OUTLINE OF PROPERTY TYPES

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I. HOUSES

A. Log Dwellings

Mecklenburg County's surviving log dwellings bear witness to the Scotch-Irish heritage of its early white settlers. These buildings also represent the conservative, isolated backcountry culture of the county which persisted at least until the coming of the railroads in the middle decades of the 19th century. Dating between the late 18th century and the middle 19th century, the county's identified log housing stock (and dwellings of log are still being discovered underneath weatherboarded vernaculars) varies in size, plan, quality of construction, and, of course, present condition and alterations. Currently, seventeen log houses have been identified, including the James K. Polk Homestead, a State Historic Site, which is a reconstructed example composed of parts of contemporary log cabins from the area. But the vast majority of log dwellings stand on or near their original rural sites. All of those surveyed, with the exception of the Ephraim McAuley House (MK1306) near Long Creek, are antebellum.

Log architecture expressed the practical, physical necessities of settlement on the American frontier, as well as building traditions originating in the Old World, passed down over centuries, and carried across the Atlantic to the New World. Although the Scotch-Irish had no tradition of log construction, in America this culture group first acquired and adapted this building technique from their German neighbors in southeastern Pennsylvania. There, Germans perpetuated a horizontal log construction tradition which had been an integral part of the building vocabulary in their European homeland. Consequently, both of these groups carried this building practice with them as they migrated across Maryland and the Shenandoah Valley into western North Carolina during the 18th and 19th centuries (Kniffen and Glassie 1966; Glassie 1968). In this timber-rich region, settlers could erect log shelters with relative ease, employing broad axes and adzes, and few nails.

English settlers, over time, also built in log on the frontier. However, lacking a tradition of such construction as well as the extended contact with German settlements,
II. Early Settlement (1740s–Early 1800s)

Mecklenburg county is strategically located in the center of the Piedmont region of North Carolina, with South Carolina bordering it on the south, and the Catawba River on the west. It was originally inhabited by Catawba Indians of the Siouan nation, who were visited by Spanish explorers in the 1560s, and, after the settlement of Virginia, traded with colonists who came to trade English goods for skins and furs.²

It wasn't until the 1740s, however, that migration to the state, which started on the eastern coast, finally reached this part of the western backcountry. Most settlers came in from the north down the Great Philadelphia Wagon Road from central Pennsylvania, or up from the port of Charleston.³ They were primarily “Scotch-Irish,” a term that means Presbyterian Scots who settled in Ulster (present-day Northern Ireland) in the early 1600s at the invitation of James I to offset rebellious Irish Catholics in the area. After about twenty years, however, the Scots found themselves confronted with economic, religious and political problems, and many began to emigrate to America. Originally they settled in Eastern Pennsylvania, Virginia, or Maryland, and, in the middle 1700s, began to move further south along with new arrivals.⁴ English, Palatinate Protestant German and French Huguenot émigrés also found their way to the Piedmont Carolinas.⁵

Tradition has it that the first settler to cross “on wheels” into what became Mecklenburg county was Thomas Spratt and his family, closely followed by young Thomas Polk, who married the Spratt daughter, Susannah. They came about 1748.⁶ The first settlements were along the Rocky River and its tributaries, with the first land grant dating 1749, and from 1750 to 1758, hundreds more were issued. In 1775, a missionary visit by a Rev. Hugh McAden in the Mecklenburg area found Scotch-Irish at Rocky River (in the northeast part of the county), Sugar Creek (just east of Charlotte), in the Warhaws (to the south in present Union County), and what is now the Broad River in South Carolina.⁷

At first, migration into Mecklenburg was slow, but after a final campaign that permanently crushed the ability of the Cherokees to wage war against the whites in 1761 and the conclusion of the French and Indian War in 1763, settlers began to arrive in large numbers.⁸

In 1751, George Augustus Selwyn (1719-1791) inherited a 100,000-acre tract between Rocky River and the Catawba River from his father. Col.
elected to cover exterior log walls, the weatherboarding of log dwellings became a common practice.

Indeed, log houses of America's frontier period have rarely survived intact and unaltered. A settler's initial log dwelling often would be relegated to use as an outbuilding or torn down for materials. For example, it is said that the original log house on the Robert Potts Plantation (MK 1296) near Cornelius was later used for slave quarters (its stone foundation survives). Farm families also commonly expanded and overbuilt log houses in due course. As families grew and gained greater economic stability, frame shed additions and rear kitchen ells appeared. Furthermore, several local log houses are known to form the original cores of subsequently enlarged and updated residences which, from exterior appearances, appear to be entirely frame constructed. A good example is the McKinney House (MK 1227) near Weddington, which was originally built of logs and about 1910 weatherboarded and expanded so that it resembles a frame I-house with rear kitchen ell.

Log dwellings, of course, represent a particular construction technique, not a house type. Houses reflecting a variety of traditional forms and consisting of a variety of interior plans were built of log. Henry Glassie identifies two types of single-pen Southern mountain cabins which were commonly log constructed. One is the square type, reflecting English building tradition; the other is rectangular, a product of Scotch-Irish tradition (Glassie 1968). While log versions of both of these house types were built across the western half of North Carolina, the physical distinction between these two forms can be difficult to make at times, and thus blurs the relationships between them and the two culture groups (Swaim 1983).

**Story-and-a-half, Single-Pen Log Houses**

Single-pen forms typically included a sleeping loft, chimney on one gable end, and a centrally placed entry. In Mecklenburg County, the ten inventoried single-pen story-and-a-half log houses all have rectangular forms (approximately 15 by 20 feet), and all of these originally followed one-room plans. A particularly good example is the Oehler Log House (MK 1311) built near Mallard Creek in the early 19th century.
Two-Story, Single-Pen Log Houses

Whereas these single-pen, one-room log houses are the most common surviving versions in Mecklenburg County, log dwellings took other forms and plans as well. Seven single-pen log houses are a full two stories high. Several of these, including the ca. 1840 Samuel Wilson House (MK1483) near Huntersville, were laid out in a "Quaker plan." This three-room plan consists of two small rooms, often bedrooms, on one half of the first floor, and a large room on the other half, where the fireplace and corner stair is usually located. The Quaker plan, so named because William Penn, the Quaker founder of Philadelphia, recommended this layout to settlers, is common to the North Carolina Piedmont and has been characterized as a traditional German plan (Herman 1978; Little-Stokes 1978; Hood 1983). However, it should be noted that three-room house plans may also have been at times the fortuitous result of the addition of an extra partition to the basic hall-and-parlor plan when an additional room was needed (Swain 1981). Fine examples of two-story log dwellings with hall-and-parlor layouts include both the Cooper House ([local Designated Historic Property] MK1359) built at the turn of the 19th century southwest of Charlotte, and the ca. 1860 Earnhardt-Garrison House (MK1263) at Mallard Creek. By the post-Civil War period, the popularity of the center-hall plan combined with the persistence of log construction to produce the 1880s Ephraim McAuley House (MK1305), a two-story, center-hall log dwelling that is the centerpiece of the McAuley Farm near Long Creek.

Examples of all of the above house types and plans as they survive in Mecklenburg County help to represent the area's rural development, as well as contribute to the understanding of log housing as it was produced through tradition and by necessity across the American Southern Uplands.
B. Plantation-Era Farmhouses

While settlers erected sturdy log dwellings across Mecklenburg County -- visible symbols of permanent settlement -- other house types, reflecting a variety of traditional plans and construction techniques, appeared in the antebellum years as well. Today, the brick W.T. Alexander House [SRML, local Designated Historic Property] (MR 1254) near Mallard Creek, and the stately, brick Cedar Grove [SRML, local Designated Historic Property] (MR 1244) on Gilmer Road west of Huntersville, represent rare remaining examples of pre-Civil War masonry houses in Mecklenburg. The overwhelming majority of the twenty-seven surviving rural residences of the plantation era are frame. These houses are built of heavy timbers, mortised, tenoned, and pegged together. They are usually sheathed in plain weatherboards, though the finest examples have beaded siding. And, whereas local log houses often reflect traditional story-and-a-half types, all of the extant frame farmhouses are of full two stories. Although nearby counties in the western Piedmont have two-room, hall-and-parlor and central-hall cottages representing smaller landowners, tenants, and perhaps even slave quarters, these one-story, frame house forms appear to have vanished from Mecklenburg's countryside, victims of accidental extinction by residential and commercial development.

The plans of the two-story farmhouses include both double-pile and three-room, Quaker configurations; but by far the most popular plan is one-room deep. Some of these dwellings, and especially the earliest remaining examples, have hall-and-parlor layouts. However, central halls were incorporated into plantation seats, such as Holly Bend [SRML] (MR 990) in Lebanon Township, at least as early as the turn of the 19th century, and became increasingly common as the century progressed. Whether possessing a formal central hall or not, these one-room deep, two-story, "I-houses" reflected elevated social status and economic well-being across Mecklenburg County and, indeed, throughout the rural South during the plantation years. A traditional house type, the I-house would persist as a symbol of the prosperous Southern farmer throughout the 19th century and into the 20th century (Glassie 1968; Southern 1978).

The earliest surviving I-houses date from about 1800. They have flush eaves and brick end chimneys laid in a Flemish bond. Later kitchen ells and shed-roofed additions
extend to the rears of the main blocks. Front facades are typically three bays across, though several houses, including plantation seats Holly Bend and Oak Lawn (MK 6) near Long Branch, have five-bay wide facades. Both of these houses are on the National Register and are local Designated Historic Properties.

Existing farmhouses completed between 1800 and the 1830s reveal a blending of Georgian and Federal elements of style. While an integral characteristic of the Georgian style was the symmetry of architectural form and plan, relatively few of Mecklenburg's farmhouses of this period achieve such balance. Even houses with central hallways tend to have windows spaced unevenly across the main facade. Instead, the influence of both the classical Georgian and Federal styles are typically expressed in applied ornamentation and in window and door types and mouldings, rather than in overall design. The Georgian influence is apparent in heavy window sills and three-part surrounds. Interiors of a Georgian character include heavily moulded stair rails and well-turned balusters, and mantels with robust moulding and deeply reeded elements. Both Holly Bend and Oak Lawn, completed around 1800, display lingering Georgian traits as well as Federal features. Both, for example, have stairs with thick handrails and balusters, heavy window sills and architraves, and mantels with heavily reeded and moulded shelves, pilasters, and architraves. The Federal Style, which began to hold sway locally between the 1820s and early 1840s, is subtly expressed in delicately moulded window and door surrounds, and in six-panel doors that are not as deeply recessed. Latta Place [NR, local Designated Historic Property] (MK 14) west of Charlotte, is the county's earliest existing example of the Federal Style. This unique, ca. 1800 gable-front house exemplifies the style in its delicate exterior and interior woodwork, including mantels with light mouldings and dentils. Several existing farmhouses include Georgian-inspired exterior windows, but interiors feature Federal three-part mantels trimmed with delicate moulding and classical motifs. For example, the robust exterior window surrounds on the W.T. Alexander House are contrasted with the mantels, delicately treated with slender rope moulding along the mantel shelves. Sash windows with either nine-over-nine or nine-over-six panes were employed on local farmhouses throughout most of the first half of the 19th century.
While local farmhouse architecture changed in a slow, conservative fashion throughout the early 19th century, in the early 1830s, one specific plantation seat served notice that new stylistic tendencies would soon prevail. Completed in 1833, Cedar Grove is an outstanding example of the Greek Revival Style. This house is a two-story, double-pile, brick structure dominated by a columned front porch spanning a five-bay facade. The interior is highlighted by mantels with well-executed Doric colonnettes, and fluted door surround with corner blocks. It should be emphasized, however, that Cedar Grove is unique. It predated the widespread adoption of the Greek Revival in the county by about a decade; and its brick, double-pile form -- with exceptional stepped gables -- sets Cedar Grove emphatically apart from other local farmhouses of the pre-Civil War period.

By the 1840s the influence of the Greek Revival Style began to affect significantly the appearance of a host of Mecklenburg farmhouses. Like the preceding styles, the Greek Revival was typically applied simply and in a vernacular fashion. On the exterior, sash windows with six-over-six panes became more and more popular; main entries were embellished with sidelights and transoms, and, occasionally, with Doric colonnettes. Five-panel doors were replaced by ones with four or two vertical panels. Gable roofs, which predominated on I-houses throughout the plantation era, were sometimes designed with a shallower pitch, though no shallow-pitched hip-roofed I-houses are known to have existed in the county during these decades. However, porches with low hip roofs supported by heavy, rounded unfluted columns did appear across the fronts of houses. These porches offer a sharp contrast to the shed-roofed porches and more slender wooden supports that survive on several dwellings dating from the first quarter of the 19th century. Architectural symmetry was the norm by the time that the Greek Revival gained popularity in the county, and evenly spaced windows and central halls gave classical balance to the I-houses of the 1840s and 1850s. The Greek Revival dwellings, like the earlier Georgian-Federal examples, typically rested on foundations of fieldstone piers. Only Cedar Grove has a basement. Matching brick chimneys on the gable ends contributed to their classical symmetry. While earlier plantation houses in the county often had brick end chimneys laid in a Flemish bond (for an
example, see Oak Lawn), by the mid-19th century, common-bond chimneys were the norm.

The interiors of local Greek Revival farmhouses reflect the simple yet bold stylistic themes of the exteriors. Mantels characteristically have a post-and-lintel design, displaying simple pilasters and plain friezes. Doorways have plain surrounds accentuated by unadorned corner blocks. Stairways feature unadorned, square balusters and plain, heavy newels. An outstanding local example of Greek Revival farmhouse architecture is the ca. 1840 Hennigan Place [Local Designated Historic Property] (MK 1180) in the Providence community. This frame, central-hall I-house features sidelights and transoms around the main entry, and a low hip-roofed porch with heavy Doric columns. The interior contains simple post-and-lintel mantels and a staircase with a square newel and square balusters. Stylistic flourishes, such as Greek key designs on columns, and such trademarks of the Greek Revival Style as full entablatures and boldly defined pedimented porticoes, do not appear on the surviving Greek Revival farmhouses of Mecklenburg County. Rather, like the Georgian and Federal influences before it, the Greek Revival Style is manifested in unpretentious, carpenter-built elements and forms applied to a traditional house type. As a result, the early farmhouse architecture of Mecklenburg County generally mirrors that of many other North Carolina counties (Hood, 1983; Kaplan 1981; Little-Stokes 1978; Cotton 1987; Mattson 1987). The Georgian, Federal, and Greek Revival styles were all blended, adapted, and reinterpreted on time-tested, conservative domestic forms.

C. Postbellum Farmhouses

In contrast to the small sample of rural house types surviving from Mecklenburg's plantation era, a variety of traditional as well as stylishly fashionable farmhouse forms exist from the postwar decades. Varying in form, plan, and elements of decoration, these dwellings not only reflect the obdurate conservatism of many local residents but also the acceptance of nationally popular architectural designs. The postbellum decades were years of substantial economic expansion and population growth, spurred by new railroads which now crisscrossed the western Piedmont. By the turn of the 20th century, the Southern Railway System and the
Seaboard Railway controlled tracks linking Charlotte and the county's smaller railroad towns to major ports as Charleston, South Carolina and Wilmington, North Carolina, as well as to ports on the Ohio River and Mid-Atlantic Seaboard. By the early 20th century, at the peak of the New South era, Charlotte was the hub of tracks stretching in eight directions. Railroads opened up the urban eastern markets for cotton, the region's dominant cash crop. The appearance of new house designs in this period suggests well that the growing lines of communication between the Seaboard and Mecklenburg County were now introducing a greater range of architectural styles and mass-produced building materials. Slowly, cautiously, the rural residents of Mecklenburg began to adopt traits of the emerging American mainstream culture.

One-Story Farmhouses

The most abundant remaining rural house types are traditional forms. The architectural inventory identified five postbellum one-story farmhouses, all constructed in the 1860s and early 1890s for landowners. Typically balloon-frame constructed, they include the Bain-Reid House (MK:1173) near Matthews, a double-pile, hip-roofed cottage with a splayed entrance surround and six-over-six windows, and the ca. 1890 Keller House (MK 1304) in the Mallard Creek community. The Keller House is the most intact of four identified two-room, central-hall postbellum farmhouses, retaining a bay window, fluted pilasters around the main entry, and, on the interior, fluted mantel pilasters. No postbellum one-story tenant houses were identified in the inventory.

Two-Story Farmhouses

I-Houses

Following the pattern established during the late plantation period, the majority of surviving two-story farmhouses are frame, central-hall I-houses. Thirty were inventoried. As before the war, they represent some of the county's more prosperous cotton farmers. These I-houses are usually simply embellished, with weatherboarded vensters,
common-bond brick end chimneys, and rear kitchen ells. While the great majority have gable roofs, a significant exception is the Green Columbus Morris House (MK 1228). Built on a large 700-acre tract in the Providence community during the 1870s, the Morris House is a hip-roofed version of the I-farmhouse. Reflecting a combination of conservative taste with an interest of nationally up-to-date fashion, this house blends Greek Revival and vernacular Italianate elements. In contrast to the 1870s Morris House, the typical surviving postbellum I-house dates from the 1880s and 1890s and displays a variety of jigsawed or latheturned millwork which is best described as vernacular Victorian. Although many of these houses have been aluminum- or vinyl-sided, the most intact have bracketed eaves and gable returns, main entries treated with sidelights and transoms, and sash windows with six-over-six or four-over-four panes. When original doors survive, they have five raised panels. Although front porches often have been modernized, chamfered posts remain on several of the I-houses of this period, persisting most often on rear porches. Interiors display mantels with simple, gently arched surrounds, or with brackets and chamfered pilasters. Doorways on the finest versions have fluted surrounds and bull's-eye corner blocks. Especially intact examples of postbellum I-houses include the Lee-Flow House (MK 126) near Mint Hill, the Crowell-Knox House (MK 136) in the Dixie community west of Charlotte, and the Dixon-Russell House (MK 1262) in Newell. The Dixon-Russell House, built in the 1880s, features a handsome splayed entrance surround.

By the 1890s and early 1900s, this vernacular Victorian influence was expressed with a host of Queen Anne- and classical-inspired elements. Porches appeared with turned posts and balustrades and with millwork, such as spindled friezes. Two-over-two window panes pierced the weatherboarded facades. Gable end roofs stayed dominant, though sometimes distinguished by centered front gables, embellished on the most decorative I-houses with turned millwork and patterned wood shingles. These are often called "Triple-A I-houses" in North Carolina. Front doors included glazed upper halves, raised panels, and incised motifs. In contrast to the fairly simple mantels that marked I-houses of the 1870s and 1880s, the most decorative examples of the late 19th and early 20th centuries featured mantels with classical colonettes and, on occasion, mirror over-mantels. In the center hall, heavy, turned or beveled
newels anchored stairways with turned balusters. Among the county's finest I-houses of the late 19th century is the W.B. Newell House (MK 1279) in the Newell community. This Triple-A I-house features patterned wood shingles in the center gable and mantels with mirrored over-mantels and turned millwork. The Newell House is also distinctive for its brick construction; it is the only brick postbellum farmhouse in the county.

**T-Plan Houses**

Some surviving two-story farmhouses of the postbellum decades display embellishments and formal elements that set them apart from the traditional I-houses. Notable are twenty-five T-shaped dwellings representing some of rural Mecklenburg's most fashionable farmhouses. These houses reflect the influence of architectural pattern books. Subsequent modifications have stripped away original details on a number of these residences, but a group of them retain such vernacular Victorian stylistic elements as chamfered or slender paired porch posts, cutout balustrades, double-leaf doorways and windows with heavily moulded lintels and architraves. By the 1890s, these forms routinely appeared with lathe-turned millwork. Several of the T-shaped farmhouses have paired as well as bay windows and flush-board siding around the main entrance. A particularly good example is the Dr. Walter Pharr Craven House (MK 1494) west of Charlotte.

**D. Early 20th-Century Small-Town Dwellings and Farmhouses**

During the final years of the 19th century and particularly in the early decades of the 20th century, Mecklenburg's small towns rapidly developed. Situated along railroad lines, they progressed as rural market centers and sites for mills contributing to a thriving local textile industry. Although the city of Charlotte and its environs attracted the greatest wealth in these years, embodied in fine, spacious homes designed by noted architects and contractors, the surrounding small towns bloomed architecturally as well. Simultaneously, new farmhouses appeared, rural symbols of the cotton-related prosperity. These houses often mirrored the styles in the small towns,
as the railroads brought aspects of urban culture into the countryside.

Queen Anne Style Dwellings

Handsome examples of the vernacular Queen Anne Style now appeared along streets leading into active business districts as well as on the farmsteads of well-to-do cotton farmers. Typically frame constructed, these houses have consciously irregular shapes and plans. Many of them retain wraparound verandas and turned porch posts with stylish sawwork. Some examples include classical features, such as sidelights and transoms, fanlights in gables, and Doric or Ionic porch columns. Although a number of Queen Anne residences are two stories high, the majority are one-story cottages, with cross-gable or high hip roofs, and projecting gabled bays. The basic forms are L-shaped or square (double-pile). Several have original slate roofs. Interior woodwork can be lavish, highlighted by ornately carved mantels and newals. Ten two-story Queen Anne houses and thirty one-story Queen Anne-inspired cottages with cross-gable or hip-and-gable roofs were inventoried in the county. They are most numerous in the towns of Huntersville, Cornelius, Matthews and Davidson. The S.W. Davis House (NK 1539) in the Craft community is a handsome two-story, rural version, with a high hip roof with cross gables, decorative spindlework, and a deep wraparound veranda with heavy turned posts. Handsome, intact cottages include the F.T. Christenbury House (NK 1535) and the Clyde Hunter House (NK 1302), both built in the early 1900s around the Oak Grove community. The cross-gabled Hunter House has classical porch columns and decorative corner blocks at the main entry.
Traditional House Types

While the growing number of Queen Anne dwellings reflected the influence of widely distributed architectural pattern books and nationally popular designs on the Mecklenburg landscape, versions of traditional house types continued to appear as well. On farms and in the towns, I-houses with turned-post, square, or round porch columns were erected until the 1910s. A host of these house were Triple-A I-houses. A particularly intact example of the six early 20th-century Triple-A I-houses that were inventoried is the Hodges House (MK 1265) in the Nawell community. The house has a hip-roofed porch with single, sturdy Doric porch posts, as well as gable returns, and sidelights and transoms around the entry. In addition to I-houses, traditional two-room, central-hall houses, many of them "Triple-A cottages," also frequently appeared in the county, built on small farmsteads and lots on the principal residential streets right up to World War I. Six Triple-A cottages have been inventoried, notably the Bissener house (MK 1530) near Huntersville, which has intact classical porch posts and a decorative, louvered vent in the center gable.

