

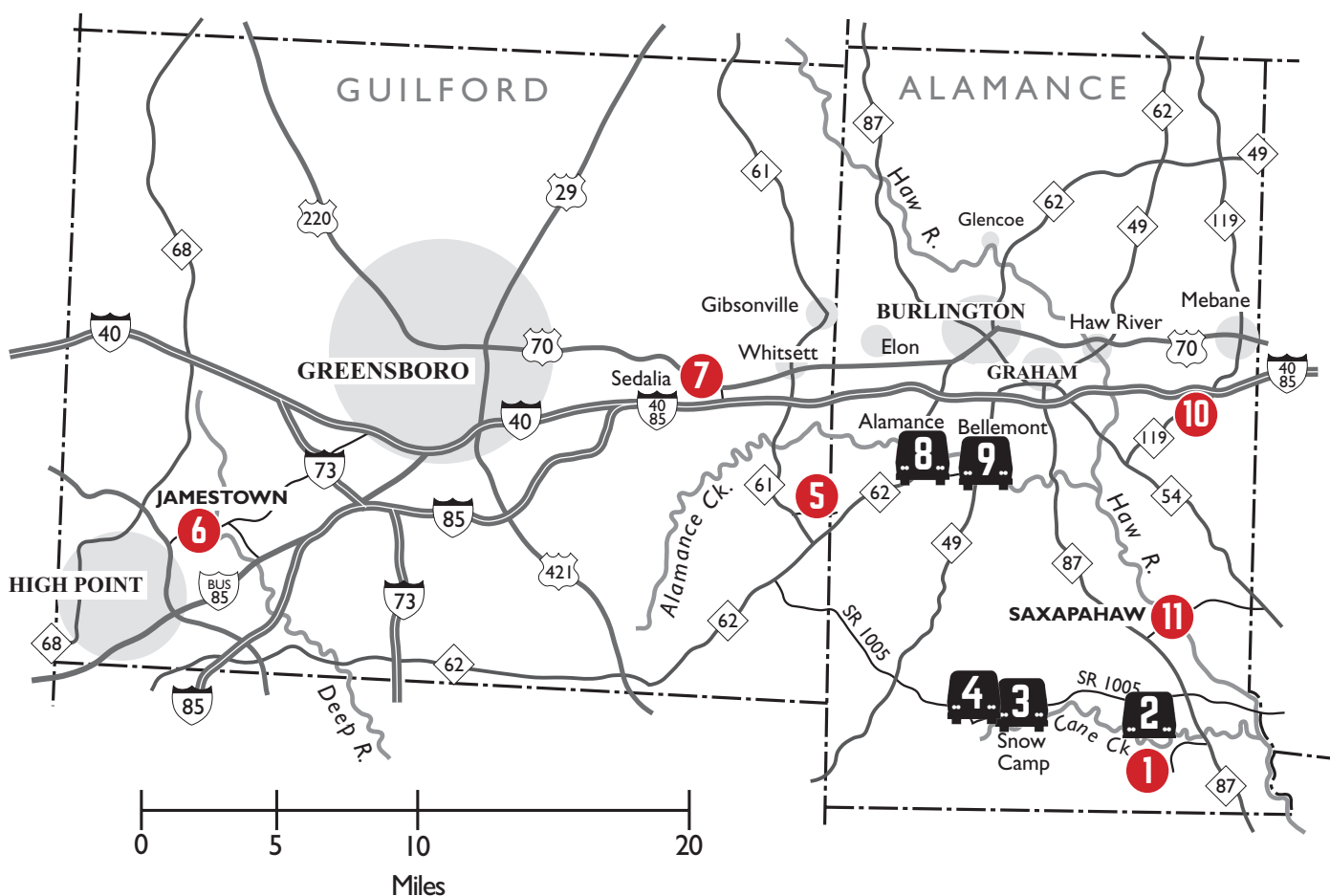
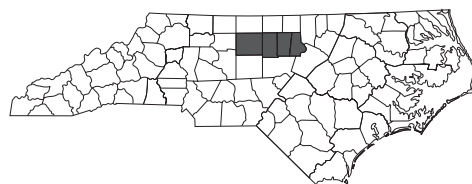
PIEDMONT PATCHWORK:

QUAKER, GERMAN, SCOTCH-IRISH, AND AFRICAN
AMERICAN COMMUNITIES, INSTITUTIONS, AND
INDUSTRIES IN ALAMANCE AND GUILFORD COUNTIES



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MAP OF PIEDMONT PATCHWORK TOUR SITES



ALAMANCE AND GUILFORD COUNTIES

- | | |
|-------------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| 1 West Grove Friends Meeting | 7 Palmer Memorial Institute |
| 2 Spring Friends Meeting | 8 Alamance Village |
| 3 Snow Camp | 9 Belmont Village |
| 4 Cane Creek Friends Meeting | 10 Hawfields Presbyterian |
| 5 Old Brick Reformed Church | 11 Saxapahaw Mill & Village |
| 6 Jamestown | |

PIEDMONT PATCHWORK TOUR

INTRODUCTION

Our western route traces a great loop, traversing the rolling countryside of Orange and Alamance counties before crossing into Guilford County to visit the old Quaker community of **Jamestown** and the early 20th-century school complex of the **Palmer Memorial Institute** and then returning to Alamance County. Historically considered the “back country,” this area is part of the long, broad Piedmont plateau that runs between the Atlantic coastal plain and the Appalachian mountains. A temperate zone with diverse soils and generally adequate rainfall, it is characterized by small farms and local industries that represent the “other South” in counterpoint to the stereotypical image of the plantation South.

The landscape offers a microcosm of Piedmont history and architecture and includes a complex mosaic of settlement groups, chiefly from the mid-Atlantic region, represented by their early and continuing congregations. Essential components of the historic landscape include streams that powered some of the state’s earliest textile manufacturing; a heritage of diversified agriculture; and the impact of the railroad from the mid-19th century onward. Here, as throughout much of the state, recent economic and technological changes have altered the landscape radically, eliminating many agricultural buildings and taking a heavy toll on historic industrial buildings and mill villages.

In much of the area we will travel, urban and suburban development has overwhelmed the bucolic landscape and surrounded the once sylvan villages. Our route is designed to take us along some of the most evocative rural roads, such as “the Old Greensboro Road” from Chapel Hill to Greensboro. We will glimpse farmsteads from various periods, with often ruinous log dwellings of the 19th century and disused silos of the early 20th century, as well as newer farmhouses and agricultural outbuildings that show successive generations of change.

Change is also central to the story of the venerable congregations that recall early settlement patterns. Many of the oldest congregations are represented only by recent churches and ancient cemeteries. Others have maintained their historic buildings in one fashion or another. The **West Grove Friends Meeting House** has served its small congregation sufficiently over the years, but we will also see how other congregations, at **Hawfields Presbyterian Church** and the **Old Brick Church**, have retained their old sanctuaries while accommodating growth.

One of the most distinctive components of the historic landscape in this area has been the cotton mill villages that dotted streamside and rail-side sites. In contrast to just a few decades ago, scarcely any of these counties’ mill villages stand fully intact with their mills and secondary buildings and their rows of modest workers houses. Alamance County is punctuated with communities that began with cotton mills, including some with names evocative of the Native American heritage or recalling local industry leaders, but surely the prize for the best name goes to the village of Eli Whitney. We pass through two mill villages on Great Alamance Creek, **Alamance Village** and **Bellemont Village**, where we can view lines of mill houses hugging the road and the ruins of a mill, evoking the larger picture that

Long the home of the Sissipahaw (Saxapahaw) people, present Alamance County comprises an area along the Haw River and Alamancy Creek—native American names adapted by European settlers—that William Byrd stated in 1728 had the “reputation of containing the most fertile highland in this part of the world.” It is drained by numerous tributaries of the Haw River and punctuated by low peaks called the Cane Creek Mountains that rise to 987

In contrast to eastern North Carolina (where church congregations were few and far between until the evangelical work of Baptists and Methodists in the 19th century), in the

This is a detailed historical map of the western section of the State of New York, showing the area from the Niagara River to the Allegheny River. The map features numerous towns, including Buffalo, Cheektowatch, Tonawanda, and Getzville. It also shows the Buffalo and Tonawanda Creek, the Erie Canal, and the Western or Trading Path. The map is oriented with North at the top.

*Collet Map, 1770, detail of Deep River and Haw River area.
Map: Courtesy of NCOAH.*

In contrast to eastern North Carolina (where church congregations were few and far between until the evangelical work of Baptists and Methodists in the 19th century), in the

Guilford **Alamance**

Reedy Fork Ck. Buffalo Ck. S. Buffalo Ck. Little Alamance Ck. Alamance Ck. By Alamance Ck. Sinking Quarter Ck. Haw R. Storie Ck. Snow Ck. Cane Ck.

New Garden Friends Meeting (1751) Buffalo Presbyterian (1756) [GREENSBORO] Friedens Union (by 1771) [BURLINGTON] St. Paul's Lutheran (by 1770) Hawfields Presbyterian (1755) Cross Roads Presbyterian (c. 1770)

Deep River Friends Meeting (1753) [JAMESTOWN] Springfield Friends Meeting (1773) [HIGH POINT] Centre Friends Meeting (1757) Low's Lutheran (by 1771) Brick Reformed (by 1771) Steiner's Reformed (by 1773) Cane Creek Friends Meeting (1751) Spring Friends Meeting (1761) [SNOW CAMP]

0 5 10 20 Miles

Congregations Founded in the 18th Century in Alamance and Guilford Counties

- Quaker
- ◆ Scotch-Irish Presbyterian
- German Lutheran
- ▤ German Reformed
- German Union

Congregations Founded in the 18th Century in Alamance and Guilford Counties. Map: Drawn by Michael Southern.



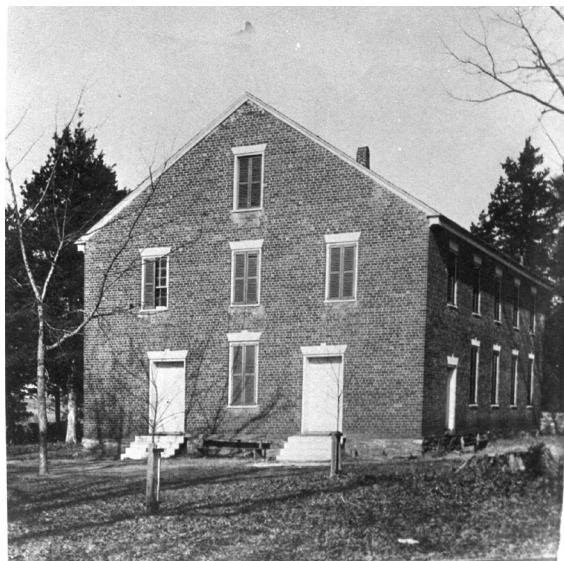
Hiram Braxton House, a Quaker dwelling near Snow Camp, Alamance County. Photo: Patricia Dickinson, 1992.

increase of inhabitants in a back frontier country, as that of North Carolina.”

The nature of the landscape and the shallow, barely navigable streams meant that for present Alamance and Guilford counties, as throughout the Piedmont, the prosperity promised by the fertile land and good rainfall was countered by the lack of access to river port and seaport marketplaces. For many years, Fayetteville, at the head of navigation on the Cape Fear River, was the chief marketplace, reached only by long hauls across bad roads. As a result, there were many small and moderate-sized farms but relatively few large plantations. Mixed agriculture dominated, including grains and livestock. In part because of their distance from urban manufacturing centers and ports, many

residents engaged in small-scale artisanry and manufacturing: in 1765, North Carolina Gov. William Tryon commented that in the “Back or Western Counties more industry is observed than to the Eastward.”

Although few people became wealthy, many could sustain themselves in farming and small manufacturing, practice their faiths and cultural traditions, and develop their habits of interwoven independence and community, which sometimes found expression in various movements that resisted unwanted authority. While some backcountry farmers and



Buffalo Presbyterian Church, Greensboro, Guilford County. Photo: Courtesy of NCOAH.

manufacturers owned slaves, the “peculiar institution” was never as strong in this area as in the coastal plain and some northern Piedmont counties adjoining Virginia. From the colonial period onward, the different situations and interests of the eastern and western parts of North Carolina generated intra-section conflicts.

Beginning in the 1830s and 1840s, pioneering industrialists in present Alamance, including Edwin M. Holt and John Trollinger, both descendants of German settlers, and Quaker John Newlin, founded cotton mills, often at old grist mill sites, along the Haw River and its tributaries. These streams have their headwaters only several miles upstream, and the fall of the land is gentle this far west of the fall line, thus limiting the waterpower at any given site. (By contrast, the Yadkin and the Catawba rivers, like the powerful Roanoke to the north and east, arise in the mountains and offer much greater capacity and greater challenges to those seeking to harness their power.) Although the modest waterpower of the Haw, the Deep, and their tributaries limited the scale of individual mills, it supported a string of small

operations, which cumulatively played a major economic role in the antebellum period. The need to locate factories beside streams in often remote locations led industrialists to build

housing and other facilities for their workers, creating a series of mill villages that formed a distinctive part of the Piedmont landscape.

The advent of the North Carolina Rail Road in 1849, heavily promoted by local citizens, brought new access to markets. With construction working from both ends, the line from Goldsboro via Raleigh and Greensboro to Charlotte was completed at the meeting point near Jamestown in 1856, providing links to other lines and thus to markets in every direction. The railroad boosted commercial agriculture, encouraged the local textile industry, and spurred town growth. The old Quaker community of Jamestown saw development of “New Jamestown” beside the railroad; the Guilford County seat of Greensboro expanded with rail access; and new towns born of the railroad included Company Shops (present Burlington) in Alamance County and High Point in Guilford County, which soon outstripped nearby Jamestown.

Along with farm, factory, and church life, throughout the history of the central Piedmont community leaders of various religious persuasions emphasized education. At Jamestown, local leaders operated several schools and academies, including at least one in the **Mendenhall House** and another in the **Jamestown Friends Meeting House**. Antebellum Quakers and Methodists also established schools that became present Guilford College and Greensboro College, respectively.

During the years leading up to the Civil War, the area saw strong support for the Union and was beset with conflicts over slavery and secession. Especially in the 1840s and 1850s, local Quaker families faced growing pressures on their anti-slavery and pacifist beliefs, and many left the state, as sectional tensions and pro-slavery policies mounted. With many Unionists who included not only Quakers but numerous slaveholders and others, North Carolina was the last state to secede, on May 20, 1861.

During the war, the old “Quaker belt” that included Alamance and Guilford counties saw frequent conflicts that in some cases amounted to an “internal war.” Besides draft concessions made to Quakers’ pacifism, there was wider resistance to the Confederacy and its onerous taxes and draft. Textile industrialist Edwin M. Holt, a slaveholder, had long opposed secession, but when war came, the Holts and others profited from supplying cloth for the Confederacy, then faced struggles



Guilford County farmscape. Photo: Heather Fearnbach, 2009.



Granite Cotton Mill on the Haw River, Alamance County. Photo: Courtesy of the North Carolina Collection, UNC-CH.



Glencoe Mill Village, Alamance County. Photo: Hugh Brinton, 1975.

with the government over control of the cotton factories and their workers, coupled with rising anger from increasingly impoverished local whites.

After the Civil War, both Quakers and Methodists focused on education for freedmen as well as white students. The Mendenhall family in Jamestown numbered among those who operated freedmen's schools. The northern affiliated American Missionary Association (AMA), which had previously sent abolitionist Wesleyan Methodist ministers into Guilford County, supported local black congregations and schools. One of the AMA's black teachers, Charlotte Hawkins Brown, went on to found the **Palmer Memorial Institute**, a finishing school for African Americans. The antebellum Methodist and Quaker colleges in Greensboro were joined in the later 19th century by state colleges in Greensboro for white women (present University of North Carolina—Greensboro) and for African Americans (present North Carolina Agricultural & Technical State University) and other denominational schools and colleges.

Meanwhile, during Reconstruction, Alamance County along with the old plantation county of Caswell to the north was the scene of some of the most violent racial and political strife in the state. A strong local Ku Klux Klan of white Democrats including former Confederates battled the Republicans' effective combination voting bloc of black voters and local white Unionists and carpetbaggers. The Klan, which supported the white

Conservative-Democratic Party, was especially active in places such as Alamance County where contests between Democrats and Republicans were tight enough for their terrorist campaigns to affect elections. In 1870 Klan members lynched Wyatt Outlaw, a respected local black citizen, in front of the courthouse in the Alamance County seat of Graham, part of a wave of violence that led to the Republican governor's imposition of martial law in the area. (See "Reconstruction" in Northern Tour Guide.) By the late 1870s, the white Democratic political leadership had regained the reins of power locally and at the state level, greatly reducing though not eliminating the political role of black citizens. Although black men maintained the right to vote until 1900, their role in local political life continued to shrink, as did their economic opportunities, and many black families from the Piedmont joined the South's Great Migration to the north and west.



*Saxapahaw Mill, Saxapahaw, Alamance County.
Photo: Courtesy of Mac Jordan.*

Industrial development proliferated. "Bring the mills to the cotton fields" was the watchword. Cotton mills were touted as saviors of impoverished white families, offering work to women and children as well as men, but with few jobs open to blacks. (In contrast, tobacco factories such as those in Durham employed large numbers of black as well as white workers; as will be related in the Durham Tour information, a strong black middle class emerged in that city.) By the early 1880s local industrial leaders in Alamance and Guilford had regained pre-war capital and market access and began to thrive on an unprecedented scale. Growing rail connections enabled industrialists such as the Holt family to invest more heavily in steam-powered operations that were no longer tied to water power.

They expanded old operations and established new ones near the tracks, nurturing larger and larger industrial plants and boosting growth in railroad towns.

The Piedmont's industrial productivity mounted in the 20th century as the New England-based national textile industry moved to the South with its cheaper labor, proximity to cotton fields, available water power, and eventually hydroelectric power. As farming families faced desperate problems, many left the land for what they called “public work”—working for outside employers. Entire families moved into the cotton mill villages and men, women, and children labored in the mills. While the majority of the region's people still worked in agriculture, the textile industry in Alamance and Guilford counties—along with furniture manufacturing centered at nearby High Point and tobacco as well as textile manufacturing in Durham, Winston-Salem, and elsewhere—made North Carolina a national leader in those industries during most of the 20th century.

In the Piedmont as elsewhere, there were attempts at unionization, some of them successful, especially in the early 20th century, but generally the anti-union stance of the state's business and political leaders kept North Carolina one of the least unionized states in the nation.

In the last several decades, the Piedmont, like much of the country, has seen the traditional manufacturing bases all but vanish in the face of technological change and, especially, the massive shift of manufacturing jobs to other countries with cheaper labor costs. At the same time, textile manufacturing, like agriculture, has benefited from innovations promoted by business, government, and the state universities, including creation and production of new fabric types, some of them developed or produced in Alamance County plants.

Few of the old factories continued in active use into the 21st century, and many have been razed along with their accompanying workers' housing. Thanks in large part to state and federal tax credits for historic rehabilitation—including a special state tax credit for unused industrial buildings--some mills and warehouses have been repurposed for continued use, including those we will visit at Saxapahaw and in Durham. (See <http://www.hpo.ncdcr.gov/millcredits.htm>).

In short, our tour proceeds through a historic landscape of constant change as well as old traditions. When your conference organizers and tour leaders began their architectural survey work in this region a few decades ago, many if not most of the factories and farms along our route were in active use. Our tour captures this landscape at another moment in the long saga of change.

We will close our Thursday tours in Saxapahaw at an excellent example of a revived and repurposed mill and village. Those interested in seeing other repurposed mill villages may wish to add a personal journey to the Glencoe Mill Village, beside the Haw River



Oneida Mill, Graham, Alamance County. Courtesy of the North Carolina Collection, UNC-CH.

in northern Alamance County, where the statewide non-profit preservation organization Preservation North Carolina has saved a nearly intact mill village: the factory, the mill office and store, and rows of mill houses that have been upgraded for present day living. Also well worth a visit is the community of Haw River, located where the North Carolina Rail Road crosses the Haw, which includes a sequence of mill construction, churches, and homes of the millworkers and mill owner. Both are well worth a visit and convenient to major highways.

