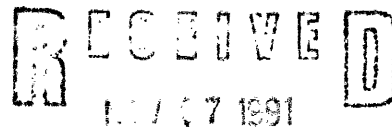


United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service



National Register of Historic Places
Multiple Property Documentation Form

NATIONAL
REGISTER

This form is for use in documenting multiple property groups relating to one or several historic contexts. See instructions in *Guidelines for Completing National Register Forms* (National Register Bulletin 16). Complete each item by marking "x" in the appropriate box or by entering the requested information. For additional space use continuation sheets (Form 10-900-a). Type all entries.

A. Name of Multiple Property Listing

Historic and Architectural Resources of Greensboro, North Carolina, 1880-1941

B. Associated Historic Contexts

1. The Development of the Gate City, 1880-1899

2. Modern Suburbanization and Industrialization, 1900-1941

C. Geographical Data

Boundaries of the City of Greensboro, Guilford County, North Carolina

See continuation sheet

D. Certification

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

William S. Pin...
Signature of certifying official

10-22-91
Date

State or Federal agency and bureau

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

Coventry...
Signature of the Keeper of the National Register

12-20-91
Date

E. Statement of Historic Contexts

Discuss each historic context listed in Section B.

See continuation sheet

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Greensboro, North Carolina, 1880-1941INTRODUCTION: GREENSBORO PRIOR TO 1880

Greensboro was established in 1808, not because of any natural or commercial advantage, such as a road, a river, or a port, but because the land it was to occupy marked the center of Guilford County. A quarter-mile square, the new town and county seat was laid out in a grid and divided into lots. Not a single structure stood on the four original streets within this grid. By 1829, 369 white residents lived within the town limits, another 115 just outside. The population also included twenty-six free blacks and ninety-six slaves. Reflecting its population growth, Greensboro's boundaries were expanded in 1837 to a mile on each side (Arnett 1955:19-23, 194; Fripp 1982:19-23). This was to remain its physical size until 1891, although its population continued to grow; in 1850 it stood at about 1,500 and by 1880 it had grown to 2,105 (Arnett 1955:419).

As early as 1820 roads spread out from Greensboro in all directions, to Salem, Salisbury, Fayetteville, Hillsborough, and Asheboro, and to Danville, Virginia. These roads were supplemented in the 1850s by the railroad, an all-important force that was to turn the town into a city. In 1849 the state legislature passed a bill for the building of the North Carolina Railroad from Goldsboro to Charlotte. Largely due to the efforts of former governor John Motley Morehead, a Greensboro resident who was a leading figure in the railroad's construction, the line was looped north through Greensboro. Construction began from Greensboro, going east and west, in 1851, and five years later the first trains met just west of town (Arnett 1955:145-149; Powell 1989:288-289; Gilbert 1982:8). Prior to 1880 two other lines were added to what was to become a network of rails spreading out in all directions like the earlier roads. In 1864 tracks were laid by the Piedmont Railroad north to Danville and in 1873 a line was opened to Salem by the Northwestern Railroad Company (Arnett 1955:149; Fripp 1982:33).

Some manufactories were built in Greensboro early in its history. Perhaps the most noteworthy of these was the 1833 Mount Hecla Steam Cotton Mill, which is said to have been the first steam-powered cotton mill in the state. In 1860 Col. E. P. Jones was reported to have manufactured 250,000 pounds of plug tobacco in the town (Arnett 1955:165, 185). However, according to historian Ethel Stephens Arnett, in spite of the 1856 advent of the railroad, "it appears that when the [Civil] war was over, not a single manufacturing establishment was operating in Greensboro" (Arnett 1955:167).

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Some industry developed during Reconstruction, including Col. Thomas McMahan's Spoke and Handle Factory in the late 1860s; the Sergeant and McCauley Manufacturing Company, which produced cooking and heating stoves, in 1869; and the Glascock Foundry and Machine Shop, which also produced stoves, in 1873. Some tobacco enterprises were also established between the War and 1880. These industries concentrated along the main east-west route of the North Carolina Railroad, within a few blocks of Elm Street (Arnett 1955:167-168; Fripp 1982:40-41; Beers map 1879). Industrial and other growth prior to 1880, however, was constrained by the stagnant economy of Guilford County, which was the main consumer of the town's goods and services (Kipp 1974:1-83).

As county seat and a stop on the railroad, Greensboro was also home to commercial enterprises and hotels, although its commercial trade developed slowly at first. The first property census of the city, taken in 1829, listed five stores, three retail liquor stores, and a stud horse. Commerce grew steadily, however, and between 1830 and 1860 the town's varied enterprises included tailor and tin shops, furniture, jewelry and book stores, hardware houses, and a variety of other enterprises (Arnett 1955:194-195; Fripp 1982:22). After the War the city's commercial enterprises grew at a faster pace; in 1879 numerous such enterprises stood on South Elm Street. Commercial and other activity in Greensboro in the seventies is suggested by the construction of a \$40,000 hotel, the Benbow House, on South Elm Street in 1871. It was followed, also on Elm, by the forty-room McAadoo House (Arnett 1955:211-212).

Hand in hand with industrial and commercial growth went residential growth. Greensboro between its founding and the Civil War has been described as having had three basic types of residential property: large estates, town lots, and working class cottages. The multi-acre estates were located within walking distance of the central square in every direction but the marshy northeast. The town lots stretched in all directions from the center, primarily along Market and Elm. And white workers and free blacks lived in modest housing near the Mount Hecla cotton mill north of the center of town and in the poorly drained area to the northeast (Baylin 1968:19-21).

Between the end of the Civil War and 1880, as discussed further below, the city's first suburbs--Warnersville, South Greensboro, and Shieldstown--began to develop. They all stood to the south, not far from the commerce and business of Market and South Elm streets, and

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even closer to the industries located along the east-west line of the railroad (Baylin 1968:36-41; Beers map 1879).

Greensboro's identification as a college town developed early in its history. Three of its five modern colleges have antebellum origins, although they did not grow into major institutions until the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Guilford College, located northwest of the city, began as the New Garden Boarding School, a Quaker institution chartered in 1837 (Edmisten 1990; Arnett 1955:103-105; Fripp 1982:27). The charter granted to Greensboro College (then known as the Greensborough Female College) the following year was the first granted to a women's college in the state. It opened to students in 1846. Located less than a half-mile west of the courthouse, on Market Street, it was a major institution of the white community before the Civil War. Closed in 1863 due to the War, it reopened ten years later (Arnett 1955:101-103; Fripp 1982:27). A central institution in the black community was Bennett College, which had its beginnings in 1873 as a day school in the basement of a church. By 1878 its first building was raised about three-quarters of a mile southeast of the courthouse, in the heart of the city's largest black community (Arnett 1955:105-107; Fripp 1982:42-43; Scarlette 1989:1-1).

Educational opportunities for white and black children were quite limited in Greensboro prior to the last quarter of the nineteenth century. Before the Civil War black children had received little if any schooling (Arnett 1955:81). In 1875 the first free graded schools opened in Greensboro, one for whites and one for blacks. The white school stood at the corner of Lindsay and Forbis streets; the black school was located at St. James Presbyterian Church (Greensboro Record, November 16, 1940, and December 19, 1946; Arnett 1955:87; Fripp 1982:43).

Greensboro's early churches grew from the varied ethnic and religious groups that settled Guilford County: the Lutheran and Calvinist Germans who had settled in the northeast, the Quakers in the west, and the Presbyterian Scotch-Irish in between. Churches were raised within the present limits of the city prior to 1880 by Presbyterians and Methodists--black and white--and by white Baptist, Episcopalian, and Roman Catholic congregations. Although they had long been established in the area, the Quakers did not form a Meeting in Greensboro proper until 1891, and the Lutherans until 1908 (Smith 1979:9-10; Arnett 1955:116-141; Beers map 1879).

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Greensboro, North Carolina, 1880-19411. THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE GATE CITY, 1880-1899

Although it had been designated a city in 1870 by the language of a new charter, it was the 1880s and 1890s that saw Greensboro truly transformed from town to city. Between 1850 and 1880 the population had only grown from about 1,500 to 2,100. Between 1880 and 1890 it was to jump more than fifty percent to 3,317. Even that figure was deceptively low, for the city's population, including its suburbs, was probably closer to 8,000 in 1890 (Arnett 1955:419-420; Fripp 1982:55). In 1890, according to the Greensboro Daily Record, 239 new buildings were erected and forty-two new businesses established, all successfully (Arnett 1955:36). The figures reported on January 18, 1891, in the Patriot, another Greensboro newspaper, for that same year, were smaller but still bullish: ninety-seven new homes, twenty-five tenement house, ten brick stores, a brick office building and, additionally, 500 unimproved lots sold at a value of \$200,000 (Manieri 1982:51). The growth mentality of the city was reflected in the annexation of 1891, which expanded it from one to four square miles. It grew out a half-mile, still in a square, in each direction, pulling developed areas at its edges and, particularly, the communities to the south, into its borders. By 1900 the population had eclipsed 10,000 (Baylin 1968:55-56; Fripp 1982:55).

Five main threads were critical to the development of Greensboro in the 1880s and 1890s from a town into a city: its transportation network; its residential growth; its industry; its commercial and institutional growth; and its schools and colleges. Although these factors intertwine, often inseparably, they are discussed individually below.

A. Development of the Transportation Network

Greensboro's transportation network in the last two decades of the nineteenth century had three components--railroads, roads, and a horse-drawn trolley line. The railroad and road systems were an outgrowth and continuation of earlier transportation developments. The railroad, according to historian Samuel M. Kipp III, was "a vital precondition" to urbanization and industrial development in Greensboro in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, and the "extension and improvement of the road system further stimulated the growth of Greensboro as a retailing, wholesaling, marketing, and distributing center" (Kipp 1974:105-106). The trolley, a new component of the network, did not greatly contribute to the

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development of the city until it was electrified and expanded at the opening of the twentieth century.

The railroad network that had its beginnings in the 1856 North Carolina Railroad grew in lines and in numbers of trains in the late nineteenth century. Indeed, it was the sixty trains that arrived in and departed from the city each day in 1891 that led the editor of the Daily Record to dub Greensboro the "Gate City," a name it is still known by (Fripp 1982:55). In 1888 the Cape Fear and Yadkin Valley Railroad Company--joining the existing lines that had been built in 1856, 1864, and 1873--ran a line through the city that connected it with the port city of Wilmington to the southeast and Mount Airy to the northwest. In 1890 the Northwestern Carolina Railroad connected the city with North Wilkesboro to the northwest. With the Panic of 1893, the operators of Greensboro's rail lines fell on hard times. In 1894, however, they were all reorganized by J. P. Morgan and Company as part of the Southern Railway Company (Arnett 1955:149-150; Fripp 1982:50, 60; Fripp 1985:49). The railroad continued to be important and to grow, and in 1899 the Southern Railway opened a new station on South Elm Street (Fripp 1982:69).

The railroad pulled the city's residential and industrial development to the south in the late nineteenth century. Numerous industries sprang up during the closing two decades of the century along the main east-west rail line of the North Carolina Railroad south of the historic center of the city during this period. By 1885 a short spur line had been added between the North Carolina Railroad and the Cape Fear and Yadkin, which already crossed each other a bit west of downtown. This created a triangle of lines just west of South Elm Street within and around which much of the city's industry was to locate late in the nineteenth and well into the twentieth century. Warnersville, Shieldstown, and South Greensboro, the city's first suburbs, were also located to the south, not far from the tracks. North of this triangle and of downtown, the abortive North Carolina Steel and Iron Company located its early 1890s works on a rail line, the Cape Fear and Yadkin. The Cone textile mills in the northeast were to make use of the former Piedmont Railroad tracks and the mills of Pomona to the west were located near the main line of the North Carolina Railroad (Baylin 1968:34; Fripp 1985:49; Sanborn Map and Publishing Co. maps 1885, 1888, 1891, 1896).

The street system also grew during the final two decades of the century, in size and quality. An 1887 bond issue provided for

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extending Elm Street, the city's major business and commercial thoroughfare; an 1896 map pictures it passing north beyond Church and Greene streets, where it had originally halted. The extension was to promote residential growth to the north (Fripp 1985:49; Sanborn Map and Publishing Co. maps 1896). In 1899 a visitor to Greensboro called Elm Street north of the railroad tracks, which was lined by private and public buildings, "equal in beauty to any in the state." The street from "depot to courthouse," the visitor continued, "has been solidly and smoothly laid with the Belgian pavement, while it is flanked with bricks brought from Fayetteville, said to be the best for such purposes. These streets are lighted with the arc electric light and also with gas" (Bishir and Earley 1985:250).

By 1891 Davie Street had been paved with granite blocks. Spring Garden Street was opened and macadamized west to the community of Pomona, and connected with the roads to Winston-Salem and Salisbury (Arnett 1955:152-153; Baylin 1968:54; Fripp 1982:56). Summit Avenue, by 1898, had been opened and macadamized from downtown through the Ceasar Cone estate to the Cone mills, and connected with the road to Raleigh. The Greensboro Patriot announced on November 9, 1898:

The work on Summit Avenue was finally completed Friday afternoon, and it is probably the finest highway in North Carolina. What was, a short while ago, a stubble field lying in waste has been opened by a magnificent boulevard, with many handsome and commodious residences erected on either side (Kipp 1974:375).

Numerous other streets must have been improved as well, for the 1902 Sanborn maps reported that the city's streets (at least some of them) were "paved and macadamized" (Sanborn Map Company maps 1902).

On October 1, 1891, a horsedrawn streetcar rolled south down a track from the McAdoo Hotel at Elm and Washington to the Cape Fear and Yadkin Valley Railroad depot, beginning the era of trolleys in Greensboro. Much of Greensboro's residential pattern had been set before the trolley--particularly the communities that already existed to its south--or was to be set later in the decade with little regard for it, particularly in the growing mill communities of the Cones to the northeast and Pomona to the west (Manieri 1982:44-46). According to Raymond Manieri, in his thesis on streetcar speculators, the horsedrawn street railway system of the 1890s "was not a dependable, easily accessible means of transportation for most Greensboro citizens" (Manieri 1982:67) It did blaze the way, however, for the

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electric trolley system that was to come with the new century. Institutionally, it also set a pattern for development and industrialization in the new century, for many of the men involved in the formation of the system were involved in the land companies and real estate speculation of the 1890s and early twentieth century (Manieri 1982:53; Baylin 1968:64-65).

The interconnection of the road, railroad, and trolley network, and of the interests that promoted them, is illustrated by the activities of the North Carolina Steel and Iron Company. As much a real estate as an industrial venture, it planned numerous streets on the approximately 2,000 acres of land it owned north and northeast of the city limits. A "Bird's Eye View" map of 1891 shows the dozens of streets of the venture stretching north and northeast to the horizon. Four plat maps picturing numerous lots, filed in 1895 by the company, confirm the grand nature of the plans (Baylin 1968:47-50; Burleigh Lithographing Establishment map 1891; Guilford County Plat Book 2, Pages 1, 2, 3, and 4). The success of the projected development was based upon the growth of industries along the Cape Fear and Yadkin Valley Railroad tracks at the east of the property and on the construction of a street railway system. The president of North Carolina Steel and Iron was local hardware magnate J.A. Odell, who was also a member of the street railway company, along with Julius A. Gray, president of the Cape Fear and Yadkin, and J.W. Fry, general manager of the railroad. The interconnection of entrepreneurs and concerns was unhealthy rather than productive, for the collapse of the railroad in the 1890s adversely effected the street railway and the steel enterprise, neither of which were successful (Kipp 1974:384-385).

North Carolina Steel and Iron did leave a legacy of planned streets, however, few of which were actually built in the 1890s; a report that the company had graded twenty miles of streets by 1891 is difficult to believe. (Baylin 1968:47-50.) Courtesy of the textile rather than the iron and steel industry, many houses were to stand on these streets by the end of the 1890s (Sanborn Map and Publishing Co. maps 1896; Sanborn Map Company maps 1902).

B. Early Industrialization

In 1879 the city's industries, which were varied, relatively small concerns, were primarily located near the train tracks downtown. A foundry, a rim factory, and a spoke and handle factory were located

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on the tracks going east out of town, between Davie Street and Bennett Seminary. A sash and blind factory, handle company, wagon works, spoke factory, sawmill, and stove and agricultural works stood within a block of the tracks just west of Elm Street. A tobacco factory was located at Elm just south of the tracks. In 1885 and 1888 industrial activity, dominated by concerns that dealt with wood and tobacco, continued to be concentrated on the railroad tracks near South Elm. The woodworking industries included sawmills, planing mills, a handle factory, and a sash, door and blind factory. The tobacco industries included prizehouses, warehouses, and plug and twist factories. Not all of these were located near the tracks to the south, for a small tobacco center had developed at the city's northwestern edge, along Bellemeade Avenue west of Greene Street (Beers map 1879; Sanborn Map and Publishing Co. maps 1885, 1891, 1896).

By 1891 the woodworking and tobacco concerns were joined by some early textile works: the Greensboro Knitting Mill, the Oak Hill Hosiery Co., Crown Mills, and the Cooperative Cotton Mill a mile south of the courthouse on the tracks (Sanborn Map and Publishing Co. maps 1891 and 1896). Also by 1891 the North Carolina Steel and Iron Company had built its works. Unlike the other enterprises, it was located to the north, at Bessemer Avenue, just beyond the city's northern border. The steel industry was to fail quickly, because of the poor quality of the local ore, the general depressed economic conditions of the times, and the collapse of the Cape Fear and Yadkin Valley Railroad (Baylin 1968:52; Kipp 1974:384). Textiles, however, with the coming of Moses and Ceasar Cone to town in the early 1890s, were almost as quickly to become the hallmark of Greensboro's industry.

By 1896, according to the Sanborn maps of that year, the city had fifteen tobacco enterprises, eleven wood-related enterprises, four foundries, and four textile concerns. The steel industry had failed and the tobacco industry, although substantial at the time, was to fade quickly; by 1902 the Sanborns pictured only six tobacco-related enterprises in the city. It was the textile industry, at the cusp of tremendous growth in 1896, that was to be the city's industrial future (Sanborn Map and Publishing Co. maps 1896; Sanborn Map Co. maps 1902).

The major industrial force in Greensboro during the late nineteenth century, and well into the twentieth, was the textile mill empire established by brothers Moses and Ceasar Cone. The brothers were familiar with the South and with textiles, for they travelled the region for their father's wholesale grocery and dry goods business in

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Baltimore, buying and selling cotton goods. In 1892 they established the Southern Finishing and Warehouse Company, the first cloth finishing plant in the South, just northwest of city limits at the junction of present Wendover Avenue and Virginia Street, on a spur line of the Cape Fear and Yadkin. In the 1895 the brothers broke ground on Proximity Cotton Mill northeast of city limits and in 1896 the plant loomed its first denim. At their suggestion, Emanuel and Herman Sternberger came to Greensboro and built the Revolution Cotton Mill in the northeast, which in 1899 was producing canton flannels (Arnett 1955:170-172; Half-Century Book 1941; Balliett 1925; Fripp 1982:57-58; Sanborn Map and Publishing Co. maps 1896; Sanborn Map Company maps 1902). By the turn of the century the textile mills and villages of the northeast formed the dominant industrial community in and around the city.

A second industrial community, named Pomona, sprang up about three miles west of the courthouse, near the North Carolina Railroad tracks, during this period. The community was established by, and named for the horticultural activities of, John Van Lindley. In the late 1870s Lindley had become the sole proprietor of the J. Van Lindley Nursery which was to become the largest nursery concern in the state. Among its interests was 900 acres in Pomona (Ashe 1905:222-227; Greensboro Daily News, February 18, 1960; Arnett 1973:93-100). In 1886, with William C. Boren and Dr. John E. Logan, Lindley established the Pomona Terra Cotta Company. The latter company was established, according to Ethel Stephens Arnett, in response to the need of Greensboro for salt-glazed sewer pipe. It was not an immediate success, for it took about fifteen years to perfect the process. By the end of the century, however, the business must have had some success; the Sanborn maps of 1902 show two terra cotta plants, one called the Old Works, with six kilns, the other a New Works with eight kilns (Arnett 1955:169; Arnett 1973:95-96; Sanborn Map Co. maps 1902). The Pomona Cotton Mill, established adjacent to Lindley's nurseries in 1897 by Speight and Thomas Allison Hunter, quickly became a major enterprise attracting many workers to the area. Mill housing was soon built for the employees of these various enterprises (Arnett 1973:96; Fripp 1982:58).