Eclectic Style Dwellings

The intermingling of stylistic elements characterized Mecklenburg's houses throughout the early 20th century. Especially in the towns, double-pile and L-plan cottages blend Victorian, Colonial Revival, Neo-Classical Revival, Tudor Revival, and bungalow features. Some have wraparound verandas, others engaged porches with sturdy tapered columns or paired, square supports that have a classical flavor. Although full-fledged examples of the Neo-Classical Revival Style do not exist in the towns or the countryside, specific motifs, such as fanlights and classical porch posts, reflect the influence of the style on dwellings built primarily between 1910 and the Depression. Representative of the mix of styles that marked small-town cottages of this period are the rows of L-plans and hip-roofed cottages set along Maxwell Avenue in Huntersville.

Colonial Revival Style Dwellings

The Colonial Revival Style has some well-designed and well-executed examples both in the small towns and in the
countryside. A group of the county's wealthier farmers and successful merchants occupied large, boxy Colonial Revival homes erected between 1900 and the late 1920s. The most accomplished two-story models are typically frame, hip-roofed houses, with gable dormers and tall chimney stacks, deep hip-roofed porches, both facade-width and wraparound, and board eaves, occasionally decorated with modillions. The boxy massing is sometimes interrupted by projecting bays, but the overall design is symmetrical. Interiors of these Colonial Revival dwellings are organized around spacious central halls. Elements of style vary from simple brick-faced mantels to classical ones bearing walnut woodwork. Twelve two-story Colonial Revival houses have been inventoried in Mecklenburg County. Notable examples include the Holbrooks House (MK 1334) in Huntersville, the Frank Watt House (MK 1380), which features a distinctive bevelled oval glass window in the front door, and the McKinney House (MK 1227) in the Providence community which has a broad wraparound veranda.

Bungalow Style Dwellings

The bungalow style is well represented in Mecklenburg County. Eleven of the finest examples have been inventoried. The bungalows of both rural and small-town Mecklenburg are characterized by simple, clean lines, low-slung roofs, and exposed rafters under deep eaves. Exemplary of the style, shapes vary from gable-front (four inventoried) to side-gable (five inventoried) to hip-roofed (two inventoried). Veneers include shingle shakes, weatherboarding, brick, and occasionally cobblestones. The most popular bungalow design is one that may be the most popular nationwide. It is a side-gable dwelling with a sweeping roof, engaged porch, and tapered porch posts set on brick piers. Some of these bungalows have shed or gable dormers centered over the porch. A good example of the side-gable bungalow (MK 1466) is found near Cornelius. Bungalows, of course, varied in sophistication; and while some exemplified the style in their natural-like materials, abundant fenestration, and assertive porches, others were plain, low-cost versions built for renters in the small towns and for farm tenants. Bungalows of all types were popular locally from World War I throughout the 1930s; and bungalow-style tapered porch columns persisted as a common
associations with the farmhouses. The dwellings, all
two-story and primarily I-houses, which have historically
represented the prosperous landowner in the pre-20th-century
South, were built for some of the county's wealthier
planters. The farmland, still agricultural but mostly
devoted to pasture, was then primarily used for cotton
production. A number of these two-story houses, such as
Hennigan Place (MK 1180) and the William Lee House (MK 1734)
[both local Designated Historic Properties] were owned by
Mecklenburg's leading planters and professionals.

The plantation-era farmhouses also are architecturally
significant under Criterion C for embodying the styles,
forms, methods of construction, and skilled workmanship of
this era. The heavy timber frames, the many I-house forms
as well as the occasional double-pile forms, the hall-and-
parlor, three-room (Quaker), and central-hall plans are all
indicative of plantation-era farmhouses built throughout the
western Piedmont by settlers of Scotch-Irish and British
origins. The plans, forms, and lingering popularity of
architectural styles typically reflect the conservative,
agrarian society that was Mecklenburg County. Even ca. 1800
Latta Place reflects in its scale, materials, and carpenter-
built motifs other contemporary plantation seats in the
area. The elements of style, with the notable exception of
the imposing Greek Revival Cedar Grove Plantation, are
characteristically simple, but well-executed vernacular
blends of the Georgian, Federal, and, later, the Greek
Revival styles. The first-rate craftsmanship and attention
to architectural detail are evident in the moldings of
doors, windows, baseboards, mantels, and stairways. The
Greek Revival Style ushered in the wide-spread adoption of
the central-hall plan during the 1840s and 1850s. Thus,
while forms remained typically traditional, and details
simple and carpenter built, older, traditional plans were
replaced by the formal, stylish central-hall arrangement of
rooms. Slowly, traditional ideas were being supplanted by
popular, national ones.
C. Postbellum Farmhouses

The lines of communication between rural Mecklenburg and urban places along the Eastern Seaboard, from where national styles and ideas propagated, increased during the postbellum decades. New styles and forms and plans of farmhouses reflected more and more this slowly emerging interrelationship between Mecklenburg County and other areas of North and South Carolina as well as other regions of the country. The surviving postbellum farmhouses, therefore, are significant under Criterion A for representing the emerging railroad period in the county and the growing acceptance in the countryside of new, popular architectural styles. They are also historically significant for representing the persistence of conservatism in the rural areas, for traditional forms and simple, vernacular interpretations of styles continued to hold sway. Finally, the postbellum farmhouses represent the agrarian way of life in this period, which is now rapidly being lost to commercial and residential development.

The postbellum farmhouses are significant as the homes of those who raised the cotton that was the foundation of the local economy. Combined with the outbuildings that continue to surround them, these rural dwellings are the graphic reminders of this active agricultural era. Once spread across the county, their growing rarity today enhances the historical significance of these farmhouses. The variety of surviving house forms, which include modest one-story dwellings as well as more pretentious two-story residences, represent the different social and economic classes comprising this agrarian society, and reflect the tenant farming system that prevailed at this time. Frequently ruined, however, no tenant houses were included in the architectural inventory.

The variety of traditional and nationally popular, up-to-date farmhouse forms and plans reflect the new convergence of long-held, established values and up-to-date tastes. The remaining rural houses of the postbellum decades include a mix of I-houses, one-story, two-room cottages, and fashionably irregular two-story homes with details influenced by Italianate, Queen Anne, and classical-inspired styles.

These rural houses are architecturally significant under Criterion C. Representing the last survivors of a local building stock that is dwindling at a rapid clip, they
also represent both handsome examples of popular architectural styles of the period, as well as persistent folk forms adapted simply to the latest architectural trend. The collection of two-story, L-shaped farmhouses stand out among their contemporary I-houses as essentially vernacular interpretations of the Victorian styles that came to dominate rural Mecklenburg and the region after the Civil War. The plethora of I-form farmhouses, on the other hand, clearly represent the persistence of this house type as a symbol of the substantial Southern farmer throughout the 19th century.

D. Early 20th-Century Small-Town and Rural Houses

The early 20th-century small-town dwellings and rural houses are also significant under National Register Criteria A and C. The present rarity of farmhouses of this era, dwellings augmented by their historical association with adjacent rolling pastures and cropland, and by the early 20th-century outbuildings in the farmyard, enhances their significance as symbols of the agricultural activities which still predominated in these decades. The lingering popularity of I-houses and traditional one-story types, as well as the appearance of popular Queen Anne styles and rambling bungalows, reflect the persistent commingling of traditional and nationally popular values in rural Mecklenburg. The forms and styles of these rural dwellings typify farmhouse types of this period in the county, as well as represent examples of both traditional and popular architecture of the early 20th century.

The small-town houses represent the emergence of towns in the county during this period -- an urban expansion fueled by the railroads and cotton production -- and the aspirations of the collection of merchants, professionals, clerks, laborers, and mill supervisors who inhabited them. In the towns popular styles and forms prevailed, contrasting these places with the surrounding countryside, and thus suggesting a greater acceptance of mainstream tastes. The assortment of Queen Anne houses, Colonial Revival dwellings, and bungalows that line the grids of streets typifies and occasionally epitomizes these architectural styles. Along streets adjacent to the commercial districts of such places as Huntersville, Matthews, and Davidson are assortments of such early 20th-century dwellings representing in their
weatherboarded or brick veneers, prominent porches, classical or rustic detail, and one- or two-story forms the most popular styles of this period.

REGISTRATION REQUIREMENTS

A. Log Dwellings

To meet registration requirements, log houses should be sufficiently intact to reveal their original form and retain original notching and chimneys. Window size, configuration, and placement should be original or otherwise reflect the historical fenestration. Later wood siding is acceptable, but synthetic siding is not. If research verifies that a specific log house was originally weatherboarded, then the house should retain weatherboarding.

B. Plantation-Era Farmhouses

The rarity of the plantation-era farmhouses -- all two-story and representing Mecklenburg's planter class -- elevates them to the status of being eligible to the National Register providing integrity is present.

C. Postbellum Farmhouses

Because postbellum farmhouses are more numerous, to meet registration requirements it is necessary that they either are outstanding local examples of domestic architectural styles, or possess historical or architectural associations that signify the agrarian life and vernacular architectural tastes of these decades in Mecklenburg. These houses should be situated in rural settings evocative of the rural way of life and be sufficiently intact to reveal their original forms and plans and to display original interior and exterior elements of style reflecting their dates of construction. For instance, examples of original mantels, as well as other original woodwork should be in place. On the exterior, original wall material and window shapes should be basically intact. Brackets were a key component of the vernacular Italianate style in the county, and if they originally decorated a
D. Early 20th-Century Small-Town and Rural Houses

These same qualifications pertain to farmhouses of the early 20th century. As commercial and residential development accelerates across the county, all basically intact pre-World War II farmhouses with sufficient amounts of associated farmland to clearly represent the houses' historical function become increasingly rare and historically significant. Within the more stable boundaries of the small towns, to meet registration requirements houses should survive so intact as to epitomize the major locally popular architectural forms and styles of the early 20th century. All original exterior and interior features should be essentially intact. The dignified cross-gable bungalow (MK 1249) on Highway 51 (Main Street) in Pineville is such a house, as are the two boxy brick-veneered, Colonial Revival Sherrill Houses (MK 1427) and (MK 1428), which stand side-by-side in Cornelius. Furthermore, other small-town dwellings, with their original forms and elements of style basically intact, may meet registration requirements as comprising a residential district representing early 20th-century small-town growth and reflecting the popular styles of this era. For example, sections of Matthews include basically intact collections of primarily early 20th-century houses — composed both of dwellings with exemplary architectural features as well as others with more modest and occasionally partially remodelled designs — that would meet registration requirements. In contrast, Pineville's early 20th-century residential fabric (outside the mill village) has been so extensively altered by disruptive later commercial intrusions as well as by the modernization of specific properties, that no residential district could satisfy registration requirements.
II. OUTBUILDINGS

Mecklenburg's surviving historically and architecturally significant outbuildings span almost 150 years of agricultural activity. Constructed of frame, log, stone, and brick, the hundreds of inventoried outbuildings include such structures as barns, corncribs, kitchens, privies, chicken coops, wellhouses, smokehouses, and all-purpose sheds. These structures, now often abandoned and deteriorating, shed light on generations of rural life in Mecklenburg County. They represent lives of ordinary folk who led a largely self-sufficient existence well into the 20th century. The designs of outbuildings are overwhelmingly practical and vernacular, based on forms and materials that had stood tests of time and function, and that varied little from farmyard to farmyard.

As with the county's vernacular 19th- and early 20th-century farmhouses, the workaday buildings in the countryside reveal basic shapes and interior divisions of space found on farms throughout the western Piedmont and into the Blue Ridge (Swain 1981; Cotton 1987; Hood 1983; Briere 1982; Kaplan 1981). The outbuildings of Mecklenburg, therefore, are normally not peculiar to this county, but are physical clues to broader patterns of settlement and land use.

Construction materials and techniques for outbuildings mirrored those for farmhouses. Builders used masonry primarily for foundations and chimneys (of kitchens usually), while wood (log or frame) was the material of choice for walls and framing. Usually log outbuildings, as with log housing, pre-date frame ones, though a collection of early 19th-century frame outbuildings survives. Most of the remaining log barns, corncribs, and smokehouses date from the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Frame outbuildings date predominately from the 20th century. Log outbuildings usually have half-dovetail notching, though later structures also reveal the simpler V notch.

The most intact farm complexes include a variety of log and frame barns, corncribs, smokehouses, and wellhouses dating from the late 19th and early 20th centuries. However, these typical farmyards are becoming increasingly rare, as new farming technology and agricultural land use supplant traditional ones and, most significantly, as
residential and commercial development envelopes and transfigures the local rural landscape.

Other farm outbuildings, such as springhouses and brick ovens have been identified in the architectural inventories of nearby counties. However, they are rare in those places, and none have currently been discovered in Mecklenburg County. Furthermore, no barns for curing tobacco, historically a rare crop in Mecklenburg, today remain.

A. Barns

The most prevalent remaining outbuildings are barns and corncribs. Log barns include one-unit (10 to 12 feet square) structures, as well as double- and four-unit forms with a central passage. Central-passage log barns are distributed across the American “Midland” culture region which includes much of the southeastern United States, and in North Carolina primarily extends from the Piedmont west through the mountains (Jordan 1985). The passage was used conventionally as a wagon runway, while the flanking units served as granaries, stables, and hay and cotton storage. An excellent late 19th-century central passage log barn stands on the McAuley Farm (MK 1306) near Long Creek. Frame barns are typically four-unit with a central passage. Inherently functional, these barns have no embellishments. Main roofs vary between side-gable and gable-front shapes, while shed-roofed additions, usually frame, are commonly visible on the sides. In the middle 1920s, several local barns were completed with gambrel roofs in order to maximize storage space on the upper level. Multiple-purpose structures, Mecklenburg's barns were used for the storage of crops as well as for the shelter of farm animals and farm equipment.

B. Corncribs

A number of corncribs conform to the same basic forms as barns, and log and frame two-unit (or crib) structures still stand throughout the county. Log single-crib types exist as well, often with an overhang on one side for equipment storage and for loading the corn into the crib. In the 20th century a frame corncrib type appeared in Mecklenburg County which had latticed siding for better ventilation of the
grain. Today, the corn crop has virtually vanished from Mecklenburg County, and consequently corncribs are rapidly disappearing as well. Examples of intact log corncribs dating from the late 19th century survive on the McAuley Farm (MR 1306) and on the farmyard associated with the Craven House (MR 1494).

C. Smokehouses, Chicken Coops, Wellhouses

Smokehouses, chicken coops, and wellhouses complete the outbuildings that make up the county's most intact 19th- and early 20th-century farm complexes. Log and frame smokehouses are typically one-story, gable-front forms, approximately 8 to 10 feet on a side. Several have front gables that project over the doorway. Chicken coops date from the 20th century. They are usually frame, shed-roofed structures, probably representing a design popularized in the agricultural publications of the day. Windows, to allow in beneficial sunlight, cover the fronts of these rectangular buildings. Wellhouses, of the late 19th and early 20th centuries, are frame, gable-front structures that shelter the well and include an enclosure to the back for all-purpose storage and for dairies. Some local, intact wells have no housing, but are simply covered by a gable- or hip-roofed canopy. As wells dry up and electrical pumps are installed, both types of shelters are vanishing. A handsome wellhouse of the late 19th century stands by the Ewart House (MR 1287) east of Huntersville.

D. Detached Kitchens

Detached kitchens, at one time an integral part of farmyards in this region, are now rare, even on farm complexes which have a variety of other traditional outbuildings. A small collection has been inventoried, however. Reflecting traditional one- and two-room house types (kitchens were often the original homeplaces), they are constructed of log or frame, and have fieldstone or brick end chimneys. Most likely, a number of originally detached kitchens have been connected to the backs of farmhouses and now serve as kitchen ells.
SIGNIFICANCE

Mecklenburg developed as an agricultural county, and the number and sizes of its farmyards have been a measure of its progress from the period of initial settlement to World War II. Local industries, and especially the cotton mills, were dependent on the area's abundant cotton crop; and while the economy of Charlotte and neighboring towns centered around textile manufacturing, the vast majority of the county was agrarian and in many ways self-sufficient.

The assorted outbuildings on farmsteads reveal in their enduring traditional forms and uses the county's rich agricultural past and conservative ways. The surviving outbuildings of the early 19th century, when the county was still being settled and the plantation system held sway, conform to traditional shapes and are erected predominantly of log with half-dovetail notching. They reveal functional designs and none has decorative trim. The outbuildings of the latter 19th and early 20th centuries also often follow traditional forms and many of these, too, are log constructed. During the 20th century, building types of frame, such as several remaining gambrel-roofed barns, express commonly constructed agricultural building forms that emerged across the country to facilitate and improve the storage of crops. Thus, Mecklenburg's surviving outbuildings, from the early 19th century until the Depression years, are historically significant under National Register Criterion A as associated with the agricultural way of life that characterized the county over these many decades. They embody patterns of rural life that included curing household meats in the smokehouse, drawing water from the well, and storing hay, corn, cotton, and livestock in barns and cribs. The more historically complete and intact the farmyard, the more it reveals about the operations of the farm. Furthermore, the abundance of log outbuildings, like log houses, reflects the Scotch-Irish heritage of local farm families, who perpetuated the practice of log construction throughout the 19th century and into the early 20th century. The outbuildings are also architecturally significant under Criterion C for embodying the forms and methods of construction that predominated as the county progressed from the periods of early settlement and plantation farming, to the postwar era of industrial growth and expanded cotton production, to early decades of urbanization in the 20th century. While the building types
are largely traditional ones, revealing in their forms and construction the prevailing outbuildings of the rural South into the 20th century, even the post-World War I coops and barns reflect common, vernacular agricultural building types which are rapidly disappearing across the country in the face of development and agricultural modernization.

REGISTRATION REQUIREMENTS

The county's surviving 19th- and early 20th-century outbuildings enhance the significance of the farmhouses with which they are associated. All of the outbuildings which have been identified in the architectural inventory of Mecklenburg County are affiliated with historically and architecturally significant farmhouses. Individual, isolated examples with historical or architectural significance have not been discovered. Therefore, outbuildings meet registration requirements when they are situated on property with an associated farmhouse, thus illustrating the historical roles of agricultural buildings. Outbuildings should retain sufficient physical features to identify their original construction and form.
III. SCHOOLS

Rural and small-town school buildings of the late 19th and early 20th centuries remain scattered across Mecklenburg County. Fourteen have been inventoried.

A. Frame Schools: White

Two 19th-century schoolhouses (for whites) survive today, though in the 1870s each rural township contained frame schools for both the races (Randall 1988). The two remaining structures, Pine Hill School (MK 1289) in Newell and the Old Davidson Schoolhouse (MK 1463) in Lemley Township, represent the typical one-room rural school. Each is frame, simply finished, has six-over-six sash windows, and is capped by a standing-seam metal side-gable roof. One-room as well as larger two-story frame schools for white children continued to be erected in the county into the 1920s, and three 20th-century ones have been inventoried: Davidson Schoolhouse (MK 1462), located beside the older school; Croft Schoolhouse (MK 1536) at Croft; and the Mallard Creek School (MK 1308) at Mallard Creek. The Davidson School, built about 1912, is a one-story, one-room, gable-front structure sheathed in weatherboards. Standing on brick piers, it has a standing-seam metal roof and a hip-roofed front porch. It is abandoned and in disrepair. Croft Schoolhouse represents the early 20th-century enlargement of a ca. 1890 school on the site. It is a two-story, four-room structure capped by a shallow hip roof with small cross gables. The shed-roofed front porch has original turned posts. Abandoned in about 1941, it is the largest surviving rural Mecklenburg schoolhouse of this period. Now overgrown with vegetation, it stands in disrepair. Apparently the last rural frame school to be built in the county for white students was completed at Mallard Creek in the mid-1920s. This boxy, double-pile building is capped by a high hip roof, and has a one-bay shed-roofed entry porch. Now used mostly for storage by a local church, it is in good condition.
B. Brick Schools: White

Early 20th-century brick schools in the towns outside Charlotte are now rare. Most of them were razed in the 1950s and 1960s, and occasionally were replaced by modern facilities. Today, the former Matthews School (MK 1189) is the last representative. It is a large, boxy, hip-roofed building erected in 1907 and remodelled in the 1920s, when new, red-brick schoolhouses were being built in towns across the county and the state. The Matthews School currently appears much as it did following the 1920s renovation. The facade has sash windows with nine-over-nine panes, and a dominant full-height, pedimented portico. The largely intact interior (dating primarily from 1907) includes wainscoting, three-part transoms above classroom doorways, and closed-string stairways. A local Designated Historic Property, Matthews School currently serves as a community center in Matthews.

