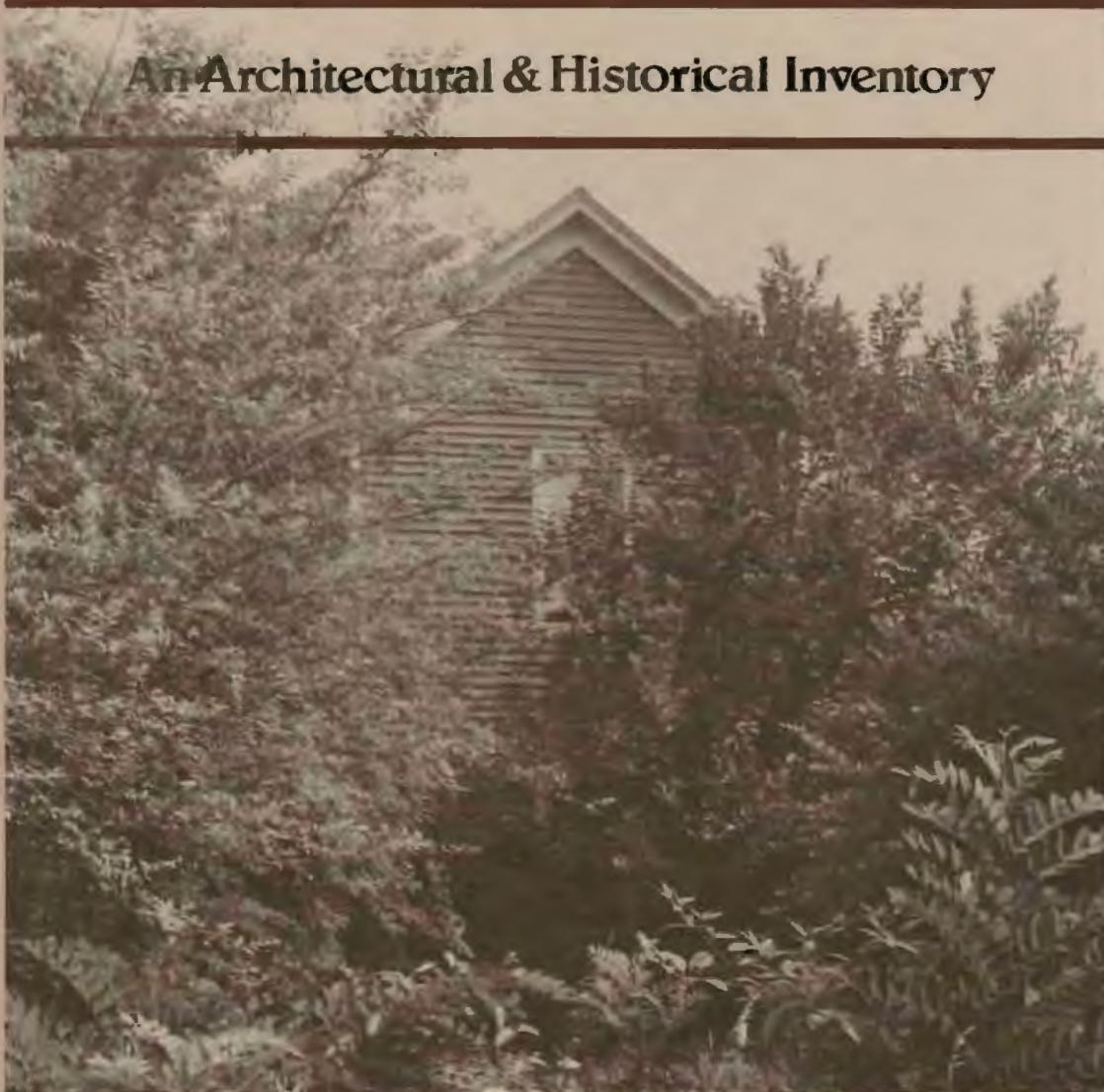


CARRBORO, N.C.

An Architectural & Historical Inventory



Carrboro Planning

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An Architectural & Historical Inventory

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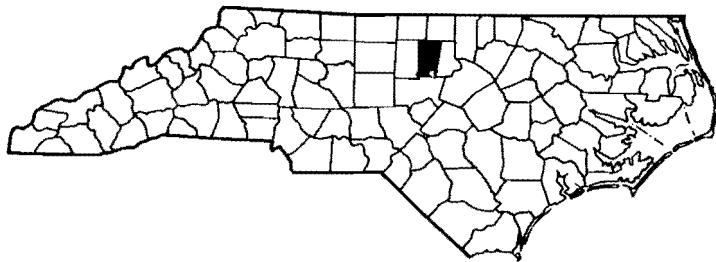
Photography by Jane Hamborsky



Carrboro Appearance Commission

Town of Carrboro

1983



Cover design by Artie Dixon, Marketing Communications

This publication and the compilation of the information contained herein were funded by the Carrboro Appearance Commission, Town of Carrboro, and by private donations. The North Carolina Department of Cultural Resources, Division of Archives and History provided technical assistance. The results and opinions expressed herein are not necessarily those of the Carrboro Appearance Commission, Town of Carrboro, or the North Carolina Department of Cultural Resources, Division of Archives and History.

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Printed by Contemporary Lithographers, Inc., Raleigh, NC

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Introduction

By definition, an architectural and historical inventory presents the physical development of an area within its historical framework. The buildings recorded and studied in the inventory of Carrboro reveal the community's heritage from the late eighteenth century through the first decades of the twentieth—first as farmland traversed by the Hillsborough Wagon Road and later a railroad spur that shaped the development of southeastern Orange County, and eventually as a busy industrial town. Beyond its more academic aspects, however, the publication of this inventory marks the culmination of three years of effort by the Carrboro Appearance Commission, Friends of Old Carrboro, Inc., and many individual citizens to heighten local interest in the preservation of Carrboro's older structures. These efforts reflect sentiments ranging from the simple love of objects bearing the patina of age and delight in the form and details of older buildings, to concern about modern development and the desire for a record of the heritage that lends Carrboro its own special identity.

From the end of the nineteenth century, when the community later to be named Carrboro coalesced, until the mid-1930s, the town maintained a distinct identity as a textile village separate both geographically and socially from the neighboring university community of Chapel Hill. Carrboro's relatively homogenous character was determined by hardworking citizens dependent upon the local mills and proud of their community. Then, after World War I, especially during the Depression years, the community's traditional identity began to weaken as an increasing number of Carrboro residents sought employment with the university. After Durham Hosiery Mills was dissolved in 1938, the bond between the two towns became stronger as the university supplanted the mills as Carrboro's major employer. The boundary between Carrboro and Chapel Hill continued to blur throughout the 1940s and 1950s as Carrboro's fortunes became tied ever more tightly to the school. During the 1960s and 1970s, the University of North Carolina exerted a more tangible presence in Carrboro as thousands of students moved into new apartment complexes at its periphery and many university employees moved into the town's new suburbs.

Central Carrboro, with its concentration of buildings erected prior to 1930, also felt the university's presence, often painfully. As long-time residents moved away or died, many of their houses, often

purchased by absentee landlords, became short-term rental property. In addition to the economics of supply and demand, a general preference for modern conveniences and styles helped erode the integrity of Carrboro's older neighborhoods. At the same time, many of Carrboro's most respected citizens believed that memories of the town's past should be sustained. While the historic fabric of many of Carrboro's older buildings was altered over the years in the name of progress and structures were lost to neglect and modern development, interest in local history became more clearly focussed with the research and publication of memoirs by Mac Watts, Frances Shetley, Frances Tripp, and others.



The 100 block of East Main Street in Carrboro's business district, 1983.

Fortunately, much of Carrboro's early architecture remained standing. The town's railroad depot, first textile mill, and a former grist mill, all listed in the National Register of Historic Places in 1976, are at the heart of the downtown; pre-World War II commercial buildings and houses adapted as offices line Main Street; and just to the north and south scores of early mill-related houses concentrated near the former mill sites survive as private residences.

Gradually, an unstructured historic preservation movement evolved so that by the late 1970s local concern was being clearly

voiced about the fate not only of the very old buildings, such as the eighteenth-century Weaver House at the edge of town, but also about more recent structures representative of Carrboro's early development as a community. The value of these early twentieth-century buildings as integral components of Carrboro's identity has become appreciated by newcomers and long-time residents alike. In 1976, the historic preservation incentives included in the new Tax Reform Act were used in the rehabilitation of the Alberta Cotton Mill/Durham Hosiery Mills No. 4 as Carr Mill Shopping Village. Concurrently, Chapel Hill's real estate prices were rising so quickly that Carrboro's former mill houses were becoming increasingly attractive both to young, first-time home buyers and to those looking for older houses to restore or rehabilitate for investment or as their own homes.

In spite of these developments, many of Carrboro's early buildings continued to decay, reflecting slower than desired economic growth throughout the community. The need for the reestablishment of a positive image for Carrboro and for the direction of quality growth and development that incorporates maintenance of the town's unique character gained recognition. In 1979, Carrboro's government began to take steps toward the creation of a brighter future for the town's older structures with the acknowledgement that a record of Carrboro's historical and architectural resources could provide a basis for intelligent decisions about future development. At the request of the Carrboro Appearance Commission, the Town of Carrboro pledged \$2,500 for an architectural and historic inventory of Carrboro.

The Appearance Commission supervised the inventory. It hired Dr. John Florin of the UNC Geography Department as the principal investigator. He in turn enlisted the aid of graduate students Burgess McSwain and Steve Matchak, who conducted the inventory field work, primarily during the summer of 1980, according to the guidelines of the North Carolina Division of Archives and History. This part of the project entailed recording every structure erected prior to 1930 within Carrboro's current city limits—more than 150 in all—with photographs, written descriptions and information gathered through interviews and research of secondary sources. The limiting date of 1930 was selected in accordance with National Register of Historic Places criteria which generally limits consideration for Register listing to buildings at least fifty years old. In a few instances, structures built after 1930 that are interesting for their architecture and materials were recorded.

Files containing photographs and architectural and historical data were compiled on each structure. The files and additional information gathered through research of secondary sources and the Sanborn Insurance Maps formed the basis of the inventory report by Ms. McSwain and Dr. Florin. That report consists of an essay on Carrboro's architectural and historical development and a brief entry on each building inventoried. The files and the report were deposited with the Division of Archives and History as the official public record of Carrboro's historic architecture. Copies of the report, duplicates of many of the photographs, and copies of selected written file materials remain in the possession of the Town of Carrboro's Planning Department.

Once the inventory was completed, the Appearance Commission wanted Carrboro's residents to be aware of its results. The Commission believed that a publication would be the most effective means of disseminating the information gathered in the inventory. The Board of Aldermen agreed, and in 1981 they appropriated the funds requested by the Appearance Commission for printing an inventory publication. During 1982, the inventory report was converted to a publication manuscript with the expansion of the essay, based on further study, and the preparation of detailed entries to reflect additional research on each of the 75 inventoried structures selected for the book.

This publication is not intended to be an end in itself; rather, it is meant to serve as a catalyst igniting further interest and work to preserve the best aspects of Carrboro's built environment, those material reflections of our past that create for us a sense of time and place. Already, many steps in this direction have been taken since work on the inventory began in 1980. Private investment in the restoration and preservation of houses and commercial buildings has been escalating steadily. In 1980, Carrboro was designated a Governor's Community of Excellence, due in part to the town's high "quality of life" that includes vital historic neighborhoods. Friends of Old Carrboro, Inc., has grown from a small group of residents who joined together in 1981 to campaign for traffic regulation in one of the early neighborhoods, to a non-profit, tax-exempt organization with 80 members dedicated to the preservation of central Carrboro. As the inventory was completed in 1981, the State Professional Review Committee appointed by the North Carolina Department of Cultural Resources declared several Carrboro buildings eligible for listing in the National Register and placed them on the state's Study List for further investigation. Finally, in 1983, the Board of Aldermen

appointed a Blue Ribbon Downtown Revitalization Task Force Subcommittee on Historic Districts to study local historic district zoning. It is hoped that this publication will continue this trend by encouraging a heightened awareness and appreciation of Carrboro's heritage that embraces preservation of the town's early architecture.

Claudia Roberts Brown
Carrboro Appearance Commission
September 1983



Former mill house at 203 Weaver Street before and after renovation for adaptive re-use as offices in 1981.



Acknowledgements

Without the friendly support and active participation of dozens of Carrboro citizens, past and present, the architectural and historical inventory of Carrboro and this publication would not have been possible. Many people shared their recollections of local history and personal knowledge of buildings and friends, as well as the anecdotes, gossip and speculation that altogether created an image of Carrboro as a vital community. It is impossible to list all of these people who brought Carrboro's past alive for us, but we trust that they know who they are and recognize that their contributions are appreciated.

Several people proved to be invaluable sources to the field workers conducting the inventory and especially to those who transformed the inventory report to the publication manuscript. Beyond their submission to hours of interviews and their critical review of numerous drafts, their enthusiasm for the project proved to be a constant source of inspiration for the authors. These sources are Mr. Carl Ellington, Mrs. Vinnie Partin, Mr. Wilbur Partin, Mrs. Felita Poole, Mrs. Mac Watts, and Mr. and Mrs. Ben Williams.

Another source of assistance was Friends of Old Carrboro, Inc. Jay Bryan, president of the organization, and Gary Sronce, a member of the Board of Trustees, conducted taped interviews of long-time Carrboro residents. Mr. Bryan also researched deeds and reviewed preliminary drafts, and Gary Sronce contributed material

on the construction of Carrboro's early houses. Scott Simmons contributed an illustration for the main essay. Lucretia Kinney, the secretary of Friends of Old Carrboro, assisted in the proofreading of the manuscript. Others not affiliated with the organization participated in the publication project after learning about it from members of Friends of Old Carrboro. They included Donna Madonna, who conducted taped interviews, and Duke University student Ernest Tracey who provided photographic assistance at the beginning of the project. Professional photographer Jane Hamborsky donated the great majority of the record photographs that appear in this book.

Continued support by the Mayor of Carrboro and the Board of Aldermen is greatly appreciated. Without their belief in the merit of the inventory, this publication would not have been realized. The staff of the Planning Department also provided necessary assistance by administering the Board of Aldermen's allocations for the project. In Raleigh, the staff of the North Carolina Division of Archives and History provided film processing and printing during the inventory and reviewed drafts of the inventory report and publication manuscript.

Finally, special recognition is due those whose financial contributions brought this publication to fruition. When rising printing costs rendered the Town's appropriation insufficient to meet all necessary related expenses, the Carrboro Appearance Commission informally conveyed our plight to the business community. Soon, the Carrboro business interests listed below made donations to the Town that enabled the completion of this book.

DATEC, INC. ORANGE BUILDERS, INC.	FITCH LUMBER COMPANY SPARROW AND SONS PLUMBING AND HEATING RAY SPARROW
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The Architectural and Historical Development of Carrboro

The Early Years: From the Indians to the Railroad Depot

Long before the first European set foot on what is now Orange County, Amerindians occupied the gently rolling uplands, the streams, and the forests of oak, hickory, various other hardwoods, and pine that would eventually be designated as Orange County. When recorded history began, this portion of the piedmont was occupied by small groups of Siouan Indians. The Great Trading Path, an Amerindian trail from present-day Virginia to the Catawba nation, ran through part of Orange County. The first written record of this trail was made by Dr. John Lederer, a German, in the late spring of 1670. He commented not only on the trail, but also on the native Amerindians and the land of the area.¹

Some thirty years later, in 1701, another European, John Lawson, also traveled the Great Trading Path and commented on the trail, the people, and the land of the area now included in Orange County. A trader and explorer, Lawson also helped lay out the eastern North Carolina towns of Bath and New Bern when he served as Surveyor General of Carolina in the early 1700s. On the area now part of Orange County, he wrote that "they had never seen 20 miles of such extraordinary rich land, lying all together, like that betwixt Haw-River and the Achonisky Town."²

During the early years of the eighteenth century, Siouan Indians left the area, and by 1740 a few white families were living along its rivers. Within the next decade, however, a great migration of white settlers took place, largely from Pennsylvania by way of the Great Philadelphia Wagon Road. This steadily increasing growth in population was not unique to Orange County. During the 1740s and early 1750s, much of North Carolina experienced a major population boom, largely due to migration from other colonies rather than directly from Europe. The majority of immigrants to the piedmont were of Scotch-Irish and German origin. As the number of people in interior North Carolina increased, new counties were created. By the time Orange County was formed in 1752 from the western portions of Granville, Bladen, and Johnston counties, its population had swelled to some 4,000.³ The county was named in honor of William

of Orange, who ruled Great Britain as William III from 1689 to 1702. Orange County eventually was reduced to its present area of 398 square miles as it was partitioned to create all or part of Wake, Chatham, Randolph, Guilford and Caswell counties.⁴

The county seat was established in 1754 at the site where the Great Trading Path crossed the Eno River. First called Corbinton, the town was incorporated as Childsburgh in 1759, and later renamed Hillsborough in 1766. Throughout Orange County, the population increased rapidly during the two decades prior to the American Revolution. Farming and small industries, usually dealing with farm and forest products, were the mainstays of the local economy. By 1767, Orange County was the most populous county in the colony,⁵ and for the next several decades its economy remained stable.

While the community of Chapel Hill was emerging in the early 1790s one mile to the east with the establishment of the University of North Carolina, the area that was to become Carrboro remained distinctly rural. It is likely that the stage and post road, known as the Old Hillsborough Road, part of which ran within the present limits of Carrboro, attracted some settlers to the area. It was along this road that Carrboro's oldest surviving dwelling, the Weaver House, was constructed. According to tradition, it was built in the mid-



Original portion of the Weaver House, said to have been built in the eighteenth century as a homestead and tavern.

eighteenth century as a homestead and tavern. In 1811, Allan Bubberly sold the property to Thomas Weaver, in whose family it remained for the next ninety-nine years.⁶ Substantial frame additions were constructed in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, so that today the original log portion with its stone chimney is the rear wing of the house.⁷ The only other existing house known to have been built prior to the Civil War is the homestead at "Webb's Happy Acres" at the northwest edge of Carrboro. As part of a Colonial land grant that remains in the original grantee family,⁸ Webb's Happy Acres also represents a local heritage much older than Carrboro's mill village. The fields surrounding the large two-story frame house built in 1855 are a reminder that farming has long been an important part of Orange County.

In the years following the Civil War, the area that was to become Carrboro remained composed of small farms, fields, streams, and woods much like the rest of rural North Carolina. Although a few new houses were built, including the small log cabin constructed by black stonemason Toney Strayhorn, they were too scattered to constitute a community. A mile to the east, however, events that would lead to the emergence of Carrboro were unfolding.

The hard times that swept over all of the old Confederate states during Reconstruction did not spare the University of North Carolina. The failing economy forced the closing of the school from February 1871, to September 1875.⁹ Nevertheless, development there did not completely cease. For several years, the university had desired to diminish its isolation by extending the railroad closer to Chapel Hill, beyond the terminus at University Station ten miles to the north. In 1869, the university had tried unsuccessfully to have the railroad spur constructed.¹⁰ In 1873, a charter for its construction finally was obtained from the North Carolina General Assembly.¹¹ The charter meant little, however, without the funds for construction, and when they finally were obtained, it was not due so much to the efforts of those interested solely in the improvement of the university as it was to the adroit manipulations of businessmen who sought financial gain from construction of the spur.

The efforts of General Robert F. Hoke, with the assistance of Governor Jarvis and Colonel A. B. Andrews, then superintendent of the Richmond and Danville Railroad Company, were primarily responsible for the new construction. Hoke owned the majority of Iron Mountain, located one mile north of Chapel Hill, on the west side of the present Estes Drive Extension. When the price of iron rose in 1880 so that it was profitable to ship the ore to furnaces in

Pennsylvania for smelting, Hoke began to arrange for the extension of the railroad. Subscriptions for the necessary materials and labor were issued, including the largest single amount, of \$6,000, from Hoke's Iron Mountain Company. Another subscriber was Julian S. Carr, for whom Carrboro later would be named.¹²

It appears that the University of North Carolina trustees' belief that their students should be as far as possible from city temptations—which many years earlier had determined the location ten miles away of University Station—prevailed. In accordance with a state statute, evidently enacted with the trustees' support, the end of the new railroad spur was located one mile from the school, the minimum distance allowed. In the spring of 1882, the spur of the Richmond and Danville Railroad (later Southern Railway) was opened from University Station to the spot one mile west of the post office in Chapel Hill that soon became known as West End, and later as Carrboro. The occasion was marked by speeches, a grand picnic, and the driving of the last spike by Miss Jane Spencer, a prominent Chapel Hillian. Shortly after, the price of iron ore fell sharply and the grade and quantity of the ore in Iron Mountain made the mining venture unprofitable. The mine soon closed and the name of the railroad corporation was changed to the State University Railroad Company.¹³

For almost two decades, the new railroad station was simply a boxcar, and until well into the twentieth century the depot had a sign saying "Chapel Hill Station." The passenger train that served the depot was called "The Whooper," made up of a locomotive and two passenger cars, with extra cars added when needed. Twice daily, "The Whooper" made the round trip from Chapel Hill Station to University Station. At Chapel Hill Station, passengers could hire a ride into Chapel Hill and the university for fifty cents. For almost fifty years, Captain Fred Smith was the conductor, flagman, brakeman, and crew of "The Whooper." Many young people of the area received their first train ride gratis from Captain Smith.¹⁴

The impact of the new depot was far greater than its provision of easy access to the university. Passenger traffic was ancillary to the Richmond and Danville Railroad's main service of transporting goods. With the establishment of Chapel Hill Station, area farmers had a new and convenient means of sending their goods to markets. Similar to the great majority of depots across the state and country, the new station quickly became an easily accessible and profitable center for farmers to bring their grain and cotton to for processing prior to shipment. The tiny industrial complex, known as West End, grew slowly but steadily beginning in 1883 with a steam-powered

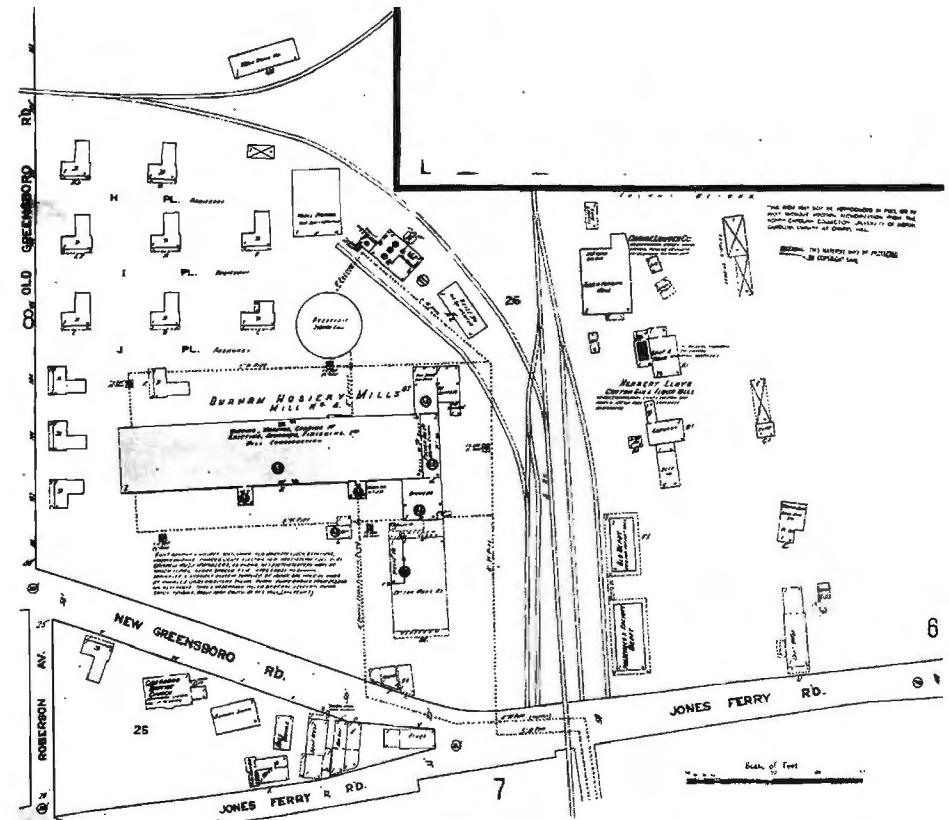
grist mill and cotton gin in two-story frame buildings directly north of the station.¹⁵ It gradually expanded, first with a flour mill added around 1886. About the same time, Merritt Cheek began buying and storing cotton at West End for shipment to various locations around the country. Then Jack Brim, a black blacksmith, opened a shop, followed by Bennie F. Ray's smithy. Soon Ruffin Cheek and then Hiram Stone established grocery and general merchandise stores.¹⁶ With the construction of a few scattered dwellings, West End was acquiring the trappings of a genuine community.

