

A Brief History Of The Louise Cotton Mill Village

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**Standard Mill House Design Found In Textile Mill Villages Throughout The South.
This Plan Was Used In The Louise Cotton Mill Village.**

Justification For Claims Of Special Significance. The extant former mill houses in the Louise Cotton Mill Village have special significance because they illustrate the Louise Cotton Mill's role in the emergence of Charlotte as a major textile manufacturing center in the Carolina Piedmont between 1880 and 1930. "Nothing better symbolized the new industrial order than the mill villages that dotted the Piedmont landscape," write historians Jacquelyn Hall, Robert Korstad, and James Leloudis¹ Such factors as systemic rural poverty, the hope among struggling farmers that factory work would better their economic standing, and the desire of business leaders to industrialize the South, combined to produce a proliferation of textile mills and their accompanying mill villages in the Carolina backcountry in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.² The Louise Cotton Mill and its mill village were part of that phenomenon.

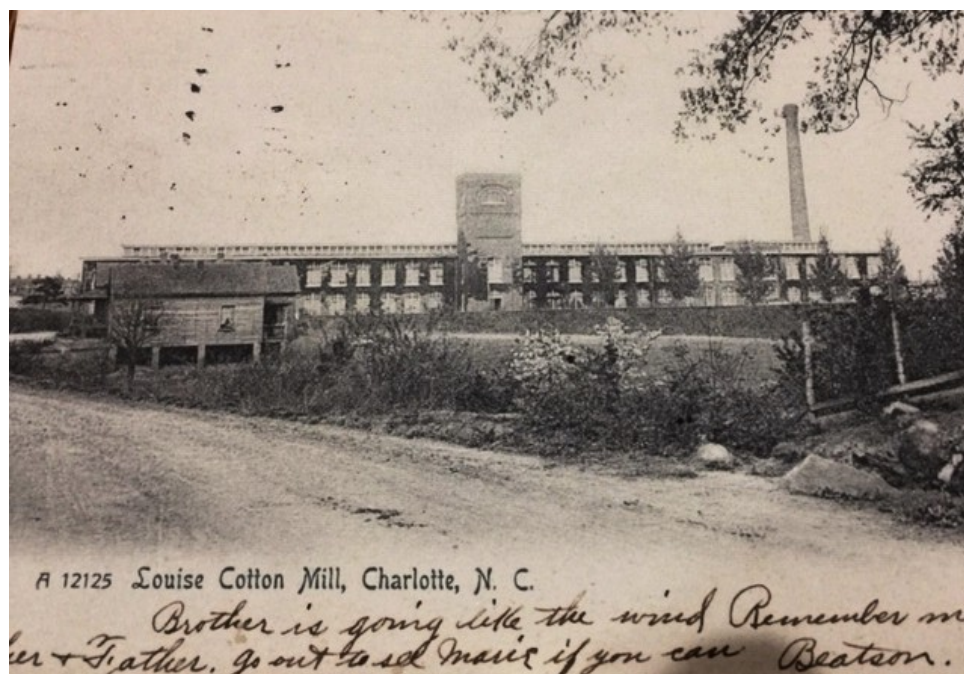
Claims for the special significance of the extant former mill houses in the Louise Cotton Mill Village also rest upon events that are happening in this former mill village today. It is true that Charlotte-Mecklenburg has several surviving remnants of cotton mill villages. Most germane in terms of this report are those at the former Hoskins Mill, the former Chadwick Mill, and the former Pineville Cotton Mill, because these mills were owned by the same company that owned the Louise Mill and because the surviving houses in those former mill villages are similar architecturally to those at the Louise. The

abundance of former mill houses in Charlotte-Mecklenburg notwithstanding, the surviving mill houses in the former Louise Cotton Mill Village do have special significance, because they are under *extraordinary threat* and will most likely disappear in the near future unless steps are taken to prevent their inadvertent destruction. The photographs below demonstrate that developmental pressures in the former Louise Cotton Mill Village are intense. Clearly, the time to act is now.

Two especially important former mill dwellings survive in the Louise Mill Village. They are located at 1104 and 1108 Pamlico Street. These houses are the only contiguous residences on Pamlico Street that retain a high degree of physical integrity. Also, the pair are at the southern edge of the Louise Mill Village and adjoin the Louise Cotton Mill, which is currently being converted into apartments. These two dwellings provide an excellent opportunity to illustrate the interface between the homes of workers and the mill in which they labored.³



1104 & 1108 Pamlico Street Were Built In 1897. The Former Louise Cotton Mill Is Visible In The Distance.



This Photograph Of The Louise Mill Was Featured On A Postcard Mailed In 1906. The View Is Toward The Northeast From Louise Avenue.



