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**6. Function or Use**

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Historic Functions (enter categories from instructions)

Domestic/single dwellingDomestic/secondary structure

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Current Functions (enter categories from instructions)

Domestic/single dwellingDomestic/secondary structure

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**7. Description**

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Architectural Classification

(enter categories from instructions)

Bungalow/CraftsmanOther: Gable-endOther: Gable-front

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Materials (enter categories from instructions)

foundation Stuccowalls StuccoWoodroof Asphaltother Wood

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Describe present and historic physical appearance.

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The White Oak New Town historic district is exceptionally intact. All of the one hundred hollow-tile-walled, one- and two-story, stuccoed houses built there by the Cone family's Proximity Manufacturing Company about 1920 survive. Sixty-four car sheds, erected by the company in the late 1920s, continue to bracket the alleys that parallel the district's regular grid of streets. All of these buildings contribute to the integrity of the district. Only three small, frame, one-story classroom buildings (erected at 2507 and 2509 Hubbard Street and 2504 Cypress), removed after the 1935 construction of the Ceasar Cone Public School just west of the district, are no longer extant. The houses still stand on the same small lots in the same relationship to the car sheds, streets, alleys, and each other as they always have. All but two are still stuccoed and their exteriors have been little altered.

The mill village was laid out and constructed by the company around 1920 to serve the White Oak textile mill, a half-mile to the east. It was organized around a small isolated grid of streets which do not continue past 11th and 12th streets at the south, 14th and 16th streets at the north, North Church Street at the west, and the former Southern Railway tracks at the east. All of the houses were regularly spaced along the four north-south streets: North Church, Spruce, Hubbard, and Cypress. These streets originally had been named Cherry, Spruce, Peach, and Cypress, respectively, by the North Carolina Steel and Iron Company in plat maps filed in 1895. It was left to the Proximity Manufacturing Company, however, to actually extend the paper grid of the plat maps this far north and to build White Oak New Town (Guilford County Plat Book 2, Pages 1, 2, 3, and 4).

Two different house types were constructed in the village. Eighty of the houses are one-story tall, two rooms deep, and have gable-front roofs. The other twenty are two rooms deep, two stories tall, and topped by gable-end roofs. Their forms notwithstanding, all of the houses were built of hollow-tile walls covered with stucco.

The exposed rafter ends, gable-front roofs, and off-center, gable-front porches of the one-story houses mark them as bungalows. They further display a hint of the Mediterranean and Tudor Revival styles at their stuccoed walls and half-timbered gables. Beneath these restrained nods to the popular styles of the teens and twenties, the houses are basic, functional structures. Three bays cross their front facades, lighting their two front rooms. Porches supported by square posts with plain plinths and capitals shade two of these bays.

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Although no longer heated by coal, the houses retain two interior brick chimney stacks. Small structures of about 1,100 square feet, they were built with four rooms divided by plastered partition walls. At almost all of the houses, additional space has been gained through enclosing the small porches that were originally notched into the corners of their rear elevations. The most notable alterations of the houses are the removal or covering up with modern materials of most of the half-timbering and the alteration through new posts, railings, or screening of many front porches. The metal pipe railings of many of the front porches date from renovations made to the houses by the company in the early 1950s (personal communications with longtime residents Bill Dixon and Carrie Owen, June 12, 1991). These changes and alterations have not diminished the historic character of the village, which is dependent on the repetition of forms and uniform setbacks and siting, rather than on architectural detail.

The village's two-story houses all stand facing each other on the 2400 block of Hubbard Street, ten on either side of the street. They were built as single-family dwellings for large families, their approximately 1,700 square feet of space holding six rather than four rooms. More plainly finished than their smaller neighbors, they had neither half-timbering nor the bungalow-style play of porch and gable at their front facades. Exposed rafter ends do underpin their gable-end roofs, however, which are broken at their ridges by single, off-center, brick chimney stacks. Their shed-roofed, attached porches stretch from end to end of their front facades, which are pierced by an entry to one side and paired windows to the other. Supporting the porches are square posts identical to those of the one-story houses. Many of the porches have been altered in a fashion similar to that of the one-story houses.