The Lloyds, the Carrs, and Their Mills

The leader of the development spurred by the extension of the railroad to West End was Thomas F. Lloyd, whose ancestors had helped settle Orange County. After service in the Confederate Army, which included fighting under Gen. Robert E. Lee at Appomattox, Lloyd returned to his family's farm outside of Chapel Hill.¹⁷ In his 1947 article about Carrboro, Louis Graves wrote about Lloyd: "His remarkably keen mind, and his natural-born gift for trading, enabled him to become the richest man in Chapel Hill despite the handicap of having had no schooling. He could neither read nor write until he was well along in years. Then he learned to write his name so that he could sign checks and business documents."¹⁸ A once-popular local story attributed Lloyd's success to his penny-pinching habits.¹⁹

An astute businessman, Lloyd increased his fortunes through small farm-related enterprises. In the early 1880s, attracted to the commercial potential of the property adjacent to the new railroad facility at West End, he built the cotton gin and grist mill with William Pritchard.²⁰ Evidently the new businesses were prosperous, for in 1885 Lloyd bought the handsome two-story brick house on W. Cameron Ave. in Chapel Hill that is now known as the Lloyd-Wiley House.²¹ In 1886, Lloyd purchased Pritchard's share in the cotton gin and grist mill and added a flour mill to the small complex.²² His small industries thrived, and in 1898, when he was almost sixty years old, Lloyd sought a new enterprise in which to invest his profits. Considering the convenience of the depot to his property and the availability of labor and cotton, the field of textiles was enticing, in spite of his lack of any manufacturing experience. Lloyd's issuance of \$75,000 worth of capital stock to begin a cotton mill initiated the settlement of West End as a real town.²³

Lloyd's latest enterprise was timely. The cotton textile manufacturing industry in the United States had begun to experience a



Sheet from the 1915 series of the Sanborn Insurance Maps for Chapel Hill, showing Carrboro's first mill, originally the Alberta Cotton Mill, and the adjacent mill houses built by Thomas F. Lloyd. Also shown are early commercial buildings south of the mill and light industry to the east. Courtesy of the Sanborn Map Company.

dramatic geographic relocation around 1880. Until then, over eighty-five percent of all cotton spindles had been in New England and the Middle Atlantic states, with only nine percent of the industry in the Cotton Belt states. By 1930 the South's share had jumped to sixty-five percent, while the Northeast's had declined to thirty percent.²⁴ This geographic shift was the result of a number of factors, including a series of technological changes in textile manufacturing that rendered older facilities less competitive and encouraged the construction of new mills. Many manufacturers were attracted to the South where wages were low and cotton readily available. In the labor intensive textile manufacturing industry, the lower wages and great reduction in the cost of shipping the raw materials would lead to higher profits.²⁵

Of great impact was a growing conviction in the South in the

late nineteenth century that the region could not depend entirely upon agriculture to lead it out of the poverty generated by the Civil War and Reconstruction. Manufacturing, specifically cotton textile manufacturing, was seized as the vehicle for economical revival.²⁶ The mills would help agriculture by using cotton grown in the South, and they would offer jobs, much needed by the underemployed tenant farmer population. The impulse to build textile mills swept the Carolina Piedmont, which emerged as the focus of early twentieth-century southern cotton textile manufacturing.

The piedmont textile industry did not concentrate in a few communities. Rather, mills often were built in small towns, or in rural areas where they became the focus of the growth of a new, mill village. Wherever they were built, all three essential ingredients—abundant supplies of raw materials and labor and convenient transportation routes to markets—were at hand. In 1880 there were approximately fifty-two one-industry towns in North Carolina; by 1910, there were an estimated 125, and all were cotton textile manufacturing centers. Most of these 125 towns, perhaps 100, were mill villages that had grown up around a mill.²⁷ Most were in decidedly rural locations, but some, such as Carrboro, were suburban villages located near an existing town. According to Holland Thompson, a leading contemporary observer of the industry,

Generally they [mill villages] are built upon the outskirts of a village. Considerable land is needed for buildings and tenements, and this is secured at farm prices. The operatives are thus separated from whatever distractions the town may afford, and the payment of town taxes is avoided.²⁸

Among additional important advantages, the mills would attract immigrants from nearby rural areas who sought improved economic conditions. They brought with them strong, rural Southern values and the desire to maintain them.²⁹ They hoped that the mill village would preserve the general conditions of rural life while adding some of the comforts of the city. Mills in North Carolina usually were locally owned, sometimes by an individual but more often by many stockholders.³⁰

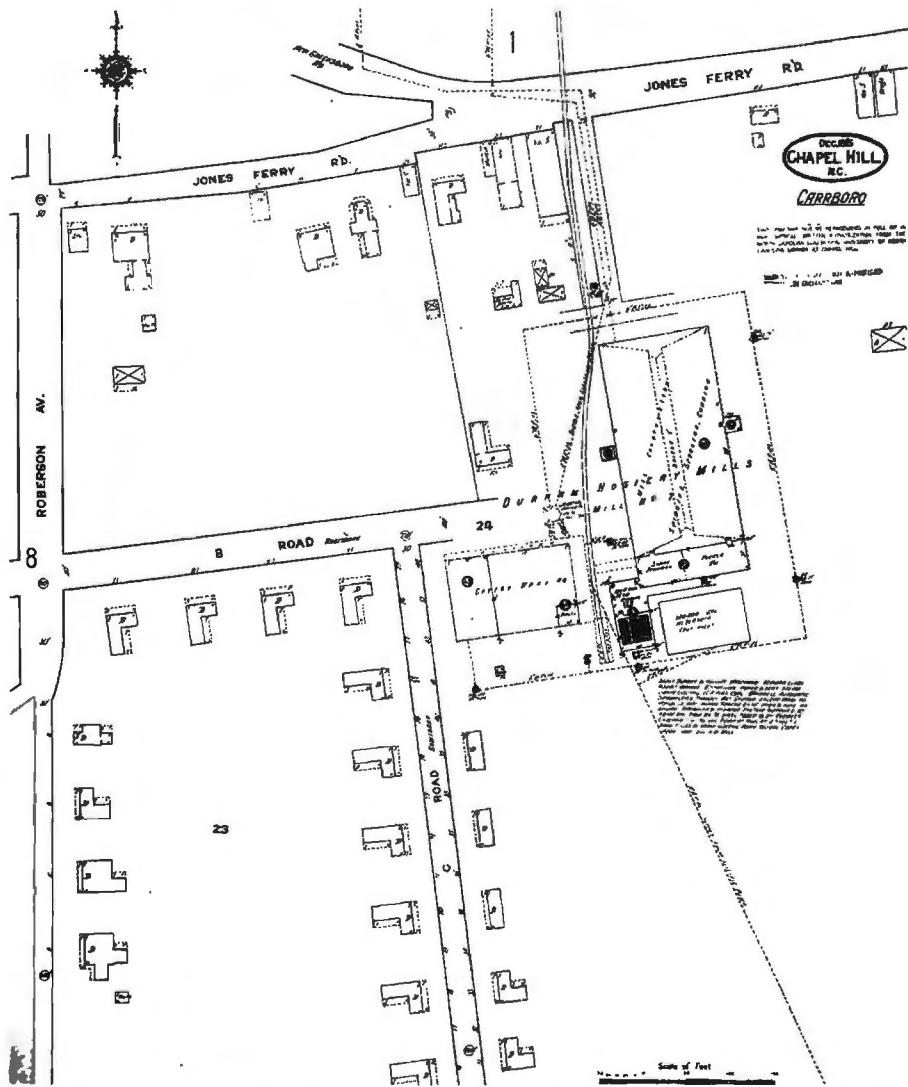
By the spring of 1899, Lloyd's factory, named the Alberta Cotton Mill, was ready to begin operation.³¹ The two-story brick building about 150 yards northwest of the depot was characterized by numerous large and regularly spaced segmental arched windows which opened up most of the elevations to provide light and ventilation to the manufacturing floors. The simple rectangular mass with a

very low gabled roof and heavy wooden rafters exposed in the eaves featured a four-story tower containing a 10,000-gallon water tank attached to the middle of its long, south facade. Another tower near the east end of the north facade was partially covered by a one-story wing containing the engine room.³² Great skill was required in the design and construction of textile mills so that they had both the large open spaces and the strong floor necessary for the machinery.³³ Each floor of Lloyd's mill was primarily a single space interrupted only by heavy wooden supporting piers. The combination of the heavy, slow-burning timber frame with the nearly fireproof brick for the walls probably yielded lower insurance rates for Lloyd.³⁴ North of the main factory building, there were one-story frame ancillary buildings, including a waste house, and a 250,000-gallon reservoir. To the south there was an expanse of grass dotted with young hardwoods, brick well houses, and a small frame building used as an office. A one-story frame cotton warehouse stood at the southeast corner of the main building, alongside the railroad tracks.

Initially, Lloyd restricted the Alberta Cotton Mill to the first floor of his new building. His cotton thread spinning operation was considered small, consisting of only 4,000 spindles powered by a 250-horsepower steam engine fueled with wood.³⁵ In 1902, Lloyd leased the second story of his building to William E. Lindsay and Isaac W. Pritchard for the operation of Blanche Hosiery Mill, named for Lindsay's wife.³⁶ When Lloyd needed more room for the expansion of the Alberta mill to 6,000 spindles and then to 10,000, Lindsay and Pritchard moved their small knitting mill to a one-story frame structure built a few blocks to the west on the dirt track later named for Lindsay; they continued to operate their mill there and then in a building at the present site of Fitch Lumber Co.³⁷ Less than ten years after it opened, Lloyd's Alberta Cotton Mill occupied the entire brick building next to the railroad tracks. In March 1909, Thomas Lloyd sold his factory to the owners of the Durham Hosiery Mills, which also purchased Blanche Hosiery Mill at this time.³⁸

"Durable Durham Hosiery—Made the Strongest Where the Wear is Hardest" had been introduced at the east edge of downtown Durham, North Carolina, in 1901 by Julian Shakespeare Carr, one of Durham's leading industrialists and financiers. Born in 1842 in Chapel Hill and educated at the University of North Carolina, Carr was a leading figure in the development of post-Civil War manufacturing in North Carolina. As its chief executive officer and one of its owners, Carr established W. T. Blackwell and Company, manufacturer of Bull Durham Tobacco, as Durham's first great tobacco

empire by 1874. He was the first of Durham's businessmen to invest the vast profits realized from tobacco in local banks and textile companies. In 1884, Carr founded the Durham Cotton Manufacturing Company, the city's first textile company. In 1898, the same year he sold his tobacco company to the Duke family's American Tobacco Company trust for three million dollars, Carr merged the Golden Belt Hosiery Company and the Durham Hosiery Company as the



Street from the 1915 series of the Sanborn Insurance Maps for Chapel Hill showing Carrboro's second mill built by Thomas F. Lloyd, sold to Durham Hosiery Mills around 1913, and the adjoining mill houses to the west. Courtesy of the Sanborn Map Company.

Durham Hosiery Mills Corporation. Two years later, on the empty tract between Durham and East Durham, he built Durham Hosiery Mills No. 1, a large brick factory in an impressive Romanesque Revival style design, and began construction of the adjacent mill village of Edgemont. Through the establishment and acquisition of spinning and knitting mills during the next few years, Durham Hosiery Mills became one of the largest hosiery operations in the world, a position it maintained throughout much of the first quarter of this century.³⁹

Much of Carr's expansion of the Durham Hosiery Mills was by acquisition of small, privately owned textile mills such as the Alberta and Blanche mills. When Carr purchased Lloyd's factory, he incorporated the operation as Durham Hosiery Mills No. 4. The two-story brick building now housed a small knitting, or hosiery, operation in addition to a cotton thread, or yarn, department in which the fiber was spun. According to the Sanborn Insurance Maps, for several years winding, warping and carding were carried out on the first floor of Mill No. 4, and spinning, knitting and finishing on the second. Eventually, all of the cotton thread department was situated on the first floor and the second story was used exclusively for knitting children's cotton stockings.⁴⁰ In the early 1910s, Durham Hosiery Mills had so many orders that Mill No. 4 could not accommodate all of the necessary West End operations; for a few years looping machines, used to attach the toe to the main cylinder of the hosiery, were installed in the small frame building at 109 Center St. formerly used for a school.⁴¹

In order to keep up with the demand for cotton hosiery that steadily increased through the 1910s, Durham Hosiery Mills made a series of additions to Mill No. 4. In 1912, the brick mill was almost doubled in size with the construction of a two-story extension of its west end and expansion of a one-story wing on the south elevation, distinguished by an entrance hood, for use as an office. At the same time, a new power house was erected northeast of the reservoir. Subsequent additions included the 1918 expansion of the original powerhouse wing to a full two stories with a taller two-story tower on the north facade.⁴²

The sale of the Alberta Cotton Mill did not signal Thomas Lloyd's retirement. In February 1910, in partnership with his brother Lueco Lloyd, Isaac W. Pritchard and W. S. Roberson, he organized the Thomas F. Lloyd Manufacturing Company, capitalized at \$200,000.⁴³ The March 1911 series of the Sanborn Insurance Maps for Chapel Hill depicts the new mill, exclusively for the spinning of

cotton yarn, under construction. Located about one block south of the original mill, this brick building was a large one-story rectangular block with a two-story tower on its east elevation and a gabled roof terminating in a six-foot-tall monitor along its crest. Construction of the new mill was completed close to the time of Lloyd's death in May 1911.⁴⁴ Prior to February 1913, Durham Hosiery Mills acquired this factory and renamed it Mill No. 7 in the steadily expanding chain that would grow to include sixteen mills from Goldsboro to High Point, North Carolina.⁴⁵

As Durham Hosiery Mills acquired Lloyd's second mill, the number of mill workers in the community was approaching 150, having doubled in the approximately thirteen years since the opening of the Alberta Cotton Mill.⁴⁶ Most of the labor force working for Thomas Lloyd and William Lindsay had come from southern Orange County; many were relatives of Lloyd or children of area farmers who brought cotton to West End to be ginned and spun into yarn.⁴⁷ It is likely that all sought incomes potentially greater in the mill than could be earned through farming, in spite of the long and hard hours. The work week at the Alberta Cotton Mill averaged sixty-five hours or more, with many of the full-time laborers working twelve-hour weekdays and from six a.m. to four p.m. on Saturdays.⁴⁸

Cotton was big business. Mill management often would search other mill villages in the region for large families experienced in textile manufacturing. Although there were many unskilled laborers from farms in Orange, Durham and Chatham counties eager to work in the mills, experienced textile workers were more difficult to find. Durham Hosiery Mills recruited many of their workers from mills in the Burlington, N.C., area with offers of slight increases in wages at Mill No. 4 and Mill No. 7. Mrs. Vinnie Partin and Mrs. Beulah Watts, who as children came from Burlington to the local mills with their family lead by matriarch Cora Oakley, recall that they were drawn in 1914 by A. J. Blackwood, their Burlington neighbor who recently had become superintendent of Mill No. 4. Other enticements offered by the Durham Hosiery Mills included a ten-hour workday and a five-and-one-half-day work week.⁴⁹ The Carrs also were progressive in their attitudes toward child labor. They opposed hiring children under age twelve and lobbied for legislation to provide for factory inspectors. Unfortunately, it was necessary for the children in most mill families to work in order to supplement their father's wages, which were not enough to support the entire family. The problem was complicated by the inability of mothers with more than one child at home to work if there were no

aged relatives to care for them. The vast majority of mill workers were females, many of them widows and fatherless children. By 1914, most of the large families from a radius of three to four miles of the mill, especially those composed chiefly of girls, had moved into town to take jobs as textile workers.⁵⁰

In the cotton thread, or yarn, department, most of the male workers were pickers and carders who removed the cotton from bales and then prepared the fiber for spinning by sorting, cleaning and combing it. Women usually worked as spinners, running the machines that spun the prepared cotton into yarn. They also worked as spoolers, monitoring the bobbins. Younger boys often changed the bobbins on the spinning frames and packed the finished yarn into boxes. In the hosiery department, the cotton yarn was knitted into children's hosiery on machines run primarily by women. Young girls often worked as "toppers" or "loopers," fixing the separate toe pieces onto the loops of the machines that sewed them to the rest of the stockings. Looping machines frequently were installed in the homes of women whose domestic obligations precluded working in the mills; in their spare time they did piece work for which they were paid on the rate of a dozen pairs of stockings completed. All of the departments employed men as master mechanics, considered to be professionals, to maintain and repair the essential machinery.⁵¹

By the early 1920s, Mill No. 4 had 122 workers in the cotton thread department and 75 in knitting operating 17,472 spinning spindles and 6,720 twisting spindles, respectively. At Mill No. 7, 81 employees operated 10,080 spinning spindles.⁵² The highest wages were around ten dollars per week for men, while women and children earned between four-and-one-half and eight dollars weekly. Although this pay seems low today, it was considerably more than the average tenant farmer's income of the day. Crop prices were so low in the early twentieth century that farm life was less dependable than the hard life in the mill. As Valerie Quinney pointed out in her 1980 article on life in Carrboro, mill workers were not known for dwelling on their long hours of tedious and eye-straining work; they knew that they had to get along by keeping the machines running smoothly and avoiding lost pay over wasted time.⁵³

Housing in Early Carrboro

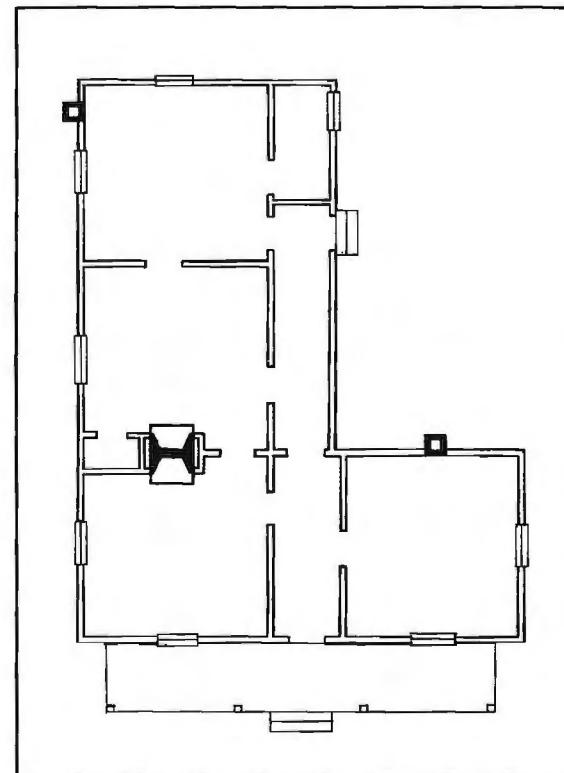
The village that developed around the mills was in many ways typical of a company town: suburban location, dependence on immigrants from surrounding tenant farms for labor, initial local

ownership of the mills, and the construction of mill-owned housing for workers—all were shared with scores of other mill villages in North Carolina. Beginning with the establishment of its first mill, the community first known as West End grew slowly but steadily. In 1911, the settlement was incorporated as Venable in honor of Francis P. Venable, the president of the University of North Carolina from 1900 to 1914. Two years later, the town's name was changed again, to Carrboro in honor of Julian S. Carr, on the condition that Durham Hosiery Mills would supply electricity to the small industrial town.⁵⁴ By this time there were approximately 1,000 citizens here, with the vast majority of adults being wage earners.⁵⁵

Mill owners commonly provided housing for the mill workers. Proponents of southern mill and mill village construction, such as D. A. Tompkins, argued that it was necessary to provide immediate housing for the often very poor immigrant to the mill village.⁵⁶ Tompkins suggested that one room per mill worker be provided in houses composed of a series of rectangular rooms raised on piers or a foundation, with a single chimney for heating. Grouped near the mill, the houses would also further support the close association between mill and worker. Several guidebooks for the development and management of a successful cotton mill suggested appropriate sizes, construction, floor plans, and lot sizes for mill housing.⁵⁷ As a result, architecture in mill villages frequently was standardized. Mill management often was involved closely in village finances and frequently provided school buildings and funds for other village needs. Partially philanthropic in nature, this close relationship between management and labor also was sound business. By providing numerous amenities, wages could be kept low and activities outside of the factory could be regulated to encourage high performance at work.

When people began moving from the countryside to take jobs in Lloyd's Alberta Cotton Mill, the need for housing was immediate. Because the deed of sale of the Alberta Cotton Mill to the owners of Durham Hosiery Mills does not mention any buildings except the mill, it is impossible to determine positively that Lloyd built any houses. It may be presumed, however, that Lloyd followed the established practice of mill owners providing the necessary dwellings.