In summary, by 1900 Greensboro was a major manufacturing center with seventy-nine industrial establishments within its limits or in its surrounding communities. About fifteen to twenty percent of its industrial employees worked in the tobacco industry and twenty to twenty-five percent were employed by woodworking concerns. The

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textile industry was by far the biggest employer, however, providing jobs for fifty to sixty percent of the city's industrial workers (Kipp 1974:204). Its influence was only to increase in the new century.

C. Early Commercial and Institutional Growth

Commercial activity, with the exception of a few areas near the colleges and mills, was centered around downtown Greensboro from the city's beginnings until the end of the nineteenth century. Other institutions, again with the exception of the colleges and mills, were also concentrated in or not far from downtown. These included banks, hotels, churches, schools, and the government.

Prior to 1880 Greensboro's businesses were primarily retail enterprises centered on Market and South Elm streets. With increased rail activity in the 1880s, Greensboro's businesses began serving areas outside of the city and the wholesale trade became predominant. During the 1880s South Elm Street, which intersected the railroad tracks (Market Street was parallel to the tracks) became the city's dominant business street, a position it was to retain into the 1960s. The business district was to remain concentrated along South Elm and, to a lesser extent by the end of the century along South Davie a block to its east, in large part because residential areas restricted its growth on all sides (Manieri 1980; Beers map 1879; Gray map 1882; Sanborn Map and Publishing Co. 1885, 1888, 1891).

The increase in wholesale trade in the 1880s brought increased profits to the city's businesses. This in turn led to the construction of large, ornate buildings downtown in the 1890s. In his National Register nomination of downtown Greensboro, Raymond Manieri uses the Odell Hardware Company as an example of this growth. The company's original building was a small, two-story dry goods store built in the 1880s on South Elm. By 1896 the company, a profitable hardware wholesaler, had added a third story and almost doubled the length of the building, making it reportedly the largest commercial building in the state (Manieri 1980; Sanborn Map and Publishing Company maps 1885, 1888, 1891, 1896).

The first two blocks of South Elm were heavily developed by 1891, featuring a hotel, bank offices, and dry goods and clothing stores. In the 1890s businesses were built farther south on South Elm, at or near the tracks, and on other streets near the tracks as well. For the first time brick commercial structures were built on Elm south of

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the tracks. The railroads not only spurred business construction, but they raised structures themselves. Still standing is the first Southern Railway Passenger Depot, built on the 400 block of South Elm in 1899 (Manieri 1980; Sanborn Map and Publishing Company maps 1891, 1896).

Commercial and institutional activity not centered within a quarter-mile of downtown between 1880 and 1900 was centered around the city's colleges and mills. Small commercial areas developed near the Normal Industrial School for White Girls (now the University of North Carolina at Greensboro or "UNCG") and the Agricultural and Mechanical College for the Colored Race (now the North Carolina Agricultural and Technical State University or "A&T") in the 1890s to serve the residential areas near them. Commercial areas also sprang up near the mill communities of Pomona to the west and the Cones and Sternbergers to the northeast. The Cones, who built churches, schools, and YMCAs for their employees, also raised stores at their mill villages (Phillips 1983; Balliett 1925).

D. Early Suburbanization and Neighborhood Growth

Between 1880 and 1900, Greensboro made the leap from town to city. In those two decades its population jumped almost 500 percent to more than 10,000 and its land area quadrupled from one to four square miles. The city's center, around Market and Elm, was most densely populated. Most workers were employed in unskilled positions at downtown establishments, at the spoke and handle factories and other industries located along the main line of the North Carolina Railroad, or at the railroad yards. They rented or owned small houses in the vicinity of these enterprises. White professionals and businessmen were located around three main areas: Church Street to the north, West Market Street out to Greensborough Female College, and Asheboro Street to the south. Throughout the last two decades of the century residential development was to occur incrementally in the established areas of the central city, as well as in new areas to the south, north and northeast, and west. By 1900, by every measure, Greensboro was a bigger and busier place (Baylin 1968:41-44; Beers map 1879; Kipp 1974:174-176).

Racial segregation patterns had not yet solidified in Greensboro's neighborhoods or workplaces before the close of the century according to historian William H. Chafe. While the population of east Greensboro and of Warnersville to the southwest of city limits

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was almost entirely black, white and black households stood side by side on seven of nineteen streets within city limits in 1880. The somewhat integrated nature of racial housing patterns (at least relative to the total segregation that was to follow) was typical of many cities in North Carolina and elsewhere in the South at this time. In Greensboro it may have been related to black employment opportunities during this period. Between 1870 and 1900, although overwhelmingly employed in semiskilled or unskilled positions, blacks still made up a significant proportion of the city's skilled work force. In 1884, one out of every three skilled workers in the city was black. At the city's two spoke and handle factories, black and white workers held comparable positions and received comparable wages (Chafe 1980:17-18; Baylin 1968:42; Kipp 1974:228).

Neighborhoods divided solely by class did not exist prior to the early twentieth century either. According to Samuel M. Kipp III, "The streets where the elite resided were also the ones most likely to be paved, connected to the city water works and sewerage system, and illuminated by city street lights, but at the turn of the century their homes and those of the middle class were still intermingled" (Kipp 1974:272). For example, South Greensboro had large dwellings on its main thoroughfare, Asheboro Street, with more modest houses immediately to the rear on the radiating streets.

The city's late nineteenth century housing trends, as well as its general residential growth patterns, were displayed at its first suburbs, the southern communities of Warnersville, Shieldstown, and South Greensboro. Greensboro's first real estate development and suburb was Warnersville, once located along Ashe Street just south of downtown. It was started in the late 1860s by a Philadelphia Quaker, Yardley Warner, who bought about thirty-five acres of land just south of the city limits and divided it into half-acre tracts which he sold to freedman at reasonable prices in an attempt to assist blacks in acquiring property for homes (Arnett 1955:221; Fripp 1982:36; Opperman 1990:130). According to an account by an English Quaker in 1889, the community was a thriving one:

I have today been to Warnersville, visited the coloured people in their houses, examined their garden plots, seen their schoolhouse and their church, and can bear testimony to the thriving character of the population. They number between 500 and 600 people, all coloured. Warnersville has extended far beyond the original purchase of Yardley Warner when he commenced the project

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about 1869. They have about 200 coloured children attending their school. They have a good house as a residence for the school teacher, who has two well-qualified assistants. (Fripp 1982:37)

Warnersville had declined by the end of the 1930s and it was destroyed as part of the city's urban renewal program in the 1960s (Works Progress Administration 1940).

To Warnersville's east was the white community of Shieldstown, which was developed largely by Joseph Shields on about fifty acres of property located between Ashe Street and Asheboro Street. In 1873 Shields reportedly placed about seventy residential lots on the market. The New North State, a local newspaper, stated in January, 1874, that the "village [of Shieldstown] is growing rapidly. The land is fast being purchased for building lots. Streets have been opened and several houses are under construction" (Baylin 1968:38). The growth of the communities to the south of the city limits like Shieldstown was stimulated by the city. Around 1874 it extended Elm Street south into Shieldstown, across the tracks that had previously separated the city proper and the southern suburbs (Baylin 1968:40).

One of the city's best neighborhoods bounded Shieldstown to the east. Centered on Asheboro Street and also outside of the city limits, it was known as South Greensboro. (South Greensboro and Shieldstown were initially treated as separate neighborhoods. The term South Greensboro by the late nineteenth century, however, seems to refer to the white areas of southern Greensboro, both Shieldstown and the Asheboro Street neighborhood.) An 1879 map shows houses in South Greensboro standing on either side of Asheboro Street, but not yet off of it. The picturesque entry drives, multiple outbuildings, and size of some of these properties, which could exceed seven acres, suggests that a number of them were estates (Beer's map 1879). The increasing development of industry along the railroad tracks to the north; the jobs provided by a booming downtown less than half a mile distant; and improvements in the transportation network, all led to the suburb's rapid growth as a primarily middle-class community in the late nineteenth-century. The New North State of February 29, 1872, stated that Asheboro Street was "fast becoming one of the most beautiful streets of the city and a very desirable place to live. We learn there is a great demand for building purposes in this street" (Baylin 1968:37). By 1889 the community had apparently started to fulfill its potential. According to a report of the Chamber of

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Commerce cited in the Greensboro Patriot of January of that year: "South Greensboro, a beautiful suburb, almost new one may say, and nearly as great in area as the corporate city itself, has furnished tasteful abodes to the businessman, comfortable houses to the artisan, and a beautiful picture to the stranger entering our gates" (Manieri 1982:51).

The racial and physical alignment of Warnersville, Shieldstown, and South Greensboro in the late nineteenth century was to set the pattern for development of the southern part of Greensboro up through World War II. White south Greensboro did not expand further west than the edge of Warnersville or further east than the black communities of east Greensboro, which were located south and east of Bennett College and the Agricultural and Mechanical College. These black communities, in turn, were effectively barred from expanding into South Greensboro or Shieldstown. By the close of the nineteenth century the racial patterns of all of these neighborhoods were largely set.

Suburban growth did not just occur to the south in the last two decades of the century. The textile mills and villages of the Cones and Sternbergers led to development northeast of the city limits in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Preceding them, however, and planting the seeds of development to the north of the city, was the short-lived North Carolina Steel and Iron Company, which in the early 1890s unsuccessfully attempted to combine industrial and residential development on about 2,000 acres of land at the city's northern edge and to its northeast. The property was prime for development, just beyond city limits with a rail line running through it, and their efforts spurred interest in the area. The New North State noted in March, 1890, that the "trend of the high prices for land is on the north side of Greensboro. For years the town has been going south, but it seems now that the great improvements are to be made [north and northeast, in the angle between the rail lines]" (Baylin 1968:47-50).

Development activity to the north was promoted by both corporate interests and individuals. Corporate real estate interests for the first time emerged, setting the stage for the extensive development efforts of the first three decades of the twentieth century. They included the Worth-Wharton Real Estate and Investment Company, which was organized in 1890, and the real estate efforts of North Carolina Steel and Iron. Individuals, rather than corporate interests, were the most important real estate developers and promoters in the late

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nineteenth century, however (Arnett 1955:220-221). One of these individuals was Capt. Basil J. Fisher, who in the late 1880s purchased land between the northern developed edge of town and the southern edge of the steel and iron property, and undertook opening Elm Street farther north. In hopes of creating a prestigious suburb, he developed his land, grading the streets, designating parkland, and laying out lots (Baylin 1968: 51, 57-59). The New North State trumpeted his efforts in July, 1890, stating "Capt. B. J. Fisher is a firm believer in our city's future prosperity, and he is not backward in risking his money on his opinion and Greensboro real estate" (Baylin 1968:51).

The activities of Capt. Fisher, the Worth-Wharton Company, North Carolina Steel and Iron, and others were ultimately unsuccessful in developing property north of downtown in the 1890s. They did lay the groundwork, though, for the textile enterprises of the Cones. The Cones purchased between 1,400 and 2,000 acres northeast of the city limits upon which to establish their factories, much of it previously owned by North Carolina Steel and Iron. By 1900 they had created a separate, self-sufficient community with housing for perhaps 5,000 northeast of town (Baylin 1968:61; Fripp 1985:49-50). On early maps the community around their Southern Finishing and Warehouse Company, at the northwest corner of present Fisher Park, is referred to as "Coneville." Only partially pictured, it included rows of single-pile, one- or two-story, frame houses, a Sunday School building, a grocery store, a small frame hotel, and a Presbyterian Church (Sanborn Map and Publishing Co. maps 1896; Sanborn Map Company maps 1902 and 1913). The other more extensive mill villages around the Proximity and Revolution mills, outside of city limits, are not pictured on early maps. Lacking any detailed mapping or written accounts, the appearance and extent of these mill villages and surrounding communities is not known, nor is it known if any black mill villages existed at this time. No later than the early twentieth century, however, the villages, much like the one in Coneville, were to have their own stores, churches, YMCA's, welfare departments, and schools (Balliett 1925).

In summary, by 1900 what was to become modern Greensboro had three main areas of residential and industrial concentration: the core within the city limits, the textile mill communities of the north and northeast, and the communities established around the Pomona enterprises to the west. With the addition of property from the 1891 annexation, the population within the city limits had grown to 10,035.

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These included the many who lived in southern Greensboro and those who lived near the college campuses. College Hill, a neighborhood near the city's western border adjacent to the state women's college, had about one hundred houses, five stores, and three churches at the turn of the century, according to historian Gayle Hicks Fripp. About 5,000 individuals lived to the northeast near the Cone mills and about 1,000 lived to the west, near the enterprises of Pomona. These communities were to become a more integral part of the city in the early twentieth century, connected with each other by the electric streetcar and by residential development that extended out between them (Arnett 1955:419-420; Baylin 1968:61-63; Fripp 1985:51).

E. Development of Public Schools and Colleges

Greensboro's three antebellum colleges--Greensboro, Guilford, and Bennett--survived into the late nineteenth century. Bennett and Greensboro remained small schools. Guilford College, however, saw considerable growth in the late nineteenth century. Previously the New Garden Boarding School, Guilford was chartered under its present name in 1888. Between 1870 and 1900 its property, located outside of the city limits to the northwest, had been expanded to 300 acres and the school was to continue its expansion in the early twentieth century (Edmisten 1990).

Additionally, two state colleges, which were to become the city's largest, were begun in the last decade of the nineteenth century--the Agricultural and Mechanical College for the Colored Race (now the North Carolina Agricultural and Technical State University or "A&T") and the Normal Industrial School for White Girls (now the University of North Carolina at Greensboro or "UNCG"). In 1891 the state established the Normal Industrial School for White Girls on ten acres of land a few blocks west of Greensboro College. Dr. Charles D. McIver, a major proponent of women's education in the state, was named its first president. A successful institution, the school grew to 120 acres in 1897; in that year it changed its name to the State Normal and Industrial College (Arnett 1955:107-109; Fripp 1982:61-63). Also in 1891 the state chartered a black land grant institution in Greensboro, the Agricultural and Mechanical College for the Colored Race. For a few years an annex to Shaw University in Raleigh, it opened at its present site just northeast of Bennett College in 1893 (Arnett 1955:111-113; Fripp 1982:64-65; Dickinson 1988).

Greensboro's first free graded schools, one for blacks and one

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for whites, had opened in 1875. In 1880 the black school, which had been located in a church, was moved to its own building, the Percy Street School. In 1887 the large brick Lindsay Street School was opened for white children to replace the building at Lindsay and Forbis streets that had been damaged by the Charleston earthquake. A second public school for blacks, the Warnersville School, opened in 1892; it was followed the next year by the Asheboro Street School for whites. In 1899 a public high school, for whites, was opened. A public black high school was not built until 1929. Beyond the elementary school level, blacks had to attend the preparatory departments of Bennett College or the Agricultural and Mechanical College (Arnett 1955:87-89; Fripp 1982:51, 65; Greensboro Record, December 19, 1946, and January 9, 1947).

Public schools were also located at the Pomona and Cone mill villages. A Proximity Manufacturing Company promotional publication of 1925 stated that education was the first priority of Moses and Ceasar Cone. Even before the mills were finished or houses built, according to the publication, the brothers had canvassed the local school situation. Presumably shortly thereafter they provided educational facilities for the families of their employees. In Pomona, John Van Lindley--who owned the Pomona Nursery and the Terra Cotta Company, and who was director of the Cotton Mill--erected a schoolhouse for mill employees at his own expense (Balliett 1925; Arnett 1973:97; Greensboro Daily News, February 18, 1960).

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Greensboro, North Carolina, 1880-19412. MODERN SUBURBANIZATION AND INDUSTRIALIZATION, 1900-1941

Transportation, industry, commerce, and education continued to be major factors in the development of Greensboro during the first four decades of the twentieth century. Residential growth was the dominant feature of these years, however. Its residences overwhelmingly land-consuming, single-family, detached structures, the city rapidly expanded during the decades preceding the Depression. Largely because of established racial patterns, this expansion was much greater to the north, west, and southwest, than to the east and southeast. All areas of the city and its environs, though, saw significant residential growth.

A. Expansion and Consolidation of Transportation Network

As in the late nineteenth century, railroads were an important development force in Greensboro during the first four decades of the twentieth century. Although no new lines were extended into the city during this period, tracks were added and service on existing lines was greatly expanded. Early in the century the Southern Railway moved its division headquarters to Greensboro and subsequently enlarged its train yard at Pomona to include a thirteen-stall roundhouse and a twenty-one-locomotive shed (Fripp 1982:80-81). Industry continued to concentrate at or near the tracks. Zoning in the 1920s confirmed the importance to industry of the rail lines, limiting industrial development almost entirely to the city's rail corridors. A visual reminder of the prominence of the railroads in the city during this period is the imposing Neoclassical Revival train station the Southern Railway built downtown in 1927 ("Zoning Map of Greensboro" 1927; Sanborn Map Company maps 1902, 1913, 1919, 1925; Fripp 1982:101).

While the railroad continued to influence the city's development much as it had prior to 1900, a new force that was to be particularly influential in residential development was introduced near the opening of the century. On June 11, 1902, electric trolley service was inaugurated in Greensboro (Albright 1904:100). The charter, granted to the Greensboro Electric Company, brought with it electric power for street lights and waterworks as well. It did not, however, bring trolley service to all parts of the city, for early efforts by city government to mandate service equally throughout the city failed (Manieri 1982:49, 68-69).

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The directors of the small street railway system of the 1890s had been local individuals, but the Greensboro Electric Company appears to have been largely controlled by out-of-state interests. John Karr, its president, was from Hackettstown, New Jersey, and M.D. Barr, its treasurer, resided in Pittsfield, Massachusetts. Its secretary, attorney Zeb V. Taylor, was from Greensboro (Kipp 1974:384-385, 390-391; Greensboro City Directories).

Initially there were two trolley routes. One ran from South Greensboro via the Southern Railway station north on Elm Street through the center of town, then northeast up Summit Avenue to the Cone and Sternberger textile mills. The other ran from the powerhouse at East Market Street west along Market past Greensboro College, down Tate Street onto Spring Garden Street, and out past the women's Normal and Industrial College to Lindley Park near the community of Pomona (Albright 1904:100; Pease Engineering Co. map 1927). To create a demand for their services, the company constructed an amusement park two-and-a-half miles west of the city on land they purchased from J. Van Lindley. Lindley Park--the amenities of which included a casino, pavilion, artificial lake, and bowling alleys--opened on July 4, 1902 (Manieri 1982:69-70; Fripp 1985:52).

By 1909 the system had twenty streetcars running along fifteen miles of track. The North Carolina Public Service Company which ran it additionally provided electric and gas service to the city. A 1927 map of the city shows the trolleys running on the two routes mentioned above. Additionally, they ran west along Lee and then south along Glenwood Avenue (Manieri 1982:76; Pease Engineering Co. map 1927).

"Streetcar speculation during the second decade of the twentieth century," according to Raymond Manieri, "was often characterized by a cooperation between the street railway company and the real estate interests of the city" (Manieri 1982:77). The development of Irving Park and the Greensboro Country Club was typical of this. Before opening up development, the developers negotiated with the streetcar company to extend the line from its end on North Elm up Sunset Avenue to the club and the planned suburb (Manieri 1982:78).

The trolleys did not just serve the wealthy, as in Irving Park. They were to reach out to communities of more modest incomes, particularly as western Greensboro was opened up in the teens and twenties. Indeed it was noted not long after the service became active, in a publication trumpeting the city through photographs, that

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"As is the usual result of the advent of electric trolley lines reaching the suburban districts, there are a number of attractive homes owned and occupied by men of moderate income, who could only meet the expenses of very much inferior ones in central locations" (Gravure Illustration Company 1904). Trolley service may not have been limited to the wealthy but it was effectively limited to whites. No trolley lines ran south or east into black Greensboro and the line northeast to the Cone mills stopped short of the black mill village of East White Oak (Manieri 1982:76; Pease Engineering Co. map 1927).