C. Colored Schools

The legacy of the education of black students in rural Mecklenburg is today represented by four Rosenwald schools: McCollum (MK 1447) at Steele Creek; Huntersville (MK 1342); Newell (MK 1278) at Newell; and Rockwell (MK 1316) near Croft. All built in the 1920s, they are the survivors of twenty-six such schools erected locally by 1930 (Hanchett 1988). Although simply designed, frame-constructed and typically weatherboarded, Rosenwald schools were a major improvement over the cramped, poorly lit, and typically inadequately built (often of log) schools for blacks that had previously existed. Funded in part by the citizens of the county and in part by a fund established by Chicago philanthropist Julius Rosenwald, these schools were based upon formal, published schoolhouse plans, and adhered closely to specific guidelines. Rosenwald schools were required, for example, to have a north-south principal axis, banks of large windows along the east and west walls, and sites in spacious clearings. All of these conditions maximized the classrooms' exposure to sunlight, a chronic problem before rural electrification began in the 1930s. All Rosenwald schools were simply treated with craftsman and Colonial Revival details, the two most popular architectural styles of this period.
Thus, Mecklenburg’s Rosenwald schools share a variety of basic design characteristics. The most intact example is the McClintock School, a three-teacher Rosenwald facility. Capped by a metal hip roof (the others have gable roofs), the structure has broad eaves with exposed rafters, a small entry porch, and rows of large sash windows with nine-over-nine panes. Today, three of the four remaining Rosenwald schools are basically intact, though only the McClintock School is in use (as a community building for a black church). The Huntersville school has been substantially altered.

Although the construction of Rosenwald schools ceased in the 1930s, other local schools for blacks were publicly financed and constructed in that decade. Today, one simple, hip-roofed, one-story, brick-veneered facility represents the black schools built during the 1930s. The Ada Jenkins School (MK 1573) in Davidson is now vacant but basically intact.

D. Agricultural Education Buildings

Agricultural buildings were frequently erected adjacent to public schools during the 1930s to foster supervised public training in modern farming practices. Inventories agricultural training buildings stand at Long Creek (MK 1507), Huntersville (MK 1543), and beside Matthews School (MK 1189). Each structure is one-story, brick-veneered, hip-roofed, and has a small entry porch. Each rests on a full basement. Used specifically for classrooms and laboratories geared to agricultural training, they were Depression-era projects funded and built by labor provided by the Works Progress Administration (Morrill 1984).

SIGNIFICANCE

Surviving schoolhouses of the late 19th and early 20th centuries graphically chronicle the maturing of rural Mecklenburg society, as well as the prevalence of racial segregation, which persisted into the post-World War II decades. Prior to the consolidation of schools for white children in the 1920s, students attended small schools following traditional forms that were scattered across the countryside. Black children continued to attend one-room
schools longer than white children, but the Rosenwald schools built for them in the 1920s significantly eased the racial disparity. Representing prescribed designs, Rosenwald schools are the principal surviving symbols of black education in the county before school desegregation in the 1960s. The rare, more decorative, two-story brick schools and related agricultural buildings remaining signify public-supported efforts to update and improve schools for white students during the era of cotton-related prosperity and small-town growth. The Matthews School, specifically, stands in such clear contrast to the surviving black schools that it also reflects the enduring disparity between black and white educational facilities in Mecklenburg County. In sum, the properties are historically significant under National Register Criterion A as associated with education (racially segregated and often inequitable) as local communities took up the task of public schooling in the late 1800s, and as the county started building more pretentious small-town schools for whites in the early 1900s. The Rosenwald schools are vivid representatives of the influence of the historic Rosenwald Fund which helped finance and design schools for blacks across North Carolina and a large part of the South. All of the schools are architecturally significant under Criterion C for embodying the forms, building methods, and architectural styles of the periods of construction. The late 19th and early 20th-century rural schools represent traditional, vernacular, typically one-room rural schoolhouse architecture. The Matthews School handsomely reflects the popularity of boxy, red-brick, Colonial Revival schools which appeared across the nation during the early decades of the 1900s. Even the simple, utilitarian Rosenwald schools and agricultural buildings neatly reflect the prevailing styles of the 1920s and 1930s as adapted to educational facilities.

REGISTRATION REQUIREMENTS

The county's surviving school buildings of the late 19th and early 20th centuries achieve significance in their rarity, integrity of sites, forms, and, frequently, elements of popular architectural styles. These rural schoolhouses and Rosenwald schools meet registration requirements when they have maintained the integrity of site and display such key original elements of design as original
forms, fenestration, weatherboarding, and interior woodwork that has not been substantially compromised by modernizations. Although former schools such as Old Davidson Schoolhouse, Davidson Schoolhouse, Pine Hill, and Croft Schoolhouse are deteriorating and in need of substantial repairs, none has been significantly altered over the years. Moved buildings are eligible if they remain in their original communities reflecting the schools' historical associations and otherwise retain the key architectural elements listed above. The rural schools for whites should stand in largely agricultural areas, while the Rosenwald schools should be situated in historically black neighborhoods. As the sole, and largely intact, survivor of the small-town, brick schoolhouses, the Matthews School clearly meets the registration requirements. Agricultural training buildings, by themselves, lack the integrity of site and their historical association with main school buildings to meet registration requirements. However, when visibly linked to a school, as is the case of the Matthews School, then this building type meets the requirement.
Along the winding roads of the Mecklenburg countryside and the formal grid of the towns, handsome churches of the 19th and early 20th centuries reflect the important role of religion in the development of the county. In rural areas, churches survive which span much of the 19th century, and primarily represent the county's large Presbyterian population. They are particularly well-constructed examples of the traditional gable-front church form. Of the seven inventoried churches that remain from the 19th century, five reveal this basic form, all of them simply embellished with gable returns and including a front door placed in the center of the gable-end facade. The most impressive version of this classic design is the 1831 Hopewell Presbyterian Church (MK 1498). One story, it is constructed of common-bond brick. A simpler, later representative of this basic design is neatly expressed in the Ramah Presbyterian Church (MK 1297), completed near Huntersville in 1881. It is the sole surviving 19th-century frame church in rural Mecklenburg.

In addition to classical gable-front churches, rural Mecklenburg County includes five inventoried Gothic Revival churches built for Presbyterian, Methodist, and Episcopal denominations. In the countryside as well as in the small towns are well-executed examples featuring red-brick facades, steeply pitched corner towers and pointed-arched windows and entrances. In contrast to the 19th-century classical churches, those with Gothic forms and motifs often feature stained-glass windows. A notable example in the countryside is the 1889 Steele Creek Presbyterian Church (MK 1377), in the Steele Creek community. Its steeply pitched gable-front roof and corbelled, pointed-arched windows and entries exemplify the Gothic elements as applied to churches in the county between the 1880s and World War I.

The majority of all of these churches stand remarkably intact. The interiors of many, including the 19th-century rural examples, often retain original woodwork and pews. On the inside, the most significant losses have been the balconies, which on the antebellum churches once were reserved for slaves. The exteriors of several have been modified by new front vestibules (see the Gilead A.R.P.)
Church (MK 1465) in Lemley Township) and the addition of steeples (see the Bethel Presbyterian Church (MK 1456) near Cornelius), reflecting the popularity of the Colonial Revival Style during the post-World War II era and continuing to the present.

No black church buildings survive intact from the 19th or early 20th centuries. While several early 20th-century frame examples remain behind modern brick veneers (their interiors also modernized), the preponderance of black churches date from the post-World War II decades and have simple facades of concrete block, brick, or even metal.

Cemeteries

However, both black and white cemeteries remain throughout the county. A noted black cemetery is associated with McClintock Presbyterian Church (MK 1446) in the Steele Creek area. The early gravestones date primarily from the early 20th century. Historic white cemeteries survive adjacent to rural churches established in the late 19th and 19th centuries. Cemeteries include headstones dating from the 18th, 19th and 20th centuries, and several have mortared or dry-laid stone walls. Particularly notable is the Steele Creek Presbyterian Church cemetery (MK 1377). Bordering by a stone wall erected in part before the Civil War, the cemetery is exemplary of those established by Scotch-Irish Presbyterians during Mecklenburg's early period of settlement. The headstones are laid out in parallel rows facing east. Many stones of the late 18th and early 19th centuries reveal traditional forms and design, as well as family coats of arms that represent the workmanship of the Bingham family of gravestone cutters. The Bighams operated their workshop in Steele Creek that supplied gravestones throughout the North and South Carolina Piedmont from ca. 1765 to ca. 1820 (Patterson 1985). Stone markers of the middle and late 19th centuries occasionally include the names of manufacturers, whose workshops were located in Charlotte as well as Columbia, Charleston, and Chester, South Carolina. Their headstones include simple, traditional tablets as well as distinctive marble obelisks, which began to appear locally in the 1880s. The 20th century, the cemeteries included a mix of substantial and sophisticated square and curved monuments, many with rusticated sides. In the 1930s, striking "Woodmen of the
World monuments appeared, and the Steele Creek cemetery, in particular, has several excellent examples.

SIGNIFICANCE:

Churches and cemeteries remaining in the countryside and small towns are significant under Criterion A for reflecting two major phases of the county's history: the predominately Scotch-Irish (Presbyterian) settlement of the fertile countryside; and the development of the small towns during the railroad era and decades of corresponding cotton-related prosperity in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. During this second phase, churches representing other denominations, notably Baptists, Methodists, and Episcopalians, also appeared. The churches are also significant under Criterion C for the handsome expressions of 19th and early 20th-century architectural styles. The remaining churches of the plantation era are refined, dignified examples of gable-end, classical rural church architecture, revealing a subtle blend of Federal and Greek Revival elements of style. The postbellum rural churches represent not only the persistence of the classical mode and gable-end form, but also the incorporation of Italianate-related features and the emergence of the Gothic Revival Style. The cemeteries affiliated with Presbyterian churches established in the countryside during the middle to late 18th century achieve significance under Criterion C as well. The forms and motifs of headstones reveal the work of local craftsmen, including the noted Bigham family of stonecutters, and regional gravestone manufacturers. Headstones of the late 19th and early 20th centuries represent not only the continued development of the rural churches, which were the focal points of expanding agrarian populations, but also the popular headstone designs of the period. The overall design of the cemeteries, with dry-laid stone wall enclosures, has landscape design significance under Criterion C.

REGISTRATION REQUIREMENTS

Mecklenburg's few surviving 19th-century rural churches are all significant because they are the rare vestiges of what had been many churches built across the county's
countryside in that century. The small-town churches all performed significant cultural and social roles in their communities. However, to meet registration requirements, they should display sufficiently intact, original forms and decorative details, both on the exterior and interior, to optimize the architecture of small-town churches of the early 20th century. Later additions, including those erected after the 50-year cut-off point for the National Register, are acceptable, providing that their scale and design do not significantly compromise the architectural integrity of the original church building, which should otherwise retain original windows, doorways, and decorative masonry.

Cemeteries, to meet registration requirements individually, should include sufficient, intact headstones of the plantation era to represent both the Scotch-Irish settlement of the county, and the designs and materials of headstones erected in the antebellum decades for this locally important culture group. The architectural inventory did not identify significant gravestones of the postwar era or early 20th century, representing designs peculiar to local stone masons. However, if such stones are subsequently identified in cemeteries, then these places, too, will meet registration requirements, even if earlier headstones are not present. These headstones should be intact and of sufficient number, as well as documented so as to represent clearly the work of local craftsmen or to reflect clearly the local culture. Cemeteries comprised primarily of late 19th and early 20th century headstones, but lacking a sufficient number of earlier stones, meet registration requirements when they are associated with significant churches and are nominated as part of National Register nominations which include the churches.
Although only one box-and-canopy commercial building has been inventoried, others -- typically weatherboarded -- remain scattered across the county.

B. Small-Town Commercial Buildings

In the small towns, commercial activities are embodied in brick buildings. Twenty-nine small-town commercial buildings have been inventoried, including eight in Pineville, six in Huntersville, and eleven in Davidson. These structures typically have simple one- or two-story facades, occasionally capped by stepped parapets trimmed in stone. Dating primarily from the early 20th century, the principal decorative motifs include corbelled brickwork along the cornices and slightly recessed name panels. On two-story structures built between about 1900 and 1910, upper-story windows often have segmental arches, two-over-two panes, and, occasionally, stone sills. The most ornamental examples feature corbelled brick detail around the second-floor windows. A particularly fine example of this can be found on the facade of the Mill Store (MK1387) in Cornelius. Transoms spanning the entries are commonly intact on commercial buildings, though some have been masked by modern metal veneers. Transoms are of simple, clear glass, and no prism-glass or stained-glass transoms exist in the county's small towns. Some commercial buildings retain original square or slanted entry setbacks, sometimes still paved in decorative tile. But many other stores have been remodelled around their entries, as setbacks have been expanded to provide more convenient access and incorporate entrances into modern shopfront designs including larger display windows. Yet, original display windows survive on a host of storefronts, with wooden mullions still holding the windows in place. See, for example, the storefronts along Huntersville, Main Street. Some stores have been covered in new materials, including clean, smooth metal panels, or ashlar stone veneers, but a remarkably large number of commercial buildings have kept their original red-brick facades.

Store interiors have also undergone remodelings. Yet, stores with original display cases, shelving, and other woodwork remain in towns across the county. Some store interiors have kept their original, decorative pressed-tin ceilings as well. One of the more intact stores in the
county is the Heath and Reid General Store (NX 1179) in Matthews.

Although buildings have been modernized or razed for parking lots or merely abandoned lots, the original character of small-town commercial districts has remained little changed. Much of the new construction has taken place away from these areas, near the new highway interchanges and access ramps, and new construction that has occurred on the main streets has usually reflected the scale and materials of original commercial buildings. Of course, the small towns located closest to development pressures generated by Charlotte’s expansion have been the most affected by modern construction and new commercial enterprises. Consequently, while benefiting financially from new growth, both Pineville and Matthews have witnessed dramatic physical changes at their outskirts, as well as in their downtowns, where architecturally unsympathetic banks, small shopping complexes, and individual businesses have recently appeared.

Although gasoline stations have been among the major culprits in the disfiguring of Mecklenburg’s early commercial districts, a small collection of such stations, built between the late 1920s and World War II, have historical and architectural value worth preserving. Standing essentially intact at the edges of several small-town commercial centers are gasoline stations representing in their forms, materials, and decorative details a variety of architectural styles as applied to gas stations nationwide in this period. However, none of these has been inventoried, and a thorough analysis of their elements of design is necessary before specific properties can be singled out for their architectural value in the county.

SIGNIFICANCE

A. Crossroads Stores

Mecklenburg’s rural commercial properties of the 19th and early 20th centuries are rare survivors of the many small, rural general merchandise stores and crossroad groceries/filling stations that were once distributed across the county. These stores are historically significant under Criterion A as associated with rural
commerce and trade. These stores, including the mid-19th century Hayes-Byrum Store and the 1908 Davis Store at Croft, formed with churches and schools the nuclei of decentralized agricultural communities. In these stores, neighboring farming families bought and traded for supplies and socialized. These stores as well as the later gable-front and box-and-canopy groceries/filling stations are significant under Criterion C for embodying the forms, methods of construction, and modest stylistic features of their decades of construction. The rural general stores, replete with utilitarian vernacular forms, simple brickwork, and, on occasion, false fronts, represent such commercial properties of the 19th and early 20th centuries. Interiors display a variety of elements reflecting their dates of completion. The Hayes-Byrum Store, for instance, includes simple wide boarding, wood-framed display cases, and distinctive bracketed shelving. Later stores, notably the one at Croft crossroads, feature decorative pressed-metal ceilings. The later groceries/filling stations with distinctive canopies reveal a property type emblematic of such commercial enterprises that were erected across the country between the 1920s and World War II.

B. Small-Town Commercial Buildings

The commercial buildings in the towns are historically significant under Criterion A for representing the rise of Mecklenburg's small towns at the end of the 19th century and in the early decades of the 20th century. Although this main-street architecture is without pretension, it embodies a significant era in the county's history, when cotton mills, oriented to the railroad tracks, arose in the small towns, and when an unprecedented array of commercial activities emerged in well-defined nodes outside Charlotte. Furthermore, selected commercial properties, such as the Heath and Reid General Store in Matthews, stand out on their main streets as vivid representations of the new geography of commercial functions and the preeminence of small-town general merchandise stores in the early 1900s. Similarly, the later gasoline stations of the 1920s and 1930s and early 1940s have historical significance for clearly representing the era of the automobile and the eventual realignment of commercial functions of towns to the outskirts and new highways. The small-town commercial properties also have
requirements. Main-street commercial properties in Mecklenburg County are characteristically modest in scale and design. Their significance is in their impact as a group of basically intact facades lining a block or several blocks. Thus, to meet registration requirements, commercial properties should be essentially intact in form and details and comprise a district of at least several contiguous stores. The shopfronts and interiors of several of these properties should be sufficiently intact to represent interiors and first-floor configurations of small-town stores in the late 19th and early 20th centuries.
VI. INDUSTRIAL BUILDINGS

A. Textile Mills

Mecklenburg's historic industrial buildings primarily reflect the impact of cotton production and manufacturing in the southwest Piedmont region. Although rural Mecklenburg was once filled with small industries -- in 1902, for example, sixty-nine factories were listed in rural Mecklenburg -- today, factories of the late 19th and early 20th centuries are rare and concentrated in the small towns. Four textile mill complexes survive in towns across the county, and notably in Huntersville, Pineville, and Davidson, where the brick factories, oriented to the railroad tracks, are surrounded by streets of basically intact mill housing. Although the mills have been expanded and modernized over the years (and only the former Dover Mills (MX 1248) in Pineville is still manufacturing textiles), intact original portions reveal an essentially standard cotton mill design of the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Unlike traditional housing and outbuildings in the county, the textile mill as a building type is rooted in the principles of factory design which developed during the industrial revolution. Structures were erected with heavy timber interior supports and brick walls in efforts to reduce fire damage, and banks of large windows allowed in natural light. Warehouses, where cotton-related fires often started, were placed away from the main mill and divided by brick fire walls. In North Carolina as well as in other parts of the South, the widely circulated designs and writings of D.A. Tompkins and Stuart Warren Cramer, both mill engineers who lived in Charlotte, stimulated the construction of cotton mills with similar forms and plans.

Mecklenburg's small-town textile mills (the earliest being Pineville's Dover Yarn Mill which began in 1890) were originally constructed as long, one-story forms with common-bond brick walls. Light filtered in through rows of large, triple-sash, segmental-arched windows, as well as through roof clerestories. The low-pitched gable roofs had parapet walls at the gable ends. Adjacent warehouses were typically frame, with brick fire walls. Today, the most intact example is the former Anchor Mills (MX 1324) which opened in Huntersville in 1896. The main cotton mill building and the
nearby warehouse have been little altered, though the original looms and spindles are gone. As with parts of other early mills in the county, some of the original windows have been bricked. Built in the 1880s, when mill construction was very active locally, the building is very simply finished, treated with arched windows and entrances.

B. Mill Villages

Mill villages survive basically intact in Huntersville (MK1344), Pineville (MK1252), and Davidson. Situated around the textile mills, these villages contain the original homes of mill workers. These frame, one-story dwellings represent designs reiterated in mill villages across North Carolina in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. The most common house types are two-room, gable-roofed dwellings with rear sheds and shed-roofed porches; shotgun houses with one-bay additions to one side; L-plan cottages; and double-pile, hip-roofed cottages with simple shed porches. Variations of each type are often located in a single village, though rows of a similar design often line individual blocks. During the 1910s and 1920s, bungalow-influenced gable-front and side-gable cottages appeared, featuring wide eaves, exposed brackets, and, occasionally, engaged front porches. In this same period, pyramidal cottages for mill workers also appeared. All of these house types had little decoration, and by the 1910s, were constructed of ready-cut materials that helped reduce the cost of construction. In the village associated with the Dover Mill in Pineville stand several more elaborate dwellings, with hip-roofed, double-pile forms, which were the homes of mill supervisors (e.g. MK 1253).

At present, the mill villages at Pineville, Huntersville, and Davidson stand essentially intact. There is no evidence of large-scale demolition, and cottage types survive intact. The most common alterations include aluminum siding and new porches or porch posts. For the most part, the villages continue to be well-defined entities, geographically distinct from surrounding residential districts. The mill houses occupy narrow lots along a simple grid-iron of streets. The dwellings are no longer owned by the mills, but owner-occupied or the property of landlords not affiliated with the mills.
C. Other Small-Town and Rural Industrial Buildings

No pre-industrial buildings survive in the county. However, remains of the stone foundations of grist mills have been discovered. Each probably dating from the early 19th century, they include the Whitley Mill Site near Long Creek (not inventoried), the Torrence Mill Site near Huntersville, and the Davidson Mill Site at Rural Hill. Both the Torrence and Davidson mill sites are part of locally Designated Historic Properties, but have not been individually inventoried. Evidence of early 19th-century gold mining in the county is detectable in broad, shallow, indentations in the land created when prospectors diverted creeks to man-made areas where the gold in the water could quickly settle. No above-ground resources associated with gold mining have been discovered. The intact Reid Gold Mine in neighboring Cabarrus County has been preserved as a State Historic Site and is a National Historic Landmark. Analysis of resources associated with gold mining in Mecklenburg is the task of archaeologists.

Other industrial properties related to cotton production and processing are not nearly as prolific on the landscape today. Although cotton gins were once widely distributed throughout the county, situated in the towns as well as on farms and at rural crossroads, very few survive. Starting primarily in the 1930s, the drastic decline in local cotton production signalled the end of cotton gins. Today, one gin building, located in Matthews, is known to survive, but it has not been inventoried. Probably dating from the 1920s, this structure typifies gin buildings of this period (Kaplan 1981; Mattson 1987). It is a two-story, side-gabled-roofed, frame building clad in metal.

