ibid.

[134] Cash, Mind of the South, pp. 258-261, and Brownlee, Pictorial History, p. 49.

her plant at R.J. Reynolds Tobacco Co. She helped begin a strike that protested the low pay, exhausting hours, and working conditions that kept employees in clouds of tobacco dust. Hopkins was a leader in the local union chapter in the 1940s, enduring the racism and sexism encountered by any black woman trying to be a leader. She, along with many other union organizers, was branded a communist and received death threats.[135]

During this decade African Americans also fought to gain political representation in order to make the city's leaders more sensitive to the needs of the black community. About 33,000 of the 36,700 blacks in Winston-Salem lived in the south Third Ward, the black ward, in the eastern part of the city. Such a high concentration of African Americans in one ward was important in helping blacks in city politics and social politics. In 1949 Kenneth Williams was the first black citizen elected to the Board of Alderman since Reconstruction, and Marshall Kurfees, a white man, was elected mayor. Kurfees broke with tradition by putting African Americans in city jobs and on boards and committees. At the request of black leaders and through the influence of James G. Hanes, then the prominent white president of Hanes Hosiery, white-owned buses in Winston-Salem were integrated before the famous incident in Montgomery in the 1950s. In 1946 the Community Council put out a six-volume report and established a biracial committee with blacks in the community, and by the early 1950s in Winston-Salem, the African-American community had gained some social, political and economic advantages.[136]

Churches continued their traditional activism in the black community's political and social affairs. The years after 1950 saw Lloyd Presbyterian Church become one of the centers for the civil rights movement, and in 1963 when the local chapter of the Congress for Racial Equality began meeting, Lloyd was its headquarters. The new Goler Metropolitan African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church has also been heavily involved in social and political developments and was the site of Martin Luther King's address when he visited the city in the 1960s to stimulate the voter registration drive.

It was during these years of economic and political activity that many new African-American neighborhoods developed. Some were "new" in the sense that they had not existed previously. In Winston-Salem, however, some "new" neighborhoods were created in the 1930s and particularly the 1940s when white residents of established white neighborhoods left as black neighbors moved closer; the houses were quickly purchased and occupied by the African-American middle class. Improvements in black housing in both types of new neighborhoods in the first half of the twentieth century reflect the city's development from a small business center to one of the leading manufacturing centers of the South. Its black neighborhoods contained the residences of many of Winston and Salem's most prominent African Americans of the period, as well as those of the working families who constituted the backbone of the city's economic growth. The neighborhoods further represent the city's increasingly urban

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[135] Steele, "Key Events," p. 16; and Winston-Salem Journal, 3/22/1996, p. A1.

[136] Dunston, Struggle for Equality, pp. 13, 18, 58-60. The second black alderman was Reverend Crawford; the third was Carl Russell.

character and the growing numbers of African Americans in middle- and upper-income brackets. Housing in established neighborhoods such as Depot Street reflected these trends as well, with improvements each decade and diversity in the socio-economic mix of residents and their dwellings.

Afterward: 1947 to the Present

An undeniable pattern in the city's African-American neighborhoods was their destruction as a part of efforts to improve the city and renew the black community. Thousands of African-Americans had come to Winston because of the job opportunities made possible by R.J. Reynolds Tobacco Company and other manufacturing concerns, and African Americans working in the factories lived close to those factories. Later, large areas of these predominantly black residences were destroyed by the very force that had created them; as Reynolds Tobacco Company grew, whole neighborhoods were demolished to provide space for its expansion.[137] Similarly, the success of Slater Academy as it evolved into Winston-Salem State University required the demolition of the surrounding Columbian Heights neighborhood.

Perhaps even more destructive due to its massive scale was urban redevelopment. In the 1960s an earnest program of urban renewal was begun in African-American neighborhoods which by this time included large blighted areas with unpaved, rutted roads and small, neglected houses. A 1962 newspaper article reflected the hopes tied to urban redevelopment: "But a new day is dawning. Urban Redevelopment will begin moving across an area of the worst blocks, winnowing huts, shacks and dilapidated store buildings and replacing them with modern apartments, homes, two shopping centers and a recreation center. In one vacated area, new industry will spring up. Nine churches will tumble and relocate."[138]

In the early 1960s over 600 acres of houses were razed and 4,000 families were moved out of their homes, some into federal housing. By 1966 an East Winston project to remove 2,500 houses was well under way, and over 1,000 additional acres were planned for future demolition. In 1971 the city embarked on another renewal program, which included 646 acres of urban neighborhoods and five other sections of the city, including parts of East Winston and several blocks of Columbian Heights.[139] In East Winston, the city's grid system of streets was erased and replaced with uncharacteristic curving streets obliterating much of the original plan. Ongoing redevelopment continues this trend of new curving streets.

Depot Street, by then named Patterson Avenue, was among the areas seriously affected. As late as the 1950s and 1960s, Patterson Avenue from Sixth to Ninth streets was booming and was one of the most

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[137] The success of Winston-Salem State University also caused the demolition each decade of portions of Columbian Heights, the neighborhood it was built to serve. Demolitions there continue to the present day.

[138] Campbell. "East Winston," 4/16/62.