According to several long-time residents of Carrboro, the town's oldest mill houses, believed to have been built at the same time the Alberta Cotton Mill was constructed, were the twelve one-story frame houses that formerly stood in the shadow of the



Plan of the first floor of one- or two-story house built throughout Carrboro from circa 1900 to the 1920's by the mills and private individuals. Drawing by Scott Simmons.

factory, just west and northwest of the mill in the area that is now a parking lot. These small houses shown in the 1911 series of the Sanborn Insurance Maps for Chapel Hill all exhibited the basic one-room-deep form with a rear ell characteristic of North Carolina's early industrial housing. While all but one of the houses had a porch across the entire main facade, there was some variety in the size of the rear ell and the overall proportions of the buildings. The houses were heated by a central chimney in the wall between the two front rooms and another in the rear ell. There was no indoor plumbing, but each house had its own privy, and wells were located conveniently among the houses. Each house was placed on a lot large enough for a sizeable garden plot.⁵⁸

The property included in Lloyd's sale of his mill to the Carrs was in three contiguous parcels—the mill lot, a tract due west across N. Greensboro St., and another tract south of the second one—totalling fourteen and three-quarter acres.⁵⁹ Some residents recall that the latter two tracts were at least partially developed by the

early 1910s.⁶⁰ It is likely that Lloyd built some of the houses on these tracts, particularly along their edges closest to the mill, as his spinning operation expanded in the early 1900s. They may have included several houses on Center St. and the west side of N. Greensboro St. These one-story, one-room-deep houses with rear ells all had simple gable roofs and shed- or hip-roofed front porches with simple decorative spandrels at chamfered posts. As indicated by the half-dozen original houses that survive on Center St., some of the houses had two front doors, a feature of much mill housing that enabled workers on different shifts to come and go without disturbing other members of their families.

The 1911 series of the Sanborn Insurance Maps for Chapel Hill indicates six completed houses on W. Carr St. and Maple Ave., just west of the Thomas F. Lloyd Manufacturing Co. mill. These houses, and several others on Maple Ave. and Roberson St. not portrayed in the 1911 map series, have always been associated with Carrboro's second mill and undoubtedly were built by its owners when they began construction of their factory in 1910. This later area of development was distinguished by townspeople as "New Hill," a reference also to the terrain that frequently characterized mill village sites. This group of mill houses, still fairly intact today, also was composed of frame one-story, one-room-deep structures with rear ells. Most of them have triple-A rooflines with a decorative cutwork vent in the front gable, and hip-roofed front porches, some with sawn spandrels ornamenting the chamfered posts. All of the houses were built with a single front door leading to a center hall separating the two rooms in the main block. A chimney serving two fireplaces was contained in the wall separating the main block and the ell.

Durham Hosiery Mills continued to add to Carrboro's housing stock, both on the adjoining acreage included in the factory transactions and on other small tracts acquired during the 1910s and early 1920s.⁶¹ Because Durham Hosiery Mills sold their houses individually in the late 1930s, after the mills closed, the company's ownership of houses, whether built by them or bought from Lloyd and others, may be confirmed by documents in the office of the Orange County Register of Deeds. Among the several houses with uncertain origins, it is generally believed that houses in the 100 block of W. Main St. and the 200 block of Weaver St., including one-story, two-room-deep houses with hipped roofs, were built by Durham Hosiery Mills. The company also was responsible for completing the development of the tract due west of Mill No. 4 with three two-story,

L-shaped houses and a tiny one-story, two-room square house on Center St., as well as additional one-story, one-room-deep houses on Center, Short and Mill streets.⁶² While the two-room house remains at 103 Center St., the sites of the two-story houses and all of the other houses on this tract north of Short St., including all of Mill St., are now occupied by Fitch Lumber Co. Around 1915, on S. Greensboro St. south of Carr St., five houses believed to constitute Durham Hosiery Mills' last building campaign were erected.⁶³ This group included examples of the one-story, two-room-deep houses and the two-story, L-shaped houses that were lending some texture to the variety of Carrboro's architecture. The mills generally rented the bigger houses to workers with large families, particularly if several family members worked in the mills. Position and length of service, however, also were factors in apportionment of the houses.⁶⁴

All of the streets were designated by letters until around 1920 when they received the names that most of them continue to bear today. Approximately, H, I, and J places, north of Mill No. 4 in the area that today is a parking lot, were named Ice Ave., Durham St. and Hosiery St., respectively. The Durham Hosiery Mills Ice Plant was in a one-story frame building (destroyed) situated a few yards northeast of the east end of Ice Ave.⁶⁵

Mill-owned housing was not the only source of shelter for Carrboro's mill workers. Unlike many of the isolated and holistic mill villages, in which all of the buildings, services and amenities were owned and provided by the textile company, many of Carrboro's dwellings inhabited by the textile workers were privately owned. Much of the land near the mills belonged to area farmers and businessmen who began developing it early in this century with houses for speculative sale or rental. According to various accounts, some of these houses were sold to the mills which rented them to their workers, some were rented to the mills for sub-letting, and many others were rented directly to the mill workers by the developers. In 1920, when Carrboro had approximately 280 textile workers, only one-third of the town's 223 houses were owned by the mills.⁶⁶ Many of the privately owned houses rented to the mill workers were the property of Thomas Lloyd's cousin, Brodie Lloyd. The larger one-story house with a triple-A roofline at 302 Weaver St., and the almost identical houses that formerly stood at 300 (moved in 1981 to 209-A Oak Ave.), 304 and 306 (destroyed) Weaver St. also have been identified as real estate investments of Brodie Lloyd, as have the houses that formerly stood on the south side of Weaver Street, extending west from North Greensboro Street (destroyed). Another

member of the Lloyd family, Bill Lloyd, had the five small gable-roofed houses on Shelton St. constructed in the first decade of this century. Four of these houses have two front doors and, except for their porch roofs, are almost identical to the houses at 401, 403, and 405 N. Greensboro St., which may have been built by Bill Lloyd as well. Development of small parcels of land on Weaver St., including 401 Weaver, has been attributed to another Orange County farmer named Barnes. Marion Cheek and Isaac W. Pritchard also built houses for investment on Oak Ave. and Lindsay St., respectively.⁶⁷

By the early 1920s, the mill village core of Carrboro was almost thoroughly developed, from Lindsay St. on the west to the railroad tracks on the east and from the 700 block of N. Greensboro St. to the 400 block of S. Greensboro St. Much of this filling out during the 1910s and early 1920s was the result of several of Carrboro's mill workers building their own houses. Jesse Riggsbee and two of his relatives built their houses adjacent to each other on S. Greensboro and W. Carr streets. All of the houses north of the railroad tracks were privately built, including several worker-owned houses in the 500 and 600 blocks of N. Greensboro St. At 305 Weaver St., cotton buyer Ted Durham built his house, now the office of Sparrow & Sons Plumbing.⁶⁸ It is virtually impossible to distinguish these owner-occupied houses, as well as those privately-owned rental houses and those owner-occupied houses built by merchants and professionals, from the houses built by the mills. They all are basic house types—usually one story and one room deep with a rear ell and gable roof or one story and two rooms deep with a rear ell or shed and a hipped roof. Generally, the one-story, one-room-deep houses built by the mills were smaller than those built privately. Most of the two-room-deep, hip-roofed houses were privately built. The fewer two-story houses were either the compact, L-shaped type, built exclusively by the mills, or the one-room-deep form with a rear one-story ell, usually privately built. Variety among these vernacular house types is introduced with front gables or hip-roofed dormers, decorative shingles and vents in the front gables, the type of porch roof, chamfered or turned porch posts, and ornamental spandrels. Chimneys were the exterior gable end or interior type.

Not all of Carrboro's residential structures were single-family houses. Several of the larger dwellings were operated as boarding houses that accommodated unmarried laborers. All of these were occupied by families who rented out spare rooms for supplementary income. Some of the boarding houses, such as the two one-story houses at 201 and 203 N. Greensboro St. (now the site of North-

western Bank and Fitch Creations, respectively), were owned by Durham Hosiery Mills. For many years, Cora "Mammy" Oakley rented out rooms in the two-story, L-shaped house at 303 S. Greensboro St. that she leased from Durham Hosiery Mills. Nearby, at the present site of Carrboro's post office, Rose Humphrey's large two-story boarding house was distinctive for its porch that wrapped around three sides of the building and for the small "honeymoon cottage" situated in the rear yard. For almost five decades after its construction in 1909, Estelle Ray, succeeded by her daughter Bedie Upchurch, took boarders in their two-story, one-room deep house at 301 Oak Ave. May Neal ran another boarding house (destroyed) on Lindsay St. Early in this century, Bill Ray built the two-story, two-room-deep house with a wraparound porch at 102 E. Main St.; in 1924, when it was operated by the Pendergraph family and known as the "Carrboro Hotel," this boarding house was the source of a spectacular fire that destroyed much of the surrounding commercial buildings.⁶⁹

Of course, some of Carrboro's two-story houses were strictly single-family dwellings. Among these blacksmith Bennie Ray lived in the two-story, T-shaped house at 301 Weaver St., black mason Toney Strayhorn and his son William expanded their log cabin to the two-story, one-room-deep house at 209 Jones Ferry Rd., and Dr. Williams lived in the large two-story, one-room-deep house at the site now occupied by the shopping center on E. Main St.

The house that Durham Hosiery Mills built at 103 W. Main St. for the chief administrator of its Carrboro operations was considered for many years to be the town's finest dwelling. This one-and-one-half-story house, built sometime between 1915 and 1925, features a tall hipped roof with several gables, corbelled chimney caps, and Tuscan porch columns. Fireplaces with tiled surrounds and neoclassical mantelpieces grace the interior. The house was occupied first by Ralph Ward, superintendent of Mill No. 4, and later by Floyd M. Durham, superintendent of Mill No. 7.⁷⁰

Relatively few builders have been positively associated with specific houses built in Carrboro between 1899 and the early 1920s. The earliest known carpenter active here was Thomas Clark. At the behest of Brodie Lloyd, he moved into town from the Cane Creek area of Orange County when the Alberta Cotton Mill was under construction. Clark built several houses in Carrboro for Lloyd, including 101, 103 and 109 Shelton St. and 205 Weaver St. The sidelights at the front door of the house at 109 Shelton St. distin-

guish the dwelling from the many other Carrboro houses with the same one-story, one-room-deep form and central chimney. Clark helped Bennie Ray construct his two-story house at 301 Weaver St. He also built many other houses in Carrboro and Chapel Hill that remain unidentified.⁷¹

Other early carpenters remembered by long-time area residents are John Squires, who built Durham Hosiery Mills' last group of houses on S. Greensboro St., and Rupert Squires. Tom Whitaker, a carpenter, built his house with decorative shingles and exterior gable-end chimneys at 501 N. Greensboro St., and may have built other local houses that have not been identified. The son of Estelle Ray and other members of her family, who may have helped her build the Ray-Upchurch House at 301 Oak Ave., worked as carpenters on the construction of the Thomas F. Lloyd Manufacturing Co. mill, later Durham Hosiery Mills No. 7. From the beginning of Carrboro's development, the Strayhorn family have been the town's pre-eminent masons. Though their role in the construction of the mills is uncertain, it is likely that they constructed many of the chimneys and foundation piers of Carrboro's houses. They also were responsible for the brickwork of the Carrboro Baptist Church erected in the 1920s.⁷²

The land immediately adjacent to the mills was not the only area of Carrboro to be developed with houses at an early date. Prior to 1880, before the community of West End had begun to take shape, blacks from the surrounding area began to settle at the west edge of Chapel Hill. The neighborhood that quickly formed here eventually included land that became the east end of Carrboro. North of Rosemary St. in Chapel Hill, this black settlement was neatly organized along clearly defined lanes, a couple of which extended into the neighboring town at an early date. South of E. Main St. in Carrboro, very small one-story frame houses dotted the low-lying land known as "Tin-Top Alley," near Merritt Mill Rd.; most of the houses here were arbitrarily located along barely distinguishable dirt tracks.⁷³ Very little is known about the first buildings constructed north or south of E. Main St. More is known about early building by blacks at the west edge of the Mill Village where the Strayhorns owned land that they farmed. Whereas a few of the earliest houses built by the Strayhorns and their neighbors survive, no houses at the east end of Carrboro constructed by blacks prior to the late 1910s, when the neighborhood on the line with Chapel Hill began expanding westward more deeply into Carrboro, are known to remain standing.

The majority of Carrboro's early houses, both private and company built, were assembled quickly with fairly inexpensive materials.⁷⁴ They were framed with native rough sawn lumber, usually pine, although oak sometimes was used for the sills. The irregular size and spacing of this lumber posed few problems as all of the wall coverings were laid horizontally. The exterior siding consisted of bevelled weatherboards and the interior walls and ceilings usually were tongue and groove beaded boards. The walls were plastered in only a few of the early houses, such as the superintendent's house at 103 W. Main St. and the Ray-Upchurch House at 301 Oak Ave.

In light of the fact that unstable foundations and insufficient bracing of the walls gradually result in the shifting of the walls and floors, it is fortunate that Carrboro's early houses rarely had plaster walls, which are subject to cracking and separating. These dwellings were built on brick piers at the corners, every ten to twelve feet along exterior walls and in a corresponding grid beneath the house. Often, improvements later would include the addition of brick underpinning between the piers to give the appearance of a continuous foundation. This underpinning also would provide some structural support if the piers should sink, a common occurrence in many of Carrboro's early houses which were built without stabilizing footings. When the piers sink, usually at uneven rates, the poorly braced walls tend to lean in different directions. This leaning process may be arrested by inserting additional braces or by nailing plywood over the studs from floor to ceiling.

Another problem often encountered in these houses is the over-extension of joists spans which lead to sagging, bouncy floors, a situation that may be corrected easily with the installation of a support beam perpendicular to the floor joists in the center of the span. Ceiling joists often were extended beyond the exterior walls so that the soffit boards could be nailed to their lower sides; the rafters were not placed directly on the exterior walls, but were nailed to the ends of the joists. Braces strategically placed between the joists and the rafters will divert excess pressure from the ends of the joists to the exterior walls.

Although problems inherent in the construction methods utilized in Carrboro's early houses may be rectified, it should be pointed out that these houses are by no means thoroughly flawed. Expediency was an important consideration by the mills and developers, but strong and well seasoned wood was used, and the roofs were carefully sheathed with cedar shingles or with tin that either had

raised seams or was pressed into decorative patterns. The houses typically were constructed with steeply pitched roofs to allow ample room in the well ventilated attics.

There is no doubt that in spite of their defects these houses were generally superior to those houses in the country formerly inhabited by so many of Carrboro's mill workers. According to J. F. Sturdivant, who wrote a Master's thesis in 1924 on the Carrboro mill village, all of the houses were painted and in fair repair, sixty-five percent were equipped with electric lights and thirty-four percent had refrigerators at the time of her writing.⁷⁵ When Durham Hosiery Mills introduced electrical power to Carrboro in the 1910s, wiring was run along the walls and in the attics of many of the houses. When running water was introduced, commodes were placed in the pantry at the end of the rear porch and a sink was installed in the kitchen at the end of the rear ell. Several years later, hot water heaters were introduced. Above all, the greatest advantage of the houses owned by Durham Hosiery Mills was their low rent. Exact figures are not available, but one resident recalls that in the 1930s a four-room house with electric lights and running water rented for \$1.37 per week.⁷⁶

Life Beyond the Factory Walls

The list of amenities that Durham Hosiery Mills provided their workers is substantial. Houses typically were heated by stoves and fireplaces for which Durham Hosiery Mills sold coal to their employees at the company's cost of \$3.00 per ton. The company also allowed its workers to cut timber from its land for fuel for the cook stoves. At the Durham Hosiery Mills Ice Plant behind Mill No. 4, ice was frozen in 300-pound blocks in ammonia pits. Horses named "Bob" and "Dan" pulled the company's wagons from which the ice was sold door-to-door; the horses knew the route so well that the driver could ride on the rear running board. Another horse named "Charlie" pulled the trash wagon. The horses were kept at the bottom of the S. Greensboro St. hill where they were cared for by company maintenance man Frank Riggan.⁷⁷

Durham Hosiery Mills owned many acres along S. Greensboro St., extending to Morgan Creek. Known as the "company pasture," part of this land was fenced for the employees' cows. There also was room for hog pens, the repository of most of the town's garbage. Durham Hosiery Mills cultivated a large portion of this area as a peach orchard with widely spaced rows of trees in between

which the mill workers could plant family garden plots. The company also paid attention to the planting of trees and bushes along streets and in yards. Employees were provided with flower seeds and bedding plants, and mowers were available for cutting lawns. Maintenance men white-washed all large rocks in the front yards and the lower four or five feet of the tree trunks. After Durham Hosiery Mills built its last group of houses along S. Greensboro St., Lombardy poplars were planted on both sides of the street, lending this thoroughfare its early name of Poplar St.; the street was renamed after the trees became diseased and were cut down in the 1930s.⁷⁸

Many of the benefits provided by the textile company may be considered examples of paternalism, an institution that developed out of the antebellum plantation system. By providing for almost every aspect of the mill workers' lives, in ways that usually improved upon life on the farm, the company encouraged high performance for wages rarely subject to negotiation.⁷⁹ From the designs of the houses the company provided to the donation of land and building materials for churches, the company attempted to mold their workers under the constant supervision—whether at work or play—of the mill supervisors and foremen living in the village.

Provisions for religion and education usually were made with the establishment of the mill village. Shortly after the Alberta Cotton Mill began operation, Thomas F. Lloyd deeded a lot south of the mill to the four churches in Chapel Hill. The Episcopal and Presbyterian churches, who did not want to establish new congregations in neighboring West End, turned their interests in the property over to the Baptists and Methodists, who built the small frame Union Chapel on the site in 1900 or 1901. The two denominations shared the building until 1910. In that year, the Methodists began holding their services in the nearby Carrboro Public School, and in 1914 they built their own church at 112 W. Main St., now the site of the Britt Building.⁸⁰ In 1912, the Baptists renamed Union Chapel as Venable Baptist Church, and in 1914 they again changed the name of Carrboro Baptist Church. By 1921, the congregation was so large that a new building was required. Construction of the present brick building with two short towers began that year and was completed in 1925.⁸¹ Neither the Baptist nor the Methodist church ever had its own cemetery; rather, most of the community used the cemetery on the tract east of Mill No. 7 given early in the century by Dr. Foy Robertson's father and maintained by the mill owners until the late 1930s.⁸²

In addition to serving as the community's spiritual leaders, the churches also were Carrboro's most important social institutions. Most of the mill workers met their spouses in the factory or at church, which sponsored recreational events as well as the services. Weekly programs gave the townspeople both public speaking experience and good entertainment. Church-sponsored excursions, including annual trips to the state fair in Raleigh and picnics at the Carrs' farm, Oconeechee, in Hillsborough, also afforded many of the mill workers their only contact with the "outside world."⁸³



Sparrow's Pool in its heyday. From the Wootten-Moulter Collection, North Carolina Collection, UNC Library, Chapel Hill.

Much of the recreation in early Carrboro was self-made, consisting in the warm months of ice cream parties and socializing on front porches. In the summers, the men and boys swam in the "Sycamore Hole" south of town; the churches forbade public swimming by women until well into the twentieth century. At the close of World War I, Mr. and Mrs. Jody Sparrow built an in-ground swimming pool behind their house on Old Pittsboro Rd. Open to the public until World War II, the pool was one of the most popular recreation spots between Burlington and Raleigh. In the center of town, a fenced playground was built on the north side of Mill No. 7 around 1920; its swings, slides, see-saws and horse shoe pits, heavily used whenever weather permitted, were dismantled during World War II

in order to recycle the materials for the war effort. Durham Hosiery Mills provided a frame clubhouse with recreation and reading rooms on N. Greensboro St., next to the Baptist church. The company also maintained a grove between Weaver and W. Main streets where a barbecue was held every July Fourth. Another popular spot was the basketball court built by the Carrs on the site later occupied by the *Village Advocate* building on Weaver St. Autumn weekends frequently were occupied with the University of North Carolina football games in Chapel Hill. Carrboro residents usually turned out to watch the marching bands and the arrival by train of the opposing team.⁸⁴

The public school was another institution central to life in early Carrboro, though for many years it was not as pervasive a force as the church. Until well into this century, so many children began to work in the mills at the age of twelve that the school taught only grades one through seven. If a student wished to go beyond the seventh grade and it was not necessary that he work to help support his family, he would continue his education in the public school in Chapel Hill.⁸⁵ Carrboro's first school was sponsored by Thomas F. Lloyd at the turn of the century in the small house he built at 109 Center St. Around 1908, this building was supplanted by the larger frame structure built at 114 W. Main St., which was used until December 1921, when the two-story brick Carrboro Public School, now Carrboro Town Hall, was completed.⁸⁶ Throughout the 1930s, the traditional curriculum of reading, writing, arithmetic, history and geography was taught by Carrboro's teachers. A night school begun by the Carrs in the early 1910s for children who had to work in the mills was short-lived due to the students' fatigue and the demands of their nightly chores at home.⁸⁷

"Getting by" in the mill village was possible due to everyone, including the mill administration, helping each other. Such cooperation was particularly essential during crises such as illness. Durham Hosiery Mills always employed a visiting nurse and sometimes called in a doctor. During the 1918 influenza epidemic that shut down just about everything throughout the region, so many Carrboro workers were ill that the company hired nurses to attend to them at home and operated a soup kitchen at the clubhouse. Even under normal conditions, mothers with small children were given time throughout the day to check on them at home.⁸⁸

Many of the amenities enjoyed by Carrboro residents resulted from an experimental program named "An Industrial Democracy." It

was begun in 1917 by Julian S. Carr, Jr., the senior administrator of Durham Hosiery Mills who was known for his interest in the welfare of his employees. The innovative effort established in all of the company's sixteen mills included employee representation and a voice in mill operations, plus a profit sharing plan for employees. Industrial Democracy was organized as a congress with two houses—the Senate composed of the local superintendent, assistant superintendents and foremen, and the House of Representatives consisting of a laborer from each department, elected by his fellow employees every three months. Their basic goal was "cheerful cooperation between owners and operators in bringing to pass things needful for the betterment of all."⁸⁹

The group handled not only problems within the mill, but also worked to help the community as a whole. At the two monthly meetings held in the clubhouse, reports were made on the condition and welfare of the people in each department. Often funds were voted for families in special need, usually due to sickness or death, and repairs were ordered for the houses needing them. Through this program, many significant improvements were made, including the painting of most of the houses inside and out and construction of the playground. Unfortunately, the experiment deteriorated in the wake of hard times suffered throughout the textile industry at the end of World War I. Apparently certain aspects of Industrial Democracy endured, for in 1924 J. F. Sturdivant wrote that cooperation between management and labor still existed, though not through an organized body.⁹⁰

Although Durham Hosiery Mills did not employ a doctor full-time, Carrboro was fortunate to have a respected physician among its residents. In 1913, Dr. Brack Lloyd settled in Carrboro and established a medical practice that served residents of Carrboro, Chapel Hill and the surrounding countryside. Many area residents recall with great fondness their professional relationships with Dr. Lloyd that usually developed into long-lasting friendships. As the only doctor in these communities, Lloyd officiated at most of the local births during the 1910s and 1920s. His leadership also extended beyond the strictly professional. Around 1920 he hired Chapel Hill contractor Charlie Martindale to build the large one-story bungalow at 406 S. Greensboro St., Carrboro's first house to have a central heating system.⁹¹

Diversification

The Dr. Lloyd House is characteristic of the dwellings constructed in Carrboro from around 1920 through the 1930s. The bungalow is a "builders' house" that could be constructed quickly by carpenters from published plans. The ubiquitous house type is known for its unpretentious character, use of natural materials, and an open plan based upon comfort and utility rather than pre-established principles.⁹² Reflecting the reformist Utilitarian movement, the bungalow grew out of the Craftsman philosophy of usefulness combined with beauty and the elimination of superfluous decoration.⁹³

Stylistically, it has been shown to be a continuation and outgrowth of nineteenth-century cottage development in America, inspired by such diverse house types as the raised Louisiana plantation house, stuccoed Cuban houses, Japanese dwellings and Indian caravanserai.⁹⁴ The bungalow began to be publicized around 1900 with Gustav Stickley's periodical *The Craftsman* and soon became firmly established as a fashionable house type, first in California and in North Carolina occurred between the late 1910s and the early 1930s. "Bungalow" is a catholic term that may be applied to any house built in the first decades of this century that is informal in plan, elevation and detail. Consequently, a bungalow could be a rambling two-story house or a small, single-floor cottage. Characteristically, it is one or one-and-one-half stories with a gently sloping, low-pitched roof with deep eaves and simple brackets, and a porch that typically is engaged by the main roofline.