New House On Pamlico Street That Has Replaced A Mill House.



Vacant Lot Created By Demolishing Mill House.



One Of Many For Sale Signs On Pamlico Street.



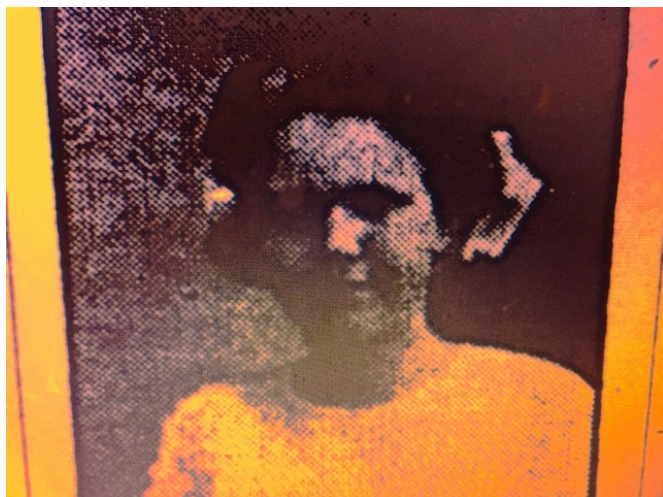
Streetscape Of Pamlico St. (December 2018)
Note New Houses.



New House Under Construction On Louise Ave.
(December 2018)

History Of The Louise Cotton Mill Village. The Louise Cotton Mill started up on May 31, 1897. Its founder was Hubert S. Chadwick (c. 1857-1899).⁴ “The big wheel at the Louise Mill,” reported the *Charlotte Observer*, “was set in motion yesterday by Mrs. H. S. Chadwick, for whom the mill is named, and the Louise is now a thriving factor in Charlotte’s industrial world.”⁵ A native of Vermont, Hubert Chadwick moved to Charlotte in 1887, having prospered in the textile industry in the North.⁶ The *News and Observer* of Raleigh, N.C. called Chadwick “one of the cleverest and most valuable of the many enterprising men who have come from New England to the South.”⁷ Chadwick established himself as a leading industrialist in Charlotte. He founded the Charlotte Machine Company, which furnished plans and specifications for cotton mills throughout the South. Chadwick had a “thorough knowledge of mill engineering,” declared one newspaper.⁸ He was a charter member and the first president of the Southern Manufacturers’ Club, a highly influential body of Charlotte businessmen who fostered close contacts between mill owners in the South and Northern manufacturers of textile machinery.⁹

On September 23, 1897, the *Charlotte Observer* announced that “forty-five tenement houses” for workers at the Louise Mill were “about complete.”¹⁰ More workers’ houses were added in 1898 in response to an expansion of the mill.¹¹ In 1900, ninety-two percent of textile families in the South lived in homes owned by the mills in which they worked.¹² At first arranged haphazardly, the houses in mill villages by the end of the nineteenth century had become an “institution of conscious design.”¹³ Daniel Augustus Tompkins (1851-1914), owner of the *Charlotte Observer* and *Evening Chronicle* and champion of industrialization, was largely responsible for the standardization of the built environment of mill villages in the South.¹⁴ Tompkins published in 1899 a book entitled *Cotton Mills Commercial Features* which “codified the vernacular forms” for mill village homes.¹⁵ In it Tompkins included drawings of floor plans, estimates of construction costs, and explained the philosophy that undergirded his recommendations regarding textile workers’ housing.



Lena Grigg, Louise Mill Spinner (1912)



Dora Willis, Louise Mill Weaver (1912)



Chadwick Mill Three-Room Gable House Follows Plan Recommended By Tompkins.



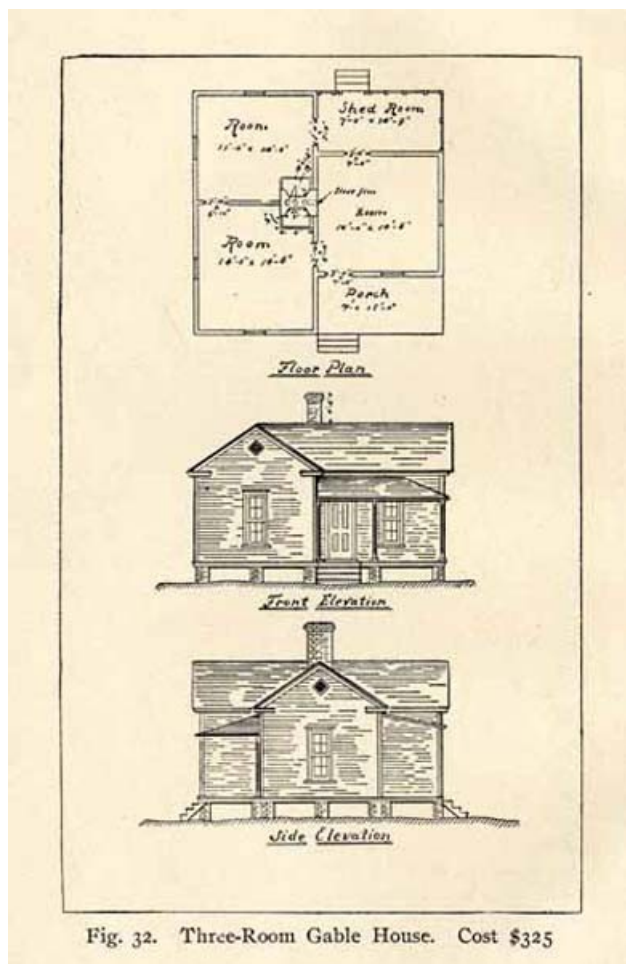
Hoskins Mill Three-Room Gable House Follows Plan Recommended By Tompkins.