[139] Tise, Building and Architecture, pp. 47-48; and Fries, History of a County, p. 301.

active areas of African-American commerce in Winston-Salem. When the Urban Renewal program got underway in this neighborhood, people were asked to move, depleting local businesses of their customer base and the churches of their congregations. Members of Lloyd Church and Goler Memorial talked about moving to new outlying neighborhoods as other churches in the area had done, but decided to stay. The remaining residents organized in the 1960s and 1970s to develop plans to revitalize and stabilize the neighborhood; however, most of the residences and businesses were demolished, and R.J. Reynolds Tobacco Company bought large amounts of land, razing many remaining buildings. Officials of the Young Mens Christian Association decided in 1980 to move because of the degenerating neighborhood and deterioration of their building. The Depot Street/Liberty-Patterson neighborhood was in transition. As businesses and people moved out, industry was moving in. Most of the community development funds set aside for the neighborhood went toward enforcing the housing code there and particularly to relocating people displaced by demolitions. R. J. Reynolds Tobacco Company had recently announced plans to build a tobacco factory on the southwest border of the neighborhood and was buying up pieces of property as they became available.[140] In 1981, a newspaper reported that residents and the R.J. Reynolds Company apparently were nearing agreement on relocation plans for the residents as the company expanded into the area: "The rapid transformation of Liberty-Patterson into an industrial district seems likely."[141] Goler Memorial Church once had two apartment buildings behind the church building on Seventh Street. The cost to bring them up to city housing standards was high, and the neighborhood had declined so they could not find the tenants to pay the kind of rent to cover their costs. Therefore, although the neighborhood was loved and the buildings were fine, once the decline of urban renewal began they could not continue with needed repairs.

In 1980 Reverend James L. Hunt, then pastor of Goler Memorial Church, said "We're just a victim of time....We've known for a long time that if the Y was sold, we would probably move."[142] Quite the opposite has occurred. In 1997, Goler Memorial remains in the neighborhood and may be the key to its rebirth. A new and ambitious redevelopment plan is in the works. Goler Memorial AME Zion Church will acquire four and one-half acres of neighboring land for redevelopment. The Emma and Goler Buildings, which are greatly deteriorated, may have to be demolished and a new sanctuary will be constructed there with a connection to Old Goler. The congregation will restore the 1918 Gothic Revival church and continue to use it for Wednesday night services, weddings, and community ministries. The rear ell of Old Goler will be renovated, and the parking lot will be paved. Across Seventh Street from Goler, the two modern apartment buildings will be converted to housing for the elderly; the chain link fence along Seventh Street will be taken down and a community outreach center with a day care facility will be built on the vacant lot. Across Chestnut Street south of Lloyd Church, a small business complex will be built. The church initially planned to demolish the Craver Apartment Building, but upon learning

[140] W-S Journal 10/24/1980.

[141] W-S Sentinel 10/28/1981.

[142] W-S Journal 10/24/1980.

of its historical significance to the community, will retain it and perhaps convert it to a bed and breakfast inn. This ambitious plan is expected to take five to ten years to complete.[143]

Depot Street was not alone in its devastation. Urban renewal projects removed blocks of substandard slum housing; in so doing, much of the city's distinctive African-American neighborhoods suffered the unintentional loss of a sense of community.[144] People who were moved into new housing found clean, functional living space, but never regained their sense of neighborhood--in short their sense of place and belonging had been forfeited.[145] With the destruction of traditional black neighborhoods in the 1960s, new African-Americans neighborhoods were built farther north. As a result of the well-intended program, few areas remain in Winston-Salem today which reflect the black community's residential development in the late nineteenth century and first half of the twentieth century. Seven pre-World War II buildings remain in the Depot Street neighborhood: two churches (Lloyd and Goler), three commercial structures (the Goler, Emma, and Robinson buildings), and two early twentieth-century brick-veneered apartment buildings (Craver and Brown). The area is no longer residential in character, but retains great significance in the community and is the focus of sensitive redevelopment strategies. Several groups promote the concept of a long-term revitalization plan. There is also enthusiasm for a museum to help convey a sense of the community activity which at one time was centered here.

The rapid growth of a successful and wealthy professional and business class among African-Americans in Winston-Salem, as well as a growing working-class population, resulted in the development of new neighborhoods in each decade. These neighborhoods are significant in the history of Winston-Salem as evidence of the black community's growth and development during that period, the emergence of black suburban neighborhoods, and the increasing sophistication and prosperity of Winston-Salem's African-American residents. The historic buildings remaining today take on great significance as among the few African-American resources remaining in Winston-Salem that tell the remarkable story of the black population here. Winston-Salem's neighborhoods were home to unskilled workers who endured long, hard hours in the tobacco factories; they are the story of South Carolina sharecroppers who arrived in boxcars, and who in a few decades were able to send their children to college. The diminution of the characters of their neighborhoods is transcended by the significance of the remaining resources representing the African-American community's history.

Langdon E. Oppermann
1997

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[143] Interview, Seth O. Lartey.

[144] Interview, Dr. William J. Rice.

[145] Ibid.

Section F. Associated Property Types

I. Early twentieth-century churches of the Gothic Revival and Classical Revival styles.

The churches included under the property type "Winston-Salem's African-American churches built between 1900 and 1947 in the Gothic Revival and Classical Revival styles" are all located in the eastern or northern quadrants of the City of Winston-Salem. Surviving buildings in this property type are of both frame and brick construction. St. Philip's Moravian Church, built in 1860 in the former town of Salem, is listed in the National Register (1991) and represents an earlier period and different architectural style from those in this Multiple Property Documentation Form (MPDF). Most of the early churches in the former town of Winston were started in the Depot Street neighborhood, which is within the boundaries of this MPDF, or in the Boston Cottages neighborhood, which is not. Those discussed here are in the Depot Street area and in other parts of northeastern Winston-Salem. Of those built in Boston Cottages, only one remains and it has been altered. Overall, however, most early African-American churches erected before 1947 have been demolished or have undergone substantial alteration, as is demonstrated below.