Concurrent with the rise in popularity of the bungalow, Carrboro began to grow significantly beyond the few blocks around the mills. Newcomers as well as established residents desiring houses more fashionable than Carrboro's characteristic basic house types turned to magazines or plan books with mail-order specifications or hired contractors with supplies of stock plans. In the late 1910s, Carrboro businessmen Luther Sturdivant and Knute Mann began planning a new residential development east of the railroad spur in the open area known as "Partridge Field." They platted the tract into a grid of streets, blocks and building lots, and in the early 1920s both men built similar one-story bungalows with multiple rooflines and wraparound porches. Throughout the 1920s, however, very few people followed the investors' example. Instead, many new house builders purchased wooded lots on Hillsborough Rd., removed from the congestion and noise of central Carrboro.⁹⁵

Along Hillsborough Rd., several one-and-one-half-story frame bungalows were erected during the 1920s and 1930s. The Dwight Ray House at 214 Hillsborough Rd. and three neighboring dwellings at 207, 202 and 213 Hillsborough Rd. exhibit very similar designs that are typical of the bungalow mode in their prominent front dormers and tapered box posts on brick plinths supporting engaged front porches. Tall chimneys, exterior sheathing of split shake shingles, and the very large front dormer covering the second tier of the porch distinguish the Miles Andrews House at 214 Hillsborough Rd. As Hillsborough Rd. was being developed, bungalows also were being constructed elsewhere in Carrboro. Some were scattered along the periphery of the original residential areas, as represented by the identical bungalows side by side at 610 and 612 N. Greensboro St., the large one-and-one-half-story Glenn House at 503 Oak Ave., and several one- and one-and-one-half-story bungalows in the 100 to 300 blocks of E. Poplar Ave. One of Carrboro's more decorative bungalows is the William Strayhorn House with its gambrel roof and contrasting exterior materials of German siding and split shake shingles in the first and second stories, respectively.

It was not until the late 1930s when it expanded westward into Partridge Field, that the black neighborhood straddling the corporate limits of Chapel Hill and Carrboro was readily acknowledged as portions of either town. Segregation, both *de facto* and enforced, as well as the black community's own self-image as a distinct entity, were the primary causes of this isolation. Traditionally, North Carolina's mill villages were the domains of whites, although in Durham the Carrs set new precedents with their Durham Hosiery Mills No. 2 plant manned almost entirely by blacks. In Carrboro, the few black wage earners employed in the mills worked as sweepers on the factory floors or as yard men. Some white residents of Carrboro did hire blacks to work in their homes where fond memories often were generated by both employer and employee. Most of the working occupants of the black neighborhood on the Carrboro-Chapel Hill town line, however, worked as day laborers and domestics in Chapel Hill or were self-employed as farmers and artisans such as blacksmiths, carpenters, and stone masons. The churches and schools serving the community were located at the west edge of Chapel Hill or right on the town limits. Thus, the black neighborhood naturally was focussed eastward, away from Carrboro proper. When the textile industry declined in the 1930s and Carrboro's former mill workers sought jobs in Chapel Hill and Durham, outside of the village where life no longer was so strictly

regulated by a single force, interaction with blacks and whites began to occur with somewhat greater ease.⁹⁶

While the textile mills and their benefits remained central to life in Carrboro throughout the first four decades of the twentieth century, the co-existence of other independent business interests ensured a more varied character for the community than that of the typical holistic company town. In addition to the privately built bungalows from the 1910s on, the establishment of a local government under the mayor-council plan and the construction in 1921 of the Carrboro Public School by the town—not by Durham Hosiery Mills—reflected a growing and diversified local economy.⁹⁷ The vitality of Carrboro's economy, as well as that of Chapel Hill, also was indicated by the expansion of the railroad station to a passenger and freight depot and a freight shed in 1913, followed by a larger "freight house" in 1925,⁹⁸ so that Southern Railway could handle the increasing number of goods shipped into and out of the area.



Carrboro's railroad depot built by Southern Railway in 1913.

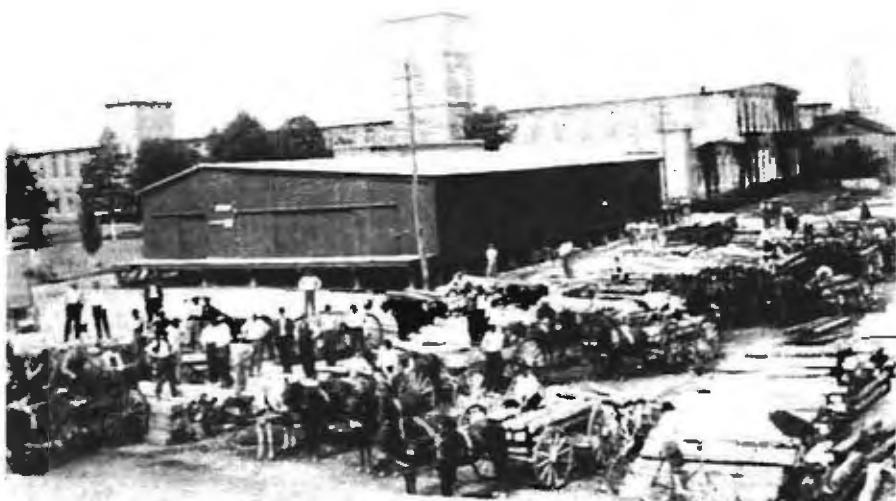
By the early 1910s, included in the area north and east of the railroad depot, where the enterprises marking the town's inception in the 1880s had been established, were Coy Bowen's wagon shop, Bennie Ray's blacksmith shop, and trading stables. Thomas F. Lloyd's flour mill and cotton gin now were owned by his cousin, Herbert Lloyd, who had expanded the operations. The demand for cotton by the local mills was so great that another cotton gin (no longer standing) operated by Glenn Lloyd was built on Laurel Ave.⁹⁹ Wilbur Partin recalls,

In the fall of the year I can remember teams and wagons as far as you could see on all of the

county roads leading into town loaded with cotton going to the gins. After being ginned and baled it was carried to the warehouses [one large one next to each of the mills] where it was bought and stored by Mr. "Ted" Durham for the Durham Hosiery Mills. These warehouses were torn down and moved away in the forties.¹⁰⁰

Herbert Lloyd also operated a saw and planing mill, Orange Lumber Co., in the 1910s, and in the 1920s Knute Mann established the Alamance Lumber Co. on Lloyd St. In 1923, Fitch-Riggs Lumber Co. of Mebane (today Fitch Lumber Co.) bought the building supply portion of the Andrews and Lloyd Lumber and Cedar Co. in the old Blanche Hosiery Mill buildings on N. Greensboro St.¹⁰¹

Carrboro's second largest enterprise, after the textile industry, was the cross tie market. In the 1900s, the Southern Railway began buying railroad cross ties in Carrboro, and by the early 1920s the town was one of the largest cross tie markets in the East. Many area farmers helped pay for their farms by selling ties that they cut from the abundance of red oaks and white oaks on their farms. According to the report prepared for the nomination of the Alberta Mill Complex to the National Register of Historic Places,



Circa 1920 view of the cross tie market on East Main Street, in front of Durham Hosiery Mill No. 4. The frame cotton warehouse and the upper stories of the brick towers have been removed, and the east end of the mill has been extended with a brick addition. From copy in North Carolina Collection, UNC Library, Chapel Hill.

The farmers prepared the wood themselves by peeling off the bark to prevent seepage. The ties were hand-hewn on top and bottom and then hauled by wagon to the marketplace at the depot in Carrboro. There they were classified by an agent of the Southern Railway and sold. A first-class tie might be worth around fifty cents. This market provided an additional source of income for farmers from Orange, Alamance, Durham, and Chatham counties. The line of wagons stretching through the streets of Carrboro was a distinctive sight through the early 1930s when the complex as a whole began to decline.¹⁰²

Carrboro's commercial district, which began in the 1880s with Ruffin Cheek and Hiram Stone's stores, expanded steadily in the twentieth century as the local textile industry thrived. Similar to the town's first light industrial operations, initially Carrboro's stores were located east of the railroad spur, along E. Main St. The first commercial buildings west of the spur were erected early in this century on Thomas F. Lloyd's Weaver St. property facing his Alberta Cotton Mill. They included a grocery owned by Henry Lloyd and a general store. Although there is no record of there ever having been a company store in Carrboro, some Carrboro residents recall that one was operated in this block for a brief period until the early 1910s.¹⁰³ The 1911 series of the Sanborn Insurance Maps for Chapel Hill indicates a large building materials and hardware store, a general store, and a very small drug store on the south side of E. Main St. just west of the railroad tracks, as well as a general store, another drug store and the post office east of the tracks. By 1914, the commercial block on Weaver St. was more heavily developed with a drug store, barber shop, and the Colonial Movie Theatre, which closed around 1917. All of these early businesses occupied one- or one-and-one-half-story frame buildings situated directly on the street.¹⁰⁴

In the late 1910s, Carrboro's commercial district shifted its focus from Weaver St. to E. Main St. Some of the buildings were actually moved from Weaver St., while others were newly constructed on E. Main St.¹⁰⁵ This business area grew so rapidly that by the early 1920s J. F. Sturdivant recorded fifteen stores here—ten grocery, two dry goods, one drug, one hardware, and one wholesale grocery—as well as two auto repair shops, one shoe shop, three meat markets, a laundry, a barber shop and a bank.¹⁰⁶ In addition, there were a pool parlor and a candy kitchen in the district, and Mrs. Tilly Parker's hat shop.¹⁰⁷ T. D. Hardee's grocery on W. Main St. at the



View of the 100 block of East Main Street, probably taken around 1920. Note that only the building at the extreme left, now part of NCNB, is of brick construction. From copy in North Carolina Collection, UNC Library, Chapel Hill.

corner of N. Greensboro St. was famous for its counter that was open to N. Greensboro St. by a wooden shutter on chains.¹⁰⁸ Next door on W. Main St. was Miss Annie Ray's grocery, later run by T. C. Lindsay. Some of the businesses—such as Chris Hundley's grocery and meat market and B. S. Williams' wholesale grocery on N. Greensboro St. (FCX now occupies the site), and T. D. Hardee's wood yard on Elm St.—were located beyond the E. Main St. central business district. A photograph from the period reveals that the district's frame buildings were simple designs, several of them sporting rounded or stepped false parapets surmounting the main facades and porches supported by turned posts. Built around 1920, R. H. Marks' Dry Goods Store, now the larger unit of the North Carolina National Bank Building at 104 E. Main St., was Carrboro's first brick commercial building. J. C. "Bulleye" Merritt's soda shop and hot dog stand occupied the frame building on the west side of Marks' store.¹⁰⁹

The character of Carrboro's central business district began to change in 1924 after the fire that started in the Pendergraphs' boarding house at 102 E. Main St. destroyed several of the frame buildings in the north end of the block. Of the commercial buildings here, the only ones to survive the fire were R. H. Marks' brick building and the small frame grocery formerly on the corner of S. Greensboro St., occupied by Hearn's Grocery. The other property owners in the block followed Marks' example and replaced their ruined frame buildings with structures built of brick, less readily destroyed by fire. J. C. Merritt replaced his store with a one-story brick building attached to Marks' store; its later occupant was Senter Drug Store. On the site of the boarding house, Lueco Lloyd built a two-unit-wide brick structure. Hearn's Grocery moved into the entire building, and the frame

building next door on the corner became Andrews and Riggsbee's "Jot 'Em Down" store.¹¹⁰

Beginning in the mid-1920s, brick buildings gradually replaced the frame stores at the other end of the block. Samly Merritt's drug store occupied the unit at the east end of the two-story block of stores built in stages at 114 to 120 E. Main St. For many years the Melba Movie Theater operated by Gurnie H. Ray was located at 118 E. Main St. The store at 116 E. Main St. was the site of Lloyd-Ray Hardware for almost forty years.¹¹¹ East of the railroad tracks a few one-story brick buildings were erected on Lloyd St., including the small structure at the corner of Cobb St. built around 1930 as a town hall and fire department. Along E. Main St. east of the railroad spur, several of the frame buildings that initially contained stores became service-oriented business in the 1930s and 1940s and most were removed by the early 1950s.¹¹² Between Broad and Lloyd streets, the one-story frame structure known as the Old Neville Building, built in the 1880s and believed to have been Carrboro's first store building, remained standing until 1960; its last occupant was the Carrboro Cash Store run by Cliff and Wilbur Partin.¹¹³

The End of an Era

The mid-1920s commercial building boom in Carrboro ended as the prosperity of Durham Hosiery Mills began to decline toward the end of the decade. For many years, after silk hosiery had been introduced in the mid-1910s, the demand for cotton hosiery had been waning. Carrboro's mill operations began to be curtailed in 1928 as the national economy weakened. The sharp drop in sales that followed the 1929 stock market crash officially marking the advent of the Great Depression dealt a severe blow to Durham Hosiery Mills, and in 1930 the company closed Mill No. 4. With the rising popularity of synthetics, particularly nylon that could be manufactured less expensively than cotton, Durham Hosiery Mills continued to suffer. On June 22, 1938, after just one week's notice, the last yarn was shipped from Mill No. 7 and its doors were closed.¹¹⁴ At about the same time, all of the other Durham Hosiery Mills plants remaining in operation were shut down. In 1939, the company sold much of its Carrboro property at auction. Most of their houses were sold for \$500 to \$550 each, many to their occupants. Marvin J. "Joe Buck" Dawson of Chapel Hill bought several houses, including the superintendent's house at 103 W. Main St., for investment property. Carrboro merchant Ernest Hearn purchased a block of several houses on

E. Carr and S. Greensboro streets. Former mill foreman W. A. Riggsbee and farmer and businessman Dick Andrews also acquired some of the property. After a few years, many of the former mill workers who had to continue to rent from new owners managed to buy their houses.¹¹⁵

Fortunately, many of Carrboro's mill workers found employment elsewhere. After Mill No. 4 closed, some of the workers obtained jobs at Durham Hosiery Mills plants in Durham. Many found work at the university in Chapel Hill, which executed a tremendous expansion of its facilities in the 1930s. Others found at least temporary work in the peach orchards of neighboring counties.¹¹⁶ Carrboro's residents managed to survive, and with the United States' entrance into World War II their financial prospects rose. When the National Munitions Corporation converted Mill No. 7 into a shell loading plant in 1942, many of Carrboro's former mill workers became assemblers of anti-aircraft ammunition. At its peak, the plant employed 1,600 workers and had a weekly payroll of \$45,000. It closed in August 1945 with a distinguished war record, having earned the Army-Navy "E" award for outstanding production three times.¹¹⁷

The removal of yet another industry did not cause much of a setback in the local economy. A few months earlier, Pacific Mills, one of the country's largest wool manufacturing companies, purchased Mill No. 4 for the establishment of a new branch named Carrboro Woolen Mills. Later, Pacific Mills also bought Mill No. 7, which had stood idle since being stripped of its munitions manufacturing machinery at the end of the war. According to Hugh Lefler and Paul Wager in their history of Orange County, both factories were modernized with air conditioning, fluorescent lighting, and the latest spinning and weaving equipment, and their grounds were attractively landscaped.¹¹⁸ Lefler and Wager recount that

The first bolt of woolen military cloth, made on contract for the government, came from the looms April 27, 1945. Within a few months, however, Pacific Mills was manufacturing its pre-war type of products—high grade worsteds for men's and ladies' suits, dress material, auto fabrics, and the like. The mills regularly employ about 525 persons, and have an annual payroll of \$1,100,000. Except for a few key men, all are local people who had to learn the processes after they were employed.¹¹⁹

By the time the woolen mill closed in the mid-1950s, Carrboro was no longer dependent upon industry to sustain itself. The University of North Carolina and a variety of businesses in the surrounding area were experiencing a period of rapid growth that provided work for Carrboro's residents in a wide range of occupations and locations.

Wilbur Partin expressed the sentiments of many Carrboro residents when he wrote in 1982,

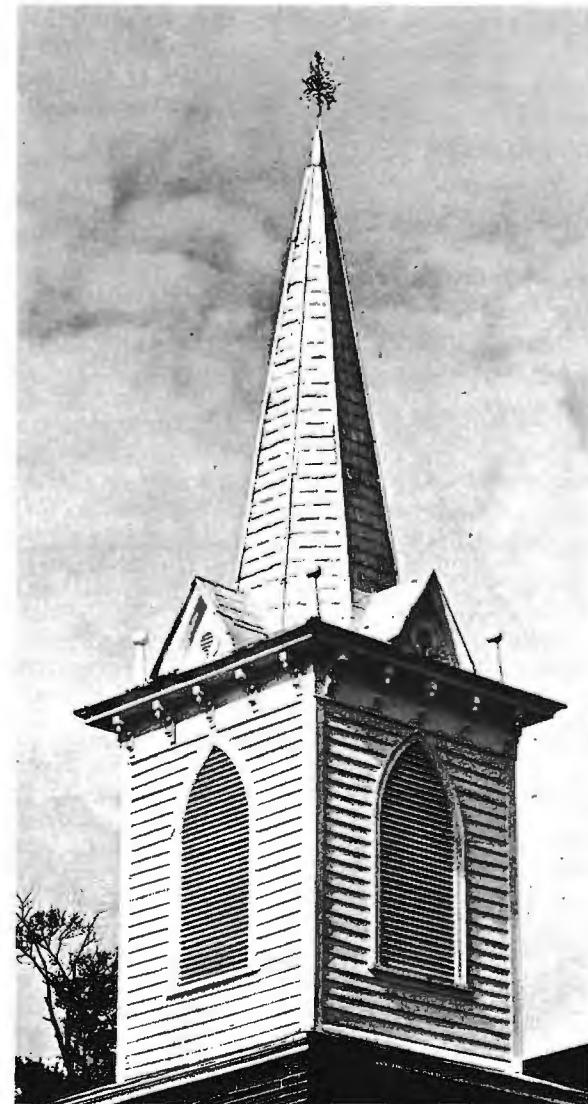
June 1938 ended an era of the mill village life, but it was more than a village. It was a haven, a community of good hard-working honest poor people who never gave up and never refused their neighbors in trouble, people who played together, went to school together, worked and worshipped together and through the good and bad stuck together. Carrboro today is a far cry from the old mill village. But some of it is left and I hope and pray can be preserved for coming generations that they might see a part of what my generation and the ones before knew so well.¹²⁰

NOTES

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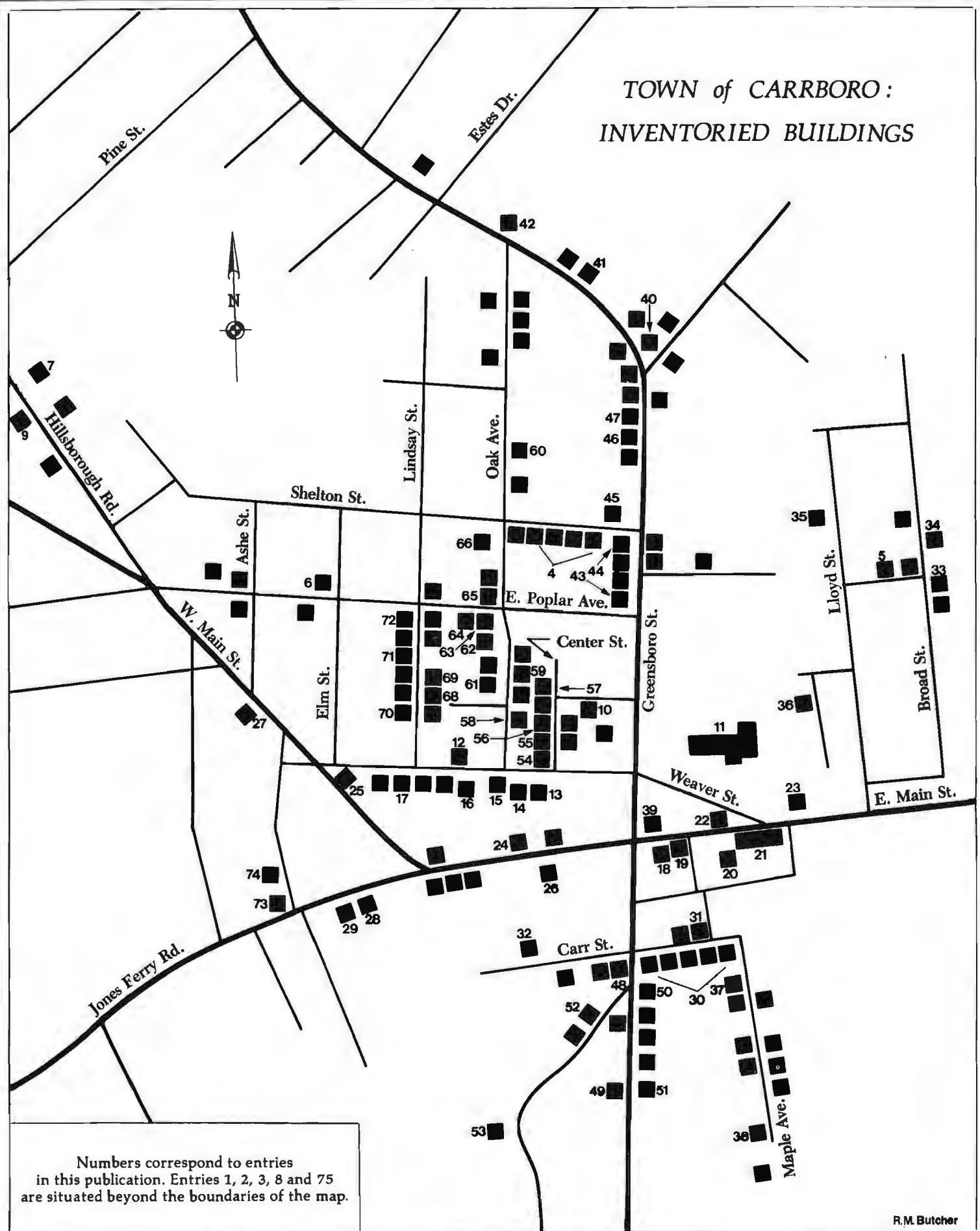
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22. Sturdivant, Ch. I, p. 1.
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62. Sanborn Map Co., 1915 and 1925 series.
63. Partin interview.
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67. Partin interview; and oral history gathered by Friends of Old Carrboro, Inc. for its first annual house tour, October 1982.
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70. Watts and Ellington interview.
71. Williams interview.
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74. Information on the construction of Carrboro's early houses is taken from a report prepared by contractor Gary Sronce for Friends of Old Carrboro, Inc., November 1982.
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104. Sanborn Map Co., 1911 and 1915 series.
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114. *Ibid.*
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119. *Ibid.*
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The belfry and steeple of St. Paul's A.M.E. Church.