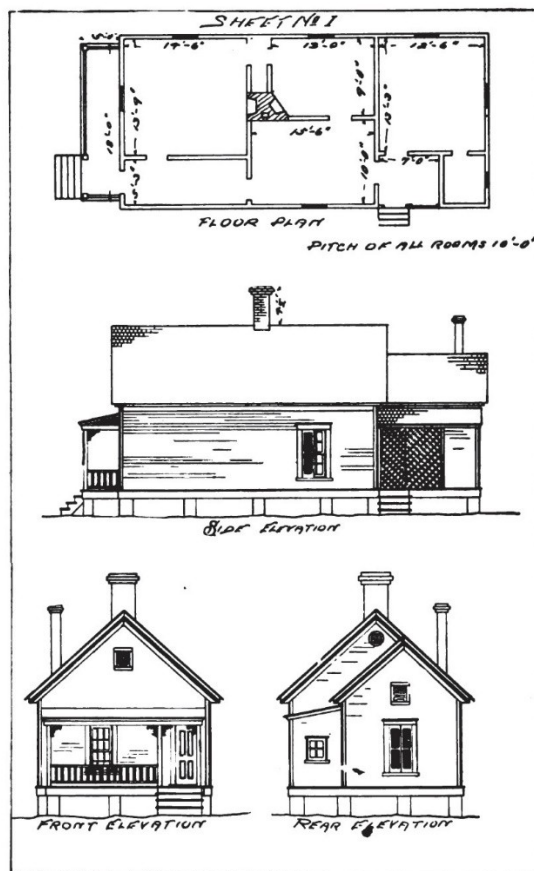
Chadwick Cotton Mill (Destroyed).



Hoskins Cotton Mill.



From Cotton Mills Commercial Features



From Cotton Mills Commercial Features

Tompkins insisted that constructing brick rowhouses like those prevalent in the mill villages of the North was unsuitable for textile mill villages in the South, because Southern mill workers, or “operatives” as they were commonly called, were “essentially a rural people.” “They have been accustomed to farm life,” said Tompkins. “The ideal arrangement,” he declared, “is to preserve the general conditions of rural life and add some of the comforts of city life.”¹⁶ Tompkins stated that Southern mill villages should emulate the look and feel of a country hamlet. “This seems at present the most satisfactory plan for the South,” said Tompkins. According to Tompkins, textile workers would be happier and more loyal if they resided in frame residences that resembled the farmhouses they had known before moving to town. “They seem disposed to live to themselves and to attend their own schools and churches even when the mill village is in the city.”¹⁷ They would also appreciate yards, said Tompkins, large enough for a garden, a chicken house, and maybe a pig pen.¹⁸ Tompkins used the so-called “rough rule” to determine the number of residences that mill owners should construct. A house should provide one worker for each of its rooms. Hence, three “operatives” should reside in a three-room domicile. “Thus,” Tompkins declared, “a factory with 300 employees, would require 100 houses having an average of 3 rooms each.”¹⁹ The Louise Cotton Mill Village initially contained approximately 150 dwellings.²⁰ On December 31, 1898 the *Charlotte Observer* reported that the Louise Mill was “putting up a number of new houses.”²¹



Daniel Augustus Tompkins (1851-1914)

The homes in the Louise Cotton Mill Village followed the three-room gable house plans that D. A. Tompkins promulgated in his book, *Cotton Mills Commercial Features*.²² The placement of the mill houses on streets, like Louise, Pegram, Williams (now Pamlico), created the ambience of a rural hamlet set apart from the contiguous Belmont Park neighborhood. Mill management did maintain and make improvements to the homes. Lattice work was added between the brick-pier foundations to keep varmints of all kinds from wandering under the houses. In 1910, “every house in the village was recovered, replastered (sic.), and repainted.”²³ Gas became available in the homes in 1914.²⁴ Bathtubs were installed in 1949.²⁵