The question of the effect the streetcars had on the residential development of the city (discussed further below) has not fully been answered, although Jonathan Baylin, in his thesis on the city's residential development, states that "the streetcars played a limited but significant role by following, rather than initiating, residential development" (Baylin 1968:65). He postulates that the streetcars had two basic effects on the city's residential patterns. They linked the mill communities of Pomona and the northeast to the center of the city, effectively extending its limits out to them, and they reinforced already existing patterns of residential development. Raymond Manieri, in his thesis on streetcars in the city, seems basically to concur with these conclusions (Manieri 1982). Because a viable streetcar network came to Greensboro at almost the same time as the automobile, and because from the start it connected vibrant, expanding communities located well out from the city's existing core communities, it is difficult to judge its impact. It did, however, in the case of such developments as Irving Park--which was built jointly with an extension of the system--at least go hand in hand with development. It also may even have promoted development, in at least one case, where it did not go. A 1914 plat map of West Market Terrace included a dotted line for the site of a proposed trolley line that was to pass through the middle of the development; the trolley never came, but development did (Guilford County Plat Book 3, Page 158).

The street system, as well as the railroads and the trolleys, also grew and improved during this period. A \$300,000 bond issue in 1903 provided money for the paving of more roads and, with the coming of the automobile to town after this date, streets were further improved (Arnett 1955:152; Fripp 1985:51). Reporting on the progress of the city in the first decade of the century, the Greensboro Daily News reported that:

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In 1900 Greensboro had one mile of cobblestone street, one-half mile of macadam and two miles of cement sidewalk.

In 1910 the city had nine and one-half miles of macadam, two and one-fourth miles of gravel, three-quarters of a mile of vitrified brick streets and 40 miles of cement sidewalk (Kipp 1974:408).

By 1913 the city reportedly had twenty miles of paved roads (Sanborn Map Company 1913).

The roads carried not only private automobiles. By 1927 the city's trolley network had been augmented by two bus lines. One ran northwest up Battleground Avenue, then south and west into the Westerwood and West Market Terrace neighborhoods. Another ran east out of the city along East Market Street. This latter bus line was the only public transportation known to have served Greensboro's black community during the first three decades of the century. In 1934 some "trackless trolleys," which made use of the road network, were added to the electric trolley system. As discussed further below, the improved street network allowed neighborhoods to develop away from the rail and trolley lines, particularly in the northern and western reaches of the city's environs (Pease Engineering Co. map 1927; Fripp 1982:105).

B. The Textile Industry and Industrial Greensboro

In 1903 a booster pamphlet estimated that the city had fifty manufacturing firms producing thirty kinds of goods. (Samuel M. Kipp III has estimated that there were seventy-nine establishments in the city and its suburbs at the turn of the century.) The textile industry was the most important, followed by three furniture manufactories and seven lumber companies. Textiles were to remain the dominant industrial force in the city well into the twentieth century, overshadowing all other enterprises (Fripp 1982:77; Kipp 1974:204).

The Cone textile empire, established in the 1890s, continued its rapid expansion in the early twentieth century. By 1902 the original Proximity mill had grown from 250 to 1,000 looms. Between 1902 and 1905 the Cones added their largest plant, the White Oak Cotton Mills, which was to become in the 1930s the largest denim mill in the world. By 1905 the mills employed more than 4,250 operatives. In 1912 the Proximity Print Works, the first of its kind in the South, was added.

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By the 1920s the mills of the Cones, operating as the Proximity Revolution Company, along with the Sternbergers' Revolution mill, were unquestionably an imposing force. Statistics from 1925, presented in a Proximity Manufacturing Company publication, speak for themselves. The Proximity mill had grown from 250 looms in 1896, to 1,000 in 1902, to 1,600 by 1925. It produced 90,000 yards of denim a day. White Oak, which opened using a fraction of its 2,000 loom capacity, was producing 160,000 yards of denim a day in 1925 on 3,000 looms. Together, the textile mills in the northeast employed about 3,000 hands and supported a population of about 15,000 (Arnett 1955:171-172; Fripp 1982:77; Chafe 1980:19; Half-Century Book 1941; Balliett 1925; American Jewish Times, March 1937).

Other textile mills, and other industries, operated in Greensboro early in the twentieth century as well. Blue Bell, Inc., which began making overalls over a grocery store in 1904, opened a plant on South Elm Street in 1919. The tobacco industry had never taken off in the late nineteenth century as hoped; from fifteen enterprises in 1896 it dropped off to six in 1902. After 1902, however, there was a resurgence in the industry, at least in the area of cigar manufacturing. The three largest cigar factories early in the century were the American Cigar Company, which opened a factory employing hundreds in 1903; the El-Rees-So Cigar Company, which opened a three-story factory employing 300 women in 1917; and Seidenberger & Co., which also opened a 300-worker factory in 1917, standing five stories high. In sum, by 1917 there were approximately seventy-five factories in Greensboro (Arnett 1955:174-186; Fripp 1982:78; Sanborn Map Company maps 1902).

Most industry in the city during the late nineteenth century and through the first four decades of the twentieth was located close to a rail line. A 1927 zoning map of the city shows industry located along the east-west rail line all the way through the city; down South Elm near the railroad tracks; east of downtown near Davie Street; at the mills of the northeast along spur lines; and at the railroad tracks near Battleground Avenue northwest of Daniels Lake. The original downtown core, the textile mills and, particularly, the railroad, continued to have a tremendous effect on industrial development ("Zoning Map of Greensboro" 1927). A report by the Works Progress Administration at the end of the 1930s depicts a city with a substantial industrial base oriented towards the railroads. "The importance of industry in the composition of Greensboro," they reported, "is indicated by the fact that over one-seventh of all the

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land covered by major structures is devoted to industrial uses, among which the manufacture of textiles predominates. Practically all industrial establishments are situated near or alongside the Southern or the Atlantic and Yadkin Railways, for the obvious advantages of proximity to transportation facilities" (Works Progress Administration 1940:4).

Along with permitting the development of a variety of industries, the railroad was a major industry and employer itself. In 1904 the Southern Railway moved its division headquarters to Greensboro from Raleigh. Subsequently it enlarged its train yard and repair facilities in Pomona. By 1920 the Southern employed 1,100 in the Greensboro area (Fripp 1982:80-81).

Industrial development, at least in the textile industry, was not halted by the Depression. Mock, Judson, Voehringer Co., a hosiery company started in 1926, expanded between 1930 and 1932, as did the Cones' Proximity Manufacturing Company and the Blue Bell Manufacturing Company. The Blue Gem Manufacturing Company, another firm which produced overalls, was organized in 1934. In 1935 Burlington Mills, which was to become the largest textile concern in the world, moved its headquarters to Greensboro from the city of Burlington, about twenty miles to the east (Fripp 1982:113).

At the start of World War II, Greensboro's textile industry remained dominant. In 1940 the Cone mills were the largest producers of cotton denim in the world, Burlington the world leader in rayon weaving, and Blue Bell the country's biggest manufacturer of overalls (Fripp 1982:120).

C. Commercial and Institutional Expansion

Commercial activity in Greensboro remained centered downtown, with the exception of a few areas near the colleges and mills, from the turn of the century until after World War II. Other enterprises, including banks, hotels, and corporate enterprises like the insurance business and banking were also concentrated downtown, as was the government. In the early part of the century many major churches and most schools were still located near the center of the city, reflecting the location of its core population. As rapid growth in the teens and particularly the twenties drew population away from the center, many institutions followed. These included, in particular, churches and schools, as well as hospitals, some retail activity, and

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other institutions that were sustained by large numbers of people, rather than by industrial activity or proximity to a rail line. The rapid suburbanization and decentralization that followed World War II has pulled most institutional activity, with the exception of the government and corporate professional services, from the city center.

During the first decade of the century the main business and commercial thoroughfares of South Elm and South Davie streets continued to develop, particularly on the blocks closer to the tracks than to Market Street, which were still not completely built up. Development was such that substantial brick buildings filled almost all of the lots of the central business district by 1910. Perhaps because of this, there was relatively little building activity in the district in the teens. However, in the 1920s numerous commercial structures went up downtown, many of them large and imposing. Construction activity took place on the 100 and 200 blocks of South Elm, as the pre-1880 buildings that stood there were demolished and replaced. Building also took place on streets that had not been part of the traditional central business district, including North Elm, Greene, and Washington streets. The 1930s saw limited growth downtown, as elsewhere in the city, although the Belk's department store was built there in 1938 (Manieri 1980; Sanborn Map and Publishing Co. maps 1902, 1913, 1919, 1925).

The buildings raised in downtown Greensboro between 1900 and World War II were not just retail and wholesale business establishments. They included hotels, banks, office buildings, and government buildings. The Hotel Guilford was built in 1900 on Elm Street to replace the Benbow House, which had burned the previous year. In 1901 the Huffine was opened and in 1902 the five-story, 132-room Benbow Hotel was raised. Two years later the Benbow Arcade opened. These hotels, and others, were substantial structures and, as Ethel Stephens Arnett put it, "So well supplied was Greensboro with new hotels around the turn of the century that it was 1919 before need for more lodging space was felt" (Arnett 1955:213). In 1919 the 300-room O'Henry Hotel was built at Bellemeade and North Elm. Charles C. Hartmann, then a New York architect, supervised its construction. It was followed in 1927 at East Market and Davie by the 225-room King Cotton Hotel. None of these buildings survive (Arnett 1955:213; Fripp 1982:80, 102; Bishir, Brown, Lounsbury, and Wood 1990:319).

The first two decades of the century also saw the opening of a number of office buildings, including the five-story Dixie Building in

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1904; the McAdoo in 1908; the Banner in 1912; and a nine-story skyscraper, the Southeastern Building, in 1917 (Fripp 1982:80; Arnett 1955:233). The largest and grandest skyscraper in the city, an opulent, terra cotta-clad, seventeen-story tower designed by Charles C. Hartmann, was opened by the Jefferson Standard Life Insurance Company on the 100 block of North Elm Street in 1923. Hartmann had caught the eye of Jefferson Standard president Julian Price while working on the O'Henry Hotel; he came to Greensboro to design the tower and open up a practice at Price's behest (Little-Stokes and Smith 1975).

Banking and insurance were important businesses in Greensboro early in the twentieth century and have remained so. There were three banks in the city at the opening of the century and three more had been added by 1907. Three building and loan companies were organized between 1902 and 1914. Among these was Pioneer Building & Loan, promoted by black community leader James Dudley (Fripp 1982:82).

In 1903 the Pilot Life Insurance Company was chartered. Nine years later the Jefferson Standard Life Insurance Company was formed through the merger of a Greensboro and a Raleigh firm. By 1917 it employed seventy-five clerks and by 1923 it was located in its downtown skyscraper. Pilot Life and Jefferson Standard subsequently merged in the 1980s to form one of the most important enterprises in the city. The prominence of the new concern, Jefferson Pilot, is indicated by the skyscraper it raised adjacent to the original Jefferson Standard building at the end of the 1980s, the city's major modern architectural landmark (Arnett 1955:230-235; Fripp 1982:84).

In 1900 the city hall, city market, and an auditorium were opened in one building, no longer standing, known as the Grand Opera House. Between 1917 and 1920 an even grander building was built, the county courthouse. A Renaissance Revival style structure of granite and terra cotta designed by local architect Harry Barton, it cost an estimated \$750,000. In 1924 a new city hall, also designed by Barton, was constructed. The Central Fire Station, a Charles Hartmann design, was raised in 1926. The Art Deco Federal Building was completed at the corner of West Market and Eugene streets in 1931. Few if any substantial government buildings followed it until after World War II. Almost all government buildings have continued to be located downtown (Arnett 1955:40-41; Fripp 1982:99-101).

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Although hotels, banks, office, government, and other major institutional buildings remained centered downtown, some retail commercial activity was located near the residential areas centered around Bennett College, the Agricultural and Mechanical College, the women's Normal and Industrial College, and Guilford College. It was also located in the mill communities of northeast Greensboro and Pomona. The Cones raised some substantial brick buildings in the northeast early in the century to house company stores, YMCAs, schools, and other services.

Greensboro's first hospitals were located in residences or structures that looked like residences, downtown or not far from downtown. The first modern hospitals in the city were St. Leo's Hospital, a large brick structure built on Summit Street in 1906 which is no longer extant, and the L. Richardson Memorial Hospital. The latter hospital, which opened in 1927, was built in Nocho Park on South Benbow Road to serve the city's black community. Although now used as a nursing home, it is still intact (Arnett 1955:349-354; Fripp 1982:129; Journal of the National Medical Association, May, 1969).

Religious congregations continued to thrive between 1900 and 1940, erecting many impressive new sanctuaries. In 1904 the city directory listed twenty-nine churches in the city; by 1920, according to historian Gayle Hicks Fripp, at least fifteen more churches and a synagogue had been established. Many of the churches were still located near the downtown core, but they also stood within the ever-expanding suburbs of the city. In 1908 the burgeoning Jewish community chartered the Reformed Hebrew Congregation and purchased the former Friends Meeting House on Lee Street as its synagogue. Its charter members included textile magnates Ceasar Cone and Herman and Emanuel Sternberger. The congregation built a synagogue in Fisher Park in 1925, designed by New York architect Hobart Upjohn. Three years later the First Presbyterian Church, designed by Upjohn and Harry Barton, was built across the street. Preceding these structures in Fisher Park was the 1922 chapel of Holy Trinity Episcopal Church, also designed by Upjohn. The move of the Episcopalian and Presbyterian churches out from the center of the city--in the late nineteenth century they were located within a few blocks of the courthouse--reflects the movement of congregations and the construction of new churches in general as the city grew (Fripp 1982:84-85, 118).

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Greensboro, North Carolina, 1880-1941D. Suburban, Neighborhood, and Mill Village Development

Understanding residential development is the key to understanding all growth in Greensboro in the first four decades of the twentieth century. Growth was rapid between 1900 and 1940, especially in the three decades preceding the Depression. The population jumped by more than fifty percent to 15,895 between 1900 and 1910, and climbed again to 19,861 in 1920. By 1930 the population had soared to 53,569. This figure was influenced by the more than quadrupling of the city's boundaries in 1923 to almost eighteen square miles, from four in 1891. The 1930s saw little population growth in the city; its number of residents rose only to 59,319 in 1940 (Arnett 1955:23-24, 419-420).

Almost all of the city's residents lived in single-family, detached dwellings, so the increased population was reflected in a proliferation of new neighborhoods and suburbs (Works Progress Administration 1940:4, 38). Many factors had an influence on where these new residential areas were located. These included the locations of established neighborhoods, and the racial and socio-economic composition of these neighborhoods; the location of trolley lines and roadways; the industries lining the different railroad lines which provided jobs for workers; the presence of cotton mills to the northeast and industrial enterprises in Pomona; the location of the city's colleges; the presence of insurance companies and other sources of money for big real estate developers; and the extension of city services to neighborhoods and, in the 1920s, the establishment of city planning and zoning.

Neighborhood and suburban development

As was the case elsewhere in North Carolina, suburbanization in Greensboro occurred almost simultaneously with urbanization. As with the other late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Piedmont powerhouses of Charlotte, Winston-Salem, Durham, and Raleigh, Greensboro had "a small urban core surrounded by extensive suburban neighborhoods." In general, its twentieth-century suburbs exhibited most or all of the characteristics of North Carolina's early suburbs: "picturesque naturalistic settings, diverse house styles and plans, modern amenities, social and economic homogeneity, and distance between home and work" (Smith 1985:24). Of course the wealthier the suburb, such as Fisher Park or Irving Park, the more picturesque were the settings, diverse the houses, and modern the amenities. Also in accord with other North Carolina cities, much of Greensboro's black

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suburban development was centered around black colleges, Bennett and the Agricultural and Mechanical College on its east side.

During the first decade of the century growth continued in southern Greensboro; in western and eastern Greensboro around the white and black colleges; to the west and northeast around the mills of Pomona and the Cones and Sternbergers; and in the established areas near the central core of the city. With the exception of the mill communities, all of these areas are shaded as the metropolitan area of Greensboro on a 1908 map of the county (Miller map 1908). Warnersville and South Greensboro to the south continued to be well populated. They also retained their late nineteenth-century racial composition: blacks in Warnersville, whites in South Greensboro. The growing neighborhoods to the east were centered around the two black colleges there, Bennett and the Agricultural and Mechanical College, extending a few blocks east past the latter school. The growing neighborhoods to the west extended out past the state women's college about six blocks. Population was also starting to grow to the north, in Fisher Park and along Summit and Fifth avenues (the present Aycock neighborhood). These neighborhoods largely owed their existence to proximity to the city center and its jobs; the presence of the main east-west railroad line and the industries that lined it; the availability of city services; and the presence of the colleges. These neighborhoods also reflected and perpetuated racial and socio-economic patterns that had largely been established by the end of the century. The black neighborhoods were to the east and in Warnersville; poorer blacks and whites lived close to the industrial enterprises and to jobs downtown (Baylin 1968:73).

Segregation in housing in the early twentieth century was not established solely incrementally or by following previous patterns, however. Between 1914 and 1929, according to William H. Chafe, there was a city ordinance prohibiting blacks from living on streets that had a majority of white households (Chafe 1980:223). The law was promulgated after a black faculty member of one of the local colleges purchased a home in the all-white neighborhood of South Greensboro at the corner of Gorell and Martin streets. Although he substantially improved the property, he was pressured to resell it to a white family at a loss (Kipp 1974:32-323). Segregation persisted even after this law was removed from the books. One method of maintaining it was through restrictive covenants in deeds. For example, some Fisher Park deeds included the following restriction: "No person of African descent shall occupy said property except as domestic servants in the

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employ of the occupants of the dwellings upon said premises." Irving Park deeds contained a similar restriction. (For an example of a Fisher Park deed with this restriction, see the 1919 deed between J.E. Latham and J.M. Gallaway (Guilford County Deed Book 327, Page 603). For an example of an Irving Park deed, see the 1912 deed between A.M. Scales and A.W. McAlister, and A.L. Brooks (Guilford County Deed Book 236, Page 312).)

The impact of the electric streetcar on the city's neighborhoods seems to have been limited. Streetcar lines extended north up Elm Street, south down Asheboro Street, and west out towards the women's Normal and Industrial College. As many factors led to the development of the neighborhoods near the lines, the streetcars in the first decade of the century seemed to have followed and reinforced already established residential patterns, rather than to have created new ones (Baylin 1968:70-71).

The finest neighborhoods in the first decade of the century were apparently still located close to downtown. A 1902 map shows the footprints of sizeable Victorian houses on North Elm and Church streets, north of downtown; on Asheboro and Gorrell streets south of downtown in South Greensboro; and west on Market Street. A 1904 photogravure book of the city, which pictures the homes of many of its most prominent citizens, confirms the location of the city's finest houses a short distance to the north, west, and south of downtown, on such streets as Asheboro and South Ashe, West Market and North Elm (Sanborn Map Company maps 1902; Art Work of Greensboro 1904).

The growth of neighborhoods to the north of downtown apparently occurred at a measured pace before the teens. Although Fisher Park was envisioned by Capt. B.J. Fisher and other developers at the beginning of the 1890s, the neighborhood was undeveloped at the turn of the century. The future tense was used in a publication of 1904, which said of the suburb that "when improved [it] will be a beautiful resort" (Albright 1904:105). The numerous lots east of Elm Street and south and west of the park, pictured on a 1905 plat map of Fisher's estate, were largely paper creations awaiting houses (Guilford County Plat Book 2, Page 60). Summit Avenue, which cut northeast to the textile mills, and adjacent streets developed a bit more rapidly than Fisher Park. This area, now known as the Aycock neighborhood, was located due east of Fisher Park and west of the Agricultural and Mechanical College. In 1898, even prior to grading and macadamizing, Summit was described as a "magnificent boulevard" (Fripp 1985:50).

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Cesar Cone's estate was located on Summit before it was paved and his siblings, along with management and other white-collar employees of the mills, were to establish households on the avenue with him (Art Work of Greensboro 1904).

The greatest influence of the Cone family on Greensboro's residential development is not found in the Summit Avenue community. It is found rather at the mill villages they established to the northeast of the city limits in the last decade of the nineteenth century and first decade of the twentieth, mill villages they continued to expand through the 1920s. The mill villages of Proximity, Revolution, White Oak, and East White Oak probably represented the largest single concentration of housing in the city and its environs. Possessed of a distinct character, these villages, and the ones at Pomona, are discussed separately below.

In the teens and twenties, residential development in Greensboro boomed. Entire new neighborhoods and suburbs were established and created. The large number of subdivision plats filed with the county during these decades, and the numbers of dwelling raised each year, particularly in the 1920s, bluntly illustrate the growth. Between 1915 and 1919, 250 dwellings a year were raised on average in the city. (All of the figures in this paragraph are for the 1923, post-annexation city limits.) This number jumped to an average of 463 dwellings a year between 1920 and 1924, dropping off only slightly in the next five years to 424 dwellings a year (Works Progress Administration 1940:8).