TOWN of CARRBORO:
INVENTORIED BUILDINGS



Numbers correspond to entries
in this publication. Entries 1, 2, 3, 8 and 75
are situated beyond the boundaries of the map.

Inventory of Properties

The properties presented in the 75 entries that follow were chosen from the more than 150 structures examined in the architectural inventory conducted in Carrboro during 1980 and 1981. In addition to Carrboro's architecturally and historically significant buildings, representative examples of the town's characteristic building types and styles are included here. In most instances, the representative examples of characteristic types and styles were selected for their architectural integrity. In a few cases, the availability of photographs affected selection. It should be noted that many of the inventoried structures omitted from this publication contribute positively to Carrboro's built environment.

The building names used in the entries are the names of the original owners or occupants, if known. A later significant name associated with the structure is used if the original name is not known. Multiple names are used when more than one owner or inhabitant has been prominently associated with a building. When a historical designation of a structure is not positively known, the property is entered as "house" or "commercial building." If a structure is no longer used for the purpose its name suggests, "former," in parentheses, precedes the name.

Except for the Weaver House, the Barnstable, Webb's Happy Acres, and St. Paul's A.M.E. Church, the order of presentation of the buildings is geographical: the entries on the streets running east-west are presented first, beginning with the northernmost streets and progressing in a southerly direction. These are followed by entries on the streets running north-south, proceeding from east to west. For each street, the buildings are presented consecutively by street number, the even-numbered buildings preceding the odd-numbered.

1. Weaver House 116 Walters Road

The Weaver House is the oldest surviving structure in Carrboro. Originally, the house consisted only of the rear wing of hewn log construction. Members of the Weaver family, who owned the house for most of the 19th century, believe that the story-and-a-jump log house (a one-and-one-half-story house without dormers), with a single room on each floor, was built around 1740. The existing fabric does not preclude an 18th-century construction date. According to tradition, the building initially was a tavern on the Hillsborough Wagon Road, the bed of which remains visible today just a few yards to the east.

The earliest known owner of the property was Allan Bubberly, who sold it to Thomas Weaver, a farmer, in 1811. The Weaver family owned the property for almost one

hundred years. For many years, the family of Thomas Weaver, and later that of his son, John, lived in the log house, which was enlarged with a frame one-story shed-roofed kitchen wing along the west elevation at an early date. The most distinctive features of this early construction are the large rubble stone single-shoulder chimneys with freestanding brick stacks on the north elevation. The larger chimney is in the gable end of the log portion and the smaller is attached to the frame kitchen addition.

The exact date of construction of the one-and-one-half-story frame portion which is now the front of the house is not known. This portion, with two rooms on each floor, is quite plain, with exposed rafters in the gable ends. Its most stylish feature is the entrance of narrow double doors, each with a single vertical panel, and a four-pane



1. Weaver House

transom above. The six-over-six double-hung sashes and the two-panel Greek Revival doors throughout suggest a construction date after 1830. According to tradition, the front portion was built around 1861 in order to accommodate the wife and children of a member of the Weaver family who departed to fight in the Civil War. Apparently the original log portion of the house was remodelled at the same time as the front wing was built as it, too, has Greek Revival doors and six-over-six sashes in the first story. The two major wings of the house were connected by a breezeway in which the stairs to the second story of the log portion are located.

Title to the house is not certain after John Weaver's death in 1887. It appears that the house, known very early in this century as the Winfield and Weldon Weaver place, remained in the family. In 1910, the house was purchased by Alexander and Leta Hogan, who sold it to Sara Thomas Watters in 1941. About this time, the dirt road leading to the house, formerly named Old Hillsborough Road, was re-named Watters Road; a cartographer subsequently misinterpreted the name as "Walters," and ever since then the road has been named Walters Road.

Photographs taken in 1941 by Mrs. Watters

reveal that the log portion had been sheathed in weatherboards, perhaps when the frame front portion of the house was constructed. In addition to installing the modern amenities of electricity, running water, and bathrooms, Mrs. Watters replaced the deteriorated kitchen attached to the log wing, while preserving the stone chimney, with a two-story addition. She also removed all of the sheathing on the log wing so that the timbers were exposed on the interior and exterior. To accommodate her children's families, Mrs. Watters also added a front porch upon which a second-story wing extended as a large dormer.

Professor and Mrs. J. Edison Adams, who purchased the house from Mrs. Watters in 1950, must be credited with the careful preservation of the building and its grounds. In the late 1950s, Prof. Adams and his son removed Mrs. Watters' front addition and replaced it with the existing shed dormer and hip-roofed porch. Prof. Adams, who taught in the botany department of the University of North Carolina At Chapel Hill until his retirement in 1969, tended the house and yard, leaving most of the thirty-acre tract in its natural state. Since his death in 1980, Mrs. Adams has successfully continued the family tradition of loving preservation of the property.



2. The Barnstable



4. 101 to 107 Shelton Street

2. The Barnstable 110 Walters Road

The history of this house is every bit as interesting as its melange of forms and materials. The central, two-story board and batten portion of the house was built as a barn on the property of the Weaver House, located next door, probably by a member of the Weaver family. In the 1950s, when the Weaver House was owned by Sara Thomas Watters, Mrs. Watters deeded the barn and several acres to her sister, a Charlotte, North Carolina, interior decorator. Mrs. Watters' sister collected old materials compatible with the rustic quality of the barn



3. Webb's Happy Acres



5. Sturdivant-Mason House

and proceeded to transform the farm building to a dwelling as an exhibition of her design talents. The barn was recycled and enlarged with one- and two-story wings of log and frame construction. The exterior of the frame additions are board and batten. Upon its completion, the house was sold to a family named Thompson, who were succeeded by the Roes and the Walter Holts. Mr. and Mrs. Wallace Kurault, the present owners, bought the house from the Holts around 1965. Using restrictive covenants to carefully develop their acreage, the Kuraults have continued to enhance their home with recycled materials. Mr. Kurault currently is building a log guest house northeast of the main house.

3. Webb's Happy Acres

North Side of North Greensboro Street, .2 mile west of junction with Hanna Street

Local ownership of the land on which this stately frame house is situated dates back to 1744 when Shearley Whatley purchased 200 acres from the Earl of Granville for £30. The document of this Colonial land grant has been passed down through generations of family owners. In the 1800s, the property came into the possession of Carolina Kirkland, and hence to her children, one of whom was Miriam Harwood Webb. Upon Miriam Webb's death, the property passed to her seven children. After buying some of the other heirs' interests in the property, her son and his wife, Mr. and Mrs. J. Richard Webb, moved into the house around 1954 and named it "Webb's Happy Acres."

The original, two-story, one-room-deep portion of the house is believed to have been built around 1830, perhaps by Carolina Kirkland and her husband, or by their predecessors. Exterior chimneys with corbelled caps dominate the two gable ends. In this portion of the house, ten- and twelve-inch logs were used for sills; the frame is pegged. The interior walls are sheathed in horizontal random-width boards as wide as 18 inches. The boards in the living and dining rooms, on either side of the center hall, were planed in a sawmill, while those on the upstairs bedroom ceilings appear to have been handcrafted. The original one-story shed across the rear of the house that contained the kitchen, a porch and another room was replaced in the 1920s with a large two-story wing. Later additions include a den and upstairs porch attached to the 1920s wing, as well as a breezeway and carport.

When Mr. and Mrs. Webb acquired the house, it had been occupied by tenants for many years. The Webbs undertook an extensive renovation of the house that entailed both restoration and installation of modern amenities. The exterior was revived with fresh paint, some windows were widened to let in more light, wallpaper was removed from the wooden walls and ceilings, and

new plumbing and heating systems were added. Although much of the surrounding acreage has been developed recently as subdivisions, the rural heritage of Webb's Happy Acres survives in the enormous front yard surrounded by cedar trees, frame outbuildings behind the house, and the family cemetery in the adjoining woods.

4. Houses

101 to 107 Shelton Street

These four one-story houses, originally identical in form, plan and decoration, are typical of the modest houses built by mills for their employees at the turn of this century. All of these houses were built for Bill Lloyd, a cousin of Alberta Cotton Mill owner Thomas F. Lloyd who invested in the construction of many houses that he rented to his cousin's mill workers. Only the carpenter who constructed 107 Shelton Street is known: He was Thomas Clark, who moved to Carrboro from the Cane Creek area at the urging of the Lloyds.

The houses at 101 to 107 Shelton Street are one room deep with a rear ell and a shed-roofed front porch. The front portion of the houses consists of two rooms linked by a doorway in the partitioning wall that accommodates the central chimney with a fireplace in each of the two rooms. Each room could be entered from the outside by a front door; rather than indicating a duplex, the two front doors enabled the millworker occupants, who often used both front rooms as bedrooms, to depart from the house without disturbing other members of the family. On all of the houses, the porch along the rear ell, which contained the kitchen and another room, has been enclosed. The only decorative features of these austere houses are the exposed rafters in the eaves of the gable ends and the sawtooth boards sheathing the sides of the shed roofs on the front porches. Three of the four porches remain basically intact; at 105 Shelton Street, the porch has been replaced with a metal awning above the front door.

5. Sturdivant-Mason House
103 Fowler Street

When Luther Sturdivant had this house built in the early 1920s, the surrounding blocks were the undeveloped area known as "Partridge Field." Sturdivant, a Carrboro merchant, and his wife, the Carrboro Graded School principal for many years, believed that the area would become the town's new, fashionable residential neighborhood. Shortly after they built their house, another Carrboro businessman, Knute Mann, and a local builder, John Squires, constructed houses for themselves next door and on a nearby corner, respectively. Around 1940, when only three additional houses had been built and further development appeared stalled, the residents began moving to the Hillsborough Road area which had superseded "Partridge Field" as the most popular neighborhood. Morris Mason, who was employed by the UNC Athletic Department until his retirement in the 1970s, purchased the one-story house from the Sturdivants. The traditional blocky form exhibits a wrap-around front porch and a low-pitched hipped and gabled roofline, accented with two tall interior chimneys. The paired box posts on brick plinths and the deep eaves are bungalow features that were popular at the time the house was built.

6. Hundley House
207 East Poplar Avenue

The Sanborn Insurance Maps and recollections of long-time Carrboro residents indicate that this one-and-one-half-story house was built in the early 1920s. The three-room-deep form is augmented by shed-roofed dormers and the engaged wrap-around porch. On the basis of the single surviving turned porch post with sawn spandrels, it appears that the other supports of tapered box posts on brick plinths are replacements of traditional millwork elements. In recent years the weatherboards have been obscured by metal siding. The house is popularly known for its long-time owner, Chris Hundley, who for many years operated a grocery, first located in a two-

story frame building (destroyed) on North Greensboro Street opposite East Poplar Avenue, the present site of the FCX.

7. Miles Andrews House (II)
214 Hillsborough Road

This large one-and-one-half-story bungalow is one of Carrboro's most distinctive houses. The siting of the house far back from the road in the middle of a large lot covered with mature hardwoods enhances the building. Its characteristic yet prominent bungalow features include the split shake shingles covering the exterior, the squat tapered box posts on brick plinths supporting the wraparound porch, and the deep eaves with exposed rafter ends. Simple triangle brackets decorate the large gable-roofed dormers. The most distinctive features of the house are the tall interior chimneys with heavily corbelled stacks and the dormer which extends to cover the second tier of the front porch at the entrance bay. Several frame outbuildings attest to the rural character of the area when the house was built for Carrboro businessman Miles Andrews in the 1920s. They also reflect Andrews' interest in livestock, one of his business concerns.

8. Dwight Ray House
218 Hillsborough Road

Dwight Ray, remembered as one of Carrboro's successful merchants who also was active in local politics, had this one-and-one-half-story bungalow built in the early 1920s. With Seaton Lloyd, Ray was co-owner of Lloyd-Ray Hardware, which occupied the brick commercial building at 116 East Main Street for approximately forty years. He also served as an Orange County Commissioner. Characteristic of the bungalow mode, simple triangle brackets in deep eaves decorate the gently sloping roof which is splayed to engage the wraparound front porch supported by tapered box posts on brick plinths. The combination of German siding on the first story and split shake shingles in the second enhances the design



6. Hundley House



7. Miles Andrews House (II)



8. Dwight Ray House



9. 217 Hillsborough Road

of the house, as does the exterior chimney that pierces the gable overhang as it rises to a corbelled stack. In the windows, four narrow vertical panes fill the single sashes and upper members of the double-hung sashes. Between 1979 and 1981, the house was completely restored and the large yard manicured by the present owners.

9. Houses
212, 213 and 217 Hillsborough Road

All of the houses built along Hillsborough Road in the 1920s and early 1930s are bungalows. In addition to the houses built for Miles Andrews and Dwight Ray at 214 and 218 Hillsborough Road, respectively, three other bungalows, similar to the Dwight Ray House in form, size and detailing, were built at 212, 213 and 217 Hillsborough Road. With the exception of its gable-roofed front dormer and weatherboards covering all of the elevations, this representative example at 217 Hillsborough Road, is

virtually identical on the exterior to the Dwight Ray House. The house at 213 Hillsborough Road differs from the others in its cross-gable roof with the front gable engaging the porch. Indicative of their sources in builders' guides or popular magazines, all of the houses share the standard bungalow features of tapered box posts on brick plinths supporting the engaged front porches and deep eaves with simple triangle brackets or exposed rafter ends. In addition, all of these houses are situated on spacious lots.



10. 105 Short Street



12. 302 Weaver Street



11. Alberta Cotton Mill/Durham Hosiery Mills No. 4

**10. House
105 Short Street**

Although in a state of disrepair, this house, built around 1898 to accommodate workers in Thomas F. Lloyd's Alberta Cotton Mill, stands virtually intact. The typical mill house form of a one-room-deep main portion with a rear ell has a center hall plan and an interior chimney serving two fireplaces

back to back in one of the front rooms and a room in the ell. The other front room has an interior flue. The original sawnwork spandrels with encircled four-point stars decorate the simple posts supporting the shed-roofed front porch. Most of the detailing is concentrated at the roofline where the patterned pressed tin roof is defined by molded box cornices with returns and plain frieze boards below.

11. Alberta Cotton Mill/Durham Hosiery Mills No. 4

Northeast corner of Weaver Street and North Greensboro Street

In 1898, as his cotton gin and grist mill behind the depot prospered, Thomas F. Lloyd, at almost sixty years of age, embarked upon a new venture. With the issuance of \$75,000 of capital stock, he began the Alberta Cotton Mill, with which West End would develop into a full-fledged community, eventually named Carrboro. By the spring of 1899 the rectangular two-story building was completed, situated little more than 150 yards northwest of the depot. The standard mill construction utilizing a very heavy, slow-burning timber frame with chamfered supporting beams provided the large open interior spaces and strong floors necessary to accommodate the machinery. The red brick exterior is characterized by tall and narrow segmental-arched windows that admitted light and ventilation to the factory floors. This regular fenestration of double-hung windows with lintels and heavy wooden sills, along with a string course, emphasizes the building's horizontality. At the middle of the south side of the mill, a four-story tower containing a round-headed entrance, stairs and a 10,000 gallon water tank at the top added a vertical accent. Here, decorative corbelled caps enhanced the straightforward design. Elsewhere, ornamental features were limited to the heavy curved sawn rafter ends exposed in the deep overhang of the very low-pitched gable roof. A one-story power house extended from the northeast corner of the mill. To the north there was a 250,000-gallon reservoir, and to the southeast a one-story frame cotton warehouse. The surrounding lawn planted with hardwoods was punctuated by a small frame one-story office and four six-sided brick well houses (later fire hose houses) with knuckle joints and pyramidal roofs. East and northeast of the mill, on the same tract, Lloyd built twelve one-story frame houses for his laborers.

At first, Lloyd's cotton thread spinning operation occupied only the first floor of the

mill. In 1902 he leased the second floor to William E. Lindsay and Isaac W. Pritchard's Blanche Hosiery Mill. As Lloyd's enterprise grew, the Blanche mill had to move to new quarters so that the Alberta Cotton Mill could use the entire building. In March, 1909, Lloyd sold his company and the mill and grounds to Julian S. Carr of Durham. Having experienced twenty-five years of success with his textile industries in Durham, Carr was rapidly expanding his eleven-year-old Durham Hosiery Mills Corporation with the acquisition of small spinning and knitting mills, such as the Alberta Cotton Mill, throughout North Carolina. In 1913, Carr and his family bought the Thomas F. Lloyd Manufacturing Company, another textile mill built by Lloyd and others on the south side of E. Main St. in 1909 to 1910; Carr renamed this later building Durham Hosiery Mills No. 7.

The Alberta Cotton Mill became Durham Hosiery Mills No. 4 with several departments on its two floors. For several years, winding, warping and carding were carried out on the first floor, and spinning, knitting and finishing on the second. Eventually, all of the cotton thread department took up the first floor and the second story was used extensively for knitting children's cotton stockings. To keep up with the steadily increasing demand for cotton hosiery, Durham Hosiery Mills soon began expanding Mill No. 4. In 1912, the building was almost doubled in size with a two-story extension continuing the original design of the mill added to its west end. A two-story tower with narrow segmental-arched windows projects at the juncture of the new and old construction on the south elevation, balancing the original tower to the west. At the same time, a one-story brick wing with a rounded frame entrance hood was built on the southeast corner and a new, separate power house was erected northeast of the reservoir. Around 1918, the original power house wing on the northeast corner of the mill was enlarged to two stories, with a two-story tower projecting from its north elevation and a three-story tower from its south. The four mill towers all were built with

corbelled cornices and pyramidal roofs. All of these early additions continued the original identifying feature of the evenly spaced multi-paned windows topped with fixed transoms.

For three decades, Carrboro's two textile mills remained the focus of the community's life. In the mid-1910s, however, the demand for cotton hosiery abated in response to the rising popularity of silk stockings. With the advent of the Great Depression, Durham Hosiery Mills declined, and in 1930 the company closed its Mill No. 4. The building stood idle until early in 1945 when Pacific Mills purchased it for its new branch, Carrboro Woolen Mills. To modernize the facilities, Pacific Mills immediately tore down the surrounding frame ancillary buildings and enlarged the mill with the plain two-story brick warehouse, known as the east wing, joined to the mill with knuckle jointing on its southeast corner. A two-story infill addition also was built between the two towers on the south elevation. When air conditioning was installed around 1950, most of the windows were filled in with brick. About this time, the pyramidal roofs were removed from the towers. After Pacific Mills left Carrboro in the mid-1950s, the mill served as a warehouse for several years.

In 1976, the abandoned and dilapidated brick mill and its eight-acre tract were rehabilitated as Carr Mill under the Tax Reform Act of 1976, which provided handsome tax incentives for renovations that preserve the original character of historic buildings. The redevelopment by EDY Corporation, based in Chapel Hill, and Southern Real Estate of Charlotte included the adaptive reuse of the mill as shops and offices as well as new construction in the area to the north formerly occupied by mill houses. Many of the bricked-in windows were re-opened and on the interior most of the masonry walls, heavy timbers and maple floors were left exposed. According to a U. S. Department of the Interior case study of this project, "...the architectural character of the mill lent itself to easy adaption: the heavy structural system provided ample support for the new

uses, high ceilings allowed adequate space for installation of mechanical equipment, and the large open floor areas minimized the need for interior demolition . . ." The redeveloped property has contributed to the revitalization of Carrboro's formerly depressed business district, and once again the Alberta Cotton Mill/Durham Hosiery Mill No. 4 stands as a major focal point of central Carrboro.

**12. House
302 Weaver Street**

This structure exemplifies one of the variations of the larger one-story, one-room-deep frame houses built by investors to be sold or rented to Carrboro mill workers. This house and the almost identical West House (built next door and moved to 209-A Oak Avenue in 1981) were constructed by Brodie Lloyd for rental, either direct or through the mill, to the mill workers in his cousin Thomas F. Lloyd's Alberta Cotton Mill. At 302 Weaver Street, a triple-A roof-line and an exterior chimney with a corbelled cap in each gable end characterize the house. The original exterior materials have been covered with aluminum siding. The raised seam tin covering the roof may have replaced original split shake shingles. The front yard filled with mature foliage and hardwoods is marked by a low dry-laid stone wall which lends individuality to the prototypical mill house form.