Mill owners superintended the mill villages with a stern hand. To their way of thinking, the appearance of mill villages should echo the quality of the entire industrial enterprise.²⁶ Managers routinely inspected mill houses to assess how appropriately millhands were behaving. Inspectors might chastise a woman for smoking on her porch or a man for drinking whiskey. Overseers would roam the streets to make sure workers were going to bed at a reasonable hour. The Louise Mill employed a “colored” man to maintain the grounds of the village, planting and maintaining hedges.²⁷ Most yards had a vegetable garden and a chicken coop.²⁸ The owners of the Louise Mill set aside a parcel of land as a pasture where operatives could keep cows and even hired a man “to tend to their stock.”²⁹ Workers paid a modest rent weekly for the houses. The mill provided garbage pickup and paid for water after indoor plumbing became available.³⁰ All in all, said the *Evening Chronicle* in characteristic hyperbole, the Louise Mill Village had a “queenly appearance.”³¹ The Louise Mill Village was named “Louiseville.”³²



Louise Mill House at 1104 Pamlico Street.



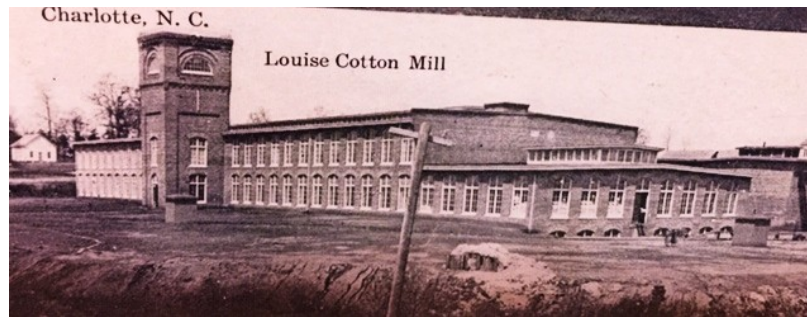
Louise Mill House at 1108 Pamlico Street.

Mill management regarded company ownership of homes in mill villages as an essential instrument of control. Most fundamentally, if a family lost its job, it also suffered eviction from its domicile. It is

important to understand, however, that the Louise Cotton Mill Village from the outset was not typical. Unlike many of Charlotte's cotton mills, the Louise Mill was within the corporate limits of the city and was adjoined by a fast-growing Charlotte suburb, Belmont Park. Therefore, residents of the Louise Mill Village had easy access to nearby stores, could ride streetcars to uptown Charlotte; and when truancy laws and effective regulations of child labor were established, the children attended the public schools of Charlotte.³³ Especially important in this regard was the opening in September 1922 of the Belmont Vocational School, later named the Charlotte Technical High School, just outside the Louise Mill Village.³⁴ It is true that the Louise Mill, later known as Chadwick-Hoskins Mill Number 4, retained ownership of the houses in the mill village until 1949.³⁵ But in 1905, mill management set aside a tract of land on the east side of Pegram Street and sold lots on "liberal terms" to operatives.³⁶ On June 9, 1912, the *Evening Chronicle* reported that some workers had saved their money and were able to purchase homes outside the village.³⁷ It is not surprising that some operatives aspired to reside outside the mill village. Many workers, who had enjoyed a high level of independence as farmers, chafed at the intrusive controls associated with living in mill villages.

Interactions between management and workers were sometimes sanguine. Always seeking ways to convince workers to be loyal and not to move to work in other mills, management used a myriad of tools in an effort to win the friendship of its labor force.³⁸ Religion was no exception. The Louise Mill donated land for the building of churches and contributed to the salaries of the preachers.³⁹ Mill management sponsored picnics and other special events for its workers. In August 1900, the mill hands "had a very enjoyable time and an elegant lunch," reported the *Charlotte News*.⁴⁰ The Louise Mill also had a community house where workers could gather.⁴¹

Owners of the Louise Mill instituted a variety of programs to reward constructive behavior by its workers. An especially festive event was an annual flower festival. In November 1910, a large crowd gathered at the Louise Mill to inspect the flowers "that had been raised by the people of the village" "Although there was a predominance of chrysanthemums," said the *Charlotte News*, "countless other varieties were in evidence." The featured speaker told the audience that decorating the Louise Mill Village with flowers had benefits beyond merely the aesthetic. The *Charlotte Observer* reported: "In closing a few words of advice were thrown out to the mothers and fathers, 'make the yards and homes beautiful,' and there will be less temptation for the younger children to be away where they will fall into sin."⁴² The grand prize for the best kept and prettiest yard in the village went to J. C. Redling. He received a cash award of \$10.⁴³ Management occasionally gave vacations to operatives who exhibited excellent, long-time service.⁴⁴ It even presented awards to village residents who excelled at domestic tasks, such as canning.⁴⁵ Sometimes the benefits of laboring in the mill were self-taught. It was not unusual for romances to begin on the factory floor. Edna Yandell Hargett met her husband when they were co-workers at the Louise Mill.⁴⁶



Historic Photograph Of The Louise Cotton Mill.