Residential development in the teens and twenties became a large-scale business, with numerous realtors and speculators appearing. Joining them was a new source of investment capital, Greensboro's growing number of substantial insurance firms. Their numbers included the Pilot Life Insurance Company and the Guilford Insurance and Realty Company, two important sources of money for development during the period. The developers concentrated their efforts in the north, west, and southwest, in such communities as Irving Park, Westerwood, Sunset Hills, Hamilton Lakes, Glenwood, and Sedgefield. Development to the northeast, other than at the mill villages, was limited by the presence of the mills. To the east and southeast, development of white neighborhoods on the scale elsewhere around the city was limited by the presence of blacks. However, a number of black neighborhoods grew here during the period, some of them planned developments. (Baylin 1968:70-71, 75-78; Fripp 1985:53).

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Residential construction continued to take place in the teens and twenties in southern Greensboro, at the colleges, and in neighborhoods in and around downtown. Empty lots near the city center became fewer and farther between. The Aycock neighborhood centered on Summit Avenue between downtown and the mills became progressively more built up. By 1925 its lots were largely filled with houses. Growth in Fisher Park, just to the north of downtown, was even more dramatic (Sanborn Map Company maps 1913, 1919, 1925; Fripp 1985:50; Fripp 1982:87-88).

Fisher Park finally began to develop with the opening of its handsome, welcoming park, the subdivision of Capt. Fisher's vast holdings there, and the running of a trolley line up North Elm Street in the first decade of the century. It grew steadily between 1910 and 1920; 115 houses still stand in the neighborhood from that decade (Sanborn Map Company maps 1913, 1919, 1925; Fripp 1982:87-88). In spite of the concerns of individuals like A.K. Moore, who managed the 1915 sales of fifteen homes that he worried were located "too far out" of the center of town for buyers, Fisher Park was a great success (Fripp 1985:52). It was home to many wealthy individuals living in houses designed by such architects as Charles C. Hartmann, Harry Barton, Raleigh James Hughes, and Charles Barton Keen. Keen designed the 13,800-square-foot, granite mansion of cotton broker, businessman, and real estate magnate James Edwin Latham in 1913 overlooking the park. Barton was the architect of a granite Tudor style house for tobacco broker John Marion Galloway, which was raised on North Elm Street in 1919. The 1929 Tudor style brick mansion of Jefferson Standard president Julian Price was designed by Hartmann. Many other houses, some grand, some more modest, were built in the neighborhood through the 1920s, including some of the city's more handsome bungalows (Fripp 1985:52).

The neighborhood that was to become, and remain, Greensboro's most prestigious was begun as a suburb north of the city limits and Fisher Park, and west of the textile mills, about 1911. Named Irving Park, it was a project of the Southern Real Estate Company, predecessor of Pilot Life. Southern Real Estate purchased fifty acres of land for development of the Greensboro Country Club, the city's first, which was to be at the core of the development. The Irving Park Company was formed to develop the area, and nationally renowned city planner John Nolen of Cambridge, Massachusetts, was employed to plan it. New and exclusive, built apart from the city rather than just as an extension of a built-up area--like South Greensboro and

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Fisher Park had largely been--it was the first fully realized suburb in Greensboro (Manieri 1982:77-78; Fripp 1982:88).

The ability to build so far beyond the city limits was due in part to the presence of the streetcar. Irving Park is an excellent example of the convergence of streetcar and real estate interests in the city in the teens. Prior to opening up the neighborhood and the Greensboro Country Club (1912) around which it was centered, the developers negotiated with the North Carolina Public Service Company to extend the streetcar line from the end of the line at North Elm Street up Sunset Avenue to the club. The negotiations must have been amicable, considering the convergence of interests between the developers and financiers and the streetcar company (Baylin 1968:77; Manieri 1982:77-78; Kipp 1977). According to Raymond Manieri, "Streetcar speculation during the second decade of the twentieth century was often characterized by a cooperation between the street railway company and the real estate interests of the city" (Manieri 1982:77).

In a 1913 brochure for Irving Park, recounts historian Gayle Hicks Fripp, "the developers promised house sites of certain sizes and city services, including streetcars, water and sewer mains, fire hydrants, telephones, 5,000 yards of cement sidewalk, and 'no bill boards, no pigs, no nuisances, and no front fences'" (Fripp 1985:54). Attorney A.L. Brooks raised one of the suburb's first houses there on Sunset Drive in 1913. Homes that followed included those of Irving Park Company president A.W. McAlister, whose house at Country Club Drive was designed by Philadelphia architect Charles Barton Keen; and Irving Park Company vice president Alfred M. Scales (nephew of his namesake, former governor A.M. Scales), whose house went up on Alandale Road. (The company's other vice president, R. G. Vaughn, remained in the house he built in 1910 on Church Street, suggesting that that street was still a more than respectable one at the time.) By 1924 Irving Park was the city's premier neighborhood (Fripp 1985:54; Gravure Illustration Company 1924).

Some development was planned even beyond Irving Park in the 1920s. The communities of Fairfield and Kirkwood are pictured on a 1927 map of the city northwest of Irving Park. A plat map was filed for Fairfield in 1925 and plat maps were filed for Kirkwood in 1928. The development of Fairfield began in 1928 and it was a less opulent neighborhood than Irving Park ("Zoning Map of Greensboro" 1927;

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Guilford County Plat Book 6, Page 199, Plat Book 8, Pages 65, 95, 96; Fripp 1982:108).

As part of the infill that was taking place between many of the suburbs, Latham Park was developed between Irving Park and Fisher Park. Although its streets are pictured on a 1913 map of the city, it apparently was not developed until 1929, at the close of the development boom (Brewer map 1913; Fripp 1982:112; Fripp 1985:56).

In eastern Greensboro, neighborhoods continued to grow in the twentieth century around Bennett and the Agricultural and Mechanical College. Numerous small houses are pictured west of the Agricultural and Mechanical College and north of Bennett on the 1913 Sanborn fire insurance maps. The expanded coverage of the 1919 Sanborn maps shows many small houses standing east and southeast of Bennett in a neighborhood called Jonesboro. Some of the largest houses are pictured immediately around the Agricultural and Mechanical College and the streets west of the campus--Beech, Dudley, Cumberland--were home to many prominent black citizens (Sanborn Map Company maps 1913, 1919; Fripp 1985:53).

Growth of the black neighborhoods of eastern Greensboro was not only incremental around the colleges. In spite of the fact that most large-scale real estate activity was taking place elsewhere in the city, some black suburbs were developed in the teens and twenties. A 1927 map which lists neighborhoods throughout the city and environs shows five black neighborhoods in the east: Scott Park and College Heights east of the Agricultural and Mechanical College; Nocho Park east of Bennett; and Yaquena Park and Clinton Hills southeast of Asheboro and Tuscaloosa streets. Plat maps were filed for Scott Park by the Real Estate Trust Company in 1918; for College Heights in 1918 and 1919 by the J.E. Latham Co.; for Nocho Park in 1924 and 1926; and for Clinton Hills in 1929 and 1936. Nocho Park was opened by 1928, an exclusive neighborhood with a twelve-acre park and a nearby high school and hospital. All of these neighborhoods grew in spite of the fact that there was no trolley service to them and only limited bus service (Fripp 1985:53; Pease Engineering Co. map 1927; Guilford County Plat Book 3, Page 141 [Scott Park], Book 4, Page 142 [College Heights], Book 5, Page 395, Book 6, Page 31, Book 8, Page 63 [Nocho Park], Book 8, Pages 136 and 137, Book 9, Page 90 [Clinton Hills]).

Western and southwestern Greensboro were the busiest areas of development activity in the teens and twenties. Neighborhoods

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continued to thrive near the women's Normal and Industrial College. College Hill, east of the college, was already a substantial neighborhood by 1900, marked by numerous houses, as well as stores and churches. By 1913 it was largely built up, with substantial houses lining Mendenhall Street. The intensive development of this neighborhood was probably at least partly due to the trolley line, which passed through it on Tate Street between Market and Spring Garden (Fripp 1985:51; Pease Engineering Co. map 1927).

Communities such as West Market Terrace north of the campus and Highlands to its south continued to develop as well. Many houses were pictured in them on the 1919 Sanborn maps, but their origins were apparently earlier. A plat map had been filed for West Market Terrace in 1914 and for a part of Highlands in 1891, probably in anticipation of the coming college (Sanborn Map Company maps 1919; Guilford County Plat Book 2, Page 4 [Highlands], Plat Book 3, Pages 154 [West Market Terrace]).

Development also occurred south of the women's Normal and Industrial College--south of the railroad tracks--in the teens and twenties. A plat map was filed for Piedmont Heights in 1905 and Glenwood was promoted through newspaper advertisements in 1909. By 1915 Glenwood was reportedly being developed. Its public school is pictured on a 1919 map, which also pictures houses in the neighborhood and adjacent Piedmont Heights. These are large neighborhoods and their development was likely effected by the streetcar. By 1927 a trolley line swung south from Lee along Glenwood Avenue, servicing them (Manieri 1982:79; Fripp 1982:87; Guilford County Plat Book 2, Page 97; Sanborn Map Company maps 1919; Pease Engineering Co. map 1927).

A.K. Moore, manager of the real estate department of the Guilford Insurance and Realty Company, developed Westerwood in 1919. Located along Mendenhall Street north of West Market Street, it was a community of medium-priced dwellings. Starting around 1925, the A. K. Moore Realty Company developed Sunset Hills farther to the west, about three miles from the center of town, on either side of West Market and Friendly streets. It was a large undertaking, judging by the numerous streets and lots pictured in its plat maps. According to Gayle Hicks Fripp, it "featured parkways and restrictions for houses which were to be sturdily constructed and 'architecturally good.'" In spite of its restrictions, Sunset Hills was a less exclusive development than

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Irving Park. (Fripp 1982:108; Baylin 1968:79; Fripp 1985:56; Guilford County Plat Book 9, Pages 85-89).

In 1923 the city expanded its boundaries from four to almost eighteen square miles. The population, which was 19,861 in 1920, jumped to 43,525 following the annexation, making Greensboro the third biggest city in the state after Charlotte and Winston-Salem. Major communities brought into the city limits by the annexation included the textile mill villages to the northeast, Irving Park to the north, Glenwood to the southwest, and the communities that extended west of downtown out to and including Sunset Hills. For the first time the bounds were not extended symmetrically. Responding to areas of growth and growth potential, and probably racial concerns as well, they extended farther to the white communities of the northeast, north, west, and southwest, than to the black communities of the southeast and east (Arnett 1955:23-24; Fripp 1982:99; Baylin 1968:80).

Development continued in the 1920s in a few communities that were even beyond the greatly expanded new city boundaries. To the east of the Proximity Manufacturing Company mill villages the community of Bessemer grew, perhaps providing housing for Cone mill employees who could not or did not wish to live in company housing. Bessemer was already a separate community no later than the first decade of the century; it appears as "Bessimer" on a county map of 1908. The 1919 Sanborn maps, while not picturing the community, do picture the Bessemer Public School, identified as standing three miles east of downtown. Bessemer was not embraced by the city limits until the late 1950s (Miller map 1908; Sanborn Map Company maps 1919; Baylin 1968:81).

Also beyond the city limits, about a mile west of Sunset Hills, the community of Hamilton Lakes was begun in the late 1920s by Alfred M. Scales, who had also been active in the development of Irving Park. Scales, in 1926, had described his vision of the project as follows:

Here I expect to see my dream of a beautiful village of homes come true. Homes will be built around clear, fresh lakes, overlooking natural parkways or on quiet sylvan roads. Everything will be provided that will add to the joy of living. Nothing will be done that will mar the native charm.

Lakes are there for swimming, fishing and boating. A golf course and tennis courts will be built and parks and wading pools

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provided for the children. These will be open to everyone owning property in Hamilton Lakes and will be for their exclusive use. (Fripp 1985:55)

Streets and lots were indeed laid out and the community was incorporated as a separate town, with Scales as mayor. In the late 1920s, prior to the stock market crash, the development collapsed. It came under the control of Edward and Blanche Sternberger Benjamin, who in 1930 renamed it Starmount. In the late 1930s construction activity resumed there (Baylin 1968:83; Fripp 1982:112; Fripp 1985:55).

Sedgefield, an upper income community centered around a corporate headquarters in the country, was begun by Pilot Life in the late 1920s southwest of the city. Its importance has been summarized by architectural historian Langdon Opperman: "Sedgefield is significant as one of North Carolina's twentieth century landmarks of architecture and planned development. Developed from the estate of wealthy tobacco magnate John Blackwell Cobb, Sedgefield and Pilot Life both were associated with a number of the area's leading industrialists and businessmen" (Opperman 1990:107). Established near the High Point Road, its development was directly linked to the automobile. It has always remained outside of Greensboro's corporate limits, although the city is slowly encircling it (Baylin 1968:81-82).

While Sedgefield's growth can be linked to the automobile, it is difficult to measure the impact of the car on the development of other neighborhoods and suburbs in and near the city. As mentioned at the outset, numerous factors influenced the growth of neighborhoods, particularly those located near the nodes of downtown, the colleges, and the mills. The sheer expanse of the city's neighborhoods in the 1920s, some more than a mile from any of the business, educational, or industrial nodes, or from any trolley or bus line, clearly speaks for the influence of the car, however. In 1927 the trolleys went north to the edge of Irving Park, northeast to the Cone Mills, southeast down Asheboro Street, southwest into Glenwood, and west into College Hill and out to Pomona. They were supplemented to a limited extent by a bus line that served Westerwood and West Market Terrace, and one that went east out of the city along Market. Those living away from these lines--out west in Sunset Hills or beyond at Hamilton Lakes, or northwest in Fairfield or Kirkwood or the parts of Irving Park they adjoined--simply had to rely on the automobile to get to work or school or church (Pease Engineering Co. map 1927).

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A final factor that is difficult to assess is the influence of planning upon the overall development and growth of the city's neighborhoods. Interest in planning, rather than just random development, was percolating in the city in the teens. John Nolen had been engaged to plan Irving Park in the teens and the Greensboro had attempted, in 1913, to engage him to prepare its city plan. One of America's premier designers and planners, Nolen had prepared the notable plan of Charlotte's Myers Park suburb at the beginning of the decade and, apparently, Irving Park as well (Goldfield 1985:17; Kipp 1974:421). In 1917 the Chamber of Commerce brought him to town to speak about the benefits of planning and urged the city to hire a planner, offering 500 dollars to defray part of the cost. The city complied by hiring none other than Charles Mulford Robinson, the doyen of the City Beautiful movement, to draw a plan for Greensboro. Unfortunately, Robinson died before the year was out, without having completed the plan (Huggins 1969:390).

Greensboro, however, remained interested in planning. In 1920 it became the first city in the state (to be followed quickly by others) to appoint a planning commission under a new state law. Among its activities was a survey of the city's streets and topography, authorized in 1923 at the time of annexation and completed in 1926. This survey was to assist in laying out streets in outlying districts in advance of development (Report of the Geodetic Survey 1926:35; Goldfield 1985:13; Huggins 1969:391).

The interest in planning by parties ranging from the Chamber of Commerce to the city government reflected the concurrence of interests between the Greensboro's business classes and its governing officers who, by the 1920s, had largely become one and the same. An example of this can be found in the establishment of the planning commission. It was none other than state senator Alfred M. Scales, one of the city's most active developers, who introduced a bill in the General Assembly to establish state planning commissions (Kipp 1977:392; Huggins 1969:391).

The convergence of interests of the city's economic, political, and civic elite aside, Greensboro probably had good reason to promote planning in the early twentieth century. According to Kay Haire Huggins in an article on early city planning in North Carolina:

By 1900 North Carolina was in the throes of the Industrial Revolution, which precipitated an urban crisis. During the first

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decade of the twentieth century the population in towns increased 53 percent. The result was haphazard growth without design, congestion, unpaved, refuse-littered streets, inadequate water and sewer lines. (Huggins 1969:377)

Frequent bond issues in Greensboro in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, directed towards paving roads and establishing and extending sewer and water service, indicate that the city was attempting to cope with the same problems. Huggins points out that in 1912, "Businessmen in Greensboro offered prizes for the best kept lawn, the cleanest backyard, and the prettiest bed of flowers" (Huggins 1969:381). Perhaps more evocative of the nature of residential life in Greensboro in the early twentieth century is the promise in a 1913 Irving Park promotional brochure of "no pigs" in the community (Fripp 1985:54).

Zoning by the city helped preserve the character of some neighborhoods in the 1920s and 1930s. By the late 1920s, industrial activity was largely limited to rail corridors and other already industrialized areas. Although this zoning was apparently responsive to existing areas of industrial activity, it must also have helped limit and define it ("Zoning Map of Greensboro" 1927).

Mill villages

The city's mill villages were separate components of its residential picture during the first four decades of the century. Nothing has been written of the origins of their inhabitants, but presumably they included many poor tenant farmers who migrated to the city from the rural Piedmont in hopes of improving their lot (Kipp 1974:171, 186-187). Located in the northeast, around the textile mills of the Cones and Sternbergers, and in the west at the textile mill and terra cotta factory of Pomona, these villages consisted primarily of blocks and blocks of simple one-story frame houses. A 1910 description of the mill houses of Revolution described them as "neat, modern houses [supplied] with schools, play grounds, churches and every possible convenience" (Phillips 1983). The Proximity Manufacturing Company in 1925 stated that the "company encourages beautifying and improvement of premises." Village lots, they stated, were 75 by 150 feet in size, large enough for lawns, fruit trees, flowers, and vegetables. To encourage utilization of the lots, the company stated that it plowed the ground each year, without charge (Balliett 1925).

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The physical aspect of company housing remains apparent: small houses on small lots within walking distance of the mills and the churches, stores, and YMCA's provided by, or subsidized by, the company. The quality of life in the mill villages, and at the mill, is not as easy to determine, however. It was heavenly or hellish, depending on one's point of view. According to a Proximity Manufacturing Company brochure of 1925:

The welfare of the operatives and their families is a consideration that is always put ahead of volume or profits.

The employees of the Cone Mills are well housed, well paid, and well provided with the comforts and pleasures of life. The management has always realized that it is upon the physical, spiritual and mental well-being of the operatives and their families that steady, economical production and a resultant profit depend.

The company provided houses to employees, ranging from four to six rooms each, at the "very nominal rent" of \$1.00 per month. They distributed coal and wood at cost without delivery or handling charge. They sold milk, cream, butter, beef, pork, and flour produced on company farms through company stores, at prices below costs elsewhere in Greensboro (Balliett 1925).

The company reported that its village for black workers--East White Oak--housed about 750. One building was used as a YMCA and a village school taught children through the seventh grade. The houses, according to the company, were of the same general construction as those for white employees (Balliett 1925). East White Oak, a rare black mill community, was built about 1916. Little of it other than its former schoolhouse still stands.

The Cone Mills Corporation, the successor of the Proximity Manufacturing Corporation, continued to build new mill houses, or renovate existing ones, into the 1940s (Greensboro Record, February 26, 1948). In the mid-1950s, however, they filed numerous plat maps of subdivisions of their villages and sold off the houses, offering occupants the first chance to purchase them (Greensboro Plat Map books; Personal communication with Bill Dixon, June 12, 1991).

In contrast to the claims of the Proximity Manufacturing Company, William H. Chafe, in his history of Greensboro's civil rights

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movement, characterizes the owners' social efforts as paternalistic and opportunistic and bluntly states that "pay and working conditions remained poor" in the twentieth century for factory operatives (Chafe 1980:20). In 1898, according to an account in the Greensboro Patriot, the day shift in the Proximity Mill worked ten hours and the night shift twelve. For their efforts, adult male employees were paid \$25.00 a month and woman and children between \$12.00 and \$14.00 a month (Kipp 1974:193). Wages were to remain low through the 1930s, although rentals were accordingly minimal (Personal communications with Bill Dixon and Carrie Owen, June 12, 1991).