WEST GROVE FRIENDS MEETING HOUSE (CONSERVATIVE), 1915

1

4106 GREENHILL ROAD,
SNOW CAMP VICINITY, ALAMANCE COUNTY

Located in a grove of trees in the area of southern Alamance County settled by Quakers in the 18th century, this unpretentious frame meeting house is particularly interesting as a late example of a form associated with earlier Quaker practices and expressive of the national Conservative Friends movement of the late 19th and early 20th centuries. West Grove is one of several monthly meetings in Alamance, Guilford, and nearby counties. (See Society of Friends in Alamance and Guilford Counties entry.) Its history is enriched by the congregation's account of why it was built in this form and how it was actually used.



West Grove Friends Meeting House. Photo: Carl Lounsbury, 2015.

Except for its early 20th-century materials, in general appearance the 1915 meeting house might be mistaken for a much older building.

In keeping with earlier meeting house forms, the 30 by 40-foot, weatherboarded structure has a pair of main entrances on the long side, flanking a pair of windows, and secondary entrances on the gable ends. The two entrances open into a pair of meeting rooms divided by sliding panels, exemplifying the old Quaker practice of having separate rooms for men and women for business meetings, which could be joined as the shared space for worship.

Tradition reports that members of the meeting felled the timber and milled much of the lumber as well as buying components from a sash and blind factory. The interior, like the exterior, is simply finished: the walls are sheathed in matchboard, the floorboards are of pine, and the tile ceiling replaces the original matchboard ceiling. A few early benches survive along with the folding clerk's desk in the east room. Left unpainted for many years, the interior is now painted white. The plain, unmolded door and window frames maintain the character of Quaker simplicity.

The divided plan has a long history: it became popular among the reforming members of the Philadelphia Yearly Meeting in the late 1760s and spread to many parts of the country by the early 19th century. In the later 19th century, however, this plan was generally supplanted by popular, nonsectarian forms, often corresponding with changes in Quaker practices including pastoral leadership, music as a part of worship, and evangelism. In 1902, the North Carolina Yearly Meeting participated in the national trend by adopting the "Uniform Discipline" that reflected these practices. Several meetings and meeting houses in Alamance and nearby counties exemplify this approach; the nearby Spring Friends Meeting House (1907), which replaced an earlier meeting house, for example, resembles many churches of the era, with its entrance front at the gable end and Gothic Revival windows.

The Friends who established West Grove Meeting were part of a larger movement of Conservative Friends, a small minority among American Quakers who chose not to participate in various changes among Friends of the period. They adhered to old traditions in their beliefs, in the conduct of their



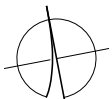
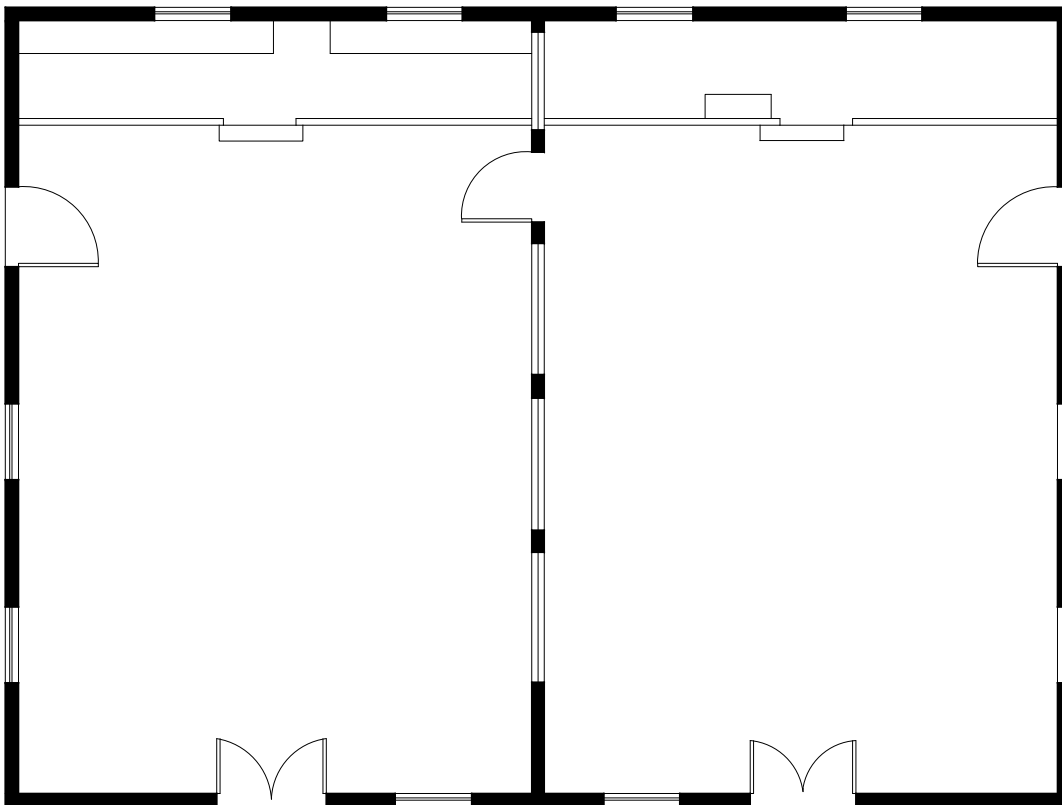
West Grove Friends Meeting House, east room. Photo: Michael Southern, 2014.

meetings as simply “waiting upon the Lord,” and sometimes in the forms of their meeting houses. Some monthly meetings in eastern North Carolina were among these. Spurred by the 1902 adoption of the Uniform Discipline, in 1904 they formed a separate yearly meeting of Conservative Friends at Cedar Grove at Woodland, North Carolina. This division came later in North Carolina than in many states. In 1912 the national body of Conservative Friends issued a statement of faith; West Grove was established shortly after that by Friends primarily from the Spring Friends Meeting and Chatham Meeting. Today, Conservative Friends are most numerous in Ohio, Iowa, and North Carolina. The website of Conservative Friends of North Carolina (<http://ncymc.org/ymmm.html>) identifies West Grove as one of eight such monthly meetings in North Carolina; see also <http://www.ncymc.org/discipline.html#h1hist>.

According to tradition, the West Grove Friends accepted support from a Conservative Quaker organization in Philadelphia, which funded their new building in the old form, with the two entrances and the divided plan with partitions. According to Charles Ansell, the current clerk of the West Grove meeting, though, the partitions have never been raised. Both men and women have held business as well as worship meetings in the east room for the past century, while the west room has served as an informal gathering space and library. Today, the small congregation gathers in the east room for the traditional service of quiet waiting and welcomes all who choose to join them.

Questions

The construction of a building with a plan based upon a practice that was likely never followed raises a question for VAF members to consider. In the absence of historical context, how accurately can a building be interpreted on the basis of form?



Plan, West Grove Friends Meeting House. Drawing: measured by Leslie Krupa and Carl Lounsbury, drawn by Leslie Krupa, 2015.

SPRING FRIENDS MEETING HOUSE 1907

2

3323 EAST GREENSBORO-CHAPEL HILL RD,
SNOW CAMP, ALAMANCE COUNTY

Named for a nearby spring, this meeting was organized in 1751 and established in 1773 as the center of one of the earliest Quaker settlements in current Alamance County. The present frame meeting house exemplifies changes in Friends' meeting houses after the national Society of Friends adopted the Uniform Discipline (1902): the gable-fronted structure with pointed arched windows and a meeting room with a center aisle marked a significant change from the earlier format with two entrances for men's and women's business meetings. First-Day meetings here include both semi-programmed and unprogrammed services; no pastor is employed. The building's proximity in time and place to the intentionally conservative **West Grove Friends Meeting House** (1915) illustrates a notable chapter in Friends' history and architecture. (See 1987 National Register nomination by Patricia Dickinson at <http://www.hpo.ncdcr.gov/nr/AM0397.pdf>.)



Spring Friends Meeting House. Photo: Michael Southern, 2016.

SNOW CAMP



INTERSECTION OF GREENSBORO-CHAPEL
HILL ROAD AND SNOW CAMP ROAD,
ALAMANCE COUNTY

Said to have taken its name when a mid-18th-century hunting party camped here along Cane Creek during a snowfall, this community settled by Quakers and others comprises a crossroads village and the area around it. There are several simple frame and (covered) log buildings. The Snow Camp Dam on Cane Creek is believed to have been built in the 18th century for a miller who brought his millstone with him from Pennsylvania.

Tour participants especially interested in Quaker heritage may wish to make private visits at another time to the outdoor Snow Camp Historical Drama Site, a mile south of the main intersection. In addition to an amphitheater for summer outdoor plays commemorating the Quaker experience, several log and frame buildings with Quaker associations have been moved to the site, including the 1904 New Hope Meeting House from Randolph County and the 1902 Chatham Friends Meeting House.

CANE CREEK MEETING HOUSE 1942



719 WEST GREENSBORO-CHAPEL HILL RD,
SNOW CAMP, ALAMANCE COUNTY



This simple, brick, Colonial Revival-style meeting house was built for a venerable Quaker meeting to succeed meeting houses that burned in 1873 and 1942. Cane Creek Meeting, established in 1751, is considered the “mother meeting” in the area and continues as an active meeting that employs a minister. The large graveyard contains notable markers from the 18th century onward.

Cane Creek Meeting House and Cemetery. Photo: Michael Southern, 2016.

**OLD BRICK CHURCH
(BRICK CHURCH; CLAPP CHURCH)
1813, CA. 1840, 1946.**

5

3699 BRICK CHURCH ROAD,
WHITSETT VICINITY, GUILFORD COUNTY

The tall, severely dignified brick church on its hilltop site represents the early and lasting importance of German settlers in eastern Guilford and western Alamance County. It was built in its present form in about 1840 for one of North Carolina's earliest German Reformed congregations, which was established in the 1740s. Members of the German Reformed denomination, a Calvinist group in Philadelphia in the early 18th century, were part of the movement of German settlers into the central and western Piedmont which also included Lutherans and Moravians. The graveyard contains German-language markers from the late 18th and early 19th centuries as well as later stones commemorating early immigrants.



Old Brick Church. Photo: Heather Slane, 2009.

The form and plan of the Old Brick Church contrast with the traditional meeting house arrangement seen in some Reformed and Lutheran churches in the western Piedmont, which have the main entrance on the long (usually south) side and the pulpit opposite. Likely reflecting the congregation's adaptation to changing times, here as in other Protestant churches of the mid-19th century such as Hawfields Presbyterian Church, congregants enter at the short (south) gable end, where a pair of doors opens into a double-aisle plan with the pulpit at the north gable end.

The Old Brick Church has a long history and a complex and still puzzling construction story. Formed in 1748 by brothers George Valentine Clapp and John Ludwig Clapp, who came to Guilford County from Pennsylvania, this congregation like many others worshipped in a log church for many years; it was known as the church on Beaver Creek and Der Klapp Kirche. In 1813, according to tradition, the congregation erected a brick church, which was sufficiently unusual for its time and place to earn its name as simply the Brick Church. Confirmation appears in an 1816 newspaper advertisement for merchants Clapp and Penny "near the New Brick Church." The name "Clapp's Church" also continued for many years.

Tradition asserts that about 1840 the brick church building was taken down because of structural problems and the present church erected, using some of the old materials. One traditional account says the walls were rebuilt one at a time, though how this might have been accomplished is a mystery. How much of the old materials were reused and how the present form and plan relate to the preceding building are unknown. A 2015 dendrochronology study indicates that the floor joists of the church date from about 1813; further research may fill out the story.



Old Brick Church, 1920s. Photo: Courtesy of Brick Reformed Church.

The 40 by 50-foot church is built of brick laid in 1:4 bond above a stuccoed fieldstone foundation. A secondary entrance at the northeast corner evidently served the gallery. Ranks of windows at both stories light the sanctuary, with the first-story windows wider than those above. Small circular openings in both gables ventilate the attic. Originally the gabled roof terminated in a boxed cornice and flush rake boards, but a renovation in 1946 added a broader roof overhang as well as a thin parge coat over the brick walls.



Old Brick Church, interior. Photo: Carl Lounsbury, 2015.

The sanctuary is one great, brightly lighted room with plastered walls, galleries on three sides, and a high barrel-vaulted ceiling of pale green wooden boards running the length of the building. The gentle arch of the ceiling is similar to Reformed and Lutheran churches erected in southeastern Pennsylvania in the early 19th century. The roof structure is especially interesting. Chamfered tie beams span the building from east to west; rising from the center of each beam is a chamfered post that extends to the ceiling. Hidden from view by the ceiling is heavy kingpost-truss roof structure.

The main seating consists of benches of broad, hand-planed boards with sloped backs and scrolled arms.

The two aisles separate three ranks of benches facing the pulpit; evidence of a low partition dividing the middle rank of benches suggests an earlier segregation by gender. The pulpit on its broad dais has moldings and raised panels suggesting it is early if not original. Flanking the dais are benches facing toward the center.

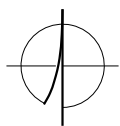
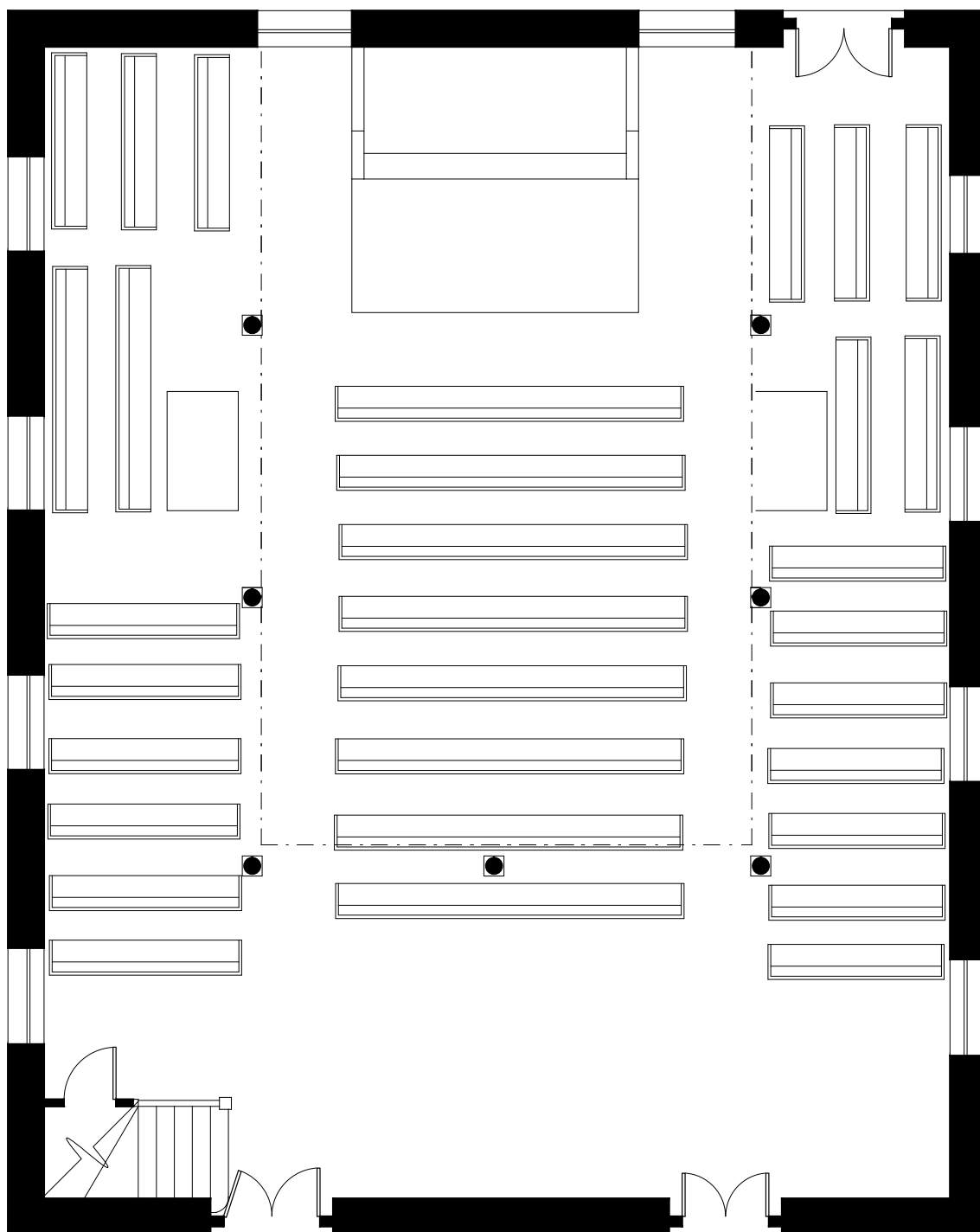
The galleries, with sloping floors carried on simple wooden columns, retain a few old benches, backless with riven legs. The sole access to the galleries is a winder stair just inside the west front door, which features a flat, decoratively pierced balustrade, but a patch in the gallery floor in the northeast corner suggests a former stair from the entrance in that corner. No longer used for regular services but revered for its place in history, the 19th-century building is now known as the Old Brick Church. It is part of the Brick Reformed Church complex that includes a newer sanctuary with a Sunday school wing.



Old Brick Church cemetery, German-language headstone of Anna Maria Allbrecht (1733-1803). Photo: Carl Lounsbury, 2015.

Questions

What do you make of the traditional story of taking down the initial brick church and building the new one in about 1840? Can you discern which elements date from the traditional ca. 1840 rebuilding and which from the earlier church? Why do you think the congregation built a gable-fronted church rather than following the gable-sided format of earlier meeting houses? What evidence of change do you notice in the pews or other furnishings? What is the purpose of the posts that rise from the visible tie beams?



0 5 15



Feet

Plan, Old Brick Church. Drawing: measured by Chris Jackson, Leslie Krupa, Robert Watkins, Carl Lounsbury, drawn by Robert Watkins, 2015.

JAMESTOWN

Surrounded by development in every direction, “Old Jamestown,” which flanks the ancient Petersburg to Salisbury road—now a perilously busy highway between Greensboro and High Point—retains the principal concentration of mid-Atlantic influenced Quaker architecture in the state. In our minds’ eyes, we can imagine the small, sylvan 19th-century community that encompassed the houses, store, barn, and meeting house we will visit here. Although Jamestown contains architecture from various eras, the buildings we will visit date from the first decades of the 19th century and were associated mainly with the Quaker Mendenhall family.

Settled in the mid-18th century by Quakers and others coming chiefly from Pennsylvania, Jamestown was located near where the old road crossed the Deep River and was part of a more extensive Quaker presence along that river and its tributaries. The Friends in Jamestown were members of Deep River Monthly Meeting (est. 1753) across the river. In addition to the numerous Friends, the village also included Presbyterians, Methodists, and Baptists.

The community was named for James Mendenhall (1718-1782), who came from Chester County, Pennsylvania in 1754 and established a farm plus a gristmill and a sawmill by the old road’s ford across the Deep River. Several of James and Hannah Mendenhall’s children



remained in the area after their parents left for Georgia around 1770. George Mendenhall (1751-1805) stayed at his parents' ca. 1765 homestead and prospered. (That early farmstead and mill site were flooded when the river was dammed in 1927 to form High Point Lake; old photographs show the long, 2-story frame house, and at low water remnants of the foundations are visible.) George went on to establish and plat the village of Jamestown, which he named for his father. George's children included George C. Mendenhall (ca.1800-1859), who stayed at the old homeplace by the river and became a prominent political figure and attorney, and Richard Mendenhall (1778-1851), a tanner, merchant, farmer, and community leader whose house in Jamestown we will visit.

As will be discussed, Richard and his wife, Mary, established their homestead, the brick Mendenhall House, in the village and also built the Mendenhall Store across the road. The Mendenhall family further supported construction of the Jamestown Friends Meeting House as an "indulged" meeting to accommodate local Friends when they could not cross the river to the Deep River Friends Meeting House.



Jamestown Main Street. Courtesy of the North Carolina Collection, UNC-CH.