Description

The earliest church established in Winston by any congregation, black or white, was St. Paul Methodist Episcopal Church. It was organized in 1871 using a brush arbor for worship and built its first church building in 1879. After several additions it became the largest African-American Church in the town of Winston. In 1961 the congregation built a new church, and the earlier building was demolished. St. James African Methodist Episcopal (AME) grew out of door-to-door class meetings started in 1877. After meeting in two locations in the Depot Street area, a church was built farther east on Third Street in 1888, but by 1892 they had moved again to Seventh and Ogburn streets. A frame church there was demolished as a part of the urban renewal program of 1962 and is today the site of the Forsyth Health and Welfare Building. the third church begun in Winston-Salem during this period was First Baptist Church, begun in 1879 when the Reverend George W. Holland of Franklin, Virginia, was asked to come to Winston to help establish a church. In 1882 a frame church was built on the corner of Sixth and Chestnut streets, near today's Lloyd Church and Goler Memorial Church, and was replaced in 1902 with an imposing Gothic Revival brick structure with tall bellcast spire on a four-stage tower. In 1955 the congregation moved to East Winston and built a brick church vaguely Romanesque in style. The Chestnut Street building was later demolished. Mount Zion Baptist Church was founded in 1889 by the same Reverend Holland who had established the First Baptist Church. Their first church, erected at East Third and Hickory

streets in 1892, was destroyed by fire in 1907. Another church was built that same year on Ninth Street between Ashe and Linden streets. It was also Gothic Revival in style, brick with two crenelated square towers, and stained-glass windows. However, less then ten years later yet another church was built, this one at Ninth and File streets. Both buildings were lost during urban renewal efforts of the 1960s.

North of Depot Street in an area later known as The Pond because of a tragic reservoir flood, New Bethel Baptist Church was founded in 1890 at a member's house. The Reverend Holland was involved in this church as well. In 1906 a Gothic Revival-style building was built on North Trade where it remains today; however, it has undergone numerous alterations including the 1955 application of permastone on all facades and the complete redesign of the interior, leaving little historic fabric visible. The changes undertaken by the congregation since 1950 have compromised New Bethel's architectural integrity, despite the church's historical significance.

Shiloh Baptist Church wa another congregation begun with the help of George Holland. An 1890s frame church with corner towers was built on East Thirteenth Street but soon was sold. Another building was built after 1902 at the corner of Highland Avenue and Twelve-and-one-half Street. In the 1920s the congregation moved a half block away, and by 1933 a fourth structure was built. The 1933 church remains today. It has been brick veneered; a modern steeple, major porch alterations including a large 1955 brick staircase, and numerous additions have altered the church significantly. The earlier buildings have all been demolished.

Today's Cleveland Avenue Christian Church was organized in 1893 at a member's house on East Third Street. The church grew and moved first to Depot Street and later to Eighth Street. Another move resulted in its name: the High Maple Street Christian Church. In 1926 the congregation moved once again, to the basement of a new church under construction on Cleveland Avenue. That building was finally completed in 1952; however, the congregation moved to yet another new building in 1974. The earlier buildings have all been demolished.

Grace Presbyterian Church was organized in 1907 by members of Lloyd Presbyterian Church and soon built a frame church with corner tower on Depot Street north of East Seventh; by 1917 they had built a three-stage tower. The congregation later moved to a new structure on Ogburn Street and the older building was demolished for a parking lot. Still standing is Hanes Institutional CME (formerly Colored Methodist Episcopal Church, now Christian Methodist Episcopal) Church. Its first sanctuary, built in 1916, was destroyed by fire and replaced by the current building at 819 Highland Avenue in 1931, and given a new name as well, the Hanes Memorial CME Church. The 1931 frame church was burned in the 1950s and later was brick-veneered. It then sustained damage in the 1989 tornado, losing its front eave, the brick cap of the bell tower, and much of the roof. The eave and cap were replaced with vinyl and the interior was altered during repairs.

Despite the large number of early churches that have been destroyed or altered, four significant church buildings survive which represent Winston and Salem's African-American churches built before 1947 within the boundaries of this MPDF. While the four buildings discussed below are erected in either the Gothic or Classical Revival style, their settings vary. Lloyd Presbyterian and Goler Memorial Church were built in a bustling, mixed-use neighborhood which is now quiet and has lost most of its buildings. Mars Hill Baptist Church and Goler Metropolitan, on the other hand, are on East Fourth Street at busy intersections of an active commercial and residential area.

Gothic Revival

As is clear from the descriptions above of early black churches, the great majority were of the Gothic Revival style, executed in both brick and frame. Even without photographs or descriptions of some of the buildings demolished early in this century, details from the Sanborn maps, showing corner towers and spires, probably indicated Gothic Revival styling. The popularity of the style for ecclesiastical buildings was typical throughout the United States in the latter years of the nineteenth century and the first decades of the twentieth.

The Gothic Revival style became popular for large domestic buildings, often country houses of the wealthy. The style had come to the United States from England, where it had begun in the mid-eighteenth century when a wealthy dilettante remodeled his country house in the Medieval style, using battlements and pointed-arch windows. Over the next century, the style, known as Picturesque, became popular for English country houses. The first documented example of a full-style Gothic dwelling in the United States was designed by Alexander Jackson Davis in 1832, in Baltimore. Davis's 1837 book, *Rural Residences*, was this country's first house plan book and was dominated by Gothic examples. Davis's friend, Andrew Jackson Downing, expanded Davis's ideas in pattern books published in the 1840s and 1850s, and his successful promotions were responsible for the popularity of the style. Interestingly, the style was promoted for rural dwellings rather than urban.