Blacks, in Chafe's estimation, were particularly poorly treated (Chafe 1980:20). By the turn of the century they had been removed from all skilled positions in the mills and at other factories throughout Greensboro, as they had been throughout North Carolina (Kipp 1974:242). The Proximity Manufacturing Company did not deny the menial status of blacks at the mills, nor did it stand above the pernicious racial stereotypes of the time. In its 1925 booster publication it stated:

Cotton always calls to mind the Southern negro, and though he does only common labor in the mills, he is the starter of the job. He breaks the cotton bale and feeds the contents into the first machine, and what he has to do, he does with a rag-time song and a merry grin (Balliet 1925).

A company census of the black mill village of East White Oak in 1932 indicates the nature of the "common labor" of black employees. The men were primarily employed in the opening room, the yard, the boiler room, and the dye house. They also worked as as janitors and in the Revolution barns (White Oak Villages Census).

The truth certainly falls somewhere in between the claims of the Cones and of Chafe. Although life in the village must have been much better than life on the suffocating, noisy, dangerous mill floor.

The Depression was to cut the feet out from under the residential market, both privately owned and held by the mills. Between 1930 and 1934 the average number of residences built a year plummeted to 135, from 424 in the previous five years. With the worst of the Depression over and aid from public agencies, this figure climbed to 210 a year in the last half of the decade. The stagnation in the housing market

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reflected flat population growth, which increased only about ten percent in the thirties, a small increase relative to the dramatic increases of the previous five decades. In the 1940s a quicker pace of growth was to resume in the city, its population climbing 15,000 to 74,389 by 1950 (Works Progress Administration 1940:8; Arnett 1955:419-420).

Greensboro at the end of the 1930s was captured by a Works Progress Administration survey of the city's real property. Its census showed a city of single-family dwellings; of 12,225 residences, 83.8 percent were detached single-family homes. About nine percent of the remaining residences were two-family, side-by-side houses or duplexes. Only forty-eight apartment buildings stood in the city. More than seventy percent of the dwellings were from three to six rooms in size. Home ownership, however, was correlated to the size of the dwelling an individual was likely to live in. The median size of all dwellings was five rooms, but for owners it was six, and for tenants only four (Works Progress Administration 1940:4, 38).

The report also pictured a city of twentieth-century residences. Only 3.3 percent of the city's residences, 407 buildings, antedated 1895. More than a third of the residences had been built between 1895 and 1915, and an almost equal number had been built in the 1920s (Works Progress Administration 1940:8).

The report's text, and particularly its many maps, clearly show the segregated housing patterns that were the rule of the city. Maps show the largest concentration of blacks in the east and southeast, particularly around Bennett College and the Agricultural and Mechanical College. There were also black neighborhoods at the city's northeastern corner, at the mill village of East White Oak; at its northwestern corner; in the west at Pomona, south of the tracks; and southwest of downtown in the community of Warnersville. "Negroes in Greensboro," the report summarized, "live in several segregated areas around the city, one of which is Warnersville [which] is now more or less a slum district. Well-to-do Negroes, professionals and others, live in the large and more attractive section in the eastern part of the city" (Works Progress Administration 1940:1).

E. Expansion and Consolidation of Colleges and Public Schools

The importance of schools, particularly colleges, to Greensboro in the twentieth century is suggested by a large format 1904

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publication of photographs of the city. Directed towards promoting the dwellings of the city's most respectable citizens, of which it pictured many dozens, it also included a number of photographs of college buildings. Its limited text stated that "it is probably within the bounds of truth to say that of all the secular topics in which the people here are interested--next to the necessities--that of education stands first. There is a serious and active interest in the subject, and a pride in the growing institutions of learning" (Gravure Illustration Company 1904).

The twentieth century saw continued growth at the city's five colleges. (A sixth school--the small black Immanuel Lutheran College at East Market and Luther streets--is no longer in existence. Begun in 1903 in Concord, North Carolina, it had moved to a thirteen-acre campus in Greensboro in 1905 (Arnett 1955:114).) In 1926 Bennett College, originally a coeducational institution, reorganized as a four-year college for women. In that year it added ten college students to its 151 high school students. By 1933 it had completely phased out its high school program. The creation of a high school program for black students in the late 1920s by the city allowed Bennett to shift its focus to higher educational achievement. In the 1930s the campus itself was transformed through the construction of numerous two-story, brick, Georgian Revival style buildings (Arnett 1955:106; Fripp 1982:116; Scarlette 1989:I-1-3).

Greensborough Female College also changed significantly early in the century. It was closed in 1903 but, through the efforts of its president and alumnae, money was raised to reopen it the following year. In 1912 its name was changed to Greensboro College for Women and it acquired its present name, Greensboro College, in 1920 (Fripp 1982:86). Guilford College continued its late nineteenth century growth into the twentieth century with momentum rather than problems. The wooded quadrangle at its core was established early in the century and surrounded by two-story Neoclassical and Colonial Revival style buildings which continue to define the campus (Edmisten 1990).

During the first four decades of the century the city's two state colleges continued to grow in size and prestige as well. A year into the new century the Agricultural & Mechanical College became exclusively a men's school. By 1915, when its name was changed to the Negro Agricultural & Technical College of North Carolina, it was the largest school of its kind in the country. It continued to grow physically, particularly between 1922 and 1939, when its five oldest

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surviving buildings were constructed (Dickinson 1988; Fripp 1982:86). In 1919 the name of the State Normal & Industrial College was changed to the North Carolina College for Women and it started to offer graduate classes. Its continuing educational achievements were reflected in its steady physical growth during the first four decades of the century. In 1963 it became the University of North Carolina at Greensboro and began to admit women (Brown 1980; Fripp 1982:86).

Greensboro entered the twentieth century with two white public elementary schools, Lindsay Street School and Asheboro Street School; two black public elementary schools, Percy Street School and the Warnersville School; and one public high school, which was for white students. In the teens three new white schools, the Cypress Street School, the Simpson Street School, and the West Lee Street School, were constructed, as were two new black ones, the Ashe Street School and the Washington Street School. A new white high school opened on Spring Street in 1911. Until 1926 black high school age students had to attend the college preparatory departments of the Agricultural and Mechanical College, Bennett, Immanuel Lutheran, or Palmer Memorial Institute, which opened in 1902 out in the county east of the city (Fripp 1982:85-86).

Outside of the city, in the Cone mill villages and at Pomona, there also were schools. The Cones had built schools early in the history of their mills, probably in the late nineteenth century. By 1925 the Proximity School had 582 pupils and seventeen teachers; the Proximity Kindergarten had seventy-two students and two teachers; the White Oak School had 834 pupils and twenty teachers; and the East White Oak School had three teachers and 123 students (Balliett 1925). Reflecting the city and county school system, the schools were segregated, the East White Oak School, which still stands as a community center, serving the black mill children. Not until 1946, well after the mill communities of the northeast had been incorporated into the city, did the Cones turn over control of their schools to Greensboro (Greensboro Record, February 21, 1946). Largely through the efforts of John Van Lindley, schools had been built in Pomona in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries to serve the children of the families working at the J. Van Lindley Nursery and the Pomona Cotton and Terra Cotta mills (Arnett 1973:97; Guilford County Board of School Improvement 1905).

In 1922 Greensboro's schools began a decade-long period of growth with the construction of Aycock, McIver, and Caldwell elementary

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schools for whites and Price School for blacks. In 1926 the Greensboro School District was formed and numerous schools were drawn into the new system, from the center of the city out to Pomona. A more than two million dollar building program in the late 1920s led to the renovation of a number of schools and the construction of many new ones, including Greensboro High School for whites and Dudley for blacks (Fripp 1982:117; Greensboro Record, November 16, 1940). Dudley, opened in 1929, was the first black high school built by the city, which had established its first accredited high school program for blacks only three years earlier at the Washington Street School (Greensboro Record, January 10, 1947.)

Schools were particularly important to Greensboro's black community. Although they were not equivalent in facilities or resources to the white schools, they provided a high standard of education relative to other similar schools in the state. In 1920 Greensboro's black illiteracy rate of 13.5 percent was second only to that of High Point; its 1930 rate of 11.1 percent trailed only that of Asheville (Kipp 1974:315). According to William H. Chafe in his history of the civil rights movement in Greensboro, the black community's schools and colleges were a "primary source of strength" in the face of white oppression. Bennett and A&T continued in the twentieth century at the center of the black community's neighborhoods and intellectual life. Dudley High School in east Greensboro quickly gained a reputation "as a model of educational excellence." Even the elementary schools were important. "Of the ten Negro elementary schools accredited in North Carolina in 1950," Chafe writes, "six were in Greensboro. The statistics suggest how unusual was black Greensboro's educational record, and how potentially a powerful source for change" (Chafe 1980:23).

F. Associated Property Types

I. Name of Property Type _____

II. Description

III. Significance

IV. Registration Requirements

See continuation sheet

See continuation sheet for additional property types

G. Summary of Identification and Evaluation Methods

Discuss the methods used in developing the multiple property listing.

See continuation sheet

H. Major Bibliographical References

See continuation sheet

Primary location of additional documentation:

- State historic preservation office
 Other State agency
 Federal agency

- Local government
 University
 Other

Specify repository: _____

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The vast majority of Greensboro's late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century historic resources are single-family, detached, private houses. Most utilize one of a few popular forms: the single-pile, L-plan, shotgun, foursquare, and bungalow. The first four of these forms, when not entirely plainly finished, generally display Victorian, Period Revival, or Craftsman style features. Craftsman features adorn bungalows. Hundreds of houses in northeast Greensboro, and a smaller number in western Greensboro in Pomona, are small frame buildings that were built as industrial housing. Multiple-family dwellings are a tiny percentage of the city's historic resources. A few townhouses and duplexes stand throughout the city, as do less than twenty apartment buildings which are located close to downtown, to the north and west. The city's non-residential buildings include civic, industrial, commercial, institutional, and buildings. The industrial buildings stand close by railroad lines, generally just south of downtown or, in the case of the textile mills, in the northeast. Most commercial, institutional, and civic buildings are located downtown. Amidst the city's many intact early twentieth-century neighborhoods, contributing to their character and integrity, are schools, churches, small commercial structures, parks, and other historic resources.

Historic resources in the following property types that are listed in the National Register or are in National Register historic districts, have "NR" or "NRHD" in parenthesis following their names. Resources that have been placed by the North Carolina Historic Preservation Office on the state National Register-eligible Study List have "SL" in parenthesis following their names. Those that have been placed on the Study List as part of a potential historic district have "SLHD" in parenthesis following their names. Additional individual resources and districts not placed on the Study List may also be eligible for the Register. Greensboro's National Register and National Register-eligible Study List resources through September, 1991, are listed in an appendix following the property types.

Greensboro's 1880 to 1941 property types are:

1. Single-family private houses
 - a. Late 19th- and early 20th-century popular forms
 - i. Single-pile houses

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- ii. L-plan and shotgun houses
- iii. Foursquares
- iv. Hip-roofed and pyramidal cottages
- v. Bungalows
- b. Late 19th- and early 20th-century picturesque and Victorian styles
 - i. Gothic Revival and Italianate style houses
 - ii. Queen Anne style houses
- c. Early 20th-century Period Revival styles
 - i. Colonial Revival and Neoclassical Revival style houses
 - ii. Other Period Revival style houses
- 2. Industrial housing
- 3. Multiple-family dwellings
- 4. Industrial and commercial buildings
 - a. Industrial buildings
 - b. Commercial buildings
- 5. Educational, religious, and civic buildings
 - a. Educational buildings
 - b. Religious buildings
 - c. Civic buildings
- 6. Parks, cemeteries, and bridges
- 7. Residential neighborhoods

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I. Name of Property Type:

PROPERTY TYPE 1 - SINGLE-FAMILY PRIVATE HOUSES

II. Description

Greensboro's late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century, single-family, private dwellings often make use of one of a few basic, popular forms. They are also often adorned with elements of one or more styles that were popular nationwide during the period. These houses are described below first in terms of form, then of style.

a. Late 19th- and early 20th-century popular forms

i. Single-pile houses

Greensboro's single-pile houses are rectangular structures that are more than one room wide. One to two-and-a-half stories tall, they have frame bodies clad by weatherboards or modern materials. Gable-end or hipped roofs, often punctuated by a facade gable, top them. Most of the one- and one-and-a-half-story single-pile houses appear to have a two-room plan, sometimes with a central hallway or foyer. Center-hall plans are the norm for two- and two-and-a-half-story tall houses. Outside of the mill villages, where hundreds of the city's one-story houses stand, single-pile houses are not common structures. (Single-pile mill houses are discussed further below with other industrial housing at Property Type 2.)

More one- and one-and-a-half-story tall single-pile houses stand than their taller relations. They are generally plainly finished structures, often enlivened by a facade gable or turned porch posts. The majority date from the last decade of the nineteenth century or the first decade of the twentieth. Basically workers' housing, they are most notably found in the mill villages and in other working class neighborhoods. They are the most common form of mill housing, filling many of the villages and their surrounding communities. A relatively ornate representative of the type is the house at 414 State Street in McAdoo Heights, a working class community that developed adjacent to the Cone mills. It features turned posts, sawn brackets, shingles in its facade gable, and an L-shaped rear wing.

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Greensboro's two- and two-and-a-half-story tall single-pile houses, also known as I-houses, are fewer in number than their shorter relations and found in the city's oldest neighborhoods-- particularly College Hill, South Greensboro, and Glenwood--and to a limited extent in the mill villages of the northeast. Plainly finished I-houses include the dwelling at 3501 Sunnycrest Avenue in the working class community of Bessemer, the gable-end roof of which is enlivened by a facade gable. Most of the I-houses are outfitted with at least some of the decorative elements of styles popular in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, however, especially the Italianate and Queen Anne. They include the late nineteenth-century, Italianate style N.A. Hanner House (discussed further below) at 420 East McCulloch Street in the South Greensboro or Asheboro Street neighborhood (SLHD), and the hip-roofed house at 1543 Lovett Street in Glenwood, the porch of which is brightened by the brackets and spindled millwork of the Queen Anne style.

ii. L-plan and shotgun houses

The L-plan house appeared in Greensboro by the 1880s. Typically the plan is composed of two gable-roofed sections at right angles to each other, with one section projecting towards the street. Scores of L-plan houses survive in the city, the vast majority built in neighborhoods developed between about 1880 and 1915. They are of frame construction, sided with weatherboards or, as is often the case, modern materials such as aluminum or vinyl siding. Their heaviest and most noteworthy concentrations are in the Glenwood, College Hill, and South Greensboro neighborhoods. In Greensboro, L-plan houses were built in a variety of sizes and styles, although most are one or one-and-a-half stories tall. They are usually plainly finished or outfitted with simple Italianate or Queen Anne style decorative devices. Most have been altered through the addition of modern siding and the replacement of window sash and porches.

A group of simply finished L-plan cottages stand at 806-816 Highland Avenue in Glenwood. Larger two- and two-and-a-half-story versions of the form in the city are generally more ornately finished, most commonly with Italianate features such as bay windows and decorative roof brackets with pendants. Exuberant Italianate style ornament, for example, clothes the tall L-plan Bernard House at 351 Martin Luther King Jr. Drive (discussed further below) in the South Greensboro neighborhood (SLHD).

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Shotgun houses are one- or one-and-a-half stories tall, one room wide with one- or two-bay facades, and more than one room deep. In Greensboro, they are invariably plainly finished, frame structures covered with weatherboards or modern siding. Decorative variety, if it exists at all, is usually provided by exposed rafters and stripped-down Craftsman style porches. Most of the shotguns have gable-front roofs, although the few that stand in the Pomona mill village (discussed further below with other industrial housing at Property Type 2) have hipped roofs supported by exposed roof rafters. Like the city's one-room deep, one-story houses--which they resemble if rotated ninety degrees--they are basically workers' houses. Economical structures, they were oriented perpendicular to the street to utilize the least amount of land.

The city's shotguns are concentrated in mill villages and other working class neighborhoods, particularly the black working class neighborhoods of east Greensboro. Because they tended to be clustered in many of the city's earliest, and poorest, black neighborhoods, many of the city's shotguns have been torn down by urban renewal projects. The shotguns of Warnersville, for example--an early black community once located south of downtown--have all been destroyed as part of urban renewal projects. Dozens of shotguns do survive, however, in east Greensboro, including the tiny gable-front houses at 1001 Bennett Street and 1713 and 1715 McConnell Road in Nocho Park.

iii. Foursquares

Foursquare houses in Greensboro are even more varied than L-plan houses in their sizes, styles, and location throughout the city. They first appeared in the city at the close of the nineteenth century and continued to be built into the 1920s. At their core they are cubical or almost cubical structures, two or more rooms in width and depth, with a stolid boxy appearance. They are two or two-and-a-half stories tall, with the exception of a shorter subtype discussed below. Hipped or pyramidal roofs, commonly pierced by at least one dormer, cap them. Most are weatherboarded frame structures, although some are faced with brick-veneer, shingles, stucco, or even stone. A variety of early twentieth-century styles inform all but a few plainly finished ones. Their most common feature is wide overhanging eaves which, regardless of their other stylistic features, connect them with the Craftsman and Prairie styles popular early in the century. Many also have one-story porches--sometimes extended as porte cocheres--supported by Craftsman style battered piers. It is the rare Greensboro foursquare that

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displays but a single Period Revival style, such as the Spanish or even the Colonial Revival, without owing some debt to the Craftsman or Prairie styles. Indeed, their generous sampling of the popular styles of the early twentieth century makes it difficult to classify most examples under a single style. Found throughout the city, they are particularly numerous in the neighborhoods that flourished in the northern and western parts of the city in the early twentieth century, including Fisher Park, Irving Park, Summit Avenue, West Market Terrace, Westerwood, and College Hill.

Foursquares with the wide overhanging eaves and exposed rafters of the Craftsman style include the large, weatherboarded, early 1920s Matheson House at 209 East Hendrix Street in Fisher Park (SLHD). The A.M. Scales House at 1511 Allendale Drive in Irving Park is an impressive eclectic foursquare with full-height projecting side bays which combines the tiled roofs, stuccoed walls, and broad veranda of a Mediterranean villa with Craftsman style porch details, overhanging eaves, and bands of windows that evoke both the Craftsman and Prairie styles. In addition to the stuccoed Scales House, foursquares clad in materials other than weatherboards include the Mediterranean and Colonial Revival style circa 1923 Bernau House at 910 North Elm Street in Fisher Park (SLHD), which features contrasting brick quoins at the corner of its main block, a one-bay central portico, and a side porch, and 1902 Madison Avenue in Sunset Hills, which is faced with a striking veneer of light and dark stone laid in a variegated pattern.

Elements of the Prairie style are most commonly found at Greensboro's foursquares. A few representatives of the style that are not foursquares do stand in the city, however, dating from the teens and twenties. The best examples are two Fisher Park houses, the brick residence of W.L. Carter at 811 North Elm Street (SLHD) and the Latham-Baker House (NR) at 412 Fisher Park Circle. The horizontality of the style is emphasized at the former house, built circa 1917, through recessed horizontal mortar joints and wide overhanging eaves. The latter dwelling, an immense structure built about 1913, also has a low-to-the-ground, horizontal appearance aided by wide overhanging eaves and a second-story belt course.

iv. Hip-roofed and pyramidal cottages

In Greensboro there are a small number of late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century, one- or one-and-a-half-story, two-room deep houses with hipped or pyramidal roofs. Houses of this form are

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sometime termed "small foursquares" or "workingman's foursquares" and indeed most of the city's complement of these modest structures stand in the mill community of Pomona (discussed further below at Property Type 2). The remainder are located in other early working class neighborhoods throughout the city. Like foursquares, these cottages are square or almost square structures which are two or more rooms wide and deep. They generally have very tall hipped or pyramidal roofs which are pierced by dormers. Invariably they are balanced, symmetrical, frame structures clad in weatherboards or other modern materials. A representative hip-roofed cottage is the one-and-a-half-story house at 718 East Bragg Street in east Greensboro, built between 1910 and 1915, which is topped by a tall pyramidal roof pierced by a hip-roofed dormer and two corbelled brick chimneys.

iv. Bungalows

The bungalow was the most popular house type built in Greensboro in the early twentieth century. Many hundreds were raised from the teens through the thirties, in every neighborhood in the city. Though varied in shapes and sizes, they have a few basic characteristics: low-pitched roofs, usually gabled; wide overhanging eaves; exposed roof rafters and braces; expansive porches, sometimes extended as porte cocheres, supported by square or tapered posts and piers; and an interpenetration of inner and outer space, through their porches, exposed framing members, overhanging eaves, and often varied rooflines. These characteristics were greatly influenced by the Craftsman style, which in many cases is synonymous with the bungalow. Most are of frame construction, occasionally stuccoed, and stand one-and-a-half stories tall. Some are brick and fewer yet stone. Brick and stone are commonly found, however, at porch supports, foundations, and exterior end chimneys. Other elaborations include gabled or hipped dormers, pergolas, multi-light windows, and wood shingling. Hints of exotic and Revival styles slip into their design in the form of Oriental rooflines, Tudor false half-timbering, Swiss chalet balustrades and grills, and classical and Spanish adornment.