All of the district's houses are set on lots that are generally sixty or sixty-five feet wide and between 150 and 170 feet deep. Their front yards, about half as deep as those to the rear, are marked by shrubs and small shade trees. Shade trees, fruit trees, and gardens enliven many backyards. Many of the trees and shrubs were planted or provided by the company. The gardens as well are in part a legacy of the company, which encouraged employees to raise their own fruits and vegetables.

The alleys laid out parallel to the rears of the houses had, by 1925, a few sheds and garages along them, built by the community's more enterprising residents (personal communication with Bill Dixon,

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June 12, 1991; Sanborn Map Company 1925). They also had numerous tiny unpainted outhouses, visible in photos of the village in the possession of the Cone Mills Corporation in Greensboro, none of which still stand. By the late 1920s the company had raised a number of frame garages, aptly called "car sheds" by the residents; of frame construction, they were barely large enough to hold a car. Functional structures, they feature gable-front roofs with exposed rafter ends and double doors, reminiscent of barn doors, that have rails set into "X" shapes across their bottom two-thirds. Interspersed among the early car sheds are small, unobstusive sheds, car sheds, and other modern outbuildings. The alleys the outbuildings face are narrow and unpaved, unlike the former dirt streets, which are now paved and edged with concrete curbs.

The houses of White Oak New Town were considered at the time of their construction to be better than contemporary mill houses. Longtime resident Carrie Owen remembers calling the neighborhood "Snob Hill" as a child, until she moved there (personal communication with Carrie Owen, June 12, 1991). The houses had a suggestion of style to them. They also had bathrooms, albeit empty bathrooms for their first ten years. They did not look like the worn sharecropper and tenant houses that many mill workers had fled, which cannot be said for the one-story, one-room deep houses that filled most of the other mill villages. As they did in the 1920s, they continue to form a well-maintained and coherent neighborhood.

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Greensboro, Guilford Co., NCINVENTORY LIST OF HISTORIC DISTRICT PROPERTIESMethodology

ID NUMBER: Each house in the district is assigned a number. An early car shed associated with a house is assigned the same number as the house and a letter, so the first house in the inventory list is #1 and its car shed is #1a. The district map accompanying the nomination is labelled with these ID numbers. All houses and early car sheds have been assigned numbers. Modern sheds, garages, and other small outbuildings have not been assigned numbers.

STATUS: The letter "C" denotes a contributing building. All of the houses and car sheds in the district are contributing buildings.

ADDRESS: The address listed is the present address of the resource. All of the streets which the houses front upon run north-south. They were inventoried from west to east; the west side of a street (the odd numbered addresses) is listed first, then the east side (the even numbered addresses). The addresses of all of the houses have changed since they were built. The original addresses are noted at the additional comments beneath each entry.

STYLE/Form: All of the one-story houses in the district are modest gable-front bungalows. All of the two-story houses are modest gable-end buildings. Both types are constructed of hollow tile. The cladding of those few not still covered with stucco is noted at the additional comments beneath the columnar entries. All of the early car sheds are tiny, frame, gable-front buildings.

PRESENT USE: The present rather than historic use of a resource is denoted here. With few exceptions, the houses have always been used as houses and the car sheds as garages or sheds. Any different, earlier use of a house is noted along with the additional information that follows each entry.

DATE: The district's houses first appear in the 1921 Greensboro city directory and were therefore erected by the Cone Mills company around 1920. The car sheds were built early by the company, although not as early as the houses. They probably date from the late 1920s.

HGHT: Heights are listed as "1" for one-story buildings and "2" for two-story buildings.

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ORIG/EARLY OCCUPANT: The names of the earliest known occupants were taken from the 1923 Greensboro city directory. Although the houses appeared in the 1921 and 1922 city directories, the 1923 directory was the first to list the streets of White Oak New Town in its street index. It was therefore the first directory from which a list of occupants could be drawn. It appears, however, that almost all of the 1923 occupants were the original occupants of the houses. At a few addresses, no occupant was listed in the 1923 city directory. At these the name of the first occupant to appear in a city directory is listed, along with the date of that directory.

OCCUPATION: All of the working occupants of the district's houses were employed by Cone Mills, probably all or virtually all at the White Oak mill. Although wives and working-age children worked in the mills along with husbands and fathers, the directories almost always list only the occupation of the man-of-the-house.

[ ]: Additional notable information about a resource--including original address and use, original noteworthy architectural features, and major alterations--is given briefly in brackets underneath the inventory list entry for each resource.