The style was in declining favor for American domestic buildings after 1865, although simpler Gothic buildings were stimulate by the writings of the English critic John Ruskin. The later Gothic was principally applied to public and religious buildings, and the style became extremely popular for religious structures.[1]

Three Winston-Salem African-American Gothic Revival style churches, Lloyd Presbyterian Church, Goler Memorial AME Zion Church, and Mars Hill Baptist Church, represent a range of designs which are variations of the style. All have the pointed arches which became, in American architecture, almost a symbol of a church building. Similarly, whether of brick or frame, the

[1] McAlester, pp. 197-209.

buildings all have salient buttresses at corners and on side elevations, and all with slanted caps. Although all in this group of Gothic Revival churches are front-gabled buildings, only Lloyd Church is symmetrical with a central entrance. The others have corner bell towers which serve as entrance towers. The use of towers flanking a gable-front elevation was one of the major elements of Gothic Revival-style churches throughout the United States. Lloyd Church and Mars Hill have a center-aisle plan inside.

Lloyd Presbyterian Church is the oldest of the churches in this property type and the only frame building. Now known to have been built between 1900 and 1907, it is a charming Carpenter Gothic building covered with a pressed metal shingle gable-front roof. Lloyd Church has a three-bay front facade with a projecting one-bay vestibule and wooden stair. A small square steeple with bellcast spire rises from the ridge. The most notable features are the Gothic Revival-style fenestration with paired lancet windows at the front and pointed-arch windows at the side, all filled with double-hung sashes and panes of colored glass. Wood drip molds embellish all windows and the front entrance. Inside, a beaded-board cove ceiling creates a herringbone pattern above the five-inch heart of pine floors and original handcarved pews with Gothic ornamentation, all in a center-aisle plan. A double-level raised pulpit platform is in front of a recessed apse. Chamfered window surrounds and beaded board wainscot remain. The building is remarkably unaltered.

Goler Memorial African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church was built in 1918-1919 to replace an earlier frame building on its site. It is a brick, Gothic Revival-style church with gable-front roof and square brick towers at each front corner. Gothic Revival detailing includes brick salient buttresses which rise at each corner, lancet windows, large pointed-arch windows and doorways, and circular windows, all filled with stained glass. Cast stone detailing emphasizes these elements. Goler Memorial, unlike Lloyd Church, has an asymmetrical facade. Its principal tower is four levels in height; the other is a three-stage tower. Inside, Goler has a theater-style plan with entrances at the center and on each side through the corner towers.

Mars Hill Baptist Church is also brick with a corner entrance tower. Built in the East Winston neighborhood in 1915 in the Gothic Revival style, it has an asymmetrical facade with front-gabled roof and a large, squat three-stage tower with salient buttresses rising three levels. At the top is a belfry with open pointed arches. Pointed-arch windows filled with stained-glass are the prominent feature of the front gable end and both side elevations. A stone foundations serves the building and the buttresses between each window bay on the side elevations. An interesting feature is the use of pointed-arch variations of the "Moravian bonnet" door hoods popular in this community and reflecting the building's original use as a Moravian church.

Classical Revival

Goler Metropolitan African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church is the only pre-1947 Classical Revival-style African-American church in Winston-Salem. Nevertheless, it follows the convention of the gable front with flanking towers. Its basic form is a front-gabled brick church with a prominent projecting pedimented porch with full entablature, supported by replacement Doric columns and Ionic pilasters. The building is symmetrical with large square two-story brick towers topped with open-arched octagonal cupolas. Elliptical and round-arched openings ornament the front facade. The Akron-plan interior is evident from the one-story hipped-roof wings which run the length of each side elevation beneath the stained glass windows of the sanctuary.

These four churches were built in a twenty-five year period between 1900 and 1923; all are unusually intact and any additions have been sensitively designed. Lloyd Church, the earliest, has undergone little change, and the only expansion has been a sheltered entrance to the basement. Goler Memorial's rear two-story addition replaced an original annex in the same location that was damaged by fire. Mars Hill has added a two-story gable-roof addition and a smaller rear ell to house its administrative and educational programs. Goler Metropolitan's additions also blend with its original annex.

Significance

By the 1870s and 1880s, a number of churches were being built by the expanding African-American community of Winston. The church became the primary center in the religious, social, and political aspects of community life, and an agent for welfare, meeting the needs of many members. The churches played a major role in stressing the importance of political involvement and voting, and helped promote African-American candidates for local and state positions. Many of these congregations were begun in private residences, or held worship in brush arbors or community buildings. The histories of the community's churches show how often congregations moved, sometimes every few years, until a satisfactory permanent church was constructed. From early photographs we know great effort was made to erect handsome buildings with the distinction demanded of a major community institution. The four buildings in this property type are important to Winston-Salem as they reflect the growth and affluence of the African-American community as a result of the huge labor needs of the tobacco industry. The memberships of these churches included those who broke new ground, establishing businesses never before operated by African-Americans and becoming leaders in a community of ambitious, prosperous people. The buildings are also significant in the architectural history of Winston-Salem as important and intact examples of the Gothic Revival and Classical Revival styles. They are significant not only as part of the African-American community, and not only as architectural landmarks, but as an expression of the unusual history of the development of the city's neighborhoods. Mars Hill and Goler Metropolitan

were built in established, comfortable white neighborhoods to serve white congregations. Their shift to black congregations in 1941 and 1944 is a tangible representation of the growth and radical change seen among Winston-Salem's African-American population and in Winston-Salem's neighborhoods in the twentieth century.