Not surprisingly, some of the city's simplest bungalows are found in its working class neighborhoods. A representative modest hip-roofed bungalow, at 301 Huffman Street in the Jonesboro neighborhood in east Greensboro, is adorned with a side bay projection, central gabled dormer, and the ubiquitous exposed roof rafters. Rows of small bungalows, their narrow gabled ends turned towards the street, stand on Caldwell and Bellevue streets in the 1920s Arlington Park

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Subdivision of the South Greensboro neighborhood (SLHD). A typical moderately sized bungalow is the circa 1920 house at 606 Courtland Street in Westerwood (SLHD), which features a front-gabled bay window, a central front-gabled dormer, a slate roof, exposed rafters, triangular knee-braces, and battered stone porch posts and a stone chimney. Some of the city's bungalows have been identified as possible mail-order Sears and Roebuck houses, including those at 706 Martin Luther King Jr. Drive in the South Greensboro neighborhood (SLHD) and 720 Percy Street in the Summit Avenue or Aycock neighborhood (SLHD).

Elements of different early twentieth-century styles add variety to Greensboro's bungalows. In Fisher Park (SLHD), for example, are a number of eclectic bungalows built in the teens and twenties. They include a circa 1916 bungalow with flared, oriental roofs at 301 East Hendrix Street; one with the Flemish bond brickwork and half-timbering of the Tudor Revival style at 803 Magnolia Street, built in the early 1920s; and the circa 1914 house at 917 North Elm Street, the roofline and gable-top grillwork of which suggests Craftsman and perhaps Swiss chalet influences.

b. Late 19th- and early 20th-century picturesque and Victorian styles

Most of Greensboro's late nineteenth- and some of its early twentieth-century residences feature elements of the picturesque or Victorian styles. They utilize the basic forms described above, particularly the single-pile and L-plan, or more complicated shapes. Less than ten Gothic Revival style houses survive in the city and Italianate style houses number only in the dozens. Other late nineteenth-century styles such as Second Empire, Shingle, Eastlake, and Richardsonian Romanesque are virtually absent. The Queen Anne style, however, which was popular in the city from the 1880s into the teens, is found at scores of dwellings. Near the close of the nineteenth century and early in the twentieth, classical decorative elements, along with more stripped-down, rectilinear designs, began to appear at predominantly Queen Anne style designs as the Colonial and Neoclassical Revival styles became popular.

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Greensboro, North Carolina, 1880-1941i. Gothic Revival and Italianate style houses

Only a few examples of the Gothic Revival style survive in the city. The earliest is the William Fields House (NR), a rare early brick house with multiple steeply pitched gables and dormers which was built in the late 1870s at 447 Arlington Street, south of downtown and east of the South Greensboro neighborhood. A later example, constructed circa 1888-1889, is the frame Green Hill Cemetery Gatekeeper's House (NR). Built as an office and residence at 702 Battleground Avenue at the cemetery's edge, its Gothic Revival style features include a steeply pitched facade gable and decorative Carpenter Gothic bargeboards.

The majority of Italianate style houses surviving in the city date from the 1880s and 1890s. The elements of the style they commonly display are paired brackets with pendants, one-story bay windows, chamfered porch posts, and segmental- or triangular-arched surrounds. Most are two- or two-and-a-half-story tall I-houses or L-plan houses. Because of their early date, almost all stand in or at the edges of downtown or in the early neighborhoods of South Greensboro, just south of downtown, and College Hill, just to the west. The largest concentration is in the South Greensboro neighborhood.

One of the best representatives of the style is the N.A. Hanner House at 420 East McCulloch Street in the South Greensboro neighborhood (SLHD). Built circa 1880, it is a frame, facade-gabled I-house with segmental-arched surrounds and a highly ornate, bracketed porch. The L-plan Bernard House at 351 Martin Luther King Jr. Drive (SLHD) is adorned with a number of Italianate style motifs, including segmental-arched surrounds, paired brackets with pendants, and fleur-de-lis sawnwork at the gables. Many of the city's Italianate style residences utilize more complicated plans than the I-house or L-plan. The 1880s house at 810 Pearson Street in South Greensboro (SLHD), for example, has an irregularly massed plan ornamented with flattened-arched surrounds, paired brackets with pendants, and a one-story porch supported by posts with splayed corners.

ii. Queen Anne style houses

By far the most popular late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century style in the city, at houses both large and small, is the Queen Anne. Its basic characteristics are irregular shapes with

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varied rooflines, stepped-back wall planes, and porches with turned and sawn ornamentation. Some houses, particularly the smaller ones, have uncomplicated forms with Queen Anne ornament grafted onto them. Other houses, usually the larger ones, include such features as steeply pitched, multi-gabled or gable-on-hip roofs, wraparound porches, decorated wall surfaces, colored glass windows, recessed upper-story balconies, pent roofs and, occasionally, corner towers. Among the later built Queen Anne houses are many adorned with Colonial Revival style features, such as columns, pediments, Palladian and lunette windows, and dormers. These generally have sharper lines, lacking such picturesque projections as bays and towers.

Impressive two- and two-and-a-half-story Queen Anne style houses are found throughout the College Hill, Summit Avenue, and South Greensboro neighborhoods and at the older residential streets that survive at the edge of downtown. Smaller, simpler, one- and one-and-a-half-story Queen Anne style cottages and houses also stand in these neighborhoods and in the more working class neighborhood of Glenwood south of College Hill.

Among the city's more ornate Queen Anne dwellings is the two-and-a-half-story house at 406 Jackson Street in the College Hill neighborhood (SLHD). A rare brick example of the form, built circa 1890, it features a picturesque roofline and stepped-back multi-gabled facade, a one-story pedimented wraparound porch, and an upper-story recessed balcony with turned ornamentation. Another College Hill house, a frame structure probably built around 1900, stands at 500 South Mendenhall Street. Its porch is enlivened by a spindled frieze and cut-away brackets with pendants. A one-and-a-half-story Queen Anne style house that has picturesque massing similar to that of taller, more ornate structures was built between 1905 and 1910 at 525 Julian Street in the South Greensboro neighborhood (SLHD). A pyramidal roof sweeps down over its wraparound porch, and off-center, gabled, cutaway bays spring from its front and side facades. Houses with the stylistic vocabulary of the Queen Anne grafted onto basic popular forms include a two-story L-plan house built circa 1908 at 914 Silver Avenue and an I-house at 1543 Lovett Street, both in the Glenwood neighborhood.

The largest concentration of late Queen Anne houses with Colonial Revival style features is in the Summit Avenue or Aycokk neighborhood, which was developed at the beginning of the twentieth century. Two-and-a-half-story frame structures, they stand largely on Percy,

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Cypress, Chestnut, Park, and Fifth streets. The circa 1914 Crawford House at 107 Cypress Street (SLHD) retains the stepped-back facade popular among Queen Anne houses; however, its finish is simple and restrained, its porch marked by Ionic columns and a turned balustrade, with no spindles, brackets, or sawn or cut work. A more eclectic house that represents the transition from the Queen Anne to the Colonial and Neoclassical Revival styles is the 1904 Charles H. Ireland House (NR) at 602 West Friendly Avenue just west of downtown. One of the city's most exuberant structures, its Queen Anne and Colonial Revival style decorative features--worked in brick, stone, wood, and leaded and stained glass--are accompanied by a gambrel-front roof supported by two-story tall Ionic columns.

c. Early 20th-century Period Revival styles

In the early twentieth century the picturesque and Victorian styles were replaced in Greensboro by a variety of Period Revival styles that were typically less ornate and more rectilinear and symmetrical. By far the most popular style was the Colonial Revival. Less popular, but more striking because of its grand porticos, was the Neoclassical Revival style. Second to these classical styles in popularity was a Mediterranean Revival style which freely drew its inspiration from Spanish-American and Mediterranean architecture, including that of the Italian Renaissance. England also provided an inspiration for many Greensboro houses built during this period. Discussed here under the rubric "Tudor Revival," these houses drew freely from the Tudor and the Jacobean, and in general from popular notions of rustic English cottages. Linking the Classical and Mediterranean Revival styles was a simpler, more rectilinear massing and less varied wall and roof articulations than the Queen Anne. By the late teens gable-on-hip roofs and stepped-back front facades had all but disappeared from the classically inspired Revival styles, although many of the Tudor Revival style houses utilized irregular forms and some incorporated sweeping gables in a picturesque fashion. The Revival houses tended to be rectangular or square; the foursquare was particularly popular among Mediterranean Revival style dwellings. Rectangular gable-end forms were also popular, most notably at Colonial Revival style structures. The city's Period Revival style houses, whether Colonial, Mediterranean, or Tudor, are part of a national fascination with the styles in the teens and twenties. They accordingly look little different from examples of the styles built elsewhere in the country early in the century.

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Greensboro, North Carolina, 1880-1941i. Colonial Revival and Neoclassical Revival style houses

The Colonial Revival is the most popular of the twentieth-century revival styles in Greensboro. The majority of the hundreds of houses displaying the style were built between 1910 and 1930. They represent a clear break from the Victorian, for they are Colonial Revival both in form and detail. They are typically square or rectangular structures with regular wall surfaces and rooflines, and symmetrical fenestration. They can be topped by hipped, gambrel or, most commonly, gable-end roofs. Most display weatherboarded exteriors, but a significant number are brick-veneered. Two- or two-and-a-half-story examples are the most common, although some of the more modest ones are one- or one-and-a-half stories in height. The stylistic features they typically display include pedimented entrances with fanlights or sidelights, columned porches, molded cornices marked by dentils or modillion blocks, pedimented dormers, and paired or triple windows. A small number of classically informed houses in the city are Neoclassical Revival style structures marked by monumental full-height porticos.

The suburbs of Fisher Park and Irving Park, developed in the teens and twenties, contain a varied array of classically influenced residences, large and small, brick and frame, Colonial Revival and even Neoclassical Revival in style. Some of their houses are architect-designed. The streets of the western suburbs, like Lindley Park, Starmount, and Sunset Hills, are also lined with many Colonial Revival style structures.

A representative of a smaller Colonial Revival style house is the circa 1915 Schenck-Hobgood House at 115 North Park Drive in Fisher Park (SLHD), which was designed by Greensboro architect Raleigh James Hughes. A frame, one-and-a-half-story structure, it features a gabled roof and gable dormers with returns, paired windows, and oversized, simplified Doric porch columns. Across the park, at 110 South Park Drive (SLHD), stands the larger circa 1922 Marley House, a symmetrical, restrained brick structure displaying a classical portico and side porch, dentils, and dormers. One of the grandest classically informed houses in the city, Georgian Revival in its use of classical organization and ornamentation, is the Spencer Love House at 710 Country Club Drive in Irving Park. A late example of the style, built in the city's premier neighborhood for textile magnate Love around 1936, it features a high hipped roof with segmental-arched dormers, a modillion block cornice, a scrolled pediment entrance, and decorative

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brick lintels and keystones. Among the city's small number of imposing Neoclassical Revival style houses is another Irving Park residence, the brick 1913 A.L. Brooks House at 409 Sunset Drive, which was designed by New York architect A. Raymond Ellis. One of the suburb's first houses, it is punctuated by full-height Ionic porticoes, the front one full-width and balustraded, that at the rear centered and pedimented.

ii. Other Period Revival style houses

Other Period Revival style houses in Greensboro generally fall into two broad categories, the Tudor Revival and the Mediterranean Revival. These houses range from middle class structures to mansions and are found throughout the northern and western neighborhoods of the city. One- and one-and-a-half-story examples, although generally not large structures, are usually built of brick. The neighborhood with the largest concentration of these is probably Lindley Park. Large, ornate, two- and two-and-a-half-story tall Period Revival style houses are found in the city's wealthier neighborhoods, particularly Fisher Park and Irving Park.

The Tudor Revival style in the city looked to English Tudor structures and, more generally, to a vision of quaint rural English cottages. Most of the smaller Period Revival houses imitate these cottages through their use of steeply pitched front- or cross-gabled roofs, often turned up at their ends; brick; and decorative, wide front chimneys, often accented with stone. Some, but not all, of the smaller houses feature false half-timbering and asymmetrical gables curved on one side. The larger houses, however, almost always make use of half-timbering at their upper floors and gables, as well as casement windows.

Many one- and one-and-a-half-story English cottages survive in Lindley Park. Walker Street has a good collection of them and an excellent individual example in the neighborhood stands at 707 Longview Street. Like other examples in the neighborhood, it makes use of variegated brick and a front-facing chimney studded with stone. Although most of the English cottages are built of brick, a few, like the house at 105 Westover Terrace in the West Market Terrace neighborhood, are built of stone, which further adds to their picturesque appearance.

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The city's larger Tudor Revival style houses are concentrated in Fisher and Irving Park. They include the Fisher Park mansions of tobacco magnate John Marion Galloway at 1007 North Elm Street (NR) and Jefferson Standard Company president Julian Price at 301 Fisher Park Circle (NR). Designed by Harry Barton, the 1919 Galloway House is a massive, random-coursed granite structure with stuccoed and half-timbered gable ends. A thirty-room mansion overlooking Fisher Park, the Charles C. Hartmann-designed, 1929 Julian Price House is a sprawling brick and half-timbered structure highlighted by fancifully laid rough brick, dark stained timbers, multi-light casement windows, and massive chimneys.

The Mediterranean--whether from Spain, Italy, France, or one step removed in Spanish Colonial America--pervades the remainder of the city's other Period Revival style houses. The more modest examples of the style feature stuccoed or light-colored brick walls, tiled roofs, and simplified rounded motifs, perhaps at an entry, that suggest arcades. More ornate examples often look like villas, with arcades, tile-covered entry porticoes, arched windows, and overhanging decorative eaves. Many Mediterranean Revival style houses, such as the former Cavalier Club at 100 East Lake Drive in the Westwood neighborhood (SLHD), utilize the foursquare form. The Spanish Colonial Revival is evident at the villa at 1604 South College Park Drive in the College Park neighborhood. Built for George Fowler in 1927 on a rise overlooking the park, it features stuccoed walls, tile roofs, and a fully arcaded front porch and porte cochere. The Sigmund Sternberger House at 712 Summit Avenue is a grand Mediterranean villa that takes much of its inspiration from Renaissance Italy. A large, two-story, brick-veneered rectangular structure with two-story wings, it features a main entrance set behind a triple-arched arcade and arcaded side porches marked by pilasters and colonettes.

Few Period Revival style houses in the city look beyond England or the Mediterranean for inspiration. An exotic element, however, is found at a house at 4741 United Street in West Highland Park. A stuccoed, tile-roofed structure, it features a large porch gazebo with a bulbous Moorish roof.

III. Significance

The forms and styles described above are significant because they place Greensboro's late-nineteenth and early twentieth-century residences in both a regional vernacular tradition and popular,

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national ones. The late construction of traditional one-room deep forms, along with the great popularity of forms (the L-plan, shotgun, foursquare, and bungalow) and styles (Queen Anne, Colonial Revival, Tudor and Mediterranean Revival) that emerged in the late nineteenth- and early-twentieth centuries, reflect Greensboro's transition from an insular traditional community to a modern city. They suggest that in many ways by the early twentieth century Greensboro was little different than hundreds of cities throughout the country.

Whether traditional or popular, plain or stylish, these houses are more powerful and significant as parts of groups than as individual structures. Together they tell the story of the growth of Greensboro's early suburbs and neighborhoods, giving them a sense of time and place. It is this story of growth that is the single most important defining feature of Greensboro's architecture and history between 1880 and 1941.

Some houses are individually significant as well, because of their integrity and distinctness of form or style. Some are also significant because of their association with individuals (such as Julian Price, John Marion Galloway, and Spencer Love) important to the city's history or architects (such as Charles C. Hartmann, Harry Barton, and Raleigh James Hughes) important to its design.

IV. Registration Requirements

The vast majority of Greensboro's residences are significant as parts of groups of structures and components of neighborhoods, rather than individually. When they qualify for listing, therefore, it will almost always be as contributing elements of districts or, perhaps, thematic nominations. Because their significance as members of groups is largely based on their connection with other resources and with their surroundings, their integrity of location, setting, feeling, and association will be particularly important in determining their eligibility for the Register.

Some residences will be individually eligible for the Register as well. To qualify individually, a dwelling must have been built between 1880 and 1941; should retain sufficient physical features to evoke the period of its construction; and should be representative of its form or style. In general, dwellings that qualify individually on the basis of their architecture will be outstanding representatives of

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their form or style, retaining a high degree of integrity. Integrity of materials, workmanship and, particularly, design, will be especially important in determining the individual eligibility of most residences. Houses displaying early styles of which there are few surviving examples, such as the Gothic Revival or the Italianate, might have a lower threshold of integrity. Some residences, of course, may also be individually eligible for their historical association with an important event or an individual.

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I. Name of Property Type

PROPERTY TYPE 2 - INDUSTRIAL HOUSING

II. Description

The Cone mills in northeast Greensboro and, to a lesser extent, the Pomona mills in the west provided company housing for thousands of the city's citizens during the closing decade of the nineteenth century and the first four decades of the twentieth. Workers at these mills additionally found housing in the communities that sprang up around the mill villages, such as Bessemer, Edgeville, and McAdoo Heights in the northeast. The houses in the mill villages and adjoining communities were invariably modest structures, placed on small lots in rows punctuated by churches, schools, stores, and other non-residential structures that served the basic needs of the residents.

Although it is known that the houses were built from the mid-1890s through the 1920s, it is difficult to date the different forms precisely. The mill villages and surrounding neighborhoods do not appear on the Sanborn maps until the 1920s, and the records of the Cone brothers' Proximity Manufacturing Company--by far the greatest builder of these houses--provide little accessible information on the beginnings of mill housing in the city. The simple forms and lack of stylish features do not lend themselves to precise dating and evaluation is further complicated by the alteration or replacement of the siding and porches of most of these houses.

Basically functional structures, with perhaps a simple Craftsman porch, some modest millwork, or a suggestion of half-timbering, the mill-related houses were built in five basic forms. By far the most common form was one-room deep and one-story tall. These houses generally have a gable-end roof pierced by an interior chimney, a two-room or hall-parlor floor plan, and a one-story rear kitchen ell. Many probably date from the late 1890s, but they were built in the early twentieth century as well. They are found throughout the Cone and Pomona mill villages and the surrounding mill communities. Houses of this form include one with an off-center shed-roofed front porch at 1305 Bogart Street in the Proximity Mill Village, and one down the block, at 1415 Bogart, with a gable-roofed porch, also off-center. A small number of two-story, single-pile houses stand in the mill

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villages, such as the well-maintained, plainly finished house with symmetrical fenestration and porch placement at 1400 Walnut Street in the Proximity village. Two-story industrial housing was never very common in the city.

The second basic mill house type is a gable-end structure with an interior chimney that is two rooms deep rather than one. The one-story version is the most common house type surviving in the Pomona mill village, where representatives include the circa 1917 houses at the 3800 block of Causey Street. Two-story variants of this form are largely limited to the houses along Hubbard Street in the village of White Oak New Town (SLHD), which were single-family residences housing workers with families larger than those in the neighboring one-story houses.

A third mill house type, again most commonly found in Pomona, is a modest hip-roofed cottage or workingman's foursquare. These workers' cottages are characterized by three-bay main facades, interior chimneys, shed porches, a double-pile depth, and hipped roofs. Four of these dating from around 1904 stand on the 1000 block of Blunt Street in Pomona.

The one-story, multi-room deep, shotgun house is a fourth mill housing type. Not a common type, the shotgun mill houses generally have hipped rather than gable front roofs. Examples include the hipped roofed houses at 810, 908, 910, and 1004 Cranbrook Drive in Pomona, which feature two-bay main facades and full-facade recessed porches, some supported by Tuscan columns.