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ID#	STATUS	ADDRESS	STYLE/Form	PRESENT USE	DATE	HGHT	ORIG/EARLY OCCUPANT	OCCUPATION
NORTH CHURCH STREET (originally Cherry Street, then Poplar Street)								
1	C	2418 N Church St	Gable-front bungalow	Residence	c.1920	1	David Wilson	Mill hand
1a	C	" " " "	Gable-front	Car shed	1925-30	1		
[Original address was 39 Cherry Street; retains half-timbered adornment and early car shed]								
2	C	2416 N Church St	Gable-front bungalow	Residence	c.1920	1	R.A. Bright	Weaver
[Original address was 37 Cherry Street]								
3	C	2414 N Church St	Gable-front bungalow	Residence	c.1920	1	L.F. Johnson	Mill hand
3a	C	" " " "	Gable-front	Car shed	1925-30	1		
[Original address was 35 Cherry Street; retains half-timbered adornment and early car shed]								
4	C	2412 N Church St	Gable-front bungalow	Residence	c.1920	1	Mrs. Willie Trogdon	Widow
[Original address was 33 Cherry Street; retains square porch posts]								
5	C	2410 N Church St	Gable-front bungalow	Residence	c.1920	1	E.N. Frazier	Mill hand
5a	C	" " " "	Gable-front	Car shed	1925-30	1		
[Original address was 31 Cherry Street; retains half-timbered adornment, square porch posts, and early car shed]								
6	C	2408 N Church St	Gable-front bungalow	Residence	c.1920	1	Mrs. B.A. Dunn	Widow
6a	C	" " " "	Gable-front	Car shed	1925-30	1		
[Original address was 29 Cherry Street; retains square porch posts and early car shed]								
7	C	2406 N Church St	Gable-front bungalow	Residence	c.1920	1	John Faust	Card holder
7a	C	" " " "	Gable-front	Car shed	1925-30	1		
[Original address was 27 Cherry Street; retains square porch posts and early car shed]								
8	C	2404 N Church St	Gable-front bungalow	Residence	c.1920	1	W.A. Williamson	Weaver
8a	C	" " " "	Gable-front	Car shed	1925-30	1		
[Original address was 25 Cherry Street; retains early car shed]								

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ID#	STATUS	ADDRESS	STYLE/Form	PRESENT USE	DATE	HGHT	ORIG/EARLY OCCUPANT	OCCUPATION
9	C	2402 N Church St	Gable-front bungalow	Residence	c.1920	1	Mrs. Sallie Pegram	Widow
[Original address was 23 Cherry Street; retains half-timbered adornment and square porch posts]								
10	C	2400 N Church St	Gable-front bungalow	Residence	c.1920	1	Emery Pegram	Bricklayer
[Original address was 21 Cherry Street; retains square porch posts]								
SPRUCE STREET								
11	C	2509 Spruce St	Gable-front bungalow	Residence	c.1920	1	Herman Garrison	Clerk
[Original address was 50 Spruce Street; retains square porch posts]								
12	C	2507 Spruce St	Gable-front bungalow	Residence	c.1920	1	John Jordan	Mill hand
12a	C	" " " "	Gable-front	Car shed	1925-30	1		
[Original address was 48 Spruce Street; retains square porch posts and early car shed]								
13	C	2505 Spruce St	Gable-front bungalow	Residence	c.1920	1	George Wyrick	Warper
13a	C	" " " "	Gable-front	Car shed	1925-30	1		
[Original address was 46 Spruce Street; retains half-timbered adornment, square porch posts, and early car shed]								
14	C	2503 Spruce St	Gable-front bungalow	Residence	c.1920	1	Edward Burnside	Dolpher
14a	C	" " " "	Gable-front	Car shed	1925-30	1		
[Original address was 44 Spruce Street; retains square porch posts and early car shed]								
15	C	2501 Spruce St	Gable-front bungalow	Residence	c.1920	1	J.L. Reed	Loam fixer
15a	C	" " " "	Gable-front	Car shed	1925-30	1		
[Original address was 42 Spruce Street; retains early car shed]								
16	C	2419 Spruce St	Gable-front bungalow	Residence	c.1920	1	B.F. Hayes	Mill hand
16a	C	" " " "	Gable-front	Car shed	1925-30	1		
[Original address was 40 Spruce Street; retains square porch posts and early car shed]								