Registration Requirements

To meet eligibility requirements for inclusion in the National Register, African-American churches in northeastern Winston-Salem first must satisfy Criteria Consideration A for listing. To satisfy Criteria Consideration A regarding religious structures, eligible churches must derive their primary significance from architectural distinction and historical importance. A church must also meet either eligibility Criterion A or C, or both. In order to meet Criterion C, churches must retain integrity of their architecture, including setting, design, materials, workmanship, feeling, and association. They should employ traditional early-twentieth-century architectural styles and details that identify their time period and original use, and retain traditional early-twentieth-century church forms, floor plans, and materials. In general, the churches should also retain their urban setting, siting, and orientation to the street and sidewalk. Additions or alterations to the churches will meet the requirement by generally respecting the original design, fabric, and scale of the main church building. In general, Winston-Salem's African-American churches did not have graveyards associated with the churches and located on or near the church property.

To meet Criterion A for social history and African-American heritage, churches should be reflective of the growth of the African-American population in Winston, first around the tobacco factories, and later as it spread to the east, establishing new neighborhoods and adopting formerly white neighborhoods and churches for a new congregation. Some of the eligible churches will be in changed settings due to changes in their neighborhoods. Two examples are Lloyd Presbyterian Church and Goler Memorial AME Zion Church. They are extraordinary reminders of the successful neighborhood that once was at Depot Street, and represent the character of religious, social, and political life in that area where so many of Winston-Salem's black churches were established. Mars Hill Baptist Church and Goler Metropolitan AME Zion are examples of church buildings that tell the fascinating story of the transformation of the city's East Winston neighborhood from white to black with houses re-occupied and churches returned to their original use in a short time.

II. Twentieth-century brick commercial buildings.

Description

A combination of physical and associative characteristics help define the property type for twentieth-century brick commercial buildings. The properties will all be located in the northeastern neighborhoods of Winston-Salem as defined in Section E of this Multiple Property Documentation Form. They generally will have been used as office, retail, service, or other related functions near a business or commercial area, and will have served a generally white clientele, or have been located within an African-American neighborhood between 1900 and 1947 and served a generally African-American population. Architecturally, the buildings generally will be of frame or brick construction. Most will be designed in a manner that identifies their commercial function, although some exceptions may have a more domestic quality, or in some cases perhaps were a long-term use of a building constructed originally for another purpose, such as a dwelling. Of the commercial buildings in areas that were predominantly African-American during some or all of the period from 1900 to 1947, fewer than ten remain. A cluster of commercial buildings near the corner of Jackson Avenue and East Fourteenth Street had been owned and operated by African-Americans since their construction in the first and second quarters of the twentieth century. These were typical of many of the smaller storefront buildings common in Winston-Salem. The building that recently housed the Iron Kettle Laundromat, for example, was a one-story brick building with front and side parapets, three bays wide with soldier course lintels on the front facade, and vertical-paned transoms. It was flanked by brick commercial buildings of similar style; however, all have been demolished. A few blocks west was Bernard's Superette, a brick-veneered commercial building built in the second quarter of the twentieth century with parapet walls, inset second floor porch, and basketweave brick course. The first floor had been rebuilt and a mansard-style roof added before its demolition in 1994. One of the few remaining commercial buildings in the East Winston neighborhood is at 151 Wheeler Street. Built as a store, it had served since 1945 as the Christian Institute School and as a Bible College. It is now vacant. It was built probably in the 1930s as a one-story, three-bay brick commercial building with parapet roof. The building was permastoned in the late 1950s.

Throughout Winston-Salem's African-American neighborhoods, a prevalent commercial building was the neighborhood grocery store. Some were flat-roofed additions on the side of a house, added to serve as a grocery store or shop. City directories show that, not infrequently, more than one grocery store would be on a block, and corners were the most common location. Surprisingly, few of these remain. A common simple commercial building in Winston-Salem's African-American neighborhoods was often a one-story flat-roofed brick or generally brick-veneered building with ornamentation derived from simple materials, such as brick patterning. Front windows were generally larger than those of domestic buildings, and became larger with time. Many buildings had

their storefront windows enlarged as plate glass became commonly available. Typical characteristics of these buildings are brick corbelling, front or corner entrances, brick soldier courses and basketweave or herringbone patterned brick, large front windows, transom windows, name plaques on an upper level, and parapet roofs. In almost all cases, the building had little or no setback from the sidewalk, and entrances were on the front facade, generally on or close to street level, or in the case of corner buildings were at a diagonal with a metal pole supporting the projecting corner above.

Three commercial buildings remain in the Depot Street neighborhood, all on Patterson Avenue. These are by far the finest pre-1947 African-American commercial buildings remaining in all of Winston-Salem today. The earliest is the Goler Building which was under construction in 1907 on the corner of East Sixth Street. It is a masonry building with a veneer of rusticated hollow concrete blocks molded to imitate granite. The veneer faces the two street fronts; brick is the exposed material on the less visible north and west elevations. The Goler Building is large, with nine bays on the east elevation and eleven bays on the south side. Centered in the parapet of the east facade is a raised false wall. Between two similar false walls above the Sixth Street facade is a cast stone plaque with the words "Goler Building." The letter N was placed in the mold backwards when the plaque was cast. Some of the details of the building include cast stone watertables, crenelation at the parapet, an inset corner entrance with metal storefront and decorative tiles inlaid in the entrance floor. At each of the three main entrances, large transoms above three-part glass storefronts help illuminate the interior. Cast rosettes adorn the metal entrance lintels. Immediately next door and north of the Goler Building is the Emma Building, constructed a few years later in 1910. It is a two-story yellow brick building with decorative tin cornice above a raised gable parapet reading "19 The Emma 10." The building has four storefront entrances and an entrance to the stairway to the second floor. Each entrance originally had a storefront window with large leaded-glass transoms. A molded tin cornice is found above the storefronts. False pilasters of yellow brick quoins separate the bays, and windows of the second floor are six-over-six with granite jack arches and sills.

