Winston-Salem's African-American Neighborhoods: 1870-1950

ON THE COVER:
Lloyd Presbyterian Church on Chestnut Street, ca. 1894.
See page 31 for a discussion of the Depot Street area; this was the early business, social, cultural and religious hub of the African American community.

Winston-Salem's African-American Neighborhoods: 1870-1950

ARCHITECTURAL AND PLANNING REPORT
1994

by
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INTRODUCTION

Purpose

On February 26, 1990, the City of Winston-Salem announced that an anonymous donor had given $30,000 for identification and preservation of significant buildings associated with Winston-Salem's African-American history. With grants from the North Carolina Division of Archives and History, the city increased the money and began a comprehensive four- or five-year program to research African-American Neighborhoods and settlement patterns in the city, to complete an intensive architectural inventory of buildings associated with African-American history, to initiate an oral history program, to nominate properties to the National Register, and to increase community awareness of the city's black history. The Forsyth County Joint Historic Properties Commission under the direction of Dr. William J. Rice sponsored the project with the assistance of HPC staff planner C. LeAnn Pegram. Several of these efforts are completed or underway, and the city hopes to secure grants from other potential donors to continue these critical efforts.

Products

The first two phases of the City's effort were conducted in 1992 and 1993 by Langdon E. Oppermann, preservation planner. The City hired Ms. Oppermann after requesting proposals from a number of consultants. Her training in architectural history, city planning and National Register evaluations has emphasized historic properties in the southern United States and she has worked professionally in preservation planning since the mid-1970s after receiving her B.A. and M.A. degrees in Historic Preservation and City Planning. Ms. Oppermann, a resident of Winston-Salem, prepared a preliminary report after the Phase I research project. This report, completed in 1994, reflects overall research on the development of neighborhoods as well as new information from the building-by-building inventory of approximately 2,220 buildings in the city. Submitted with this report is the inventory list giving a brief architectural description for each building, location on planimetric maps, and black-and-white 35 mm photographs. Duplicate sets of survey files for each block in the inventoried area are filed at the City-County Planning Office and at the Division of Archives and History in Raleigh.

This report depicts the development of late nineteenth and early to mid-twentieth century African-American Neighborhoods in Winston-Salem. An appended series of maps (see front pocket) shows where whites and blacks lived in 1929, 1939 and 1949. These coded occupancy maps can be used to identify changing racial patterns of each street, to identify predominantly black and white neighborhoods during each period, and to show changing patterns of black residency in the city over the years. Also included in this report is an annotated bibliography on African-American history and Winston-Salem urban history.

Methodology and Problems of Research

The project was conducted in two phases. Phase 1 was documentary research on the location and development of African-American Neighborhoods. Phase 2 was the building-by-building inventory of structures remaining in those neighborhoods.

Phase 1

Researching the city's black neighborhoods was difficult, as there has been little systematic written history of African-Americans in the city. This is true of black history in general. Not only were few records kept, but black history has typically been omitted from overview histories of a community or region. Such is the case here as well. Even so, Adelaide Fries's revised county history includes a section on black history which, though sketchy, demonstrates the impressive accomplishments of blacks in Winston-Salem during years of discrimination. Other secondary materials providing the most specific information on blacks in Winston-Salem included theses and dissertations on topics such as labor relations, riots, or union organizers at R.J. Reynolds Tobacco Company.

As a result, this project depended in large part on primary research rather than written histories. Research concentrated most heavily on city directories, early maps, physical information from extant buildings and neighborhoods, and oral histories. Other documents used in the research included Sanborn maps, early plats and tax maps, other early maps of the city, early newspapers, items in the subject files of the North Carolina Room of the Forsyth County Public Library, cemetery records, deeds, corporation deeds, plats, wills and estate records, census records, the files of the State Historic Preservation Office, oral history interviews, unpublished manuscripts, church histories, theses and dissertations, published histories of Forsyth County, other books, Gwynne S. Taylor's From Frontier to Factory (a 1979 inventory of historic architecture in Forsyth County), Fries and others' Forsyth, History of a County on the March, and previous research conducted by Ms. Oppermann.

Official records such as tax maps and city directories were fundamental to the research. Early tax maps often show neighborhood names no longer in use, as well as indicating when lots were subdivided or new areas developed. Some tax records also include brief deed traces which, used with the city directories, can document when a property was first owned by an African-American. Much was learned from careful study of the city's annual directories. These were similar to today's directories: they include sections listing residents alphabetically, giving occupation and home address, as well as alphabetical listings of streets within the city limits showing occupants of each block. The directories identified African-Americans with an asterisk or "c" for "colored," or often had a separate "Colored Section" altogether. This practice continued until 1952. While unacceptable today, the practice proved to be an indispensable aid in identifying the race of occupants on each block, and subsequently the racial patterns of the city's neighborhoods. Directories were examined in ten-year intervals to record changes in neighborhoods which were then transferred onto early city maps. A 1938 base map was used because of its superior clarity. Unfortunately, reliable maps could not be prepared for periods before 1929 because information in earlier directories excluded so many predominantly black streets that the residency patterns appeared misleading.

Another difficulty in research was the frequency of changing street names. In the early twentieth century, street names were repeated in a surprising number of cases. A 1912 city map shows about ten streets with duplicate-named streets elsewhere, despite the city's relatively small size. In one or two cases three streets had the same name. Street names changed frequently; often a street changed its name more than once. In general, where a duplication existed it was the black street that received a new name

while the white street name was not changed. Thus research of a particular street depended first on knowing all the names of that street.

In using the occupancy maps (in front pocket of this report) it is important to recognize that city directories are known to have numerous errors. In addition, information on predominantly black areas was often included in the directories only after an area had been occupied for years, or even decades. For example, listings of residents of a street might stop at a certain cross street when in fact the street continued. Too often the stopping point in the directory reflected instead the change from predominantly white to predominantly black. Thus, the number of blacks in the directories does not reflect the actual numbers of blacks living in the city. Nevertheless, with all their gaps city directories remain the most complete source of information. By comparing the directories each ten years, we are able to get a vision of the overall dispersion of the black and white populations.

Phase 2

Ms. Oppermann and her assistant, Elizabeth M. Godwin, began the building-by-building inventory in April 1993 and continued through January of 1994. In conducting field investigations, they drove every public street shown in Phase 1 research to have been associated with African-Americans before 1950. Most buildings were not found in any of the sources consulted as a part of this project. A few were included in Gwynne Taylor's 1979 architectural inventory of the city and county.

Every building in these areas which appeared to have been constructed before 1950 was inventoried. For each, an architectural description was written, the building was recorded on a planimetric map (scale of 1" = 200'), two or more exterior black-and-white photographs were made, and interviews were conducted with scores of residents. Because many houses had no visible street numbers, county tax records were researched during the last phase of the survey in an effort to have a street address for each building. Despite these efforts, there remain a number of buildings in the inventory without a specific street number.

Critical to the research were the interviews conducted with local historians and residents, used both to confirm material found in records and, more often, to provide information not available elsewhere. Existing histories of Winston-Salem concentrate on the white community's involvement in the development of the city. Even those histories that acknowledge the contributions of African-Americans include only limited information, and most is not site-specific. Because of the scarcity of written documentation on the city's black history and especially its black neighborhoods, these oral histories were a significant element of the project. Under the City's original schedule for the project, a specialist was to be hired to conduct an oral history project concurrent with this research and inventory. That effort did not begin until the inventory was near completion; it is now ongoing.

As often as possible during field work, Ms. Oppermann conducted impromptu interviews with residents of each neighborhood. These interviews were as critical to the inventory as they had been for the overview research conducted in Phase 1. Individuals were cooperative in the oral history program. Particular efforts were made to locate individuals who had primary information regarding late-nineteenth and early twentieth-century history and residents. Numerous interviews were conducted with people giving first-hand reports of neighborhood life before and during the Depression, reports of the years when a neighborhood was being developed or was changing from primarily white to primarily black. Interviews were also used to help identify possible interviewees. Additional interviews were conducted by telephone.

After the field work, focused research was conducted on individual properties or blockfaces. City directories and deed abstracts made up the bulk of this research. Each inventory listing includes the street address, an approximate date of construction, the number of stories, and a brief architectural description. In some cases historic information on an individual building is included. Perhaps the greatest challenge of the inventory was assigning a construction date to each building. Many houses are modest frame dwellings with little or no ornamentation giving clues to the changing styles of different periods. In addition, a large number of buildings have been altered considerably. Too often during the inventory, we would confront a one-story, gable-roofed house whose original windows had been replaced with modern windows of different size, whose porch had been removed or replaced, whose foundation had been freshly stuccoed, whose chimney(s) had been removed, whose roof was now asphalt, and whose weatherboards, window surrounds, and soffits had been covered totally with vinyl siding. It is difficult to pin a date on such a building from exterior visual evidence. And all too often these buildings were not recorded in city directories for the reasons discussed earlier. If oral histories gave no information, the date in the inventory is a best guess.

Survey files were made for the entire inventory. Both the survey files and the typed inventory list are organized first alphabetically by street names, then secondarily by direction, and then by block numbers or street address. Thus East Jones Street precedes West Jones Street, and both precede King Street. In the case of a large block, some files are divided for administrative reasons (to avoid duplicate negative numbers). For example, the 700 block of Smith Street might be divided into two files, one the odd-numbered side, the other the even. This was avoided wherever possible. Each file includes a green data sheet, typed inventory list, labeled photographs of each building, labeled negatives in an archival sleeve, copies of Sanborn Maps where available, and any historical information (e.g., from city directories).

* * *

A discouraging and sad part of this project has been the striking difference between, on the one hand, the remarkable quantity and importance of buildings that were built by African-Americans and which reflect the accomplishments of the growing black middle class, and on the other, the low proportion of surviving buildings. It is distressing to acknowledge that the remaining buildings associated with Winston-Salem's black history are too few to accurately reflect the brilliance of that history.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND AND ECONOMIC GROWTH

Winston-Salem's unusual and distinctive black 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 textile and tobacco industries began their exceptional growth. Prestigious black neighborhoods were developed in the city. Their remnants 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 in the first half of this century. African-American history in Winston-Salem is the story of a society of highly successful individuals and a large working class who lived and worked here.

Early Background

Forsyth County's earliest occupants were Indians of the Saura, Tutelo, and Saponi tribes. Evidence of numerous settlements along the area's streams and rivers has been found, as well as trading trails which generally paralleled ridge lines. The Indians gained a generous subsistence from floodplain farming and small game hunting; however, by the early part of the eighteenth century, disease, slavery, and war had severely reduced the Indian population of the area.[1] Tribal groups along the Atlantic coast had been splintered after the massive arrival of Europeans, and the smallpox and typhus they brought spread inland and cut drastically into the native population. The epidemics and slave hunts reduced entire tribes to insignificant numbers.[2]

The topography and creek system of Forsyth County greatly influenced its white settlement and development. Because transportation by waterways was inadequate, land transportation, although slow and expensive, was the only alternative. Along the eastern seaboard it followed the lines of the ridges and 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" which extended down the valleys from Pennsylvania. A few white colonists came up from South Carolina. Because these land routes north to Philadelphia and south to South Carolina were also the principal arteries of trade, cross-country contacts with eastern North Carolina, both cultural and economic, were limited.

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[1] NCAIA, Architectural Guide, p. 6.

[2] 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 and their settlement was later made into a reservation.

Salem

The major settlers in present Forsyth County were members of a German-speaking, theocratic group called the Moravians.[3] In 1753 a small band of Moravians reached the area and established first Bethabara, a temporary settlement west of today's Winston-Salem, and later Bethania, a planned town northwest of Bethabara. A tract of land known as Wachovia was laid off by the General Assembly in 1755 as an area for settlement by the Moravians.[4] 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.[5] Its name, 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.[6] 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.[7] 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.[8]

In the first half of the nineteenth century many changes occurred in Salem as a result of increased exposure to non-Moravian influences. The rules and attitudes of the residents of Salem began to change, including the Moravian attitudes toward African-Americans. In the mid-eighteenth century when the Moravians arrived in Forsyth County, slavery was seen as a totally unacceptable institution. However, by the late eighteenth century Moravians were becoming more aware of the attitude of neighboring non-Moravians toward African-Americans and feeling more pressure to conform to the black-white relations practiced by outsiders.[9] 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."[10] Interestingly, a few years later in 1792 Moravian records expressed concern over the "different treatment" of African-Americans. Nevertheless, despite continued opposition by many the Moravians as a group became more tolerant of the institution of slavery, until by the turn of the nineteenth century many Moravians were interested in owning slaves. In contrast, in an 1814 meeting of the church elders it was decided that slavery diminished the work ethic of whites and an existing rule prohibiting Negroes from Salem was confirmed. By the 1820s some Moravians owned slaves against the Church's rule and other changes in attitude were becoming evident.[11]

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

[4] 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.

[5] Powell, Gazetteer, p. 512.

[6] Powell, Gazetteer, p. 434.

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

[8] NCAIA, Architectural Guide, p. 6.

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

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

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

In 1822 the Salem Female Missionary Society was formed with one of its chief missions being to organize religious work among the black people. The Society started a separate congregation for blacks--another indication of changing attitudes toward African-Americans--and a small log church was consecrated in 1823. A few years later the Society began a "Sunday School for Negroes" and taught reading, writing and studying the Bible. However, the reading and writing had to be discontinued in 1830 when the General Assembly passed a law reinforcing a clause in the slave code which prohibited education for slaves. The law did not prohibit education for free blacks in North Carolina but lack of funds and opportunity had the same effect.[12]

As Moravians became more assimilated into the culture of the surrounding South, even the church elders acknowledged the Moravians' continued 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 . . . "[13] The church elders 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.[14] 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.[15] By this time, major industrial establishments had developed 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, followed by F. and H. Fries Company, 1846 and Spach Wagon Works, 1854).[16]

Economic Growth and Development of 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 the southern half of Stokes County and named for Colonel Benjamin Forsyth, a Stokes County hero in the War of 1812, the community of Salem sold a 51-acre tract of land just north of town for the establishment of a county seat.[17] The new county seat was named in 1851 for Major Joseph Winston (1746-1814), a Revolutionary leader and, like Forsyth, a Stokes County native.[18] The town of Winston was laid out in an extension of Salem's grid pattern. The original Winston plan was bounded generally by present Seventh Street on the north,

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[12] 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.

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

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

[15] Powell, Gazetteer, p. 434.

[16] NCAIA, Architectural Guide, p. 9; also Fries and others, History of a County, pp. 98-100.

[17] Taylor, Frontier to Factory, pp. 2-3. Salem itself had refused the offer to become the county seat in an attempt to protect the religious community from outside influences.

[18] Powell, Gazetteer, p. 540.

Depot Street (today's Patterson Avenue) to the east, First Street on the south, and Spring Street on the west. Outlying development continued to follow the framework of previously established Indian and early white roads.[19]

The new town of Winston soon transformed the area from one of domestic enterprise to one of industry and mass production. The 1850 census for Forsyth County shows a diverse industrial base in an overwhelmingly agricultural county, including 21 grist mills, 13 sawmills, 8 wagon factories, and tanneries, cotton and woolen mills, iron foundries, and bakeries. Just after the Civil War in 1867 the principal products of Winston remained wheat and dried fruits and berries. Local manufacturing was confined to two wagon works in Waughtown, a textile mill, flour mill and a carriage works in Salem, and a carriage and wagon works in Winston.[20] In 1870 Winston was still a small town with a population of 473, and tobacco manufacturing as an industry was as yet unknown. Just ten years later, after the explosion of the tobacco industry, Winston's population multiplied to 2,854 and then almost quadrupled by 1890.[21] This growth was the result of the coming of the railroad and the optimism of energetic entrepreneurs who built factories and warehouses.

Winston and Salem profited tremendously from the completion of the Northwest North Carolina Railroad extension from Greensboro in 1873 and other railroad connections made later in the 1870s. Hamilton Scales had established the city's first tobacco factory in 1872, Major T. J. Brown opened the city's first tobacco warehouse, and P.H. Hanes established a plug tobacco factory.[22] In the same year a construction company and lumber company were started in this still small town. In 1873 the railroad connection from Greensboro was completed and attracted new entrepreneurs and a new era to the city.

Among them was Richard Joshua Reynolds, a young man who left his father's tobacco company in Virginia to come to Winston-Salem in 1873 because he had learned of Winston's railroad connection and of its brand new tobacco sales warehouse. Reynolds and others like him built their factories and thus contributed to the rapid transformation of the small country towns to an industrial city. Reynolds began with a small factory that employed about 30 workers the first year; to expand in his second year he borrowed from his father and from a tobacco manufacturer in Baltimore. By 1876 his worth was valued at between $20,000 and $30,000, and by his third season he doubled the size of his factory and employed 75 people.[23] He was not without competition: a dozen new tobacco makers opened their doors in Winston between 1874 and 1879.[24] Reynolds continued to enlarge his plant every two years, and within four decades his firm had 100 buildings, a work force of 10,000, and millions of dollars. [25]

Chiefly because of the burgeoning tobacco industry, the two towns' businesses grew rapidly throughout the 1870s. In 1872 Branson's Business Directory listed the county's population as 13,050 with 26 manufactories, 39 merchants and 24 mills. By 1877, the county's population had grown by 38% to

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

[20] Brownlee, Pictorial History, p. 51.

[21] Smith, Industry and Commerce, p. 5.

[22] Fries and others, History of a County, pp. 179-180.

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

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

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

18,000 with 76 manufactories, 102 merchants, and 31 mills.[26] By the decade's end the first telephones were installed and Wachovia National Bank was founded. Winston's boom gained speed in the 1880s. The heavy demand for workers created in turn an equal demand for housing and for services for the expanding population. In 1880, seven years after the coming of the railroad, Winston had eleven tobacco factories; by 1888 it had twenty-six.[27] In 1887 electric street lights were turned on in Winston, and the pursuit of additional rail connections for the towns continued. In 1889 the Roanoke and Southern Railroad (now the Norfolk and Western) was brought to what was often called the "Twin Cities," connecting them to the important tobacco cities of Danville and Richmond, Virginia, and a line extended westward to North Wilkesboro, assuring Winston and Salem's continued growth.[28] With these years of expanding industry the two adjoining towns 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.[29]

The 1890s were a decade of continued growth and expansion of Winston and Salem. By 1894 a tobacco directory listed thirty-seven tobacco manufacturers in Winston alone.[30] Winston was also developing other industries: foundries, textiles, tobacco and furniture were the core of its success. In 1897 the impressive new Romanesque Revival courthouse was completed and a hydroelectric dam was built across the Yadkin River west of the city to supply, for the first time in the state, long-distance electric power to the city and its industries. During this decade, the exclusive, predominantly white suburbs of West End (west of Winston) and Washington Park (south of Salem) were developed along the lines of the cities' new streetcar and boasted paved streets and electric lights; Columbian Heights was built east of Winston for black professionals and was closely tied to the establishment of Slater Industrial Academy, a school for Negroes. Boston Cottages north of Winston was another speculative development for black residents, mostly renters.