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ID#	STATUS	ADDRESS	STYLE/FORM	PRESENT USE	DATE	HGHT	ORIG/EARLY OCCUPANT	OCCUPATION
17	C	2417 Spruce St	Gable-front bungalow	Residence	c.1920	1	Colon Smith	Card holder
17a	C	" " " "	Gable-front	Car shed	1925-30	1		

{Original address was 38 Spruce Street; retains early car shed}

18	C	2415 Spruce St	Gable-front bungalow	Residence	c.1920	1	R.S. Squires	Card holder
18a	C	" " " "	Gable-front	Car shed	1925-30	1		

{Original address was 36 Spruce Street; retains square porch posts and early car shed}

19	C	2413 Spruce St	Gable-front bungalow	Residence	c.1920	1	I.H. Robinson	Mill hand
19a	C	" " " "	Gable-front	Car shed	1925-30	1		

{Original address was 34 Spruce Street; retains square porch posts and early car shed}

20	C	2411 Spruce St	Gable-front bungalow	Residence	c.1920	1	William Reid	Loom fixer
20a	C	" " " "	Gable-front	Car shed	1925-30	1		

{Original address was 32 Spruce Street; retains square porch posts and early car shed}

21	C	2409 Spruce St	Gable-front bungalow	Residence	c.1920	1	A.M. Whitt	Card holder
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{Original address was 30 Spruce Street; retains square porch posts}

22	C	2407 Spruce St	Gable-front bungalow	Residence	c.1920	1	A.B. Robinson	Speeder operator
22a	C	" " " "	Gable-front	Car shed	1925-30	1		

{Original address was 28 Spruce Street; retains square porch posts and early car shed}

23	C	2405 Spruce St	Gable-front bungalow	Residence	c.1920	1	James Sewell	Weaver
23a	C	" " " "	Gable-front	Car shed	1925-30	1		

{Original address was 26 Spruce Street; retains square porch posts and early car shed}

24	C	2403 Spruce St	Gable-front bungalow	Residence	c.1920	1	W.L. Sessions	Mill hand
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{Original address was 24 Spruce Street; retains square porch posts}

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ID#	STATUS	ADDRESS	STYLE/FORM	PRESENT USE	DATE	HGHT	ORIG/EARLY OCCUPANT	OCCUPATION
25	C	2401 Spruce St	Gable-front bungalow	Residence	c.1920	1	Everett Lawson	Mill hand
25a	C	" " " "	Gable-front	Car shed	1925-30	1		
[Original address was 22 Spruce Street; retains early car shed]								
26	C	2508 Spruce St	Gable-front bungalow	Residence	c.1920	1	R.C. McDonald	Weaver
26a	C	" " " "	Gable-front	Car shed	1925-30	1		
[Original address was 49 Spruce Street; retains square porch posts and early car shed]								
27	C	2506 Spruce St	Gable-front bungalow	Residence	c.1920	1	M.L. Leonard	Mill hand
27a	C	" " " "	Gable-front	Car shed	1925-30	1		
[Original address was 47 Spruce Street; retains square porch posts and early car shed]								
28	C	2504 Spruce St	Gable-front bungalow	Residence	c.1920	1	A.J. Lewey	Card holder
[Original address was 45 Spruce Street; retains square porch posts]								
29	C	2502 Spruce St	Gable-front bungalow	Residence	c.1920	1	C.E. Bragg	Mill hand
[Original address was 43 Spruce Street; retains square porch posts; stuccoed walls covered with aluminum siding]								
30	C	2500 Spruce St	Gable-front bungalow	Residence	c.1920	1	J.W. Newman	Slubber operator
[Original address was 41 Spruce Street]								
31	C	2418 Spruce St	Gable-front bungalow	Residence	c.1920	1	J.B. Caveness	Weaver
31a	C	" " " "	Gable-front	Car shed	1925-30	1		
[Original address was 39 Spruce Street; retains early car shed]								
32	C	2416 Spruce St	Gable-front bungalow	Residence	c.1920	1	F.R. Spivey	Second hand
32a	C	" " " "	Gable-front	Car shed	1925-30	1		
[Original address was 37 Spruce Street; retains early car shed]								
33	C	2414 Spruce St	Gable-front bungalow	Residence	c.1920	1	Alfred Hedrick	Helper
33a	C	" " " "	Gable-front	Car shed	1925-30	1		