Both the Goler and Emma buildings are in deteriorated condition with leaking roofs, and both have been vacant for several years. A fire in the Emma Building in early 1997 damaged two storefronts and opened a large portion of the front facade to rain. The backs of both buildings are seriously deteriorated with areas of failing exterior walls and serous roof damage. Despite their high level of significance both architecturally and historically, their future is uncertain.

The A. Robinson Building is a block north on Patterson Avenue and was built thirty years after the Emma and Goler buildings. The Robinson Building uses simple materials and ornamentation to create a balanced composition and an imposing appearance, while retaining the identifying characteristics of commercial buildings such as the stepped parapet, name plaque, and storefront windows. It is clearly one of the finest commercial structures remaining among the city's African-American resources. It is in good condition and both levels are in use today.

Significance

The earliest remaining city directories show many commercial uses already underway in the Depot Street neighborhood in the last decades of the nineteenth century. African-American neighborhoods that developed early but were on the outskirts of the canvass area, such as Boston Cottages, were not included in directories for decades, so we know less about their commercial development. However, most neighborhoods were predominantly residential with only the necessary commercial spaces. Depot Street, on the other hand, was established before the turn of the century as *the* commercial hub of Winston's African-American community. A small cluster of African-American commercial buildings soon was built on East Fourteenth Street at Jackson Avenue, and grocery stores sprouted up in every neighborhood. These businesses not only enabled a population to provide for its needs, but took on great significance because of the severe racial separation that existed. Commercial facilities for the most part were completely segregated. Exceptions were the white grocers who served black neighborhoods, and institutional businesses generally run by whites, such as banks, that served African-American customers. Other exceptions were often found near the tobacco factories and the railroad depots, where black-operated barber shops and eating houses catered to a white clientele. However, the vast majority of the city's African-American commercial buildings were small and served black customers.

Alongside the smaller establishments, the city's more prominent and prosperous African Americans were able to construct unusually fine commercial buildings--two story, brick, well-executed, and with prevailing architectural styles. Today, the few remaining commercial buildings take on added significance because of the low number of surviving buildings in this property type, and because some of those that survive are representative of the rapid ascent from a society of unskilled laborers to one of affluent and educated professionals and skilled craftsmen. Buildings such as the Goler Building, the Emma Building, and the A. Robinson Building would not have been possible were it not for the success and ability of those who built them, and the financial means of a large group to sustain them through use.

Registration Requirements

In order to qualify for listing under Criterion A for social history and African-American heritage, the commercial buildings must have been used by members of northeast Winston-Salem's African-American community as a store of some sort, an office, a professional or trade service such as a laundry, or similar function. The buildings must be relatively intact examples of African-American commercial buildings erected between 1900 and 1947. To meet Criterion C, properties will usually meet registration requirements because of their overall form, floor plans, and materials. Additions or alterations generally should respect the design, materials, and scale of the original building. The integrity of their association and feeling is greatly bolstered by the presence of other buildings in

their neighborhood from similar period or periods, although the rapid change to many of Winston-Salem's African-American neighborhoods, mainly in the 1960s, 1970s and 1980s, should be acknowledged. The rapid redevelopment of properties in these neighborhoods as a more affluent society sought improvement also must be acknowledged when considering alterations. Some of the more prevalent alterations include later sidings, replacement roofing materials, signage, and window alterations. In general and where possible, commercial buildings in this property type should retain their urban settings, forms, basic floor plans, and materials that evoke their period of construction and their commercial uses. They should also retain a significant degree of stylistic integrity, where a style is present.

III. Twentieth-century brick apartment buildings

Description

The property type for twentieth-century brick apartment buildings can generally be defined by physical characteristics. The properties will all be located in the northeastern neighborhoods of Winston-Salem as defined in Section E of this Multiple Property Documentation Form. They will have been used as multiple residential units, and will have served a generally African-American population. Architecturally, the buildings generally will be of frame or brick construction. Most will be designed in a manner that identifies their function. Of the apartment buildings in the area defined by this MPDF, in areas that were occupied by African-Americans during some or all of the period from 1900 to 1947, only two remain. In all of Winston-Salem, fewer than eight remain, and most several have undergone major alterations.

Of the apartment buildings in this property type, some may be one-story, but most will generally be two-story frame, brick, or brick-veneered buildings with hipped or gable roofs. Many will have porches on one or both levels, and a staircase to reach the second level. A popular style in the numerous apartments once found in these neighborhoods is the "letter Y" staircase, found within porches inset beneath the roof and extending the full front of the building. The buildings will have entrance and window bays on the front and back, with domestically-styled windows, usually double-hung.