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[26] Branson, Business Directory, 1872, pp. 93-95, and 1877, pp. 115-117.

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

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

[29] Taylor, Frontier to Factory, p. 3 and p. 37.

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

Twentieth Century Growth

In 1913, Winston and Salem, which had in a practical sense merged in the preceding decades, formally consolidated as a single city. With the tobacco industry and a host of other businesses flourishing, population growth and residential development of the Twin City grew dramatically. Records show a new house begun every week for twenty-two years.[31] Ardmore, named for the Philadelphia suburb, was a white suburb begun in 1914. As the automobile became more prevalent, the white neighborhood of West Highlands developed west of West End. Just as in West End and Washington Park, lavish houses for prosperous white businessmen were built along West Highland's central street, Stratford Road (then known as Lover's Lane). A small L-shaped street within the neighborhood became the "colored settlement" known as Silver Hill.

Ambitious people benefited abundantly from the growth of the Twin City. The lead headline in the Winston-Salem Journal on January 5, 1911, boasted proudly, "Winston-Salem with 22,700 Ranks 3rd in North Carolina," with subheads, "Goes Ahead of Asheville, While Asheville Drops Behind the Capital City; Wonderful Increase in all Lines; Twin-City Has Shown Remarkable Increase Along Industrial Lines--Increase Was 9,050, or 67 Per Cent." The newspaper reported an average increase of nearly 1,000 per year since 1900, and commented

> Within the last year every man in the city has been brought to the realization of the strategical position of the city, and the value as a feeder to a large area of surrounding country, and by stretching out into other fields for manufactories to locate here, which is the daily work of the Board of Trade, the ultimate development of Winston-Salem as a manufacturing and jobbing center cannot be too greatly emphasized. To give an idea of the diversity of the manufactured product emanating from this city may be mentioned knit goods, furniture, cotton and woolen goods, wagons and carts, iron and wood working machinery, fertilizer, building material, flour, meal and bread, shoes, candies, clothing and drugs the output of these alone exceeding eight million dollars.[32]

In 1913, the same year Winston and Salem were officially joined, the Reynolds Tobacco Co. produced the first "modern-type" tobacco blend, Camel cigarettes, which became the best-selling cigarette in the country.[33] The company's prosperity continued and surged. By 1915 Reynolds had built Factory No. 8 and its largest factory, No. 12, and enlarged No. 256, its oldest factory building.[34] In 1917 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 . . . "[35]

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[31] Tise, Building and Architecture, page 35.

[32] Winston-Salem Journal, 1/5/11, p. 1.

[33] Smith, Long Lance, p. 199. In 1930, RJR sold 38 million Camels.

[34] Taylor, Frontier to Factory, pp. 55-56, and Brownlee, A Pictorial History, p. 149.

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

The city's financial success was at its height in the 1920s. The population trebled from 1910 to 1930 from 22,700 to 75,800, making Winston-Salem the largest city in the state by 1920.[36] 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, formed to take advantage of the need for new housing. This phenomenal growth was a result chiefly of the booming tobacco and textile industries. By 1924 Winston-Salem was 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.[37] It was in this climate of extraordinary growth and wealth that the city's residents of both races prospered; in the first decades of the twentieth century the city attracted black newcomers at a rate similar to white newcomers.

Twentieth Century Growth of Winston-Salem's Black Community

With the manufacturing jobs came people, and with the people came the need for services and even more numerous employment opportunities. It is well known that the rapid expansion of industry and commerce in Winston-Salem provided jobs for whites; less recognized is that that held true for blacks as well, and at all socioeconomic levels. 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 black attorneys, physicians, ministers, factory workers, barbers, restaurant owners, grocers, dry cleaners, funeral directors, woodworkers, chauffeurs, domestic servants, insurance agents, teachers and others.[38] Winston was known in the southeast, as was Durham, as a place of opportunity, for whites and blacks, and people came here from all around, especially South Carolina and Virginia, as well as North Carolina.[39]

Although both tobacco and textiles brought the city's rapid growth and expansion, it was chiefly the tobacco factories that provided jobs for blacks. Cotton manufacturers in Winston-Salem as elsewhere generally hired white workers, drawn mainly from poor farmers who preferred factory work to tenant sharecropping.[40] For example, Hanes Mills boasted, "No Negroes save janitors are employed in the Hanes Cotton Mills."[41] By contrast, in Winston-Salem in 1931, the tobacco industries employed 33.3% of black male adult workers in the city and 48% of black female adult workers.[42] 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.[43] For

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[36] 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.

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

[38] A sampling of occupations from city directories.

[39] Oral interviews conducted by Oppermann.

[40] Reynolds and Shachtman, Gilded Leaf, p. 40.

[41] Anderson, Education of Blacks in the South, p. 227.

[42] Anderson, Education of Blacks in the South, p. 226.

[43] Cash, Mind of the South, pp. 258-261.

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.[44] Work in the tobacco factories was difficult and all foremen were white, but most workers considered it preferable to the work of a tenant farmer.

Primarily because of the tobacco industry, the black population of Winston and Salem had grown rapidly. The number of blacks in Forsyth County before the Civil War had been small, as slavery had come late to the Piedmont and never rivaled the numbers enslaved in the eastern part of North Carolina. By 1860 the total number of slaves in the towns of Winston and Salem was only slightly over three hundred.[45] However, with the need for cheap labor in the next decades the population of blacks multiplied. 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.[46] As black workers came, they settled around the north and eastern parts of the city around the Reynolds factories. Tobacco factories became increasingly mechanized after 1909 and work became year-round rather than seasonal; as a result blacks flocked to Winston and the black residential area expanded to the north, northwest and south.[47]

The city's black population grew at a rate equal to the white. In 1900, the city of 13,650 people was 40.5% black with 5,500 African-Americans. By 1910 population had increased by 66% to 22,700. Blacks remained at about 40% of the total, or 9,000, indicating a parallel 66% growth in the black population as well. In 1920 the rapid growth continued, increasing by over 113% to 48,000, and was second only to Baltimore in a federal index of industrial cities in the south.[48] Blacks were almost 43% indicating an even larger growth in the black population to 20,600. By 1930 Forsyth County, one of the smallest in the state, had become one of the most populous. Winston-Salem showed an increase of 55% over 1920 with a population of 75,300; the proportion of blacks held steady at 43% with about 33,000 blacks in the city in 1930. Blacks were more concentrated in the city than in the county. From 1915 and during the 1920s Winston-Salem was the largest city between Atlanta and Washington, D.C.[49] By 1930 Charlotte's population of 82,600 had surpassed Winston-Salem's, making Winston-Salem in 1930 the second largest city in the state. This nevertheless reflects its increase of 550% in the 30 years since 1900.[50]

With the success of the city's industries and of her citizens came deteriorating race relations. As blacks prospered and as their numbers grew, blacks began to displace much of the white labor force in jobs other than those with the tobacco industry. Similarly, blacks sought an improved standard of living, including improved housing, and recognized the goals of union organizers who became increasingly active in the new factories and businesses. Many of the jobs vacated by young white men during World

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[44] Brownlee, Pictorial History, p. 49.

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

[46] Brownlee, Pictorial History, p. 49, and Dunston, Struggle for Equality, p. 6.

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

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

[49] 1933 Statistical Abstract of the United States.

[50] U.S. Dept of Commerce, Bureau of Census, U.S. Census of Population: 1960, vol. I. Characteristics of the Population, pt. 35, N.C.; U.S. Census of Population, 1950 etc. (from Dunston, pp. 5 & 6).

War I were filled by blacks, prompting a stream of blacks into Winston and Salem. Bishop Rondthaler in his annual Memorabilia alluded frequently to "race friction" and counseled unity. As in other American cities, Winston-Salem saw race riots following the war. 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 jail, fire hoses were turned on them and shooting began. Three people were killed and more than twenty wounded. The white mob then invaded black neighborhoods where additional killings took place. The number of dead was never known, although there were reports of bodies of blacks being hidden in railroad culverts and thrown into Belo's Pond.[51] The Sheriff's department later released the accused black man, acknowledging that he was not guilty. The riot unified the black community and caused it to push for more rights and better jobs.[52]

Racial struggles were also being felt in labor relations in Winston-Salem. By 1919 the housing and employment situation was acute owing to an enormous influx of returning veterans, and economic and racial conditions had become desperate.[53] Local workers began efforts to unionize and strikes plagued the manufacturers, though Reynolds Tobacco Company succeeded in thwarting its workers' attempts to unionize.

The 1920s was a decade of unrestrained growth. Numerous new suburbs were begun by a large number of development companies, both black and white. In 1927 the suburb of Alta Vista was planned just north of the earlier Boston Cottages area; it is said to be the first neighborhood in the South restricted solely to blacks, and its up-to-date houses with garages reflect the success of the black professionals who lived there.[54] But after only a few houses were built, the Depression curtailed its continued development until the 1940s.

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."[55] 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.

In the 1940s blacks 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; and the second 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,

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

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

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

[54] Fries, History of a County.

[55] Bishir, N.C. Architecture, page 448.

wages and benefits.[56]

During this decade African-Americans also fought to gain political representation to make the city's leaders more sensitive to the needs of the black community.[57] About 33,000 of the 36,700 blacks in Winston-Salem lived in the south Third Ward, the black ward. Such a high concentration of blacks in one ward was important in helping blacks in city politics and social politics.[58] 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.[59] Kurfees made changes in the city; he hired blacks as firemen, census-takers, and mailmen. 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, the African American community had gained some social, political and economic advantages.[60]

After Mayor Kurfees' election in 1949, Winston-Salem from time to time had black aldermen, black policemen and influential black members of city boards and committees even when segregation prevailed.[61] This is often cited as an indication of the city's unusually high levels of education and business experience among blacks, and as evidence of the city's relatively calm race relations. While this was true, similar situations were found in Durham, Raleigh, Greensboro, High Point, and Asheville at the time.[62]

It was in this context of economic and political activity that Winston-Salem's predominantly black residential neighborhoods developed. The city's black neighborhoods and improvements in black housing 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, and contained the residences of many of Winston and Salem's most prominent African-American residents 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 character and the growing numbers of African-Americans in middle- and upper income brackets.

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[56] Steele, "Key Events," p. 16.

[57] Dunston, Struggle for Equality, p. 18.

[58] Dunston, Struggle for Equality, p. 13.

[59] The second black alderman was Reverend Crawford; the third was Carl Russell.

[60] Dunston, Struggle for Equality, p. 58-60.

[61] Fries, History of a County, p. 276.

[62] Dunston, Struggle for Equality, p. 15-16. However, Winston-Salem's black policemen could not arrest white offenders.

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 benefited 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. However, social rules and patterns had perhaps even a greater impact on the opportunities available to blacks. After the Civil War blacks had been endowed with certain privileges of freedom through federal law in the 1870s, enabling trained and talented blacks to be trained and employed as skilled artisans through the 1890s. Political changes at the turn of the century damaged these gains when the 1898 elections restored white supremacy to North Carolina.[63] The victorious Democratic Party reinforced white supremacy through the enactment of poll taxes, grandfather clauses, and other disenfranchising measures which set back the movement for equality of blacks for several generations, making opportunities increasingly restricted after 1900.[64]

Segregation had direct effects on housing as well. 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."[65] As other cities followed the pattern, they became more racially segregated.

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 include the word "Bottom," and much of Happy Hill and Columbian Heights was built on floodplains.

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

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

[65] 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).

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.[66] 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 confined to 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 areas. Incoming black workers settled in small clusters of houses nestled around the numerous tobacco factories in the north and eastern parts of the city, and industrial establishments developed adjacent mill villages to house their employees.[67]

New methods of transportation changed this. In the 1890s the streetcar lines opened in Winston and Salem leading to the development of suburbs such as West End and Washington Park. Wealthy whites left the center city for these suburbs (or, later, even moved to country estates), 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. At the same time they created the need for "pocket neighborhoods" where blacks who worked as maids, cooks, gardeners and chauffeurs lived.

As the black population grew, proximity to work place remained an important determinant of the location of residential areas. In the nineteenth century, work in the tobacco factories was 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 blacks flocked to Winston and existing black residential areas expanded to the north, northwest and east.[68] Beyond them in all directions, including the east, stood the homes of white residents. Each day at shift changes, groups of black workers would walk to work from their homes in the black sections, meeting with others until throngs of black workers filled the streets as they approached the factories. This was repeated as the crowds returned home at the end of their shift. Similarly, black schoolchildren often walked long distances to school in large groups. In the 1930s after Atkins High School opened, crowds of black students walked from their homes through white residential sections to reach the school.[69]

Mid-Twentieth Century Destruction of Historically Black Neighborhoods

An unfortunate but undeniable pattern in the city's black neighborhoods was their destruction. Thousands of blacks had come to Winston because of the job opportunities made possible by R.J. Reynolds Tobacco Company and other manufacturing concerns, and blacks working in the factories lived close to those factories. Later, large areas of these predominantly black residences were destroyed

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[66] Smith, Long Lance, p. 4.

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

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

[69] Interviews, Charlie L. Wilson and Paul S. Bitting.

by the very force that had created them; as Reynolds Tobacco Company grew, whole neighborhoods were demolished to provide space for its expansion. 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.

Transportation corridors also caused major disruption and destruction of African-American Neighborhoods. Beginning in the 1950s, a number of neighborhoods were cut in half and partially destroyed when US 52, Interstate I-40, University Parkway, Peters Creek Parkway and other major traffic arteries were routed through areas of black housing. Large portions of many neighborhoods were destroyed for construction of thoroughfares which have become the boundary-defining lines of today's neighborhoods, though different from the boundaries at the time of the development of the area.

Perhaps even more destructive due to its massive scale was Urban Redevelopment. In the 1960s an earnest program of urban renewal was begun with the destruction of additional blocks of black neighborhoods which by this time included large blighted areas with unpaved, rutted roads and small neglected houses. There appears to have been little regard for the nature of the housing destroyed; the philosophy and practices employed in determining "target areas" made no distinction between "slum housing" and the houses of successful black professionals and business people. 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."[70]

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.[71] In 1971 the city embarked on the Kimberly North Winston renewal program, which included 646 acres of urban neighborhoods and five other sections of the city, including parts of East Winston, Northwest Boulevard, Trade Street, West 10½ Street and several blocks adjoining WSSU. As planned, "target areas" on maps were followed, giving little or no heed to stable, even prosperous, housing areas within these areas. Since then these areas have been "redeveloped."[72]

Urban renewal projects and new construction did remove some substandard slum housing but also brought destruction to most of the city's distinctive black neighborhoods. What was not recognized during these efforts was the loss of a sense of community and neighborhood that came with destruction of houses.[73] 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.[74] With the destruction of traditional black neighborhoods in the 1960s, many new dwellings were built farther north where African-Americans, many displaced by urban redevelopment, moved in. Many

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

[71] Tise, Building and Architecture, pp. 47-48.

[72] Fries, History of a County, p. 301.

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

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

black professionals moved to the outskirts of the city building large houses along Highway 311 and Carver Road. As a result of the widespread destruction, few areas remain today which reflect the black community's residential development in the late nineteenth century and earliest years of the twentieth century. Similarly, the living conditions of the different socioeconomic levels of African-Americans here in the first half of this century have been destroyed. On the other hand, portions of several historically black neighborhoods remain though their historic character has often been diminished by vacancies, poor maintenance or modern alterations.

MAP KEY

1. Alta Vista
2. Boston Cottages
3. Brookstown Avenue and Burke Street
4. Columbian Heights
5. Columbia Heights Extension
6. Dreamland Park
7. East Winston (not mapped: boundaries changed each decade)
8. Five Row (not mapped)
9. Hanestown (not mapped)
10. Happy Hill
11. Madison Street in Ardmore (Sidestown)
12. Patterson Avenue near Liberty
13. The Pond
14. Rawson Street and Acadia Avenue
15. Reynoldstown
16. Salem Avenue, Poplar and Broad Streets
17. Silver Hill
18. Skyland Park
19. Slater Park
20. Watkins and Granville Streets
21. Waughtown
22. 4½ and 5½ Streets
23. 7th and Broad Streets
24. East 14th Street

CEMETERIES

- A St. Philip's Moravian Graveyard, Salem
- B Second St. Philip's Moravian Graveyard
- C Happy Hill Cemetery
- D Silver Hill Cemetery
- E Cherry Street (location unknown)
- F Foy's Graveyard (First Evergreen) (not mapped)
- G Second Evergreen Cemetery
- H Oddfellows Cemetery
- I Sidestown AME Zion Cemetery (Ardmore AME Zion)

AFRICAN-AMERICAN NEIGHBORHOODS

Winston-Salem had experienced steady economic growth since the 1870s. Its population was expanding and new residential and commercial neighborhoods were developed as a result. African-American neighborhoods reflected the concurrent rapid growth of a successful and wealthy professional and business class among blacks in Winston-Salem as well as a growing working-class population. While portions of the eastern part of the city developed early as a black area, and with continued segregation became predominantly black, many additional neighborhoods were developed expressly for blacks and continue as predominantly African-American neighborhoods today. The 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 as well as white suburban neighborhoods, and the increasing sophistication and prosperity of Winston-Salem's residents, both black and white.

This discussion focuses on individual African-American neighborhoods and how they developed. The neighborhoods are treated generally in chronological order of their establishment. The relative length of the discussions varies with the significance and age of remaining buildings in a neighborhood as well as with the amount of information available on each area. Happy Hill appears to be the city's earliest outlying neighborhood, black or white, for it started apparently as early as 1872. Beginning in the 1890s the city's most successful African-American professionals lived in three neighborhoods: Columbian Heights, East 14th Street, and Patterson Avenue (then Depot Street). All were characterized by fashionable houses in the popular styles of the time. Boston Cottages also was started in the 1890s, for less well-to-do residents, and a tragic flood in 1904 gave the name The Pond to a residential area north of Winston. In East Winston, the majority of historically-black housing was 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. Columbia Heights Extension and Alta Vista were two neighborhoods for African-Americans whose development began in the late 1920s and continued after the Depression. Reynoldstown was established for employees of the R.J. Reynolds Tobacco Company and, like much of East Winston, was originally occupied by white residents.

Listed separately from these larger neighborhoods are "pocket neighborhoods" which were small black enclaves within larger, predominantly white areas. Many of these developed quite early but are grouped together following the chronological listings of larger neighborhoods. Most no longer exist. Following the pocket neighborhoods is a list of other residential areas, many now vanished, which were mentioned in written and oral sources, as well as later residential developments which thrive today. Finally, a brief list of known black cemeteries concludes the discussion.