Mill Village Child Evelyn Robinson Photographed With Winning Canning Display (1898).

Baseball was an important part of mill life, including at the Louise Mill. Owners understood that working in a cotton mill was mostly monotonous, repetitive, and mind-numbing drudgery. The standard work week in the early 1900s included five 12-hour days and 6 hours on Saturday. Before coming to the mill, when the operatives had eked out their living as farmers, tenant farmers, or farmhands, they had been able to take some pride in what they had produced with their own hands. But in a cotton mill, where work schedules were set by the shriek of a steam whistle, the laborers had almost no opportunity for developing self-pride and displaying creativity. Management decided that organized recreation would be a worthwhile and safe tool to offset this onerous circumstance. A baseball game could bring some level of joy and passion to the mill village, especially for the men. Employers built ball fields, where workers from other cotton mills and other community organizations would come to test the metal of the “local boys.” The Louise Mill provided uniforms, bats, and balls. Crowds would circle the diamond, lustily cheering the players and booing the umpires. The Charlotte newspapers are replete with descriptions of baseball being played at the Louise Mill. On July 4, 1905, for example, the Louise Mill played the Charlotte Y.M.C.A; and In June 1919, Louise defeated the Hoskins Mill team.⁴⁷ The Louise Mill was still routinely playing baseball in 1949.⁴⁸ Games were scheduled for Saturday afternoons.⁴⁹



Louise Cotton Mill (December 2018)



The Highland Park Number 3 Team Regularly Played The Louise Mill Team.

There was a violent aspect of life in the Louise Mill Village. Many accidents occurred. A woman who lived on Williams Street was killed by lightning.⁵⁰ Children drowned in the mill pond on multiple occasions.⁵¹ Workers fell from ladders.⁵² On June 9, 1900, the *Charlotte Observer* reported that a man's foot had been "badly crushed at the Louise Mill."⁵³ A man was killed when struck by a streetcar on Louise Avenue in March 1924.⁵⁴ A worker lost a finger in October 1903.⁵⁵ On June 1899, a worker at the Louise Mill was "painfully hurt . . . by being struck in the face by a band off the machinery."⁵⁶ Labor unrest also occurred in the Louise Mill Village. During World War One, when demand for textiles reached unprecedented levels, management increased wages dramatically. By the early 1920s, however, belt-tightening became the order of the day; and union organizers persuaded some workers at the Louise Mill to attempt to bargain collectively. In May 1919, police were dispatched to the Louise Mill to maintain order.⁵⁷ The Louise Mill shut down for three months in 1921 when management refused to negotiate with members of the union.⁵⁸

An issue of great societal concern in the Southern textile industry, including the Louise Cotton Mill, was child labor. Alexander Jeffrey McKelway (1866-1918), a Presbyterian minister in Charlotte and briefly editor of the *Charlotte News*, was a harsh critic of the social conditions that existed in textile mill villages. He was particularly concerned about the toxic impact of child labor. He drew special attention to the level of illiteracy that existed among young mill workers. In 1905, he lobbied unsuccessfully for legislation that would have changed the minimum age of girl laborers from 11 to 12 and would have eliminated "night work" for children in the cotton mills of North Carolina.⁵⁹ McKelway called the child labor system an "appalling evil" and stated in February 1905 that fifteen thousand children under the age of fourteen were working in Tar Heel textile mills.⁶⁰ The Charlotte press did

acknowledge that some children labored in the Louise Mill but stated that they came from “fatherless” homes and that their salaries helped support a “widowed mother.”⁶¹ North Carolina did pass its first child labor law in 1903, but no provisions for enforcement were enacted. Eva Hopkins, a Charlotte mill worker, remembered that her mother went to work in a cotton mill in Charlotte at the age of seven.