Mecklenburg's other industrial buildings represent an assortment of small, rural industries and rail-oriented warehousing operations. None of them has been inventoried. Those structures surviving were built in the early decades of the 20th century, are brick or frame constructed, and are plain, functional, one-story, gable-roofed forms. Abandoned cotton/fertilizer warehouses in the small settlement of Croft retain large, wooden doors typical of such early 20th-century structures, as well as a variety of early signage. These buildings are frame, metal-veneered, and one story.
SIGNIFICANCE

The surviving remains of pre-industrial structures and industrial buildings of the 19th and early 20th centuries reflect the industry and commerce of the county as it developed from an exclusively agrarian society to one largely geared to textile manufacturing. The several stone foundations of gristmills, which were once distributed across Mecklenburg County, have historical significance, enhanced by their rural settings. However, they have lost their architectural significance and their former visual impact. The industrial buildings remaining from the 1890s and the early 20th centuries are both historically and architecturally significant under Criteria A and C, respectively.

A. Cotton Mills and Mill Villages

The cotton mills and associated mill villages today bear witness to the enormous importance of cotton production and processing between the 1890s and 1930s. The one-story, brick mills with related warehouses, and the compact villages reflect the small-town scale of their settings, in contrast to the larger villages and grander mills in Charlotte at this time. Yet, being situated in the county's small towns, the mills and villages are also significant for their physical dominance in places such as Huntersville and Pineville. In form, construction, and simple architectural style, Mecklenburg's mills represent the typical cotton mills of this era, designed in all probability after standard mill plans. They have particular significance for their likely association with noted mill designers Cramer and Tompkins. The mill houses represent in their basic forms and simple designs (often corresponding to popular styles), distribution, and orientation to mill, town, and railroad, typical mill villages of the early 20th century in North Carolina.

B. Warehouses

The warehouses oriented to the rural communities represent the small-scale factories and the vitality of
small, rural market and distribution centers that prevailed in the 19th and early 20th centuries. The rail-oriented warehouses directly reflect the importance of cotton production and the many shipping points that developed along the county's railroads. Their simple, utilitarian forms represent traditional, vernacular small industrial buildings of this period. A thorough analysis of these structures has not yet been done and will be necessary to understand their historical significance and current distribution as well as variations in designs.

REGISTRATION REQUIREMENTS

Representing the few surviving vestiges of rural, agricultural warehousing, the warehouses should maintain integrity of setting. They should be oriented to small, rural settlements. Furthermore, to meet registration requirements, each should also retain sufficient physical features to evoke the period of construction and vernacular industrial building type. The cotton mills should display sufficient physical features and details to represent the standard mill design and internal organization of this era. For example, the mill at Huntersville stands remarkably intact, including original fenestration, door placements, and adjacent cotton warehouse. While modernized and expanded over time, the changes have not been obtrusive and do not compromise the integrity of the mill design. By contrast, the mill at Pineville, though still in operation, has been enlarged and remodelled to the extent that only small portions of the original mill remain. The majority of original brick walls, as well as windows and doorways and warehouses, have been lost. The Pineville mill, therefore, does not meet registration requirements.

The related mill villages, to meet registration requirements, should retain a sufficient number of mill houses, arranged in their original fashion and displaying basically intact forms, to clearly reflect the mill housing complex of the early 20th century. For example, the mill housing complex at Pineville, though now linked to a vastly modernized mill, has maintained its original layout and house types and therefore is eligible. The housing includes a variety of traditional mill house forms and designs; and although they have been partially modernized -- and some extensively so -- and some houses have been razed, the great
majority have intact forms, and many retain exterior architectural features, such as turned porch posts, and bungalow-related tapered porch posts and exposed rafters.
G. Summary of Identification and Evaluation Methods

Discuss the methods used in developing the multiple property listing.

H. Major Bibliographical References

Primary location of additional documentation:

- [ ] State historic preservation office
- [ ] Other State agency
- [ ] Federal agency
- [ ] Local government
- [ ] University
- [ ] Other

Specify repository: N.C. Division of Archives and History, Raleigh, N.C.

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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Organization: Charlotte</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Street &amp; number: 222 Renneelsar Ave.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>City or town: Charlotte</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Date: July, 1995</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Telephone: 704-375-4256</td>
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<tr>
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SUMMARY OF IDENTIFICATION AND EVALUATION METHODS

The multiple property listing of historic and architectural resources of rural Mecklenburg County, North Carolina, is based upon a 1987-1988 architectural inventory of rural Mecklenburg conducted by Mary Beth Gatza. Gatza has a B.A. in Architectural History from Mary Washington University and has been employed by the National Park Service and Historic American Buildings Survey in Virginia. Conducted under the auspices of the Survey and Planning Branch of the North Carolina Division of Archives and History, this inventory identified more than 500 properties and groups of properties outside the city limits of Charlotte. Every possible road, public and private, leading to a known or suspected property was driven by Gatza during the inventory and every building marked on the USGS topographical maps of the county was viewed. Farmsteads, crossroads communities, churches and cemeteries, and all of the county's small towns were inventoried. Properties from vernacular to high style were recorded, with emphasis given to age and rarity, and representatives of types and styles. The vast majority of properties predating the turn of the century were inventoried, including every property erected before the Civil War. Properties built between 1900 and World War II were more selectively recorded, with emphasis given to more unaltered, unusual, or especially representative ones. The inventory included 7 rural properties which are locally designated Historic Properties, with expanded files available at the Charlotte-Mecklenburg Historic Properties Commission in Charlotte. The inventory included as well seven properties listed on the National Register of Historic Places. For each recorded property, computerized inventory forms were completed; locations noted on USGS topographical maps; photographs taken; research conducted, including the checking of deeds and secondary sources for selected properties and the taking of oral histories; and narrative architectural and historical descriptions written.

In 1989 based upon the individual survey files, Richard Mattson wrote the property type statements. Bill Huffman wrote the historic context essay. Mattson has a Ph.D. in Geography from the University of Illinois, and Huffman has a Ph.D. in History from the University of Missouri. Mattson and Huffman collaborated on the individual National Register nominations, with Mattson completing Sections 1-7 and parts of Sections 8-10, and Huffman completing other parts of Sections 8-10.
The inventory by Gatz identified a wide range of resources in rural Mecklenburg County spanning the years from the mid-18th century to World War II. Integrity requirements were based upon a knowledge of existing properties and an awareness of rural Mecklenburg's rapid commercial and residential development. The architectural and physical features of the county's surviving finer properties, as well as growing rarity of farm properties in the face of recent development, were considered in developing the outlines of potential registration requirements. The total number of rural Mecklenburg County properties placed on the Study List for nomination to the National Register at the April, 1989 North Carolina Professional Review Committee meeting included eleven farmhouses with related outbuildings; two rural churches with cemeteries; one log dwelling; a small-town historic district (Matthew); a mill village historic district (Pineville); a crossroads historic district (Croft); and a rural store with adjacent house (Hayes-Byrum Store and House). The Study List properties did not include those already listed as locally Designated Historic Properties, which constitute the majority of the county's finest pre-Civil War plantation seats. Instead, given the limited time frame of the Multiple Property Nomination project and budgetary constraints, the focus was on rural properties for which little official recognition and protection existed. These properties were selected with the assistance of Gatz and the Charlotte-Mecklenburg Historic Properties Commission, which runs the Designated Historic Properties program in the county. Fifteen rural historic properties are already listed in the National Register. Most are antebellum plantation houses listed in the 1970s, and rural properties have received little attention since then. The present nominations were selected based upon their representation of major property types, and, in part, upon the importance of recognizing and initiating steps to protect rapidly disappearing farmsteads and crossroads buildings in certain areas of the county. Furthermore, it is hoped that the research conducted for the National Register nominations will be used by the Historic Properties Commission in the nomination of these buildings, sites, and districts as Designated Historic Properties. The Multiple Property Documentation Form has been drafted to cover all identified property types in rural Mecklenburg County, and to facilitate the addition of individual properties and districts to the Register in the future.

Ray Printing, 1908.


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<td>3630</td>
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<td><strong>Wool lbs.</strong></td>
<td>23,762</td>
<td>10,963</td>
<td>15,667</td>
<td>10,581</td>
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<td>5275</td>
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<td><strong>Tobacco axes</strong></td>
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<td><strong>Irish potato acres</strong></td>
<td>11,835</td>
<td>9459</td>
<td>13,356</td>
<td>14,462</td>
<td>14,590</td>
<td>12,556</td>
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<td><strong>Sweet potato acres</strong></td>
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<td>26,393</td>
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<td></td>
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<td><strong>Oats bushels</strong></td>
<td>32,986</td>
<td>30,255</td>
<td>27,256</td>
<td>25,355</td>
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<td><strong>Corn bushels</strong></td>
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<td>111,825</td>
<td>101,355</td>
<td>85,225</td>
<td>61,125</td>
<td>41,436</td>
<td>31,746</td>
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<td>41,343</td>
<td>61,220</td>
<td>51,929</td>
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<td>41,436</td>
<td>32,200</td>
<td>27,125</td>
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Table 1: United States Census, Agricultural Schedule, Mecklenburg County, NC
Historic and Architectural Resources of Rural Mecklenburg County, North Carolina

Table 2

Number of Farms, Acreage in Farmland, and Average Size of Farms in Mecklenburg County, 1880-1940, and 1982.

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<th>Year</th>
<th>Number of Farms</th>
<th>Acreage in Farmland</th>
<th>Average Farm Size</th>
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<td>1890</td>
<td>3,122</td>
<td>not available</td>
<td>97</td>
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<td>1900</td>
<td>4,190</td>
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<td>1920</td>
<td>4,344</td>
<td>288,105</td>
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<td>1930</td>
<td>3,773</td>
<td>246,031</td>
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<td>1940</td>
<td>3,223</td>
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<td>1982</td>
<td>429</td>
<td>46,022</td>
<td>107.0</td>
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Chart 2

Bales of Cotton Produced in Mecklenburg County, 1860-1940, excluding 1890.
Historic and Architectural Resources of Rural Mecklenburg County, North Carolina

Chart 3

Production of Grain Crops in Mecklenburg County, 1860-1940, in bushels.
Chart 4

Livestock Raised in Mecklenburg County, 1860-1940, by number of animals.

- horses
- mules/asses
- dairy cows
- other cattle
- swine
- working oxen

Years: 1860, 1880, 1890, 1900, 1910, 1920, 1930, 1940
F. Associated Property Types

I. Name of Property Type

II. Description

III. Significance

IV. Registration Requirements

See continuation sheet for additional property types.


Mecklenburg County, N.C. *Deed Books.*


"Survey and Research Report on the Matthews School," Charlotte

Tompkins, Daniel Augustus. History of Mecklenburg County and the City of

Thompson, Edgar T. Agricultural Mecklenburg and Industrial Charlotte.
Charlotte: Charlotte Chamber of Commerce, 1926.

United States. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census. Census
of the United States: Agricultural Schedules, Mecklenburg
County, N.C.
North Carolina Department of Cultural Resources

James G. Martin, Governor
Patric Dorsey, Secretary

Division of Archives and History
William S. Price, Jr., Director

December 17, 1990

Jerry Rogers, Keeper
National Register of Historic Places
National Park Service
U.S. Department of the Interior
P O Box 7127
Washington, D.C. 20013-7127

Re: Mecklenburg County Multiple Properties Submission

Historic & Architectural Resources of Rural Mecklenburg County, North Carolina
Dr. Walter Pharr Craven House, Charlotte vicinity
Croft Historic District, Charlotte vicinity
Hayes-Byrum Store and House, Charlotte vicinity

Dear Mr. Rogers:

Enclosed are the nominations for the above-referenced properties to be listed in the National Register of Historic Places.

We trust you will find the nominations to be in order. If you have any questions, please call us.

Sincerely,

William S. Price, Jr.
State Historic Preservation Officer

WSP,Jr/mlr

Enclosures
HISTORIC LANDSCAPES OF MECKLENBURG COUNTY:
THE SMALL TOWNS

Richard L. Mattoon
July 1991
INTRODUCTION

This essay is about the historic architecture and other elements of landscape that have shaped the small towns of Mecklenburg County.

Between the 1880s and the Great Depression, the small town emerged as a significant settlement form in the county and across the Carolina Piedmont. Pineville, Matthews, Huntersville, and Cornelius grew from sleepy stagecoach stops or crossroads hamlets, with names like Morrow's Turnout (Pineville) or Fullwood's Store (Matthews) into centers of local trade with bustling main streets and often glamorous industrial sites. The town of Davidson, too, expanded in these decades and was influenced by the same social and economic forces. Yet, for all its similarities with these neighboring places, Davidson has historically played a unique role in the county as a college town, and its physical appearance clearly reflects the impact of Davidson College. For this reason it will be discussed in its own terms in a separate chapter. By contrast, the other towns followed common patterns of development that engendered a distinctive small-town landscape in Mecklenburg County. They combined features of the farm as well as the city. Like Charlotte, which blossomed into the hub of the Piedmont textile belt and a prominent symbol of New South industrialism, these towns
held urban ambitions of their own. Townspeople vigorously participated in the "Cotton Mill Campaign" to bring mills to their communities, invested in red-brick commercial blocks and schools, and erected fashionable residences and churches.

Their main streets invariably were oriented to railroad lines, which crisscrossed Mecklenburg County and sparked urban growth in the early 1900s. In their housing patterns, towns reflected the mounting racial and social segregation that was simultaneously changing the appearance of Charlotte and many other Southern cities.

While city-like, Mecklenburg's small towns had a kinship with the surrounding countryside. The countryside eased into town in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, as farms and woodland rolled along behind town lots. Pineville, Matthews, Huntersville, and Cornelius were settled primarily by rural folk, and traditional farmhouse designs often occupied parcels broad enough for flourishing kitchen gardens, smokehouses, and other assorted outbuildings. Street patterns also reflected rural precedents. The main thoroughfares tended to follow traditional local transportation routes, made wide enough to accommodate turning teams of horses. Reflecting both urban and rural impulses, these small towns ultimately took shape as a distinctive kind of place.

This essay first briefly chronicles the rise of the four towns, and then discusses the principal landscape features that have historically marked these places. It focuses on the
most intact examples of the architectural designs and spatial relationships which epitomized the historic small-town landscape in Mecklenburg County.

THE RISE OF THE SMALL TOWNS

Pineville, Matthews, Huntersville, and Cornelius are children of the railroad. These towns may share many traits, but their strongest bond is the railroad tracks. Due mainly to the availability of rail transportation, on the eve of the Civil War Charlotte was the county's only official "urban place." Between 1850 and 1860 Charlotte had become the junction of four rail lines that penetrated the county, and the population of this farming community and courthouse town promptly doubled in size to 2,265. As the county recovered from the Civil War in the latter decades of the century, new and rebuilt railways not only stimulated Charlotte's continued expansion but also spawned smaller shipping and trading points along their routes. In 1872 the Carolina Central Railway completed its line from Wilmington, North Carolina to Charlotte, locating one of its depots southeast of Charlotte, beside a stagecoach stop town as Fullwood Store. In 1879 the Town of Matthews was born on this site, named, in fact, for a member of the Carolina Central's Board of Directors. By 1874 rails had been relaid on the prewar Atlantic, Tennessee, and Ohio Railroad line between Charlotte and Statesville. Three years later Huntersville was laid out along these tracks. During the early 1890s Cornelius also
took root along the A.T. and O. Railroad line, three miles north of Huntersville. Starting out as a cotton weighing station and general store, the Town of Cornelius would be incorporated in 1905. At the south end of the county near the state line, Pineville grew up after the Civil War around a depot that the Charlotte, Columbia, and Augusta Railroad had fortuitously sited there in 1852.¹

These four towns were part of a vast web of railroad-oriented settlements that spread throughout North Carolina in the late nineteenth century. Only twenty-two railroad towns existed in the state in 1860; by 1900 there were two hundred and twenty-five, the majority in the Piedmont.² To be sure, most of these urban places were small. The largest of Mecklenburg's four towns in 1900 was Pineville, population 585; by 1930 Cornelius headed the list with 1,230 residents. However, their importance lay not in their size but in their reflection of the Piedmont's changing economic, social, and cultural geography.

By the 1890s the region's railroad towns had been integrated in a national network of rail lines. Mecklenburg County, like the rest of the Piedmont, may have continued to be predominantly rural, but old patterns of isolation were being challenged by a new mobility and access to far-flung marketplaces. Railways tied the towns not only to each other and Southern seaports but also to Northern markets and sources of building materials and finished goods. "We are no longer shut out of the rest of creation!" sang the Davidson
Monthly upon the reconstruction of the A.T. and O. Railroad. By 1894 this railway was part of the extensive Southern Railroad system which had direct connections to the North. 3

Thus Pineville, Matthews, Huntersville, and Cornelius functioned as rural marketing and shipping stations for the local cotton crop. The railroads enabled merchants to bypass Southern port cities and market this staple directly to Northern cities in exchange for goods shipped in by rail. Storekeepers stocked their shelves with the latest products from northern stores, and advanced agricultural supplies to farmers who, in turn, cultivated more and more cotton to pay for these provisions.

Each town contained a host of general merchants who were part of a new and aggressive entrepreneurial class described by W. C. Cash as "the army of the enterprising and the hard." 4 These adroit Piedmont businessmen operated cotton gins, brokered cotton, organized banks, established textile mills, and were active in local and state politics. In Pineville, where 6000 bales of cotton were sold each year around the turn of the century, merchant Tom Younts "made a fortune," it is said, in the cotton trade and credit business. In Matthews business partners Everard Jefferson Heath and Edward Solomon Reid prospered as cotton buyers, merchants, and bankers, while B. D. Funderburk operated a store and cotton gin, sold coal and fertilizer, and was the president of the Bank of Matthews. Neighbor Thomas Jefferson Renfrow not only owned one of the town's major dry goods
stores and a cotton gin but served seven years in the North Carolina General Assembly as well. Cornelius' R. J. Stough and J. B. Cornelius "sold everything from cotton to coffins," in their store, and helped establish two cotton mills in town. Huntersville's stock of general stores climbed from three in 1900 to ten by the end of the decade, reflecting the preeminent role of the town's new "army" of merchants.5

The small towns may have been centers of local commerce, but they also performed a host of other functions. Private academies and public schools were located there. Both Matthews and Huntersville were selected as sites for state-supported rural high schools in 1907. In the latter town the state school first occupied the former Huntersville High School Academy, which had been established in 1878. As the number of residents increased, Presbyterian, Methodist, and Baptist churches opened their doors in each town. Hotels, liverys, teacherages, banks, and post offices also appeared, filling out commercial cores and spilling over into residential areas. Simultaneously, African-American communities burgeoned at the peripheries. Tanktown, Smithville, and Pottstown were the names given such areas that arose beside Matthews, Cornelius, and Huntersville, respectively. These black neighborhoods contained concentrations of farmhands, domestic help for white households, and skilled carpenters and members of work crews who contributed to the towns' physical expansion.5

Townspeople regarded no single event as more vital to
physical expansion than the arrival of a cotton mill. During the decades around the turn of the century town building was synonymous with mill building. "Huntersville has 'factory fever,'" announced a resident in 1888, following a citizens' meeting urging industrial growth. As railroad towns vied for factories, the infatuation with spindles and looms sometimes resembled a religious crusade. "Next to God, what this town needs is a cotton mill," proclaimed one Piedmont preacher.

Between 1880 and 1900, one hundred seventy-seven mills were established in the state, ninety percent of them in the Piedmont. Mecklenburg County alone contained seventeen mills in 1903, and twenty-two by 1915, including fourteen in Charlotte. This textile boom was powered by steam. Railroads opened the Appalachian coal fields and hauled into the region the fuel necessary for operating massive steam engines. In contrast to previous, water-powered mills, the new factories were no longer bound to isolated water courses. Liberated from the riversides, textile plants arose along the railroads, often around the outskirts of cities and small towns that eagerly awaited their coming.7

The cotton mills—like the rail lines and towns that wove them together—were symbols of a new order. They inextricably tied the region into the national market economy, and began a social movement whereby thousands of families fled their small Carolina farms for jobs in the mills. The textile industry promised steady employment and an hourly cash wage ("public work" it was called) for farmers
confronted with depressed cotton prices and the grim prospect of lifelong tenancy. The mills, however, were no panacea. Farmers-turned-millhands faced low wages and work-weeks that averaged sixty to seventy hours. Though the mill owners provided subsidized housing and a range of other services which varied from mill to mill, rarely during the early twentieth century did their workers rise above the minimum standard of living in North Carolina.  

Textile communities were a complex mix of paternalism and exploitation, self-reliance and mutual aid. Mill owners developed mill villages as acts self interest: to provide basic facilities for the waves of migrants leaving the countryside for "public work;" and to exercise corporate control over their new labor force. A 1907-8 federal investigation commented that "all the affairs of the village and the conditions of living of all of the people are regulated by the mill company. Practically speaking, the company owns everything and controls everything, and to a large extent controls everybody in the mill village."  