Antebellum Jamestown became known as a progressive intellectual center with a small law school and a medical school, a female seminary, a masonic lodge, and a manumission society. Southeast of town, an old waterpower site on the Deep River supported an antebellum grist mill, and other trades flourished including a hat shop and gunmakers who gained fame for the "Jamestown Rifle." The 1856 completion of the North Carolina Rail Road, long promoted by local residents, shifted the town center eastward from the old village to "East Jamestown," encouraged local industry, and made Jamestown an important stop on the east-west rail line.

An important topic in the history of Jamestown is the relationship of the local Friends, including the Mendenhalls, with the institution of slavery that dominated the South. Like other Quakers, they faced many complex situations because of their pacifism and opposition to slavery. Before the Civil War, Richard Mendenhall was president of the North Carolina Manumission Society, a group that included 50 other residents of the Deep River-Jamestown community. Here as in some other locales, some Friends owned slaves, in some cases with the intention of emancipating them or, as that became more difficult under state law, to go north. An especially notable figure was Richard's brother, George C. Mendenhall, the attorney and elected official, whose first marriage to a non-Quaker woman who owned slaves caused him to be "disowned" by Deep River Meeting. He nonetheless opposed slavery and, encouraged by his second wife, took steps in the 1850s to emancipate numerous enslaved people and provide for their safe passage to free homes in Ohio.

As sectional tensions mounted and the Civil War broke out, the issue of slavery grew ever more contentious between various factions in Guilford County. The county had a reputation

for its anti-slavery advocates, but there were also many citizens who supported slavery and owned slaves. The Friends in Jamestown as elsewhere in North Carolina found their situation even more difficult. Some joined the ongoing exodus to free states. Those who stayed in their hereditary community often trod a narrow path of adhering to their convictions, while maintaining peaceful relations with their neighbors who held other views. Local legend claims that the Underground Railroad was active in Jamestown as well as Greensboro, but few specific locations have been documented.

When peace came, according to a report in the Raleigh Daily Standard of June 10, 1865, citizens of Guilford County held a large Union meeting at Jamestown, which began with the hoisting of a “beautiful Union flag, presented by the ladies of Jamestown and vicinity.” The group adopted resolutions condemning the “diabolical war” and four years of “despotic” measures and loss of rights, and hailed the renewed opportunity “as free and independent

American citizens, of expressing freely and fearlessly our sentiments.” They looked forward to rebuilding the state as loyal Americans. Within a short time, Richard Mendenhall’s children, Nereus and Judith, began working with the Freedmen’s Bureau to establish schools for freedpeople, as well as to renew local business and improve education in the area.

In the later 19th century, the growth of nearby High Point, located at the apex of the North Carolina Rail Road where it crossed the plank road from Fayetteville to Bethania, outstripped Jamestown in size and economic importance, as did Greensboro, the seat of Guilford County. Jamestown receded into a relatively quiet community in the early 20th century,

and later in the century it was surrounded by expanding development. The Quaker presence continued—and continues—in the area, with several active meetings including the venerable Deep River Friends Meeting three miles north and a recently renewed meeting in Jamestown.

Jamestown Friends Meeting House and the Politics of Abolition.

In 1850, the little Jamestown Friends Meeting House was briefly the scene of a controversial event. At this time, northern Wesleyan Methodist missionaries supported by the abolitionist American Missionary Association were carrying their anti-slavery message into the South. (The Wesleyan Methodists had broken with the Methodist Episcopal Church over slavery.) Two such missionaries, Jesse McBride and Adam Crooks, went to Guilford County in the 1840s to serve Methodist congregations there and soon undertook evangelical work among whites and blacks. On September 9, 1850, according to a complaint in the Greensboro Patriot of September 28, the two “Wesleyan Methodist preachers” preached in Jamestown at 10 a.m. and 3 p.m. The writer, who was visiting the community, attended the afternoon service, “which was held in



James and George Mendenhall House. Courtesy of Friends Historical Collection, Guilford College.

the Friends' Meetinghouse," where McBride and Crooks "held forth" against "wicked, sinful, and oppressive slave holders," and one "sent the whole Southern Church to hell—declaring it impossible for them to be saved." Worse, the audience included "some twenty or thirty darkies, whether bond or free I know not," an "outrage" that was bound to "create dissatisfaction and insubordination among our domestics—if not to excite them to deeds of the blackest hue." The writer explained that he had heard of the missionaries earlier, "and on arriving in Jamestown was told by highly respectable persons, that they touched the subject of abolition very cautiously, and one of the men was spoken of as very amiable and pious. When I told them of the sermon, some expressed astonishment—for be it known, many of the good people of Jamestown do not countenance these men by going to hear them—(And I wonder that the Society of Friends should open their meeting house to them, and thus have it polluted.)" He urged the citizens of Jamestown to prevent the preachers from returning.

The following year, missionary Jesse McBride returned to Jamestown but decided to preach at the "Free Church," which served local Methodists and others. Learning that local citizens planned to meet at the Free Church to block the "abolitionist emissary," McBride went to a private home across the river, where he spoke to a racially mixed assemblage. A newspaper account assured readers that the northern abolitionists had "very few sympathizers among us. The good Quakers of the county give them no place in their pulpits, and a united, quiet and determined opposition to them throughout the county will accomplish all that could be desired" (*Salisbury Carolina Watchman*, May 1, 1851). Crooks and McBride were arrested "for inciting insurrection by distributing antislavery literature." Their attorney was George C. Mendenhall. McBride was sentenced to 20 lashes and imprisonment, while Crooks was set free. Both were banned from the area.

JAMESTOWN FRIENDS MEETING HOUSE CA. 1819

602 WEST MAIN STREET, HIGH POINT CITY LAKE
PARK, JAMESTOWN, GUILFORD COUNTY

The oldest standing Quaker meeting house in North Carolina, this modest building retains its original brick shell and seemingly archaic plan. The Jamestown Friends, who included many members of the Mendenhall family, were part of the Deep River Monthly Meeting established in the colonial period across the river from Jamestown. With the permission of the Deep River meeting, the Mendenhalls erected this structure on their own land to serve as an “indulged meeting” when weather or high water prevented the Jamestown folk from making their usual 2 ½-mile journey.

The meeting house is square in plan beneath a gable roof, measuring just over 26 feet by 26 feet, with entrances on all four sides to accommodate separate seating for men, women, and elders. The main entrance is on the south front. An unusual example of an early brick Quaker meeting house in the state when most were of wooden construction, it shares details with the Mendenhall House and Store. The walls are of hard-fired red and purple bricks with irregular edges, roughly laid in Flemish bond atop fieldstone foundations and finished with a mousetooth cornice of angled bricks. The doors and windows are topped by segmental arches. Most of the woodwork and all of the hardware date from a 20th-century restoration, but the central posts and a summer beam akin to one at the Mendenhall Store appear to be original.



Jamestown Friends Meeting House. Photo: Bill Garrett, 2013.

The meeting house displays a notably late usage of an arrangement used earlier in the mid-Atlantic zone—a slightly elevated entrance on the north side to enable Quaker elders, “weighty Friends,” or notable visitors to enter their separate seating on a raised platform. Why this feature was employed in this meeting house is not known. Nor is it known whether the older (now lost) meeting houses in the area had such an arrangement.

The Mendenhall family deeded this property to the trustees of Deep River Monthly Meeting in 1819, but in 1860 George C. Mendenhall deeded the property to the town of Jamestown, specifying, “the brick meeting house thereon to be held more especially for the use of the Society of Friends and generally for the use of all religious denominations who profess the religion of Jesus Christ.” After the Civil War, the building held a school and later an African-American Primitive Baptist church. Restorations were made ca. 1940 when it became a museum at High Point’s City Lake Park. (Note that due to the creation of the park, some of the resources we are visiting in Jamestown are located in High Point City Lake Park within the limits of the City of High Point’s city limits and other are within Jamestown’s.)



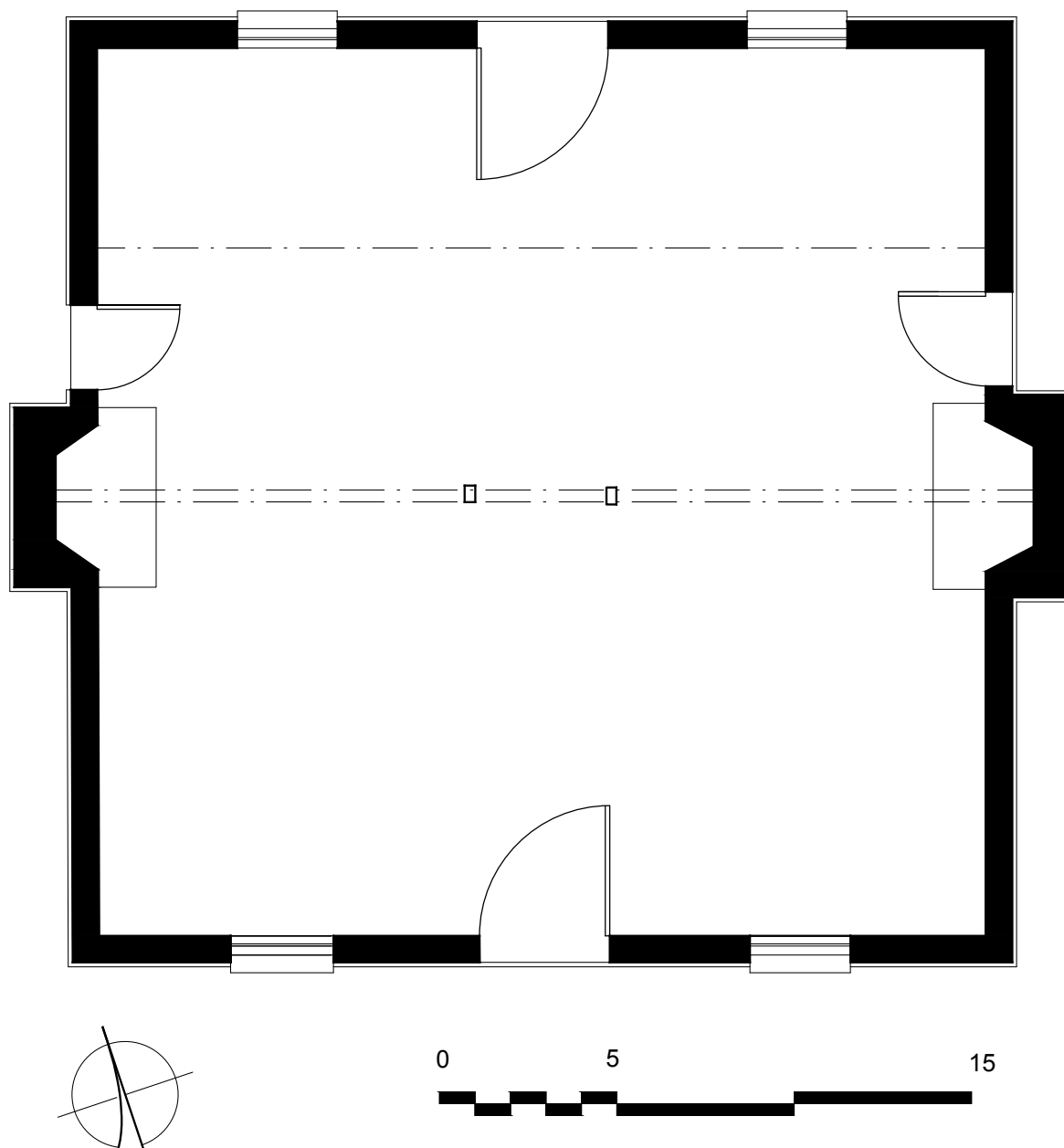
Jamestown Friends Meeting House. Photo: Thomas T. Waterman, 1940. Courtesy of the Library of Congress.

Questions

Why would the Jamestown Quakers choose an old-fashioned rear door arrangement for a new building? Was it a custom continued locally after it went out of use elsewhere? Do you think the central beaded posts and summer beams are original? What was the purpose of the exterior fireboxes, now infilled with fieldstone?



Jamestown Friends Meeting House interior, showing raised platform and door on north wall. Photo: Carl Lounsbury, 2015.



Jamestown Friends Meeting House. Plan: measured by Leslie Krupa and Samantha Smith, drawn by Samantha Smith, 2015.

MENDENHALL STORE 1824

602 WEST MAIN STREET, HIGH POINT CITY
LAKE PARK, JAMESTOWN, GUILFORD COUNTY



Mendenhall Store. Photo: Carl Lounsbury, 2015.



Mendenhall Store, cornice return with initials. Carl Lounsbury, 2015.

About a dozen years after their marriage in 1812 and the construction of their family home, Richard and Mary Mendenhall erected the prominent brick store across the road. One of the oldest purpose-built store buildings in the state, it displays construction details similar to the nearby Mendenhall House and Jamestown Friends Meeting House and has a plan arranged for commercial use. In a customary gesture, the Mendenhalls marked their building in two soapstone cornice returns on the west gable end—one carved 1824 and the other RMM. The alignment of the initials indicates that the upper M stands for Mendenhall, and the other two letters for Richard and Mary.

In keeping with its purpose, the brick store is substantial but not unnecessarily refined. Set on a fieldstone foundation, the walls are of somewhat irregularly formed brick laid in Flemish bond, similar to the nearby meeting house. There are small, circular vents in the attic gables like those at the Mendenhall House and low, brick parapets above them, and the mousetooth cornice of angled bricks repeats a motif seen at the meeting house. There are three rooms on the ground floor and two unheated rooms above, probably storage rooms, reached by an enclosed stair. Two separate cellars are reached from the south exterior through (replacement) batten cellar doors with strap hinges, copied from an old one found in the cellar.

Fieldstone steps lead to entrances on all four sides. The two most visible entries, on the south and west facing the roads, feature rough stone lintels. Windows are topped with flat jack arches and header bricks. On the north (rear) side the absence of window openings west of the central entrance may reflect the intended position of interior shelving and counters. A door at the second level has no evidence of a winch or hauling system, so its purpose is a mystery.

The heavy roof frame repeats that of the first two stages of the Mendenhall barn across the

street. Mainly of oak, it consists of sash-sawn common rafters mortised, tenoned, and pegged at their apex and supported by an angled queen post and an angled strut. These are pegged into the hewn ceiling joists below, carried by a central summer beam and visible in the second-story rooms.

The interior is plainly and neatly finished, with exterior walls plastered directly on the brickwork and both wooden and brick partition walls. A few oddities raise questions. Most of



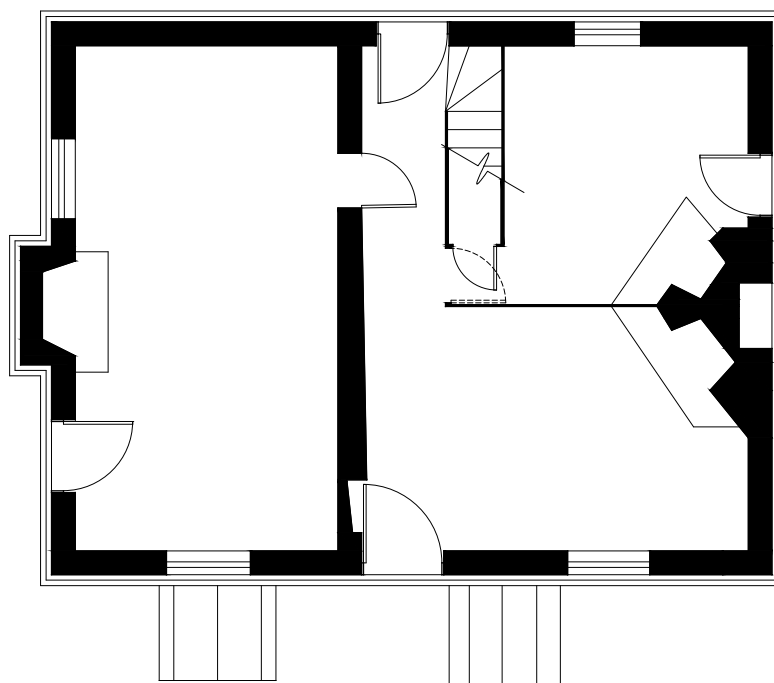
Mendenhall Store, roof framing. Photo: Carl Lounsbury, 2015.

the outer brick walls step in about four inches at a height of about four feet, and the central brick partition wall angles toward the south door and only a jog in the wall permits the door to open fully.

After its use as a store, the building served as a residence, and the plan was altered in the 20th century with a kitchen below and a bathroom upstairs. Jamestown residents advocated for restoration of the building for a museum as the City of High Point developed City Lake Park in 1934.

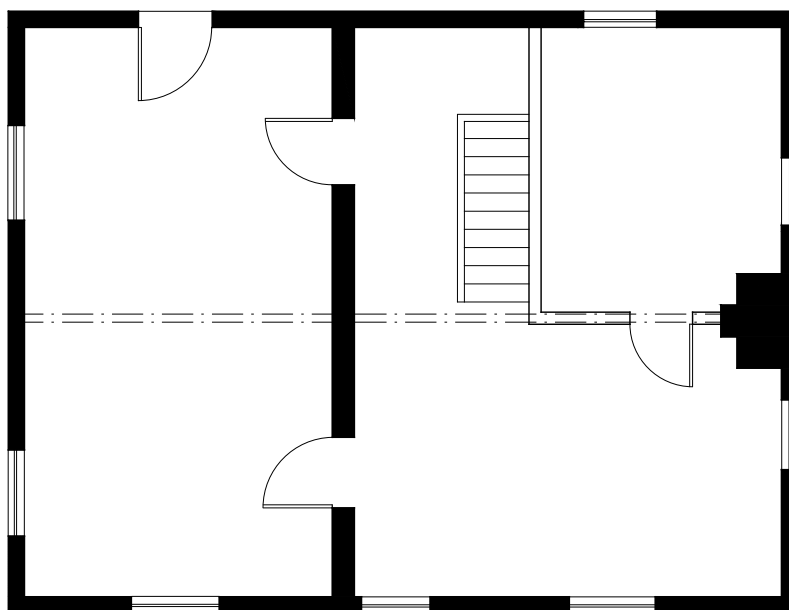
Questions

Were all three of the first-story rooms heated originally, or only two of them, with the large west room receiving a chimney later on? What were the room uses? What was the purpose of the exterior fireplace on the west wall with its segmental arch? How does the roof framing system relate to others in the region or in areas such as Pennsylvania or the Valley of Virginia? Why two separate cellars?



0 5 15

Plan, Mendenhall Store, first floor. Drawing: measured by Evelyn Strobe and Carl Lounsbury, drawn by Evelyn Strobe, 2015.



0 5 15
FEET

PERIOD I c. 1824
MODERN OR UNKNOWN



Plan, Mendenhall Store, second floor. Drawing: measured by Evelyn Strobe and Carl Lounsbury, drawn by Evelyn Strobe, 2015.

MENDENHALL HOUSE CA. 1811

603 WEST MAIN STREET,
JAMESTOWN, GUILFORD COUNTY



Mendenhall House. Photo: Bill Garrett, 2013.

Erected for Richard and Mary Mendenhall in the second decade of the 19th century, this two-story brick house is a prominent example of the traditional dwellings built for Quakers in the central Piedmont. Located at a key junction in the 19th-century stagecoach village begun by the Mendenhall family, it was part of a larger farmstead; the present site includes a springhouse, the Mendenhall Barn, and other outbuildings. The house maintains its patina and evidence of its evolution over the years without having suffered from restoration, thus encouraging VAF visitors to puzzle out its phases of development.

Richard Mendenhall (1778-1851), a grandson of James Mendenhall, was the third generation of the large Quaker family of Deep River Meeting which included his prominent brother, George C., an attorney and public official who was disowned by the Quakers for marrying a non-Quaker. In 1792, Richard was sent to the old family home in Chester County, Pennsylvania, where he apprenticed as a tanner. Returning to Jamestown in 1797, he settled in the newly platted village. In 1812 he married Mary Pegg (1778-1867), at about the same time (ca. 1811) he built the original portion of the brick house. Richard and Mary Mendenhall raised a large family, and they and their children made changes and additions over the years. Richard Mendenhall was an organizer and president of the North Carolina Manumission Society and a supporter of temperance and internal improvements including the North Carolina Rail Road, though he died in 1851 before the railroad arrived in Jamestown.