*She was seven years old. She worked twelve hours a day, then they would go home for lunch. Then they would go back to work. Yes, she said the overseers and the section men—they had what you called section men—they could whip the children back then. If they didn’t do the job and stay on the job, they would spank or whip them or send them for their parents to come get them.*⁶²



Alexander McKelway



Young Textile Worker In Lancaster, South Carolina

There were efforts made to address social ills in the Louise Mill Village. On November 12, 1931, Eva Edgerton, a specialist in adult education, gave a speech entitled “Eradication of Illiteracy in North Carolina” to the Charlotte Woman’s Club.⁶³ In 1932, the Woman’s Club responded by offering classes two nights weekly in the Louise Mill Community House to teach adult textile workers how to read and write. The instructor was Mrs. John T. Porter. “It is interesting,” said Porter, “that men and boys make up this school and that they are deeply interested.”⁶⁴ A graduation ceremony was held in April 1932 with one student reading a passage from the Bible.⁶⁵



Mrs. John T. Porter distributes certificates to Louise Mill operatives (April 1932).

Interestingly, many textile workers had positive attitudes about life in a mill village. They might not enjoy their jobs, but they did like their leisure time. Among the traditions textile operatives brought from their years on the farm was a sense of interdependency. Historians Dowd, Korstad, and Leloudis write: "Embodied in everyday behavior, communal values made poverty survivable and distanced millhands from the possessive individualism that characterized the world of factory owners and middle-class townsfolk."⁶⁶ Women gathered on the front porches of mill houses to share stories and express their joys and sorrows. Mothers tended to each other's children, and midwives occupied positions of high status. "Everybody seemed to be happy," explained a Charlotte mill worker, "in the same boat, nobody had much money but everybody in the same boat."⁶⁷ Residents would celebrate the consummation of a marriage by tying tin cans on a rope, walking to the house where the couple was spending its first night together, and shaking the rope so the cans would rattle and make a great racket. As for the men, they would assemble nightly and on the weekends on front porches to play fiddles, banjos, mandolins, and dobros. A skilled musician had special standing in cotton mill society. "Hillbilly music" had its origins in the cotton mill villages of the Carolinas. Artists like Dorsey Dixon and Wilmer Watts cut 78 rpm records at the RCA Victor Studios in Charlotte. Their twangy, sometimes mournful songs were broadcast by Charlotte's WBT Radio. "Performing and listening to hillbilly music," explains historian Patrick Huber, "helped workers to cope with the challenges of an uncertain and sometimes bewildering modern life."⁶⁸ Being lonely was not a problem for most who lived in a mill village.



Wilmer Watts



Dorsey Dixon

On May 20, 1949, the *Charlotte Observer* reported that the owners of the Louise Mill were selling 76 mill houses at prices ranging from “\$2,000 to \$3,100 each.”⁶⁹ The newspaper noted that textile executives across the South were taking similar action, making it a “significant trend.”⁷⁰ If workers did not purchase the houses, the homes were placed on the open market.⁷¹ Operations at the Louise Mill persisted for another eight years. The newspapers continued to mention the Louise Mill Village, but the days of a collection of residences occupied exclusively by operatives at the Louise Mill were over.⁷²



The Louise Cotton Mill benefited from the fact that the Charlotte opened the Belmont Vocational School at 1400 Pegram Street in 1922. Renamed the Charlotte Technical High School in 1927, the school was located just north of the Louise Mill Village. C. C. Hook was the architect



During the 1920s and 1930s, students took field trips to the Louise Mill. They also produced equipment for the Louise Mill in the school's machine shop, pictured here.

On June 3, 1957, R. M. Cushman of the Amerotron Company announced that the Louise Mill was closing.⁷³ It was the end of an era. The *Charlotte Observer* spoke poignantly about what was transpiring in the Louise Mill Village in the weeks following the announcement.

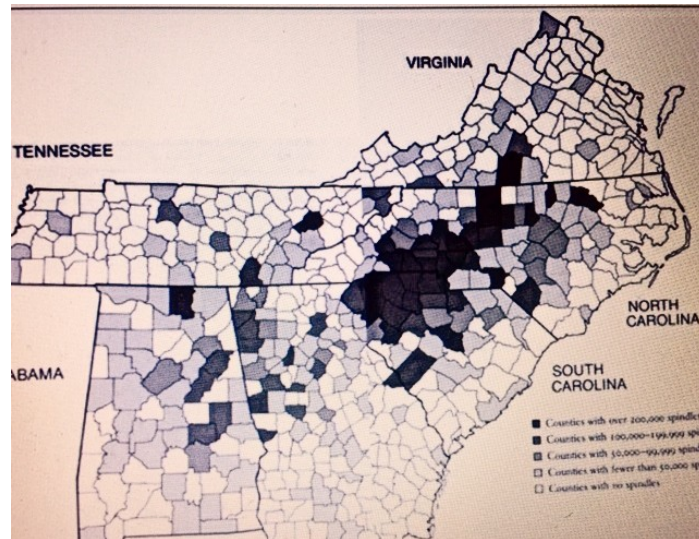
Nearly every morning, if you catch them at the right time, you can see them start out from the quiet streets surrounding the now almost-silent Louise Mill.