Yet textile workers were not merely functionaries of the factories that employed and housed them. Mill families breathed life into their villages, creating places that reflected their agrarian ways. Their rural independence was so persistent that mill owners, looking to secure a reliable work force, incorporated a variety of rural elements into the planned mill complex. Villages included house types borrowed directly from the Southern countryside; spacious lots for
kitchen gardens; and adjoining pastures, barns, and hog pens for livestock. Within this setting, millhands sustained a traditional allegiance to kin and formed new bonds with fellow workers. When one resident of Pineville's mill village stated that she was "proud to have grown up in the mill," she was expressing not just a loyalty to the company but a sense of pride in her membership in the local mill community. In Pineville, for example, each mill family--independent of ownership--contributed twenty-five cents weekly for a medical insurance program with a town physician.10

Pineville, Huntersville, and Cornelius each had a textile factory and village by the turn of the century. Cornelius Cotton Mills began in 1888, and was joined in town by Gem Yarn Mills in 1907. Anchor Mills was established in Huntersville in 1898. Dover Mills, a Providence, Rhode Island firm, selected Pineville as the site for its North Carolina plant in 1894. By 1908, this factory was part of a chain of plants owned by Chadwick-Hoskins Company, an expanding textile mill business based in Charlotte. These five mills and corresponding villages were not the largest textile operations in Mecklenburg County.11 They were, however, integral to the growth of these towns and bestowed on each distinctive architectural forms and housing patterns.

The landscapes associated with the textile culture and other aspects of the county's traditional small towns largely pre-date the 1930s. By the Great Depression, the sluggish
buildings often occupying entire blocks. Early white as well as black neighborhoods also remain in place, as do a host of churches and school buildings. Finally, cotton mills and their affiliated villages continue to dominate sections of towns. The finest surviving examples of these traditional landscape elements are the focus of the remaining parts of this essay. Together they epitomize the historic small town in Mecklenburg County.

MAIN STREET

"Main Street"--the principal business street--was the most important symbol of small-town commerce in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. In the county's railroad towns this corridor was invariably oriented to the tracks. In Pineville, Matthews, and Cornelius the main business street ran perpendicular to the railroad, while in Huntersville it squarely faced the tracks at the site of the depot. Thus the first impression of a visitor stepping off the train at Huntersville was one of a place geared to commerce. Yet the small-town business areas were historically modest in scale, reflecting populations that averaged only about nine hundred residents by 1930. The retailing cores of Pineville and Matthews consumed about one block. Early rows of stores in Huntersville and Cornelius occupied merely one side of a block, with other general stores or smaller pockets of retail establishments located nearby.
In Cornelius, for example, the prominent Stough-Cornelius Company operated in a building strategically sited beside the railroad tracks, where Catawba Avenue—a busy trade route from the Catawba River—joined Statesville Road. A portion of this structure still exists. Another cluster of stores lined the railroad tracks, at the intersection of the two thoroughfares. They were small, narrow, mostly utilitarian frame buildings ("shoebox stores," according to one observer), that have all been razed. But it was two blocks west, along Catawba Avenue, that a neat row of storefronts would eventually define the commercial center. These stores faced the Cornelius Mill. By the 1940s the plant's main south wall extended along the northern edge of the block, creating a distinctly enclosed setting where the busy hum of the mill mingled with the commercial life of the town.

Main Streets offered a spectrum of goods and services. The county business directories published in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries recorded an assortment of general stores, livery stables, drug stores, banks, hotels, and post offices. Main Street, Pineville at the turn of the century was simply characterized as having "ten stores and two bars." Cotton gins, grist and saw mills, blacksmith shops, and other small industries (Huntersville contained a marble works and Pineville a carriage manufacturer in 1896) were typically located away from Main Street, often along a back alley.
Although there were few pretenses to beauty, Main Streets fit together at the beginning of the twentieth century as attractive, if not distinctive, business settings. They were pedestrian places where farmers and town residents walked to do their shopping. Perhaps all of the towns maintained rows of shade trees along their business streets, as shown in an early postcard view of Matthews. Buildings were one or two stories high and normally constructed of red brick. Brick commercial blocks embodied permanence and prosperity in these young towns, and clearly differentiated places of business from the predominately wood-frame residential areas. The masonry was frequently made on or near the construction site, but as commercial districts expanded, brickyards with permanent kilns producing better-quality, less porous bricks appeared. By 1910 Cornelius, for example, had a brickyard situated along the railroad tracks. The more enterprising merchants also installed shopfronts with large plate-glass display windows embellished with fancy bracketed cornices. The finest interiors boasted pressed-tin ceilings. Storekeepers ordered all of these stylish features from out-of-town manufacturers and received them—ready for installation—by rail.15

Perhaps the county's most impressive remaining small-town commercial district is in Matthews (Figure 1). Between the 1890s and 1930s the 100 block of Trade Street, west of the railroad tracks, developed into rows of brick buildings accommodating general merchandise stores, a livery stable,
Figure 1. Main Street, Matthews.

Figure 2. Funderburk Brothers Building, Matthews, 1891.
post office, bank, drug store, and hotel. Back alleys held a
grist mill and blacksmith shop on the north side, and T. J.
Renfrow's cotton gin on the south side, behind Renfrow's
general store.

While Trade Street has not been exempt from physical
changes over the decades, it continues to feature a host of
important early buildings that exemplify the small-town
business district. The north side retains a significant
section of the Funderburk Brothers Building (Figure 2). Built
in 1891, the building's facade includes its original
shopfront for the dry goods store, with display windows
flanking a traditional recessed entryway. To the east, the
former Matthews Post Office is an exemplary small-town postal
facility of the Depression era. Dedicated for service in
1939, the one-story brick building with sturdy granite
columns was designed to foster public confidence in
governmental functions during these economically hard
times.17

The south side of Trade Street includes the original
Matthews Post Office, built about 1892. This one-story frame
building with a simple false front has miraculously survived
the street's early blazes and widespread enthusiasm for brick
construction. To the north, T. J. Renfrow and Son General
Store was erected in the heart of the block at the turn of
the century (Figure 3). The one-story brick building
consists of a matching pair of storefront bays with large
display windows designed for pedestrian traffic. The facade
Figure 3. T.J. Renfrow and Son General Store, Matthews, ca. 1900.

Figure 4. Heath and Reid General Store, Matthews, ca. 1889.
has such stylish touches as decorative wood moldings defining
the base of each bay, and fancy brick corbelling along the
cornice. Today known as Renfrow’s Hardware, it has added
significance as Matthew’s sole surviving general store that
is still engaged in the dry goods trade.18

The most striking building on Trade Street as well as the
epitome of Main Street architecture in the county is Heath
and Reid General Store (Figure 4). Erected in the 1880s, the
two-and-a-half-story structure commands its setting by the
railroad tracks. In the fashion of the period, the
rectangular brick facade includes arched second-story windows
and attic vents, and subtle brick detailing. Its shopfront
encompasses the first story in grand style, with a bracketed
cornice and expansive multi-paned windows, that flood the
interior with natural light. The store was constructed of
bricks made from clay dug out of site. “They were all
stamped out by a mold, like people used to stamp out butter,”
a Matthews resident once recalled.

The store’s prime location, directly across from the
railroad tracks and depot, expressed the commercial
aspirations of owners E. J. Heath and E. S. Reid. They were
Matthews’ only merchants to advertise in the Charlotte
business directory, displaying a line engraving of their new
building amidst a throng of potential customers. The store,
in fact, “was a beehive of activity” during Trade Street’s
heyday. The front of the establishment was stocked with a
myriad of items for the ladies, while groceries were sold at
the rear. On Saturdays farmers came here for seed, fertilizer, flour, sugar, and assorted other goods. And like general merchants throughout the county, Heath and Reid often furnished these supplies in exchange for portions of the cotton harvests.19

UPTOWN

The county's small towns were more than places of business; they were homes to the people who made livings there. In each town Main Street was bounded by the houses of leading businessmen and professionals, large farmers who had moved to town, skilled tradesmen, and smaller shopkeepers and clerks. They comprised an emerging "uptown" social class in the Piedmont which, particularly in larger cities, was culturally and geographically distinct from the white working class (typically mill people) and African Americans.20 Its membership aspired to the fashionable neighborhoods, belonged to the principal churches, and attended schools beyond the bounds of the mill. In the small towns of Mecklenburg County, however, such class distinctions were often blurred. Wealthier townspeople and mill workers alike worshipped in the same churches and enrolled their children in the public schools. On occasion they even owned homes on the same blocks. Nevertheless, a recognizable uptown landscape existed. It consisted of streets oriented to Main Street and the railroad tracks, and geographically set apart from areas where the great majority of blacks and mill people lived.
Here on oak-shaded lawns (instead of swept dirt yards), which might measure an entire acre, uptown families dwelled in the town's most stylish houses. Nearby stood the major churches, private academies, and, eventually, the public school.

Residences

Uptown houses blended the traditional with the up-to-date. They reflected the conservative tastes of townspeople who still thought as rural folk, accepting new ideas and institutions slowly; but also they embodied a growing attraction for urban and national cultural trends. Thus the range of domestic architecture included folk house types with enduring symbolic appeal, as well as stylishly novel architectural shapes and decoration that represented a major break from the simpler forms of the past. Just as the railroads facilitated commercial exchange, they also brought the latest fashions and building technologies from large cities to the small towns.

By the 1880s virtually all of the dwellings in the towns were erected with mass-produced sawn lumber and nails shipped into the towns by rail. The ready access to standardized building materials encouraged carpenters to abandon the traditional pegged-timber frame construction in favor of balloon framing, employing lighter studs nailed together. This innovative framing technique made all forms of houses radically faster and easier to construct, and neatly coincided with the rising popularity of more exuberent
architectural shapes. Houses both large and small were now routinely finished with factory-made doors and windows, stairways, flooring, and tongue-and-groove walls and ceilings. These products as well as assorted mantelpieces, fancy brackets, porch posts, and balusters were made at highly mechanized woodworking shops known as sash and blind factories. By 1900 Charlotte, for example, contained three such plants, each of them linked to the small towns by rail. In this atmosphere of building innovation and mechanization—tempered by conservative tastes—an assortment of architectural styles shaped the uptown landscape.

The major surviving house designs in the small towns reflect the influences of three architectural styles: Queen Anne; Colonial Revival; and bungalow. Each enjoyed a wide national following, and many local examples were versions of stock house plans that were constructed across the country. But other new houses did not conform to the architectural mainstream, expressing instead the persistence of traditional forms and layouts that were adapted to the popular styles of the day.

Around the turn of the century the Queen Anne style was claimed enthusiastically by uptown society. The style was the culmination of picturesque architectural tendencies that had been stirring in Mecklenburg County since the 1870s. Contrasting sharply with simple square or rectangular folk house types, Queen Anne dwellings displayed consciously irregular forms, with jutting wings and bays topped by
interlocking hip and gable roofs. These shapes were dressed up in a variety of decorative wood shingling, spindles, and big porches trimmed with lacy sawn brackets that often curved around the facades. The amount of elaboration was determined by the tastes and means of the client.

Today, the influence of the Queen Anne style is most apparent on the prime residential streets of uptown Cornelius and Matthews. As Cornelius expanded around the Gem and Cornelius Mills in the early twentieth century, the Queen Anne style permeated the uptown building boom. R. J. Stough, president of the Cornelius Cotton Mill, chose this style for his residence on Main Street (Figure 5). Moved in recent years to a secondary artery, the two-story frame house has a high hip roof penetrated by cross gables, and a wide, full verandah that has classical columns and conforms to the irregular contours of the the facade. This imposing residence, however, was an exception to the far more numerous one-story Queen Anne cottages that proliferated along major residential streets.22

Queen Anne cottages "built in a tasty style" signified modernity. To professional observers of the state's architectural scene, this lively domestic design stood in contrast to "the old fashioned country house or the ancient residence in town [with] huge outside chimneys ... and the solemn goods-box shape. Now we build cottages which are convenient and much more economical of space and they look 100 percent more beautiful and generally cost no more
Figure 5. R.J. Stough House, Cornelius, ca. 1900.

Figure 6. Perry Goodrum House, Cornelius, 1906.
money. In Cornelius, Perry Goodrum, manager of the Cornelius Cotton Mill, occupied such a dwelling on Catawba Avenue in 1906 (Figure 6). The design is characteristic of the county's Queen Anne cottages--high hip roof, projecting cross gables, full porch with turned posts and decorative sawn brackets. Goodrum's neighbors followed suit. Just west of this house, merchant William Fucett erected a similar frame cottage, distinguished by patterned wood shingles in the gables (Figure 7). Along Main Street, north of the Cornelius Cotton Mill, other versions appeared, conveying good taste and middle-class status in turn-of-the-century Cornelius. Hamilton White, a supervisor at the Cornelius Cotton Mill, selected a gentle rise of land overlooking Main Street to build his stylish cottage (Figure 8). Across the street, farmer Egbert Brown favored a roomier model, with a dormer that pierced the high hip roof and opened up the second story for bedrooms.

While uptowners built comparable Queen Anne dwellings countywide, it was in Matthews that a hallmark of this style appeared (Figure 9). In 1890 Edward Solomon Reid acquired a lot adjacent to the business district and built what is Meckinburg's finest surviving Queen Anne cottage. Family tradition holds that Reid employed a local carpenter to execute the design, fashioned from heart-pine lumber transported to Matthews on the railroad. Reid was a partner in Matthew's largest mercantile enterprise, Heath and Reid, and his new home--like his brick store on Trade
Figure 9. Reid House, Matthews, 1890.

Figure 10. Reid House. Porch details.
Street--hailed his prominent status in town. In 1892 Reid moved to Charlotte, and the residence was subsequently occupied for over fifty years by Dr. Thomas Neely Reid, a country doctor, and his wife, Ellen E. Reid.\textsuperscript{25}

The complex form of the Reid cottage is accentuated by a corner tower sheathed with scalloped shingles, and a projecting front porch. Exuberent in detail, the porch is trimmed with brackets with a pinwheel design, turned pendants, and a fluted balustrade (Figure 10). The main door opens into a central hallway flanked by a parlor and sitting room, with a dining room and bedroom to the rear. Farther back is room upon room of additions, including kitchen and sunroom. On the interior, the Queen Anne is revealed primarily through paneled mantelpieces, which in the tower room has lozenge-shaped raised panels and a scalloped-edge frieze.
Despite the attraction of such up-to-date, picturesque designs, traditional shapes and plans continued to hold strong appeal. Though the possibilities for embellishment were endless, carpenters typically updated these conservative forms with turned or chamfered porch posts, some sawn trim, and, occasionally, decorative roof gables. The result was usually less an inspiration of the Queen Anne style than it was the expression of a few popular motifs that builders and clients accepted as tasteful. Uptown residents selected one customary form in particular, the two-story house, one-room deep. This rectangular, symmetrical folk house usually had a gable roof, brick end chimneys, and a center hallway. A porch extended across the facade and a kitchen wing was at the rear. Symbolizing wealth in rural North Carolina since the antebellum period, this house continued to represent high social status in Mecklenburg's small towns into the early 1900s.  

Examples of the form are most abundant in Huntersville. By the early 1900s a collection of two-story, one-room deep residences had gathered along Academy Street (later Gilead Road). Postmaster J. F. Steele selected this basic house type, as did farmer R. E. Henderson, who ornamented the facade of his new residence with a peaked central gable. A particularly fine version is the white-painted, frame dwelling that was built, it is said, as the Huntersville Academy's dormitory (Figure II). By the 1890s it was converted to the home of Professor Hugh Grey, a
Figure 11. Grey-Shearer-Knox House, Huntersville, ca. 1890.

Figure 12. Jesse and Nell Query House, Huntersville, ca. 1890.
member of the faculty and later the superintendent of 
Mecklenburg's schools. The house was subsequently occupied 
by J. B. Shearer, president of Davidson College, and, in 
1905, by prosperous local farmer J. L. Knox. The residence 
beffitted the stature of these early owners. Handsome slate 
shingles cover its roofs, and the front porch has turned 
balusters and stylishly milled brackets. The dignified main 
entrance is surrounded by paneled and heavily molded 
sidelights and transom.27

Other models in Huntersville appeared along uptown 
streets facing the railroad tracks or in close range of Main 
Street businesses. Even the owners of Anchor Mills 
constructed one as a rooming house for employees. Of 
special note are two examples that feature double front 
porches. Directly west of Main Street, sisters Jesse and 
Neil Query, both schoolteachers, lived for many years in a 
nicely finished, two-story frame house with a two-tier shed 
porch (Figure 12). As was a popular trend in the late 
nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the porch does not 
extend across the entire facade, but covers only the front 
door and windows. The dwelling's turned porch posts and 
combination of wide weatherboards with narrow 
tongue-and-groove sheathing—all factory-made—expressed in 
simple terms the fashion of the period.28

At the south end of town, facing the railroad tracks, 
farmer Charles Alexander and wife, Laura, also chose a 
stylish double porch for their traditional two-story house
In evidence is the Alexanders' taste for jigsawed trimmings and unusual balusters with asterisk patterns that disguise the strict symmetry of the overall form. The attractive main entrance has sidelights and a full transom around a glass-paneled front door. As was standard practice at the time, the Alexanders had the interior ceiled with tongue-and-groove matchboarding. For each of the main rooms they opted for slightly different mantelpiece designs, embellished with variations of raised jigsawed paneling. The kitchen, dining room, and additional bedrooms were arranged in two flanking rear ells.

The appeal of Queen Anne cottages and updated folk houses in the small towns overlapped with the popularity of the Colonial Revival. Variations of the style were carried across the country in a flood of house-plan books, and on the local scene, Charlotte architect Charles Christian Hook promoted the virtues of "colonial" domestic designs. Writing in the Charlotte Observer between November 1903 and January 1904, he praised the Colonial Revival's "symmetry, restfulness, and good proportions" that represented a clear-cut improvement over preceding picturesque styles recklessly shaped by the "jig-saw artist." Though Hook did not explicitly condemn the Queen Anne, he asserted that "colonial architecture" was "the most appropriate form for domestic building in the state." The Colonial Revival was a statement of values as well as fashion. In the South it evoked not just broad patriotic sentiments, but fed a
Figure 13. Charles and Laura Alexander House, Huntersville, ca. 1890.

Figure 14. William Ranson House, Huntersville, 1913.
longing for an idealized antebellum past. Hook's architectural firm proceeded to set the local standard for the Colonial Revival, designing residences in Charlotte's wealthy, conservative street-car suburbs that were hallmarks of the style. Hook's single-family dwellings were usually symmetrical forms capped by simple hip roofs and bedecked in columned porticoes or porches, and a flourish of other classical details.31

In the small towns, the earliest Colonial Revival houses arose as grand two-and-a-half-story, hip-roofed forms sided in white weatherboarding, and wrapped with one-story porches. These uncomplicated and substantial residences represented a popular farmhouse design in early twentieth-century North Carolina, and reflected the solid agrarian roots of their small-town owners. In Huntersville, William Ranson occupied an excellent one at the south end of town (Figure 14). In 1913 Ranson, a farmer, general merchant, and operator of the town's principal cotton gin, employed Cornelius contractor Will Potts to build his new house. The Ranson House is a massive frame box with a wraparound verandah that expresses the Colonial Revival style in its porch pediment and classical columns. Contractor Potts installed fancy pressed-tin ceilings in the main first-floor rooms and finished the interior with dark mahogany paneling.32

Another imposing early Colonial Revival residence was owned by Matthews merchant and banker B. D. Funderburk.
(Figure 15). About 1900 this two-and-a-half-story house rose from behind the gabled rooftops of one-story dwellings west of Trade Street. Shaded by oak trees, its pure-white form, spacious porch, and clean, classical treatment expressed Funderburk's social prominence.33

The boxy Colonial Revival house continued to be the main choice among elites into the post-World War I years. A principal distinction between those built in the 1920s and earlier ones was the application of new building materials—particularly the shift from white weatherboarding to a red-brick veneer. An exemplary design was constructed for Frank Sherrill of Cornelius about 1925 (Figure 16). The Sherrills ranked among Cornelius' leading families, with brothers Frank and Joseph serving successive terms as mayor. Frank was president of Gem Yarn Mill and a major stockholder in the Cornelius Cotton Mill. Inspired perhaps by the stylish homes of textile magnates appearing in Charlotte's Myers Park, Sherrill commissioned Louis Asbury, one of the city's major architects, to design his Cornelius residence. Located on Main Street, on a wide parcel that faces the railroad, the Sherrill House would have fit comfortably along the embowered avenues of Myers Park. At Sherrill's behest Asbury covered the roofs with striking green pantiles, reportedly ordered from a Tennessee manufacturer.34

The 1920s also saw the bungalow take its place beside Colonial Revival houses and Queen Anne cottages along uptown
streets. More than any style before it, the bungalow was disseminated via architectural magazines and mail-order catalogues with national circulations. Indeed, for a brief period it even boasted its own periodical, *Bungalow Magazine*. Scores of architectural writers attempted to define the new style, and generally agreed that true bungalows" were low-slung structures with wide projecting eaves, exposed brackets and other supports, a large and sturdily built front porch, and many windows. The bungalow was trumpeted as a solution to America's need for affordable middle-class homes. In a period when the costs of building materials and construction labor were skyrocketing, these writers asserted that bungalows should stand out as models of artful simplicity and rational uses of space. Natural materials were emphasized, including wall claddings of clinker brick, rough split shakes, and stained wood. Bungalow plans stressed simple, informal living, and central hallways were cast aside as wasted, unadaptable space.