Happy Hill

Happy Hill is the city's earliest outlying neighborhood, recorded in Moravian records as "Liberia" starting in 1872. The 1876 Vogler map, updated in 1884, includes the area, and several buildings in the neighborhood appear in the 1891 Birds Eye View of Winston and Salem. The front index map to the 1895 Sanborn Maps of Winston-Salem includes this neighborhood identified at that time as "Liberia." It is shown again as "Liberia" in the 1900 and 1907 Sanborn Maps, yet the next year appears with the name "Happy Hill" on the 1908 map of the Fries Manufacturing and Power Co. It is unnamed on the 1912 Sanborn map. Although "Liberia" is the name used in 1900 and 1907, the neighborhood is listed as early as the 1902-03 city directory as "Happy Hill, a suburb of Salem, east of limits." It continues for many years to be listed as a "suburb southeast of Salem," while Liberia is never listed as a neighborhood, only as a street outside the neighborhood. Thus it appears that the name changed by the first years of this century although it is unclear exactly why, or when, or how "Happy Hill" became its name.[75]

It has only recently been realized that this area developed as a black neighborhood apparently as early as 1872. In that year freedman Richard Siewers asked for permission from the Moravian Church to buy a lot on the former Schumann plantation. Moravian records further show that by 1872 the streets and lots were laid out and "For the sake of convenience it was proposed to call the little town now springing up at that place Liberia."[76] Recent research by Jon Sensbach and Scott Rohrer disclosed that the black community started its own school near the neighborhood in 1867, the first school for blacks in Winston and Salem. Diaries of the Salem village's Board of Trustees state that the school was built in 1867 by the African-Americans at Salem. (Until recently it was thought the school had been founded by white philanthropists and the white community.) The school was formed with the help of the Friends [Quakers] Association for Relief of Colored Freedmen, and the land was given to the Association by the Salem Board of Trustees. It is believed that the one-room school had two to three black and white teachers and twenty to fifty students.[77]

The school at Happy Hill, long since demolished, is significant because of its early date and because of what it reveals about the initiative and ambitions of the black community here so soon after the Civil War. It is also a key component to the establishment of the Happy Hill neighborhood. In 1860, 90% of the slaves in the South were illiterate.[78] After the war there was a strong desire by the freed people to get an education. From 1831 to 1865 state law had prohibited education for slaves. As noted earlier, the law did not prohibit education for free Negroes, yet lack of funds and opportunity often had the same effect. Although that law was revoked in 1865, white racial attitudes toward blacks after Emancipation still limited their educational opportunities. For instance, many members of the white community did not want their former slaves to live in town. Hence the location for the school and the

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[75] The origins of the name Happy Hill have not yet been ascertained; however, according to John Larson, Vice President for Restoration at Old Salem, Inc., Happy Hill or Happy Hills is thought to have been the name of the congregational plantation owned by a Moravian named Schumann in the 1820s and 1830s. That land was sold by the congregation to individual freed blacks beginning in 1872 and became the neighborhood under discussion. Furthermore, it is unclear from city directories when Happy Hill began to be the name used, because the 1889-1890 and earlier directories did not include street listings. In the Colored Section for Salem, Happy Hill does not appear as the address for any residents listed.

[76] Salem Board of Trustee minutes, August 26, 1872. Rohrer in "Freedmen of the Lord," Chapter 3, believes the name Liberia was most likely in honor of former Schumann slaves who were sent to the African country in 1836.

[77] Winston-Salem Chronicle, 4/16/92, page A8, and discussions with Sensbach. According to the recent research, no other documents show another black school in operation before or during that time in Forsyth County.

[78] Winston-Salem Chronicle, 4/16/92, p. A8.

Happy Hill neighborhood was acceptable because it was "across the creek" and outside of town.[79] As Jon Sensbach states, "it was a combination of wanting to help blacks, but only on white terms, at a social distance."

Around the turn of the century, the Happy Hill neighborhood began to experience changes. In 1892 the school was moved to a new location on Liberty Street downtown. It remains unclear when the first school closed. Meanwhile, the neighborhood of Liberia, or Happy Hill, continued to thrive. City directories show two churches in Happy Hill as early as 1910 (Rising Ebenezer Baptist and St. James Methodist Episcopal), the addition of Happy Hill Baptist Church by 1915 (listed as Happy Hill Methodist in the 1920 directory), and the Church of the First Born (Holiness Church) by 1920. The street names of Liberia also changed. The layout in the 1895-1912 Sanborn index maps shows an informal grid pattern. The northwest to southeast streets were Summit, High, New and Willow. Running southwest to northeast were Liberty Street and an unnamed street. Liberia Street was outside of this neighborhood in Salem (later named Blum Street, and today a part of Salem Avenue). By 1917 street names had changed again. The northwest to southeast streets were Hill, Nissen, Spach, Stuart, New and Willow. Southwest to northeast streets were Alder, Beach, Birch and Holton.[80] The Sanborn Map of 1917 shows Holiness Church on Hill Street and a Theatre and Dance Hall on Alder near Willow, as well as many residences, some shotguns, some duplexes, and some larger houses, all of them frame buildings. A third set of changes resulted in the street names in use today: Northwest to southeast streets are Humphrey, Alexander, Kress, Pitts, Liberia, Willow, Mock and Gill streets. Southwest to northeast streets are Alder, Mint, Foster, Birch, Pine, Beach and Free streets.

Many residents of Happy Hill worked at Salem College, just across Salem Creek, as maids, cooks, janitors, and gardeners, as well as at R.J. Reynolds and other tobacco factories. Because there was no bridge access to the neighborhood, the residents placed rocks in the creek to form a crossing, creating the only access to the college or anywhere else in town. The path was near the corner of today's Alder and Humphrey streets. The crossing was a dangerous one, and there were many falls. Finally, an incident sparked a resident to action. Wade Bitting lived in Happy Hill at today's 494 Liberia Street next to the creek and made plug chewing tobacco at R.J. Reynolds. When a woman fell and broke her leg, he is said to have approached the white alderman for the Salem Ward, J. Wilbur Crews, about the need for a footbridge across Salem Creek at Happy Hill.[81] The bridge remains today.

The impetus for the placement of the bridge is known, although its date is not. Despite documents research and interviews with numerous residents and city officials, the date of this bridge remains unknown. Construction dates in people's memories range from the 1920s to the 1950s.[82] Because Crews was alderman from 1931 to the early 1940s, it is likely the bridge was built during that time. City maps and tax maps (both early and current) show Liberia Street extending west as though it were a full-fledged street crossing Salem Creek and meeting Salem Avenue. In reality Liberia Street dead-ends after the house at 494, and the "street" and bridge access consists of the metal truss pedestrian bridge and a footpath across a grassy field and through trees and brush. The bridge was designed and

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[79] In several interviews residents have told me this area was called living "across the creek" until only a few decades ago.

[80] 1917 Sanborn Map, p. 46.

[81] Crews became mayor in April 1942 (alderman of Salem Ward from 1931-1943).

[82] Interviews with Pat Swann, Asst. City Manager for Public Works, who checked aerial photographs; John Harrison, former city employee; Nick Jamison, Recreation Dept. director who checked records; and longtime residents of Happy Hill. Neither Public Works nor the Recreation Dept. finds any record of the bridge's construction. A 1938 city map shows Liberia crossing the creek. John Harrison remembers playing on the bridge in 1939 when he moved nearby as a child.

remains today for pedestrian use only.

The success in having the footbridge built was only the first in a list of improvements initiated by Wade Bitting. The creek and all the low area was excessively overgrown and the neighborhood was frequently flooded.[83] Residents had no screens in windows and so slept under the constant attack of mosquitoes and rats from the creek. Wade Bitting organized the men of his church and drew up a petition to have the undergrowth cleared and a playground made for children, which they presented to the mayor, R. J. Reynolds, Jr. According to local tradition, the mayor took their proposal further and suggested the city should put playgrounds in all the black neighborhoods. Happy Hills' playground became the first.[84] It included playfields and a building, since demolished, where children played ping pong.

The streets of Happy Hill were of red mud; none was paved. And though the streets had names on city maps, their names were not used by the residents. Probably in the 1930s, Wade Bitting saw here a need as well, went to the Board of Aldermen and received approval to have street names put up and to put numbers on the houses. He bought the numbers himself and he and his children and a few other men put the house numbers up throughout the neighborhood. One reason for this effort was to have the mail delivered to the neighborhood. At the time residents had to walk to the Salem post office for their mail. It took several years after the street signs and house numbers were in place, but eventually the mail did begin to be delivered directly to the neighborhood.[85]

Very few of Happy Hill's residents owned their houses. Most rented from Jerry L. Newton, a white realtor with Newton Brothers Real Estate downtown, or from a Mr. Cash, a white man said to own an oil distributorship on the corner of Waughtown and Main streets.[86] The houses rented by neighborhood residents were mostly small, and many were variations on the shotgun, called a "4½" presumably for the number of rooms within. A duplex was called a double shotgun. Today, two shotguns remain on Alexander Street from a row of shotguns down the hill and across the street. On Humphrey Court, a curving, washed-out street now gone, there were shotguns made of concrete block rusticated to simulate stone.[87]

Waughtown Street was the dividing line between Happy Hill and another neighborhood known as Salem Hill. Salem Hill was mixed black and white.[88] At one time Salem Hill School, despite its name, was in Happy Hill on a hill on Pine Street; this school apparently closed in the 1920s and was demolished. The brick St. Andrew's Church was then built, became the Methodist Episcopal Church, and now houses the True Temple Holiness Church (1232 Pine Street).[89] On Free Street is Rising Ebenezer Baptist Church, which is said to be one of the oldest church congregations in the area.

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

[84] Interview, Paul S. Bitting, son of Wade Bitting. Wade Bitting also helped built a new YMCA building in the Depot Street area.

[85] Interview, Paul S. Bitting.

[86] This name may be incorrect, as no Cash meeting this description could be found in city directories.

[87] Interview, Paul S. Bitting.

[88] Interview, Moses Lucas.

[89] Interviews, Paul S. Bitting and Kathleen Bitting Mock, children of Wade Bitting. Salem Hill was the name of the school in Happy Hill, but Salem Hill itself was a separate area.

Apparently an earlier frame building blew down in a storm and the current building was then erected. It has since been enlarged and altered considerably.[90]

According to many who were interviewed for this project, Happy Hill was a "sweet" neighborhood until the changes brought in the 1950s when Happy Hills Gardens, the city's first public housing project, was opened in the southeastern half of the neighborhood. Houses in about half of the neighborhood were demolished and some were moved. About fourteen blocks were thus razed. Very soon, the neighborhood went down and became unsafe; families moved elsewhere and the stability of the neighborhood declined.

Today, there remain around ninety buildings from the first half of the twentieth century on ten streets. These were surveyed and are included in the architectural inventory. The large majority of these are one-story frame residences, most modest and most in poor condition. There are also a few shotguns, several duplexes, and a handful of four- and eight-plexes, as well as about three churches and the truss bridge. Evidence of two of the city's few black cemeteries remains as well. One or two stones are visible today at the former Southside Cemetery, which today is a weed-covered field immediately adjacent to another early cemetery. These are located on Willow Street across from the intersection with Baltimore Street.[91] The Southside Cemetery predates and was associated with the former St. Andrew's Church. Happy Hill remains a predominantly black neighborhood. Recent efforts to create programs for residents, especially children, have centered in the new William J. Simms Recreation Center on Alder Street across from Happy Hill Park.

[90] Interview, Paul S. Bitting and Kathleen Bitting Mock.

[91] On-site survey, and interview with Moses Lucas. Remaining stone is that of Hargraves, 1947.

Columbian Heights

Columbian Heights, one of three neighborhoods built for professionals in Winston's African-American community, resulted from the initiative of a newcomer to the city, Simon Green Atkins (1863-1934). Atkins, a well-educated black man born in Chatham County in 1863, 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 public school for blacks in the state.[92] 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. In Salisbury, Atkins had been head of the grammar school department for six years and for two years the treasurer of the college. Atkins had an immediate impact on the community. In January of 1891, the year after he moved 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.[93] The purpose was to promote black home ownership. Atkins was successful. On June 3, 1891, the Inside Land and Improvement Co. was incorporated by eleven prominent white men.[94] They assembled the land that was to become the Columbian Heights suburb. A plat was drawn by Jacob Lott Ludlow, the city engineer who also drew the plats for the white suburbs of West End and Washington Park. Ludlow's plat was filed in January 1892 and is recorded in plat books.

Ludlow came to Winston-Salem from his native New Jersey in 1886 and started a general civil engineering practice, helping design water supply and sewerage systems throughout the South. From 1889 to 1892 he served as Winston's first city engineer, and it is believed he was instrumental in initiating a sewerage system and street-paving program.[95] In 1890 he drew the plan for the West End suburb, and concurrently or shortly thereafter, drew the plans for Washington Park and Sunnyside. His 1892 plan for Columbian Heights shows a grid pattern similar to those of Winston and Salem. His curvilinear plan for West End, on the other hand, more closely adheres to the teachings of Frederick Law Olmsted and was a major departure from the grid patterns of Winston and Salem.

The black suburb gained its name, Columbian Heights, sometime after it was first laid out. Ludlow's plat was titled only "Plat of the property belonging to the Inside Land and Improvement Company, situated in Winston-Salem, NC, as developed by J.L. Ludlow C.E., Winston, NC, January 8, 1892."[96] According to Atkins descendants and to many older residents, the name Columbian Heights came from the Columbian Exposition of the Chicago World's Fair in 1893. It was known both as Columbia Heights and Columbian Heights from as early as 1908, and has continued to be cited by both names: it is generally Columbia on plats, but Columbian in city directories and in today's interviews.[97]

Just as in the West End and Washington Park neighborhoods, the development of Columbian Heights followed Ludlow's plat faithfully. The plat is almost identical to the layout of the streets. The grid plan

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[92] Steele, "Key Events," p. 23.

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

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

[95] Phillips & Taylor, West End Historic District nomination.

[96] Plat Book 4, p. 172.

[97] Columbia Heights Extension, immediately south, was platted in 1919 and 1927.

shows east-west streets being Cromartie, Wallace, Idabell (became Bank Street, later Vargrave and today Stadium Avenue), Fayetteville (became Hill Street), and Junius (became Southbound Street). North-south streets were Cumberland (became extension of Cleveland Avenue), Atkins, (Smith Street was built between Atkins and Bruce), Bruce, Price, Ivanhoe (perhaps never built), and Cale (perhaps never built). The area included 26 blocks. The northern boundary of the suburb was the Richmond and Danville Railroad. The eastern boundary was Wachovia Brook. It appears that most of the streets were laid out soon after Ludlow had filed his plat, and certainly by 1895 when the area was shown on the Index Map to the 1895 Sanborn Maps. It, like Washington Park, was identified only by the name of the investment company, in this case, "Inside." A comparison of Ludlow's 1892 plat with that 1895 map shows the same layout, but in the later map Ivanhoe and Cale streets as well as Fayetteville and Junius streets do not appear. Street names are the same as those on the plat. A 1908 map of the city prepared by Fries Manufacturing and Power Company shows Columbia Heights, so named, including all of the streets on Ludlow's plat. Wachovia Brook by then was called Brushy Fork, and the railroad was owned by Southern Railway.

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 the first residents, living on Cromartie Street by 1892.[98] His house was later moved to Atkins Street, where it stands today.

In 1892, the same year he initiated Columbian Heights, Atkins started Slater Industrial Academy, beginning classes in a one-room, frame structure with twenty-five students and one teacher. The school was named for John F. Slater, a white New York philanthropist who donated money to support it.[99] Black citizens had raised $2,000 of the $2,500 required to get action from the state legislature, and R.J. Reynolds contributed the remaining $500, apparently Reynolds' first direct contribution to the African-American community. The academy had already been deeded land by Inside L & I Co. in September 1892 when it was chartered.[100] The lot was lot 20 in block 7, which was the block bounded by Cumberland, Atkins, Wallace and Idabell.

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.[101] In 1925 it became the Winston-Salem Teachers' College, with a curriculum including four years of college work and concentrating on advanced education for teachers and principals for the black elementary schools of the state. It is said to have been the first black institution in the United States to grant degrees for teaching in the elementary grades. Atkins remained as president until his retirement shortly before his death in 1934, when he was succeeded by his son, Francis L. Atkins.[102] In 1969 the school was given university status by the state and named Winston-Salem State University (WSSU). Many of Slater's buildings were built

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

[99] Davis, Black Historical Sites, p. 178.

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

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

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

between 1897 and 1930, although the earliest buildings still standing date from 1918 and the 1920s. The Columbian Heights neighborhood and Slater Academy became the cores of the city's African-American society and culture for decades. Because blacks were prohibited from attending plays or concerts at segregated white theaters, similar cultural events and lectures were held at Slater. Slater was an important cultural center for the black community as well as an educational institution. As a former resident said, "the whole community revolved around the college."[103]

Slater Hospital was another, perhaps less successful venture in the neighborhood. Founded in 1902 as the first hospital to serve African-Americans in Winston-Salem, it opened in a frame structure built on 11.5 acres of land, but due to financial and water problems it closed in 1904, reopened in 1905 with Booker T. Washington as guest speaker, then closed permanently in 1912.[104] The building was demolished and replaced by Bickett Hall, a Slater dormitory built in 1918. Dr. Atkins also participated in establishing the Columbian Heights Graded School, which opened in 1905 when the county turned over a three-room frame structure to the city. In the school year 1913-1914 the school had 263 pupils with Dr. Atkins as principal.[105]

Today, there remains only a vestige of the fine neighborhood that was Columbian Heights. Only 33 buildings on four streets were recorded in the 1993 architectural inventory as dating from the first half of the twentieth century. The four streets which remain do not hold together as a neighborhood and are bisected by the railroad track. These are residential, with a mix of first-quarter single-family residences that were once stylish and comfortable, and second-quarter duplexes. Today, most are in poor condition; many are vacant. Maintenance has been deferred for years as a result of WSSU's interest in purchasing the land for redevelopment under the campus Master Plan.

This destruction of the neighborhood is not new. In the 1950s US 52 was built right through Columbian Heights. It destroyed several blocks, put a large highway in the front or back yards of many houses, and split the neighborhood. As a result, many families moved from the area, often to New Walkertown Road (US 311) or to East First Street and surrounding streets. In the 1960s, Interstate I-40 made a large east-west cut through the neighborhood perpendicular to US 52, placing a large cloverleaf intersection over what had been several blocks of housing. The neighborhood suffered further losses as a result; families with the means to move elsewhere did so.