The Mendenhalls, like other local families, were strong supporters of education. In 1818 Richard Mendenhall and his neighbor, David Lindsay, advertised for students to apply to their Jamestown Female Seminary. Some of Richard and Mary's children became teachers, including their daughters, Minerva and Judith, and their distinguished son, Nereus, a graduate

of Haverford College who became a Quaker leader, physician, educator, and state legislator. Another son, Cyrus, became a business and political leader in Greensboro. Minerva Mendenhall (1813-1900), the eldest daughter, spent her long life in the house. She operated a school here, and for a few years after the Civil War she served as postmistress.

Typical of the best buildings of its time and place, the house erected for the Mendenhalls in the 1810s



Mendenhall House. Photo: Carl Lounsbury, 2015.

is substantially built and well-crafted, but relatively modest in size and finish. Oriented to the slope of the site, the initial section of the house, which follows a hall-parlor plan, rests on a fieldstone foundation with a partially lighted cellar that opens into the lower slope. The house—one of numerous brick houses built for Quakers before 1830 in Guilford County—features brick walls laid in Flemish bond. Round gable vents are similar to those at the Mendenhall Store. Some accounts report that a similar blind vent in the chimney once held a date brick of 1811. The main (north) entrance and the windows in this section have segmental arched heads. Two small 12-light cellar windows flanking the cellar door have heavy frames, with the western window barred for security. The east cellar room has a hearth fitted with a wrought-iron crane, confirming family tradition of its use as a kitchen.

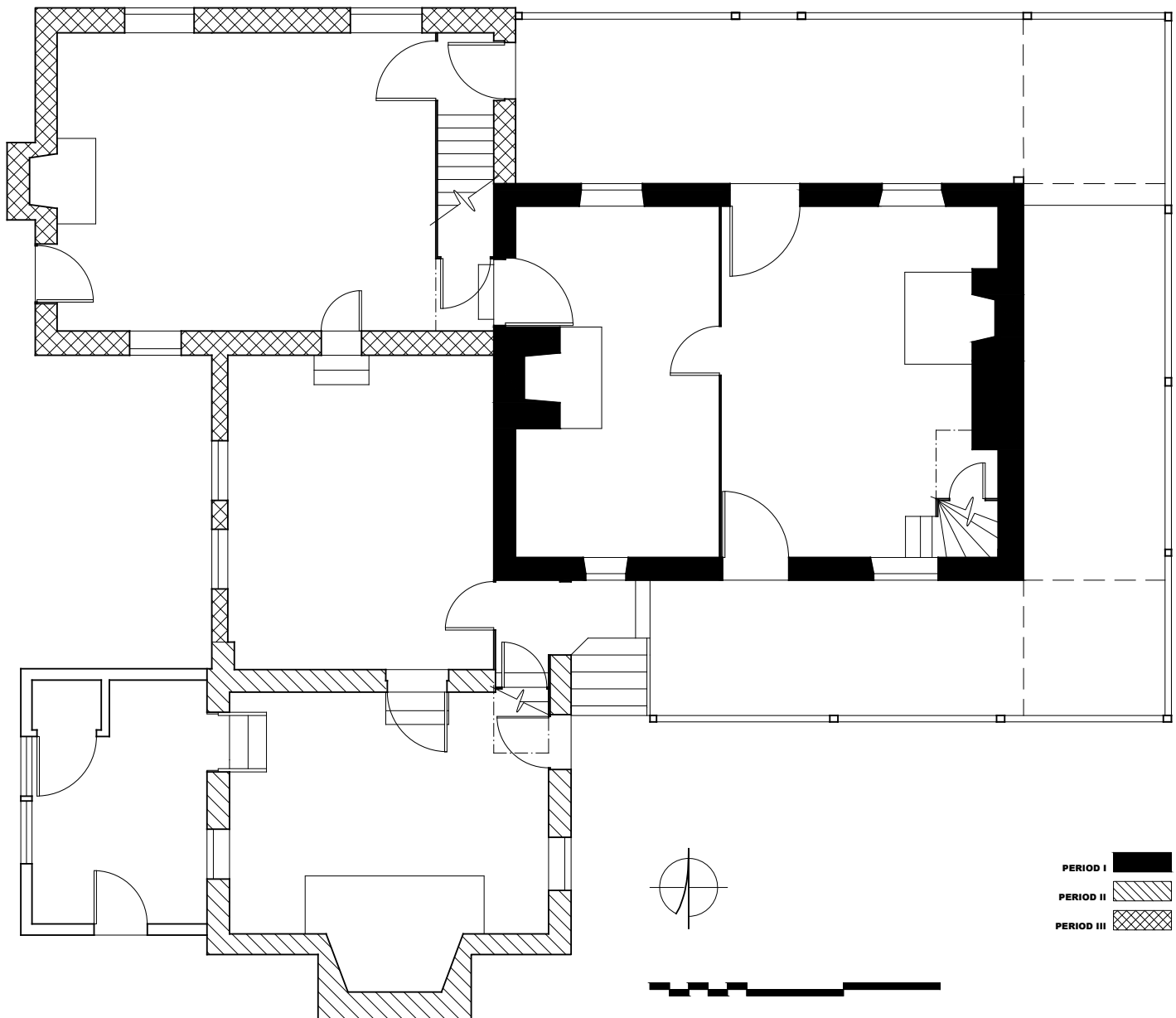
The family had no need for the classical modillion cornices or pedimented porticoes of some houses in the Federal style. “Neat” and “workmanlike” but not “elegant” would have described their preferences. The two first-story rooms are divided by a vertical beaded-board partition while the outer walls are plastered. The arched heads of the window openings are expressed both on the exterior and as vaulted plaster headings above the wooden lintels inside. Splayed window reveals maximize the natural light through the thick walls. The easternmost windows on the north side may have been enlarged, possibly in the 1840s, along with the second-story windows. Despite the absence of fashionable motifs, evidence of the period of construction appears in the types of nails, hinges, and other hardware and in the molding profiles of the finished carpentry work—all showing a transitional period in the early 19th century in keeping with local tradition.

The compact (and photogenic) enclosed corner stair has a batten door with cast-iron butt hinges, while the under-stair closet door has strap hinges with double-struck and machine-cut nails and leather washers. This combination of hardware reflects the period when early cut nails were giving way to fully machined ones and when butt hinges replaced hand-forged side hinges, still used in less conspicuous spots. The second story is similarly finished and has original front and rear doors, indicating two-story porches on both facades. Small mortises in the rear wall suggest that the original back porch was only one bay wide.

The outside brick kitchen was probably built soon after the first section of the main house. Its walls are also laid in Flemish bond, with somewhat smaller bricks and mortar joints. A notable feature is the parapeted gable at the southern end next to the large, steep-shouldered, exterior chimney. The parapet is similar to the 1824 store across the road and may have been built as a fireproofing measure. The plainly finished kitchen has a stone hearth and a brick firebox with beveled wooden lintel. A reproduction wrought-iron crane is hinged on probably original gudgeons (sockets) set into the fireplace jambs. The upper half-story of the kitchen



Mendenhall House, interior stair. Courtesy of the NCHPO.



Plan, Mendenhall House. Drawing: measured by Chris Jackson, Leslie Krupa, Willie Graham, drawn by ,2015.

is heated, suggesting use as a sleeping chamber. The Mendenhalls' decision to have both a cellar kitchen and a detached one might have reflected changing social expectations or, more likely, seasonal uses to accommodate winter and summer weather.

Probably during the 1830s, the Mendenhalls invested in a major expansion of the house, erecting at the northwest corner an addition containing a large entertainment room on the main floor. Notably, the addition has brick walls in the lower story and frame above (see "A Dark and Stormy Night in 1837"). The finish includes board sheathing on the walls and ceiling and details indicative of the era, including the Greek Revival moldings and mantel in the first-story room, large 24/24 sash windows, and hardware indicative of the late 1830s or the 1840s. At about the same time they built or rebuilt the front wing, the Mendenhalls infilled the area

between the old kitchen and the addition. The somewhat puzzling sequence of secondary and linking additions may engage the interest of construction history sleuths. Several elements suggest the infill is contemporary with the front west wing, including cut nails with small, square heads; batten doors as well as two-panel Greek Revival doors; and a mid-19th-century lock.

Over the years, the Mendenhalls, including Richard's widow and children, continued to make changes to the house. The present wraparound porch evidently replaced earlier porches on the front and back, and a close look at evidence may suggest a chronology of porch building over several years. At some time prior to 1867, the Mendenhalls added the eastern, one-story gallery porch to form the present configuration. After Minerva Mendenhall became postmistress in 1867, she had the porch enclosed on the east end and wooden mailboxes attached to the exterior masonry wall of the house. The house served as a residence until 1957, and a new concrete block kitchen was added to the old kitchen building. Few changes have been made since that time. (For additional information, see the 1972 National Register nomination at <http://www.hpo.ncdcr.gov/nr/GF0014.pdf>.)

Further curious construction details for the construction-curious:

The house's downstairs face-nailed chair boards have Roman cyma backband caps with only slightly larger and more sophisticated chairboards and baseboards upstairs. The exterior doors' backband molding suggests a barely quirked cyma, which shows the early transition to neoclassical ornamentation.

Speculation has been raised as to whether the roof of the original portion of the house had parapets. A parged coat over top of the gable wall, seen in the attic, has suggested to some that there were parapets removed at a later date. However, this parging was done in the twentieth century using Portland cement and seems to have been contemporary with the re-sheathing of the roof, which took place many years after an 1880s photograph of the house that shows the main house without parapets.

The upper room between the kitchen and the addition, which may have served as a bedchamber, has exposed construction elements including pole rafters and a view of the exterior brick wall of the original house. This room adjoins the upper story of the kitchen and encapsulates the kitchen's original roof overhang. The building also includes such oddities as machine cut nails remanufactured to look like T-headed nails, and cut nails with unusually small, square heads.

A Dark and Stormy Night in 1837

The combination of brick and frame construction was explained as the result of storm damage. Richard Mendenhall's granddaughter, Mary Mendenhall Hobbs (1852-1930), recalled for a report in the *Greensboro Daily News* of January 19, 1930: "A dining room and kitchen and parlor were added to the western side and space above for sleeping rooms. Bed rooms were added to the east, which have been removed since the house passed out of the hands of the family. At this time, doubtless the front porch was added. A terrible storm blew off the entire west upper story. A temporary repair was made of wood, which, however, has remained to the present time." New access to old newspapers via newspapers.com, provides a contemporary account: George C. Mendenhall published in the Salisbury *Carolina Watchman* of April 15, 1837, an account of a "furious storm" that struck Jamestown at about 10 p.m. on April 7 and swept one building after another off its foundations and destroyed many roofs and chimneys, "Then came my brother Richard Mendenhall's large brick building, adjoining to and part of his main dwelling house, this was torn down and the walls and roof driven headlong into the street down to the upper floor, and his little son Junius asleep or in bed in the lower apartment & remaining unhurt." George's wife, Delphina, provided further details: "Brother Richard's parlor fell over Junius' bed—he was frightened almost to death, but not a hair of his head perished." George reported that the damaged building was "undergoing repair rapidly, and will soon be comfortable again."

MENDENHALL BARN EARLY 19TH C. – CA. 1900

603 WEST MAIN STREET,
JAMESTOWN, GUILFORD COUNTY



Mendenhall Barn. Photo: Carl Lounsbury, 2015.

The two-story, frame barn, built in three stages from the early 19th century to about 1900, is a true bank barn. It set into the south-sloping hillside, with wagon access on the north side to the upper level storage area for hay and perhaps other feed grains, and stalls for animals opening on the south side below. Although this barn type appears frequently in the mid-Atlantic area and the Valley of Virginia, it is extremely rare in North Carolina. (There are few large early barns in the central Piedmont. Double-crib log barns generally dating

from the 19th century are the most common type in the central and western Piedmont, especially in areas of German settlement west of our tour route.)

Why the Mendenhall family built such a barn is a question that has intrigued many observers. Some have *speculated* that when the first generations of settlers came to the Jamestown area from Pennsylvania in the mid-18th century, the bank barn tradition had not yet developed back home, but that by the time Richard Mendenhall went as a youth to Pennsylvania for training

as a tanner, farmers there had adopted the bank barn form, and he decided to build such a barn when he returned to North Carolina. Lacking any documentation, the question remains open. Whether there were other such barns in this area, now lost, is also unknown.



Mendenhall Barn, timber frame. Photo: Carl Lounsbury, 2015.

The long rectangular structure, which measures 95 by 25 ½ feet, was built in three major phases identifiable by the configuration of the framing, saw marks, and nail types. The earliest portion (Period I), which dates from the first quarter of the 19th century, encompasses the three westernmost bays and measures 30 by 25 ½ feet, and another bay to the east, measuring 15 by 25 ½ feet, was soon added (Period II). Both have hewn and sash sawn oak framing members mortised and tenoned. About 1900, the balloon-framed easternmost bay (30- by 25 ½ feet) was built (Period III), repairs were made to the earlier sections, new stalls were built on the ground floor, and the whole barn was re-sheathed in vertical board and batten. The roof is covered with tin atop older wood shingles. Center posts with upbraces as well as the walls of the stone foundations divide the three sections. The upper floor overhangs the lower floor openings by 4 ½ feet; notably, the

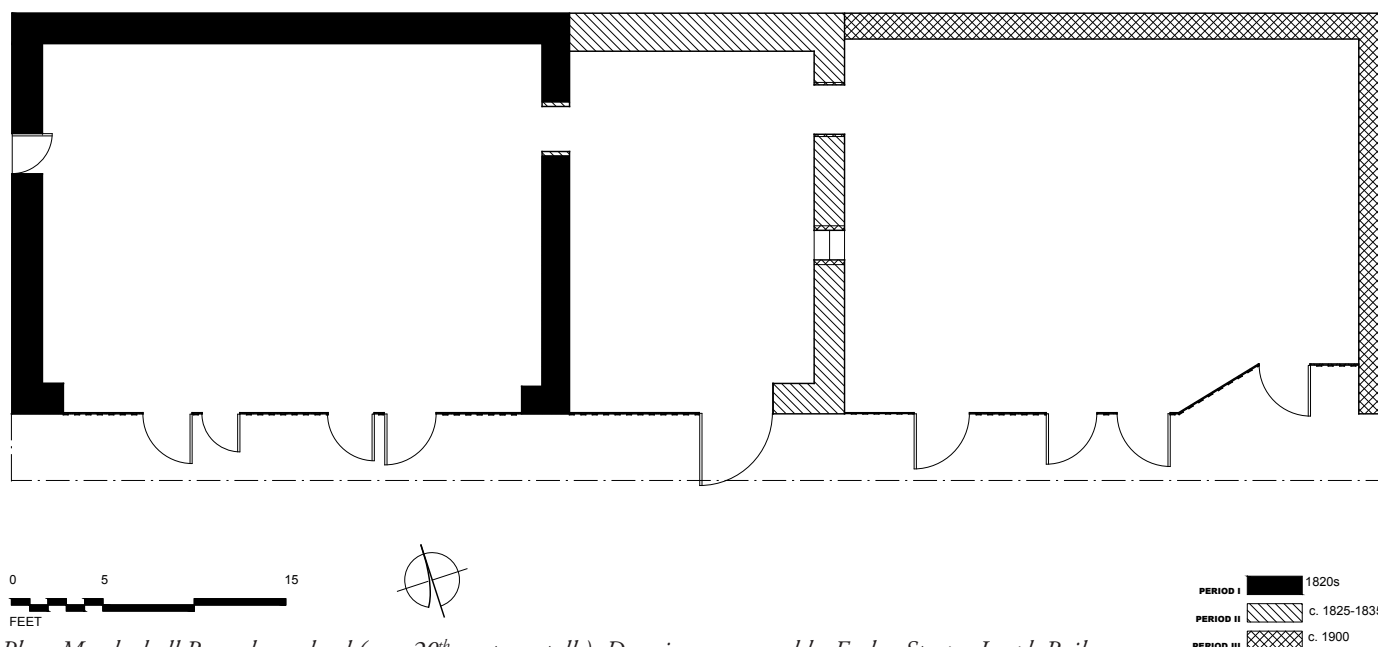
continuous, original north-south floor joists in the Period I section indicate that this was an original feature that was continued in subsequent phases.

An intriguing feature of the barn is the roof framing of the earliest two sections, which raises questions about regional carpentry traditions and their origins. It displays an unusual truss system, which resembles a queen truss turned at the angle of the roof slope. The common rafters rest on a purlin, which is supported by two angled brackets tenoned into the tie beams. An almost identical truss system exists at the **Mendenhall Store** (1824) across the road. The origins of this system are not identified. John Larson of Old Salem holds that it is not Germanic. Whether there are other examples in the Carolina Piedmont or antecedents in the mid-Atlantic area remains unknown.

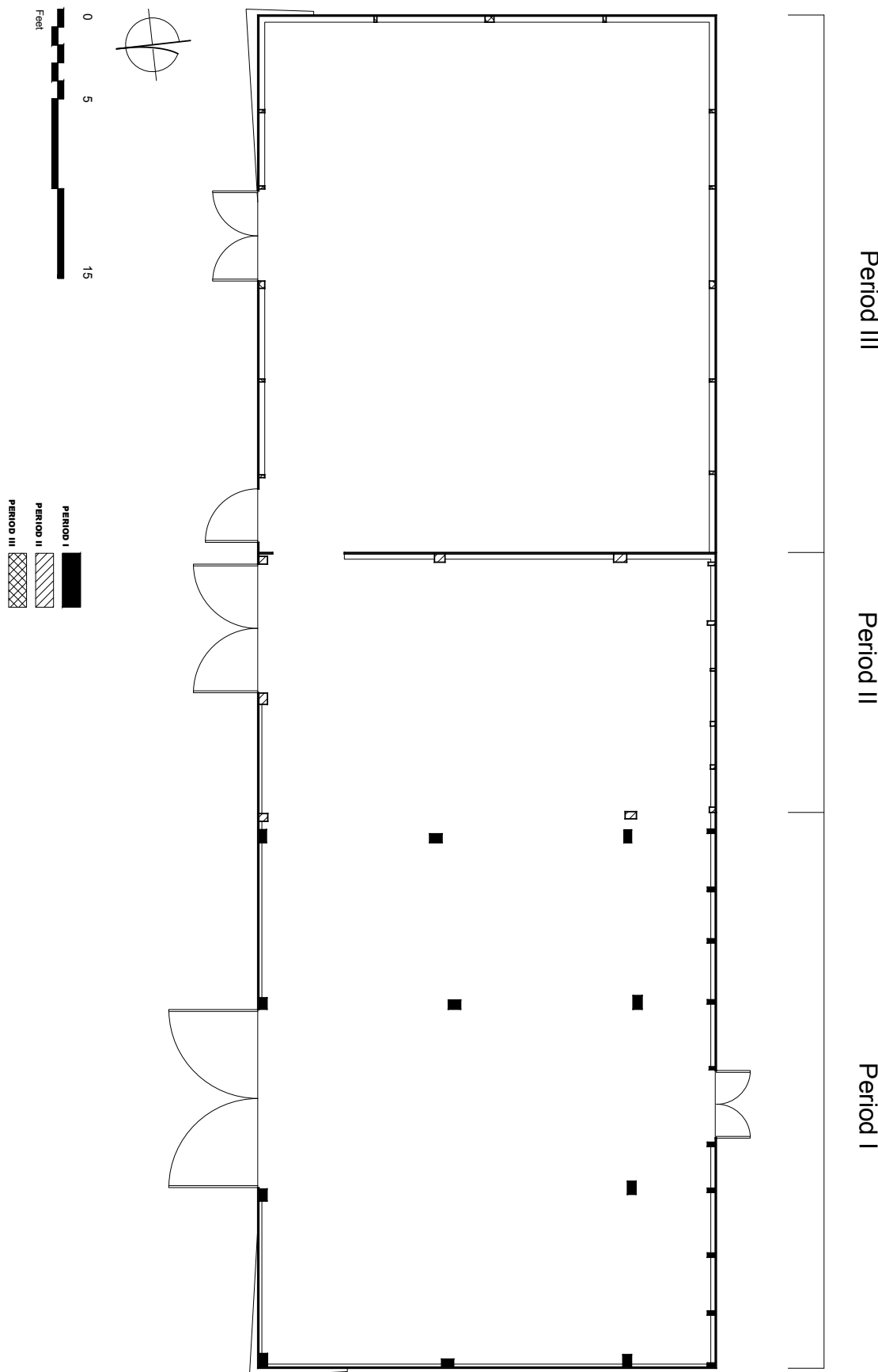
Questions

The Mendenhall Barn also has other features to interest construction history sleuths. One question concerns the location of the original entrance into the upper floor of the barn. An earthen ramp now leads up to the middle bay of the original section on the north side of the barn, which suggests this was the main entrance to the upper floor, but the two double doors on this façade are not original, and evidence for the original entrance is ambiguous. The posts that form the present door jambs have mortises facing the openings, which once contained ledgers used to nail the vertical board sheathing. If there were ledgers in them, then they would preclude the possibility of an earlier doorway. There is no evidence in the girts above for any such doorway in these bays. The later doors on the north wall are double-leaf, board-and-batten doors with clinched nails, strap hinges, and wood and iron latches.