Throughout the postwar decades middle-class families in the small towns chose mainstream bungalow designs which were regularly pictured in the pages of builders' magazines. In Huntersville and Cornelius, a variety of popular models were built facing major uptown thoroughfares. When Statesville Road was improved through Huntersville in this decade, bungalows appeared side by side along the modern concrete highway. Depot agent Tom Youngblood purchased a house lot on this street from the Ranson family and built one of
Hunterville's notable examples (Figure 17). Youngblood favored a brick and stucco design with decorative half-timbering in the front-facing roof gable, brick and stucco veneering, and a porch that extended into a porte-cochere. At the rear of the lot Youngblood erected a wooden garage for his automobile—now with the paving of Statesville Road this railroad employee and his neighbors could look forward to smooth motoring south to Charlotte.36

North in Cornelius, bungalows were emblems of the broad, postwar middle class. Along North Main Street, versions were built for a barber, house painter, mill supervisor, banker, realtor, building contractor, minister, and merchant (Figure 18). In 1921 John Baxter, president of the Cornelius Savings and Loan, chose one of the more prevalent designs for his Main Street parcel (Figure 19). The roomy weatherboarded dwelling has a gable roof that sweeps low over a large front porch. The center dormer opens up the second story for sleeping quarters. North of the Baxter residence, dry goods merchant William Puckett moved from his Queen Anne cottage on Catawba Avenue into a charming new bungalow (Figure 20). Veneered in brick and stucco, the Puckett House showcases decorative angular braces under its clipped-gable roof. As was the fashion among wealthier homeowners, a matching garage was erected to the rear.37

Across town, on Catawba Avenue, a pair of smaller bungalows epitomize models that were suited for families of
Figure 17. Thomas Youngblood House, Huntersville, ca. 1925.

Figure 18. North Main Street houses, Cornelius, 1920s.
Figure 19. John Baxter House, Cornelius, 1921.

Figure 20. William Puckett House, Cornelius, ca. 1925.
more modest means (Figure 21). Their compact forms display essential elements of the style: low, "snug" rooflines, deep porches opening directly into living rooms that span the front the house, and heavy tapered porch posts on brick piers.38

Churches and Schools

As uptowns grew so did their churches and schools. Standing like sentinels at the borders of town centers, these institutions were signs of local progress as well as symbols of a shared moral authority. In the early years churches and schools were often intimately related. In 1870 members of the Huntersville Presbyterian Church began worship in the McClintock Academy, a small presbyterian school. The following year the pastor of the local Associate Reformed Presbyterian Church, Dr. William W. Orr, founded the Huntersville High School Academy and built a schoolhouse adjacent to the church. In the Catalogue of the Huntersville High School, 1882-1883, under the heading "Morals," Dr. Orr confidently proclaimed:

We can safely say that Huntersville has few superiors in point of morals. ...We have no drinking saloons, no billiard tables, no gambling rooms, no cockpits, and no race paths. ... But we have TWO good churches—one U.S. Presbyterian, the other A.R. Presbyterian—in which services are held every Sabbath. ... We can say without fear of
Figure 21. Catawba Avenue houses, Cornelius, 1920s.

Figure 22. Huntersville Presbyterian Church, Huntersville, ca. 1881. (Huntersville Presbyterian Church, 1978)
successful contradiction, that no town has as few
temptations to idleness and vice as our little village,
and there is no place of its size where there is so
much moral and religious restraint brought to bear on
on its citizens. 39

The author’s perceptions of Huntersville’s lofty
morality aside, the townsmen created religious buildings
in a fashion typical of uptown churches throughout the
county. The major churches—Presbyterian, Baptist,
Methodist—first appeared in the small towns amid renewed
church construction in the post-Civil War decades. While in
larger urban places, innovative church plans with elaborate
Gothic Revival treatment became landmarks of postwar
recovery, in the small towns and countryside churches tended
to follow a popular antebellum form. These small churches
conveyed religious respectability and practicality of
purpose through a gable-front design, usually equipped with
a gallery, one or two main aisles, and a platformed altar
and pulpit opposite the entrance. 40

In Huntersville, the congregations of both Presbyterian
churches probably held worship services in such a building
during their formative years. A rare photograph of the
first Huntersville Presbyterian Church, erected by church
members about 1881, depicts a simple white-frame,
rectangular structure oriented gable end to the front
(Figure 22). The center doorway is framed by tall shuttered
windows designed to light the gallery, which spanned the front of the sanctuary. Similarly, the initial Methodist church building in Matthews, erected in 1877, followed this accepted gable-front form, with a foundation of rock piers, and two front doors. Two aisles led to the pulpit on its raised platform, with an Amen Corner on either side. Like most small-town and rural churches organized in this period, Matthews Methodist Church was situated on land donated by a founding member and constructed by a band of congregants.  

None of the nineteenth-century churches survives in the small towns, for during the early decades of the new century expanding memberships led to a wave of rebuilding. The new church buildings were larger and more architecturally polished than their predecessors. They made use of mass-produced building materials; were sheathed with brick veneering; and often constructed by professional contractors. The popular stylistic choice among the various denominations was the Gothic Revival, clearly signified by rooflines, arched windows and doors, and corner towers that pointed sharply heavenward, and pointed-arched windows.  

In 1901 members of Huntersville's Associate Reformed Presbyterian Church selected this style for its new building at the north end of town (Figure 23). The handsome brick edifice follows a cruciform plan, featuring four broad gabled wings, each pierced by a round louvered opening and Gothic-style windows, and a steepled corner entrance tower.
Figure 23. Associate Reform Presbyterian Church, Huntersville, 1901.

Figure 24. Matthews Presbyterian Church, Matthews, 1929-1942.
Although the church's 1969 sanctuary faces motorists on Highway 115, the original building was oriented towards Church Street and the railroad tracks, serving daily notice to turn-of-the-century train passengers that Huntersville was a progressive, and Presbyterian, town.\textsuperscript{43}

For more than four decades into the twentieth century, as membership levels and fund-raising drives allowed, the county's small-town churches turned to the Gothic Revival. The style might be interpreted with two flanking towers, as at the 1903 Matthews Methodist Episcopal Church (no longer standing), or accented with concrete trimming and a striking rosette window in the center gable, as at the Matthews Presbyterian Church, completed in stages between 1929 and 1942 (Figure 24).\textsuperscript{44}

Not every new church, however, reflected this penchant for the Gothic. A significant exception is the Matthews Baptist Church, constructed in 1929 in the Neo-Classical Revival style (Figure 25). Whereas the towns' nineteenth-century churches might have suggested the classical temple idea in their gable-front forms and occasional use of cornice returns, the Matthews Baptist Church is a more literal version. The brick building is dominated by a full projecting (prostyle) portico with large columns and a fanlight in the pediment.\textsuperscript{45} In its small-town setting it is an especially forceful design that commands attention and verifies the Baptist church's solid standing in the community.
Figure 25. Matthews Baptist Church, Matthews, 1929.

Figure 26. Huntersville High School Academy, Huntersville, ca. 1888.
The symbolic power of pillared temple-form architecture was not new to the county's towns. When, in the 1880s, Huntersville High School Academy was rebuilt on present-day Gilead Road, the ambitious new facility was rendered in a two-story temple form (Figure 26). No longer in existence, the structure was most likely inspired by Eumenean and Philanthropic Halls, the pair of handsome Greek Revival debating halls erected at Davidson College in 1849-1850. Like these buildings, it featured a prostyle pedimented portico, with four colossal pillars that enclosed twin stairways rising to the auditorium. The academy, to be sure, was a far less refined version of these collegiate temples, substituting, for instance, functional, square brick posts for the elegant stone columns that grace the Davidson College buildings. Nevertheless, it presented the town of Huntersville with its first architectural landmark, that was hailed as "one of the largest and most modern school structures in the western North Carolina region."47

"The Academy," as it was known locally, was the most significant of a host of private academies that existed in the small towns during the late nineteenth century. Huntersville alone contained three at various times before 1900, and Matthews and Pineville had at least one apiece.48 The role of the private school, however, began to diminish when Mecklenburg County instituted public education in 1895.

While local communities funded modest weatherboarded
public schoolhouses shortly thereafter—Matthews, for example, had a three-room school with a two-person staff in 1895—it was not until 1907 that large and stylish public schools appeared. In that year the General Assembly passed a bill to help finance rural high schools for white students throughout North Carolina, and Matthews and Huntersville were designated as the Mecklenburg sites. In Huntersville Orr’s academy was expeditiously converted to a state high school. But in Matthews a “modern brick building” was planned, one that would stand out as the town’s largest structure. Completed in 1907, the impressive two-story schoolhouse, crowned by a cupola that rose above the treetops, was a pledge to Matthews’ white citizens of quality public schooling.49

Currently a community center, the Matthews School exists largely as it appeared following remodellings and expansions that occurred in 1912 and the mid-1920s (Figure 27). The building’s facade features an impressive entrance portico, with hollow fluted columns supporting a broad cornice and pediment. Added during the latter phase of renovations, it attests to the enduring appeal of classically inspired scholastic architecture in the county. Other elements reflect more practical considerations in the planning of the modern public schoolhouse. The banks of large multi-paned windows across the facade provided natural light and ventilation for the classrooms and main stairway. The interior of the main block consisted of classrooms,
Figure 27. Matthews School, Matthews, 1912, ca. 1925.

Figure 28. Anchor Mills and mill village, Huntersville, 1898.
restrooms, and offices conveniently arranged along center and side halls. At the back, a substantial multi-purpose auditorium wing was constructed to serve the needs of the school as well as the community.

MILL AND MILL VILLAGE

Situated apart from uptown was the landscape of the textile mill. In Huntersville its realm was a tract of land at the north end of town, east of the railroad. Pineville's cotton-mill community was confined to the south end of town, behind Main Street. In Cornelius the geographical pattern was not as discrete, as the Cornelius Cotton Mill adjoined commercial buildings, and worker housing for the Gem Yarn Mill spilled over onto Main Street. Even so, the majority of mill cottages was clustered around the town's two textile plants, behind the uptown houses that lined Catawba Avenue and Main Street.

Cotton mills were a powerful presence in these small towns. "'The Mill,'" reflected a lifetime resident of Huntersville, "was known just as that--'The Mill.' It was there all my life, and even before." Textile companies were the towns' primary employers and builders. They created signature landscapes, replete with large brick factories and tall watertowers symbolizing "progress," and scores of recognizable mill houses that were badges of social class. "The Mill" in Huntersville (Anchor Mills) manufactured dress gingham and chambrays in a long brick
structure adjacent to the railroad (Figure 28). The building's functional design is a simple representation of mill architecture constructed throughout the Piedmont in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. It consists of brick exterior walls pierced by rows of long arched windows (now bricked in) and capped by a low, bracketed gable roof. In 1915 Anchor Mills employed 176 men, women, and children, who operated 10,700 spindles and 400 looms, and lived in rows of look-alike houses beside the mill.  

Mill-house architecture in the county's towns conformed to standardized forms and arrangements that were found in most Southern textile villages. Housing reflected common folk as well as industrial vernacular types, many of which were promoted by the influential mill engineer Daniel Augustus Tompkins in his 1899 Cotton Mill: Commercial Features. A typical mill house in Huntersville and Cornelius is the one-story, side-gable cottage, with two front rooms, rear kitchen ell, and shed front porch (Figure 29). Anchor Mills also put up a number of shotgun houses, distinguished by their narrow, linear forms and gable-front roofs. Perhaps adapted from the three-room shotgun house design depicted in Tompkins' book, these cottages were marched down straight streets directly south of the mill.

The largest mill village among the towns took shape at Pineville, under the successive ownerships of Dover Mill and, in 1902, the Chadwick-Hoskins Company. By the 1920s the electric-powered Chadwick-Hoskins Mill No. 5 at
Figure 29. Mill houses, Anchor Mills, Huntersville, 1898.
Pineville was employing over two hundred workers, manufacturing gingham in addition to new lines of assorted "cotton goods." About 1920, on the eve of the plant's expansion of its product line, Chadwick-Hoskins commissioned planner Earle S. Draper to redevelop the mill village (Figure 30). Based in Charlotte, Draper was a major figure in the field of mill village design, as well as a prominent city planner. Between 1917 and 1933 his firm designed nearly one-hundred-fifty villages in the South. Draper advertised his services in the region's leading trade publication, Southern Textile Bulletin, stating simply that he was qualified in "laying out new villages, improving old mill villages, and beautifying mill grounds. . .".

The Draper Plan blended elements of the typical semirural mill village with features that reflected modern trends in city planning. In customary fashion, he arranged the main section of the village in a functional grid pattern of streets, with housing neatly distributed on half-acre parcels, spacious enough for home gardens, chicken coops, and other outbuildings. A cluster of houses for black workers was set aside in a segregated "colored section." Draper's scheme, however, also included "self-conscious" planning concepts adapted from suburban developments of the period. He envisioned tree-lined streets, landscaped green space for parks and a community building, a boulevard anchored by the baptist church at one end and a rotary at the other, and, on the north side, winding roadways.
Although this design was never fully realized—the ambitious landscaping, for example, did not occur, and the rotary and community building never left the drafting board—the mill village at Pineville exists today in many ways as it appeared following its 1920s expansion. Perk Avenue features a grassy median flanked by straight rows of worker housing (if not the shade trees Draper had intended) (Figure 31). Portions of the plan's curvilinear street pattern are also visible, but the dwellings for blacks that it encircled have disappeared.

The great majority of mill houses, however, remain. They make up an array of types and styles revealing occupational status in the mill as well as their particular dates of construction. At the north end of the village, near Main Street, stand a pair of handsome, turn-of-the-century Queen Anne cottages that housed overseers of the spinning and weaving rooms (Figure 32). From their verandas facing Cone Street, the village's major artery, these men could keep a watchful eye on the comings and goings of millhands. The nearby lanes hold rows of white frame hip-roofed and T-plan workers' cottages—forms that were repeated in Southern industrial landscapes throughout the early twentieth century (Figure 33). Other areas of the village are filled with housing erected during the mill's post-World War I expansion. Here story-and-a-half frame bungalows were erected for foremen, while one-story square cottages with hip roofs, shed
Figure 31. Park Avenue, Dover Mills/Chadwick Hoskins Mill No. 5, Pineville, 1890s, 1920s.

Figure 32. Overseers' houses, Dover Mills/Chadwick-Hoskins Mill No. 5, Pineville, 1890s.
Figure 33. Mill houses, Dover Mills/Chadwick Hoskins Mill No. 5, Pineville, 1890s.

Figure 34. Mill houses, Dover Mills/Chadwick-Hoskins Mill No. 5, Pineville, 1920s.
dormers, and inset porches housed operatives (Figure 34). In all likelihood these dwellings were part of the advancing mill-order housing market, whose influence in mill villages and suburbia alike soared in the 1910s and 1920s. If so, then Draper ordered the plans and materials from a firm such as "Quick-bilt Bungalows" of Charleston, South Carolina, which specialized in "attractive homes" for "industrial villages." The dressed lumber and fixtures were then delivered by rail, "cut-to-fit," and quickly assembled at the site.57

For those who worked at Mill No. 5 in the 1920s and 30s, the pattern of everyday life was one experienced by millhands across the Piedmont. A rural bred self-sufficiency permeated the village. Families cultivated vegetable gardens, planted chinaberry trees for shade, and swept their yards. They raised chickens behind their quarters and kept cows and hogs in stalls and pens located in a pasture not far from the mill. The pasture and livestock shelters were furnished to the workers by the Chadwick-Hoskins Company.58

The company also supplied its labor force with a variety of other basic services and facilities—for ultimately the village, like the factory, was ownership’s domain. The mill provided housing, which it rented out for about one dollar a week, or twenty-five cents per room. The mill sold workers ice, coal, and stove wood, and supplied water at community pumps along the streets. (Until the 1940s, when Cone Mills
acquired the plant and extended water and sewer lines through the village, none of the households had running water or indoor plumbing.) The mill also wired operatives' homes for electricity, but until the 1930s furnished power only on Thursday afternoons, the time delegated for washing and ironing.59

Millhands had little time for household activities or leisure, as most of their waking hours were consumed by the mill. To be sure, workers created lives beyond the mill and village, but twelve hours of each workday and a half-day on Saturday were spent in the factory. By the 1920s a week's work brought the most skilled male employees twenty-eight dollars "cash wage," and unskilled laborers eleven dollars. Women, who were often channeled into jobs in the spinning rooms, usually earned less than the men. Black men were shut out of most textile jobs, and labored mostly in the "yard" hauling cotton bales and loading boxcars for a survival wage. Black women were excluded from mill work altogether.60

AFRICAN-AMERICAN COMMUNITY

The African-American district at Chadwick-Hoskins Mill No. 5 was unique in the small towns. The black who toiled in the mill yards in Huntersville or Cornelius never inhabited the mill villages there. Instead, most African Americans in Huntersville and Cornelius, as well as Matthews, were concentrated in distinct enclaves at the
outskirts. These were racially segregated places, born of obdurate racial prejudice and proscribed by social customs that townsfolk rarely questioned. Living conditions in black districts, which were often poorly drained lowlying areas, could be undeniably harsh. For example, in 1909 the county's health director ordered the Town of Huntersville to destroy five "colored" dwellings because tuberculosis was "raging" there. Nonetheless, over time blacks established solid communities, erecting houses, churches, and schools along the red clay roads that dipped and turned through the landscape (Figure 35).

Black districts grew in tandem with the towns. Across North Carolina and the South during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, African Americans quit sharecropping for a better chance in towns and cities. In Mecklenburg County, by the 1910s substantial black settlements, had developed at the outskirts of the three towns. At the south end of Huntersville, blacks inhabited Pottstown, an area named for its leading resident, brick mason Otho Potts. Smithville, Cornelius' principal African-American settlement, grew up at the west end of town on land belonging to white farmer George Smith. Smith sold lots to blacks, who paid cash for parcels and secured loans at the Cornelius Savings and Loan to build their houses. At the eastern border of Matthews, spanning both sides of the railroad, Tanktown was that town's black community. "Tanktown" (today known as Crestdale) referred to the
Figure 35. Smithville, Cornelius.

Figure 36. Jesse Johnson Bell House and Yard, Tanktown (Crestdale), Matthews.
railroad water tank that originally stood at heart of the district, near the tracks. The men who operated the tank and lived nearby made up the settlement’s earliest residents.64

Black men were engaged in an assortment of jobs both within and outside their community. Many performed odd jobs in the towns, or worked as field hands at neighboring farms. Others held steadier employment as laborers in the local mills or railroad yards, skilled artisans, Main Street barbers, ministers, or maintenance men for uptown institutions and business establishments. Tanktown’s Robert Kirkpatrick, for example, was the janitor at the Matthews School. Harvey Boyd founded Tanktown’s Mount Moriah Baptist Church and was its first minister. His son Calvin worked in a brickyard near Matthews, and grandson Sam Boyd was a maintenance man and later a switchman for the Seaboard Railroad. T. A. Withers in Smithville was a house carpenter, while neighbor James Derr worked at both of Cornelius’ textile mills. A number of men in Pottstown were employed as janitors, yard men, and kitchen help at the Mecklenburg Sanitorium, which opened directly across the railroad tracks from the community in 1926.65

Many of the women of Pottstown also worked at the sanitorium, while females in each of the all-black districts made the daily trip uptown to jobs as domestics for white households. In Tanktown, for instance, Jesse Johnson Bell, a sharecropper’s daughter and wife to Sanders Bell, who had
also farmed on shares, worked as the cook for the Dr. Thomas Neely Reid family of Matthews. Although the Bell House is a new replacement of the original on the site, its setting reflects the pride of place and self-reliance that historically characterized African-American communities (Figure 36). Cedar and chinaberry trees shade the unpaved lane that winds to the residence, which has ornamental shrubs and flowers near the foundation, and farther away, a vegetable garden and sizeable chicken pen.

Early dwellings in Tanktown, Smithville, and Pottstown usually represented familiar vernacular forms. Typical is the gable-roofed house with two all-purpose front rooms and a rear kitchen and bedroom ell that stands among similar houses in Smithville (Figure 37). Tenuous economic circumstances rarely allowed residents the luxury of building dwellings that reflected the latest architectural trends, or that even rose above a single story. But an exception is the I. A. Withers House (Figure 38). About 1910, Withers displayed his carpentry skills and social status in Smithville by erecting this two-story, frame residence on the most prominent site, at the main entrance into the district. Though it may not be as grand as the Colonial Revival residences which appeared uptown in this period, during its years as the Withers homeplace—when the wraparound porch featured handsome classical columns—this house was Smithville's finest example of domestic architecture.
Figure 37. House, Smithville, Cornelius, ca. 1900.

Figure 38. I. A. Withers House, Smithville, Cornelius, ca. 1910.
Churches and schools were other principal elements of the historic black landscape. The churches, in particular, were the focal points of each community. In the face of pervasive racial segregation, they served as favorite gathering places, provided rare opportunities for blacks to exercise leadership skills, and offered social welfare for families in need. Baptist churches arrived in Pottstown and Tanktown almost immediately after the first families. St. Phillip Baptist Church was established in Pottstown in 1876, and in 1879 Mount Moriah Baptist Church held its first services in Tanktown. The Union Bethel African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church, founded in 1917, is considered to be Smithville's first religious institution. In the ensuing decades a variety of other churches—Presbyterian, African Methodist Episcopal, and United House of Prayer—were also formed. None of the early church buildings, which long-time residents remember as simple wooden structures, remains. For as these churches have continued to play active roles in the black districts, their congregations have periodically erected new buildings, usually with brick or concrete veneers.67

Schoolhouses arose more slowly in these communities, where public money for black school facilities was sorely limited.68 Before the 1920s, the public education of Mecklenburg's rural black children was mostly a sporadic affair, conducted in substandard structures often located beyond a reasonable walking distance for most children. Sam
Boyd of Tanktown recalls that the nearest school for blacks was a converted shotgun house situated miles away, at Hood's Crossroads. "We didn't go to school but about three months out of the year. We children had to help our parents on the land. We were another pair of hands to plant, hoe, weed, and harvest." The decade of the twenties, however, saw a dramatic increase in the number and quality of black rural schools in Mecklenburg County and throughout the South. The driving force behind the improvement of black schooling in these years was the Julius Rosenwald Fund. Rosenwald, who was president of Sears, Roebuck and Company and one of America's leading philanthropists, established the Fund to provide matching grants to Southern, rural black communities for school construction. The Rosenwald school-building program was a cooperative effort, combining Rosenwald money and building designs with the financial and administrative support of black communities and local school boards. During the 1920s, when the Rosenwald Fund was most active, seven hundred and sixty-seven Rosenwald schools were completed in North Carolina, twenty-six of them Mecklenburg County.