[Original address was 35 Spruce Street; retains square porch posts and early car shed]

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ID#	STATUS	ADDRESS	STYLE/FORM	PRESENT USE	DATE	HGHT	ORIG/EARLY OCCUPANT	OCCUPATION
34	C	2412 Spruce St	Gable-front bungalow	Residence	c.1920	1	John Vincent	Mill hand
34a	C	" " " "	Gable-front	Car shed	1925-30	1		
[Original address was 33 Spruce Street; retains square porch posts and early car shed]								
35	C	2410 Spruce St	Gable-front bungalow	Residence	c.1920	1	Walter Shepherd	Slubber operator
35a	C	" " " "	Gable-front	Car shed	1925-30	1		
[Original address was 31 Spruce Street; retains early car shed]								
36	C	2408 Spruce St	Gable-front bungalow	Residence	c.1920	1	Miss L.J. Jones (1924)	No occupation listed
36a	C	" " " "	Gable-front	Car shed	1925-30	1		
[Original address was 29 Spruce Street; listed as vacant in 1923 directory; retains early car shed]								
37	C	2406 Spruce St	Gable-front bungalow	Residence	c.1920	1	E.W. Wall	Loom fixer
[Original address was 27 Spruce Street; retains square porch posts]								
38	C	2404 Spruce St	Gable-front bungalow	Residence	c.1920	1	W.E. Godfrey	Mill hand
[Original address was 25 Spruce Street; retains square porch posts]								
39	C	2402 Spruce St	Gable-front bungalow	Residence	c.1920	1	Bud York	Traveling salesman
39a	C	" " " "	Gable-front	Car shed	1925-30	1		
[Original address was 23 Spruce Street; retains square porch posts and early car shed]								
40	C	2400 Spruce St	Gable-front bungalow	Residence	c.1920	1	J.H. Wall	Mill hand
[Original address was 21 Spruce Street]								
41	C	2318 Spruce St	Gable-front bungalow	Residence	c.1920	1	Mrs. Angie Manuel	Widow
41a	C	" " " "	Gable-front	Car shed	1925-30	1		
[Original address was 19 Spruce Street; retains square porch posts and early car shed]								
42	C	2316 Spruce St	Gable-front bungalow	Residence	c.1920	1	Walter Southern	Card holder
[Original address was 17 Spruce Street]								

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ID#	STATUS	ADDRESS	STYLE/FORM	PRESENT USE	DATE	HGHT	ORIG/EARLY OCCUPANT	OCCUPATION
43	C	2314 Spruce St	Gable-front bungalow	Residence	c.1920	1	L.B. Bishop	Section operator
43a	C	" " " "	Gable-front	Car shed	1925-30	1		

[Original address was 15 Spruce Street; retains early car shed]

44	C	2312 Spruce St	Gable-front bungalow	Residence	c.1920	1	William Caligon	Dolpher
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[Original address was 13 Spruce Street; retains square porch posts]

HUBBARD STREET (originally Peach Street)

45	C	2503 Hubbard St	Gable-front bungalow	Residence	c.1920	1	John W. Harris (1936)	Card grinder
45a	C	" " " "	Gable-front	Car shed	1925-30	1		

[Original address was 44 Peach Street; retains early car shed. The 1923 and 1930-1935 directories list this house as vacant; the 1924 through 1929 directories list is as containing school rooms.]

46	C	2501 Hubbard St	Gable-front bungalow	Residence	c.1920	1	B.S. Martindale (1941)	Second hand
46a	C	" " " "	Gable-front	Car shed	1925-30	1		

[Original address was 42 Peach Street; retains early car shed. The 1923 and 1930-1935 directories list this house as vacant; the 1924 through 1929 directories list is as containing school rooms.]