What does the lower story stall area reveal? Much of what remains of the stalls and feeding troughs dates to around 1900 or later. The board-and-batten doors have been heavily repaired and are likely not original to the structure. Particularly informative are the floor joists, which



Plan, Mendenhall Barn, lower level (sans 20th-century stalls). Drawing: measured by Evelyn Strobe, Joseph Bailey, Sunny Townes, Robert Watkins, drawn by Evelyn Strobe, 2015.



are hewn in the Period I section, hewn with circular-sawn repairs in Period II, and circular-sawn in Period III.

How were the stories and sections connected? Stairs of an unknown date in the Period I section once led from the lower story to the main floor, but they were later blocked in the circular-sawn period, as was a second staircase in the third section. Two internal doorways appear to have been cut through the stone walls at a late date to allow communication among the three areas, as does an interior window in the partition between Periods II and III. What needs and practices led to these changes remains a puzzle.

Plan, Mendenhall Barn, upper level. Drawing: measured by Evelyn Strobe, Robert Watkins, Joseph Bailey, drawn by Robert Watkins, 2015.

LINDSAY HOUSE AND OFFICE EARLY AND MID-19TH-CENTURY

603 WEST MAIN STREET
JAMESTOWN, GUILFORD COUNTY

Originally located at the corner of Scientific (Scientific) and Federal (West Main) streets in Jamestown, the two-story frame house with one-story rear wing comprises two early 19th-century structures, which were joined together in the mid-19th century and received multiple alterations over the years. It is not clear when or why the two sections were joined and how that relates to the mid-19th-century updates.

The house is most associated with Dr. Isaac James Madison Lindsay (1804-1854), the town doctor. Beginning his career in 1825, Dr. Lindsay was the nephew of Jamestown merchant David Lindsay (1793-1860), who is believed to have built the house on land he purchased by 1817. Dr. Lindsay likely established his medical office in the house, and he is remembered for training medical students there—hence the local identity as a “medical college.” In 1832, Lindsay married Jane Erwin Dick of a prominent Greensboro family and about that time moved his medical practice to Greensboro. When David Lindsay advertised in the *Greensboro Patriot* of June 5, 1852 to sell his “houses and Lots” in Jamestown, he offered to rent out the vacant “Store part of the House,” which might refer to the present structure. David Lindsay sold the property in 1857, and it was used as a private home into the 20th century.

The two-story front section, which measures 28 ½ feet by 14 feet deep, has two nearly equal rooms per floor. The eastern room was plainly finished as an unheated entryway with exposed, molded ceiling joists. The western room was heated and has evidence of an original exterior entrance. Much of the finish typifies the early 19th century, though the low-pitched gable roof with deep eaves and exposed rafter ends typifies the late antebellum period. The interior sheathing of hand-planed boards with beaded edges is secured by cut nails of the second quarter of the 19th century. The two front doors might have served a waiting room and office or a shop and domestic quarters. The western entrance was blocked in the late 19th or early 20th century, presumably to accommodate solely residential use. The one-story wraparound porch was built or extended in the early 20th century. Upstairs, floorboards in the southwest room show evidence of a former stair, which was likely removed after the rear addition was attached with its own new stair.

The rear wing, also dating from the early 19th century, measures 18 ½ by 20 ½ feet and has a central entrance flanked by two windows and a (rebuilt) brick chimney at the gable end. The steep gable roof encloses an attic with common rafters of poles pegged at the apex. Although some observers have speculated that this section was built as an addition to the front section, abundant evidence, including its corner posts butted against the front section, shows that it was originally a separate building. Renovated



Lindsay House and Office. Photo: Bill Garrett, 2013.



Lindsay House and Office. Photo: Willie Graham, 2015.

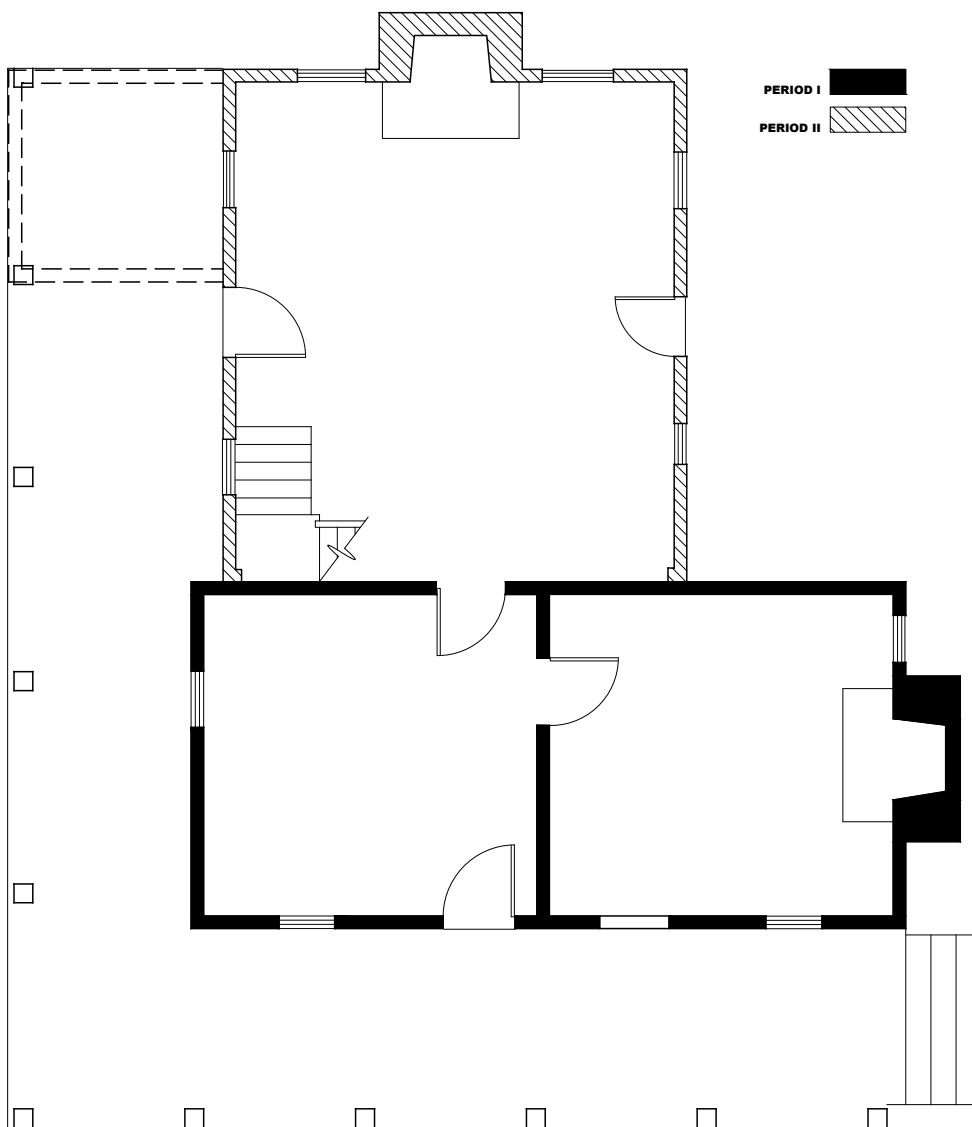


Lindsay House and Office. Photo: Willie Graham, 2015.

in the mid-19th century with simple Greek Revival moldings, it features an eccentric mantel with engaged columns, balls, and urns. When the two sections were joined, a stair was inserted in the northeast corner of the wing to lead to the second story of the front section. The house was moved to its present site in 1983 and its foundations and chimneys rebuilt. It was restored following a fire that damaged the first-level flooring in 2014.

Questions

When and why these alterations were accomplished remains a matter for investigation. When and why was the stair removed from the front section? What was the purpose of adding the rear wing? How did the circulation pattern in the front section change when the rear wing was added or when the uses of the building changed? Is there evidence of this being a multi-use building? What evidence might have been lost when the building was moved?



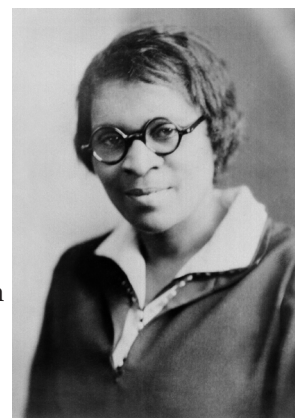
Plan, Lindsay House and Office, first floor. Drawing: measured by Audrey Waggoner and Samantha Smith, drawn by Evelyn Strobe, 2015.

PALMER MEMORIAL INSTITUTE (CHARLOTTE HAWKINS BROWN MUSEUM STATE HISTORIC SITE) 1902-1971

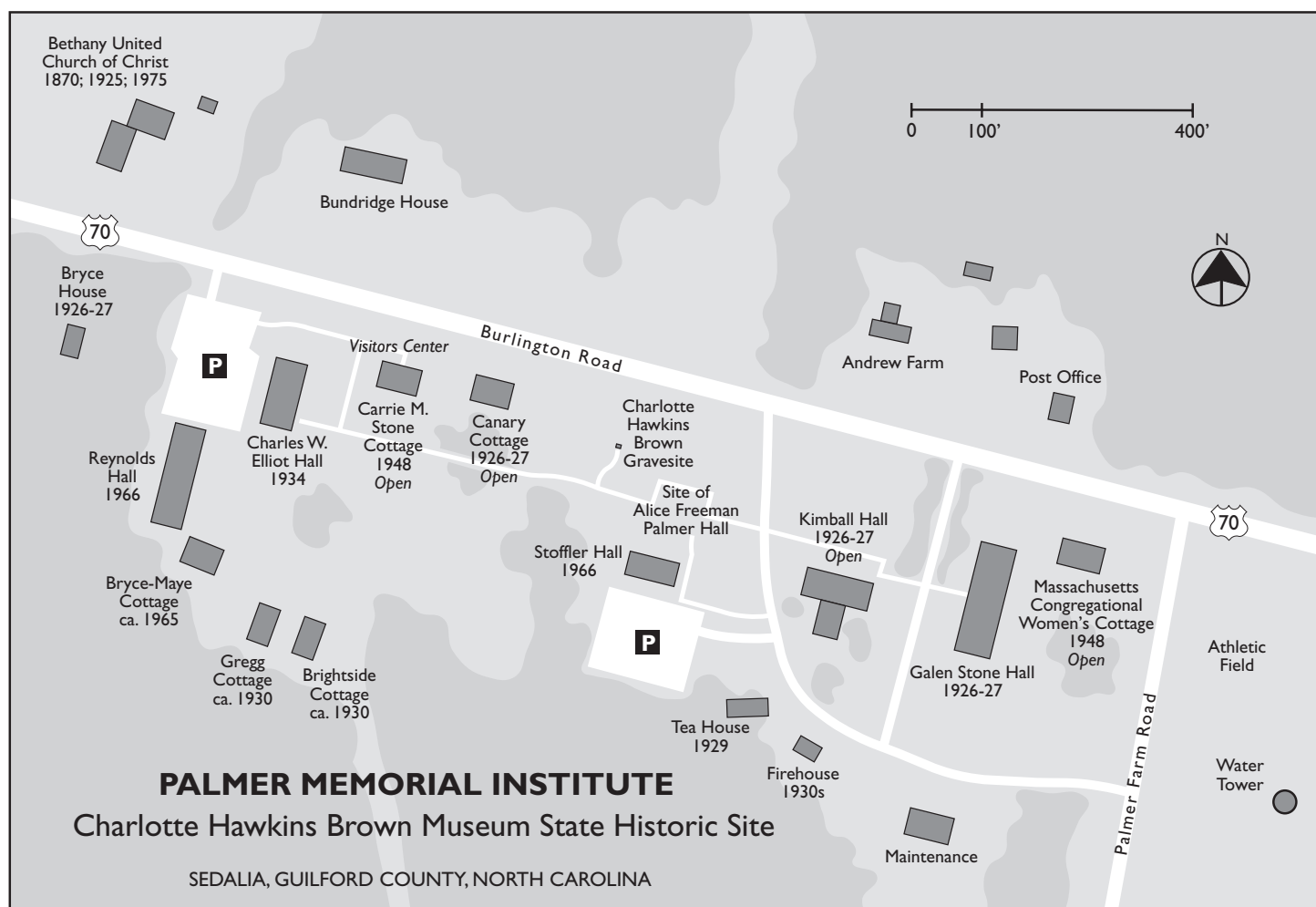
6134 BURLINGTON ROAD
SEDALIA, GUILFORD COUNTY

Stone gateposts announce the entrance to the sylvan campus of the school established in 1902 by North Carolina native Charlotte Hawkins Brown (1883-1961) for black students. The school's origins are linked with the American Missionary Association (AMA), which had been active in Jamestown and vicinity before the Civil War. The unique saga of its creation and development—from a manual and industrial training school to a college preparatory and elite finishing school—is also part of the larger national story of black racial uplift and educational efforts in the early and mid-20th century, in this case tied to the personal biography and philosophy of a black woman born in the South and her engagement with New England benefactors.

Although the campus had a sequence of frame and brick buildings from its founding onward—of which documentary photographs may be seen at the museum—the notable surviving buildings date from the 1920s through the 1940s and embody the period's popular classical and Colonial Revival styles with their associations of dignity, respectability, and gentility. In planning these, Charlotte Hawkins Brown, like leaders at other black as well as white schools and colleges, drew upon an architectural vocabulary



*Charlotte Hawkins Brown.
Photo: Courtesy of NCOAH.*



Palmer Memorial Institute Site Map. Created by Michael Southern.



Alice Freeman Palmer Building at Palmer Memorial Institute. Photo: Courtesy of NCOAH.

familiar to both whites and blacks as emblematic of mainstream American culture: red brick neoclassical school buildings and domestic structures in the Dutch Colonial and bungalow modes.

Most striking are the red brick educational buildings with white classical trim. Built over the period from 1919 to 1934, they were designed by Harry Barton (1876-1937), Greensboro's premier architect of the time. In employing Barton, Brown linked the campus architecturally with his designs for Greensboro's preeminent residences, churches, civic buildings (including the city hall and county courthouse), schools, and colleges, most notably Barton's concurrent work at the present University of North Carolina at

Greensboro, founded to educate the state's white women.

A key component of the architectural ensemble is missing: Barton's Alice Freeman Palmer Building (1919-1922; burned 1971), built at a cost of \$150,000. Known for nearly 50 years as the "heart and soul" of the school, it was the first brick building on campus, an imposing neoclassical edifice with full-height Ionic portico that set the tone for future buildings.

Barton's surviving red brick scholastic buildings complemented the Palmer Building. Kimball Hall (1926-1927), a one-story red brick building with classical portico, contained the dining hall where students practiced their "social graces" at formally set dining tables. Galen Stone Hall (1927; renovated after a fire, 1950), built as the girls' dormitory, has a large classical portico of Doric columns. Charles W. Eliot Hall (1928-1934), the boys' dormitory named for the Harvard University president who was a supporter of the school, was designed to echo Stone Hall, but owing to the Great Depression, the second wing of its symmetrical design was not built. A smaller, frame structure is the Tea House (ca. 1929, architect unknown), the canteen and bookstore that served as a hands-on learning center where students could practice management skills.

For many visitors, the most interesting building is likely Charlotte Hawkins Brown's personal residence, called Canary Cottage (1925). It was described in a 1935 school bulletin as a "Dutch Colonial bungalow type" house, which was furnished "to give students practical ideas on interior decoration." Epitomizing Brown's mission, the frame residence served as a setting for teas and other social events Brown hosted for students, and it modeled in its refined domesticity



Galen Stone Hall at Palmer Memorial Institute. Photo: Michael Southern, 2016.

the philosophy of propriety and racial uplift she would presented in her publication, *The Correct Thing to Do, to Say, to Wear*. Its design was aptly chosen: the "Dutch Colonial" carried references to the [white] American past, while the "bungalow" form and plan strategically evoked that mode's coziness and unpretentiousness. A deviation from the usual bungalow plan is the size of the living room, which extends the width of the

house to accommodate social events. Canary Cottage has been furnished to represent the period of Brown's occupancy.

Other bungalow-type residences are Brightside Cottage and Gregg Cottage (both ca. 1930), which served as housing for married faculty members, and the brick-veneered Massachusetts Congregational Women's House, built as a girls' home economics practice house; and the nearly identical Carrie Stone Cottage for female faculty. The latter two were designed by Greensboro architect Charles C. Hartmann (1889-1977), whose plans survive. Hartmann had succeeded Harry Barton as Greensboro's leading architect. Following his reputation-making skyscraper, the Jefferson Standard Building (1921-1923), Hartmann planned many banks, hotels, elite residences, civic buildings, and schools. His work included the major black schools in Greensboro—Dudley High School, Bennett College, and present North Carolina A&T—where he continued the era's preference for neoclassical and Georgian Revival themes.

Across the road from the Palmer Memorial Institute is Bethany United Church of Christ, historically associated with the Institute as the site of the school where Charlotte Hawkins first taught. The church is said to have been built in 1870 as a plain frame structure that also served as the school. It was remodeled ca. 1925, under the guidance of its minister and Charlotte Hawkins Brown, and brick veneered in 1975. Nearby is the John Brice House (1926-1927), a frame bungalow erected by Institute students for Brice, the Institute's chaplain and pastor of the church. Other houses along the road recall families associated with the school and the community of Sedalia.

Charlotte ("Lottie") Hawkins was born in Henderson, North Carolina, the granddaughter of slaves whose owners included the Hawkins family, who were planters and political leaders. Her mother, Caroline Francis Hawkins (1865-1938), had grown up in the elite home of Jane Hawkins, an unmarried daughter of the white Hawkins family in Raleigh, who according to Charlotte encouraged Caroline's education and adherence to lady-like models.

When Caroline became pregnant with Lottie, she returned to her mother's middle-class home in Henderson, and there raised her daughter to high standards of deportment and education. In 1888, Caroline and five-year-old Lottie moved to Cambridge, Massachusetts, along with other North Carolinians of color. Caroline married and established a family home that Charlotte remembered as well-ordered and adorned with pictures on the walls and an organ. Lottie attended the (mostly white) English High School. Shortly before graduating in 1900, she decided to change her name to Charlotte. She also met white educator Alice Freeman Palmer (1855-1902), a former principal of Wellesley College, who became



Kimball Hall at Palmer Memorial Institute. Photo: Michael Southern, 2016.



Canary Cottage at Palmer Memorial Institute. Photo: Michael Southern, 2016.



Canary Cottage Interior. Photo: Michael Southern, 2016.

her mentor. With Palmer's support, Charlotte Hawkins entered the Salem (Massachusetts) State Normal School to train as a teacher.