A more common, fifth type of mill house is a two-room wide, gable-front structure which, like the shotguns, is a long rectangular house that maximizes the use of land. These houses are often simplified bungalows, with exposed braces and roof rafters, and attached, gabled, Craftsman style porches. They generally have a four- or a five-room plan and off-center gable-front porches. In the Proximity Mill Village almost all of the houses are of this type, including a little-altered house at 1506 Maple Street adorned with triangular knee-braces. Most of the houses at the White Oak New Town and Proximity New Town mill villages are also of this type. The houses in these latter two villages are the most distinctive and stylish of the city's mill-related houses. Those at White Oak New Town (SLHD), built circa 1920, are stuccoed with exposed roof rafters and applied half-timbering at the gables. Those at Proximity New

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Town, built in the late 1920s, have brick veneers laid in a striking and unusual Flemish bond pattern.

Although the houses have been sold by the mills and have seen many alterations since the late 1940s, scattered groups of them retain a high degree of integrity. The most intact mill village is White Oak New Town. Its stuccoed houses, built after two basic patterns, continue to stand in rows on narrow deep lots. At the rear of these lots are early car sheds and alleys which run parallel to the street. Similar siting of streets, alleys, lots, outbuildings, and houses can be seen elsewhere in the city, although rarely with the same level of integrity as White Oak New Town.

III. Significance

The houses of the mill villages and the communities that surround them are significant as representatives of the power and importance of the large industrial complexes, particularly the textile mills, in the late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century history of Greensboro. At a more personal level, they are important as physical reminders of the quality of life of many of the city's working class employees during these years. All modest structures, these houses are significant as a group. Where they remain in association with each other and with the mills that built them--or, in the case of private communities that sprang up at their edges, with the mills that led to their construction--they are most evocative of their time. A house can be easily described through the above list of types, but it is not made more significant by being a part of one type or another. A house type would gain added significance, however, if future research identified it as a mail-order house, for that would provide insight into the nature of the design of the mill villages and the surrounding communities.

IV. Registration Requirements

As stated above, almost all residences that qualify for listing in the Register under this category will be part of a group of industrial dwellings. An eligible residence will stand, with other similar structures, on its original site in a mill village or in a mill-related community. It will likely fit into one of the above-described house types. More important than its attributes of form or

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style, however, will be its integrity of location, association, feeling, and setting. Its place on the street and in the village, and its relationship to other residences and perhaps the industrial complex, will evoke a sense of when the village and the mill were active. It is not necessary for the mill to be in operation or even extant; the village or subsidiary community is an entity intimately connected to, but still separate from, the mill. If the mill survives, however, the eligibility of the mill community for the Register will be enhanced.

It is unlikely, at least at present, that any individual mill or mill-related residence will qualify for listing on its own, short of some association with an important historic event, a significant individual, or the like. So many of these houses still stand, and they are so unprepossessing individually, it is unlikely that any one would have individual significance. Their importance comes from their presence as groups of structures. If a mill house was the last surviving representative of a mill community and it retained its integrity, it might be individually eligible. Its registration in that case, however, would still depend much more on historical associations than on its architecture.

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I. Name of Property Type

PROPERTY TYPE 3 - MULTIPLE-FAMILY DWELLINGS

II. Description

Between 1880 and 1941 the vast majority of Greensboro's residents lived in single-family dwellings; multi-family units made up only a small percentage of the housing stock. The types of multiple-family housing units available were townhouses, duplexes, and apartment buildings.

Only one set of early townhouses survives in the city, a row of four attached dwellings at 195-201 Lyndon Street (SL) downtown, built circa 1905. The extent of this form of housing in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century in Greensboro is not known, although maps indicate that at least a few other townhouses once stood near the Lyndon Street row. The Lyndon Street townhouses are brick structures with eclectic facades incorporating Queen Anne, Colonial Revival, and Italianate style elements. A common Doric-columned porch shades the first story of all four units; the second-story front facades of the units are marked by brick brackets and picturesque wooden bays capped by gables decorated with applied Adamesque ornament.

Few duplexes were ever built in the city. Among them are the Casa Sevilla Apartments at Bessemer Court in Fisher Park (SLHD), an unusual group of eight structures constructed as duplexes. Influenced by the Spanish Colonial Revival style, they feature stuccoed walls, shed porches, and stepped parapet roofs. A workers' duplex--a long, plain, gable-front, one-story structure with each unit one-room wide--stands in the Pomona mill village at 808 Cranbrook Drive.

A small but significant number of substantial brick apartment buildings were built in the city in the 1920s and, to a lesser extent, in the 1930s. Large masonry blocks, these apartment buildings tend to be stylish structures featuring a variety of Period Revival styles. Fisher Park is home to about ten, the largest concentration in the city. They also stand downtown, in the suburbs just to the west of downtown, and near Irving Park. The circa 1926 Cannon Court Apartments at 828 North Elm Street in Fisher Park (SLHD) is a restrained Colonial Revival style structure marked by belt courses at each of its three floors and a projecting cornice. The Spanish

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Colonial Revival style--evident at such features as stuccoed walls, tiled roofs, arched recesses, and a side courtyard--was selected for the Winburn Apartments, built around 1930 at 203 Tate Street in the College Hill neighborhood (SLHD). The Tudor Revival was the style of choice for the 1928 Irving Park Manor, a large structure marked by stone walls, sandstone decorative reliefs, stepped gables, diamond-shaped casement windows, corbelled interior chimneys, and multi-colored slate roofs. Irving Park Manor was built on North Elm Street opposite the entrance to Irving Park, as was its neighbor to the south, the circa 1938 Country Club Apartments (SL). These two-story brick apartments, designed by Charles C. Hartmann, are stylistically distinct from the city's other apartment buildings, featuring bands of windows and a stripped-down articulation of decorative features that owe as much to the International style as they do to more traditional classical design elements.

III. Significance

Greensboro's multiple-family dwellings are significant for a variety of reasons. The single surviving row of townhouses is significant as a unique representative of a type of urban dwelling that has almost disappeared from the early city; their eclectic finish is also architecturally noteworthy. Although they provided housing to a relatively small number of the city's residents, all of the multiple-family dwellings--townhouses, duplexes, and apartment buildings--are significant because they suggest the quality of life of those residents. The townhouses and duplexes speak of early urban life in the city and the apartment houses of life in the booming city of the 1920s and the reviving city of the late 1930s. The multiple-family dwellings, particularly the apartment buildings, reflect the growth and location of the city's transportation network. The apartment buildings were located along or very close to the city's trolley lines. Some of the multiple-family dwellings, most notably the apartment buildings, are individually significant because of their architectural characteristics. Including some of the city's largest and most stylish buildings, they represent some of the city's better examples of popular 1920s and 1930s Period Revival styles, particularly the Colonial and Spanish Colonial Revival.

As with the city's single-family dwellings, the multiple-family dwellings are more significant as integral elements of residential neighborhoods than individually. Although some--because of their

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rarity or architectural distinctiveness, or perhaps specific important historical associations--might be individually eligible, most gain their significance from their location in neighborhoods and their association with nearby dwellings.

IV. Registration Requirements

The city's multiple-family dwellings will qualify for listing individually or as parts of neighborhood districts. Because they are generally large, stylish structures--particularly the apartment buildings--many will qualify individually as representatives of a style, especially the Colonial Revival and the Spanish Colonial Revival. To qualify as such, an individual building must have been built between 1880 and 1941; should retain sufficient physical features to evoke its period of its construction; and should be representative of its style and type. The Lyndon Street townhouses will qualify because of their integrity, their architecture and, importantly, their uniqueness. Many of the city's multiple-family structures will qualify as contributing elements of neighborhoods. To be included as part of a district, their integrity of location, setting, association, and feeling must in particular be intact and salient aspects of design, materials, and workmanship must be present.

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I. Name of Property Type

PROPERTY TYPE 4 - INDUSTRIAL AND COMMERCIAL BUILDINGS

II. Description

Industrial structures, including mills, factories, warehouses, and railroad facilities, survive in Greensboro from the late nineteenth and, particularly, the early twentieth century. They are concentrated in northeast Greensboro, Pomona, and downtown, the city's major areas of industrial activity during this period. All are located along railroad lines or spurs. Although many no longer continue in their original functions, they are still generally sufficiently intact to recall their original functions and the central roles they played in the city's life. Commercial buildings in large part existed because of the economic activity and growth generated by the city's industries and railroads. Their largest and most important concentration is downtown and most of them have been included in the Downtown Greensboro Historic District, which is listed on the National Register. Some small commercial buildings, which primarily served small-scale domestic needs, can be found in the mill communities and the city's other neighborhoods outside of downtown.

a. Industrial buildings

Downtown retains the earliest and largest collection of industrial buildings in the city. They are physical representatives of such important industries as grist milling, woodworking, warehousing, and the railroad. A functional, industrial version of the Italianate style was the choice for the large majority of these buildings. The former Wafco Mills (NR), established in 1893 as the Greensboro Roller Mills at Cedar and McGee streets between downtown and College Hill, is the city's oldest surviving mill complex. Simple Italianate brickwork, parapeted gable ends, and a full-length monitor highlight its 1913 three-story main block. Minimal Italianate style brick detailing is also evident at the cornice and segmental-arched windows of the warehouse at 106-108 Martin Luther King Jr. Drive, which was part of the Guilford Roller Mill complex in 1902. A representative of the heavier industrial activity that once took place downtown is a circa 1895 building at 1311 South Elm-Eugene Street, which was part of the Cape Fear Manufacturing Company. One of the oldest industrial buildings in the city, it is a functional,

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Italianate, one-story brick structure lit by twelve-over-twelve sash windows and marked by a low gable roof, exposed decorative rafters, and solid chamfered wooden posts inside.

Although not exactly industrial facilities, two structures intimately connected with the city's railroad industry survive in the Downtown Greensboro Historic District (NR), the former first and second Southern Railway Passenger stations. Perhaps because of their prominent public functions, styles other than the Italianate were chosen for them. The first station was constructed by the Southern around 1900 at 400 South Elm Street. The corner tower and covered platforms that gave the building a Chateausque appearance have been removed but its handsome, bayed, pressed brick facade is still intact. The monumental Neoclassical Revival style second passenger station is one of the city's major architectural landmarks and one of the finest railroad stations in the state. Located on Washington Street at the head of Church Street, it was built at the close of the 1920s, the city's most active decade of growth.

Outside of downtown, particularly in Pomona and in northeast Greensboro, large industrial structures were constructed of brick with Italianate accents. Representatives of two of the three major industrial elements of Pomona's landscape, the railroad and textiles, have survived; its terra cotta factory has not. At Spring Garden Street and Merritt Drive stands the former Pomona Cotton Mill, a sprawling industrial structure marked by tall windows punctuated by simple brick detailing. Nearby is a roundhouse and locomotive shed complex built by the Southern Railway after it moved its headquarters to Greensboro in the teens. A deteriorated, semicircular, brick structure, it has been recorded by the Historic American Engineering Record [HAER].

The most significant industrial complexes ever raised in the city were the vast Proximity, Revolution, and White Oak textile mills, which were built, and expanded, in northeast Greensboro from the middle 1890s through the 1920s. The latter two mill complexes still stand. The first built, Proximity, has been destroyed, although it was recorded by HAER, as were the other two. The original sections of the Revolution plant (NR) were raised in the late 1890s by Emanuel and Herman Sternberger, who had come to Greensboro at the behest of Ceasar and Moses Cone to establish a flannel mill. A large facility, it was constructed southwest of present Yanceyville Road and East 9th Street adjacent to rail lines and a water source. Five well-lit separate

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rooms, divided by fire walls, were initially laid out in the brick structure. Its functional design is reflected in its large windows, one per bay, which consist of two lower sliding sashes and an upper segmental-arched transom. The White Oak mill complex, primarily built between 1902-1905 and in 1920, was the third and largest of the Cone mills. An expansive brick structure with Italianate brick corbelling, it retains its original two buildings, which are highlighted by full-width skylights that project in sawtooth fashion.

An unusual early twentieth-century industrial building not located downtown or in the mill communities is a power plant with a towering smokestack at Oakland and Highland avenues. Built to supply power to the State Normal and Industrial College (now UNCG), it is an intricately detailed, Renaissance Revival style structure of brick, terra cotta, and concrete.

b. Commercial buildings

Most of the city's wholesale and retail activity, from its inception until well after World War II, was downtown, central to much of the city's population and at the heart of its transportation network. South Elm Street and, to a lesser extent, South Davie Street, were the hubs of activity. The smaller frame and brick stores that had characterized commercial activity downtown were replaced between 1890 and 1930 by taller, larger masonry stores, banks, hotels, and other commercial enterprises. These buildings, many of which still stand and are listed in the Register as part of the Downtown Greensboro Historic District, display a variety of styles, most notably the Italianate, Beaux Arts, and Moderne.

The Italianate, worked in brick at corbelled cornices and surrounds--metal was also a popular cornice material for the style--was the most popular style for downtown's earliest commercial buildings, such as the ornately finished, circa 1898 Fordham's Drugstore (NRHD) at 514 South Elm Street. Little-altered and still operating as a drugstore, Fordham's features a oversized mortar and pestle at its cornice and, inside, a mirrored marble soda fountain. A plainer commercial example of the style is a circa 1910, three-story store at 526 South Elm (NRHD).

In the teens and twenties many much larger or more ornate structures were raised downtown to house stores, banks, offices, hotels, and other commercial establishments. The earlier of these

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primarily utilized the Beaux Arts style, while some of the later ones embraced the Moderne. The Beaux Arts style was utilized at the three-story, masonry Porter Drug Store (NRHD), which was built around 1930 at 121 South Elm Street. The central section of its tripartite front facade is its most striking, featuring decorative round arches over its three large windows and contrasting medallions, keystones, and quoins. The Art Deco style was chosen for the circa 1930 S. H. Kress & Company Building (NRHD) at the 200 block of South Elm, the vertical piers of which are boldly decorated with colorful terra cotta tile. A fanciful blend of the Gothic Revival and Moderne styles was selected by architect Charles C. Hartmann for the 1922-1923 Jefferson Standard Company headquarters building (NRHD) at North Elm and Market streets. An opulent, seventeen-story, terra cotta clad skyscraper, it continues to dominate the city's skyline, along with a taller, similarly detailed new tower that was built next to it in 1990.

Commercial buildings were also constructed downtown off of the main core of South Elm Street, primarily in the 1920s. They too were architecturally varied, making use of the Italianate, Beaux Arts, Spanish Colonial Revival, and other styles. One of the most striking is the two-story, 1927 Christian Advocate Publishing Company Building at 427-429 West Friendly Avenue. Among the few surviving examples of the Egyptian Revival style in the state, it features a masonry front facade with monumental pilasters to each side adorned with Egyptian motifs. The Moore Arcade, a two-story Beaux Arts style building, was built circa 1930 at 214-218 West Market Street. The only arcade in the city, it has an interior central hallway off of which a number of small shops and offices open.

Some stores and other commercial structures were built in the mill communities of Pomona and the northeast, and elsewhere in the city, as well. They tend to be plainly finished one-, two-, and occasionally three-story brick buildings. Some stand individually, others in groups. A typical row of two- and three-story stores stands at Merritt Drive and Spring Garden Street, across from the Pomona textile mill (SLHD). They are simply finished, Italianate style, brick structures with decorative brick work at their windows and cornices. A few similarly finished commercial structures at the 600 block of Gorrell Street near Bennett College are perhaps the earliest black commercial structures surviving in the city.

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III. Significance

Greensboro's surviving late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century commercial and industrial buildings reflect the dramatic growth of the city during those years. The industrial buildings represent the industries that were important in the city: grist mills, woodworking, and warehousing downtown; textiles and railroads at Pomona; and textiles in the northeast. The textile mills in particular are visual testimony to the city's most important and influential industry. At the center of many hundreds of mill and mill-related houses in the northeast and at Pomona, all of which stand because of them, they are among the most significant structures in the city. The commercial buildings also reflect the growth of downtown, the mill communities, and residential neighborhoods in the early twentieth century.

The commercial and industrial buildings are not only significant because of their history and the impact they had upon the city's appearance and its people. They are also architecturally significant. The industrial buildings--sprawling, solidly constructed, masonry structures adorned with industrial Italianate details--are representative of late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century industrial design. Many of the commercial buildings, especially those downtown, are architecturally significant as intact examples of the Italianate, Beaux Arts, Moderne, and other early twentieth-century styles. Most are already listed in the Register as part of the Downtown Greensboro Historic District.

IV. Registration Requirements

To qualify for listing in the Register under this property type, a building must have been built between 1880 and 1941 with a commercial or industrial function, and should retain sufficient features to identify its original function and to evoke a sense of the activities that surrounded that function. Many of these properties, particularly the industrial buildings, will be potentially eligible because of their historic functions. Their integrity of location, feeling, setting, and association will therefore be especially important. Properties that are individually eligible because of their architecture should be outstanding, intact representatives of their particular style. The majority of the city's eligible commercial buildings have already been listed in the Register as part of the Downtown Greensboro Historic District.

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I. Name of Property Type

PROPERTY TYPE 5 - EDUCATIONAL, RELIGIOUS, AND CIVIC BUILDINGS

II. Description

The growth of Greensboro between 1880 and 1941 is reflected in the increase, in size and numbers, of its institutional and civic buildings, most notably its schools and colleges, churches, and government buildings. Almost all of the city's surviving historic college and school buildings were built in the early twentieth century. They are primarily Colonial Revival, Gothic Revival, and Neoclassical Revival in style. The city's historic government and religious buildings, and other institutional and civic buildings such as hospitals and stadiums, were also raised in the early part of the century and utilize these and other popular Period Revival styles.

i. Educational buildings

All of the city's five college campuses contain buildings or groups of buildings of architectural merit: three have structures listed in the National Register and the other two have been placed on the state Study List. Guilford, Greensboro, and Bennett colleges predate the Civil War. The central portion of Guilford College's campus in northwest Greensboro, which is listed in the Register, has sixteen Colonial Revival, Gothic Revival, and Neoclassical Revival structures and substantial acreage associated with the original campus boundaries. Greensboro College, at West Market Street just west of downtown, has four early twentieth-century Colonial Revival style buildings at its core. Its campus is part of the locally designated College Hill historic district (SLHD). Among the earliest surviving structures on the campus of Bennett College (SLHD), located less than a mile southeast of the courthouse in the heart of the city's black community, are: the first president's house, a two-story frame dwelling at 716 Gorrell Street built circa 1915; three brick, classical, dormitory and administrative buildings built in 1922; and the former Carnegie Negro Library, a brick Colonial Revival style building constructed in 1924.

The city's two largest colleges, both now state universities, were established by the North Carolina in the 1890s. North Carolina Agricultural and Technical State University (A&T) is located north of

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Bennett College in east Greensboro. Its historic core is its central lawn and circle and five brick Classical Revival style structures dating from the 1920s (NR): Dudley Memorial (designed by prolific local architect Charles C. Hartmann), Noble Hall, Morrison Hall, Murphy Hall, and the Laundry. The University of North Carolina at Greensboro (UNCG) retains approximately twenty-seven historic structures, the largest number of any academic institution in the city. The earliest campus development is represented by the Foust Building (NR), a rare eclectic collegiate Romanesque Revival style structure in the state. Other early structures include the 1904 North Spencer and 1907 South Spencer dormitories. The former is an ornate masonry Georgian Revival building, the latter a Neoclassical Revival style structure with a full-height pedimented portico supported by Corinthian columns. The greatest period of historic development of the campus took place in the 1920s, when numerous academic buildings and dormitories were raised in the Colonial Revival, Georgian Revival, and Neoclassical Revival styles. Also associated with UNCG are buildings not built by the college but intimately connected with it, such as the circa 1892 home of Edward J. Forney House (SL) on Spring Garden Street. Forney, one of the college's original faculty members, was a pioneer of women's business education in the state.

About fourteen early twentieth-century public schools, most constructed in the 1920s, survive in the city. With a few exceptions, they are large, brick, classically informed structures. Unlike many other early institutional structures, they are found throughout the city, reflecting rapid growth, particularly in the teens and twenties. Most were built as public schools by the city, although a few were constructed by Cone Mills for the children of their employees. Originally, all were segregated.