47	C	2419 Hubbard St	Gable-end	Residence	c.1920	2	Forest Blackmon	Mill hand
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[Original address was 40 Peach Street]

48	C	2417 Hubbard St	Gable-end	Residence	c.1920	2	H.B. Thomas	Mill hand
48a	C	" " " "	Gable-front	Car shed	1925-30	1		

[Original address was 38 Peach Street; retains early car shed]

49	C	2415 Hubbard St	Gable-end	Residence	c.1920	2	E.C. Sanford	Mill hand
49a	C	" " " "	Gable-front	Car shed	1925-30	1		

[Original address was 36 Peach Street; retains square porch posts and early car shed]

50	C	2413 Hubbard St	Gable-end	Residence	c.1920	2	Mrs. Sarah Foster	Widow
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[Original address was 34 Peach Street; retains square porch posts]

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ID#	STATUS	ADDRESS	STYLE/Form	PRESENT USE	DATE	HGHT	ORIG/EARLY OCCUPANT	OCCUPATION
51	C	2411 Hubbard St	Gable-end	Residence	c.1920	2	J.A. Hughes	Loom fixer
51a	C	" " " "	Gable-front	Car shed	1925-30	1		
[Original address was 32 Peach Street; retains early car shed]								
52	C	2409 Hubbard St	Gable-end	Residence	c.1920	2	C.C. Whitt	Speeder operator
[Original address was 30 Peach Street; retains square porch posts]								
53	C	2407 Hubbard St	Gable-end	Residence	c.1920	2	G.W. Baily	Draftsman
53a	C	" " " "	Gable-front	Car shed	1925-30	1		
[Original address was 28 Peach Street; retains square porch posts and early car shed]								
54	C	2405 Hubbard St	Gable-end	Residence	c.1920	2	William Davis	Mill hand
54a	C	" " " "	Gable-front	Car shed	1925-30	1		
[Original address was 26 Peach Street; retains square porch posts and early car shed]								
55	C	2403 Hubbard St	Gable-end	Residence	c.1920	2	Mrs. Pearl Tyson	Weaver
55a	C	" " " "	Gable-front	Car shed	1925-30	1		
[Original address was 24 Peach Street]								
56	C	2401 Hubbard St	Gable-end	Residence	c.1920	2	T.A. Walden	Loom fixer
[Original address was 22 Peach Street; stuccoed walls covered with aluminum siding]								
57	C	2319 Hubbard St	Gable-end	Residence	c.1920	2	C.R. Jernigan	Mill hand
[Original address was 20 Peach Street; retains square porch posts]								
58	C	2317 Hubbard St	Gable-end	Residence	c.1920	2	C.H. Durry	Mill hand
[Original address was 18 Peach Street; retains square porch posts]								
59	C	2315 Hubbard St	Gable-end	Residence	c.1920	2	Ross Tippet	Weaver
59a	C	" " " "	Gable-front	Car shed	1925-30	1		
[Original address was 16 Peach Street; retains square porch posts and early car shed]								

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ID#	STATUS	ADDRESS	STYLE/Form	PRESENT USE	DATE	HGHT	ORIG/EARLY OCCUPANT	OCCUPATION
60	C	2313 Hubbard St	Gable-end	Residence	c.1920	2	J.F. Peterson	Mill hand
[Original address was 14 Peach Street]								
61	C	2311 Hubbard St	Gable-end	Residence	c.1920	2	John Steele	Weaver
[Original address was 12 Peach Street]								
62	C	2502 Hubbard St	Gable-front bungalow	Residence	c.1920	1	M. Ottis Wyrick (1936)	Weaver
62a	C	" " " "	Gable-front	Car shed	1925-30	1		
[Original address was 43 Peach Street; retains square porch posts and early car shed. The 1923 and 1930-1935 directories list this house as vacant; the 1924 through 1929 directories list is as containing school rooms.]								
63	C	2500 Hubbard St	Gable-front bungalow	Residence	c.1920	1	Flake D. Redmond (1936)	Deputy sheriff
63a	C	" " " "	Gable-front	Car shed	1925-30	1		
[Original address was 41 Peach Street; retains half-timbered adornment, square porch posts, and early car shed. The 1923 and 1930-1935 directories list this house as vacant; the 1924 through 1929 directories list is as containing school rooms. Sheriff Redmond was employed by Cone Mills.]								
64	C	2418 Hubbard St	Gable-end	Residence	c.1920	2	G.W. Foster	Clerk
[Original address was 39 Peach Street; retains square porch posts]								
65	C	2416 Hubbard St	Gable-end	Residence	c.1920	2	J.A. Cooper	Mill hand
65a	C	" " " "	Gable-front	Car shed	1925-30	1		
[Original address was 37 Peach Street; retains early car shed]								
66	C	2414 Hubbard St	Gable-end	Residence	c.1920	2	T.J. McDaniel	Loom fixer
[Original address was 35 Peach Street; retains square porch posts]								
67	C	2412 Hubbard St	Gable-end	Residence	c.1920	2	M.A. Fracheur	Mill hand
67a	C	" " " "	Gable-front	Car shed	1925-30	1		
[Original address was 33 Peach Street; retains square porch posts and early car shed]								