While Charlotte Hawkins was still a student at Salem, the AMA offered her a teaching position in North Carolina. By this time, the AMA was an important force in black education. Its activities included sponsorship of several important schools and colleges as well as other smaller schools. At age 18 in 1901, Hawkins traveled south alone by train to rural Guilford County. There she began teaching local black children at the AMA's Bethany Institute, a school of some 50 students founded in 1870 and associated with Bethany Congregational Church.

Within a year, however, the AMA closed the Bethany Institute along with its other small schools in the South in order to focus on its colleges. Encouraged by local African American families eager for education, Hawkins decided to stay in the area and begin her own school.



Carrie Stone Cottage at Palmer Memorial Institute. Photo: Michael Southern, 2016.

With the support of her mentor Alice Freeman Palmer, she conducted a fundraising campaign in New England and in the fall of 1902 returned to found a school for black youths in an old blacksmith shop. Palmer died unexpectedly in December 1902, and in 1903 Hawkins named the school for her. A gifted and indefatigable fundraiser, with support from local and New England black and white supporters, Hawkins soon established a campus that eventually encompassed 350 acres including farmland. The board of trustees included both blacks and whites, including several prominent white New Englanders.

For several years, in the spirit encouraged by Booker T. Washington at Tuskegee and with the advice of the trustees, the Palmer Institute emphasized manual training including farming

skills for boys and domestic service for girls. A devoted advocate of racial uplift, in 1909 Hawkins became a founder of the North Carolina State Federation of Negro Women's Clubs, whose national motto was "Lifting as We Climb." In 1911 she married Edward S. Brown, a teacher and a student at Harvard; the two divorced five years later. By 1916, the campus had four buildings and more soon followed.

During the 1910s and 1920s, fires destroyed various buildings and even threatened the school's survival, but the destruction ultimately spurred new support from Greensboro leaders. Brown rebuilt the school, with support from the AMA, the Rosenwald Foundation, and Greensboro's white educational and civic leaders, as well as northern donors. The largest private benefactor was Galen L. Stone (1862-1926), a Boston-born Wall Street financier and philanthropist (and a friend of Alice Palmer), for whom a major building is named. From 1926 to 1934, the Palmer Memorial Institute was under the ownership of the AMA, which offered financial stability in difficult times. After that arrangement ended, Brown redoubled her fundraising efforts.

Over time, as other black schools including a public high school were established, Brown shifted the focus of the Institute toward academic and cultural education. Palmer Memorial became an accredited and nationally recognized college preparatory institution countering the

widespread notion that limited black students to vocational training. At one point in the 1930s, Brown pushed unsuccessfully for Palmer to become a state-supported college for black women.

In the 1930s, Brown further redefined Palmer Institute as a “finishing school” for African Americans, but also continued the farming operation. The *Pittsburgh Courier* (March 25, 1939) reported that the school had “adopted the program of the New England finishing schools” and was noted for “the mark of refinement exhibited by its graduates in other schools and in the communities where they go.” The rules were strict and the waiting list of applicants was long, including students from distant states and prosperous families. Admissions became more selective and higher tuition rates helped pay the bills.

Based on Palmer Memorial’s attainments, Brown was invited to conduct “Charm Schools” at black colleges throughout the South and gained a national reputation as “the first lady of social graces.” In 1941 she published *The Correct Thing to Do, to Say, to Wear*, which was advertised as “A Ready Reference for the School Administrator, the Busy Teacher, the Office Girl, the Society Matron, the Discriminating Person.” Reflecting Brown’s philosophy—“Educate the individual to live in the greater world”—many Institute graduates went on to national and international careers in the arts and professions. Brown received numerous honorary degrees and awards. She retired in 1952 and died in 1961.

A few new buildings were erected before the school closed in 1971. Part of the campus was acquired by the state and opened in 1987 as the first State Historic Site to honor an African American or a woman. (For further information see Laura A.W. Phillips’ 1988 National Register nomination at <http://www.hpo.ncdcr.gov/nr/GF0180.pdf> and the state historic site website at <http://www.nchistoricsites.org/chb/chb.htm>.)

Questions

How do you interpret the selection of architectural styles and building forms at Palmer Memorial Institute within the context of its times? How do the buildings represent Brown’s mission and methods and their evolution? How do these campus buildings compare with those at Tuskegee, which Brown visited, or other historically black colleges and universities? Some commentators on American architecture have linked the Colonial Revival with White Supremacy and American Nativism; how does this campus relate to that idea? Why might Brown have selected the “Dutch Colonial” bungalow as the residential mode rather than the popular Colonial Revival or Georgian Revival styles more akin to the school buildings?

Hugging the road leading up from the creek, mid- to late 19th-century and early 20th-century mill houses survive from the mill village that was the birthplace of the Holt family's textile empire. Here we view a type often seen in local mill villages: frame houses two stories tall and a narrow three bays wide, with brick end chimneys. It is likely that they were built by local millwright Berry Davidson.

At this site on Big Alamance Creek, Edwin M. Holt and William Carrington established in 1837 the first cotton mill in present Alamance County. For years it was the center of the Holt operation. In 1849, northern visitor Benson Lossing noted "quite a village of neat log-houses, occupied by operatives" and a general "appearance of thrift." At that time the mill produced cotton yarn and "coarse cotton goods." Lossing was pleased to find in the mill "intelligent white females employed in a useful occupation. Manual labor by white people is a rare sight at the



South, where an abundance of slave labor appears to render such occupation unnecessary." The Hols evidently replaced or remodeled the log dwellings in frame ca. 1850-1900. The original wood-framed mill burned in April 1871. According to millwright Berry Davidson's memoir, he was "called there by Mr. E. M. Holt to rebuild it. I commenced to frame the house on the 26th of June and began raising it on the 18th of July. I put in the machinery and on the 6th of December

Alamance Mill Village. Photo: Laura A.W. Phillips, 2006.

I started them to spinning and weaving." That mill stood until the 1940s. Portions of the original dam survive. (For further information see Laura A.W. Phillips' 2007 National Register nomination at <http://www.hpo.ncdcr.gov/nr/AM0537.pdf>.)

A few miles downstream from the Alamance village on the same creek, Bellemont presents another collection of locally typical mill houses aligned along the road. Although the 1879-1880 brick mill beside the creek is in ruins, the housing forms and layout survive. Most of the houses are three bays wide with end chimneys, hall-parlor plans, rear ells, and front porches. The village also represents the characteristic Southern mill village pattern of deep back lots for gardens and a semi-rural feeling.

The village name may have been expressive of its developers' intentions: in 1880 a local newspaper said it was the "neatest, prettiest factory in the county," with the entire community "neat as a pin and pleasing to look upon." Bellemont was established by E. M. Holt's, sons Lawrence and Lynn Banks. Local millwright Berry Davidson constructed the mill and likely built many of the dwellings as well. (For further information see Patricia S. Dickinson's 1987 National Register nomination at <http://www.hpo.ncdcr.gov/nr/AM0040.pdf>.)



Bellemont Mill Village. Photo: Michael Southern, 2015.

HAWFIELDS PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH 1852-1855

NC 119 AT TROLLINGWOOD-HAWFIELDS ROAD
MEBANE VICINITY, ALAMANCE COUNTY



Hawfields Presbyterian Church. Photo: Michael Southern, 2015.

This antebellum brick church represents the longstanding importance of primarily Scotch-Irish Presbyterians in the settlement and development of the Piedmont region. Although Presbyterians numbered among the earliest European settlers in the central Piedmont, their first generations of churches and meeting houses are long lost. Greek Revival sanctuaries such as this one are typically the oldest Presbyterian churches in this region. Hawfields, which serves an active congregation, illustrates one of many ways that old congregations preserve their historic buildings—here by maintaining the antebellum sanctuary while making additions to meet changing needs for Sunday School and other purposes. The churchyard across the road holds grave markers from the 1780s onward.

Hawfields Church typifies the distinctive group of Greek Revival brick churches in the central and western Piedmont, which feature pedimented gable fronts and broad pilasters flanking very large, tall windows—here with 16 over 16-sash rising to the cornice. These features strengthen the temple-like character and when the shutters are opened the tall windows create a brightly lighted sanctuary. The substantial rural church measures 44 feet wide and 64 feet long.

As in several other antebellum buildings in the region, the artisans combined good traditional craftsmanship with attention to popular style. In a hardy local tradition, the three visible brick walls are laid in Flemish bond with penciled joints, and flat arches with keystones top the openings. The louvered blinds are secured by rising joint hinges to open flat against the flanking pilasters. Extended rafter brackets lend an Italianate touch akin to a few contemporary buildings in the area. The central entrance opens into a lobby leading to a sanctuary with two aisles and a gallery carried on slender metal columns with lotus capitals—a feature seen also at the ca. 1850 brick Nicks Store in the Alamance county seat of Graham. The hand-planed wooden pews with curved armrests are likely original.

The small, freestanding, frame Session House, probably coeval with the church, represents a distinctive feature of Presbyterian congregational administration. A board of elected elders is the local governing body of the congregation, which is part of the larger regional Presbytery. The elders meet as “the session,” thus the name for the purpose-built structure.

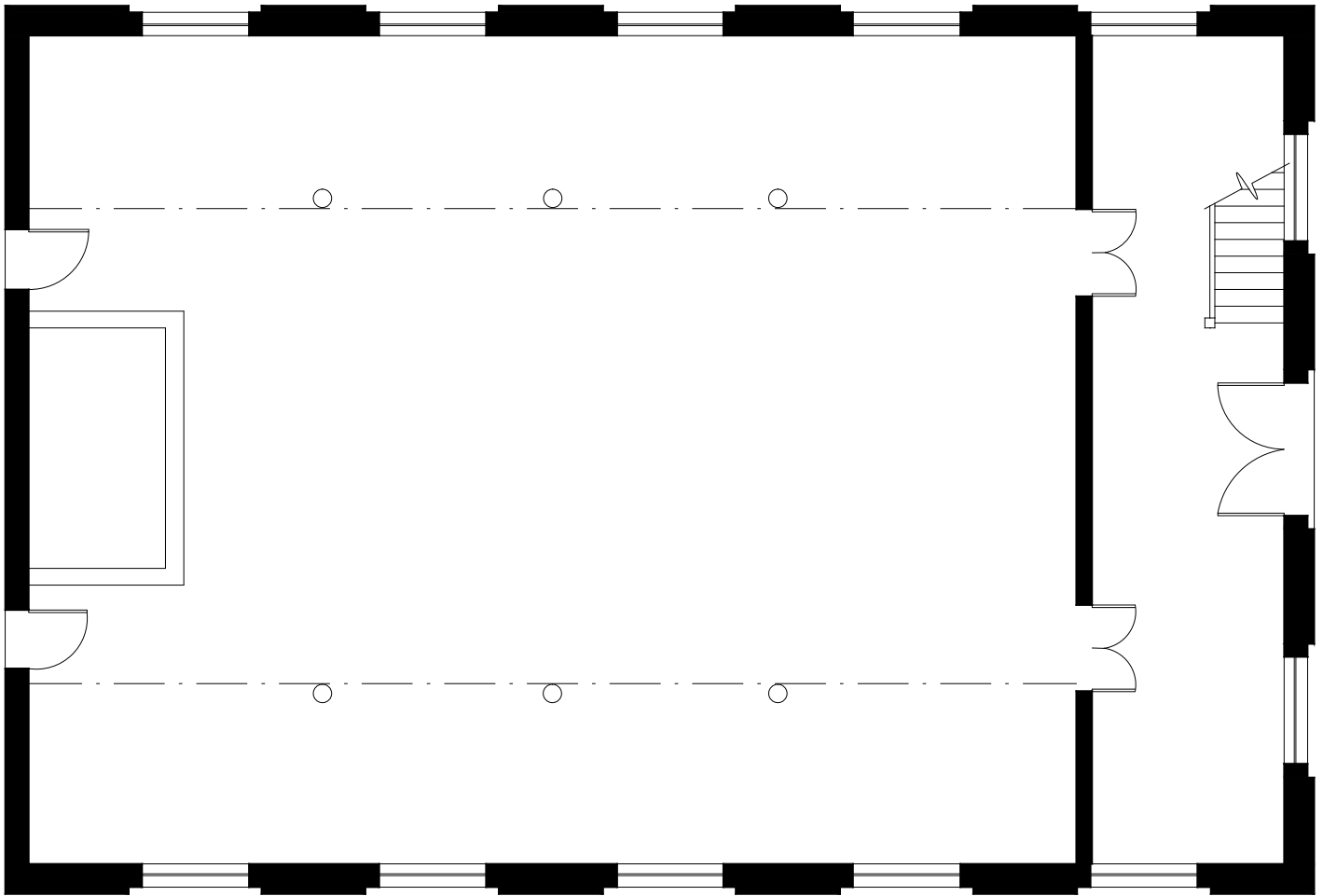
Arriving in this area primarily from Pennsylvania from the 1730s onward, settlers were drawn to the “Haw old fields” area near the Haw River which was traversed by an ancient trading path and known for its “extraordinary rich land.” The name Haw is believed to derive from the name of the area’s native people, the Sissipahaw. When Presbyterian missionary Hugh McAden of the Philadelphia synod preached at “the Haw Fields” in 1755, he found a “considerable congregation, chiefly Presbyterians” already gathered there. Hawfields became a mother church in the area, hosting in 1770 the first meeting of the Presbytery of Orange that covered much

of the colony. In 1801 Hawfields Church was the scene of a great revival, one of the first camp meetings in the state—some say in the entire South—which sparked a broader revival movement. Like many congregations, its members worshipped in log meeting houses for many years.

Another spurt of revivalism, coupled with agricultural prosperity and anticipation of the completion of the North Carolina Rail Road, supported construction of the present church, which was completed in 1855 at a cost of about \$6,700. It was part of a wave of late antebellum church-building, including the Highland Scots Presbyterians in the Cape Fear region centered on Fayetteville, who generally built frame buildings, and the Scotch-Irish Presbyterians of the central and western Piedmont, who often built in brick. Both groups favored the popular Greek Revival style in bold and simplified forms rendered by local or regional artisans. (For additional information see



Hawfields Presbyterian Church. Photo: Carl Lounsbury, 2015.



5

15

Plan, Hawfields Presbyterian Church. Drawing: measured by Leslie Krupa, Carl Lounsbury, drawn by Leslie Krupa, 2015.



Session House at Hawfields Presbyterian Church. Photo: Michael Southern, 2015.

Catherine Bishir and Jim Sumner's 1978 National Register nomination at <http://www.hpo.ncdcr.gov/nr/AM0007.pdf>.)

Questions

Antebellum Presbyterians in North Carolina embraced the Greek Revival style, especially in designs resembling classical temples. Is this true of this denomination more broadly? Some observers have suggested that the armrests of the pews at Hawfields Church are so similar to those at the Milton Presbyterian Church as to indicate a connection with Milton cabinetmaker Thomas Day. Others believe that this was simply a widely popular form. What do you think?