These are the mill's former employees, at least those of them who lived in the mill village nearby.

The mill itself has the look of isolation and through the open windows you can hear its mechanical death rasp – “running out of stock,” they call it – before it shuts its doors as the Amerotron Company has announced it will do.⁷⁴

The Louise Mill property has gone through several permutations since 1957. Vanderbilt University, which had acquired the mill in 1951 and had leased it to the Textron Southern Corporation, sold the property to Pargo Realty, Inc. in 1969. Pargo conveyed it the next year to Eckerd Drug, which used the mill buildings as a warehouse. In 1993, Hanford's, Inc., a Charlotte-based wholesale florist, bought the property and continued to use the buildings for storage. Hawthorne Mill, L.L.C. became the owner in 2001; and the current owner, Hawthorne Mill Partners, L.L.C., acquired the property on December 30,

2003.⁷⁵ The Louise Mill was listed in the National Register of Historic Places in December 2013.⁷⁶ The former mill houses have been unaffected by these changes, because the residences have remained in separate ownership since 1949. It is the unrelenting real estate market that is destroying the Louise Cotton Mill Village.



Distribution Of Textile Mills In The Southeast

1 Jacquelyn Dowd Hall, Robert Korstad, James Leloudis, "Cotton Mill People: Work, Community, and Protest in the Textile South," *American Historical Review* (April 1986) : 247.

2 The earliest textile mills in North Carolina, including the Schenck-Warlick Mill in Lincoln County, predated the Civil War. They were water-powered and were consequently constructed on streams and rivers, frequently in remote or outlying areas. The Glenroy Mills was the original textile mill in Mecklenburg County. Established in 1878, it was a small-scale operation located between Matthews and Providence Presbyterian Church in southeastern Mecklenburg. When steam and electric power became widespread in the Piedmont in the late 1800s, cotton mills began to appear beside railroad lines in small towns and cities, including Charlotte. The Charlotte Cotton Mills opened on West Fifth Street on March 8, 1881. A major expansion of Charlotte's industrial base occurred in 1888-89, when the Ada Mill, the Alpha Mill (later Calvine Mill), and the Victor Cotton Mill opened. The fifth cotton mill in Charlotte, Highland Park Manufacturing Company Plant Number One, started up in early 1892, to be followed later that same year by the Atherton Cotton Mill.

3 This writer is aware that one could argue that the better approach to the preservation of the Louise Cotton Mill Village would be to recommend its designation as a local historic district. Such an approach might have been possible as recently as two years ago. However, the built environment of the neighborhood has increasingly become infilled with new houses.

4 *Massachusetts Death Certificate 2191*. The circumstances of Chadwick's death were tragic. In Boston, Massachusetts on business, Chadwick was alone in his room at the Parker Hotel when he put a pistol to his head and pulled the trigger (see *The People's Paper*, March 10, 1899).

5 *Charlotte Observer*, June 1, 1897. She was Blanche Louise Chadwick.

6 *Virginia Pilot*, March 3, 1899. Chadwick was president of the Dillings Mills in Kings Mountain, N.C., the Dover Mill in Pineville, N.C., and the Louise Mill in Charlotte. The Louise Mill was also known as the Chadwick-Hoskings Mill No. 4. Chadwick volunteered and served as a Chaplain in the U.S. Army during the Spanish-American War. He was in ill health at the time of his death. A telegram was on his person when he died. It was from his wife and expressed anxiety over his absence from home. The newspaper is incorrect in giving his first name as "Herbert."

7 *News and Observer*, November 28, 1895.

8 *Charlotte Observer*, November 28, 1894.

9 *Charlotte Observer*, July 26, 1894; May 28, 1896.

10 *Charlotte Observer*, September 23, 1897.

11 *Charlotte Observer*, December 31, 1898.

12 Jacquelyn Dowd Hall, Robert Korstad, James Leloudis, Mary Murphy, Lu Ann Jones, Christopher B. Daly, *Like a Family. The Making of a Southern Mill World* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1987), 114. Hereinafter cited as *Like a Family*.

13 *Like a Family*, 116.

14 D. A. Tompkins was a charter member of the Southern Manufacturers' Club. It is reasonable to assume that he and Hubert Chadwick were well acquainted with one another. A native of Edgefield, South Carolina, Tompkins studied engineering at Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute in Troy, New York. He arrived in Charlotte in March 1883 as a representative of the Westinghouse Corporation, selling steam engines and textile machinery. In 1884, Tompkins joined with a partner in establishing the D. A. Tompkins Company which evolved to become one of the most influential contracting and consulting firms for the rising textile industry in the South. Through his ownership of the *Charlotte Observer* and the *Evening Chronicle*, Tompkins became an effective advocate for the industrialization and agricultural diversification of his native region. In October 1906, Tompkins stated that the D. A. Tompkins Company had built something over 100 cotton mills and not less than 250 cotton seed oil mills.