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Continuation Sheet

White Oak New Town Historic District  
Greensboro, Guilford Co., NC

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<u>ID#</u>	<u>STATUS</u>	<u>ADDRESS</u>	<u>STYLE/FORM</u>	<u>PRESENT USE</u>	<u>DATE</u>	<u>HGHT</u>	<u>ORIG/EARLY OCCUPANT</u>	<u>OCCUPATION</u>
68	C	2410 Hubbard St	Gable-end	Residence	c.1920	2	S.P. Boaz	Speeder operator
68a	C	" " " "	Gable-front	Car shed	1925-30	1		
[Original address was 31 Peach Street; retains square porch posts and early car shed]								
69	C	2408 Hubbard St	Gable-end	Residence	c.1920	2	John Carrico	Mill hand
69a	C	" " " "	Gable-front	Car shed	1925-30	1		
[Original address was 29 Peach Street; retains square porch posts and early car shed]								
70	C	2406 Hubbard St	Gable-end	Residence	c.1920	2	C.W. Seymour	Loom fixer
70a	C	" " " "	Gable-front	Car shed	1925-30	1		
[Original address was 27 Peach Street; retains square porch posts and early car shed]								
71	C	2404 Hubbard St	Gable-end	Residence	c.1920	2	S.L. Welch	Section hand
[Original address was 25 Peach Street; retains square porch posts]								
72	C	2402 Hubbard St	Gable-end	Residence	c.1920	2	J.C. Evans	Weaver
[Original address was 23 Peach Street]								
73	C	2400 Hubbard St	Gable-end	Residence	c.1920	2	J.H. Bowman	Spooler
73a	C	" " " "	Gable-front	Car shed	1925-30	1		
73b	C	" " " "	Gable-front	Car shed	1925-30	1		
[Original address was 21 Peach Street; retains two early car sheds]								
74	C	2318 Hubbard St	Gable-front bungalow	Residence	c.1920	1	Joseph Moore	Slubber operator
[Original address was 19 Peach Street; retains half-timbered adornment and square porch posts]								
75	C	2316 Hubbard St	Gable-front bungalow	Residence	c.1920	1	Joseph Varner	Mill hand
75a	C	" " " "	Gable-front	Car shed	1925-30	1		
[Original address was 17 Peach Street; retains square porch posts and early car shed]								

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White Oak New Town Historic District  
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<u>ID#</u>	<u>STATUS</u>	<u>ADDRESS</u>	<u>STYLE/FORM</u>	<u>PRESENT USE</u>	<u>DATE</u>	<u>HGHT</u>	<u>ORIG/EARLY OCCUPANT</u>	<u>OCCUPATION</u>
76	C	2314 Hubbard St	Gable-front bungalow	Residence	c.1920	1	J.H. Adams	Weaver
76a	C	" " " "	Gable-front	Car shed	1925-30	1		
[Original address was 15 Peach Street; retains square porch posts and early car shed]								
77	C	2312 Hubbard St	Gable-front bungalow	Residence	c.1920	1	S.J. Wilson	Mill hand
[Original address was 13 Peach Street; retains square porch posts]								
78	C	2310 Hubbard St	Gable-front bungalow	Residence	c.1920	1	J.P. White	Weaver
78a	C	" " " "	Gable-front	Car shed	1925-30	1		
[Original address was 11 Peach Street; retains square porch posts and early car shed]								
CYPRESS STREET								
79	C	2503 Cypress St	Gable-front bungalow	Residence	c.1920	1	Henry Nance	Mill hand
79a	C	" " " "	Gable-front	Car shed	1925-30	1		
[Original address was 44 Cypress Street; retains square porch posts and early car shed]								
80	C	2501 Cypress St	Gable-front bungalow	Residence	c.1920	1	R.B. Stacy	Second hand
80a	C	" " " "	Gable-front	Car shed	1925-30	1		
[Original address was 42 Cypress Street; retains square porch posts and early car shed]								
81	C	2419 Cypress St	Gable-front bungalow	Residence	c.1920	1	Burnice Brown	Mill hand
81a	C	" " " "	Gable-front	Car shed	1925-30	1		
[Original address was 40 Cypress Street; retains early car shed]								
82	C	2417 Cypress St	Gable-front bungalow	Residence	c.1920	1	Jesse Bishop	Mill hand
82a	C	" " " "	Gable-front	Car shed	1925-30	1		
[Original address was 38 Cypress Street; retains half-timbered adornment and early car shed]								
83	C	2415 Cypress St	Gable-front bungalow	Residence	c.1920	1	J.R. Thrower	Lock fixer
[Original address was 36 Cypress Street; retains square porch posts]								