**13. House
201 Weaver Street**

Another house type popular in Carrboro throughout the first quarter of the 20th century is represented by this one-story, two-room-deep house with a tall hipped roof and center hall plan. Each of the two principal rooms on either side of the center hall has a fireplace, and each pair of fireplaces is served by a single interior chimney. The decorative front gable with split shake shingles lends some individuality to the form. Slender turned posts support the hip-roofed front porch. A kitchen ell is attached to the rear of the house. At the time of its construction, behind the house there was a



13. 201 Weaver Street



14. 203 Weaver Street



15. 205 Weaver Street

community grove with a barbecue pit and a softball field maintained by the Durham Hosiery Mills. The house was occupied for many years by A. J. Blackwood, who came to Carrboro from Burlington, N.C., in 1914 to be a superintendent in the No. 4 mill of the Durham Hosiery Mills, owner of the house. Later, the Thrift family lived here. In 1980, the house was rescued from its abandoned and dilapidated condition by a local investor who converted it to offices. This adaptive re-use successfully preserved the integrity of this house.

**14. House
203 Weaver Street**

This house also was the target of a restorative adaptive re-use by the same businessman who rehabilitated the house next door at 201 Weaver Street. In this case, the house is typical of the smaller, one-room-deep type built by Thomas F. Lloyd for rental to his Alberta Cotton Mill workers. In spite of the decorative front gable in which scalloped, sawtooth and split shake shingles are combined, overall the house is very simply detailed, with plain cornices and exposed rafter ends rather than molded box cornices. Several bands of molding encircle the rather squat turned porch posts. The rear ell has been enlarged to a wing across the entire rear elevation.

**15. House
205 Weaver Street**

Built by carpenter Thomas Clark in the first decade of this century, this house is typical of one of the varieties of the smallest one-story, one-room-deep houses built for one of the Lloyds as speculative rental housing for Alberta Cotton Mill laborers. Surviving virtually intact on the exterior, this particular house type exhibits a single, central entrance on the main facade that opens to a foyer from which the two principal rooms may be entered. Separating these rooms, behind the foyer, is a wall containing a central chimney with a fireplace serving each room. Characteristic of other Carrboro mill houses, the porch along the rear ell has been enclosed. When the house was converted to offices in 1981, a restoration of the exterior preserved the patterned pressed tin roof.



16. Bennie Ray House



17. 401 Weaver Street



18. Hearn's Grocery

16. Bennie Ray House
301 Weaver Street

With the assistance of carpenter Thomas Clark, in 1910 Bennie Ray built this house for his family, in whose possession it remains today. Although modern amenities have been installed over the years, the exterior of the three-room-deep, cross-shaped house, one of the few two-story houses erected during Carrboro's early years, has been carefully preserved. Turned posts with decorative sawnwork and spool spanrels support the wraparound porch. The raised seam tin roof, with molded box cornices, returns and frieze boards, appears to be authentic. There is an original one-story kitchen wing at the rear of the house which

has been expanded considerably with a shed addition.

For many years, Ray operated a blacksmith shop on Lloyd Street with his brother, Tom, and his son, Atlas. Three other children — Ada, Nancy and Theodore — worked in the cotton mill. In a shop attached to the rear of Ray's blacksmith shop, Coy Bowen made and repaired wooden farm equipment. Bennie Ray was known as a hard worker; when his business declined due to the Depression, he outfitted a wagon and travelled through Orange County seeking business. After his death in 1933, his son, Atlas, continued to operate the shop until mechanized farming put blacksmithing out of business.

17. House
401 Weaver Street

A Mr. Barnes, an area farmer who owned parcels of land on Weaver Street and South Greensboro Street, had this house constructed very early in this century as rental property. Quite intact on the exterior, the house is representative of a type that was built occasionally throughout Carrboro. The overall form is almost three sides of a square, consisting of a main, one-room-deep portion at the front and a rear wing that is L-shaped. The triple-A roof covered with decorative pressed tin has a diamond-shaped vent in the front gable. The original turned porch posts have been replaced with box posts that support the hip-roofed front porch. In the 1970s, the house was converted to offices.

18. Hearn's Grocery
102 East Main Street

Carrboro's oldest business and its only surviving independent grocery occupies this one-story brick building. The large transoms of tiny frosted panes topped with a simple molded box cornice of metal and recessed corbelled panels above are characteristic of modest brick commercial buildings dating from the 1920s. Lueco Lloyd constructed the building in 1924 as rental property on the former site of the Pendergraph Boarding House, where a recent fire that destroyed much of the block had originated. The building was designed with two fronts so that it could be subdivided, if desired. Lloyd's first and only tenant was John Hearn, who had been operating his grocery, J. E. Hearn & Son, in a frame building (later replaced with the present brick building on the site) next door on the corner of South Greensboro Street. Prior to moving to Carrboro after World War I, Hearn had operated a grocery in Chapel Hill on the site of University Baptist Church. James Hearn recalls that in the early years of the family's Carrboro grocery, many of the customers would arrive in their wagons at the hitching post to the rear of the store with meat and produce for barter.

After John Hearn's death, his son Len continued to operate the Carrboro grocery under the name of L. D. Hearn. In 1944, Hearn purchased the building, and over the years the new owner extended the rear of the building three times. Other alterations include the installation of the metal awning and metal framed plate glass windows. In the 1950s, Len Hearn's son, James, entered the business and the name was changed to L. D. Hearn & Son. After his father's death, James, who continues to operate the business today, changed the name to Hearn's Grocery.

19. Commercial Buildings
106-A and 106-B East Main Street

These one-story brick buildings with their simple rectangular panels topped with corbelled brickwork are typical of modest 1920s commercial buildings. The tallest building is Carrboro's first brick commercial building and the only one of these three structures to have been built prior to the 1924 fire that destroyed most of the block. The example it set by surviving the fire, certainly due to its less combustible construction, surely prompted Carrboro businessmen to use brick for their buildings. Its first and long-time occupant was R. H. Marks' dry goods store. The westernmost building is fondly remembered by long-time Carrboro residents as the site for many years of J. C. "Bulleye" Merritt's soda shop and hot dog stand. Merritt had this building constructed immediately after his small, one-story frame building on his property, in which he had established his business in the 1910s, burned. In later years, Mr. Senter operated his drug store here. After occupying this building for several years, North Carolina National Bank in 1980 expanded its local branch office into the middle building and united both units in a creative renovation that preserves the architectural integrity of both facades. In contrast to the other two buildings, 106 East Main Street is unusual for its diminutive scale. This smallest unit was constructed as Carrboro's post office in 1924, when most of the block was being rebuilt after the fire.

20. Miles Andrews House (I)

106-C East Main Street

As the only frame structure standing in the 100 block of East Main Street today, the Miles Andrews House serves as a reminder of the mixed residential and commercial uses that originally characterized the block that today is the heart of Carrboro's business district. Dating from the first decade of the 20th century, the house is one of only two frame buildings to survive the 1924 fire that ravaged the block. Although this standard house type—one story, and two rooms deep with a center hall plan and hipped roof—was built in Carrboro for mill workers, there is no evidence that this house was ever associated with either of Carrboro's mills. The earliest known occupant of the house, and its probable builder, was Carrboro businessman and farmer Miles Andrews, who lived here for many years. Today used as an antique shop, the house survives intact, having retained all of its original mantelpieces with simple surrounds and sawn curved brackets supporting the shelves.

21. Commercial Buildings

112 to 122 East Main Street

Constructed in the early 1920s, these four two-story units comprised Carrboro's first true commercial block. Except for minor variations, all of the units are identical: Below slightly recessed window walls at the second story, the store fronts consist of large plate glass windows in wooden frames with recessed panels, double doors, and multi-paned transoms and molded cornices extending the full width of the display windows. The easternmost unit, on the corner at 122 East Main Street, has undergone the greatest alteration with the renovation of its entrance facade and the addition of a shed-roofed porch. Today occupied by a bar, this unit originally was Samply Merritt's Drug Store. (As early as circa 1900, this corner lot had been occupied by a one-story frame building housing a hardware and building materials store; the fate of this earlier building—destruction by fire or raz-

ing for new construction—has not been determined.) For many years, 120 East Main Street was the site of the Melba Movie Theatre, named for the daughter of proprietor Gurnie H. Ray. Some of the piano players in this silent movie theatre with cane bottom kitchen chairs for seats were Brack Riggsbee, Mrs. Flossie Campbell and Mrs. Mack Watts. Lloyd-Ray Hardware, owned and occupied by Seaton Lloyd and Dwight Ray, occupied 118 East Main Street for approximately forty years. After the accompanying photo was taken, the facade of 112 East Main Street was refurbished with a decorative, three-color paint scheme.

22. Commercial Building

111 East Main Street

This one-story brick building, occasionally called the "Flatiron Building" for its irregular, almost triangular shape, marks one of the oldest commercial properties in Carrboro. Built in the early 1920s, the present building, with two storefronts of plate glass windows and multipaned transoms of frosted purple glass, replaced a one-story frame building that had served as a general store and later as a drug store. The present brick building has served a variety of commercial functions, and in the early 1930s it was Carrboro's post office.

23. Carrboro Station

201 East Main Street

Situated at the heart of downtown Carrboro, the Carrboro Station is representative of the forces that prompted the establishment of the community. This one-story frame building, with the low-slung hip roof extending to create a deep overhang supported by heavy carved wooden braces, actually is the third of Carrboro's railroad stations. The first was merely a box car that served as a passenger depot for almost eighteen years, beginning in 1882 when the railway spur was extended to this area, then known as West End, to provide transportation for the University in Chapel Hill. In 1900, the box car was replaced with a



19. 106-A and 106-B East Main Street



20. Miles Andrews House (I)



21. 112 to 122 East Main Street



22. 111 East Main Street



23. Carrboro Station



24. (Former) Carrboro Public School

one-story frame depot situated a few yards north of the present depot. By 1913, larger facilities were needed and the present station was constructed. On the 1915 Sanborn Insurance Maps, this building is designated as a "Passenger and Freight Depot" and the 1900 building is called the "Old Depot," used for a freight shed. By 1925, the "Old Depot" had been replaced with a "Freight House," appended by a breezeway to the north end of the Carrboro Station; this addition is no longer standing.

The heavy sliding wooden doors on the west facade recall the use of the northern

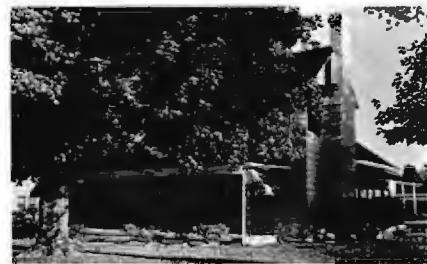
portion of the Carrboro Station for freight. The division of the southern portion of the building into two waiting rooms—one each for black and white passengers—was characteristic of southern railway stations. The exterior of the building, with its decorative pressed tin roof and finials, has been preserved intact. Its conversion to a restaurant and saloon in the 1970s was executed without destroying the historical character of the interior, much of which is sheathed with beaded "ceiling" board. The Carrboro Station was placed on the National Register of Historic Places in 1975 due to its signifi-



25. Neville Brothers Service Station



27. (Former) Carrboro Graded School/Carrboro Town Hall



29. Toney Strayhorn House

cant role in the development of Carrboro and as a center for transportation, commerce and industry for Orange County.

(Much of the information presented in this entry was taken from the nomination of the Alberta Mill Complex prepared by Brent Glass and Kathleen Pepi Southern and submitted to the National Register of Historic Places in 1975.)

24. (Former) Carrboro Public School

114 West Main Street

This one-story frame house with a multi-gabled roofline was built around 1908 as the Carrboro Public School; it replaced Carr-



26. Mill Superintendent's House



28. William Strayhorn House

boro's first school, on Center Street. According to the 1915 Sanborn Insurance Maps, the building originally had a one-story frame wing that extended toward the street from the west end of the main facade. The school accommodated seven grades and its principal was Mr. McDuffie, who also was the pastor of the Carrboro Baptist Church.

After the Carrboro Graded School (now Carrboro Town Hall) was built in 1922, this frame building was converted to a parsonage for the Carrboro Methodist Church which occupied the large lot to the east (now the site of the Britt Building). From their organization as a mission of the Methodist church in Chapel Hill in 1910 until early 1914 when they built their simple frame church, the Carrboro Methodists used the school for their services. (Originally, beginning around 1900, Carrboro's Methodists had shared the Union Chapel (destroyed) with the Baptists.) This former school building served as a parsonage until 1955, when the Methodists built a new parsonage on Oak Street.

25. Neville Brothers Service Station

210 West Main Street

For many years, brothers Stacy and Eric

Neville operated this service station built by Standard Oil Company in the mid-1930s. Termed Spanish Revival due to its stuccoed exterior, decorative curved and stepped pilasters and roof imitating terra cotta tile, the style of the building was one of the most popular of the period revival styles employed for service stations built throughout the 1930s. Prior to the construction of this building, the Nevilles operated a service station in a frame building in the small triangle across the street, considered something of a landmark for being completely surrounded by a hard-surface road.

26. Mill Superintendent's House

103 West Main Street

One must look carefully through the heavy foliage to discern the elements of this deteriorated building that distinguish it as Carrboro's finest early 20th-century house. Sometime between 1915 and 1925, the Durham Hosiery Mills had this house constructed for the chief administrator of its Carrboro operations. Fashionable features such as the wooden Tuscan porch columns, windows with nine-pane-over-one-pane double-hung sashes, and the corbelled caps on the interior chimneys were appropriate to the status of the house's occupant. The irregularly-shaped one-and-one-half-story house has a rear one-story kitchen ell and a tall hipped roof from which several gables project.

According to long-time Carrboro residents, the first occupant of the house was Ralph Ward, a superintendent of Mill No. 4. Later, Supt. Floyd M. Durham lived here from the late 1920s until Mill No. 7 closed in 1938. When the Durham Hosiery Mills dismantled their Carrboro operations, they sold this house to M. J. Dawson of Chapel Hill. Dawson sold the house to the Trustees of the Carrboro Baptist Church, who used it as their parsonage until the 1950s. In addition to sub-division of the lot, which originally extended all the way to West Carr Street, much of the porch that ran across the main facade to wrap around the east elevation has been removed. Most recently, the house has been used as offices.

27. (Former) Carrboro Graded School/Carrboro Town Hall

301 West Main Street

The materials, configuration and ornamentation of this building are typical of public schools built in the 1920s and 1930s. Built in 1922 as the Carrboro Graded School, this blocky two-story brick building with banks of large double-hung sash windows exhibits restrained ornamentation consisting primarily of shallow, stone-capped parapets and large recessed panels framed in narrow bands of corbelling. Naturally, decoration is concentrated at the main facade where box posts support a porch and a heavy molded and parapeted cornice resting on carved brackets marks the recessed entrance. Flanking the porch, walls of solid brick are discretely ornamented with embedded squares of contrasting stone. It appears that a cornice, probably identical to the cornice above the entrance, originally accented the building's most prominent facades. According to local tradition, this school was erected on the site of a brick yard. One of the most well-known school figures was Mrs. Josie Sturdivant, who was principal until about 1947. After the present Carrboro Elementary School was built at the end of Ash Street in 1959, this building was converted to Carrboro Town Hall.

28. William Strayhorn House

107 Jones Ferry Road

In addition to the standard engaged front porch and triangle brackets, the gambrel roof and second-story split shake shingles contrasting to the German siding below rank this spacious one-and-one-half-story house as one of Carrboro's more fashionable bungalows. The house was built in 1915 by Chapel Hill contractor Charles Craige for Margie and William Strayhorn, a talented brick mason who met an untimely death in 1933. Strayhorn was in the second generation of a family of masons headed by his father, Toney Strayhorn, who lived next door. Today, the house is carefully maintained by William Strayhorn's daughter and son-in-law, Laura and Albert Reaves.

Mrs. Reaves is noted for her beautiful flower gardens that fill the yard.

29. Toney Strayhorn House 109 Jones Ferry Road

In the late 19th century, Toney Strayhorn, a former slave born and raised in Orange County who became a prosperous farmer and brick mason, began to develop his 37-acre tract. On this property at the end of the area that was to become Carrboro, he first built a one-room log cabin. As his family grew, Strayhorn, and later his son William, gradually expanded the house so that by around 1910 it was in its present form of two stories, one-room deep, with a rear one-story ell. Strayhorn descendants believe that the original log house was completely enveloped in the two-story portion with its triple-A roofline and a single-shoulder brick chimney in each gable end. These large chimneys with their freestanding corbelled stacks attest to the skills of the Strayhorn family. Modern alterations to the house include the application of aluminum siding and the replacement of the original wooden front porch posts with decorative metal supports. Toney and his wife Nellie are fondly remembered for their warm hospitality and their fruit trees and flower gardens that always beckoned neighborhood children to visit.

30. Houses

100, 102, 104 and 200 East Carr Street

These plain one-story, one-room-deep houses with triple-A rooflines and rear ells preserve the character of the housing built by Thomas F. Lloyd around 1910 for the laborers in his second mill, later Durham Hosiery Mills' Mill No. 7. The decoration of these four houses on Carrboro's "New Hill" is restricted to the diamond attic vents with cut-out pinwheel designs in the gables. All of the houses have center hall plans. A primary interior chimney accommodates fireplaces in one of the front rooms and the northern room in the ell; an exterior flue serves the kitchen, the southern room in

the rear ell. Except for the application of asbestos wall shingles and asphalt roofs, the houses remain basically intact on the exterior; 102 East Carr Street has been doubled in size with the appendage to the rear of another identical mill house moved from the site of the new Andrews-Riggsbee Hardware building across the street. In contrast, the character of the yards varies, from the absence of any foundation plantings, typical of early 20th-century mill housing, at 200 East Carr Street, to the manicured hedges of 100 East Carr Street, first occupied by Bea Andrews and now owned by her daughter and son-in-law, Alice and Gordon Sims.

31. House 203 East Carr Street

This residence is one of a few identical two-story L-shaped houses built around 1910 by Thomas F. Lloyd as housing for large families of workers in his new mill. The house originally was located on the southwest end of Maple Avenue. In the 1950s, after Pacific Woolen Mills had taken over the mill, the house was moved to East Carr Street. Its present owner has recently refurbished the house, preserved virtually intact on the exterior. A single interior chimney projects from the center of the house and the original raised seam tin covers all portions of the structure, including the porch in the front recess and the one-story rear kitchen ell. Narrow corner boards, frieze boards and molded cornices with returns comprise the finishing details.

32. House 104 West Carr Street

This small frame house stands as a reminder that many of Carrboro's modern houses that are so similar to the town's identified mill houses in fact have little, if any, direct association with the textile industry. Located at the west edge of the company-developed neighborhood that evolved as Thomas F. Lloyd's second mill was established, this house is associated with Jesse Suit, an ice



30. 200 East Carr Street



31. 203 East Carr Street



32. 104 West Carr Street



33. 222 Broad Street



34. 304 Broad Street

plant worker who was its earliest known occupant. The house exhibits the basic one-story, one-room-deep form found throughout Carrboro. One noticeable difference is the front porch that is engaged with the roof of the house. The turned porch posts with sawn spandrels are standard millwork.

33. House 222 Broad Street

The simple gable-front configuration with the recessed full-facade front porch was a very popular form throughout the 1920s, 1930s and 1940s for houses inexpensively built as investment property. Although it is possible that it was converted to a duplex, it is likely that this early 1920s house, with no known connection to the textile industry, was constructed as a duplex, in contrast to the late 19th- and early 20th-century mill houses with two front doors that were single-family residences. This house is two rooms deep with a shed wing across the rear. Mature shade trees and shrubbery enhance the appearance of the house.

34. House 304 Broad Street

A basic house type popular in the early years of this century is represented by this almost square one-story, three-room deep frame house with a gently sloping hipped roof. Slightly tapered box posts resting on brick plinths support the engaged, full-facade front porch. The house is said to have been built in the late 1910s, when plans were under way to develop this area, formerly known as "Partridge Field," as a fashionable residential neighborhood of owner-occupied houses.



35. Fitch Lumber Co. Planing Mill



38. 212 Maple Avenue

35. Fitch Lumber Company Planing Mill West Side of Lloyd Street

Fitch Lumber Company is Carrboro's oldest industry in operation today and, after Hearn's Grocery, it is the town's second oldest business. The lumber company established itself in Carrboro in 1923 when Abner Brown Fitch and William T. Riggs opened a branch of the Fitch-Riggs Lumber Company, based in Mebane. A. B. Fitch and W. T. Riggs had begun working for the Nelson-Cooper Lumber Company in Mebane in 1909; in 1919 they formed a partnership and purchased the Mebane lumber company, changing the name to Fitch-Riggs Lumber Company. When the Andrews and Lloyd Lumber and Cedar Company of Carrboro decided to divest itself of the building supply portion of the business in 1923, owners Dick Andrews and Brodie H. Lloyd sold their lumber business to Fitch-Riggs. R. Bernice Fitch, Sr., son of A. B. Fitch, managed the Carrboro operation in buildings on North Greensboro Street that Fitch-Riggs Lumber Company



37. 202-A Maple Avenue

rented from Andrews and Lloyd, who continued to operate their cedar mill at the west end of the large lot fronting North Greensboro.

From modest beginnings, the Carrboro branch of Fitch-Riggs Lumber Company quickly expanded. Starting with one assistant, Thomas Goodrich, R. B. Fitch, Sr. soon enlarged his staff, first with Mrs. Ava Hearn as bookkeeper around 1925 and then with four or five additional "outside" men; his brother, Homer, soon joined him, and in the 1940s another brother, Miles, entered the business. In 1927, the Fitches purchased W. T. Riggs' share of the business and the company name became Fitch Lumber Company. The plant on North Greensboro Street also grew. The first frame buildings acquired from Andrews and Lloyd—a one-story former grocery used as an office and two larger one-story rectangular buildings for storage and woodworking shops, built early in this century for a small textile mill named first the Thelma Knitting Mill and later Blanche Hosiery Mill (defunct by 1915)—were accompanied by other shops and storage buildings. Andrews and Lloyd operated their cedar mill until the mid-1930s, when they sold all of their North Greensboro Street industrial site to Fitch Lumber Company. For several years thereafter, in partnership with R. B. Fitch, Sr. as the Carrboro Lumber Company, Ed Robinson rented the old cedar mill for processing pine. After the Durham Hosiery Mills closed, Fitch began purchasing neighboring mill houses on North Greensboro Street, Mill Street (gone), Center Street and Short Street, which the lumber company continued to maintain as rental housing.

In 1945, Fitch's Mebane branch burned and A. B. Fitch and all of the lumber company's Mebane operations moved to Carrboro. About this time, the lumber company expanded the manufacturing plant on Lloyd Street that it had purchased from brothers Walter S. and Charlie M. Crawford in 1941. Along the east side of the railroad tracks, Fitch had installed a planing mill in the gable-roofed building where the Crawfords had manufactured wooden wheel spokes. This building, sheathed in the sheet metal that became popular for light industrial buildings after World War I, probably dates to around 1930. Here, rough-sawed lumber from sawmills out in the county was sawed and planed into finished lumber for building purposes. Fitch built facilities for the disposal of waste accrued in the planing process. First, a brick incinerator, still standing, was used, but the smoke became a problem and soon the wooden shaving bin (in the center of the accompanying photo) was built. Braced to prevent further leaning, the simple, gable-roofed bin is elevated so that farmers can drive their trucks under it to collect the shavings for their livestock pens. In the mid- to late 1940s, Fitch added a shed wing (to the right in the photo) along a flank of the original Lloyd Street building for an office.