Smithville, Pottstown, and Tanktown each received a Rosenwald school. In 1922-23 a three-teacher facility was built upon a high point of land near the center of Smithville. The following year Tanktown received a four-teacher school; and in 1925-26 a Rosenwald school designed for four teachers was erected in Pottstown.
With the cost of a four-teacher schoolhouse averaging four thousand dollars—equal to a middle-class suburban house—a well-organized local fund raising campaign was essential. In Tanktown, for example, the parents of school children were assessed twenty-five dollars, or pledged to help erect the new "Matthews Colored School." Additional money was raised through community fish fries and a donation from the mission society of the Presbyterian Church, U.S.A.  

Rosenwald designs produced the most up-to-date rural black schools of their time (Figure 39). Each plan incorporated banks of tall sash windows and included siting specifications to maximize natural lighting. Layouts were planned to be "simple and efficient," with classrooms and "industrial room" arranged around a central corridor and cloak room. All buildings were one-story high, and most were sheathed in white weatherboarding.

Despite the physical improvements, educational facilities in the African-American communities remained below the standards set by white schools in the adjacent towns. "There was a thousand miles of difference in the colored schools and the white schools then," recalls Elnora Stitt, who attended the Matthews Colored School. "Our school never had an indoor bathroom. It never had a cafeteria, even when it closed in 1966, and all the black children were sent to Matthews School." Moreover, the new Rosenwald schools provided, at best, only eighth-grade courses, rather than the high school education offered to white students.
Figure 39. Three-Teacher Rosenwald School Plan. (Hanchett, 1989)
Today Rosenwald school buildings survive in both Pottstown and Smithville, where they have been modified over the years and converted to community centers. They represent the most influential early steps taken to elevate the quality of black education in the county, decades before federal intervention and the beginnings of school integration. The Rosenwald buildings also contribute to the historic patterns of land use and significant examples of early architecture that characterize the small-town black districts, even as these communities receive long-overdue physical improvements.
END NOTES


6. Blythe and Brockman, 421-422.


10. Interview with Rhetta May McCoy, March 25, 1991, Pineville, N.C.


17. Southeast (Mecklenburg County) News, October 1, 1986.


20. Liston Pope, Millhands and Preachers: A Study of Gastonia (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1942), 49-51, 79-83, 91-95; Carlton observes that in the small-town Piedmont, uptown residents were known as "town people," in contrast to "mill people," see Carlton, 8-11.


22. Mary Beth Gatza, Rural Mecklenburg County Architectural Inventory, 1988, survey files available at the N.C. Division of Archives and History, Raleigh, N.C.

23. Quoted in Bishir, et al., Architects and Builders, 252; Raleigh State Chronicle, August 30, 1884.


27. Gatza; Mary Ranson interview; Branson, 1900; Kate Ranson Cornue, "I Remember When," The Mecklenburg Gazette, August 31 and September 14, 1978.

28. Mary Ranson interview.


30. Quoted in Bishir, et al., Architects and Builders, 300; Charlotte Observer, November 29, 1903.


32. Mary Ranson interview; Gatza.

33. Southeast (Mecklenburg County) News: Special Section, November 10, 1975.

34. Mary Sherrill interview; Gatza.


36. Mary Ranson interview; Gatza.

37. Mano Kinkannon interview; Gatza.

38. Interview with Maude Harwell Miller, May 10, 1991, Cornelius, N.C.


40. Bishir, 180-190.

42. Bishir, North Carolina Architecture, 310-328.

43. Gatza.

44. J. W. Russell, "The First One-Hundred Years': A History of the Matthews Presbyterian Church," available at the Matthews Presbyterian Church, Matthews, N.C.

45. Ruth B. Gardner, "Matthews Baptist Church, Matthews, North Carolina," available at the Matthews Baptist Church, Matthews, N.C.


47. Ibid.; Branson, 1900.


49. Ibid.


58. Rhetta May McCoy interview; Hall, et al., 66-85.

59. Rhetta May McCoy interview.


66. Interview with Jesse Johnson Bell, April 2, 1991, Matthews, N.C.

67. Ruby Alexander interview; Sam and Viola Boyd interview; Interview with James Derr, July 24, 1991, Cornelius, N.C.


69. Sam Boyd interview.


71. Ibid., 437.


73. Hanchett, "Rosenwald Schools," 401-406.


United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

National Register of Historic Places
Multiple Property Documentation Form

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

A. Name of Multiple Property Listing

Historic and Architectural Resources of Rural Mecklenburg County, North Carolina

B. Associated Historic Contexts

Early Settlement (1740s-Early 1800s)
The Plantation Era (1800s-1865)
Post-Bellum and Late 19th- to Early 20th-Century Agriculture (1865-1939)
New South Industrialism (1880-1917)
Post-World War One Prosperity (1918-1929) and the Great Depression (1929-1939)

C. Geographical Data

Boundaries of Mecklenburg County outside the city limits of Charlotte, NC

D. Certification

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

[Signature of certifying official] 12-14-90
Date

[State or Federal agency and bureau]

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

[Signature of the Keeper of the National Register] Date
E. Statement of Historic Contexts

Discuss each historic context listed in Section B.
II. Early Settlement (1740s- Early 1800s)

Mecklenburg county is strategically located in the center of the Piedmont region of North Carolina, with South Carolina bordering it on the south, and the Catawba River on the west. It was originally inhabited by Catawba Indians of the Siouan nation, who were visited by Spanish explorers in the 1560s, and, after the settlement of Virginia, traded with colonists who came to trade English goods for skins and furs.²

It wasn't until the 1740s, however, that migration to the state, which started on the eastern coast, finally reached this part of the western backcountry. Most settlers came in from the north down the Great Philadelphia Wagon Road from central Pennsylvania, or up from the port of Charleston.³ They were primarily "Scotch-Irish," a term that means Presbyterian Scots who settled in Ulster (present-day Northern Ireland) in the early 1600s at the invitation of James I to offset rebellious Irish Catholics in the area. After about twenty years, however, the Scots found themselves confronted with economic, religious and political problems, and many began to emigrate to America. Originally they settled in Eastern Pennsylvania, Virginia, or Maryland, and, in the middle 1700s, began to move further south along with new arrivals.⁴ English, Palatinate Protestant German and French Huguenot émigrés also found their way to the Piedmont Carolinas.⁵

Tradition has it that the first settler to cross "on wheels" into what became Mecklenburg county was Thomas Spratt and his family, closely followed by young Thomas Polk, who married the Spratt daughter, Susannah. They came about 1748.⁶ The first settlements were along the Rocky River and its tributaries, with the first land grant dating 1749, and from 1750 to 1758, hundreds more were issued. In 1775, a missionary visit by a Rev. Hugh McAden in the Mecklenburg area found Scotch-Irish at Rocky River (in the northeast part of the county), Sugar Creek (just east of Charlotte), in the Warhaws (to the south in present Union County), and what is now the Broad River in South Carolina.⁷

At first, migration into Mecklenburg was slow, but after a final campaign that permanently crushed the ability of the Cherokees to wage war against the whites in 1761 and the conclusion of the French and Indian War in 1763, settlers began to arrive in large numbers.⁸ In 1751, George Augustus Selwyn (1719-1791) inherited a 100,000-acre tract between Rocky River and the Catawba River from his father, Col.
John Selwyn, Esq., to whom it had been granted by King George II in 1745 for services rendered the crown. The grant was one of eight such tracts granted by the king in North Carolina, and Selwyn's was known as Tract Number 3. After the younger Selwyn succeeded to the family estates and seat in Parliament in 1751, he appointed Henry McCulloch of England, Henry Eustace McCulloch of North Carolina, and later, John Frohock of Rowan County, N.C., as agents and attorneys for his North Carolina lands. The latter began to sell plantations along the creeks which usually varied in size from about 200 to 500 acres.  

Mecklenburg was set off as a separate county on December 11, 1762, by drawing a western boundary of Anson County, and in 1769, the Catawba River was designated as Mecklenburg's western border. In 1842, it attained its present size when Union County to the southeast was formed from parts of Mecklenburg and Anson Counties. The county was named in honor of the birthplace of Charlotte of Mecklenburg-Strelitz in Germany, the Queen of England, who married George III in 1761. Selwyn, through his agent H. E. McCulloch, donated 360 acres to establish a town in the county in 1765, which was named Charlotte in honor of the new queen. The town was incorporated in 1768, and permanently designated as the county seat in 1774.  

Because of the abundance of good pine and other timber, the early houses were almost all of log construction. As the settlers prospered and their families grew, the early small log houses were enlarged, often with a second story, and then at some point weatherboarded. Brick for chimneys could be made from the excellent clay to be found in many parts of the county, which were fired in a simple kiln. Only three stone houses are known to have been built in Mecklenburg: the Ezekial Wallace House (late 1700s), the Hezekiah Alexander House (1774) and the Robinson Rock House (c. 1770).  

Until the widespread growing of cotton after the turn of the century, subsistence agriculture was the norm. Early on, they traded produce from their livestock, principally tallow, cheese, butter and hides, for salt, iron and household goods from Charleston. As they also began to raise fruit and grain, they made whiskey and brandy for trade. A typical farmer would have fifty head of cattle, several horses, twenty hogs, and a few sheep and geese. They raised hay, oats, wheat and barley.  

In response to growing needs, blacksmith shops, carpenter shops, grist mills, tanneries, and eventually country stores were established in Charlotte,
and the Paw Creek, Hopewell, Steele Creek, Providence, Sugar Creek and Rocky River and other communities.\textsuperscript{12}

Churches

The early Scotch-Irish pioneers brought with them their strong Presbyterian beliefs, and set about establishing churches. As early as 1755, the Rocky River and Sugar Creek communities requested a preacher, but the first to come was Rev. Alexander Craighead, in 1759. By 1770, there were the majority Presbyterians, Lutherans, German Calvinists, and a few Baptists. The Presbyterian Churches of Sugar (Sugaw) Creek (c. 1755), Rocky River (c. 1755), Steele Creek (c. 1760), Hopewell (c. 1762), Poplar Tent (c. 1764), Centre [now in Iredell County] (c. 1765), and Providence (c. 1767, on the National Register)—the “ante-Revolutionary Pleiades,” or seven sisters—were the first churches in the county, and formed the backbone of those communities.\textsuperscript{13}

The Lutherans were the second oldest denomination in the county, when they organized the Morning Star Lutheran Church near Matthews in 1775. Pioneer Methodists first settled near Pineville, and by 1785 had formed a small congregation that met in the open air. The Harrison Methodist Church was first of that denomination in the county, and was built between 1805 and 1815. The second oldest Methodist church is Trinity, on Beatties Ford Road (date unknown), and the first one in Charlotte dates from 1834.\textsuperscript{14} The Baptists first built a church in Charlotte in 1833, the Episcopalians in 1834 and Roman Catholics in 1851. Another pioneer denomination is the Associate Reformed Presbyterian Church, which established the Glead (1787), Sardis (1790), Steele Creek (1794) and Back Creek (1802) congregations.\textsuperscript{15}

III. The Plantation Era (Early 1800s-1865)

Agriculture: A Brief Overview

Agriculture in the ante-bellum nineteenth-century was characterized by considerable diversification of crops and livestock. By far the largest staple crop was corn and the most prevalent livestock was swine, followed by sheep, cattle, horses and dairy cows, in that order (see chart and table for 1860). While cotton production was on the rise, it did not supplant the other grain crops, particularly corn. In their seminal work on North Carolina's history, Hugh Lefter and Albert Newsome summarize statewide crop production in the ante-bellum nineteenth century:
Cotton production rose from 34,617 five-hundred-pound bales in 1840 to 73,845 in 1850, and to 145,514 bales in 1860. Its production was concentrated chiefly in the block of eastern counties bounded by the towns of Halifax, Goldsboro, and Washington and in the southern counties near the South Carolina line extending from Robeson to Mecklenburg. [In the 1850s], corn production experienced only a slight increase from 27,500,000 bushels to 30,000,000. Oats, rye, barley, buckwheat, peas and beans, Irish potatoes, sweet potatoes, hemp, flax, hops, hay, orchard fruits, and vegetables were produced in sizable quantities and indicated a considerable diversification in crops.

Corn production did not increase at such a rapid rate as the other cereals or as cotton and tobacco, but it was nevertheless the state's largest, most widely grown, and most useful crop. The 1839 crop of over 300,000,000 bushels was produced in eighty-four of the state's eighty-six counties... Corn constituted an important part of the diet of the people in the form of hominy, hoecakes, grits, corn pone, and mush - not to mention "roasting ears." For the slaves, it was the most important single item of diet. Horses, mules, cattle, swine, and poultry consumed a large part of the corn. Some farmers cut the "green corn" for their livestock, but most of them used the matured grain, tops, fodder, and shucks in feeding. No other crop had such a wide variety of uses. Corn whiskey was an important item of consumption and trade.16

The Rise of King Cotton and Slavery

Prior to the invention of the cotton gin in the late 1700s, ownership of slaves was not widespread in Mecklenburg County, since they were expensive and only affordable for the largest and most wealthy landowners. Just prior to 1800, the most prominent slaveholders were T. Hood, John Ford and James Walkup, who, respectively, owned eight, nine and twelve slaves.17 Most small to moderate yeoman farmers owned no slaves at all. In 1800, the census figures show that the county had a population of 10,439.

After the Revolutionary War, cotton cultivation in the county slowly increased, but after the introduction of the cotton gin, which made removal of the seeds immensely easier, cotton production soared, as did the demand for slave labor. Mecklenburg County led the state in the tax it paid for use of the gin patents in the early 1800s. By about 1830, the intense cultivation of cotton reached its limits, both in cultivatable land and the fertility of the soil,
so that expansion was no longer possible. This resulted in many descendents of the pioneers emigrating to new lands in the West.

The prosperity that the increased cotton cultivation brought was reflected in the rise in ownership of slaves and the building of fine plantation houses. In 1850, there were seventeen planters (those who owned over 30 slaves, thus requiring an overseer) in the county, and by 1860, there were thirty. They included the Alexander, Ardrey, Bell, Caldwell, Davidson [3], Davis, Grier [4], Johnson [2], Kirkpatrick, Lawing, Mills, Morris, Morrow, Patterson, Parks, Potts [2], Torrance, Walker, Wallace [2] and White families. (The numbers in brackets are the number of families of the same name."

Another stimulus to the boom in cotton was the building of the area's first railroad (the Charlotte and South Carolina Railroad) in 1852, which linked Charlotte to Columbia, S.C., thus gaining easier access to the port of Charleston. This helped turn Charlotte into a major cotton brokerage center for the county and surrounding area. (See "Railroads" section below.)

Most plantations were modest in size, and had little correlation to the number of slaves working the land. This was because by 1860, many of the original plantations had been divided and subdivided among descending generations. Kitchens were always detached from the main house, and there were other essential outbuildings: smokehouses, well houses, carriage houses, plantation offices, barns, and sometimes blacksmith shops and carpentry shops, as well as slave quarters. In addition to working the land, slaves in this era were often taught specialized trade skills as well, and thus helped build and staff various buildings.

During the ante-bellum period, the community churches also began to reflect increased prosperity. The original small, wood churches were usually demolished and replaced by larger, frequently brick ones. They also grew in number as well as size.

Population figures of the ante-bellum period fluctuated, partly because of erratic census-taking, and partly because of the continually changing character of the area. In 1790, the population was 11,395; in 1800, it dropped to 10,439; in 1810, it went up to 14,272; and in 1820, to 16,895; and in 1830, to 20,073. But by 1840, it had dropped again to 18,273, and still further by 1850 to 15,914. By 1860, it was back up to 17,374 (excluding Charlotte, which had 2,265 residents). One reason for the drop in the middle of this period was due to Union County being formed from part
of Mecklenburg and Anson Counties in 1842. Another was the fact that from 1835 to 1850, there were a large number of people who emigrated West.\textsuperscript{23}

Mecklenburg soldiers began drilling early in 1861, and on April 12, the Charlotte mint was seized and occupied by the local militia. North Carolina formally seceded on May 20, 1861. Two of the first companies of local militia to be placed in the service were the Charlotte Grays, (Company C) and the Hornet's Nest Rifles (Company B) of the First North Carolina Volunteers, which left the city on April 16th. During the war, Mecklenburg furnished twenty-one companies amounting to 2,713 soldiers, which does not count those who served in other commands. They ranged from plantation owners to ordinary farmhands, and, considering the population figures of 1860, this must have been a very high percentage of the able-bodied men of the county. Many of them fell or were wounded in battle. The last meeting of the Confederate cabinet was held in Charlotte, during their stay of April 15-20, 1865, when Jefferson Davis first heard of Lincoln's assassination.\textsuperscript{24}

**Industry: Gold Mining**

There was another industry besides farming that sprang up during this era, which had only modest impact on the local economy, has almost no surviving built structures, but may still be seen as a feature of the terrain: the discovery and mining of gold. In 1802, John Reed, of Cabarrus County, sold a yellow rock that had been used as a doorstop for the previous three years after its discovery by his son, to a jeweler in Fayetteville for $3.50. Once Reed and others realized there was gold on his place, the search for more was on in the Piedmont in an area from Guilford in the north to York County in South Carolina.\textsuperscript{25}

From 1804 to 1828, all the gold coined from the United States came from North Carolina. In Mecklenburg County, a number of mines were opened in and around Charlotte, which included the St. Catherine, Rudisill, and Capps Mines. In 1835, Congress authorized the establishment of a mint in Charlotte, and the first coin was struck there in 1838, which made it the first operating branch of the U.S. Mint. The mint was closed by Confederate troops in 1861, and never struck coins again. It was reopened in 1869 as an assay office. The only shaft mine to survive the war was the Rudisill in Charlotte, and there are virtually no known above-ground gold mining structures extant.\textsuperscript{26}

Evidence of placer mining on Mecklenburg hillsides, however, is still quite clear. Some washed areas are quite large, such as those in Reedy Creek
Park and Boyce Park, but many appear as a series of washed pits along a hillside. Placer mining in the county, as well as a revival of mining in the Rudisill, was revived in the 1930s.27

Education
Ante-bellum education was principally carried out by private schools, usually attached to one of the community churches. There was, for example, the Rocky River Academy (1812), the New Providence Academy (1811), one at Sugar Creek, and Sharon Female Academy, attached to the Sharon Presbyterian Church. There were also private academies at Paw Creek, Mallard Creek, Hopewell and Steele Creek. In 1837, the state received money from the federal government from the sale of public lands to establish a public school fund, and in 1839, all counties were divided into six-mile-square school districts. The state money was augmented by a local tax whereby the county court was authorized to levy a tax on any district with as many as fifty school children sufficient to build a schoolhouse.28

Some districts chose to build the houses themselves rather than pay the tax, so rough log structures were built for the purpose, but some were more finished frame buildings. Private academies, including a military one, continued to operate, and new ones were opened. The first permanent institution of higher learning in the county was Davidson College (named after Revolutionary War hero General William Davidson, who fell at the battle of Cowan's Ford in 1781), which was associated with the Presbyterian Church, and opened in 1837.29
IV. Post-Bellum and Late 19th- to Early 20th-Century Agriculture (1865-1939)

Mecklenburg County was largely rural well into the twentieth century, and was dotted primarily with small farms rather than large plantations. The average farm size after the Civil War was approximately 100 acres. The total number of farms in the county peaked at 4,344 in 1920, and in 1982 had shrunk to 429. Production was mainly grain and cotton, with livestock being an important, but secondary activity. In the nineteenth century, work animals, horses, mules and asses (and some oxen) outnumbered income-producing animals. However, Mecklenburg farmers did raise dairy cattle, sheep, swine and poultry. Poultry and eggs showed an uninterrupted increase through 1940. Corn clearly dominated the cereal crops, with wheat and oats next, and barley and rye being raised to a lesser extent. The production of wool declined as the cultivation of cotton in the area increased near the turn of the century.30 (See Tables 1 and 2, Charts 3 and 4.)

Dr. John Brevard Alexander wrote that cotton was a tricky crop to grow because local farmers did not know how to care for it properly. It was not until the advent of the use of guano, first on wheat and other cereals, then on cotton, that the crop performed well in this area.31 He also reported that after the fertilizing wonders of Peruvian guano were discovered, the other crops were left to fend for themselves, "and all nursing was given over to the great Southern plant."32 The agricultural schedule for 1860 shows that 6,112 bales of cotton were ginned in the county, and by 1880 had more than trebled to 19,129 bales. In 1900, the number increased to 24,248, and production peaked in 1910 at 27,466.33 (See Table 1 and Chart 2.) There appear to be several reasons for the decline of cotton after 1910: After that time there was a decreasing number of acres devoted to its cultivation, indeed to farming in general (see Section VI below), and about 1920, the dreaded boll weevil arrived. The onset of the Great Depression sent production into a nosedive from which it never recovered.34 (See Table 1 and Charts 1 and 2.)

Cotton was the main cash crop for farmers in the county who grew it. In 1868, a bale sold for 27 cents a pound, and a year later was up to 35 cents per pound, which was a high price.35 By 1875 cotton production in the state averaged 170 pounds per acre, and by 1922 had risen to 252 pounds per acre. In 1875, the price was 9.5 cents per pound and in 1922 had climbed to 19.25 cents per pound. In 1924, Mecklenburg County averaged
179 bales per acre. In that same year, 50,131 acres were devoted to cotton, and 34,155 to corn, the main cereal crop. In 1902, D. A. Tompkins had these observations about the prosperity of farming in the county:

It is noticeable that as Mecklenburg has grown richer and more populous, the farms have increased in number and decreased in size. The average number of acres in a farm in the county is seventy-five. There is only one which contains more than a thousand acres. There are 227,995 acres of land and the 4,190 farms are occupied by 1,226 owners, 290 part owners, 22 owners and tenants, 55 managers, 631 cash paying tenants and 1,966 share tenants. Sixty percent of the farms are occupied by white people, and 40 percent by colored people.