Significance

The porch and stair form was a popular one in Winston-Salem. At one time there were dozens of similar apartment buildings on North Cherry Street and on neighboring streets such as Pittsburgh and Garfield. The Depot Street area itself had dozens of these buildings, most brick but some frame. Today, only two of these survive in the Depot Street area, and a handful are scattered along North

Cherry Street, most remodeled, outside the boundaries of this MPDF. They have not been recognized locally as being of significance, probably due to their familiarity to those who grew up at a time when they were abundant. However, as far as has been determined, the stair design of these apartment buildings is peculiar to Winston-Salem. They are not found in other cities that historically had large African-American populations, such as Raleigh, Durham, Wilson, and Charlotte. Despite interviews with about twenty elderly residents, with current and former owners of some of these buildings, and with children of earlier contractors and realtors, the origin of this design remains a mystery. Most of these apartments were built by white realtors or private individuals who invested heavily in real estate. That is the nature of apartment buildings, however, regardless of their design. Several white real estate firms concentrated in African-American neighborhoods where they managed their own rental properties and those of their white clients, who were absentee landlords. Until as recently as the 1980s, the real estate firms sent employees door-to-door to collect rents.

The few surviving apartment buildings are therefore of extreme significance as the only remaining examples of a highly popular type--the apartment building--that came into heavy use in the Depot Street area, on North Cherry Street, and in much of northeastern Winston-Salem in the 1930s as an alternative to the frame shotguns of an earlier day. Sanborn maps updated in the 1940s show rows of similar apartment buildings on the streets crossing and paralleling Patterson Avenue, on North Cherry Street and nearby streets including Pittsburg and Garfield streets.

Registration Requirements

In order to qualify for listing, the apartment buildings must have been erected as multi-family residences, and must be relatively intact examples of apartment buildings built in Winston-Salem's African-American neighborhoods between 1900 and 1947. In order to meet Criterion C, properties must retain integrity of location, design, setting, materials, and associations. Additions or alterations generally should respect the design, materials, and scale of the original building. The decline in many of these neighborhoods and resultant delay in maintenance must be acknowledged when considering alterations. In general and where possible, apartment buildings in this property type should retain their urban settings, forms, basic floor plans, and materials that evoke their period of construction and their residential use. In order to meet Criterion A for social history and African-American heritage, buildings should be reflective of the explosive growth of the African-American population and the continued evolution of African-American neighborhoods.

Section G. Geographical Data

The Historic and Architectural Resources of African-American Neighborhoods in Northeastern Winston-Salem, 1900 to 1947, are located within the corporate limits of the City of Winston-Salem. The eastern boundary generally is Brushy Fork Creek; the southern boundary is I-40 business; the western and northern boundaries are generally Liberty Street, East Nineteenth Street, a north-south line along and continuing Jackson Avenue, and an east-west line along and extending East Thirty-first Street from Jackson Avenue to Brushy Fork Creek.

Section H. Summary of Identification and Evaluation Methods

The multiple property listing of Historic and Architectural Resources of African-American Neighborhoods in Northeastern Winston-Salem, 1900 to 1947, is based upon a 1992 to 1994 research project and architectural resources inventory of African-American buildings in Winston-Salem, and additional 1997 research, both conducted by Langdon E. Oppermann under the auspices of the City of Winston-Salem and the North Carolina Division of Archives and History (State Historic Preservation Office). A first phase of the project involved research and identification of neighborhoods occupied chiefly by African Americans during all or part of the neighborhood's existence before 1950. The inventory identified more than 2,000 properties, examining every street, lane, and alley within these areas. Properties from the simplest to high-style dwellings, as well as commercial buildings, churches, and others were recorded, giving representation to a range of ages, types, uses, and styles. The predominant use was residential. For each recorded property, locations were noted on planimetric maps of the city provided by the city-county planning staff; exterior black-and-white photographs were taken and archivally processed; computerized inventory forms were completed; research, including comprehensive review of city directories and Sanborn maps, was conducted; oral histories were taken; and architectural and historical descriptions were written. In addition, color slides were taken of representative and significant blocks and properties.

The survey identified a wide range of resources in the city's African-American neighborhoods spanning the years from the late nineteenth century to about 1950. Integrity requirements for listing properties were based upon a knowledge of the presence and condition of existing properties derived from the comprehensive inventory. Research on the development of African-American resources in Winston-Salem, their functions, as well as the architectural and physical features of the most intact surviving properties, derived from the inventory, were considered in developing the historic contexts, significant property types, and registration requirements.

In April of 1995, the state's National Register Advisory Committee reviewed the recommendations of its staff, the staff of the Forsyth County Joint Historic Properties Commission, and the project consultant, and determined that a number of individual properties and historic districts were eligible for listing in the National Register, recommending at the same time that they be placed on the state's Study List and that nominations be prepared.

The five nominated properties included with this multiple properties nomination are the first phase of nominations. They were chosen because of their locations within a neighborhood that was of exceptional significance to African-American life and development in Winston-Salem, and because they are exceptional examples of important types that are fast disappearing in Winston-Salem and, as such, are evocative of historical African-American life in the city.

--Langdon E. Oppermann
1997

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INTERVIEWS

Gloria Diggs Banks, granddaughter of Jefferson Davis Diggs.

Paul S. Bitting, former resident of Happy Hill, son of Wade Bitting.

Mrs. Blakely, secretary Burkhead United Methodist Church.

Mike Bradshaw, archivist, Pilot Mt. Baptist Association.

Dorothy Mack Brown, lifelong resident of Dreamland Park.

Mary Atkins Bruce, granddaughter of Simon G. Atkins and former reference librarian at Horton Branch Public Library.

Dr. William H. Bruce, Jr., African-American doctor, son of doctor involved in real estate, including Bruce Building and area-wide investment.