During the life of the neighborhood, its sister development Slater Academy proved to be a huge success, expanding as necessary to meet new educational needs. The trade-off of its transformation into today's Winston-Salem State University was the destruction of more of the Columbian Heights neighborhood each decade. In December, 1991, and January, 1992--the one-hundredth anniversary of Ludlow's plan for Columbian Heights--WSSU demolished 75 buildings and several blocks of the neighborhood to make way for a $9 million women's dormitory. Today, only portions of two blocks of Columbian Heights remain of the original 26. The tremendous significance of the neighborhood can therefore be recounted only through photographs, maps, and oral and written history. The area has lost its ability on its own to convey a sense of the place it once was. Dr. Atkins's house remains, though not in its original location and no longer a part of a cohesive neighborhood. Its significance cannot be overstated.

Winston-Salem State University is also undergoing significant demolition. Two of its earliest

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[103] Interview, Gloria Diggs Banks.

[104] Steele, "Key Events," p. 18.

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

remaining buildings are scheduled for demolition in the summer of 1994. One of these is Bickett Hall, built in 1918. It is the oldest building on campus. The architectural firm of Northup and O'Brien designed additions and alterations to Bickett Hall in 1950 and completed a renovation of the Bickett dormitory in 1968.[106]

[106] Beasley, "Northup & O'Brien Architects Records."

East 14th Street

As noted earlier, Columbian Heights was the first of the more prominent black neighborhoods in early twentieth century Winston-Salem. Developing concurrently or slightly later was East 14th Street, east of Liberty Street. This area was some distance north and east of the center of Winston. Unlike Columbian Heights, it was not begun as 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. 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 13th and 14th streets, while R.F. Byerly & Company, a white brick manufacturer, operated on 14th Street in 1915.[107] 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.[108] Another influential white family in the area was the Mickeys. The early name for 14th 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.[109] A third major landowner was Rufus Foy, a black man who owned 42 acres near Mickey Mill Road (East 14th Street) and today's Bowen Boulevard in 1886. He was a successful farmer who sold some of the land for Smith-Reynolds Airport. The area of 14th Street from Woodland Avenue to Jackson Avenue was named Foytown for his son, Jordan Foy, a carpenter who built many houses in that area and elsewhere in East Winston.[110] It was here that Jordan Foy in November, 1892, 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 Foytown to house the church.[111]

Other areas of the community that grew up around East 14th Street were called Oakdale (south side of 14th Street from Locust east past Dunleith to an alley), Blair and Oakley (north side of 14th Street between Hattie and Jackson), and Fayetteville Heights (south side of 14th Street from an alley west of Hattie to Gray).[112] Early street names included Goldsboro (today's Jackson Avenue), Steiner Street (now Locust), and Sheppard (now Dunleith).

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 14th Street span a range of decades and show the increasing wealth of its residents. Several one-story frame Victorian cottages give evidence of early dwelling construction there -- perhaps they were built by Jordan Foy. By 1915, East 14th 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 on East 14th Street are a large number of 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

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[107] 1904-1905, 1911, and 1915 directories. The 1904-05 city directory listed Blumtown at "end of Depot Street and city limits," and the 1911 directory at "end of Patterson beyond city limits." (Depot was the early name for Patterson Street.)

[108] Tax maps. Also interviews, Evelyn Terry and Dr. William H. Bruce, Jr.

[109] Sanborn Maps. 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.

[110] Fries, History of a County, p. 261-262.

[111] Society for Afro-American History, 1994 calendar.

[112] Tax maps.

of a mid-twentieth century church, the commercial buildings discussed above, and a small number of fourplexes, most of these are single-family residences from the first and second quarters of this century. Many are examples of the contemporary styles of the period: Victorian cottages, larger Queen Anne houses, bungalows, four squares, and Tudor Revival residences. Some, in the easternmost section of the street, remain in generally good shape. Others have suffered from the unknown future of the neighborhood: during the street widening in 1993, neighboring buildings were demolished and a multi-block demolition program was carried out immediately north.

Just south of 14th Street on Dunleith Street is a significant grouping of workers houses. They stand in contrast to the stylish houses along 14th Street, but are important as an increasingly rare example of typical housing of the early decades of this century.

Depot Street: Patterson Avenue near Liberty

Another key area of African-American life which began in the late nineteenth century was along Depot Street--today's Patterson Avenue--from its intersection with Third Street north to Liberty Street and extending westward to Main Street. Initially developed as a result of its proximity to tobacco factories, in the early twentieth century the Depot Street area was 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, churches, schools, two movie theaters and cafes, as well as single-family and duplex housing.

Depot Street was also a strong educational and religious center in the late nineteenth century. There is considerable documentation of the early churches here. St. Paul's Methodist Episcopal was the first church built in Winston (as opposed to Salem), black or white. It began in 1871 under a brush arbor near Liberty Street. The congregation built the town's first church right up against the railroad track on Seventh Street west of Chestnut between 1879 and 1886, when it was referred to as the "Church on the Railroad." The 1895 and 1900 Sanborn Maps show a "Negro Church" and "St. Paul's ME Church (Colored)" on the south side of Seventh Street adjacent to the Southern Railroad track. One- and two-story dwellings are nearby. By 1907, the congregation of St. Paul's had 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.[117] The next Sanborn map shows that by 1912 the earlier "church on the railroad" had been demolished. In the 1890s, three churches spun off from St. Paul's. These were Saints Home United Methodist (1893, Boston Cottages neighborhood), Mt. Pleasant Methodist Church (1892, East 14th Street neighborhood), and St. Andrews Grace United Methodist. 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.[118]

Also originating in the Depot Street area was the first black Baptist Church, built in 1882. The congregation had earlier worshiped in outdoor arbors and in Hinshaw's Hall, a community building which stood at the corner of Fourth and Chestnut. With the help of Dr. H.A. Brown, pastor of the white First Baptist Church, the congregation organized in 1879. They asked Rev. George W. Holland of Franklin, Virginia, to come to Winston to help establish the church. In 1882 a wooden church was built a block from St. Paul's on Sixth Street near Chestnut on a lot bought from the Moravian Church (United Brethren of Salem) for $75.[119] 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, "Baptist Church (Colored)," 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

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

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

[119] Society for Afro-American History, 1994 calendar.

burned (on present-day Patterson Avenue), the East 14th Street School was built as a Colored Graded School (since demolished).[113] 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 14th 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, now demolished, on East 14th Street indicated 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 14th Street as a desirable neighborhood.[114]

Both the size and desirability of the East 14th Street neighborhood today have been diminished as a result of urban renewal programs and a 1993 street widening. From Liberty Street east to Cleveland Avenue, the street retains no vestige of the elegant houses that once stood there. Extending south from East 14th Street is Highland Avenue which had also been an area of fine homes, now replaced with modern tract housing. A small cluster of turn-of-the-century commercial buildings stood roughly in the center of the remaining East 14th Street neighborhood near the intersection of Jackson Avenue. The city directories show an interesting part of East 14th Street's history: the businesses on the corner of Liberty and 14th were white, and remained that way for decades, while those on the corner of Jackson and 14th were black.[115] This 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.

Other dimensions of the black/white mix in the area can also be studied in the directories. These show whites west of Liberty on 14th Street, predominantly blacks east of Liberty on 14th, and a changing mix of blacks and whites farther east. By 1922 the entire East 14th Street area was predominantly black but with a number of whites as well. Former residents of the area recall that there was always a mix of blacks and whites, although all were professionals.[116] A thoroughfare plan undertaken in 1993 widened 14th Street east of Cleveland Avenue, demolishing at least eight buildings. Among those demolished were most of the commercial buildings near Jackson Avenue which were historically black. These buildings were significant; they were relatively unaltered and were among the few black commercial groupings left in the city.

Forty-four buildings were recorded on East 14th Street during the 1993 architectural inventory, although even a few of these were demolished during that year as noted in the inventory list. With the exception

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[113] Additions to the "14th Street Colored School" were designed by local architects Northup & O'Brien in 1929.

[114] Both houses were demolished in 1993.

[115] 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.

[116] Mr. Jarrett Carnell remembers that blacks lived on the south side of 14th Street and whites on the north side. According to local historian Louise Hamilton, when East 14th Street with its large stylish houses was the place to live, living on the side streets even immediately adjacent to 14th Street was called living "behind" 14th.

of a mid-twentieth century church, the commercial buildings discussed above, and a small number of fourplexes, most of these are single-family residences from the first and second quarters of this century. Many are examples of the contemporary styles of the period: Victorian cottages, larger Queen Anne houses, bungalows, four squares, and Tudor Revival residences. Some, in the easternmost section of the street, remain in generally good shape. Others have suffered from the unknown future of the neighborhood: during the street widening in 1993, neighboring buildings were demolished and a multi-block demolition program was carried out immediately north.

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Depot Street was also a strong educational and religious center in the late nineteenth century. There is considerable documentation of the early churches here. St. Paul's Methodist Episcopal was the first church built in Winston (as opposed to Salem), black or white. It began in 1871 under a brush arbor near Liberty Street. The congregation built the town's first church right up against the railroad track on Seventh Street west of Chestnut between 1879 and 1886, when it was referred to as the "Church on the Railroad." The 1895 and 1900 Sanborn Maps show a "Negro Church" and "St. Paul's ME Church (Colored)" on the south side of Seventh Street adjacent to the Southern Railroad track. One- and two-story dwellings are nearby. By 1907, the congregation of St. Paul's had 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.[117] The next Sanborn map shows that by 1912 the earlier "church on the railroad" had been demolished. In the 1890s, three churches spun off from St. Paul's. These were Saints Home United Methodist (1893, Boston Cottages neighborhood), Mt. Pleasant Methodist Church (1892, East 14th Street neighborhood), and St. Andrews Grace United Methodist. 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.[118]

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

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

[119] Society for Afro-American History, 1994 calendar.

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. By 1907, the earlier building was vacant.[120] 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 blacks attend Shaw University in Raleigh. The congregation also organized the Orphans House in Waughtown (built before 1906); later it became the Memorial Industrial Home.[121] The church and all of these buildings are gone today. In 1920 the congregation moved its parsonage out of the neighborhood, and in 1955 built a grand new church in East Winston at 700 Highland Avenue.

Among other churches started here is the earliest remaining building in the area, **Lloyd Presbyterian Church** on Chestnut Street. It is one of only two churches still standing in the area. Lloyd was founded in the 1870s or 1880s 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.[122] The members met in Citizens Hall in the community until they built the church.[123] 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. The church is believed to have been built in 1894 and is one of the oldest black churches in Winston-Salem.[124] One of the best Carpenter Gothic structures in Forsyth County, the well-preserved building features Gothic arched windows, frame interpretations of buttresses, a recessed apse, and a square steeple with a pyramidal roof. 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.

Like St. Paul's, Lloyd Church was also responsible for spin-offs. A dance hall shown on Depot Street south of 7½ Street was demolished before 1912 when the Sanborn map shows in its place "Grace Presbyterian Church (Negro)."[125] Grace Church was founded by a group from the nearby Lloyd Church. Grace, like many other of the neighborhood's churches, was demolished for a parking lot. Lloyd Church is also 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 near Lloyd Church and Chestnut Street. He was the principal and his wife Hattie was a teacher.[126] Others report Willis's school to have been in the Oddfellows Hall. The 1917 Sanborn Map shows "Willis High School (Negro)" on the north side of Liberty Court, an alley on the west side of Chestnut Street adjacent to the north side of Lloyd Presbyterian Church. The school operated until 1934.

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[120] 1907 Sanborn Map.

[121] First Baptist Church yearbook.

[122] The earliest extant set of minutes from the church dates from 1886.

[123] Winston-Salem Journal, 9/15/91.

[124] Taylor, From Frontier to Factory, p. 200.

[125] 1917 Sanborn Map, p. 51.

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

St. James A.M.E. Church was another to get its early start in the southern part of this neighborhood. It was begun informally in 1877 and formally organized 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 moves to come. In 1964, urban renewal forced the congregation to move to its current location on Patterson Avenue near 15th Street, in a handsome brick building across from the city's new main post office.[127] Yet another church in this neighborhood as early as 1917 was "Union Mission Church (Negro)" at the southeast corner of Vine and Seventh Streets.[128]

Other important churches clustered in the area. **Goler Memorial AME Zion Church** at 630 N. Patterson Avenue remains an active church today. Founded as the Winston Tabernacle 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. Its first site was at Fourth and Chestnut streets; the next was at Third and Depot, then by 1886 to a one-room log structure on Eighth Street. By 1895 the Sanborn map shows the Winston Tabernacle AME Church on its present site on the southwest corner of Depot and Seventh Streets on land given to the congregation by Dr. W. H. Goler.[129] The 1890s building was replaced around 1918 with the present Gothic Revival brick church and named for Dr. 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. 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.

The black community grew around these churches through the first decades of this century, attracting teachers, businessmen, doctors and bankers. The Depot Street area became the center of the community--a bustling commercial district of stores, cafes, schools, churches and social halls near the factories where so many worked. Depot Street was also a center for education. In addition to Sunday schools, both public and private schools began here, some discussed earlier. The Depot Street School, built in 1887 near Seventh Street and long since demolished, was the first public school for blacks in Winston. The 1895 Sanborn Map shows the "East Winston Graded School (Colored)" on the east side of Depot Street between Sixth and Seventh Streets, and a row of two-story "Negro Dwellings" across the street next to the Winston Tabernacle AME Church (today's Goler). It was to serve as principal of the Depot Street School that Simon G. Atkins came to Winston in 1890, and stayed to create the Columbian Heights neighborhood and the forerunner of Winston-Salem State University.

Increased inner-city growth of the African American population in the first decades of the twentieth century led to the organization of several service-oriented associations to help residents with relocation, housing, and jobs. **Pythian Hall** was the only social hall remaining in the area until it was destroyed by fire in January of 1994. Located at the northwest corner of Seventh and Chestnut streets, it was built in 1902. The brick building with segmental arched windows housed businesses on the first floor, including a printing business operated by J.R. Gleaves.[130] The second and third floors were used for

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[127] Society for Afro-American History, 1994 calendar.

[128] 1917 Sanborn Map.

[129] 1994 calendar.

[130] Hamilton, typed essay on Patterson Avenue Historic District. Another printing business was located across the street from Gleaves' Printing Shop and operated by Mr. Yores in his home, from which he also operated a small soda shop.

fraternal organizations such as the Knights of Pythias and the Prince Hall Masons.[131] In 1957 the building was permastoned by the Masons and was vacated in the late 1970s or early 1980s when the Masons moved to 14th Street. It remained vacant until its destruction.

The Y buildings were also located in this area. In 1911 a small building was rented for use as the black men's YMCA on the west side of Church Street, between Fourth and Fifth Streets next door to the R.J. Reynolds' employment office (both since demolished). The black YWCA for women was opened six years later on the northeast corner of Sixth and Chestnut (now a parking lot), at first rented, then purchased, and housed the first library for the black community.[132] The women's Y had more space so the men used it for their large gatherings. Seeing the 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 (#8, #60, #256, etc.). Supporters were charged fifteen cents to see their teams play.[133] 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.[134] The new Y was built on the site of the former Depot Street School. The irony of R.J. Reynolds' 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.)

The Depot Street area was perhaps best known for its commercial buildings. The **Goler Building** at 600 Patterson Avenue on the corner of Sixth Street was built around 1910. Its facade veneered with rusticated hollow concrete blocks 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** at 608-616 Patterson Avenue, next door to the Goler Building, was built in 1910 and named for Emma Neal Ellington, the wife of the owner, Jim Ellington. Ellington was one of the black business leaders of early twentieth-century Winston who had a well-established grocery business on Seventh and Linden streets and made successful investments in other businesses.[135] The parapet of the yellow brick building bore the building's name and date, "The Emma, 1910," beneath a decorative tin cornice. The Emma Building housed a tailor shop, a dry goods store, a barber shop, and a variety store, as well as two large apartments above, each with a full bathroom. A bake shop was behind it.[136] Unfortunately, both the Goler and Emma Buildings were recently demolished.

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[131] Taylor, p 200.

[132] Hamilton, essay on Patterson Avenue Historic District.

[133] Interview, Paul S. Bitting, son of Wade Bitting. See also discussion of Wade Biting's efforts to improve the Happy Hill neighborhood on pages 21 & 22.

[134] Interview, Moses Lucas.

[135] Interview, Dr. W.H. Bruce, Jr., and Fries, History of a County, page 262. Emma Ellington's mother, Mrs. Neal, was a prominent citizen who owned one of several boarding houses on Depot Street. Dr. William H. Bruce, Sr., (who built the Bruce Building) lived there in 1908 when he moved to Winston. According to his son, his roommate at that time was Lynwood G. Kyles, who had the large Bishop Kyles House (Kyles Heights) on East 14th Street, now demolished.

[136] Taylor, From Frontier to Factory, p. 200.

Another office building in this area was the **Hall Building** (destroyed 1980), built across Patterson Avenue from Goler Memorial Church by Dr. Humphrey H. Hall in 1913. Dr. Hall was the first black physician in Winston-Salem and responsible for organizing the black medical community and planning for the city's first black hospital.[137] His home was on Seventh Street about a block from Depot Street.[138] The Hall Building was a two-story brick commercial building with keystone arches over the windows and a plaque with the words "Hall Building, 1913" at the corner.[139] Dr. Hall and his son, Dr. Leroy Hall, practiced medicine together across the street in the Bruce Building in the 1930s. After the elder Hall's death, Dr. Leroy Hall moved his offices into the Hall Building. It was demolished in 1980 for a parking lot.[140] The **W.H. Bruce Building** (destroyed 1992) at 560-562 N. Patterson Avenue was built in 1927 by Dr. W. H. Bruce, an African-American physician. Dr. Bruce had come to Winston in 1907 after graduating from Leonard Medical College of Shaw University. The building housed a pharmacy and barber shop, and in the 1930s the Horton Branch Public Library, which had started in the old YWCA, moved here.[141] The Bruce Building was also an office building, built to take advantage of the success of this area as an office center. Dr. Bruce's son, Dr. W.H. Bruce, Jr., also a physician, had his offices here, and his wife Mary Atkins Bruce (granddaughter of Simon G. Atkins) was reference librarian. The younger Dr. Bruce remained in the building until the mid-1950s when he built the Women's Clinic on Highway 311.[142]The building remained in the Bruce family until 1990.

On the south side of Liberty Street near its intersection with Patterson stood the third building of the Safe Bus Company, Inc. This company was founded in 1926 by a group of independent black bus owners who joined their individual operations into what was to become the largest motor transportation system in the world owned and operated by blacks.[143] The company, capitalized at $100,000, began operating with 35 buses, some quite old. By 1935 the company owned 42 modern buses, served more than 8,000 passengers daily, employed a staff of 75, and had replaced its earlier crude frame shop and garage with an impressive brick building and complex at Fourth and Maple streets. When that building was demolished by urban renewal efforts in the 1960s, the company moved into the building on Liberty. The building was recently demolished to make way for the extension of Martin Luther King, Jr. Boulevard.