Fitch Lumber Company has continued to prosper, as indicated by changes in its physical plant. In 1970, all of the original buildings on North Greensboro Street were razed to make room for new shops and storage buildings and the large, one-story self-service hardware store was erected on the property south of the railroad spur formerly occupied by mill houses. One mill house facing North Greensboro Street was renovated for the offices of Fitch Creations, a development company. The early character of the lumber company is most evident at the planing mill on Lloyd Street, where all of the original buildings survive beside more recent additions that include a truss manufacturing building and lumber racks.

36. (Former) Lloyd Grist Mill/Broad Street 101 B Street

The significance of this property rests as much in the buildings that formerly stood here as it does in the history of this handsome brick building. The construction of a grist mill and a cotton gin by Thomas F. Lloyd in the early 1880s signalled the beginning of the community first known as West End and later re-named Carrboro. These steam-powered operations were housed in two-story frame buildings. The cotton gin was situated on this property and the grist mill was on the lot just to the northeast now occupied by Rice's Glass Co. By 1898, Lloyd was devoting his attention to his new Alberta Cotton Mill under construction just across the railroad tracks to the west, and his brother, Herbert, had taken over the cotton gin and grist mill. Around 1916, the buildings were destroyed by fire. Shortly thereafter, a two-story, gable-roofed brick building with a full basement was built for a new grist mill, now electric-powered. Some of the quarter-sawn heart pine flooring that survived from the original building was used on the first floor of the new building and two wooden doors from the old mill were used in the lowest opening on the second story by the main facade (now replaced by windows).

Just a few years after the brick building was built, the grist mill once again caught fire. Around 1921, lightning struck the brick mill and the ensuing fire burned the interior. Apparently the building was quickly renovated. According to local tradition, the mill was next owned by W. Albert Lloyd, who converted it to a grocery store; he also used the building as his residence. The 1925 series of the Sanborn Insurance Maps designated the building as "W. A. Lloyd Gro. W. Ho.," indicating it served as a warehouse, Lloyd's nephew, Billy Durham, is said to have bought the property for use as a feed and seed business. Horseshoes recently found at the south end of the building support the story that mules used to be shod outside. Older Carrboro residents believe that Billy Durham sold the building to the University of North Carolina after World

War II. The next confirmed owner was the Johnson-Strowd Furniture Company which used it for approximately thirty years as a storage warehouse. In 1981, Anna and Larry Hayes bought the building from Mr. and Mrs. Strowd and Mr. and Mrs. Ward.

The former grist mill was listed on the National Register of Historic Places in 1975 as part of the Alberta Mill Complex nomination. When the Hayeses renovated the building for use as a gourmet wine and cheese shop, named "Broad Street" in recognition of the street that once ran in front of it, they maintained its integrity in compliance with guidelines endorsed by the U.S. Secretary of the Interior. All major architectural features were restored and the front loading dock, which had been destroyed, was rebuilt incorporating features such as the cedar posts that some Carrboro citizens remembered were part of the original porch. The floors and exposed beams and posts were refinished and a coat of whitewash was removed from the brick interior walls. Colorful new features include the stained glass windows that were installed in the arches above the main entrance and the former loading dock next to the railroad tracks.

37. House 202-A Maple Avenue

This one-story, one-room-deep house with a rear ell and triple-A roofline is a representative example of the houses built along Maple Avenue around 1910 by Thomas F. Lloyd for workers in his second textile mill. Except for variations in ornamentation, these center hall plan houses originally were identical to the mill houses built on East Carr Street as part of the same building campaign. Eight of the houses survive on Maple Avenue in various states of repair and exhibit assorted alterations. In spite of the replacement asphalt roof and asbestos wall shingles, this particular example remains essentially intact on the exterior, having retained its decorative diamond-shaped attic vent in the front gable and the sawnwork spandrels on the porch posts.

The interior of this house, however, is quite a different story. The house was maintained as rental property until 1978 when Steven Fisher and Marcia Hawk purchased it. The new owner-occupants proceeded to make a series of creative renovations that demonstrate the versatility of the mill house form—adaptable to modern lifestyles and design concepts without compromising the integrity of the traditional streetscape. The two rooms in the front portion of the house retain their original character as an office and bedroom, but the rear ell has been dramatically altered. Here, the space has been unified by removing interior walls, installing cabinets and a curving half-wall, and elevating a portion of the floor to create living, dining and kitchen areas. A portion of the south wall was removed and the open porch on this side of the ell was enclosed as part of the living room. A greenhouse added to the new south wall of the wing helps heat the house during the spring and fall.

Of special importance is the imaginative use of the property that saved another mill house. In 1979, Fisher and Hawk moved a similar one-story house, slated for destruction for the expansion of Andrews-Riggsbee Hardware, to their back yard. With the connection of the two houses by a small room built on the end of the ell of 202-A Maple Avenue, the two units qualified as condominiums. Prior to selling it, Fisher managed an extensive renovation of the moved house that was as innovative as the remodelling of 202-A.

38. House 212 Maple Avenue

This house is one of the few surviving Carrboro examples of the two-story, one-room-deep form that was so popular across North Carolina throughout the 19th century and well into the 20th. This particular example resulted from extensive renovations, probably executed prior to World War II. According to long-time residents of Carrboro, the house was built as a single story in the 1910s, apparently by the Durham Hosiery



36. (Former) Lloyd Grist Mill/Broad Street

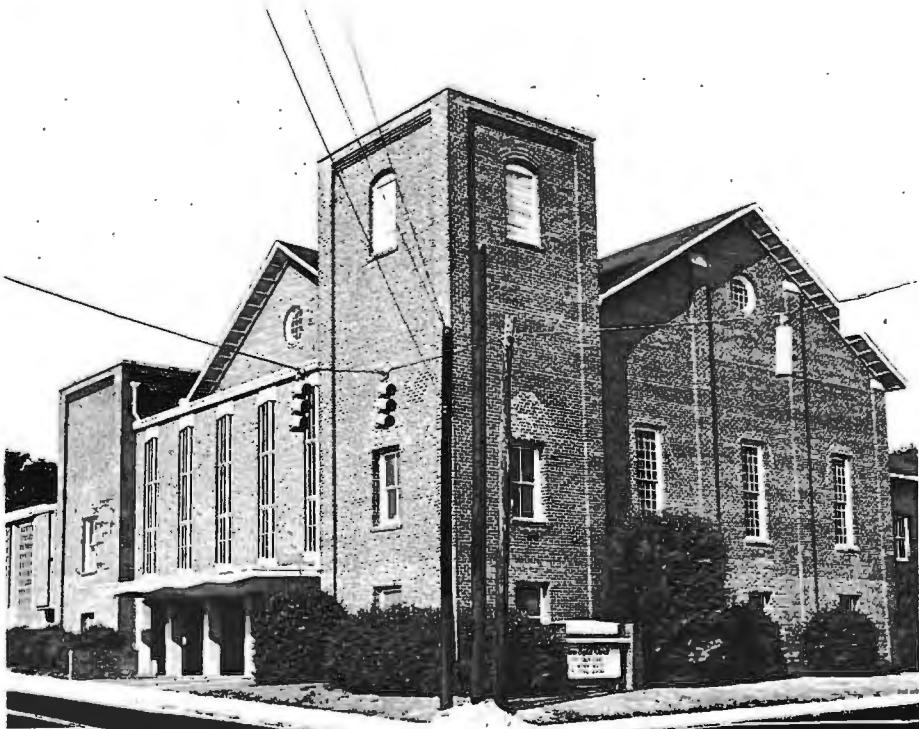
Mills for rental to workers in their Mill No. 7 at the head of the street. Later, the second story and a one-story shed across the rear facade were added. The hip-roofed front porch is supported by simple wooden columns. Except for the porch-protected wall, the original weatherboards have been covered by asbestos shingles.

39. Carrboro Baptist Church 100 North Greensboro Street

The history of the Carrboro Baptist Church dates to the turn of this century when Thomas F. Lloyd's Alberta Cotton Mill was in its first years of operation. As the adjacent small village of mill workers grew, Lloyd responded to the religious needs of the community by donating to the four denominations in Chapel Hill a lot on Weaver St., facing the mill. The Chapel Hill Presbyterians and Episcopalians, who did not want to build another church, quickly

assigned their rights to the property to the Chapel Hill Baptists and Methodists, who erected the Union Chapel on the site in 1901 or 1902. According to the seventy-fifth anniversary publication of the Carrboro Baptist Church, this one-story frame building shared by the Methodists and Baptists initially measured twenty feet by thirty feet and was soon doubled in size. Nevertheless, sharing the building presented problems, and around 1910 the Methodists began to hold their services in the Carrboro Public School on W. Main St.

The first pastor to serve the Carrboro Baptists was the Rev. J. C. Hocutt, who conducted services at Union Chapel every fourth Sunday from 1902 to 1906. After the Methodists stopped using Union Chapel, the building became known as Union Baptist Church. In 1912 the church was renamed Venable Baptist Church in accordance with the new name of the town, and



39. Carrboro Baptist Church

in 1914 it received its present name when the community changed its name to Carrboro. In 1921, plans for a new church building were begun after the Rev. J. B. Davis called for full-time services. The Baptists exchanged their property for the larger adjacent lot along N. Greensboro St. owned by the Durham Hosiery Mills. The congregation hired brick masons Toney and William Strayhorn who built the foundation and ground floor walls in 1921. Due to lack of funds, construction was suspended until 1924, when the building was completed; the two building phases are reflected in the different shades of brick for the ground floor and the rest of the building.

The core of the building is a rectangular gable-roofed sanctuary supported by exte-

rior buttresses to which a one-story hip-roofed wing is appended along the east elevation. On the main, west elevation, flat-roofed towers with recessed window planes topped with corbelling distinguish each corner; the southwest tower marking the major intersection of Main and Weaver streets is taller due to the addition of a belfry. Originally, the tower windows were larger, in the form of pointed arches. When this church was completed, Union Chapel was dismantled and its materials were used for the construction of McDuffie Baptist Church, named for one of Carrboro Baptist Church's well-known early ministers, on N.C. 86 north of Chapel Hill. During the 1960s, brick additions were made to Carrboro Baptist Church between the towers and along the north elevation.

40. Clark House
600 North Greensboro Street

Long-time Carrboro residents identify this house as one of the oldest dwellings in this portion of N. Greensboro St. north of the mill housing yet within the early limits of the town. The house was built in the first years of this century for the large family headed by "Miss Fanny" Clark. Three of her daughters—Anna Brookbanks, May Mann and "Bob" Sparrow—also were well-known lifelong residents of Carrboro. Anna Brookbanks lived here for many years after inheriting the house from her mother. Distinguishing features of the "stem" or entrance wing, of this T-shaped structure include the exterior stone and brick chimney in the gable end and the gable with curved raking boards above the entrance. In the front gable on the southeast wing, the attic vent is in the form of a pointed arch with the same detailing and pitch as that of the gable. Other features include molded box cornices with returns, plain frieze boards and corner boards with a strip of molding at the top. Between 1915 and 1925, a wing with porches on two sides was added to the rear of the house.

41. Braxton House
610 North Greensboro Street

This typical 1920s bungalow of one-and-one-half stories with an engaged full-facade front porch is known as a "builder's house," probably culled from a contractor's manual or mail-order plans featured in popular magazines of the day. A gable-roofed dormer marks the second story and two chimneys with corbelled stacks project symmetrically from the crest of the roof. The exposed rafter ends and porch supports of tapered box posts on brick plinths also are characteristic bungalow features. Originally, the house had an engaged shed across the rear, half of which was a porch that later was enclosed; otherwise the Braxton House remains virtually intact. Recently, the house received a new roof and a fresh coat of paint. It is named for its long-time residents, the Braxton family.

42. Taylor-Luther House
700 North Greensboro Street

Numa Taylor built this one-story house around 1930 after winning the property in a raffle drawing. This hip-roofed house with a recessed porch across the front is constructed of cement block covered with stucco. The porch piers resting on brick plinths also are made of cement. Some of the most distinctive features of the house are its very tall windows. A brick exterior chimney, faced with concrete below the stack, rises from the east elevation. The two-room-deep main block of the house has been expanded with a sizeable shed wing across the rear facade. Martin and Myrtle Luther purchased the house around 1960.

43. House
401 North Greensboro Street

Thomas F. Lloyd or another local investor had this one-story house built at the turn of the century for rental to workers employed in Lloyd's Alberta Cotton Mill one block away. Very similar to the houses at 101 to 107 Shelton St., this house and the two identical neighboring houses at 403 and 405 N. Greensboro St. form an ensemble that preserves the character of the mill village in their simple and neat forms with minimum foundation plantings. An ell extends from the rear of the main block, which consists of two rooms separated by a wall containing an interior chimney with a corbelled stack. Like the Shelton St. houses, this single-family house was built with an outside door to each of the front rooms so that workers in various shifts could come and go without disturbing other members of the family. The house differs from the Shelton St. houses in its hip-roofed front porch with chamfered posts and a railing with square-in-section balusters. The recent refurbishing of this house included an attractive two-color paint scheme.

44. Tom Ray House
407 North Greensboro Street

The unusually narrow form of this house is accentuated by its one-and-one-half-story height. It was built in the first years of this century as an investment by "Pink" Lloyd, father of Dr. B. B. Lloyd, for rental. Applied wooden "sunbursts" decorate the two gable-roofed wall dormers. Another unusual feature is the placement of the rear porch, now enclosed, along the north elevation instead of the south where it would receive more sunlight. A central chimney has been removed and asbestos tiles have been applied over the original weatherboards. The earliest known occupants of the house were the W. C. Partin family who lived here in the late 1910s. The house is popularly known for its long-time owner, Tom Ray.

45. Whitaker House
501 North Greensboro Street

The Whitaker House and the very similar house a few doors away at 513 N. Greensboro St. are two of Carrboro's most ornamental and intact turn-of-the-century houses. Both of these one-story houses with rear eells and triple-A rooflines have two exterior gable-end chimneys, decoratively patterned shingles in the front gable, and ornamented porch supports. Both front gables exhibit the same alternating horizontal bands of sawtooth and offset shingles. The porch supports, however, differ: The Whitaker House has turned posts with delicate scroll sawn spandrels whereas the house at 513 N. Greensboro St. has paired posts with bolder sawn and cut-work spandrels. Although the weatherboards of the Whitaker House have been covered with asbestos shingles, the patterned pressed tin roof survives intact. Carpenter Tom Whitaker, who is believed to have built the house, lived here for several decades and was survived by his wife, Alma, who died in 1960. The house has been enlarged with a rear shed and enclosure of the shed porch along the rear ell, and today it is divided into two apartments. A small outbuilding in the rear yard, recently destroyed, was believed to have been Carrboro's first garage.

46. House
507 North Greensboro Street

The simple one-and-one-half-story house is unusual in Carrboro. Although similar in form to the Tom Ray House a few doors to the south, this example of the type is broader in its overall proportions. Also like the Tom Ray House, this house has gable-roofed wall dormers, but its plan is organized around a center hall. The main block of the house is expanded on the rear with a shed wing and an ell. The original exterior chimney with a corbelled stack remains standing in the south gable end. The front porch has been partially enclosed and the original weatherboards have been covered with asbestos shingles. Mill ownership or private construction for speculative rental has not been determined for this house. A long-time occupant of the house was C. B. Andrews, who was not associated with Carrboro's textile enterprises.

47. Johnson House
509 North Greensboro Street

The Johnson House and the neighboring houses at 511 and 601 N. Greensboro St. all have identical one-story, one-room-deep forms with a triple-A roofline and rear ell; they differ only with regard to their ornamentation. This house type, one of the most popular across North Carolina throughout the 19th century and well into the 20th, typifies much of Carrboro's early residential architecture, including many of the houses built privately or by the mills for rental to mill workers. The broad proportions and long rear ell set the Johnson House, and 511 and 601 N. Greensboro St. as well, apart from the more diminutive houses known to have been built by the mills. All three houses were built around 1910. Although these particular houses have not been identified as built by a mill or privately built for speculative rental, some of their occupants were mill workers, including members of the Johnson family. The Johnson House retains its original patterned pressed tin roof and bands of sawtooth and offset shingles in the front gable. Minimal spandrels, perhaps replacements,



40. Clark House



42. Taylor-Luther House



44. Tom Ray House



46. 507 North Greensboro Street



41. Braxton House



43. 401 North Greensboro Street



45. Whitaker House



47. Johnson House

branch out from the top of the turned posts supporting the porch roof.



48. Riggsbee House



50. Oakley House



49. Dr. Lloyd House

48. Riggsbee House 300 South Greensboro Street

Although Jesse Riggsbee and his wife both worked for the Durham Hosiery Mills for many years, Riggsbee and other members of his family chose to build their own houses rather than rent from the mill or private speculators. Riggsbee had this one-story house built for his family around 1915, and in ensuing years two of his relatives also built their own houses on adjoining lots on W. Carr St. Similar to many other houses constructed in Carrboro early in this century, the Riggsbee House is two rooms deep in a center hall plan, with a tall hipped roof and attic gables that would permit finishing of the attic for living space if desired. Each of the tall interior chimneys serves two fireplaces. Ornament is charac-

teristically restricted to the front porch where turned posts with sawn spandrels support the shallow hipped roof. Jesse Riggsbee, a humidifier mechanic, lived here until his death in 1946; his wife survived him for more than thirty years. After her death in the late 1970s, the house was purchased by investors who restored the exterior and creatively renovated the interior. At her death, Mrs. Riggsbee was one of Carrboro's oldest citizens. Parallel indentations in the floor of one of the rooms are said to have been left by her rocker.

49. Dr. Lloyd House 406 South Greensboro Street

Dr. B. B. "Brack" Lloyd hired contractor Charlie Martindale to build this rambling

bungalow in the 1920s. The site chosen by Dr. Lloyd is the highest land on S. Greensboro St. (then named Poplar St.), which Dr. Lloyd called "Christian Hill." At the time it was constructed, this house was the southernmost house on S. Greensboro St., which ended here. It also was the first house in Carrboro to have a central heating system, provided by a coal furnace with gravity flow heat ducts. The house is marked by an irregular cross-gable roofline with a series of subsidiary gables at varying heights and setbacks. The engaged porch across the front of the house extends to the south as a porte-cochere. The house is three rooms deep in an irregular plan. One of the front rooms was used by Dr. Lloyd as his office. Dr. Lloyd, a relative of local mills founder Thomas F. Lloyd, came to the community in 1913 and soon became the foremost doctor for residents of Carrboro and Chapel Hill. Many Carrboro residents fondly recall Dr. Lloyd's genuine, unflagging concern for his community, often expressed in house calls and selfless acts of generosity. Dr. Lloyd died around 1945. Mrs. Lloyd survived her husband and remained in the house, cared for in later years by Dr. Lloyd's cousin, Roy S. Lloyd, to whom she left the house upon her death around 1960. R. S. Lloyd improved the property with the installation of a swimming pool in the back yard. The house has passed to subsequent owners since then.

50. Oakley House 303 South Greensboro Street

The Oakley House is one of the three two-story, L-shaped frame houses built on "New Hill" in the early 1910s as part of the last group of houses built by the Durham Hosiery Mills for their employees at Mill No. 7. Molded box cornices with returns delineate the cross-gable roofline, and a one-story kitchen wing projects from the rear facade. This two-story house type was rented to employees with large families. Its first and long-time occupants were the Oakley family from Burlington. Because several members of the family were experienced cotton mill workers, the local mill recruited them

to move to Carrboro, where all of the Oakley men became mill superintendents and foremen. The Durham Hosiery Mills provided the Oakleys with this house, part of which the family matriarch, Cora "Mammy" Oakley, operated as a boardinghouse. The weekly rate charged was 25¢ per room. Mrs. Oakley was a popular Carrboro figure, remembered for taking food to anyone who fell ill. She was the first Carrboro citizen whose death, around 1950, prompted the closing of all local businesses for a day of mourning. After the mill closed in the late 1930s, the Oakley House was among a group of houses purchased by an investor for rental property. The major exterior alteration to the house was the application of asbestos shingles over the original weatherboards. In the 1970s, the house was purchased by two local designers who undertook a careful refurbishing of the house and grounds for their own home.

51. Partin House 407 South Greensboro Street

The Durham Hosiery Mills built this house for rental to its employees during its last building phase in the mid-1910s. The shallow hipped roof is unusual for the one-story, one-room-deep form with a long rear ell. The earliest known occupants of the house were Cliff and Vinnie Partin, who rented it from the mill for several years. When the Partins moved into this house, it was the southernmost house on the east side of the street and all of the land beyond to Morgan Creek was open country owned by the Durham Hosiery Mills. The Partins desired this location so they could be close to the undeveloped land which the mill permitted employees to farm free of charge. When the mill closed in the late 1930s, this house was sold to a private investor. Less than three years after they began paying rent to the new owners, the Partins purchased the house and began making improvements to it. Their projects included a new stone foundation for the rear ell, extension of that wing, enclosure of the rear porch, and subdivision of the rear portion of the

house for an apartment, all executed by Mr. Partin.

In 1945, Cliff Partin purchased the Carrboro Cash Store, the town's last true "general store," located in a building dating from 1888 on Lloyd St. Partin and his son, Wilbur, operated the business until 1954 when competition from modern stores forced them to close. (The store building was torn down around 1960.) In 1956, Cliff and Vinnie Partin moved from this house to the country southwest of Carrboro. Later, Mrs. Partin returned to Carrboro to an old house that she refurbished.

52. House 102 Old Pittsboro Road

This turn-of-the-century house is a fairly intact example of the one-story, one-room-deep form with a triple-A roofline that was so popular across North Carolina during the 19th and early 20th centuries. Detailing is restricted to the molded box cornices with returns, diamond-shaped attic vent, and patterned pressed tin covering the roof. An exterior chimney survives in one of the gable ends. The porch along one side of the rear ell has been enclosed. The most significant alteration to the house was its move to the present location. Originally, the house was situated a couple blocks away at the southwest corner of W. Main St. and S. Greensboro St. Information about its builder and early occupants has not been determined.