Rev. G. W. Bumgarner, former minister; re: former Grace Methodist Church (now First Calvary).

Hattie Elliott, Goler Metropolitan AMEZ Church.

Moses Lucas, has worked with YMCA for 30-35 years.

Clyde Mack, lifelong resident of Dreamland Park.

Naomi McLean, started first black business school; contributed information on black commercial areas.

Sarah Oliver, historian for St. Paul's Church

Ruby Petree, longtime member of Fries Memorial Moravian Church on E. 4th Street (now Mars Hill Baptist Church).

Christine Purdy, childhood in Winston-Salem; daughter of Charlie Wilson.

Dr. William J. Rice, former resident of East Winston, president of the Society for the Study of Afro-American History in Winston-Salem and Forsyth County, and chairman of the Forsyth County Joint Historic Properties Commission.

Raymer Sale, longtime owner Smith's Dry Cleaners at MLK and E. 4th.

Ida Settle, resident Dreamland Park.

Napoleon Sherard, Deacon, Mars Hill Baptist Church.

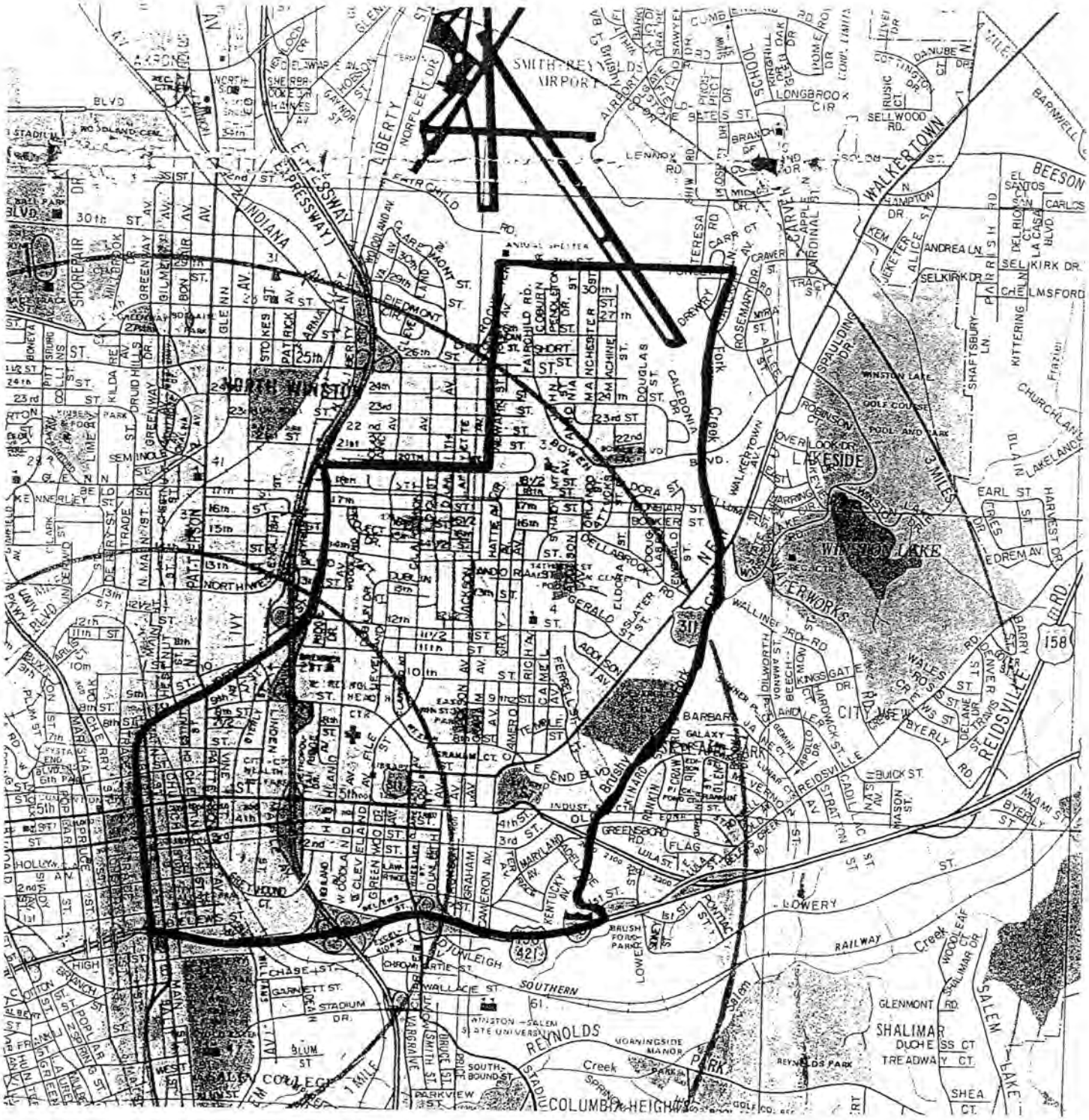
Betty Sue Sink, former member of Grace Methodist Church (now First Calvary, 401 Woodland Avenue.)

Richard Starbuck, Moravian Archives.

Elizabeth Lovie West, clerk of session, Lloyd Presbyterian Church; resident Reynoldstown, and former resident Shuttle St in Columbian Heights.

Ella Whitworth, longtime resident and member of board of Society for the Study of Afro-American History in Winston-Salem and Forsyth County.

Amos Wilson, resident of Skyland Park since 1950.

Charlie Wilson, 91-year-old former RJR employee who came from South Carolina as a child.

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