The reason for the settlement and development of this hub area was the early location of tobacco factories here. The 1900 Sanborn Map shows, in the block bordered by Depot and Chestnut, Fourth and Fifth, the Bailey Bros Tobacco Factory and the Brown Brothers Company, both surrounded by tiny one-story square dwellings. To the west across Chestnut 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 elsewhere in the expanding neighborhood.

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[137] ----, Older Black Women of the South, p. 143, quotes Madie Hall Xuma, Dr. Hall's daughter.

[138] Hamilton, essay on Patterson Avenue Historic District.

[139] Taylor, From Frontier to Factory, p. 36.

[140] Taylor, Frontier to Factory, p. 200.

[141] Interview, Dr. William H. Bruce, Jr. The branch library was named for George Moses Horton, a slave who worked for an early University of North Carolina president and is said to have composed poetry for male students to send to their sweethearts. Taylor Inventory, on file at Winston-Salem City Hall.

[142] Interview, Mary Atkins Bruce. Mrs. Nell Wright was head librarian. The Women's Clinic is today used as the Turner Rest Home.

[143] 1935 brochure of Safe Bus, Inc.

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 with duplexes.[144]

Urban renewal was the downfall of the area, destroying a large number of houses and depleting the neighborhood of its residential population. The razing of the neighborhood in the 1960s and 1970s sliced into congregations and businesses. Church members of Lloyd and Goler talked about moving to still-intact neighborhoods as other churches in the area had done, but decided to stay. The populations of the churches changed significantly, though both still hold services. The Y, the school, doctors' offices, the cafes and the crowds are all gone.

Only five pre-World War II buildings remain in this area. Two additional buildings were demolished during the 1993 architectural survey. Remaining today are two churches (Lloyd and Goler), one commercial structure (Pyramid Barber Shop), and two early twentieth-century brick-veneered apartment buildings. The area has lost its sense of a residential neighborhood, and is today desolate in character. The Martin Luther King, Jr. Boulevard extension will run just north of Lloyd Church. Several groups are aware of the potential of the area to thrive if a long-term revitalization plan can be developed and carried out. There is also enthusiasm for a museum to help convey a sense of the community activity which at one time was centered here.

[144] 1917 Sanborn Map, p. 50.

Boston Cottages

Boston Cottages is another area which was established in the late nineteenth century, although early development of the neighborhood is known only through fragmentary evidence. The 1895 Sanborn index map shows a grid-patterned neighborhood in the northwest corner of the city identified as "Boston Cottage Co." Streets are First, Second and Third, as well as Lake Avenue in the southern portion where a small lake, Lake Best, is shown. The 1904-05 city directory included "Boston Cottages" as a "suburb of Winston, west of Old Town Road about one mile from limits." It was later identified as a "colored section west of N. Cherry Extd."

This was the area developed by the Boston Cottage Company, an investment company incorporated on June 15, 1892, by fifteen prominent white men.[145] The company's incorporation charter is like those of other similar companies of the time, with one exception: the charter includes the phrase "to erect cottages," indicating that housing was to be aimed at a lower-income group than, for instance, Columbian Heights. (The reason for the name "Boston" is unknown. There were people named Boston living in Winston-Salem in the late nineteenth century, but research has uncovered no connection between that family and the company.)

On an early plat of the area, the street layout is remarkably legible, but parts of the written legend are illegible: "Plat of the Property of the Boston Cottage Co., Winston, NC, ___ 342, developed by __ __ Reynolds, C. E." Although the plat is undated we can assume that a number of streets had been laid out by 1895 when they were included on the Sanborn Map. The plat shows the three numbered streets running east-west as on the Sanborn Map. The southernmost First Avenue is today's 14th Street. The north-south streets were named for presidents (Grant, Washington, Harrison, Cleveland, Lincoln, Garfield; also Blaine Street) with Old Town Road being the eastern border. The plat encompasses 21 blocks; Lake Best is not shown.

Another plat, this one drawn by Jacob Lott Ludlow (who drew the West End, Washington Park, and Columbian Heights plans) is dated both 1891 and July 21, 1894. Titled "Plat of the Lake Best Property," it includes some of the southeastern part of the Boston Cottages plat. Today's 13th Street was shown as Lake Avenue on the plat. The plat extends eastwardly to Old Town Road; later editing shows the location of the Cherry Street extension. Other plats show a three-street area known as Boston Heights as the western portion of Boston Cottages, and a detail of a section of Lake Best.

For the most part, the Boston Cottages neighborhood was always occupied by African-Americans. Most were renters but there were black owners as well. 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."[146] Early tax maps and two of the 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. City directories in the early decades of this century show Pearl Waugh to be the principal of the Boston Cottages Public School but do not give a location.

It is clear there was a residential population in the neighborhood during the 1890s. The Boston Cottage Methodist Episcopal Church (also known as Boston Cottage Community Church) was founded in 1893 as a spin-off of St. Paul's Church in the Depot Street area (see page 31). It was later named the Boston

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[145] Corporation Deed Book 1, pp. 93-96.

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

Cottage Saints Home Methodist Episcopal Church, and was housed in a small frame church.[147] A listing of "Colored churches" in early city directories includes "St. Home Methodist Episcopal Church" in 1910 and 1915 in Boston Cottages, and the 1920 directory listed two other churches in Boston Cottages, Mt. Pleasant Baptist at what is now the 2400 block of N. Cherry Street, and Mt. Pisgah Baptist. The Saints Home congregation is still active today in a 1944-1948 brick-veneered church on Thurmond Street.

Forming a pleasant western border of Boston Cottages is the Methodist Home for Children. Roosevelt, Taft, and Gillette streets run west from Thurmond Street and dead end into the fields of the Children's Home.[148] These streets make up the area identified as Boston Heights on early tax and plat maps. Previous residents recall that most streets were unpaved until well after 1955, and that by the 1950s most homes were owner-occupied. There was a close relationship between the neighborhood and the Children's Home. Neighborhood children played in the fields of the Children's Home. The Home grew many of its own vegetables and had orchards; at harvest time, after the Home had picked what it needed, it would let the word out among the neighborhood that the rest was available. Residents could then pick the remaining peaches, sweet potatoes, green beans, etc. The Home also gave hog meat to the residents of Boston. Very elderly residents remember playing in Fries Woods, a wooded separation between Manly Street and the Children's Home.

Several street names in the neighborhood have been changed over the years. Some were changed because of duplications elsewhere. The most notable change was from Washington Street to today's Thurmond Street. Thurmond is the major corridor through the neighborhood; thus, its name is often used to identify the neighborhood, being called the Boston-Thurmond area, or just Thurmond. Many residents remember when the city bus destination sign said Boston Cottages, and later Boston, but few are aware of the origin of the name from the nineteenth-century development company. South of Boston Cottages toward today's Northwest Boulevard was a later development known as Chatham Heights, including Row, Shrub and Manly streets; this was occupied by working-class whites. Earlier, it had been woods and additional pastureland for the Children's Home. Most of the land south of Saints Home Church was wooded and undeveloped until the 1950s, and the southern part of Washington Street was an unpaved "trail" called Chatham Street.[149]

There are few documentary records of the development of Boston Cottages. Although the streets of Boston were inhabited from as early as the 1890s, the first listing of any of the neighborhood's streets in city directories is not until 1932, when Grant Street is shown with eight houses, all occupied by African-Americans. Most streets were not listed until the early 1940s when numerous houses had been occupied for decades. In the 1960s, a large portion of the neighborhood was destroyed for construction of the Cherry Street extension and University Parkway. These thoroughfares have become the boundary-defining lines of today's neighborhood, though different from the boundaries when the area was developed. Scattered throughout Boston are houses moved to their new sites from elsewhere in the neighborhood during construction of these roads. This is true on several streets, including Thurmond, the northern part of Cannon, and especially Harrison Avenue which was generally not developed until the 1950s.

Today there are approximately 250 buildings remaining in the Boston Cottages neighborhood which

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[147] Interview, Nannie Sims. The church started from a Sunday School. It began as a Methodist Episcopal church, later merged with the Evangelical Church of Philadelphia, and in 1968 became a United Methodist congregation.

[148] Gillette was formerly Sherman Street and before that Glenn.

[149] Interview, Nannie Sims.

appear to have been built by 1950. Among these are frame turn-of-the-century cottages and a few rows of early twentieth-century frame workers' houses which are important in understanding the remarkable advances made by blacks in this community. These houses, modest by today's standards, were a momentous step up for people who had come from sharecropper houses in the fields of North and South Carolina and Virginia seeking a factory job, a decent wage, and a single-family residence. There are also several shotgun houses remaining in the neighborhood, some with a decorative shingle pattern in the porch gable. These are among the few extant shotguns in Winston-Salem. Although determining construction dates for the houses of Boston Cottages was extremely difficult, it appears that about 35% date from the 1920s or earlier, and 65% from the second quarter of the twentieth century. Only a handful, or about ten of these are one-and-one-half or two-story; the neighborhood is effectively an area of one-story, small to medium-sized frame single-family houses which retains strong neighborhood character.

The Pond

"The Pond" was a name born of tragedy. At the turn of the century the city's brick and concrete reservoir lay at the top of Trade Street Hill, where Eighth and Trade intersect. It had been built in 1882 by the Winston Water Supply Company. This private company acquired Belo's Pond (site of First Baptist Church's baptisms[150]) on Peters Creek near the Western Electric's Chatham Road Plant and built a pumping station to push water up the steep ridge to the east.[151] Trade Street Hill was at that time the highest point in the city, so water from the reservoir could be fed in all directions by gravity flow. In 1894 the company sold out to the town of Winston. The town in turn enlarged the reservoir by adding ten feet in height and six feet in length.[152]

The reservoir leaked and there was some minor concern about its condition. In 1903 the voters overwhelmingly approved a $100,000 water bond issue (by a vote of 307 to 10!). The new water system was completed on October 12, 1904. Within a week powerful pumps filled both the new metal standpipe, visible on the skyline in photographs of the time, and the old brick reservoir which remained a supplementary part of the new system.

The reservoir was located on Winston's north fringe. This was a mixed neighborhood, but predominantly black, made up of small one-story rental houses. Trade Street Hill pitched downward from Eighth Street to Peters Creek along which Northwest Boulevard now winds. Trade Street itself then ended at a railway cut some four to five blocks below the reservoir. On Wednesday, November 2, 1904, people in the neighborhood were awakened at 5:20 a.m. by a loud thud and shudders "like an earthquake."[153] The entire north wall of the reservoir, the wall overlooking the steep descent of Trade Street, had collapsed. A cascade of water estimated at 800,000 to 1,400,000 gallons exploded into the neighborhood, destroying houses, killing nine people, and injuring many more. The Western Sentinel newspaper called the collapse "the most horrible catastrophe in the history of Winston-Salem." The Union Republican termed it, "The saddest chapter in our history," and the Winston-Salem Journal called it "Winston-Salem's greatest tragedy."

The water flowed north down the Trade Street Hill past 12th Street and the Southern Railroad to Peters Creek, covering a large area of low-lying "Bottom" housing. At Peters Creek it gushed west and southwest along the creek past today's Cherry Street extension and into Belo's Pond (near Rundell Street and Northwest Boulevard). It is said that a city official looking down over the flooded area remarked that it looked "like a pond," and that the name stuck.

By 6 a.m. volunteer firemen arrived at the scene. Belo's Pond was searched for bodies as was the desolated Trade Street neighborhood. Newspapers reported that by 9 a.m. a crowd of several thousand had gathered to view the scene.[154] Mayor O.B. Eaton said that the town would pay for the burial of the dead and treatment of the injured. He promised that the town would pay for all the property damage, rebuild the houses that were destroyed and pay compensation for household furnishings and personal

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[150] First Baptist Church yearbook.

[151] Winston-Salem Journal, 11/14/65.

[152] Ibid.

[153] Ibid.

[154] See Brownlee's Pictorial History, p. 133, for 1904 photos and events of the collapse of the reservoir.

belongings that were lost. The mayor had good reason to make these prompt offers, as there was risk of law suits. A rumor began that the reservoir had been condemned but the city authorities had failed to remove it. There had been reports of leaking the Friday before the catastrophe, prompting the mayor to visit the reservoir. Despite attempts by lawyers who proposed law suits against the city, the mayor and the city's power structure apparently were successful in discouraging suits.[155] It is surprising that this event was forgotten so quickly. It remains the most tragic day of Winston and Salem's history, yet during interviews for this project, even a majority of those who had lived in the area did not know how the Pond got its name.

The boundaries of the Pond roughly include the area from Tenth Street north to Glenn Avenue, and from Chestnut Street west to North Cherry Street. The black neighborhood became the path of the flooding waters because much of the land is bottomland. All of the houses that once stood in the Pond are gone, and large public housing projects have taken their place. A number of churches remain, the earliest and most notable being New Bethel Baptist Church, a large and impressive brick church built in 1906 on Trade Street Hill. Through the years it has undergone considerable alteration both inside and out, including the application of permastone in the 1950s. It and the other churches are surrounded by non-residential development and post-urban-renewal housing.

Today we think of neighborhoods as a much larger area than the word used to convey, probably as a result of the greater ease of traveling from one area to another. Within the Pond were several smaller neighborhoods known by the colloquial names given by residents to their surroundings. Some of these are listed below.

Ellis Hill was off Trade Street.

The Horse Shoe, or The Shoe was a row of six houses in a U shape. They are shown as "Horse Shoe Court" on the 1917 Sanborn Map, between Oak and King streets just north of Lee Alley (western extension of 10½ Alley).

Monkey Bottom ran behind the factory district and included Wilson and Oak streets between Northwest Boulevard and 14th Street. Underwood Street was not included. It was on higher ground and generally not considered a part of the Pond, although the 1904 water covered past Cherry Street.[156] The area has also been called **Ax Bottom** because a man is said to have been killed there with an ax.[157] A (1940s?) photograph of Wilson Street at its intersection with Northwest Boulevard shows a row of small one-story frame houses, probably dating from the first and second decades of this century, fronting an unpaved Wilson "Street" which is actually a dirt path with grass on either side.[158] The intersection of Northwest Boulevard was at two grades; an iron gate led from Northwest Boulevard down three cement steps to the Wilson Street level. The infrequent access of an automobile was made from the north. Peters Creek flowed beneath these steps and through the front yards of several houses there.

Peppertown was off Trade Street along the railroad, where the factories are. It was named for

[155] Winston-Salem Journal, 11/14/65.

[156] Interview, Inez Gray and Delores Scales.

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

[158] Cover of the program for the first "Pond Reunion," held in August, 1991.

Pepper's Warehouse. All of the houses here were alike, and have been compared to a mill village. They were two-room houses, probably shotguns.[159]

Smoky Hollow, also called Smoky Bottom, was east of the Cherry/Marshall Expressway, north of Northwest Boulevard, south of the convention center, and included 10½ Street, Ellis and King streets.

Spook Ranch was also on Wilson Street and is said to have been so named because a cemetery was nearby.[160]

[159] Interview, Inez Gray and Delores Scales.

[160] Interview, Inez Gray and Delores Scales.

East Winston

The name East Winston has denoted different areas at different times, reflecting the growth and expansion of the area throughout this century. East Winston developed as a continuation of the grid pattern and numbered streets of downtown Winston. At the turn of the century and in its early years, houses for whites had been erected along East Third, Fourth and Fifth streets. The area 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.[161]

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.[162] 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 and other areas south of the white section. As the black 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 to Seventh and Eighth Streets. Eventually, black residential areas grew up on all sides of the white section. 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.[163] 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.[164] By 1920 a few whites recognized that the growing black community would continue to expand within East Winston, and sold their houses to blacks. Even so it was not until 1941 that Jasper Carpenter became the first black to purchase a house in the white community around City Hospital.[165] As a result, white residents began a mass exodus in 1942 and "most all were gone in 12 months."[166] This story is confirmed by the city 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.

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[161] 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 to City Memorial Hospital. The north wing was built in 1922 to accommodate black patients.

[162] This later became the Child Guidance Clinic, then the Cox Rest Home, or Cox Restorium. It was the first unit of the statewide Baptist Homes for the Aging. Since 1983 the building has been the Family Services Shelter for abused women and their children.

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

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

[165] City Memorial Hospital was built for whites in 1913-1914 on 10 acres of land between 3rd and 5th Streets.

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

The occupancy maps in the front pocket of this report show that areas built for and lived in by whites in East Winston evolved into black housing. In the eastern part of the city in 1929, 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 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. Dramatic changes took place 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. Many of the churches in the area which had been built for white congregations were bought, renamed, and used by black congregations.

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.[167] 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, discussed earlier, concentrated most heavily in East Winston and destroyed most of the original character of this large area. Not only were houses razed and a number of public housing projects built, but 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. A number of churches remain as the only traces of the earlier neighborhoods, often with their large shade trees standing in stark contrast to public housing projects and the open vista of modern houses across the bare landscape.

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

Reynoldstown (or Cameron Park)

This area in East Winston was bought by the R.J. Reynolds Tobacco Company and begun as a development for whites when the surrounding area was still predominantly white. In 1917 the company purchased a tract of 83.84 acres known as the "old Cameron land" to which a few additional lots were added. About five hundred feet from the eastern terminus of the streetcar line near the City Hospital grounds, the development became known as Cameron Park. Streets in Cameron Park, according to early tax maps showing blocks belonging to R.J. Reynolds and developed for housing, include Dunleith, Jackson, Graham, Gray, Cameron, Rich, Camel, Ferrell, and Temple in the two blocks between Eighth and Tenth Streets. Residents had to be employed by Reynolds Tobacco Company in order to live here. The development was started during World War I by the Reynolds company 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." Seventy percent of the houses were constructed by building contractors, and the remaining 30 percent were "of the Minter-Holmes type of house."[168] Apparently the area was designed to enable workers to become homeowners, as R.J. Reynolds planned to sell the houses at cost. Although he died in 1918 before he could personally complete their development, houses were indeed first leased at 6%, and later, as early as 1918, some were sold at cost with fifteen years to pay for them.[169] 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.[170]

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 at 839 Camel Avenue in 1920 when it was still known only as C Avenue in Cameron Park. By 1921 it was Camel Avenue with the same numbering system as today. Ten years later in 1930, all of the Lees' neighbors in the two blocks of Camel (eleven houses) were white. The following year two houses became vacant, and a year later in 1932, Asa and Millie Lee were the only white residents. The Lees moved out a year or two later and in 1934 Gertrude and Rufus Johnson, a black Reynolds employee, moved in, completing the transformation of this street from one of totally white residents to totally black. In 1938 Reynolds sold the house to John M. Adams, the black traffic manager for the Safe Bus Company. He bought the house as rental property.