The former East White Oak School at 1801 10th Street (SL) is the oldest school building in Greensboro and the only remaining structure of the former black Cone Mills village of East White Oak. A plainly finished, one-story, frame, Colonial Revival style structure with a pedimented portico and large airy windows, it was built between in 1916 by the Cones' Proximity Manufacturing Company as an elementary school for the village. More representative of the appearance of the early twentieth-century schools is the former Pomona High School (SL) on Spring Garden Street, which served the white school-age children in the western part of the city which developed around the mills of Pomona. Built circa 1920, it is one of the oldest school buildings in the city. Like most of the schools dating from the teens and

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twenties, it is a substantial brick structure with classical detailing. Modernism affected the designs of a few of the city's schools, including Greensboro (now Grimsley) High School (SL), which was built at 801 Westover Terrace in the Westerwood neighborhood in 1929. Designed by Charles C. Hartmann, it features heavy, brick, buttress-like pilasters and concrete ornamentation.

ii. Religious structures

Most of the city's religious structures have been built within the last fifty years. A small number of historic early twentieth-century structures, and an even smaller number of nineteenth-century structures, survive. Primarily located downtown, in Fisher Park, and in the Cone Mills communities, they represent a variety of styles and are among the city's most architecturally striking buildings. Two imposing late nineteenth-century churches still stand downtown. The former First Presbyterian Church (NR) is an expansive brick Romanesque style structure built at 220 Church Street in 1892 and 1903. Since 1924 it has housed the Greensboro Historical Museum. The West Market Street Methodist Church (NR), at 302 West Market Street, is a brick Richardsonian Romanesque Revival style church with stone arches and detailing and a monumental bell tower. The many other churches that once stood downtown have been demolished and replaced in the neighborhoods that grew and developed in the early twentieth century in the city.

Three of the most noteworthy of the city's early twentieth-century religious structures, which make excellent use of styles popular during that time, stand in Fisher Park. Holy Trinity Episcopal Church (SLHD) was built at 603 North Greene Street in 1922 according to a design by New York architect Hobart Upjohn. A one-story, Gothic Revival style, stone structure, it features a slate roof, pointed-arch windows, and an arched entry. Upjohn also designed the city's first synagogue, Temple Emanuel (SLHD), which was constructed in 1923 at 713 North Greene Street. A Neoclassical Revival style brick structure, it features a full-height Doric portico with a Star of David in its tympanum. Across the street from the temple, the congregation of the First Presbyterian Church raised a new church (SLHD), the city's most imposing religious structure. Designed by Upjohn as well, with assistance from local architect Harry Barton in 1928, it is a monumental Norman Revival style structure with austere corner towers and fortress-like massing.

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Churches were built by Cone Mills as part of their mill communities. The former Vine Street (now Proximity) Methodist Church (SL) was constructed in 1924 at 1200 Vine Street as part of the Proximity mill village. A brick structure with cross gables and a central dome, it has been little altered and is still an integral part of the community.

iii. Civic buildings

A variety of different types of civic structures dating from the early twentieth century survive in the city. Because of their governmental functions or the other centralized services they provided, they tend to be located downtown or in communities close to the city's central core. They also tend to display monumental styles such as the Beaux Arts, the Moderne, and the Neoclassical Revival. The most imposing civic building in the city is, appropriately, the 1918 former Guilford County Courthouse (NR) on West Market Street, a granite Beaux Arts style building with an Ionic portico, designed by Harry Barton. Another governmental building located downtown, representing the use of the monumental Moderne, is the United States Courthouse and Post Office at the corner of Eugene and West Market streets. Built in 1931 after a design by James A. Wetmore, the supervising architect to the Secretary of the Treasury, it features rows of horizontal recessed windows and pilasters adorned with pierced and bas-relief decoration. The Neoclassical Revival style was chosen as appropriate for the Masonic Temple at 424 West Market Street, with its principal facade a towering applied temple front in stone raised high on a rusticated basement.

Civic buildings raised outside of downtown utilized the same monumental styles and Period Revival styles as well. War Memorial Stadium, located at the intersection of Yanceyville and Lindsay streets at the edge of the Summit Avenue or Aycock neighborhood (SLHD), is a horseshoe-shaped, concrete Moderne structure built in 1926 on land donated to Greensboro by the Cone family. A civic building that was of critical importance to Greensboro's black community is the former L. Richardson Memorial Hospital (SL), the earliest surviving hospital building in the city. Opened at 603 South Benbow Road in Nocho Park in 1927, it is a rare local example of the Mission Revival style.

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III. Significance

The five colleges have always been an important part of the city's life and its identity. They are significant historically and architecturally and parts of all of them are listed in the Register or on the state Study List. The city's public schools are also significant historically and architecturally. Raised early in the century, they provide a map to the residential and neighborhood growth of the city. Some, such as the East White Oak school, are significant because of their association with the city's textile mills and its black communities. Others are architecturally significant because of the quality of their design and the prominence of their architects. The schools are further significant individually and as a group in the area of education, representing the growth and consolidation of the school system early in the century. The governmental and other major civic buildings are generally structures of high architectural merit, designed by notable architects. They are also significant for their close association with the civic, governmental, and social life of the city, which centered around them.

IV. Registration Requirements

To qualify for registration under this property type, a resource must have been built between 1880 and 1941; must retain sufficient physical features to identify it as having been built during this period; and must retain sufficient features to identify its original function. Many of these properties will be potentially eligible because of their historical functions. Their integrity of location, feeling, setting, and association will therefore be especially important, particularly in the case of college campuses. Properties that are individually eligible because of their architecture should be outstanding, intact representatives of their particular style. As most of these buildings were major structures designed by notable architects, most will be individually eligible on the basis of their architecture.

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I. Name of Property Type

PROPERTY TYPE 6 - PARKS, CEMETERIES, AND BRIDGES

II. Description

In addition to the city's residential and non-residential buildings, which make up virtually all of its built environment, there are a small but significant number of noteworthy sites, structures, and objects surviving from the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. These primarily consist of parks, cemeteries, and bridges.

Parks are a prominent feature of a number of the city's early twentieth-century neighborhoods, including Fisher Park (SLHD), Irving Park, Lindley Park, College Park, and Latham Park. These parks were designed as integral elements of these neighborhoods, with dwellings raised around them. Designed in the early twentieth century, they are meandering, naturalistic features punctuated by plantings and man-made objects designed to blend into their settings. Some, such as Fisher Park, have streams running through them crossed by rustic bridges. Others, like Lindley Park, have entry gates at their corners, which welcome the individual to the neighborhood and the park. Still others, such as Irving Park, were designed to include golf courses. The earliest of the parks was Fisher Park, which was conceived of by Captain B.J. Fisher in the 1890s as part of his planned development of the neighborhood (which did not take place until the early twentieth century). The most ambitious park community was Irving Park. Formerly an area of pastures and woodlands, it was transformed in the late 1910s by prominent city planner John Nolen into a neighborhood of big houses on large rolling lots centered around a golf course and country club.

At a larger, public scale, the city constructed the City Country Park (SL) in the late 1920s. Consisting of a reservoir and a park, it lies on the north side of Benjamin Parkway near its intersection with Battleground Avenue. The reservoir is a landmark in local public works efforts and an important engineering feat. The entire site is distinguished by its attention to detail. Aside from the reservoir and the park, it includes a stuccoed Period Revival control house.

Cemeteries, many carefully planted and marked by early walls and fences, are also important surviving elements of the city's man-made

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landscape. The oldest cemetery, at 16th and North Church streets, is connected with the Buffalo Presbyterian Church and has gravestones dating back as early as the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Adjoining the cemetery is a private Cone family cemetery, which includes the early twentieth-century, Greek temple mausoleum of textile magnate Ceasar Cone. Another early cemetery is the Muir's Chapel Cemetery, which has stones predating the Civil War. Located at the corner of Muir's Chapel Road and Kenview Street, it contains the markers of some of the city's most prominent former citizens. Other early cemeteries, such as South Union on South Elm Street, and Maplewood Cemetery in east Greensboro, served the city's black neighborhoods. Cemeteries also survive in the mill villages of northeast Greensboro and Pomona. Situated on the north side of Phillips Avenue, the Proximity Cemetery dates prior to 1915 and many Cone mill workers were buried there. Graves in the Pomona Cemetery date from the early twentieth century. Located at the end of Cranbrook Street, it is neglected and overgrown.

A few significant bridges survive in the city. Two identical overpasses built for the Southern Railway in 1927 are extant. One carries railroad tracks across East Washington Street between Lyndon Street and Edward R. Murrow Boulevard. The other carries tracks over South Davie Street between McGee Street and Martin Luther King Jr. Drive in the Downtown Greensboro Historic District. Supported on steel truss pilings, the bridges have rusticated concrete abutments and side railings with ornamental panels. Built in 1927-1928 by the Virginian Bridge and Stone Company are the 16th Street (SL) and East Bessemer Avenue (SL) bridges, the only surviving early car-pedestrian bridges in the city. Almost identical, they have cast-iron barrier rails and cast-concrete, panelled walls. At the corners of the walls are ornate obelisks which were once used as lamp stands. Both bridges were designed by New York architects Alfred Fellheimer and Steward Wagner, who also designed the Southern Railway Passenger Station on East Washington Street.

III. Significance

Parks, cemeteries, and bridges mirror the city's development and its growth patterns can be discerned through the study of their placement. Some, such as the East Bessemer Avenue Bridge at the edge of the Summit Avenue and Fisher Park communities, are important parts of historic neighborhoods and reflect early twentieth-century ideals

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of city and suburban planning and design. The bridges are also an important part of the city's transportation network. The railroad bridges reflect the importance of the railroad to the developing city. Road bridges reflect the growth of the street transportation network from a collection of unpaved roads in the late nineteenth century to a substantial paved road network by the 1920s. Most bridges, parks, and cemeteries are significant as part of a group of resources. A park such as Fisher Park is most significant--and retains its highest degree of setting, association, and feeling--when viewed in association with the neighborhood that grew up around it. The bridges are most clearly significant when viewed along with other parts of the transportation network. Some bridges, parks, and cemeteries, however, are individually significant because of their architecture and historical associations. Also some, for example the city reservoir and the bridges, are individually significant because of their engineering features.

IV. Registration Requirements

Cemeteries, parks, and bridges may be eligible for listing in the Register individually and as parts of districts or thematic nominations. Parks and bridges will most often be significant in association with a surrounding neighborhood, or as part of a thematic nomination which includes other parks or other parts of the transportation network. Their integrity of location, setting, feeling, and association are therefore particularly important. Their landscaping, or their structural framework, should also be intact. Cemeteries may also stand in association with a church or a neighborhood. Further study may indicate that some cemeteries are individually eligible for the artistic merit of their monuments. Resources that are individually eligible because of their architecture and engineering, such as the bridges, must also retain their integrity of material, workmanship, and design.

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I. Name of Property Type

PROPERTY TYPE 7 - RESIDENTIAL NEIGHBORHOODS

II. Description

Greensboro is a city of late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century residential neighborhoods. Virtually all of the dwellings described in the first three property types (Single-family private houses, Industrial housing, and Multiple-family dwellings) as well as many of the resources of the second three property types (Industrial and commercial buildings, Educational, religious, and civic buildings, and Parks, cemeteries, and bridges) were built within the context of a neighborhood. The neighborhoods in general grew along with the city's road, trolley, and railroad network. Prior to the automobile, they were located near industrial, commercial, or educational centers. From the late nineteenth century on they were increasingly racially segregated, with the black neighborhoods primarily located in east Greensboro and the white neighborhoods located north, south, and west of downtown. The city's residential neighborhoods can be divided into three categories: neighborhoods such as South Greensboro and College Hill that grew incrementally; mill villages such as White Oak New Town that were planned around a functional purpose; and suburbs such as Irving Park that were professionally planned and laid out by developers with the picturesque, and profit, uppermost in mind.

The neighborhoods closest to downtown grew over time. The city's first specifically residential areas, they feature houses built in many forms and styles over a long period of time. The houses have small front lawns, trees, backyards, and an occasional one-car frame garage, but they are close to each other on relatively small city lots, generally in a grid plan. These neighborhoods also developed services necessary for domestic and local needs, such as stores, churches, schools, and firehouses. The South Greensboro neighborhood (SLHD) south of downtown illustrates the appearance and growth of these areas. A small residential area prior to 1880, it grew in the next fifty years to include houses ranging from one-story, single-pile structures, to spacious two-and-a-half-story Queen Anne style dwellings, to bungalows. Only its Arlington Park Subdivision section, which was developed in the 1920s, features unbroken rows of houses of

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the same size and style--small bungalows--on identical small lots. Non-residential structures necessary to the community needs include a former school, a former firehouse, and a church.

The mill villages were developed in northeast and western Greensboro in a more organized fashion. The companies built the houses, with few exceptions small frame structures, close to each other on small lots. These lots provided room for gardens, flowers, and other amenities that were intended to make the work force happier. The mills also built non-residential structures--churches, stores, YMCAs, schools--essential to the workers' physical and spiritual well-being. White Oak New Town, built circa 1920 in northeast Greensboro by the Cone brothers' Proximity Manufacturing Company, is one of the most intact of the mill villages. A few basic house plans and forms were used for its modest stuccoed houses, which are placed on the same sized lots with uniform setbacks, the same distance apart. Behind the houses are backyards and small frame car sheds regularly aligned along narrow alleyways.

A few of Greensboro's neighborhoods were planned and developed as picturesque suburbs. Dating primarily from the teens and twenties, these neighborhoods are united as much by the use of spacious lawns, deep setbacks, luxurious plantings, curving roadways, and parks, as by any particular size, style, or shape of house. Irving Park is the best representative of the type in the city. Designed by John Nolen, who was hired by the suburb's developers, it was conceived as a coherent, picturesque community. Its planned graciousness was enforced by numerous restrictive covenants. The neighborhood has changed little since it was built up in the teens and twenties. Its large houses, many of them excellent examples of the Colonial and other Period Revival styles, continue to be set well apart on large, well-maintained, green lots and winding streets overlooking a golf course.

III. Significance

Greensboro's early neighborhoods and suburbs provide the most tangible and evocative evidence of the city's late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century growth. Through the variety of forms, styles, and sizes of their houses, the neighborhoods that developed over time suggest the rapid growth of the city across the socio-economic spectrum. The planned neighborhoods, whether mill towns or wealthy

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suburbs, are significant as representing popular notions of planned development among industry executives, developers, and private citizens. The mill villages are particularly important in representing the way of life of many of the city's working class residents and by making clearly apparent the overwhelming importance of the textile mills to the development of the city. The neighborhoods and suburbs in general also reflect the location and importance of the city's road, trolley, and railroad network, and its industrial, commercial, and educational centers.

IV. Registration Requirements

Greensboro's neighborhoods and suburbs are composed of many different types of resources which will be eligible as an ensemble. These components will have to date from the historic period of the neighborhood's construction and evoke a sense of a coherent community. Elements of association, feeling, and setting are very important to the eligibility of neighborhoods, which should retain intact landscape elements--such as plantings, setbacks, walls, and parks--as well as historic buildings and structures. Some neighborhoods will also be eligible historically in the area of urban planning, particularly the mill villages and the planned park suburbs.

Because the neighborhoods are eligible as groups of resources, rather than as individual resources, changes may have occurred to individual components within them. They will meet registration requirements, in the face of changes such as modern siding and replaced windows and porches, as long as a high number of individual components have not been compromised. Neighborhoods of lower economic status may have greater changes than wealthier ones. For example, the mill villages tend to have many replacement windows and new cladding, but they should be eligible if their siting and repetition of house types remain intact.

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APPENDIX

Greensboro National Register resources through September, 1991

<u>Name</u>	<u>Entered in NR</u>
Agricultural and Technical College of North Carolina Historic District	10-20-88
Blandwood	04-17-70
Bumpass-Troy House	12-06-77
David Caldwell Log College Site	01-13-82
Central Fire Station	04-25-80
Dixon-Leftwich-Murphy House	09-23-82
Downtown Greensboro Historic District	06-17-82
William Fields House	12-05-85
Founders Hall, Guilford College	03-14-73
Julius I. Foust Building	09-11-80
John Marion Galloway House	07-21-83
Green Hill Cemetery Gatekeeper's House	05-29-79
Greensboro Historical Museum	04-25-85
Guilford College Historic District	06-21-90
Guilford County Courthouse	05-10-79
Guilford Courthouse National Military Park	10-15-66
Hillside or Julian Price House	02-01-80
Hoskins House Historic District	03-15-88
Charles H. Ireland House	05-29-79
Jefferson Standard Building	05-28-75
Kimrey-Haworth House	03-14-91
Latham-Baker House	12-11-82
Hardin Thomas Martin House	12-19-85
Revolution Cotton Mill	03-01-84
Michael Sherwood House	01-31-78
Wafco Mills	05-30-79
Dr. David P. Weir House	07-12-84
West Market Street Methodist Church	12-19-89

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<u>Name</u>	<u>Placed on Study List</u>
Asheboro Street (or South Greensboro) Historic District	10-11-90
Aycock (or Summit Avenue) Historic District	04-12-90
Bennett College Historic District	07-21-88
Bessemer Avenue Bridge	04-12-90
(Former) Burlington Mills Headquarters	10-11-90
Carnegie Negro Library	03-17-76
College Hill Historic District	04-11-85
Ceasar Cone Elementary School	10-11-90
Country Club Apartments	10-11-90
The Dixie	04-12-90
James B. Dudley High School	10-11-90
East White Oak School	10-11-90
Fisher Park Historic District	04-12-90
Edward J. Forney House	10-13-88
(Former) Greensboro High School	10-11-90
Greensboro College Main Building	05-06-75
Greensboro Passenger Depot	09-30-75
Lake Daniel Reservoir	04-12-90
195-201 Lyndon Street Townhouses	03-17-76
McIver School	04-12-90
McNairy House	09-16-69
North Greensboro Historic District	04-12-90
Osborne House	10-11-90
W.H. Paisley House	06-06-77
Pomona High School	04-12-90
(Former) Proximity Elementary School	10-11-90
Proximity Cotton Mill	09-19-74
(Former) L. Richardson Memorial Hospital	01-12-84
Sixteenth Street Bridge	04-12-90
St. Mary's Catholic School	10-11-90
Univ. of North Carolina-Greensboro Historic District	04-12-90
(Former) Vine Street Methodist Church	10-11-90
Westerwood Historic District	04-12-90
White Oak New Town Mill Village Historic District	10-11-90
N.H.D. Wilson House	03-17-76

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This multiple property listing of "Historic and Architectural Resources of Greensboro, North Carolina, 1880-1941" is based in part upon a survey of the city conducted by Callie Lou Dalton in 1988-1989 under the auspices of the Survey and Planning Branch of the North Carolina Division of Archives and History (the State Historic Preservation Office or SHPO), the City of Greensboro, and the Greensboro Preservation Society. The first part of that inventory was a windshield survey, which identified the location, numbers, and distribution of historic architectural resources. The next stage entailed comprehensive documentation of the city's pre-1941 resources, neighborhood by neighborhood. Individual resources, groups of resources, and streetscapes were recorded on survey forms, mapped, and photographed. Historical research was then conducted. City directory and Sanborn fire insurance company map references were sought for individual resources and brief narrative descriptions of them were written. Research was conducted into the history and development of each neighborhood and neighborhood narratives were written.

In the final stage of the project, a list of all Register-eligible individual and district resources was compiled and an architectural history of the city was written. Individual and district resources that were determined to be potentially eligible to the Register were placed on North Carolina's National Register Study List by the State Review Commission at the recommendation of the SHPO. The Study List is a mechanism used by the SHPO in response to public inquiries about National Register eligibility and as a means of tracking National Register-eligible properties identified by comprehensive surveys.

The present National Register project was conducted by Marvin A. Brown in 1990-1991 under the auspices of the state historic preservation office, the City of Greensboro, and the Greensboro Preservation Society. It utilized the files of the above-described survey, which were supplemented by further research--particularly historical research--site visits, mapping, and photography.

The number of resources in Greensboro eligible for listing in the Register is much greater than those individual and district nominations submitted with this documentation form. The present project was designed to include the preparation of this Multiple Property Documentation Form and a small number of nominations. The documentation form should facilitate the future nomination of resources to the Register. The starting date of 1880 was chosen

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because very few intact resources survive in Greensboro from prior to that year. Further, most of those earlier resources which are eligible for the Register have already been listed. A brief history of the city prior to 1880 has been included with this documentation form at the beginning of the historic contexts, however, to help place the later buildings in a broader context. Also, some references have been made to pre-1880 resources in the property type discussions.

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