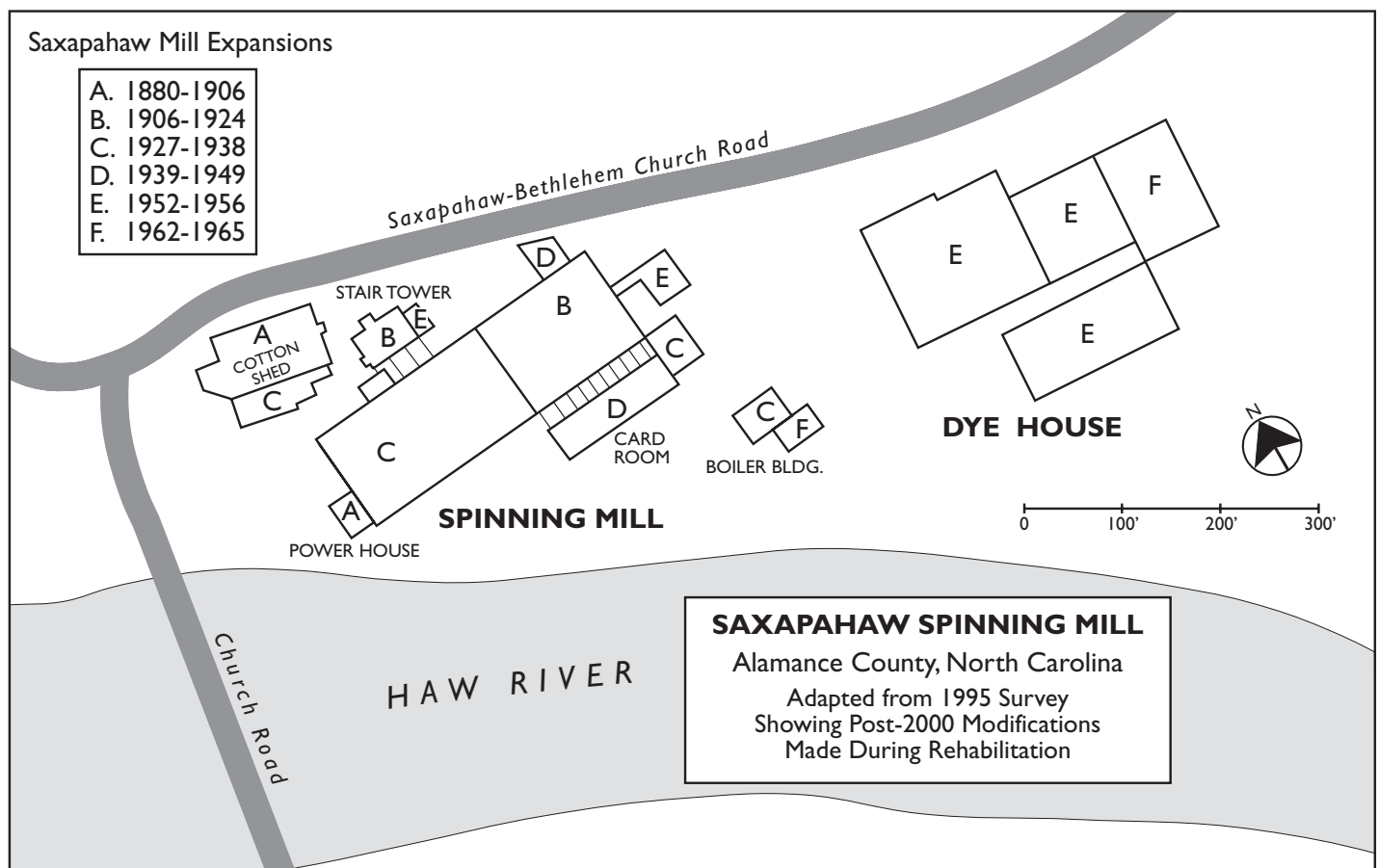
SAXAPAHAW MILL VILLAGE MID-19TH THROUGH MID-20TH CENTURY

SAXAPAHAW-BETHLEHEM CHURCH ROAD AT
HAW RIVER, SAXAPAHAW, ALAMANCE COUNTY

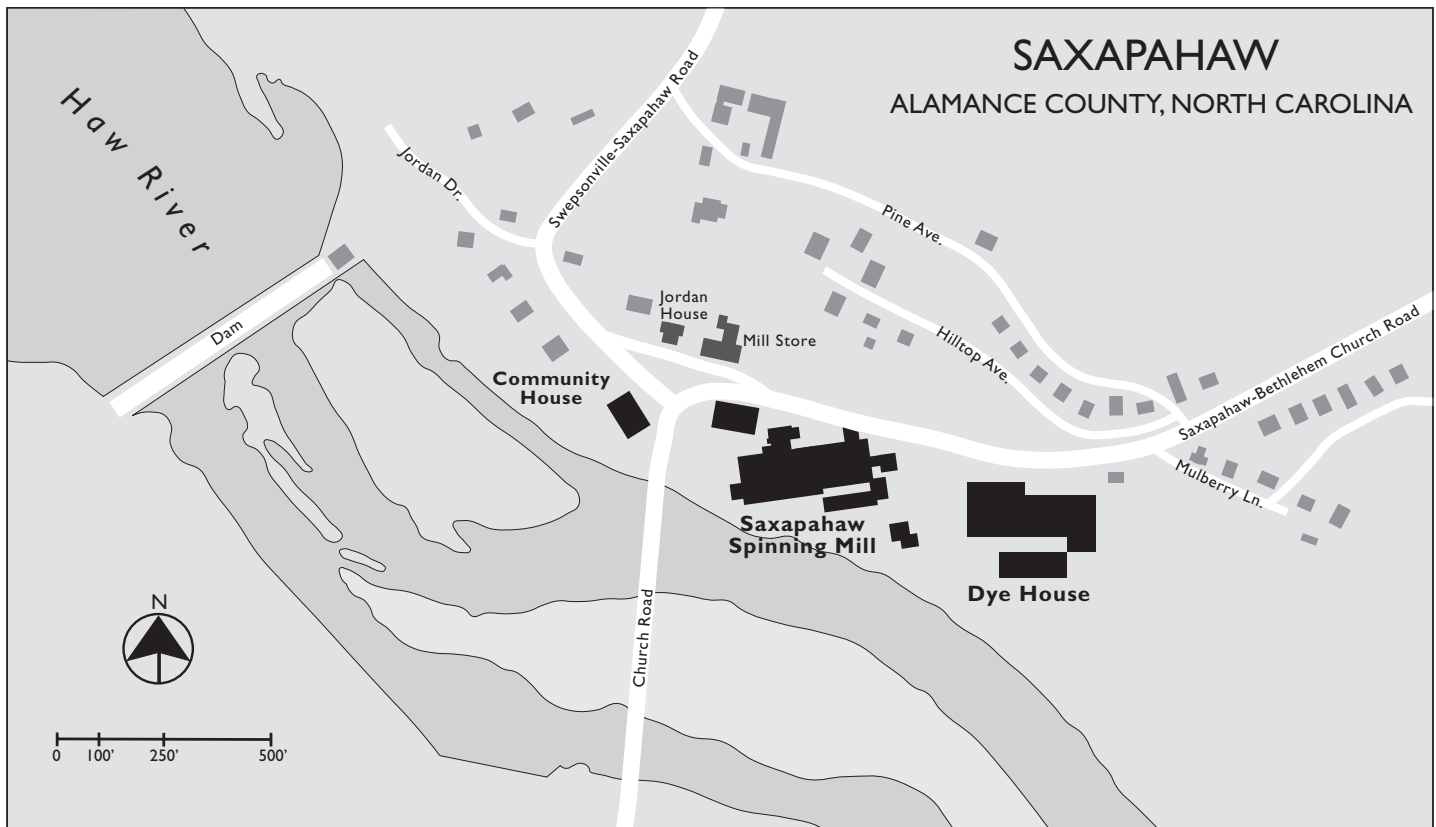
Our Thursday tours converge at Saxapahaw, beside the Haw River, one of the many small, streamside mill villages central to the history of the North Carolina Piedmont. Here, in contrast to many rural mill villages where economic and technological changes have brought vacancy, decay, and loss, we visit a community renewed in recent years. The Dye House, now known as the Haw River Ballroom where we will have our evening meal, is part of an industrial complex and village that encompasses the large Spinning Mill and related buildings, a store and offices, and workers' houses distributed across the hillsides above the river. The manufacturing complex, like the village, developed and changed over the years and embodies various phases of industrial construction. Buildings open for visits will be indicated on a handout at the site.

This was the site of one of the earliest textile mills in North Carolina, the Newlin Mill begun in 1844. In a typical pattern, though, the surviving industrial buildings date from ca. 1880 onward and reflect changes made up to the present. Little or nothing survives of the original pre-Civil War mill or the old wooden dam and stone-lined millrace. The extant buildings of brick, timber, and in some cases steel illustrate standard industrial construction methods of the late 19th and early to mid-20th centuries.

Visually dominating the site, the Spinning Mill is a 3-story, L-shaped brick building beside the river. It measures about 350 feet by 150 feet and reflects a saga of construction over several eras



Saxapahaw Mill Village Site Map. Created by Michael Southern.



Saxapahaw Spinning Mill Site Map. Created by Michael Southern.

(see site map). Having survived fire, floods, and a tornado, the oldest intact sections date from about 1906 to 1938. They are best understood in relationship to a ca. 1880 building now lost.

Industrial historians will find much to ponder in the complex sequence of construction, demolition, and construction at the Spinning Mill. The initial mill here was the antebellum Newlin Mill, built by John Newlin and his sons in 1844-1848 and 1859). It is not clear how long that building stood, but nothing is known to survive from it. In about 1880, the Holt family replaced (or expanded?) the old Newlin Mill with the brick, two-story West Wing; now lost, it is here referred to as the Old West Wing. As the operation grew, the principal additions to the Old West Wing included the extant East Wing (ca. 1906-1924), Stair Towers (pre-1924, ca. 1930s) on the north; and the Power House (pre-1924, ca. 1930s) on the southwest corner. The East Wing epitomizes early 20th-century mill construction with its 18-inch brick walls and heavy timber construction, thick plank floors, and generous windows maximizing natural light to the mill floor. The complex centered on the ca. 1880 Old West Wing stood for many years. But beginning in 1930, the present New West Wing of brick and steel was erected to replace its 1880s predecessor while retaining the additions that had been made to it. Other expansions and updates were made in the mid to later 20th century, especially through the 1950s.

Structures beyond the Spinning Mill include the two-story, brick Boiler Shed (1930-1938), the Cotton Shed (1880-1917) that was expanded over several years, and the Dye House, a large brick building erected in 1952 and expanded in 1954.

Other important components of the village, which represent building types often lost from the rural landscape, stand on the hillsides across the road from the mill and on the opposite side of the Haw River. Some appear to combine antebellum and early 20th-century elements, such as the two-story brick White-Williamson/Sellars Manufacturing Office Building (ca. 1856-1925?)—which housed the post office, mill company office, and general store—and the frame B. Everett Jordan/ Mill Owner House (ca. 1850-1936?). The two-story brick Collins Community Center near the river and bridge dates from ca. 1954.

Clustered along five streets are one and two-story Workers' Houses of various types and eras. These include at least one with log construction beneath weatherboard covering. Period accounts describe log mill houses as a common type in the region, but few are known to survive. The older mill houses of ca. 1860-1906 are more varied and informally arranged, while those built from 1930-1940 follow a more regular pattern and designs.

The mill has been powered by a series of different types of devices and systems. The 19th-century waterwheel, line shaft (still located in the mill's crawl space), and belt driven mechanical system were reportedly replaced by turbines located in the powerhouse on the southwest corner of the Spinning Mill shortly after 1917. During low water, the water power systems were supplemented by coal and then by diesel-fueled steam generators located in the Machine Shop and Boiler Shed.



Saxapahaw Mill Village and the Haw River, 2006. Photo: Courtesy of Mac Jordan.

The old dam was replaced in the late 1930s by a 30-foot-high concrete dam, a new millrace, and a hydroelectric power plant. The hydroelectric plant supplied electricity for both the spinning mill and the village mill houses until expansion of the mill and construction of the 1952 Dye House required greater power generation. By 1954 most of the power for the Dye House and Spinning Mill was supplied by natural gas from Public Service Gas and electricity from Duke Power. Refurbished in 1980, the 1938 hydroelectric power plant still produces electricity which it sells to Duke Energy.

The mill village of Saxapahaw was established in the 19th century beside the Haw River on the site of an ancient Indian community. Some sources say that "Saxapahaw" meant "rocks on the Haw," while others believed the name comes from white settlers' understanding of the name of the native people in this area, known as the Sissipahaw. Early maps show that well before European settlement, Native Americans established the village identified as Sissipahaw at this location.

Saxapahaw is among the oldest textile mill sites in the state, dating from the pioneering era of cotton mill development along the Haw and its tributaries in the 1830s and 1840s. In 1844 John Newlin (1776-1867), of a long established Quaker family, and his sons, James and



Saxapahaw Mill Village from the air, 2007. Photo: Courtesy of Mac Jordan.

Jonathan—operating as Newlin and Sons—built one of present Alamance County’s earliest cotton mills here. The initial one-story brick mill began production of cotton yarn in 1848 and was expanded in 1859 to add weaving and dyeing.

The elder Newlin, who lived near Spring Friends Meeting House, was a large landowner with a store, a tanyard, and a leather business. Along with his co-religionists, he was a strong opponent of slavery and a member of the state manumission society. (Some accounts state that to build the mill race at Saxapahaw, Newlin employed enslaved workers who were left to him in 1839 by their owner, Sarah Foust Freeman, on condition that he obtain their freedom. He did so in 1849 by sending or taking them to Ohio.)

After John Newlin’s death, his sons and a cousin continued the business for a time, but in 1873 Newlin and Sons sold the Saxapahaw property to Alamance County industrialist Edwin M. Holt, who had begun expanding his family’s textile business promptly after the war. With his sons-in-law John L. Williamson and James W. White, Holt formed the Holt, White, and Williamson Company, making gingham and other woven fabrics at the Saxapahaw plant, where the firm retooled and replaced old buildings and added new ones. By the end of the century,

Saxapahaw was part of a string of Holt family operations that dominated the textile business in the county.

A post-World War I economic recession shut down many cotton mills, including the Saxapahaw operation, which closed in 1924. Three years later, Burlington, NC merchant C. V. Sellars bought the Saxapahaw property and employed his nephew, B. Everett Jordan (1896-1974), a plant manager in Gastonia, NC to operate the business as the Sellars Manufacturing Company. The firm switched production from cotton gingham to fine-combed yarn for the expanding hosiery industry, and in 1932 established a facility for making silk thread for full-fashioned hosiery. After Sellars's death in 1941, Jordan became major stockholder.

The Sellars Manufacturing Company expanded under Jordan's leadership, while he became a major political figure on the state and national scene. (Jordan served in the US Senate from 1958 to 1973.) Following Senator Jordan's death, the property was sold in 1978 and continued in operation until it was hit by a tornado in 1994 and a flood in 1996 after Hurricane Fran. In recent decades, Jordan's son and grandsons re-acquired the property and invested in the revitalization of the mill and the village. At a time when many of the old waterside mill villages, especially those outside urban areas, are falling into ruin, the Jordan family and many other Saxapahaw residents and investors have employed historic preservation tax credits as well as energy, money, and imagination to bring new life to the community and new uses to the buildings. (For further information see 1997 National Register nomination prepared by John M. "Mac" Jordan at <http://www.hpo.ncdcr.gov/nr/AM0370.pdf>.)



Saxapahaw Mill Village modern redevelopment, 2006. Photo: Courtesy of Mac Jordan.

Questions

What phases of construction can you make out in the Saxapahaw Mill complex buildings?
 What do you see as the principal challenges facing the preservation and future use of redundant industrial buildings and communities in rural locations including those more distant than Saxapahaw from major urban centers? What challenges and models does Saxapahaw present?
 What are your views on how best to balance historical authenticity and economic viability, as shown in this case?

SOCIETY OF FRIENDS IN ALAMANCE AND GUILFORD COUNTIES



John Collins' 1869 painting of New Garden Meeting House, Greensboro, Guilford County, Courtesy of the Friends Historical Collection, Guilford College.

The central Piedmont counties of Alamance and Guilford comprise one of the principal concentrations of Quaker history and architecture in the state and nation. Quakers, or the Religious Society of Friends, who settled in northeastern North Carolina in the late 17th century, numbered among the earliest white settlers in present North Carolina and the oldest Christian religious group. The Piedmont settlement developed in the mid-18th century.

As noted by historian Lindley S. Butler, Quakers “eschewed both ritual and creed to live a sacramental life that followed the leading of the Holy Spirit, which they sought in open worship and meditation. Their core belief in

the sacredness of human life was the basis for their testimonies on the human family, gender equality, pacifism, and the abolition of slavery.” Such views often brought them disapproval and sometimes persecution from the larger society, especially in the slave-holding South. For many, simplicity and plain dress were important values as well.

Traditionally, Quakers had no minister in charge and no prepared sermons for their services. They hold that each person has that of God—sometimes referred to the Inner Light—within. Therefore each person may contribute his or her voice as a ministry to others. In their meetings, Quakers reflected silently until moved to speak and the congregation listened respectfully. Others could speak as moved by their inner voice. The meeting was ended by a handshake.

Quakers’ organizational framework encompassed geographical entities whose members held business meetings at stated intervals. A “Yearly Meeting” referred to a large area, such as a colony or state, whose constituents gathered annually. Within that were “Quarterly Meetings” and “Monthly Meetings,” representing regional and local units. Typically Friends gathered weekly for worship on “First Day” (Sunday) and monthly for business meetings.

The Quaker presence in North Carolina began with a missionary group in the Albemarle region in 1672. There were soon three monthly meetings in that area, and in 1698 Perquimans County was the site of the first North Carolina Yearly Meeting. Quakers played an important role in the early colonial period and included several government officials. In the early 18th century, their role in public life diminished, though their meetings in the Albemarle persisted and the faith spread into other parts of the colony.

In the mid-18th century, Quakers were numerous among the stream of settlers who arrived in the central Piedmont in search of affordable land from the mid-Atlantic region, especially from Pennsylvania. They were joined by other Quakers from Nantucket and the coastal South. An early center of Quaker life in the region was at Cane Creek, named for a stream in present Alamance County.

The first recorded monthly meeting in central North Carolina was held at Cane Creek Meeting House in 1751, after two local women traveled to the Quarterly Meeting in Perquimans County for authorization. Soon other monthly meetings were formed in the area, including the nearby Spring Friends Meeting House, New Garden at present Greensboro, and Deep River at present High Point. Deep River's membership included the Quakers at Jamestown (see Jamestown Friends Meeting House). Cane Creek became known as the "Mother of Meetings" and eventually New Garden became the site of the North Carolina Yearly Meeting. Most of the early meeting houses were simple wooden buildings, large or small, often described as "barn-like" and frequently built with separate seating and entrances for men and women and benches arranged for the traditional Quaker service. Some, such as the 18th-century Deep River Meeting House, had dual entrances to a single interior space that could be partitioned with a movable divider during business meetings. (The present meeting houses at Cane Creek, Spring Friends, New Garden, and Deep River are successors to earlier structures.)

In North Carolina as elsewhere, Quakers stressed education for females and males, and blacks and whites, establishing small schools and founding the New Garden Boarding School (present Guilford College) in Greensboro in 1837. During the antebellum era, Friends' anti-slavery views and participation in manumission societies and abolitionist groups drew increasing hostility from other citizens and led to their mass migration to free states including Ohio and Indiana. (See Jamestown.)

During the Civil War, North Carolina Friends faced intensified persecution for their pacifism and anti-slavery views, and many more left the state. After the war, their numbers were so reduced that only the aid of northern Friends, especially from Baltimore, reinvigorated the denomination and supported the formation and growth of Quaker-sponsored schools.

In the later 19th century, the Society of Friends began to attract new converts, some attracted by out-of-state evangelists. Quaker meetings increasingly adopted the practices of other Protestant groups, including the use of pastors and more structured services, music in worship, and meeting houses similar to other denominations' churches.

After much discussion, in 1902 a "uniform discipline" was adopted by the national "Five Year Meeting," which accommodated the newer practices and was accepted by most North Carolina meetings. In 1904, however, a small group of North Carolina Quakers affiliated with the Conservative Society of Friends, a national association that retains the older traditions. Their meeting houses reflected their differing approaches, as seen at Spring Friends Meeting House and West Grove Friends Meeting House, respectively.

The North Carolina Society of Friends, now centered in Greensboro, is one of the largest yearly meetings in the nation. Some meetings have pastors, while others do not, and worship practices encompass a range of traditional silent gatherings and more programmed services.

TEXTILE MILL ARCHITECTURE IN THE CENTRAL PIEDMONT

As the cotton manufacturing industry developed in the central piedmont, mill owners constructed factories in a variety of forms and materials. Some of the earliest were wooden buildings, including the Schenck-Warlick Cotton Mill established farther west in Lincoln County in 1817—the first in the state—and the antebellum mills built by the Holt family in Alamance County. Industrialists gradually switched over to brick construction, largely for its fire resistant qualities, and they adopted construction methods modeled by northern mills as well as installing Northern-made machinery. In some cases, Carolina industrialists employed Northern millwrights and purchased Northern equipment. In others they relied on local millwrights such as Berry Davidson (1831-1915, who built and equipped numerous mills in Alamance and nearby counties, including facilities for the Newlins at Saxapahaw and several for the Holt family.

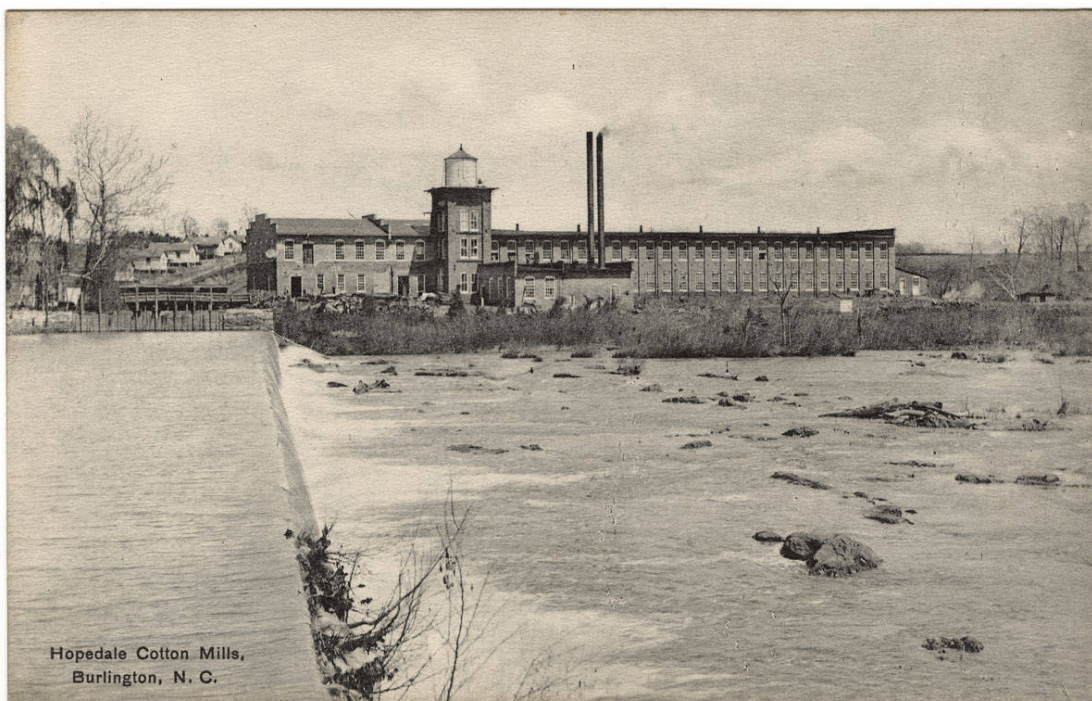
Most of the early cotton mills spun cotton thread for local markets and some wove it into coarse fabric, primarily for local and regional buyers. In time, and especially in areas accessible by rail, industrialists could expand their markets, increase their scale, and diversify their products, with some factories eventually specializing in certain types of finished goods. These ranged from tobacco bags and cotton hosiery to denim, toweling and, eventually, rayon hosiery.

By the end of the nineteenth century, most textile (and tobacco) factory owners had adopted industry standards for “slow-burn” or “mill” construction mandated by the northern mill insurance companies that insured many North Carolina factories. The standards, developed to slow the progress of a fire and minimize its damage to the building, were developed earlier in New England. Fire was a major hazard, due to the flammability of cotton and especially the pervasive cotton lint, which could catch fire (as well as damage the lungs of operatives).

Among the key elements of slow-burn design were solid brick construction with tapering walls; separation of especially fire-prone segments of production from the rest of the plant; masonry

fire walls; elimination of all small wooden elements; heavy timber interior construction of stout posts and thick plank floors that would char rather than burn quickly; separate stair towers with fire doors as the only access between stories; and a large water tank on top of the tower.