The second family was the Carters. John A. Carter was a black instructor at Winston-Salem Teachers College (now WSSU), and 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 Wallace Street in Columbian Heights to their new two-story Colonial Revival house. City Directories show that the Carters were the first African-Americans to move to Rich Avenue. According to interviews, John Carter was very light-skinned and "could pass for white." As the first African-Americans in Cameron Park, John and Alice Carter's move here was a forecast 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 the 900 block of Camel and the 800 and 900 blocks of Rich Avenue, except the brick house at #1100, were occupied by whites in 1931.

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[168] Tilley, The R.J. Reynolds Tobacco Company, pp. 270-271. The meaning of the term Minter-Holmes is not known.

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

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

Just a year later the directory shows all of Cameron Park populated by management-level, professional African-Americans.

The pattern was repeated throughout Cameron Park. For instance, Cameron Avenue also made the switch to African-American occupants during the 1930s. South of Eighth Street, however, residents remained predominantly white as late as 1940. This is more typical of other "white sections" of East Winston, which became black in 1942.

R.J. Reynolds built the houses in Cameron Park on large lots in 1919, 1920, and 1921 and rented to white employees at the liberal terms described above. The increased number of vacancies in 1931 may indicate that white residents realized the shift was imminent. By 1932 these blocks were entirely black-occupied, still by renters who for the most part were RJR employees. After 1936 a ballfield was built east of Ferrell Street. It was here that the fundraising games were held for construction of the black Y on Patterson Avenue.[171] (See discussion on page 31.) Deed extracts show that Reynolds sold the houses after September 1938 and by early 1942.[172] At that time the area was already solidly black, thus all buyers were black.

Four blocks were known as Shadymount and are shown in early tax maps with the name J.B. Dyer. Although Dyer was a member of the three-man Real Estate Committee for R.J. Reynolds Company, deed abstracts indicate that he owned these lands as an individual, sometimes with his wife.[173] Their lots were sold undeveloped in 1954 with houses built shortly thereafter. Again, the exception is number 1100 where the Carters built their house.

While the area apparently was called Cameron Park in its early days, current residents know it only as Reynoldstown. The neighborhood originally was fifteen blocks bounded by East Eighth Street to the south, East Tenth Street to the north, Ferrell to the east, and the "Negro" housing along Dunleith on the west. Today, most of Cameron Park remains. The exceptions are the 800 and 900 blocks of Dunleith Avenue, developed for African-Americans, which were destroyed by urban renewal. 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. Today there are about 230 houses in Cameron Park included in the 1993 architectural inventory.

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[171] Interview, Paul S. Bitting.

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

[173] Tilley, p. 271.

Columbia Heights Extension

In 1919 an area called the Columbia Heights Extension was planned by the Realty Bond Co., a white-owned company which also developed Alta Vista. Columbia Heights Extension was further developed in 1927 and after the Depression. It is a twelve-block area south of Columbian Heights, across Salem Creek, and south of today's Civitan Park. The Happy Hill neighborhood is just across Highway 52 and the railroad track. Both of these were called "across the creek" by residents of the more affluent Columbian Heights.

Streets in the area today closely reflect the early plats.[174] About one hundred buildings from the first half of the twentieth century remain in the neighborhood and are included in the 1993 architectural inventory. About twenty-five or thirty appear to be among the first built after the 1919 plat; most of these are on Diggs Boulevard and Gholson Avenue. The area retains its neighborhood character but is in poor condition. It is today made up predominantly of one-story, frame dwellings, mostly bungalows and unpretentious frame houses; only two of the houses are two-story, and about ten are duplexes. The area was always an African-American neighborhood. City directories indicate that by 1940, about half of the houses were owner-occupied.

The southern four blocks of the neighborhood were redeveloped in the 1960s as part of the city's urban renewal effort. Today the large, long brick apartment buildings lining Bruce Street and Timlic Avenue are in sharp contrast to the rest of the neighborhood.

[174] Streets in the neighborhood include Diggs Boulevard, Gholson Avenue, Fitch Street, Williamson Street, Bruce Street, Hamlin Avenue, and, to the west, Cunningham Avenue.

Alta Vista

According to Adelaide Fries, Alta Vista was the first "Negro" subdivision in the South developed for professionals.[175] An October 1927 plat showed it immediately north of the Boston/Thurmond area, bounded by 26th Street at the north, 24½ at the south, Cherry at the east and Kirkwood at the west. The area west of Cherry Street was owned by Realty Bond Securities Co. (the white company that developed Columbia Heights Extension); east of Cherry between 24th and 25th was owned by E. P. Yates, the white president and owner of Realty Bond Securities. The company advertised itself in the 1925 city directory as "home builders and dealers in All Kinds of Building Material; sash, doors, lime, cement, plaster, roofing, flooring, ceiling, siding, mouldings, shingles, laths etc."

The first year streets in the neighborhood are listed in the city directories is 1929, when nine houses were shown on West 25th Street west of Cherry Street. A year later in 1930, nineteen houses are listed on 25th Street and five houses are shown on West 24½ Street. It is not until 1942 that another street in the Alta Vista neighborhood is listed; West 25½ is shown with six houses. By 1945, West 26th Street is listed with one house, two houses are shown on this northern part of Thurmond, and Kirkwood is listed with "no houses" at the entry. Also by 1945 many more houses have been built on W 24½ and 25th Streets.

In 1946 a portion of Alta Vista was bought for investment by Twin City Home Builders, a white company owned by B. Clyde Shore. The area was divided into 21 lots, each 50 by 100 feet, and 25 houses were built in a year. The contractor was Harvey B. Stimpson of Clemmons who was hired by Shore in early 1946 and with a crew of ten or twelve workmen, finished 25 four-room frame houses by early 1947. A few were two-story.[176] These were built under the GI home loan program, developed for soldiers returning from World War II when few houses had been built. Until this time the northern part of Alta Vista had been undeveloped farmland and woods known by some early residents as "the Reynolds' old farm."[177] Others remember the farm's being named Alta Vista and used for corn and pastureland by the Children's Home.[178] This may be the origin of the early name of the neighborhood, though it has not been known by that name for decades.

The 1927 plat shows the streets exactly as they are today, with the exception of the eastern end of the neighborhood which was bisected by University Parkway in the 1960s. About ninety houses remain in today's Alta Vista with University Parkway as its eastern border. All are single-family residences; no duplexes are in the neighborhood. The area conveys the successes of black professionals in Winston-Salem. Most of the houses have contemporary one- or two-car garages indicating the comfortable income level of their first occupants. The later houses, such as those on West 26th Street, are small and reflect their development for quick sale to those having little or no down payment. Architecturally, 24½ and 25th Streets, the southernmost streets in Alta Vista, contain houses appearing to date from the earliest years of the development. All other streets appear to have been built later, no doubt reflecting delays caused by the Depression. It is known that Yates lost the land for a few years during the Depression but regained it in 1935.[179]

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[175] Fries, History of a County, p. 206.

[176] Interviews, Jack E. Shore and Harvey B. Stimpson, Jr. B. Clyde Shore also developed Shoreland Park southeast of the interchange of Robinhood Road and Silas Creek Parkway.

[177] Interview, Charlie Dulin, resident since 1946.

[178] Interview, Odessa Robinson, builder and owner of 719 W 26th Street

[179] Deed abstracts, tax mapping office.

Dreamland Park

Dreamland Park is a small, secluded neighborhood northeast of E. 14th St. It was begun in the 1920s and has always been predominantly African-American. Streets today include Attucks, Dunbar, Booker & Emerald streets, Eldora Boulevard, Douglas Avenue, and part of Dellabrook Road. 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. 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 1½-story bungalows. Residents worked in tobacco factories, including those of RJR, Brown & Williamson, & Taylor Brothers. Others worked for railroads, including N&W and Southern. Many of these houses remain today. The area remained rural, retaining woods, pigpens, strawberry & blackberry patches. There were 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. The church remains today, greatly enlarged and altered, at 2340 Dunbar.[180] 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 the house at 2315 Booker Street; evidence of its door is still visible. The third 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 2-story white-owned grocery store at E. 14th and Cameron Avenue known as the Red Store (operated by Henry Stone). Just before WW II, maybe ca. 1941, Dreamland Park got on the mail route and residents could put up mailboxes on the corner of Attucks and E. 14th Street. There was a long line of mailboxes. Perhaps this new mail route was the reason streets began appearing in city directories in 1941. For some years in the 1930s, Dreamland Park children went to the E. 14th Street School and to Atkins High School; however, according to a former resident, because Dreamland Park was not in the city limits, children attended the Dreamland Park Elementary School, built in the mid-1930s on Emerald at the north dead end. It no longer stands.

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. The first city directory listings for this area were not until 1941 although the neighborhood had been developed some years earlier and most houses appear to have been built before 1940.

[180] 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

This area in East Winston, made up of Maryland, Kentucky and Terrace Avenues, 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 neighborhood east of City Memorial Hospital.[181] 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 blacks began to move in in the 1940s and by the late 1940s it was predominantly black and many new houses were being built.[182] Deeds and tax records reflect this as well. Only three families, all white, are shown to live 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.

[181] The J.L. Hospital still stands. City directories show the building was by 1940 the Child Guidance Clinic and by 1945 the Cox Rest Home, or Cox Restorium. Since 1983 it has served as the Family Services Shelter for abused women and their children.

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

POCKET NEIGHBORHOODS

The neighborhoods discussed above extended for many city blocks. Another sort of African-American neighborhood may be termed a "pocket neighborhood," being a street or small area generally within a larger, white neighborhood where many domestic servants lived. The developments of West End, Washington Park and Buena Vista were aimed at a white, middle- to upper-middle class clientele. Each had one or more "pocket neighborhoods." Many of these have vanished.

4½ Street and 5½ Street

In West End were 4½ Street and 5½ Street, both now lined with modern buildings. One prominent resident who lived here as a child was Long Lance, born Sylvester C. Long in 1890, who became famous in the United States and Canada. Long successfully represented himself first as a full-blooded Cherokee Indian, later as a Blackfoot Indian from the west. Long Lance's parents' ancestry suggested a mixture of white and Indian blood, but in Winston only two races were recognized, black and white. Thus when the family moved from Yadkin County to Winston in 1887 to a small frame house on 4½ Street, they were considered "colored."[183] The boy Sylvester is listed in the city directories from 1900 to 1913. He was a student at Depot Street School, later worked at O'Hanlon's Drug Store, and in 1906 was a janitor at the newly opened public library. Wanting to escape the deprivations of segregation he joined a traveling Wild West Show and went on to fabricate a wholly fictitious past. He became an author and actor, gained notoriety and led a dazzling social life in New York until his death in 1932.[184] His family remained in Winston-Salem; his brother Abraham Long was the longtime manager of the all-Negro balcony at the Carolina Theatre, and his brother Walter Long began his own detective agency before African-Americans could become police officers.[185]

Brookstown Avenue and Burke Street

The area of Brookstown Avenue between Green and Burke streets, as well as the eastern tip of Burke Street, housed African-Americans. City directories list the West End Baptist Church (Colored) on Shallowford in 1915 and at 103 Burke Street in 1920. These buildings have all been demolished. Note that Long Lance's family moved to Brookstown Avenue in 1896 (see discussion at 4½ Street above).

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[183] Winston-Salem Journal, May 22, 1983; also Smith, Long Lance. By 1896 the family had moved to a one-story frame house on Brookstown Avenue.

[184] Smith, Long Lance.

[185] Smith, Long Lance, p. 2.

Salem Avenue, Poplar and Broad Streets

At the southern tip of West Salem, on the north bank of Salem Creek, is a handful of houses dating from the turn-of-the-century and which have always housed African-Americans. Despite considerable research, the early development of this area is known only through fragmentary evidence. The establishment of the neighborhood began shortly before or after the 1890 death of C.P. Sides, who owned the 33-acre tract encompassing these streets. Remaining today on the north side of Salem Avenue (formerly Park Avenue and before that Mill Street) between Broad (formerly Ash Street) and Poplar streets are four buildings historically associated with African-Americans. Going north on both Broad and Poplar streets from Salem Avenue are additional houses with black associations.

Early deeds in this area identify a property as "lot #__, C.P. Sides Plat," but no plat can be found. At his death in 1890, C.P. Sides owned the mill tract of 33 acres. Despite his prosperity, thirteen acres of his land were sold before 1899 to pay off debts until the mill occupied only a 20-acre tract.[186] Those thirteen acres were subdivided into lots and sold, and are the location of the Salem and Poplar area. Thus we know the lots were created in the 1890s and all houses were standing by 1917. Today about 15 houses remain on these three streets in the area believed to have been historically associated with African-Americans. Most date from the turn of the century.

It is clear that the area has long been associated with African-Americans, that many black occupants were owners, and that related families owned several of the houses, yet we are unable to determine why this area became black housing so early, who built the houses, or when. Old Salem, Inc., has long felt there might be some link with the Salem Mill, but that research has not yet been undertaken. Despite extensive research on the buildings during this project, the possibility of a link remains only that. The Salem Mill Tract included the mill and mill race and 33 acres of land, and had a number of owners. In December of 1902 the mill burned. This has made research difficult because most city directories available for study are for the years after that date. African-Americans were not recorded very thoroughly in these early directories. Therefore, we can learn about the occupants of the houses after the mill burned, but have difficulty determining if occupants during mill operation were associated with the mill. For instance, some of the residents living on Mill Street (today's Salem Avenue) are listed as "laborers" in the 1891-92 and 1894-95 directories; might they have worked at the mill? The Sanborn Maps do not map this area until 1917, when all current buildings are shown, although the mill itself was mapped by 1895. It is clear, however, that blacks lived in this block as early as the late nineteenth century, and that the area continued to be predominantly African-American through the next century. Occupations of black Salem Ave. residents listed in city directories of the 1920s include porters, laborers, tobacco and factory workers, a cook and a janitor.

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[186] C. Permania Sides died intestate, wife was Nancy C. Sides who died late the following year. His father was Christian D. Sides, who was a wealthy landowner and died in or by 1879. Sides bought the property from W.J. Cooper, but the property was still encumbered by an 1886 deed of trust (mortgage) held by a Mrs. Mary E. Parlett of Baltimore. Cooper to Sides deed found in Deed Book 27, p. 597. Mrs. Parlett's representative for the 1886 deed of trust was R.J. Reynolds; early in his tobacco career Reynolds had borrowed money from a Mr. Parlett, a friend of RJR's father who had tobacco businesses in Danville and Baltimore.

Watkins and Granville Streets

Like the Salem/Poplar area, little is known about the earliest establishment of this area as an African-American neighborhood. The 1891 Bird's-Eye View of Winston-Salem shows a few buildings in this area on Green and Broad streets, but the site of Granville and Watkins streets is shown as a still-undeveloped wooded hill.[187] Located south and east of the West End neighborhood, the land had been owned by Nathaniel T. Watkins, a well-to-do white man who died about 1891, and though he died without a will, he left "a considerable personal estate and a large landed estate," with real estate consisting "principally of unimproved lots and of lands lying near Winston-Salem."[188] Watkins was part owner of Watkins, Burton & Watkins, a general merchandise store, and lived in a prominent part of town at the northeast corner of Second and Church Streets. An 1897 document indicates that several lots in the Granville/Watkins area were rented to tenants, apparently before Watkins's death, on Peachtree and Watkins Streets as well as Green, Shallowford (today's First Street), and Broad Streets. And the 1906 city directory records African Americans living on Watkins Street.

It is unclear whether the Watkins children developed the area after Watkins's death. It is more likely that the land was developed by others such as the Carters, a white family who built several houses and rented them out on what is today's Carter Street (possibly the B Street shown on early maps). Cotton and Green streets were occupied by whites.[189] Blacks lived on Watkins, Granville, and Peachtree Streets, and Peachtree Alley, as well as other streets now gone. (Peachtree [now gone] was east of and parallel to Granville. Peachtree Alley [also gone] was north of and parallel to Watkins. All houses on both Peachtrees are gone.) Many of the black women who lived in the area were domestic servants for white families in West End or on Spring, Broad and Green streets. In some families, the men worked at R.J. Reynolds Tobacco Company so they could afford to buy a house, but most African-Americans in the area rented, and always from whites.[190] The 1906 and 1912 city directories show the occupations of the African-American residents of Watkins Street as laborers, porters, drivers, tobacco workers, a railroad worker, a laundress, and a carpenter.

The neighborhood, like so many others in the city, was partially destroyed by the introduction of new highways through its center. Interstate 40 cut through the southern portion of the neighborhood in the 1960s, splitting it. Peters Creek Parkway was built perpendicular to I-40 and brought with it an interchange which destroyed additional houses and blocks of the neighborhood. Today, some houses from the early twentieth century remain, mostly on Watkins and Granville Streets. Also remaining on Watkins Street is the small frame West End Holiness Church, built in the late 1920s or 1930. The church was first listed as Watkins Street Baptist Church in the 1930 city directory; by 1935 it was called West End Holiness Church. It is still active today and known as Mount Olive Holiness Church. Current residents are concerned that the neighborhood, near the interstate interchange, will be developed for commercial use. The neighborhood has been on a steady decline for the past ten years as fears of

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[187] Most of the land which became West End was 180 acres of farmland bought from Henry W. Fries in July of 1890, and did not extend to the Watkins and Granville area. From interview with Laura A.W. Phillips, architectural historian.

[188] Guardian's petition, Sept 28, 1897, will book microfilm box F538, p. 83. The only recorded estate file is the final settlement, which does not record property passed on to heirs; the 90-day inventory of all property in his possession at his death is missing from the record. At his death Watkins owned stock in the Winston Water Co., the Orinico Warehouse, and the R & S Railroad. He had at least six children, the youngest, Charles, being 17 years old.

[189] City directories do not show Watkins's children as living in the city in the twentieth century, nor do their names appear in the Grantor index. Information on Carters from interview with Edward Stone, long-time resident.

[190] Interview, Edward Stone, long-time resident.

development thwart maintenance efforts. Most of the seventeen remaining buildings are in poor condition, and residents are working to retain a strong sense of neighborhood.