Statistics that were kept in 1910 and 1920 indicate that most of the farms in the county were operated by tenants rather than by owners. The 1910-1940 agricultural schedules also show that share-cropping was the dominant form of tenancy. Although the majority of farmers were native-born whites during this period, the censuses for 1910 and 1920 show that one-third of the farmers were native-born Blacks. The number of foreign-born farmers by that time was miniscule (8 in 1910 and 7 in 1920). In the early twentieth century, approximately fifty-five percent of the native white farm population owned their farms, while about ten percent of the native black population owned theirs.

During the second half of the nineteenth century, everyday life on the farm involved hard work and few luxuries. Mecklenburg County was dependent on neighboring counties for most manufactured goods. For example, most cooking utensils came from Lincoln County. According to the 1860 manufacturing schedules, Mecklenburg County was lacking in iron furnaces and forges, while Lincoln County had a number of them. Meals were cooked in the kitchen fireplace, frequently with hot coals placed on the lid of the container as well as underneath. A meal that John Brevard Alexander describes consisted of coffee, fried chicken, biscuits, sweet potatoes, hog jow, turnip greens, and opossum. The wealthy drank peach brandy and cherry bounce, while others made do with corn whiskey, a "fashionable" drink that was a bargain at 10¢ a quart or 30¢ a gallon.
Even though a number of small farmers left the land to work in the textile mills that were built in and around Charlotte from the 1880s to the 1910s, it did not result in a decline in the number of farms in the county, which did not occur until about 1920, and was accelerated by the onset of the Great Depression of the 1930s.\(^{42}\) Even in 1940, however, agricultural interests still held a slight edge over manufacturing within the City of Charlotte and the surrounding county.\(^{43}\)

Reconstruction (1865-Late 1870s)

Mecklenburg County was fortunate enough to avoid the worst problems of Reconstruction, and, in fact, grew much more in the years following the war than before, when growth was slow and wealth was held by very few. Charlotte was occupied by Union troops in 1865, but relations with the local citizens were harmonious, and the last of them departed in the spring of 1872. The county had been fortunate in that it had neither been the scene of any military action nor suffered the ravages of Sherman’s Army.\(^{44}\)

A contributing factor for the county’s growth after the war was the fact that Mecklenburg’s relative prosperity and good transportation drew many people, of high rank and low, to move to the county. Three ex-

generals (D. H. Hill, Rufus Barringer and R.D. Johnston), ex-governor Vance and assorted colonels, majors, captains and lieutenants all made their home in Charlotte after the war and helped rebuild the local economy.\(^{45}\)

By June, 1866, there were sixty-six stores in the county (including Charlotte), but in the first six months of the following year, twelve stores and seventy-five other buildings were put up in Charlotte. Unlike many other places in the South where the banks were ruined because of the repudiation of the Confederate debt, Charlotte had three banks: First National, Dewey’s Bank and the Bank of Charlotte. In 1871, they were joined by the Merchant’s and Farmer’s Bank.\(^{46}\) The Mecklenburg Iron Works was the main industrial activity. During the Civil War, the works had been used as the Confederate Naval Yard, which had been moved to Charlotte for security reasons.

Even more than before the war, cotton was a great source of income, with prices rising rapidly because of built-up demand due to the war. In 1868, the Charlotte cotton brokers handled nearly two million dollar’s worth of cotton at 27 cents a pound. By 1870, the county voted $200,000 in bonds
to rebuild the Atlanta railroad (the Atlanta, & Charlotte Air Line Railway), and $100,000 to rebuild the Statesville line (grandly called the Atlantic, Tennessee and Ohio). All the railroads had been torn up for war materiel and the rolling stock commandeered or dismantled. These lines were reopened in 1874, as well as the Carolina Central Railway between Wilmington and Charlotte. 47 (See “Railroads” section below.)

Because money was initially scarce after the war, many former slaves became tenant farmers on the same lands they used to work, and traded part of the crop for their labor. Many other former slaves as well as white farmhands migrated into the towns to try to find work in the new stores and budding industries. As noted by industrialist D. A. Tompkins, “During the last thirty-five years of slavery, the county and city made no appreciable advance in wealth and population. During the first decade after emancipation, both wealth and population doubled in the county and trebled in the city.” 48 All this set the stage for entrepreneurs such as Tompkins to take advantage of the opportunities he saw in the South for industrialization.

V. New South Industrialization (1880-1917)

**Railroads**

Railroads played a vital role in the economic development of the county which resulted in its becoming the most populous and prosperous in the state by 1930.

The origin of railroads for Mecklenburg County began in 1825, which is the first recorded date that the citizens of the area lobbied the state government for improved transportation. The first railroad to the county, however, was the Charlotte and South Carolina Railroad, which began operations in October, 1852 carrying freight. Arriving from Columbia on October 21st of that year, the first CSCR passenger train pulled into Charlotte and was a cause of great celebration. 49 Twenty thousand people are estimated to have gathered at the station to witness the arrival of the train. There were speeches and a barbecue on the grounds of the Charlotte Female Institute, as well as a dance and fireworks display. 50 The Charlotte and South Carolina Railroad was taken over by the Richmond and Danville Railroad in 1878. 51

The second railroad to reach Charlotte was the North Carolina Railroad, which ran from Goldsboro to Charlotte, via Raleigh, Greensboro, and
Salisbury. It didn’t begin operations until 1854, even though it had been created 1849, when the North Carolina Railroad Company was chartered by the legislature with a capital stock of three million dollars, which was to be provided by state support (2/3) and by private investors (1/3). The first run was from Concord and Charlotte in September, 1854, and the entire length was not completed until January 1856. In 1871, the Richmond and Danville leased the line (although it was not rebuilt to Charlotte until 1874), and in 1894, the Richmond and Danville was merged into the Southern Railway System.52

Two additional lines were opened from Charlotte prior to the Civil War. In 1860, a road with the ambitious name of the Atlantic, Tennessee and Ohio started service, but it only ran north to Statesville, N.C. Known locally as the “Statesville Line,” it was dismantled for war materiel by 1864, and wasn’t completely rebuilt until 1874. The other ante-bellum line was the Carolina Central Railway, which was to have run between Charlotte and Wilmington. The first leg between Charlotte and Lincolnton was put into operation in April, 1861, but did not run again because of the war until the line was rebuilt in 1874. The Carolina Central became part of the Seaboard Air Line Railroad (now CSX Transportation) in 1900. In 1870, the county passed bonds to build the Atlanta and Charlotte Airline Railway and to rebuild the AT&O. The Atlanta and Charlotte Air Line Railway, the AT&O, and Richmond and Danville were all absorbed into the Southern Railway System in 1894.53

Two other rail lines that eventually served Charlotte and Mecklenburg County were constructed in the early twentieth century. The first was an all-electric line, the Piedmont & Northern Railway. It was organized in 1911 as an interurban electric line to serve the Piedmont Carolinas by James B. Duke and his associates. At its height, it had two separate lines: one connected Charlotte and Gastonia, with stops in between, and one in South Carolina that connected Spartanburg, Greenville, Anderson and Greenwood. Plans to unite the two and continue the line to other cities ran into heavy opposition from competitors, and the line was never completed. In the 1950s, the line converted into diesel engines, and in 1968 merged with the Seaboard Coast Line Railroad.54 The second addition to Charlotte rail service was the extension of the Norfolk & Southern tracks in 1913, which connected the city to Norfolk, and thus to all the industrial markets of the Northeast.55
These excellent rail connections made a great deal of difference in the growth of prosperity in the county. Having access to regional, national and world markets through connections to the Piedmont Carolinas, the seaports of Wilmington and Charleston and manufacturing and consumer markets in the Northeast meant that there was continual agricultural growth from Reconstruction times well into the twentieth century. The railroads also contributed greatly to Charlotte’s becoming the largest city in the Carolinas by 1930 by turning it into a regional banking, brokerage, distribution and manufacturing center. It was along the railroads that several of the small county towns were established (Matthews, Pineville, Huntersville, Cornelius and Davidson; Atherton, Hoskins, North Charlotte and others were later incorporated into the city of Charlotte), and where all the cotton mills were located.

Industry

Although there were a number of small industrial works in Charlotte such as the Iron Works, a farm implements factory, a marble works and a distillery, there were no large industries in the city or county in the 1870s. That began to change rapidly in the 1880s, however, when the process began that transformed Mecklenburg County into the second-largest cotton mill production center in the state (neighboring Gaston County was first), and Charlotte from a cotton trading center into the leading cotton mill machinery, banking and distribution center in the state.

Charlotte’s first cotton mill was the Charlotte Cotton Mills, which started up in 1881 under the direction of R. M. Oates, a cotton broker. A year later, Daniel Augustus Tompkins (1852-1914), a South Carolina native who was educated and trained in manufacturing in the North, came to Charlotte as a representative of the Westinghouse Company. He quickly became aware of the potential for building cotton mills in the area, and so in 1884 he set up his own design, contracting and machine shop business, the D. A. Tompkins Co. Tompkins became a tireless advocate of New South industrialization, and was a key figure in developing the potential of the Piedmont Carolinas. Over a thirty-two year period, Tompkins built over one hundred cotton mills, fertilizer works, electric light plants and ginneries. He also changed the region’s cotton oil from a waste product into a major industry though the building of about two hundred processing plants and organizing one of his own, the Southern Cotton Oil Company.

Tompkins’ efforts began to appear in rapid succession in Charlotte, when his company built the Alpha, Ada and Victor mills in 1889, the city's
second, third and fourth mills, and in 1893, he built his own demonstration mill, The Atherton, which was the sixth mill in the county. Mills continued to be built in the county in rapid succession. In and around Charlotte, the Highland Park #1 (1892); Louise (1897); Magnolia (c.1899); Chadwick (1901); Elizabeth (1901); Hoskins (1904); Highland Park #3 (1904) designed by Stewart W. Cramer, who also designed many cotton mills in the Piedmont Carolinas and established the town of Cramerton; the Highland Park #3 was featured in Cramer's widely read book on mill construction; Mecklenburg (1904); Savona (1908); and Johnston (1913) were added.

Establishment of Small Towns
In the outlying areas of the county a number of small towns were established along the railroads. Some became larger than others because cotton mills were built there, and some owed their existence to the establishment of a mill and its associated village for the workers. An example of the former is Davidson, where the Linden Manufacturing Co. was built in 1891. Davidson had been incorporated as a town in 1879, and had been previously known as the village of Davidson College. In Pineville, which was established as a railroad depot with a store in 1852 and incorporated in 1873, the Dover Yarn Mill opened in 1890. Mills were also built in Huntersville, which was incorporated in 1877 (the Anchor Mills, 1897) and two were established in Cornelius (Cornelius Cotton Mills, 1888; Gem Yarn Mills, 1906). There was also a mill in Paw Creek, the Thrift Mills (date unknown), and in 1920, another was added, the Leaksville Woolen Mills #2, commonly called the "Homestead" Mill.

Another Mecklenburg town, Matthews, was established in 1874 with the building of the Carolina Central Railroad, and named after a railroad official. It was incorporated in 1879, with a population of 200, and by 1960 still only had 609 inhabitants. In 1900, Matthews had a population of 378; Davidson, 904; Huntersville, 533; Pineville, 585. Derita, Newell and Mint Hill were growing unincorporated towns.

An idea of the scope of the changes of this period may be shown by these figures: In 1873, there were but thirty-three cotton mills in the entire state; by 1902, within a radius of one hundred miles around Charlotte were 300 cotton mills, which comprised one-half the looms and spindles of the South. By 1900, the county was the state's second-largest textile producer with sixteen mills which had in operation 94,392 spindles and 1,456 looms. From 1870 to 1900, the city of Charlotte grew at the average rate of 24
percent per year, while the county grew at the average rate of 7 percent per
year. (In 1870, the county had 24,299 residents and Charlotte 4,473; by
1900, these figures had jumped to 55,268 and 18,091.) During that time the
average population growth for the state as a whole was 2.5 percent, and in
the United States 3 percent.68

Thus Mecklenburg County's non-farm population outside of Charlotte
came to be centered around a combination of manufacturing towns, railroad
hamlets, and early settlement villages, while at the same time the county
continued to be an important cotton-growing area. Farmers could take their
cotton to many of the small towns and villages to get their cotton ginned,
buy farm supplies, and trade at the mercantile store.

Except for a brief slowdown in the 1890s, Charlotte and Mecklenburg
County's rapid growth and prosperity continued right up until 1929.

Even the pause in some parts of the economy because of America's
involvement in World War I from 1917 to 1918 was far offset in the city
and the county by the fact that a training camp for army recruits in this
region was set up just northwest of Charlotte at what was known as Remount
Station. At its peak in February, 1918, Camp Greene housed 41,000 soldiers,
and provided much local employment in construction, trades and other
services until its dismantling in 1919.69

VI. Post World War One Prosperity (1918-1929) and the Great Depression
(1929-1939)

The Teens and Twenties were a time of both maturation and
continued exponential growth for Charlotte and the county. In the period
1911-1919, 1,250 building permits were issued in the city; in the next eight
years, the number jumped to 8,259.70 From 1910 to 1930, the population of
the county nearly doubled, from 67,031 to 127,971, while that of Charlotte
almost trebled from 34,014 to 82,675.71 By 1930, Charlotte had replaced
Charleston as the largest city in the Carolinas.

Through the 1920s, the explosive prosperity contributed to the
expansion and upgrading of rural residences, extensions of the towns and
villages, and the building of new schools. Prior to the 1920s, there were few
brick school buildings in the state. But during the Twenties, there was a
great surge in modern school construction in North Carolina due to state
appropriations for Special Building Funds in 1921, 1923, 1925 and 1927.
Ninety-nine of the one hundred counties of the state borrowed money from the Funds to build 1,081 schools during that period.72

Largely due to the Julius Rosenwald Fund, the 1920s surge in the building of schools also benefitted blacks. Rosenwald was the wealthy one-time head of Sears-Roebuck & Co. in Chicago, who set up a charitable fund in 1917 which began to focus primarily on school construction in the rural South. The philanthropist had met Booker T. Washington in 1911, served as a trustee to his Tuskegee Institute, and had provided matching funds for some eighty schools for blacks by 1915. Since it was Rosenwald's desire to break down black-white barriers, money for the schools would only be granted if 1) the state and county contributed to the building and agreed to maintain it as part of the public school system; 2) white citizens took an interest and contributed part of the money (often land was donated by a white citizen); and 3) blacks themselves contributed money, or labor, or both.73

From 1918 to 1930, twenty-six Rosenwald Schools were built in Mecklenburg County. The rather high number may be due to the fact that the principal fundraiser for the schools statewide was Dr. George E. Davis, who had retired as Dean of the Faculty at Johnson C. Smith University (a college for blacks established in Charlotte after the Civil War), and whose wife, Marie G. Davis, was principal of a school in Charlotte. The schools were often built near a church and served as centers of small rural black settlements.74

During the 1920s, Charlotte's booming prosperity (and other factors: see Section IV, Post-Bellum Agriculture, above) led to the decline of the number of farms (down 14%) and the amount of acres in farmland (down 14.6%).75 The headlong rush to urbanization included building and paving roads and modernizing other parts of the infrastructure. Manufacturing and other concerns, including the cotton mills, were often incorporated into holding company chains with headquarters out of the county. It was clearly a time of transition from predominantly rural to a growing urban society.

This trend began about 1900, when the county was 32.7 percent urban and 62.3 percent rural. Ten years later, the urban population exceeded the rural, 50.7 percent to 49.3 percent; and by 1920, the county was 57.4 percent urban. Also by 1920, although the county ranked 24th in land area, it was first in the state in population, and it was in that year that farm production actually showed a decline (see Tables 1 and 2, and Charts 1 and 2).76
The Great Depression (1929-1939)

The process of the decline of farming in the county was accelerated by the onset of the Great Depression. From 1930 to 1940, the number of farms dropped from 3,773 to 3,223 (14.6%). From its peak in 1910 at 4,339, by 1940 the number of farms in the county had gone down 27.4%, and the amount of acreage in farm land had decreased 23.2% (see tables and graphs).

For decades after the Civil War, farming in the South, particularly cotton cultivation, changed little. It was done primarily by small landholders and tenant farmers who may have used a few plows, a team of mules, a wagon, hoes, sacks for picking and scales to weigh up. But increasingly in the Teens and Twenties, changes were taking place over which farmers seemed to have no control.

The boll weevil [which arrived about 1920 in North Carolina] forced a more expensive planting and cultivation cycle; as the weevil move toward the east coast, cotton cultivation moved west to less infested areas, where farmers utilized modern machinery in areas free from the heritage of slavery and less rooted in the tradition of sharecropping.

Such changes rolled slowly over the South... The revolutionary changes in the southern cotton culture, however, appeared with the advent of the Depression and the inception of the New Deal. While the tobacco and rice cultures experienced little structural change in the 1930s - for quite different reasons - the old cotton culture caved in, crushed by the untimely confluence of government intrusion and mechanization.

In order to fight the boll weevil, the U.S. Department of Agriculture instituted the county agent concept in 1906: an agent, paid by county funds, would give farmers advice about the latest farming methods as seen by the USDA. In 1914, the Extension Service was created as a federal bureaucracy that was linked with land-grant colleges (who wanted to encourage scientific farming and mechanization) and large commercial farmers who controlled agents at the local level, and thus became an instrument for change in the rural South. Small farmers and tenants could not take advantage of many of the new methods, because they lacked both the education and access to credit needed to carry out the new programs. The old tenant system was
Thus quite weakened by the time New Deal programs of the Depression dealt the final blows to the old way of farming.

After his inauguration in 1933, President Roosevelt put in a number of emergency measures to fight the deepening Depression. Among others, the Federal Emergency Relief Administration (FERA) fought unemployment; the Public Works Administration (PWA) awarded grants for community projects; the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) sent many young men to the countryside to do conservation work and build parks; and the Agricultural Adjustment Administration (AAA) set up programs to reduce crop acreage and livestock production and raise prices toward a parity goal. The latter programs resulted in the accelerated driving of small marginal farmers and sharecroppers from the land, and spelled the end of the traditional tenure system in the area.78

One benefit for the county of the Works Progress Administration, a federal work program, was the building of agricultural buildings next to existing public schools for formal instruction in modern farming techniques. Three of these are known to still exist in Mecklenburg County: Long Creek, Huntersville and Matthews.79

With the local, regional and world economies in a state of severe retrenchment, rural people trying to leave the farm and find work usually encountered problems in the cities and towns as well. The cotton mills, for example, often went bankrupt and were taken over by larger concerns, or worked sporadically under continued local ownership. Construction of new buildings virtually came to a halt, except for those built by government work programs. In the decade from 1930 to 1940, the population of the county increased 18.6% (the previous decade it had increased 58.6%), and the city of Charlotte increased 22% (in the 1920s it had gone up 78.4%).80 The built environment of the county reflects the dearth of new construction except for school buildings during this period.

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1 As of July 1, 1989, figures from the Charlotte Mecklenburg Planning Commission.
5 North Carolina Atlas, pp. 16-17.
7 Tompkins, I, p. 16.
8 Tompkins, I, p. 13; Preyer, p. 42.
10 Blythe, 21-23.
11 Tompkins, I, p. 22.
12 Ibid., I, p. 23.
14 Blythe, pp. 202-203.
17 Tompkins, I, p. 87.
18 Ibid., 97-100.
20 Blythe, p. 260.
22 Blythe, p. 449.
23 Tompkins, I, p. 117.
24 Ibid., I, pp. 138-142.
26 Ibid., pp. 11, 30-31.
27 Ibid., 67ff.
28 Tompkins, I, pp. 112-113.
29 Ibid., pp. 113-116.
30 U.S. Census, Agricultural Schedules for 1860-1940.
31 John Brevard Alexander, Reminiscences of the Past Thirty Years (Charlotte: Ray Printing, 1908), p. 211.
32 Ibid., p. 264.
33 Agricultural Schedules, 1860-1940.
34 Edgar T. Thompson, Agricultural Mecklenburg and Industrial Charlotte (Charlotte: Charlotte Chamber of Commerce, 1929), pp. 174-175.
35 Tompkins, I, p. 151.
36 Thompson, pp. 174-5.
37 Tompkins, I, p. 151.
38 Ibid.
39 Ibid.
40 Alexander, p. 186.
41 Agricultural Schedules, 1860-1940.
42 Charlotte City Directory, 1940.
43 Tompkins, I, pp. 160-161.
44 Tompkins, I, pp. 138-142.
45 Ibid.
46 Ibid.
50 Ibid; Alexander, p. 265.
51 Blythe and Brockmann, p. 260.
52 Ibid.
53 Ibid., pp. 261-2.
55 Blythe and Brockmann, p. 263.
56 Tompkins, I, p. 152.

60 Ibid.
61 Tompkins, 2, p. 196.
62 Ibid., p. 198.
64 Blythe, pp. 418-419.
65 Tompkins, I, p. 187.
66 Tompkins, I, p. 184.
70 Ibid., p. 76.
71 Blythe, p. 449.
74 Ibid.
75 Agricultural Schedules, U.S. Census, Mecklenburg County, 1930 & 1920.
76 Thompson, cited above, pp. 61 & 91.
78 Ibid., pp. 73ff.
80 Blythe and Brockmann, p. 449.