53. Sparrow House 116 Old Pittsboro Road

In the mid-1910s, Jody and Mattie ("Bob") Sparrow built a simple one-story, three-room frame house on this hillcrest. In the next decade, it was completely re-worked as the present one-and-one-half-story, brick-veneered bungalow with the splayed gable roof engaging the porch across the main facade. The sizeable surrounding tract actually is more significant in Carrboro's history than the house. At the close of World War I, the Sparrows built a concrete swimming

pool—a novelty at that time—northwest of the house, across the stream at the foot of the hill. A gravel parking lot was placed at the top of the hill and bath houses and concession stands (run by members of the Partin family) were built near the pool. Admission was charged, and Sparrow's Pool quickly became one of the major recreation spots between Burlington and Raleigh, supplementing Mr. Sparrow's income as an employee of the UNC power plant and Chapel Hill's inspections department. The pool remained open to the public during warm weather until around 1940. In 1961, Mr. and Mrs. Ben Bost purchased the property. They remodelled the interior of the house and removed the parking lot, bath houses and concession stands. They maintain the pool for their private use.

54. House 101 Center Street

The compact one-story form with the all-encompassing gable-front roof exhibited here is a typical variation of small bungalows. The recessed full-facade front porch with tapered box posts on brick plinths is among the most characteristic bungalow features. A shed addition has been built across the rear facade. Originally, a one-story house owned by the neighboring cotton and hosiery mill occupied the site; around 1920 that house burned and was replaced with the present structure. The builder and occupants of this house have not been identified. In the late 1970s the building was converted from a dwelling to offices.

55. House 103 Center Street

According to the Sanborn Insurance Maps, the history of this property is similar to that of the neighboring lot at 101 Center St.: 103 Center St. originally was occupied by a one-story dwelling that resembled the majority of houses on this street developed by the cotton and hosiery mill one block away. After a fire around 1920, that house was replaced by the present tiny structure. Off-



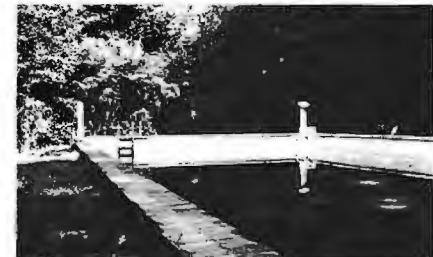
51. Partin House



52. 102 Old Pittsboro Road



53. Sparrow House



53. Sparrow's Pool



54. 101 Center Street



55. 103 Center Street

set shingles in the full-facade front gable embellish the diminutive cottage. The present owner of the house is noted for his small yard which he fills with flower beds every spring and summer.



56. 105 Center Street



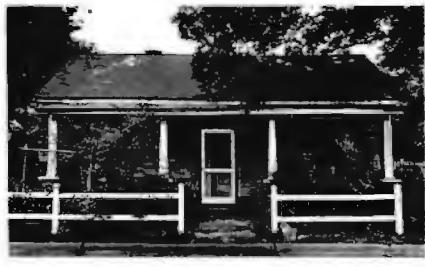
58. 100 Oak Avenue



60. 404 Oak Avenue

**56. House
105 Center Street**

This house represents one of the variations of the simple one-story, one-room-deep houses with rear ells built by the Alberta Cotton Mill (and possibly augmented by the Durham Hosiery Mills when it bought the plant) for rental to its laborers. Here, the front porch is a simple shed extending just beyond the windows and supported by simple posts with spandrels. The spandrels are cut-out curved brackets inscribed with a

57. (Former) Elementary School
109 Center Street

59. 202 Oak Avenue

circle containing a four-point star. The main block of the house is arranged in a center hall plan and furnished on the exterior with plain box cornices, frieze boards, and narrow corner boards.

The present owners of the house purchased it in 1981 and immediately embarked upon an extensive renovation that has entailed the preservation of the four main rooms and the replacement of the rear porch with a passive solar living room and a laundry and bathroom.

**57. (Former) Elementary School
109 Center Street**

As originally constructed around 1898 by the Alberta Cotton Mill, this house was in the ubiquitous one-room-deep form with a rear ell and a three-bay main facade. The siting of this house—at a slight angle to the street and out of alignment with the other

houses to either side—suggests that it was the first house built on this side of Center St. This typical mill house soon was adapted as the community's first school and served this function until around 1908 when the Carrboro Public School was built at 114 W. Main St. At that time, this building was reconverted to a house, occupied until around 1915 by Nannie Riggsbee Williams. In the late 1910s, the north gable end was extended so that the house now has a wide, four-bay facade. This addition may have been built expressly for industrial purposes. Shortly thereafter, the Durham Hosiery Mills, outgrowing its No. 4 mill as it increased production, installed additional looping machines (for joining the toe to the main body of socks and stockings) in this house. A few years later, after the mill was enlarged, the building was converted once again to a residence. The wide but shallow hip-roofed front porch features slightly chamfered supports and a railing with simple square-in-section balusters. The few alterations to the house include the application of asbestos shingles to the exterior walls.

**58. House
100 Oak Avenue**

This house, along with 200 and 202 Oak Ave., was built in the early 1920s by a local contractor, probably for speculative rental to mill hands. The house exhibits the one-story, one-room-deep form with a rear ell that was so popular throughout the 19th century and well in the 20th. Unlike most Carrboro examples of the type, however, this house has a very short rear ell that is only one room deep. The house was built with a center hall plan, an interior chimney serving two fireplaces—one each in the living room and kitchen—and wooden shingles sheathing the roof. The rear porch was enclosed shortly after construction; much later, the front porch was removed. Early occupants of the house included Bryan Hackney. Later the Cheek family lived here for many years. When the Cheek estate was being settled in the late 1970s and it was learned that a prospective buyer planned to

demolish it, the present owners purchased it for use as rental property. In the course of renovating the house, the new owners chose to accent its aspects they found most appealing. They restored the fireplaces and mantelpieces, refinished the pine flooring, doors and trim, and selected an exterior paint scheme that enhances the proportions of the house. For the necessary replacement of the roof, raised seam tin was used.

**59. House
202 Oak Avenue**

Built in the early 1920s by a local contractor, this house remains relatively intact on the exterior. The typical one-story, one-room-deep form with a two-room rear ell retains its front porch with a shallow hipped roof supported by slender tapered box posts resting on short brick plinths. After Oak Ave. was widened, the short fence was added for demarcation of the small front yard. Whether the contractor was privately commissioned or built the house for his own speculative sale or rental has not been determined. The present owner has cultivated his yard with carefully landscaped gardens that surround the house.

**60. House
404 Oak Avenue**

In recent years, this one-and-one-half-story house has undergone renovations that have modernized its exterior without destroying its original character. It is one of three originally very similar houses (with 400 and 408 Oak Ave.) built in a row on large lots around 1910. It is not known if these privately built houses were constructed by owner-occupants or for speculative sale or rental. They all exhibited the tall hip-roofed form with a center hall, two-room-deep plan and a shed porch across the rear elevation. In spite of the recent alterations, this house remains the most intact of the three, having retained both its original roofline and hip-roofed front porch with turned posts. In addition to enclosure of the rear porch, some of the fenestration has been replaced with single-

pane windows in various shapes and sizes and the exterior has been re-sided with weatherboards stained in the manner currently popular for new houses. One of the early residents of this house was Knute Mann, who operated the Alamance Lumber Co.

61. Vinnie Partin House 201 Oak Avenue

After living in several of Carrboro's oldest houses over the course of seven decades, Mrs. Vinnie Partin settled in this house, another of Carrboro's earliest, in 1965. Although the precise construction date of this house is unknown, long-time Carrboro residents, including Mrs. Partin, believe that the house dates to the turn of this century. Mrs. Partin, known locally as "Miss Vinnie," recalls that the house was here when she lived nearby on Oak Ave. as a young girl, shortly after moving to Carrboro around 1910. According to Mrs. Partin, this one-story, one-room-deep house with a triple-A roofline and rear ell was built by Marion Cheek as rental property. Cheek either rented the house directly to the occupants or rented it to the Durham Hosiery Mills which in turn sub-let it to its employees, a practice that appears to have been fairly common in Carrboro through the 1930s. In the early 1940s, Cheek sold the house to Rupert "Ping" and Louise Squires, who removed one of the partitions that created the center hall in the front portion of the house. About ten years later, the Squires sold the house to Ralph Morgan who reconverted it to rental property. Although the house was quite deteriorated by 1965, its sound frame, high potential for renovation, and location convenient to downtown Carrboro enticed Mrs. Partin to buy it for her own home. Her extensive rehabilitation of the house included underpinning, replacement of the front porch and most of the floors and windows, placing sheetrock over the beaded wood interior walls, lowering and insulating the ceilings, renovating the bathroom, and restoring the raised seam tin roof. Now thoroughly modern on

the interior, the exterior continues to exhibit its early 20th-century character.

62. House 207 Oak Avenue

According to long-time Carrboro residents, this tiny L-shaped, gable-roofed cottage marked by large windows was built as a store in the 1920s. The Sanborn Insurance Maps, however, indicate a very small house—also L-shaped but turned the opposite direction—on this lot as early as 1915 and as late as 1932. It is possible that the building was constructed as a house, used as a store for a while, and re-oriented when it was moved back on its lot for the re-alignment of Oak Ave. in the 1970s.

63. "Half House" 209 Oak Avenue

The unusual name given to this house by neighborhood residents derives from the fact it is the surviving rear, L-shaped wing of a larger house. Sanborn Insurance Maps confirm local reports that the original front portion of the house was one story and one room deep, facing Oak Ave. Bun Ray is said to have built the house in the first years of this century for rental to mill workers. For a short while, his sister, Mrs. Bedie Upchurch, lived here with her family. By the 1930s, the house had become dilapidated; the main portion of the house was in such bad condition that it was razed and only the three rooms in the rear wing were repaired. This surviving portion was not out of place in Carrboro as its form is one of the mill housing types built throughout North Carolina in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. After almost fifty more years as a rental house, this remaining unit once again had become deteriorated. In 1981, a local contractor purchased the house for renovation and subsequent re-sale. After replacing the underpinning, bathroom, and porch floor, he repainted the entire house to enhance its salient features of turned porch posts, corner and frieze boards, and molded box cornices with returns and brackets.



61. Vinnie Partin House



62. 207 Oak Avenue



63. "Half House"



64. Hill House

64. Hill House 209-A Oak Avenue

Early in 1982, the Hill House was moved to its present location where it was attached to the "Half House," 209 Oak Ave., in order to comply with zoning restricting the number of dwellings permitted on a single lot. The house was built by Brodie Lloyd in the first years of this century for rental to workers in his cousin Thomas F. Lloyd's Alberta Cotton Mill. The wide three-bay facade, triple-A roofline with decorative shingles in the front gable, and exterior chimney in each gable end are characteristic of the several houses Brodie Lloyd built in Carrboro. The front room at the end of the porch is a later addition. The house is named for its recent and longest owner and occupant, Velma Hill, who lived in the house from around 1930 until 1980, when it was at its original location on the northwest corner of Weaver St. and Oak Ave. That spacious corner lot was delineated along Weaver and Oak by a low stone wall and filled along the

other two boundaries with tall hardwoods. By far the most outstanding features of the property were the beautiful flowers bordering the house and filling the yard for which Mrs. Hill is so well known. When she sold her property in 1981 to Orange Savings and Loan, which wanted to build a branch office there, the new owners sold the house to a local contractor who already was renovating the house at 209 Oak Ave. He removed the exterior chimneys, separated the rear wing from the front portion, and moved both parts of the Hill House to his Oak Ave. lot. At the new location, the two parts were rejoined, one of the chimneys and the front porch were rebuilt, and the entire house was repaired and painted.



65. Ray-Upchurch House



66. Williams House



67. Glenn House

65. Ray-Upchurch House 301 Oak Avenue

Research by the present owners has yielded quite a bit of information about the Ray-Upchurch House. Estelle Ray had this house built for herself in 1909, shortly after the death of her husband, an Orange Co. farmer. Apparently she was drawn to Carrboro by her son and other family members who

are said to have been working as carpenters on Thomas F. Lloyd's second mill, which was under construction about the same time as this house was built. The Ray-Upchurch House was one of three very similar houses clustered together. The neighboring house at 303 Oak Ave. remains standing but the other similar house diagonally across the street, occupied for many years by the Wall family, has been de-

stroyed. When the houses were built, Oak Ave., then named "D" St., did not extend all the way to Weaver St. and Poplar Ave. had not yet been cut.

All of the wood used in the Ray-Upchurch House was virgin pine—uncultivated, original growth pine noted for its lightness and ability to withstand decay. The tall two-story, one-room-deep form with a center hall plan and a triple-A roofline is one of the most popular and basic types of houses built throughout North Carolina during the 19th century and well into the 20th. A one-story wing containing a dining room and kitchen extends from the rear of the house and is augmented with a porch along its south elevation. A tall interior chimney served fireplaces in a front room, the dining room, and a second-story bedroom. The original porch extending across most of the main facade has been replaced with an entrance porch which echoes the front gable of the main roofline. A diamond-shaped vent in the front gable, molded box cornices with returns, plain frieze boards, and wooden shutters at all of the windows comprise the house's typical yet handsome decoration.

For many years, Mrs. Ray kept boarders in her house. Mill workers, carpenters and others who came to Carrboro to help construct and work in the mills roamed and boarded here and at the approximately half-dozen other local rooming houses, which also served meals daily. Not too long after Mrs. Ray moved to Carrboro, her daughter, Bedie Upchurch, joined her. According to a bit of popular local lore, Mrs. Upchurch gave birth to three sons in the same room of this house, but each was born in a different town—because the name of the town was changed from West End to Venable and then to Carrboro within just a few years. Mrs. Upchurch helped her mother run the boarding house and then ran it herself for many years. In 1955, when Mrs. Ray's estate was being settled, Mrs. Upchurch bought the house at a public sale. She divided the house into apartments for rent and moved to 401 E. Poplar Ave., adjoining the back property line of the Ray-Upchurch

House.

A subsequent owner, Robert Moore, Jr., sold the house in 1978 to the current owners who restored it to a single-family dwelling for themselves. In the course of their extensive renovation, among other projects they rebuilt both of the downstairs fireplaces, replaced most of the floors, refinished the beaded board wainscoting throughout the house, repaired plaster walls, reconstructed two bathrooms, and installed a gas heating system.

66. Williams House 307 Oak Avenue

The significance of the Williams House lies in its age as well as in its occupants. Constructed around 1895, the house is one of the very few to pre-date the establishment of the Alberta Cotton Mill and its surrounding village. It is one of the earliest Carrboro houses built for investment by Brodie Lloyd, cousin of mill founder Thomas F. Lloyd. After the mill opened, the house was rented to mill workers. The narrow, one-room-deep front block of the house has an L-shaped wing that projects from the middle of the rear elevation. The house is named for its present owners and occupants, Mr. and Mrs. Ben Williams, two of Carrboro's best known citizens. Mrs. Williams has lived here since the 1920s, first with her father, carpenter Thomas Clark, and then with her husband. Ben Williams moved to Carrboro as a schoolboy in 1910. When he finished school, he worked for the Durham Hosiery Mills and eventually mastered every aspect of the knitting processes. Reliable sources of local history and supporters of historic preservation in Carrboro, Mr. and Mrs. Williams have strived to maintain the character of their house. They have preserved important features such as the weatherboards and the raised seam tin roof. Their reconstruction of the exterior gable-end chimney and replacement of the original full-facade front porch with the present entrance porch are compatible with the original design of the house.

67. Glenn House
503 Oak Avenue

Brodie Glenn, founder of Glenn Oil Co. in Carrboro, built this bungalow in the early 1920s. At that time, it was the only house on the west side of Oak Ave., then named Ragan St. (and earlier named "D" St.) north of Shelton St.; six houses already stood in the block across the street. The compact massing, due to the absence of any splay in the all-encompassing gable roof, makes the house seem more substantial than other local examples of this basic one-and-one-half-story bungalow. The most distinctive elements of the house are the weatherboarded porch posts with shallow arches in between.

68. (Former) Lindsay Knitting Mill
104 Lindsay Street

When Thomas F. Lloyd opened his Alberta Cotton Mill in 1899, it occupied only the first floor of his new building. In 1902 William E. Lindsay and Isaac W. Pritchard opened their Blanche Hosiery Mill on the second floor. When Lloyd's rapidly expanding business required more space around 1910, Lindsay and Pritchard moved out of Lloyd's mill and built their own accommodations a few blocks away on the street soon to be named for Lindsay. This small one-story rectangular frame building was approximately 50 feet by 24 feet and contained just a few pieces of machinery. Apparently the Blanche Mill stayed here a very short time because the 1915 Sanborn Insurance Maps designate this building as a dwelling and show the Blanche Hosiery Mill in a small frame building on N. Greensboro St. at the present site of Fitch Lumber Co. Between 1925 and 1932, the former mill building on Lindsay St. was cut in half to create the two small houses at 102 and 104 Lindsay St. These cottages, mirror images of each other, consist of four rooms in a gable-roofed main block with a shed-roofed front porch and a shed addition across the rear elevation. At the crest of the roof, each has an interior chimney serving two fireplaces back to back. The long list of recorded

owners of this house indicates that it was rental property from the 1910s to the 1970s.

69. House
106 Lindsay Street

This recently refurbished house is an example of the hip-roofed, two-room-deep type with a center hall plan that was built throughout Carrboro early in the 20th century. Little has been learned about its early history except that it was not company housing but privately constructed, similar to most local examples of this type. The Sanborn Insurance Maps indicate that the house was built between 1915 and 1925. Typical of early 20th-century houses, a full-facade porch originally characterized the front. In later years, the present entrance porch with turned posts was built, complemented by a similar side porch. The large hip-roofed dormer permits use of the attic level for living space.

70. House
101 Lindsay Street

Although the one-story bungalow with a gable front and a full-facade recessed porch was very popular in towns and cities across North Carolina from the 1910s through the 1930s, very few examples of the type were built in Carrboro. Here, the bulkiness of the boxy form is emphasized by the deep overhang of the eaves with exposed rafter ends and by the large but simple triangle brackets in the front gable. The most fashionable elements are the box porch posts with recessed panels.

71. Hearn-Moore House
107 Lindsay Street

According to records in the Orange Co. Registry of Deeds, the Blanche Hosiery Mill, owned by William E. Lindsay and J. J. Pritchard (and apparently located at 102 and 104 Lindsay St. in the late 1900s), sold this property to Isaac W. Pritchard in 1910. Isaac W. Pritchard was a real estate investor and one of the backers of Thomas F. Lloyd's grist mill and Alberta Cotton Mill. It has not been determined if Pritchard or an earlier



68. (Former) Lindsay Knitting Mill



69. 106 Lindsay Street



70. 101 Lindsay Street



71. Hearn-Moore House

owner constructed the house. The Sanborn Insurance Maps confirm that it was built prior to 1915. The form, scale and decoration of the house are typical of turn-of-the-century vernacular architecture—privately constructed as well as company-built for factory employees. The one-room-deep front block with a triple-A roofline has a rear tee wing, expanded the full width of the house with later additions. Rafter ends are exposed in all of the gables and a diamond-shaped attic vent also appears in the front gable. Turned posts support the shed roof of the porch. Delicate sawn spandrels on the half posts against the porch wall indicate that all of the posts originally were similarly ornamented. An unusual aspect of the house is its very narrow windows.

Pritchard sold the house to L. D. Hearn, who was working with his father at Hearn's Grocery, in 1921. Approximately twenty years later, Clarence and Grace Moore bought the house. The Moores had worked for the Durham Hosiery Mills in Carrboro,



75. St. Paul's A.M.E. Church



72. Parker House



73. 110 Laurel Street

**72. Parker House
113 Lindsay Street**

Similar to many other early 20th-century Carrboro houses in its overall form, the Parker House is distinguished by its two hip-roofed front dormers. The two-room-deep block built with a center hall plan originally had a porch across the entire main facade. Each of the two tall interior chimneys was constructed to serve a pair of fireplaces. The Sanborn Insurance Maps indicate that the house was built between 1915 and 1925. According to some Carrboro residents, a mill supervisor named Burke was an early owner of the house. Its long-time occupant, for whom the house is popularly named, was Will Parker, who ran the local post office for a while and later operated a service station and grocery on the northwest corner of Weaver and Elm streets. The renovations conducted by the present owners have included extension of a short shed wing across the entire rear elevation, enclosure of a side porch for an additional room, and replacement of plain porch posts with slender wooden Tuscan columns.

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**73. House
110 Laurel Street**

This early 20th-century house survives fairly intact on the interior as well as the exterior. The only significant alteration to the exterior is the replacement of several of the windows. Although one of the partitions creating the center hall has been removed, the two mantelpieces and most of the beaded boards covering the walls and ceilings have been preserved.

**74. House
108 Laurel Street**

Although this house is less than fifty years old, it is included in this inventory due to the significance of its site and its exterior materials. From the first years of this century to the 1930s, the property was occupied by Lloyd and Neville's Cotton Gin. It is said that when the cotton gin was dismantled, its materials were used to build some houses, perhaps this house and the identical house beside it at 110 Laurel St. The most distinctive feature of the house is its exterior of porcelain enamelled tile, very rarely used for residential building.

**75. St. Paul's A.M.E. Church
103 Merritt Mill Road**

St. Paul's A.M.E. Church stands on land donated around 1890 by the Hargraves and Caldwell families of Chapel Hill. Although traditionally the church's orientation both



74. 108 Laurel Street

physically and idealistically has been toward Chapel Hill, the church is situated just within the Carrboro town limits and its congregation includes several Carrboro families. In 1893, St. Paul's began to strengthen its identification with Carrboro by undertaking a landscaping program intended to enhance the property's status as a landmark distinguishing a prominent gateway to Carrboro.

Indeed, St. Paul's A.M.E. Church is significant historically as well as architecturally. Not only is it Carrboro's oldest religious institution, established in 1865 shortly after the end of the Civil War, but its sanctuary also is the town's oldest surviving non-residential structure. Initially the congregation was small, and for twenty-seven years held its services in a house across from the present church site. The cornerstone for the sanctuary was laid in 1892. Pointed arched windows and a three-stage tower with belfry and steeple distinguish the gable-front frame building. The continued growth of St. Paul's congregation necessitated the widening of the sanctuary by one bay in 1915. Today, except for the application of brick veneer in the 1950s, the church remains intact on the exterior, highlighted by stained glass windows on all facades. The original appearance of the church is most evident in the unaltered belfry and steeple with finials, decorative gables, and drop pendant brackets beneath a cornice. The interior, featuring a molded chair rail and wainscoting of beaded boards, is striking due to the brilliant colors of the stained glass. In front of the transverse arch framing the altar, there is a railing with turned balusters and a molded handrail. Around 1940, a one-story bungalow was built as a parsonage next to the sanctuary and in 1954 the annex containing a meeting hall and kitchen was constructed at the northwest corner of the church.