15 *Like a Family*, 116.

16 D. A. Tompkins, *Cotton Mills, Commercial Features. A Text-Book For The Use Of Textile Schools And Investors* (Charlotte, N. C.: Presses Observer Printing House, 1899), 117. Hereinafter cited as *Cotton Mills, Commercial Features*.

17 *Cotton Mills, Commercial Features*, 116.

18 The Louise Mill did not allow pigs in the mill village (see *The Evening Chronicle*, April 12, 1912).

19 *Cotton Mills, Commercial Features*, 116.

20 *Charlotte Observer*, March 28, 1897.

21 *Charlotte Observer*, December 31, 1998. At its height the Louise Cotton Mill Village had about 200 homes. This number is different from that included in the National Register of Historic Places Application Form for the Louise Mill.

22 Tompkins had produced and distributed house plans before the publication of *Cotton Mills Commercial Features*.

23 *Evening Chronicle*, April 12, 1912.

24 *Charlotte News*, August 26, 1914.

25 *Charlotte Observer*, March 14, 1949.

26 *Charlotte Observer*, July 31, 1949.

27 *Evening Chronicle*, April 23, 1912.

28 *Evening Chronicle*, November 1, 1910.

29 *Evening Chronicle*, April 12, 1912.

30 *Charlotte Observer*, July 31, 1949. A typical weekly rent in the early 1900s was one dollar.

31 *Evening Chronicle*, April 11, 1912.

32 *Evening Chronicle*, July 17, 1912; *Charlotte News*, August 9, 1900

33 Streetcar service reached the nearby Piedmont Park neighborhood in March 1902. The Red Front Department Store opened in the Belmont Park neighborhood that same year.

34 *Charlotte Observer*, September 4, 1922.

35 *Charlotte Observer*, May 20, 1949.

36 *Concord Daily Tribune*, June 23, 1905.

37 *Evening Chronicle*, June 9, 1912.

38 Mill workers moved frequently, sometimes going to the North or even to Canada. Workers would search for the mills that provided more hours and higher pay.

39 *The Evening Chronicle*, April 15, 1912; *Charlotte News*, October 25, 1900.

40 *Charlotte News*, August 9, 1900.

41 *Charlotte Observer*, March 23, 1932.

42 *Charlotte News*, November 2, 1910.

43 *Charlotte News*, November 2, 1910.

44 *Evening Chronicle*, October 8, 1912.

45 *Charlotte Observer*, October 13, 1898.

46 Interview H0163: Southern Oral History Program.

47 *Charlotte News*, July 4, 1905; *Charlotte Observer*, June 16, 1919.

48 *Charlotte Observer*, October 22, 1949.

49 *Charlotte Observer*, February 26, 1949.

50 *Concord Daily Tribune*, August 28, 1915.

51 *Charlotte Observer*, May 29, 1898; August 1, 1930.

52 *Charlotte Observer*, December 4, 1900.

53 *Charlotte Observer*, June 9, 1900.

54 *Charlotte Observer*, March 9, 1924.

55 *Charlotte Observer*, October 9, 1903.

56 *Charlotte Observer*, June 7, 1899.

57 *Charlotte Observer*, May 16, 1919.

58 *Concord Daily Tribune*, May 28, September 8, 1921.

59 *Charlotte Observer*, February 8, 1905.

60 *Charlotte News*, February 20, 1905.

61 *The Evening Chronicle*, April 11, 1812.

62 Interview of Eva B. Hopkins (H167) *Southern Oral Historic Program*.

63 *The Woman's Club Of Charlotte North Carolina 1931-1932* (Special Collections at the University of North Carolina at Charlotte).

64 *Charlotte Observer*, March 20, 1932.

65 *Charlotte Observer*, March 23, 1932.

66 *Like a Family*, 152.

67 Interview H0159: Southern Oral History Program.

68 Patrick Huber, *Linthead Stomp. The Creation of Country Music In The Piedmont South* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2008), xv.

69 *Charlotte Observer*, May 20, 1949.

70 *Charlotte Observer*, May 23, 1949.

71 *Charlotte Observer*, July 31, 1949.

72 *Charlotte Observer*, November 16, 1952.

73 *Charlotte Observer*, June 3, 1957.

74 *Charlotte Observer*, August 13, 1957.

75 *National Register Of Historic Places Registration Form* (<http://www.hpo.ncdcr.gov/nr/MK1857.pdf>)

76 <http://www.hpo.ncdcr.gov/nr/MK1857.pdf>