Rawson Street and Acadia Avenue

Washington Park was a streetcar suburb south of Salem developed in the 1890s for well-to-do white families. It retains today several houses from its pocket neighborhood on Rawson Street and Acadia Avenue. The houses on these two streets have always been occupied by African-Americans. These are working-class dwellings which housed tobacco and furniture workers as well as those who worked as maids, cooks, chauffeurs and gardeners for wealthy white families in Washington Park.[191] Odell King, who lived on Rawson Street, for example, was chauffeur and gardener to a prominent white family on Cascade Avenue. Because there were few black families, black and white children played together.[192] Many of the black families here were related, and an impressive number owned their houses. Shelton Penn bought land on Rawson Street as early as the 1890s; his son James V. Penn built a house there by 1915, and other family members built nearby. According to one resident, Rawson Street got its name from Mamie Ross, an African-American schoolteacher who taught at Happy Hill School for years.[193]

Portions of Rawson and Acadia are included in the Washington Park Historic District and listed in the National Register of Historic Places. Sixteen houses associated with African-American history remain on these streets and are included in the 1993 architectural inventory. Five houses in the 2000 and 2100 blocks of Rawson (formerly Old Lexington Road, later an extension of Doune), and five in the 100 block of Acadia Avenue are turn-of-the-century houses. Six on the 2200 block of Rawson date from the second quarter of the twentieth century. Most remain occupied; their conditions vary and two houses on Rawson just south of Acadia were demolished in recent years. (A few houses on Hollyrood Street to the west also housed African-Americans. These were on a predominantly white street and not part of the Rawson-Acadia pocket.)

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[191] Early city directories.

[192] Interview, Thelma N. Penn, granddaughter of Shelton Penn.

[193] Interview, Sam Shore.

Silver Hill

Silver Hill was a small African-American community of tobacco workers and domestic servants that flourished in the predominantly white Buena Vista neighborhood, but predated that fashionable section by several decades, probably having originated in the last decade of the nineteenth century. There apparently were about ten black families on Silver Hill in the early twentieth century. The 1928 Sanborn Map (with later revisions) shows an L-shaped row of seven small, one-story frame houses and one two-story house with an auto garage, north of Wiley and Angelo streets and facing south just behind the large houses on the south side of Virginia Road, although no street is shown.[194] Twelve of the three-room dwellings were demolished between 1954 and 1976 when three remained, only one occupied.[195] City directories do not list street names but from 1939 to 1951 call Silver Hill "a settlement north of the end of Wiley Avenue, between Angelo and Virginia Road." The 1952 directory lists Silver Hill with the notation "changed to Wiley Avenue," and lists occupants at Wiley Street addresses for the first time. These directories listed eight African-Americans as living in Silver Hill, of whom four or five were shown as owners.

A small frame church once stood beside the cemetery on Holiday Street until it burned on Easter Monday in 1942. By that time it was no longer in regular use; services had not been held the day before. The church is never listed in city directories, but was variously known as the Primitive Baptist Church, Ironsides Baptist Church, Old Ironsides, Antioch Baptist Church and the Negro Antioch Baptist Church. According to legend, "there was an old black man back there who was a witch doctor, and for him to doctor folks, they had to give him silver--silver dollars. That's why they called it Silver Hill."[196]

Silver Hill apparently was occupied for about sixty years until the mid-1950s. Today, the area is mowed grass and retains no houses nor above-ground evidence that it was ever occupied. Immediately south are dwellings historically associated with whites. However, the location of the black residents' **Silver Hill Graveyard** remains next to Holiday Street, a grassy field with one stone visible still, leaning against a tree (see page 64).[197] The graveyard was wooded as late as the 1960s and is believed to contain stones sunk beneath the present surface.[198] With St. Philips (see page 62) this may be among the oldest black cemeteries in Forsyth County, as tombstones are reported to have dated back to the Civil War.[199]

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[194] 1928 Sanborn Map, p. 212. According to Mary Angelo Daye, Angelo Street was named for Zaffaroni Angelo, an Italian immigrant (originally named Angelo Zaffaroni) from Turrano near Milan who lived on the south side of Angelo Street west of the Halcyon right-of-way. He worked on the railroad until he was injured, then was gardener for a governor in Raleigh before moving to Winston-Salem. A poor man who had 12 children (many died in infancy), Angelo farmed several acres and donated the land for construction of St. Leo's Catholic Church in the late 1920s when it moved from its former location on Fourth Street. His son Michael Anthony Angelo (1884-1978) founded Angelo Brothers grocery wholesalers downtown in 1910; it remains in business today.

[195] Interview, Jean Watson, resident of Holiday Street; and Winston-Salem Journal, Sunday 7/4/76, p. B1.

[196] Twin-City Sentinel, Monday, 4/6/42, p. 2, and Winston-Salem Journal, Sunday 7/4/76, p. B2.

[197] The gravestone of Edward Royal Wait, died 5 April 1951.

[198] Interview, David Lusk, who grew up on Angelo Street.

[199] Winston-Salem Journal, Sunday 7/4/76, p. B1.

Five Row

This neighborhood was developed for African-American families who worked at Reynolda House and Village, the country estate completed in 1917 for R. J. Reynolds and his wife, Katharine. It was planned largely by Katharine Reynolds as a working "model farm" as inspiration to the working classes.[200] Reynolda was a world within itself, housing living quarters for twenty white families, schools for black and white children, and a Presbyterian church (completed in 1914). Reynolda was a complete dairy farm with barns and stables, an icehouse and smokehouse, chicken house, potato house, a laundry and blacksmith shop, a power plant and telephone system, post office, formal gardens, golf course, lake, pastures, tennis courts, pool. Most black families, however, lived separately in an area to the northwest known as Five Row. It later grew to a row of twelve houses, each frame and with four or five rooms and a fenced yard, but lacking plumbing and electricity. Five Row had its own school, which Mrs. Reynolds had built in 1918. The school was considered superior to public school and wealthy African-Americans sent their children there. Soon after the school opened, Mrs. Reynolds suggested that the families also use the building as a nondenominational church, because Five Row families were traveling as far as Yadkin County to attend their churches. The building continued as a church after the school closed.[201]

No vestiges of Five Row remain in place today; it has been replaced by Silas Creek Parkway, the American Telephone and Telegraph plant, and Polo Road. The former Five Row church and school was moved in 1961, when Silas Creek Parkway was built, to Grove Garden Road off the 4700 block of Indiana Avenue in the Piney Grove area.[202] It has been altered considerably and serves as the Mt. Sinai Deliverance Temple. Reunions of Five Row families and their descendants are held by Reynolda House, Museum of Art.

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[200] Nathans, p. 63.

[201] Winston-Salem Journal, March 21, 1993, page B1 and B4.

[202] Gigi Parent, who conducted research on Five Row.

Madison Avenue

The southern portion of Madison Avenue (formerly Alspaugh Street) was home to a few African-American families, some related. It was bordered on the north by Ardmore, a large neighborhood begun in 1914 for whites. This part of Madison Street close to today's Silas Creek Parkway was the area known as Sidestown. On the east side of the street stood Ardmore AME Zion Church, also known as Sidestown AME Zion Church, and behind it a cemetery. The church was demolished after World War II; its site is a grassy field today.[203] However, the cemetery remains behind the field in the middle of the block with twelve impressive stones dating from 1915 to 1984, a family marker, and three stone gateposts (see page 66). Most of Sidestown was sold and developed in the 1950s/1970s; five early-twentieth-century frame houses remain, the earlier three in a row on the west side of Madison Street, across from the grassy field and graveyard. These belonged to the Tatum and Hill families. Daisy Mae Tatum still owns two and lives in one of the early houses on Madison Avenue. Interestingly, city directories continually showed the Tatums to be white. City directories from 1920 to 1945 do not list Alspaugh Street, Ardmore AME Zion Church or Sidestown AME Zion Church, perhaps because they were beyond the canvas area. Research was further hindered by complex restructuring of the tax blocks and lots in this area.

[203] Interview, Daisy Brock Tatum.

ADDITIONAL AREAS

In addition to the recognizable African-American neighborhoods discussed above, certain areas show up in early city directories, in written materials and in oral history interviews as having been predominantly black. Some no longer exist. More recent extant residential developments are listed below as well.

Baltimore: This is first listed in the 1902/03 city directory as a suburb of Winston northeast of the city limits. By 1910 it is further identified as "a colored suburb of Winston ne of city." It is not listed after 1915. The 1915 directory shows Mt. Pleasant Baptist Church in Baltimore, although it was shown in Boston Cottages in the 1920 directory. Mt. Pleasant was located in what is now the 2400 block of N. Cherry Street, formerly Old Town Road; therefore, Baltimore may have been a small neighborhood just east of Boston Cottages. A former resident remembers a Baltimore Street in the bottomland near Chicago and 10th streets; however, she does not remember the area being called Baltimore.[204] City directories from 1921 to 1931 list a Baltimore Avenue with "see Jackson Avenue." There is no indication of which part of Jackson Avenue it may have been, perhaps near the intersection of Jackson and 10th in the bottom. This area was destroyed during Urban Renewal.

Bellvue: The First Baptist Church yearbook names seven black families who lived in Waughtown as early as the 1870s.[205] City directories are incomplete. Waughtown is not included in early directories, but "Belleview" is listed as early as 1904/05 as "on Old Lexington Road beyond Southside." By 1912 it is "a suburban settlement sw of Southside," and by 1922 "Bellvue" is "a colored settlement south of Southside." The 1920 city directory shows Waughtown Baptist Church (Colored) on Moravian [sic] Street in Bellvue; its African-American pastor Reverend Pinckney Joyce and his wife Emma lived on Urban Street nearby. Reverend Joyce was also the pastor for Rising Ebenezer Baptist Church in Happy Hill. Adelaide Fries reports that George D. Reynolds, an African-American contractor, builder, brickmaker and banker, gave land to the county upon which was built the Belview [sic] County School for Negroes located on Moravia Street.[206] The school was demolished in the 1970s; the site is now the basketball court of the Bellview Recreation Center.[207]

Later listings of individual streets are spotty and though a few African-Americans are noted it appears that the blocks that were predominantly black, or mixed, are not included in their entirety. By 1949 the city directory shows predominantly black

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[204] Interview, Emma Whitworth.

[205] A Hundred Year Pilgrimage of Faith 1879-1979, pp. 12-16.

[206] Fries, History of a County, p. 262. No date is indicated. The 1992 historical calendar produced by the Society for the Study of Afro-American History in Winston-Salem and Forsyth County, Inc., states that the school was built prior to 1920 and was discontinued when Columbian Heights Primary School opened.

[207] Interview, Francetta Cunningham.

streets as parts of Glencoe, Aureole, Moravia, Morsinie, and Urban Streets, as well as the nearby area of old Lexington Road. Modern highways now separate Moravia from Morsinie. Current residents report that certain streets were mixed black and white for several decades.

Blumtown: Blumtown was included in the 1908 city directory as a suburb of Winston, northeast of the 1908 city limits. In early tax maps it appeared as an area between 13th and 14th streets, a part of the East 14th Street neighborhood. Sanford Byerly, a white man, owned land and lived near Liberty Street (then Germanton Road) in Blumtown. R.F. Byerly & Company, brick manufacturers, operated on 14th Street in 1915. This was a racially mixed area from an early date, becoming predominantly black by 1922. (See discussion of East 14th Street neighborhood, page 28.)

Bramlette Addition: This was included in the 1908 and later city directories at the end of Depot Street (later Patterson Avenue) and city limits. It may have been a white area.

Brushy Fork: This was a small, all-black neighborhood northeast of Columbian Heights near the Brushy Fork branch (Brushy Creek).[208] While most old buildings are now gone, the Brushy Fork Cemetery is still evident in the woods at the south end of Sidney Street. (See page 66).

Cameron Park: See Reynoldstown (page 45).

Eleventh Street Bottom: Located in East Winston roughly at the intersection with former Chicago Street and known as one of the "meanest" areas of the city, the area had a reputation for being home to the town drunks. The area and the intersection were destroyed by Urban Redevelopment.

Foytown: The area of East 14th Street from Woodland to Jackson was named Foytown for Jordan Foy, an African-American carpenter/contractor who built houses in that area and elsewhere in East Winston.[209] His father Rufus Foy had owned 42 acres near Mickey Mill Road (the early name for East 14th Street until 1915) in 1886; he was a successful farmer who sold some of the land for the expansion of the newly-named Smith Reynolds Airport in 1941.[210] This land included Foy's Graveyard, or Evergreen Cemetery; the graves were moved and the new Evergreen Cemetery was created at the time of the sale.

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[208] Interviews, Paul S. Bitting, Fred Chavis.

[209] Fries, History of a County, p. 262.

[210] Oppermann, "Report for the Widening of E. 14th Street," p. 9.

Hanestown: In 1910 the Hanes Company, organized in 1901 to make cotton underwear, built a plant west of the city on the road to Clemmons, now Stratford Road. Hanestown was its mill village of small frame dwellings north of the road; a black area was within the village with a number of black families living there.[211] This is not evident from city directories which list only white occupants.

Kimberly Park: This is first listed in city directories in 1916, identified as a "colored settlement nw of city beyond city limits." By 1930 its location was more specific: "a colored section e side of Cherry beyond NW Blvd." Houses in Kimberly Park were destroyed by urban renewal and replaced by public housing.

Ragshake or Rag Shake: This was a small area in East Winston east of the railroad tracks and north of Seventh Street. Today's Kennedy Middle School and its playground (1000 Highland Avenue) comprise most of the land of the former "Shakes" neighborhood.[212] Now gone.

Reynolds Bottom: Reynolds Bottom was included in the 1908 city directory as "east of the N & W railroad track, between First and Second streets," and included a Reynolds Street. It was located about where the Greyhound bus station and a highway cloverleaf are today. Now gone.

Seventh and Broad streets: Small area north of West End near Chatham Road.

Sidestown: This was a black area on what is now Madison Street in Ardmore, formerly Alspaugh Street (see page 58). The location of Sidestown has also been identified as the current site of Forsyth Technical Community College on the west side of Silas Creek Parkway.[213]

Slater Park: Located northeast of Reynoldstown and including Slater, 12th and Gerald streets and Addison Avenue, the area was developed in the 1940s for professional and well-to-do blacks. By this time a large number of blacks in Winston-Salem drove cars, had phones and bank accounts and owned houses, as reflected by the houses of Slater Park and elsewhere in the city, including Alta Vista. The neighborhood remains stable today.

Waughtown: See Bellvue (page 59).

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[211] Interviews, Inez Gray and Delores Scales and others.

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

[213] Interview, Inez Gray and Delores Scales. Also, Dr. William J. Rice remembers that Sidestown was where hogs were raised, but is unclear on the location.

CEMETERIES

In addition to these neighborhoods, several cemeteries served African-American citizens of Winston-Salem and are an important part of the social and cultural history of the city. Ten have been identified during this study.

1. Portions of a **black Moravian graveyard remain in front of the St. Philip's Moravian Church** on South Church Street in Old Salem. The graveyard was begun in 1775 for "Strangers," who were non-Moravians, both black and white. During this time Moravians, both black and white, were buried in God's Acre. However, as a result of changing racial attitudes in the Moravian Church, by 1816, both black Strangers and black Moravians were buried in the Church Street graveyard. (White Strangers were buried adjacent to God's Acre.)

   In 1823, a weatherboarded log church was built by and for the black members of the Moravian congregation with funds from the Salem Female Missionary Society. This church, later destroyed, was next to the graveyard. The graveyard itself was used only until 1859 when a new cemetery for African Americans was begun next to the new white Salem Cemetery.[214] A new, larger brick church for the black congregation was built in 1861 placed behind the graveyard.

   In 1890, a front addition to the church was built on top of graves in the earlier, rear, section of the graveyard.[215] It was not until 1913 that the name St. Philip's was given to the church. Before then, and even for some years after, it was called simply the Colored Moravian Church or the Moravian Colored Church. (It apparently had the formal name of Oak Grove Moravian Church, according to records from 1910 and 1912.[216]) The church was used by the congregation until 1952 when it moved to a modern building at the corner of 30th Street and Bon Air Avenue. The St. Philip's congregation is one of the South's oldest surviving African-American congregations.[217]

   Research and archaeological investigations of the graveyard, both in front of and beneath the church, have been conducted in phases as part of the efforts to preserve St. Philip's. The investigations concentrated on delineation of the graveyard and the location and size of

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[214] Begun in 1857 as a private, non-profit corporation.

[215] Taylor and Turner, National Register nomination, St. Philip's Moravian Church. The lot bordering St. Philip's on the south is the site of the log structure. It was located near the northwest corner of that lot.

[216] City directories.

[217] Sensbach, Jon, in "North Carolina Preservation," #86, Summer 1992.

outbuildings. In addition, investigations beneath the 1890 front addition of the church confirm graves dating from as early as 1775 remain. These graves are believed to be the cause of continued settling and cracking of the brick walls of the building. In the summer of 1994, archaeologists found about 20 gravestones stacked under the center hall of the 1890 front portion of the church. Some are randomly placed, others are stacked, maybe five high, to hold up various parts of the floor joists as some sort of repair or support system. Some stones are face up. One is the stone of Rebecca Hill, a white woman from Rowan Co. (?) who died in Salem during childbirth and was buried here (a "Stranger"). Another is of a white person, and three are of slaves, with only their first names on the stones.

2. The **second St. Philip's Moravian Cemetery (God's Acre)** is a little-known cemetery bordering and east of Salem Cemetery, just west of Salem Avenue at the corner of Cemetery Street. It was the new graveyard for St. Philip's Church. St. Philip's Church baptism and membership records show a small hand-drawn chart of the graveyard and indicate the first names of many of the slaves buried there, in plots named for their white owner families.[218] The first grave was dug in November 1859, and the graveyard was used until the 1960s. At some time, non-Moravians and non-blacks were also buried here.[219] About fifty stones remain visible of the more than 200 recorded in cemetery records. According to the superintendent, many other stones are in place but are beneath the current level of the mowed grass. This cemetery is owned by the Moravian Church (Salem Cemetery is a private, non-profit corporation not associated with the Moravian Church).

3. The **cemeteries in Happy Hill** are noted in the discussion of Happy Hill Neighborhood on page 20. South side of Willow Street across from the junction with Baltimore Street. Visible in an overgrown field of tall grasses and thorns are the stones of a neglected graveyard, or what might have been two graveyards. No residents interviewed know the history of the graveyards; historical documents answer some questions, but by no means all. Tax records show that a large lot near Willow Street, south and east of Baltimore Street, was bought in 1887 by Mary Palmer for Liberia Baptist Church (lot 103). An undated tax map shows a large parcel (appears to be this same lot 103) portrayed in 3 sections with "Liberia Baptist Church" in the center and a graveyard on each side to the east and west. It was later divided into a larger graveyard portion and a smaller portion taken by the State Highway Commission in 1965 or later.

   About 40 years after the first purchase, in 1928, the Trustees of Liberia Baptist Church bought two smaller lots to the south (lots 29 & 30); these 2 were sold in 1948 to Lonia Martin, sold again in 1951 to Trustees of Bright Star Baptist Church. In 1959 they were sold to Nathaniel Evans and 10 days later to Savannah Jones Medford. All of these individuals may have been serving as representatives of churches. In 1962 the two lots were sold to the Trustees of Zion Tabernacle Fire [First?] Baptize [Baptist?] Church of God of the Americas. Finally, they were purchased by the State Highway Commission in 1965 for Highway 52.