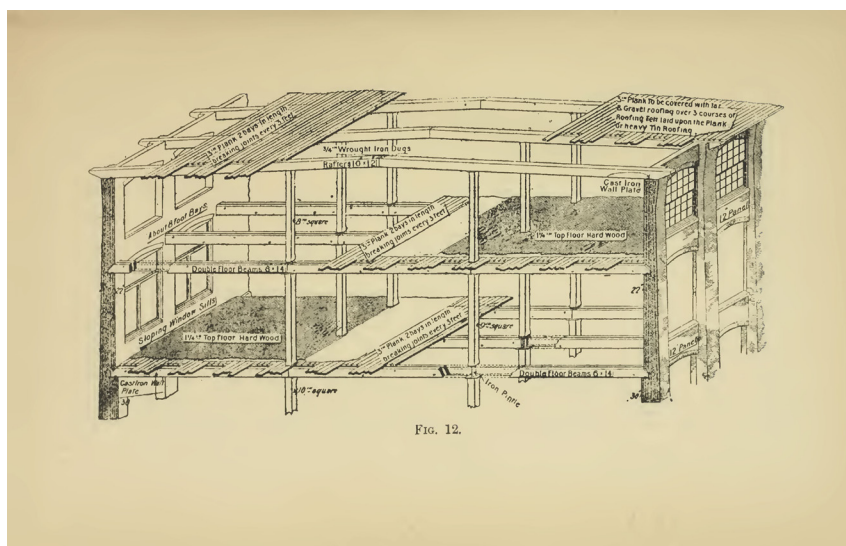
Other functional elements included large, tall windows



Hopedale Cotton Mill, Alamance County. Courtesy of the North Carolina Collection, UNC-CH.

and a maximum depth of the building to provide adequate lighting on the tasks at the machinery; heavy construction to carry heavy loads and vibration; and in many cases a sufficiently imposing building, especially in towns, to convey the stature of the business. The mandated water tower, thick brick walls, and low gable roof, along with the large windows (which often had arched heads) combined readily with the Italianate style rendered in more or less ornate fashion with corbeled brickwork. The tower in particular provided an opportunity for an assertive community landmark.

Mills varied greatly in size with the scale of operations. They grew larger after industrialists added steam power to water-powered facilities as at Saxapahaw and constructed new steam-powered mills beside the railroad tracks as in Durham. In time, access to hydroelectric power provided electricity to power the machinery and illuminate the work spaces. As new types of fabrics were developed, new kinds of machinery were incorporated, and in time growing automation reduced some tasks. Although the “classic” textile mill image dates from the late 19th and early 20th century, much of the growth of the industry came in the early to mid-20th century. The factories of that era included in the tours at Saxapahaw and in Durham illustrate that growth. (Adapted from Bishir and Southern, *A Guide to the Historic Architecture of Piedmont North Carolina*.)



American “Slow Burn” mill construction, from Joseph Nasmith, “Recent Cotton Mill Construction and Engineering,” London, 1894.

COTTON MILL VILLAGES AND HOUSING

Like other Southern cotton mill villages such as those in South Carolina and Georgia, the cotton mill villages in the North Carolina Piedmont typically comprise an industrial complex plus a few office and store buildings, and a collection of company-built workers houses extending away from the mill. When the pioneering industrialists in the Carolina Piedmont began building cotton mills at rural water power sites, which were generally remote from existing towns, the mill owners needed to construct housing to attract and maintain a work force of individuals and families coming from the countryside.

The pattern continued even as steam power enabled mills to be established away from the stream sites and as towns grew larger. In the mill village, workers rented their homes from the mill owner, who exerted control over community as well as factory life: if a worker was fired, the individual or the entire family faced eviction. Mill “operatives” were white and typically came from nearby or distant farms, and men, women, and children went to work. Where the tiny number of black mill employees lived varied with the mill owner’s policy and adhered to the predominant patterns of racial segregation. Although life was often difficult for mill workers and their families, they came in great numbers, expressing in their actions that they believed the situation would be better than the increasingly hard times on the farm. Many scholars have studied the patterns of paternalism and resistance that informed daily life in the Southern mill villages, with Jacquelyn Dowd Hall et al.’s *Like a Family: The Making of a Southern Cotton Mill World* (1987) a now classic work.

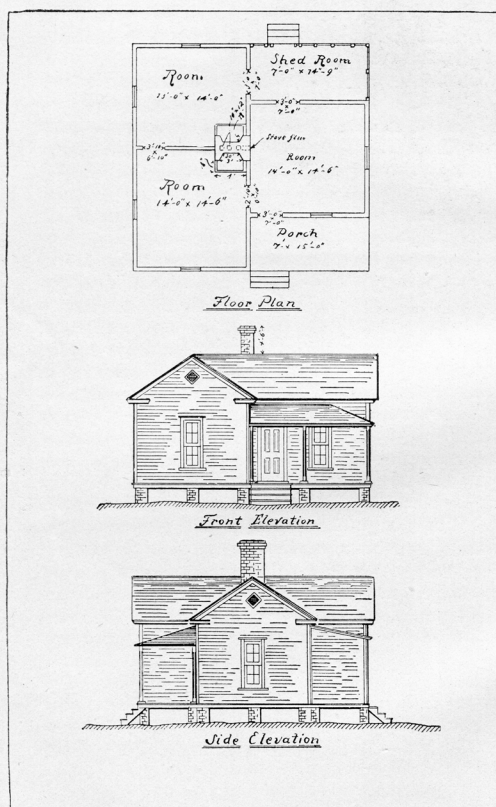


Fig. 32. Three-Room Gable House. Cost \$325

Three-room gable house design, Daniel A. Tompkins,
Cotton Mill, Commercial Features, Charlotte NC, 1899.

At water-powered sites, the mill stood beside the stream, usually within sight of the mill owner’s or manager’s residence above. In some cases, the mill owner supported construction of one or more churches and an elementary school. Rows of dwellings for operatives lined narrow streets and lanes leading up from the mill (see **Alamance** and **Bellemont**) or were informally arranged along the hillsides (**Saxapahaw**). As we will see in Durham’s **Golden Belt District**, as cotton mills developed in railroad towns, often outside the city limits, much of the same character continued, except that in many cases the villages were laid out in grid plans.

Mill houses generally repeated forms and plans seen in the region’s small farmhouses of the era and were constructed with familiar techniques, beginning with log and heavy frame in the antebellum period and shifting toward light frame construction later in the century. They stood one or two stories tall, usually with three to five rooms, depending on the number of family members working at the mill.

Mill house forms varied from place to place. Several of the mill villages in Alamance County such as Alamance and Bellemont typically have symmetrical, two-story, frame mill houses, often

with front porches and end chimneys. One-story mill houses appear frequently, including several at Saxapahaw and at the Golden Belt village in Durham. Some appear to be single-family dwellings, and others appear to be duplexes, but entrances and room uses often reflected the shift schedules as well as relationships of the residents. Over time, mill houses reflected changing popular forms and styles, from plain rectangular structures to L-shaped dwellings and simplified Craftsman bungalows. Most had porches of some type and often a rear kitchen or kitchen ell. Privies in the rear yards were standard until indoor bathrooms were introduced by mill owners irregularly, if at all, in the 20th century.

In almost every mill village, the houses were spaced at some distance apart and had at least a small front or back yard, and in many cases a fairly spacious lot for a garden to enable operatives to produce some of their own food. In his book, *Cotton Mill: Commercial Features* (1899), Charlotte mill promoter and builder Daniel A. Tompkins reflected common wisdom when he wrote, “The whole matter of providing attractive and comfortable habitations for cotton operatives [is] summarized in the statement that they are essentially a rural people . . . While their condition is in most cases decidedly bettered by going to the factory, the old instincts cling to them.” Conditions in mill villages ranged from miserable to comfortable depending on the policies and resources of the owners and managers. In the 20th century, some mill owners employed urban planners to lay out model villages with picturesque plans and social and recreational facilities, a practice most prevalent in the western Piedmont beyond our tours.

Whatever the physical character of the villages, life there differed from that on the farm or in the residential sectors of most towns and cities. Isolated from city life and increasingly distant from the farm, the mill village developed a distinctive white working class culture, where residents depended upon one another in communities that some described, in the words of historian Jacquelyn Dowd Hall, as being “like a family.” At the same time, by maintaining control of workers’ housing, mill owners bolstered their control of their labor force. Even the mill villages that developed as extensions or components of cities such as Durham, Greensboro, and Charlotte had a different character than the rest of the city.

In the mid- to late 20th century, many mill owners sold off the houses to individual purchasers, often to the current residents, who subsequently made their own alterations to the formerly uniform architecture. In the last several decades, mill villages and houses, perhaps even faster than factories, have vanished from both towns and countryside. Those we will visit are the remnants of what historian Brent Glass described in *The Textile Industry in North Carolina* (1992) as “one long mill village” from the Haw River to the mountains. (Adapted from Bishir and Southern, *Guide to the Historic Architecture of Piedmont North Carolina*.)

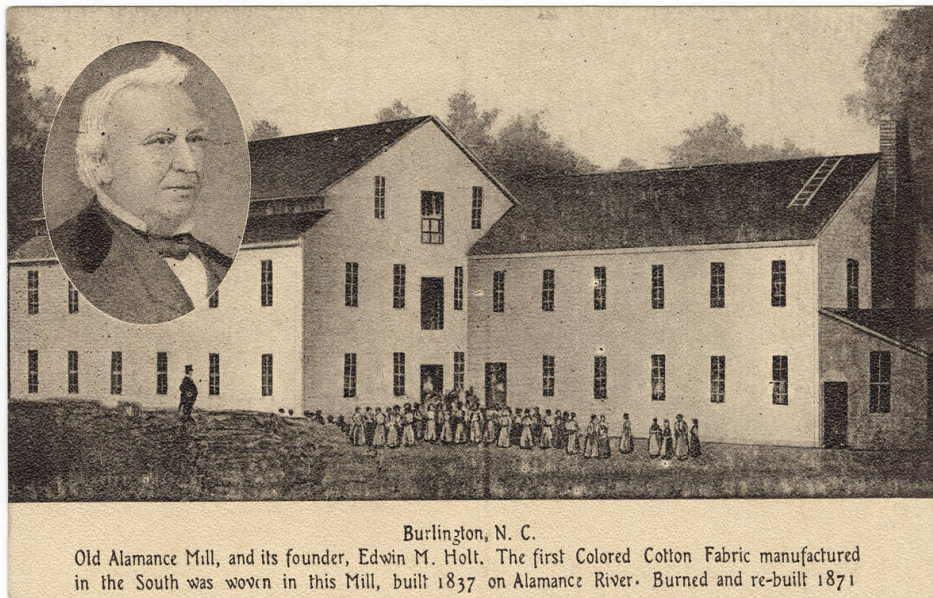


Highland Cotton Mill Village, High Point, Guilford County. Photo: Laura A.W. Phillips, 2013.

THE HOLT FAMILY AND TEXTILE MANUFACTURING IN ALAMANCE COUNTY

In her *History of Alamance County*, Sallie Walker Stockard wrote in 1900: "What the Flemish have been to England, what the Venetians have been to Southern Europe, that are the Holts to Alamance and to North Carolina." The story of the pioneering industrialist Holt family of Alamance County appears in the history of many of the sites on our tour.

Edwin Michael Holt (1807-1885), the founder of the textile dynasty, was born to a long-established local family of German descent. His grandfather, Michael Holt II (1723-1799), was a blacksmith and farmer who obtained a grant of land on Alamance Creek. Edwin's father, Michael Holt III (1778-1842), was a farmer and legislator who operated a gristmill and a store and stagecoach stop on the Hillsborough-Salisbury road. He was a communicant of the Lutheran church, the owner of several enslaved workers, and with his wife, Rachel Rainey, the father of six children.



Old Alamance Mill and founder E.M. Holt. Courtesy of the North Carolina Collection, UNC-CH.

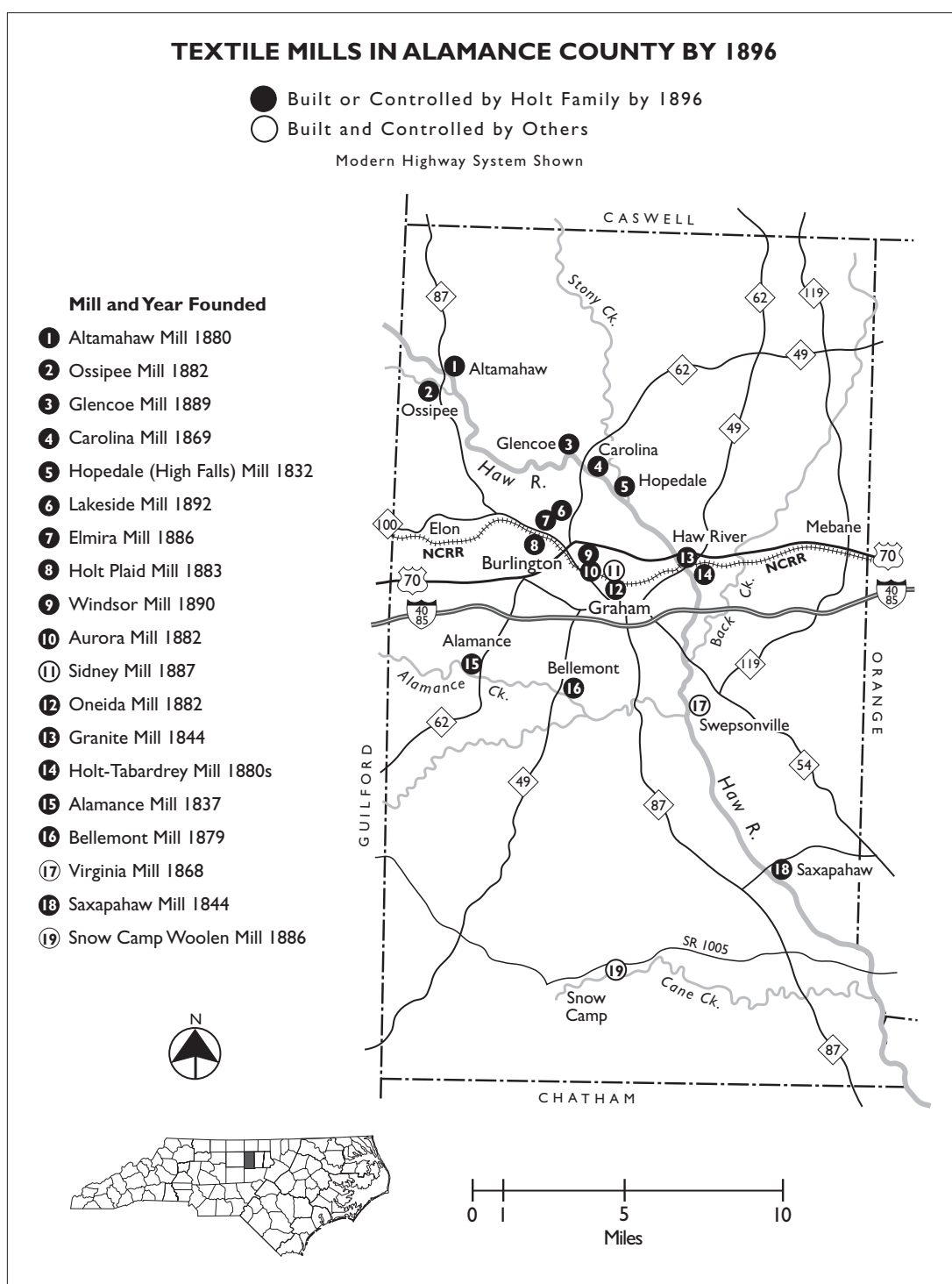
As a youth, Edwin M. Holt worked with his father and managed wagon trips to Fayetteville to sell his father's products. At age 21, Edwin married Emily Parish and started a large family that would include ten children. Along with running the family farm, he decided from a visit to a cotton mill in Greensboro to establish a factory near his father's old grist mill site on Alamance Creek. After traveling to Paterson, New Jersey, to buy spinning frames and hire a millwright, in 1839 he and his brother-in-law William Carrigan began operation of the water-powered Alamance Cotton Factory in a frame building. In the 1840s they added looms to produce

woven cloth. Carrigan moved to Alabama in 1851, and Edwin's son, Thomas M. Holt (1831-1896), who had been studying business in Philadelphia, joined the new firm of Edwin M. Holt and Sons. In the 1850s, with the help of a French dyer, Thomas inaugurated the dying of cotton yarn to make colored fabric. They soon gained fame for their "Alamance Plaids," which Thomas stated were the first colored cotton goods manufactured in the South.

Edwin and Thomas Holt were advocates for and officials of the North Carolina Rail Road, which stimulated growth of their factories. Like his father and grandfather, Edwin Holt affiliated with the Lutheran church, but at an 1854 camp meeting at Hawfields Presbyterian Church, three of his children professed that religion, and several members of the family later associated with the Graham Presbyterian Church.

Edwin and later his sons, sons-in-law, and grandsons expanded the family business by acquiring existing mills and establishing new ones. Early among these was the Granite Mill, established ca. 1844 by the German Trollinger family on the Haw River, which the Holts acquired in 1858 and expanded under Thomas's leadership as the core of the town called Haw River.

Although the Holts owned slaves, they resisted secession along with many others. Once the Civil War began, though, they supported the cause and manufactured cloth for the Confederacy. Their mills did well during the war and emerged ready to retool for growth



Textile Mills in Alamance County by 1896. Map created by Michael Southern.

and expand into producing finished goods. The story is told that Holt was the first southern industrialist to go north to purchase new equipment.

During Reconstruction, Thomas M. Holt was active in the turmoil of local and state politics and a leader in the Democratic party. A brother-in-law of his was a Klan leader arrested on orders from the governor amid the racial and political violence in Alamance County in 1870. (Thomas was briefly detained but released.) Throughout the rest of the century, Thomas took an active role in local and state political life, including service as a legislator and as governor in 1891-1893.

After the war, Edwin M. Holt handed over management of the family business to his sons, Thomas, James H., William, Lynn Banks, and Lawrence Holt, and sons-in-law James White and James Williamson. The family built nine major mills in the 1880s alone, including some constructed by local millwright Berry Davidson. Typical of many is Bellemont and its village, established by Edwin's sons, Lawrence and Lynn Banks, in 1879-1890 alongside Great Alamance Creek. The family also acquired several mills established by other local industrialists, such as the Saxapahaw Mill, begun in 1848-1849 by John Newlin and his sons of a Snow Camp community Quaker family. Edwin M. Holt purchased it in 1873 and operated it with his sons-in-law, who extensively rebuilt the mill and village. In 1878, Edwin and his sons, James and William, acquired the water power site on the Haw River where they established the mill and village that James and William, new Presbyterians, gave the Scottish name, Glencoe.

Holt family members also built or acquired steam-powered mills in the Alamance County seat of Graham and the present town of Burlington, which had been established as the Company Shops of the North Carolina Rail Road. In 1892 the *Raleigh News and Observer*, promoting the idea that "mills must be brought to the cotton fields," stated, "We wish every county in the State was an Alamance." By about 1900, 23 of the county's 27 textile mills were controlled by the Holt dynasty. The Holt family also diversified their interests, including founding the Commercial National Bank of Charlotte in 1874, a predecessor of the present Bank of America.

As described in Bess Beatty's study, *Alamance: The Holt Family and Industrialization in a North Carolina County, 1837-1900*, the Holt family, like many other Southern industrialists "cultivated an image of their own paternal benevolence and of their workers' contentment." During the late 19th century, they successfully opposed unionization. In 1899 and 1900, however, representatives of the National Union of Textile Workers working in the area created several local organizations. Intermittent strikes preceded a widespread strike in the county that began in one of the Holt mills. After several firings and other strikebreaking measures, some local workers stayed while others sought work elsewhere. The strike ended late in 1900 and its story seldom appeared in local histories. By the 1920s, the Holt family had shifted their economic concerns away from the local manufacturing scene. Their relatively small mills were eclipsed by much larger operations elsewhere, and the descendants of Edwin M. Holt had other interests besides manufacturing. The Holt mills were sold off, and many of them became part of Burlington Mills, later Burlington Industries, the world's largest textile company in the mid-20th century.

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Saxapahaw

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Grimsley Hobbs

West Grove Meeting House

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Jamestown Friends Meeting House, students measuring space. Photo: Carl Lounsbury, 2015.