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[218] Catalog 1862-1880; Catalog 1824-1890; List of interments, new cemetery, 1859-1877. Documents in files of Moravian Archives.

[219] Interviews, Jon Sensbach, historian, and Joe Lineberger, property manager for the Moravian Church.

A second church owned property here as well. Farther east and sharing a property line with Liberia Baptist Church is the property of an unnamed "M.E. Church" (lot 102, presumably Methodist Episcopal Church). This was purchased in 1891 by "Green Oaks, Starling Bitting, & George Joyce, Trustees, M.E. Church." It is unclear whether Green Oaks is the name of the church or a man, also whether these men were black or white. A year and a half later, in May of 1893, they bought a lot not adjacent to the first, but farther east facing Willow and next to the Liberia Baptist Church lands mentioned above. Both lots of the M.E. Church are noted in tax records as "graveyard."

Today only a few stones are visible in the overgrown lands which some say was called Southside Cemetery and was associated with the former St. Andrew's Church.[220] The graveyards are believed to contain stones sunk beneath the present surface. Visible stones include Hargraves, died 1947; James G. Ross died 1923; Columbus C. Pitts 1855-1925, who owned several properties in Happy Hill; Matilda Simmons 1939-1921; and W.E. Fowler, died 1940 (hand-lettered stone).

4. **Silver Hill Graveyard** was a black cemetery within the Silver Hill "settlement" in the Buena Vista neighborhood. The graveyard remains as a grassy field with one stone visible still, leaning against a tree (Edward Royal Wait, 1951), although a cemetery study published in 1976 identified about twenty stones visible at that time and dating from 1906 to 1951. Family names include Glenn, Gilliam, Hickerson, Kipley, Johnson, Long, McCauley, Matthews, Miller, Moir, Moore, McCollum, Neal, Ward, and Watt (or Wait?).[221] The graveyard was used as late as 1951 and among those buried here were Joseph Long (d. 1932) and Sallie Long (d. 1942), parents of Sylvester C. Long (Long Lance), mentioned under the discussion of 4½ Street. The graveyard was wooded as late as the 1960s and is believed to contain stones sunk beneath the present surface.[222] With St. Philip's this may be among the oldest black cemeteries in Forsyth County, as tombstones are reported to date back to the Civil War. (See Silver Hill entry on page 56.)

5. The neglected remains of the **Mount Pleasant Baptist Church Cemetery** are north and behind the northernmost building of the Cambridge Apartments on the west side of the 2400 block of Cherry Street. In 1892, a community Sunday School and Mission was organized and held its meeting in a building called Chess Ingram Hall at this location on what was then called Old Town Road. From this mission Mount Pleasant Baptist Church originated, with its first church building erected in 1893 a few feet from the old hall.[223] Today, there is no evidence of the early hall or the church. The congregation sold the property facing onto Cherry Street and two houses, since demolished, were built. Today the cemetery suffers from decades of neglect and no stones remain standing. A few are on the ground, and one is legible. It is the stone of

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[220] On-site survey and interview with Moses Lucas. Visible stone is that of Hargraves, died 1947.

[221] Stanley and others, Forsyth County Cemetery Records, Vol. V, p. 1164.

[222] Interview, David Lusk, who grew up on Angelo Street.

[223] Interview, Rev. Henry S. Lewis, Jr., and The 1994 Historical Calendar of the Society for the Study of Afro-American History in Winston-Salem and Forsyth County, Inc. (SSAH). In 1919 the church bought land on what became Kimberly Road and in 1925 built a new church there. In 1976 yet another site became the home of the Mount Pleasant congregation.

Rachel V. Flynt, wife of W.M. Flynt, b. 1884, d. March 1912. The 1912 city directory lists Wm. Flint, wife Rachel, African-American tobacco worker living in the Boston Cottages neighborhood (which this was). The graveyard is still owned by Mount Pleasant Baptist Church; however, no records of those buried in this graveyard have been found. City directories of the 1920s and 1930s make no reference to church or cemetery here. Before then, this area was north of the directories' "canvass area."

6. At Smith-Reynolds Airport was a black cemetery known as **Foy's Graveyard, or Evergreen**. An African-American named Rufus Foy had owned much of the land for the airport.[224] The airport lands had also been the cornfields of the Forsyth County home for black delinquents until a white man, Edward Lasater, had given the money to make Miller Airport more presentable for Charles Lindbergh's visit in 1927.[225] In 1941 a new Evergreen Cemetery was established on Highway 311 when the airport was expanded and the new Smith-Reynolds terminal built; all the graves were moved to the new Evergreen.[226]

7. The **Oddfellows Cemetery** was started in 1911 by the Twin City Lodge and the Winston Star Lodge, both black fraternal organizations no longer in existence. Plots were sold by W.P. Hairston, caretaker, who was one of the original stockholders and remained the sales agent until at least 1961 when he was 85 years old.[227] Mr. Hairston, now deceased, is believed to have retained the burial records though they cannot be found today. The cemetery later became the cemetery of the Oddfellows Fraternal organization, which became defunct when its elderly members died out. Only Lodge members and their families were buried there; nevertheless, it was a large and major cemetery here because most black churches did not have their own graveyards.

   The graveyard shows as an L-shaped parcel labeled "colored cemetery" on a 1938 city map. The cemetery predates both Shorefair Drive and the fairgrounds. It was in undeveloped area located just west of Bon Air and Greenway Park which were white neighborhoods. Farther north was the white Woodland Cemetery (at the corner of today's Indiana Avenue and Reynolds Blvd. extending to Shorefair Dr.). In recent decades, portions of the graveyard were encroached upon by commercial development. Today the cemetery is in neglected condition, heavily overgrown with thorny plants. However, a large number of gravestones appear to remain visible above ground.

8. Today's **Evergreen Cemetery** on Highway 311 is actually the second Evergreen Cemetery, started about 1940. The first Evergreen, also known as Foy's Graveyard, was at today's Smith-Reynolds Airport. An African-American named Rufus Foy had owned much of the land for the airport. In 1941 the runways were expanded and the new Smith-Reynolds terminal built--the Airport acquired the Evergreen Cemetery property. The new airport was built as a WPA project and the removal of the bodies

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[224] Fries, History of a County, p. 262.

[225] Reynolds and Shachtman, Gilded Leaf.

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

[227] Winston-Salem Journal, "Neglected Graves Cleaned," 12/28/61.

from the old to the new cemetery was included in this project.[228] Thus the new Evergreen Cemetery was established at that time and graves from the old cemetery were moved here (discussed in #6 above).[229] The 1939 city directory shows Evergreen Cemetery Corporation, with two men from Mt. Airy noted as president and vice-president, and Marvin F. Wall shown as secretary-treasurer with an office at 225 W. Eighth Street.[230] The location is given as "4 miles North just off Highway 77." An Evergreen Nursery is shown at the same address.

In early 1944 the city took over the ownership and operation of the new Evergreen. Board of Aldermen minutes report the cemetery property consisted of 19 acres fronting on Highway 311, that 25% of available plots and 100% of the grave sites had been staked out, and that a portion of the roads in the cemetery had been graded and surfaced with crusher run stone. The private, non-profit Winston-Salem Foundation has spent $15,000 establishing the cemetery. The foundation moved shrubbery from the old Evergreen to the new one, and was removing all remaining bodies from the old Evergreen. In late 1944 the Board of Aldermen agreed for the City to acquire the cemetery "for use of its colored citizens."[231]

9. **Sidestown AME Zion Cemetery** (also perhaps known as **Ardmore AME Zion Cemetery**), a cemetery remaining on the southern part of Madison Street in Ardmore. A frame church stood facing Madison Street in front of the cemetery until its demolition after World War II; its site is a grassy field today. However, the cemetery remains behind the field in the middle of the block with twelve impressive stones dating from 1915 to 1984, a family marker, and three stone gateposts. Visible stones include: Lindia Lash, died 1915 age 80; Gertie M. Alspaugh 1884-1918; Martha Marshall 1849-1922; Wesley Frier 1845-1928; John Peoples 1887-1929; Rosa Frost 1889-1942; John Alspaugh, died 1948 age 92; Clarence Page, N.C. PVT etc., WW I, died 1957; John Connor, born 1898 died 1974; Randolph Alspaugh 1890-1984; Moss family stone, and two other stones. A survey conducted in 1975 identified 31 stones.[232]

10. **Brushy Fork Cemetery** is now grown up in pine woods at the south end of Sidney Street, in the far eastern part of the city near Brushy Fork Creek, and immediately north of the new Lowery Street. This was the masons' cemetery, and also served the African-American community of Brushy Fork.[233] A frame church known as Brushy Fork Church once stood quite some distance north of the cemetery, where I-40 is today. School was held in the church until the Brushy Fork School was built, perhaps about 1920. This was a one-room school with one teacher serving grades 1 through 8. Later, the children walked down the creek and through the woods to attend school in Columbian Heights. Today on the site of the school is the modern

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[228] Board of Alderman minutes 1944.

[229] Interview, Moses Lucas.

[230] The Mt. Airy men were John Banner and James Lovill; neither was identified in the directory as African-American.

[231] Neilson's History of Government, and Board of Aldermen minutes.

[232] These are listed in Stanley's Forsyth County, N.C. Cemetery Records, Vol. V, p. 989.

[233] Interview, Garther W. Roland. According to Rev. Roland, farther east, on a hill near highway 421 just north of I-40, was a white cemetery with a small number of graves. It may have been a family cemetery. Known as Middle Fork Cemetery, its use was discontinued by about 1920.

successor church, known as Middle Fork Christian Church, located slightly north of the cemetery at 2216 E First Street.[234]

The cemetery belonged to the masons[235]; however, members of Brushy Fork Church and most African-Americans in the Brushy Fork area were buried here. Rev. Garthur W. Roland remembers when hearses from Fitch Funeral Home were pulled by drays and horses from the funeral home on Highland Avenue out the dirt roads to this cemetery. Use of Brushy Fork Cemetery declined after Evergreen Cemetery was opened in the early 1940s. It was then that upkeep began to wane, and the graveyard has declined ever since. Although the cemetery is neglected and many stones have fallen, several remain standing and legible. Among them are the gravestones of Rev. George W. Holland, the first pastor of First Baptist Church who helped establish other churches in the area as well. A sample of legible stones range in date from 1893 to the 1950s. These include:

Virginia Goins, daughter of Samuel & Nannie Goins, b 7/18/1874, d 11/31/1893, aged 19 yrs.
Robert M. Goins, son of S & N Goins, b 12/15/1876, d 3/19/1902.
Rev. Geo. W. Holland, b in Va 1833, Pastor 1st Baptist Church ca 1879 to 1906, d 10/29/1906.
Susan Holland, wife of Geo W. Holland, b 1837, d 11/14/1907.
Nannie B. Christian, b 1857, d 5/27/1910.
Henry Pendleton, 2/8/1919 aged about 68 yrs.
Mary Howell, "Mother," d 8/29/1924 aged 72 yrs.
Richard Williams (mason) d 1926.
Willam Hays (mason), d 1928.
Mary Williams, d 1935.
Rufus R. Hairston, b 6/30/1889, d 8/20/1945.
Milton R. Hill, NC, Cpl, 77 Coast Arty (AA), WW2, b 4/9/1912, d 6/19/1948.
Geo L. Brown, Missouri Wagoner, Sup Co 24th Infantry, WW1, b 4/7/1885, d 7/30/1954.

Other family names include Haith, Hawkins, Morrison, and Deshazo. Other stones are also legible though not recorded here.

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[234] Interviews, Guyrene Haith, Rev. Garthur W. Roland, Fred Chavis.

[235] The masons (including the Knights of Pythias of Pythian Hall on Chestnut and E 7th Street) owned this graveyard while the Oddfellows owned the Oddfellows Cemetery.

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-----, Hope and Dignity: Older Black Women of the South (Philadelphia, Temple University Press, 1983). Interviews with 27 older black women of North Carolina in a variety of roles; interview with Madie Hall Xuma, founder of Winston-Salem's black YWCA and daughter of city's first black doctor, p. 142.

Winston-Salem City Directories, 1895-1952. Alphabetical listings of residents' names, street-by-street occupants, and businesses, churches, and organizations; Directories distinguish blacks from whites until 1952.

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Wright, Elliott K., Joyce Marie Mitchell, Bruce Kalk, and Terri Myers, National Register nomination for East Raleigh-South Park Historic District, Raleigh, N.C., 1990. Not specific to Winston-Salem, but interesting comparative information.

INTERVIEWS

Many individuals not listed below provided helpful information during spontaneous interviews in their neighborhoods.

Tom Albritton, resident Salem/Poplar/Broad Streets area.

Marilyn Bailey, descendant Nathaniel Mock, resident Happy Hill.

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

Ralph Black, grandson of George Black.

Mrs. Blakely, secretary Burkhead United Methodist Church.

Mrs. Boone, St. Benedict The Moor Catholic Church.

Mike Bradshaw, archivist, Pilot Mt. Baptist Association.

Dorothy Mack Brown, lifelong resident of Dreamland Park.

Ken Brown, Corporate Communications, Wachovia Bank (George Black made the bricks for many of Wachovia's branches).

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

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

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

Jarrett Carnell, longtime resident.

Fred Chavis, First Calvary Baptist Church and Brushy Fork Cemetery.

James Conrad, architect who practiced with Roy Wallace & designed houses built with George Black's bricks.

Francetta Cunningham, lifelong resident of Bellvue.

Clarence Dalton, realtor, sold Habitat for Humanity house on Thurmond Street.

Egbert L. Davis, Jr., photographed George Black in late 1940s and late 1970s.

Mary Angelo Daye, granddaughter of Zaffaroni Angelo, for whom Angelo Street (near Silver Hill) was

named, and daughter of Michael Anthony Angelo. She is historian of St. Leo's Catholic Church, which was built on land donated by her grandfather.

Frank W. Dulin, assistant administrator since 1953 of what is now Reynolds Health Center--formerly Kate Bitting Reynolds Hospital and School of Nursing, built 1938, demolished 1972.

Hattie Elliott, Goler Metropolitan AME Zion Church.

Moriah Ferguson, grandaughter of former pastor, Mt. Pleasant, and lives near Mt. Pleasant Cemetery.

Father George, priest at Our Lady of Fatima Chapel (it was formerly associated with St. Benedict the Moor).

Inez Gray, former resident of the Pond and co-organizer of the annual Pond Reunion, started in 1991.

Roberta Grove, produces a play, "A Journey through the Past"; has varied collection of artifacts.

Guyrene Haith, Brushy Fork Cemetery.

Mary D. Hall, resident of the Pond from 1944 until 1951.

Louise Hamilton, local historian and member of board of the Society for the Study of Afro-American History in Winston-Salem and Forsyth County.

James Hancock, formerly with Frank L. Blum Co., used George Black's bricks.

Father Larry Hunt, priest, St. Benedict The Moor Catholic Church.

Fletcher Hunter, resident Columbian Heights Extension.

Theotice Barnett Jackson, longtime resident of Boston Cottages.

Nick Jamison, Director, City Dept. of Parks & Recreation, discussed Happy Hill Truss Bridge.

Karen ____, employee, Habitat for Humanity.

Henry Lewis, former pastor, Mt. Pleasant, vice-chairman Society for Study of Afro-American History.

Karen Lewis, staff of Kate B. Reynolds Charitable Trust.

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

David Lusk, (white) former resident of Angelo Street near Silver Hill.

Clyde Mack, lifelong resident of Dreamland Park.

Dolores McGee, granddaughter of George Black.

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

LaCheryl Mitchell, staff of The Winston-Salem Chronicle, African-American newspaper founded 1974.

Kathleen Bitting Mock, lifelong resident of Happy Hill and daughter of Wade Bitting.

Sarah Oliver, historian for St. Paul's Church

Thelma N. Penn, granddaughter of Shelton Penn, early owner on Rawson Street and former resident of Rawson Street.

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

Laura Phillips, researched & nominated West End Historic District.

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 former chairman of the Forsyth County Joint Historic Properties Commission.

Garther Roland, former minister, Brushy Fork Baptist Church.

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

Delores Scales, former resident of the Pond and co-organizer of the annual Pond Reunion, started in 1991.

Don Schoonmaker, Department of Politics, Wake Forest University, and vice-president of Society for the Study of Afro-American History in Winston-Salem and Forsyth County. (deceased 1993)

Jon Sensbach, historian concentrating on black Moravians in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

Ida Settle, resident Dreamland Park.

Napoleon Sherard, Deacon, Mars Hill Baptist Church.

Jack E. Shore, nephew of B. Clyde Shore who built houses in Alta Vista.

Nannie Sims, lifelong resident of Boston Cottages and member of Historical Committee of Saints Home United Methodist Church.

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

Evelyn Sloan, longtime resident of Boston Cottages.

Harvey B. Stimpson, Jr., son of Harvey B. Stimpson who built houses in Alta Vista.

Edward Stone, longtime resident of Watkins Street.

Pat Swann, Assistant City Manager for Public Works, discussed Happy Hill Truss Bridge.

Daisy Brock Tatum, longtime resident of Madison Street and wife of Joe Tatum.

Evelyn Terry, granddaughter of George Black and member of board of the Society for the Study of Afro-American History in Winston-Salem and Forsyth County.

Jean Watson, resident Holiday Street across from Silver Hill Cemetery.

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.

Nathaniel Wiseman, descendant Nathaniel Mock, resident Happy Hill.

* * *

1929

AFRICAN-AMERICAN OCCUPANCY IN WINSTON-SALEM

African-American occupancy

White occupancy

Mixed occupancy

No data

This map illustrates data collected for the African-American Historic Resources Phase I report: "Winston-Salem's African-American Neighborhoods: 1870-1950"

Prepared 1992 by Langdon E. Oppermann

Source: 1929 city directory

1938 base map

Forsyth County Joint
Historic Properties Commission
P.O. Box 2511
Winston-Salem, NC 27102

1939

AFRICAN-AMERICAN OCCUPANCY IN WINSTON-SALEM

African-American occupancy

White occupancy

Mixed occupancy

No data

Source: 1939 city directory

1938 base map

This map illustrates data collected for the African-American Historic Resources Phase I report, "Winston-Salem's African-American Neighborhoods: 1870-1950"

Prepared 1992 by Langdon E. Oppermann

Forsyth County Joint
Historic Properties Commission
P.O. Box 2511
Winston-Salem, NC 27102

1949

AFRICAN-AMERICAN OCCUPANCY IN WINSTON-SALEM

African-American occupancy

White occupancy

Mixed occupancy

No data

This map illustrates data collected for the African-American Historic Resources Phase 1 report, "Winston-Salem's African-American Neighborhoods: 1870-1950"

Prepared 1992 by Langdon E. Oppermann

Source: 1949 city directory

1938 base map

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