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White Oak New Town Historic District  
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<u>ID#</u>	<u>STATUS</u>	<u>ADDRESS</u>	<u>STYLE/FORM</u>	<u>PRESENT USE</u>	<u>DATE</u>	<u>HGHT</u>	<u>ORIG/EARLY OCCUPANT</u>	<u>OCCUPATION</u>
84	C	2413 Cypress St	Gable-front bungalow	Residence	c.1920	1	B.E. Capps	Mill hand
84a	C	" " " "	Gable-front	Car shed	1925-30	1		
[Original address was 34 Cypress Street; retains early car shed]								
85	C	2411 Cypress St	Gable-front bungalow	Residence	c.1920	1	W.M. Tidwell	Loam fixer
85a	C	" " " "	Gable-front	Car shed	1925-30	1		
[Original address was 32 Cypress Street; retains early car shed]								
86	C	2409 Cypress St	Gable-front bungalow	Residence	c.1920	1	J.R. Weaver	Watchman
[Original address was 30 Cypress Street; retains half-timbered adornment]								
87	C	2407 Cypress St	Gable-front bungalow	Residence	c.1920	1	J.T. Watson	Lapper operator
87a	C	" " " "	Gable-front	Car shed	1925-30	1		
[Original address was 28 Cypress Street; retains early car shed]								
88	C	2405 Cypress St	Gable-front bungalow	Residence	c.1920	1	W.M. Hayes	Loam fixer
88a	C	" " " "	Gable-front	Car shed	1925-30	1		
[Original address was 26 Cypress Street; retains early car shed]								
89	C	2403 Cypress St	Gable-front bungalow	Residence	c.1920	1	C.S. Scott	Mill hand
[Original address was 24 Cypress Street; retains square porch posts]								
90	C	2401 Cypress St	Gable-front bungalow	Residence	c.1920	1	J.E. Riddle	Mill hand
[Original address was 22 Cypress Street; retains square porch posts]								
91	C	2502 Cypress St	Gable-front bungalow	Residence	c.1920	1	Mrs. L.A. Reid	Widow
91a	C	" " " "	Gable-front	Car shed	1925-30	1		
[Original address was 43 Cypress Street; retains square porch posts and early car shed]								
92	C	2500 Cypress St	Gable-front bungalow	Residence	c.1920	1	J.H. Harder	Weaver
[Original address was 41 Cypress Street; retains half-timbered adornment and square porch posts]								

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Greensboro, Guilford Co., NCSection number 7 Page 17

ID#	STATUS	ADDRESS	STYLE/FORM	PRESENT USE	DATE	HGHT	ORIG/EARLY OCCUPANT	OCCUPATION
93	C	2418 Cypress St	Gable-front bungalow	Residence	c.1920	1	J.H. Wrenn	Beaver
93a	C	" " " "	Gable-front	Car shed	1925-30	1		
[Original address was 39 Cypress Street; retains square porch posts and early car shed]								
94	C	2416 Cypress St	Gable-front bungalow	Residence	c.1920	1	J.B. Riddle	Slasher
94a	C	" " " "	Gable-front	Car shed	1925-30	1		
[Original address was 37 Cypress Street; retains square porch posts and early car shed]								
95	C	2414 Cypress St	Gable-front bungalow	Residence	c.1920	1	Dwain Shipman	Beaver
95a	C	" " " "	Gable-front	Car shed	1925-30	1		
[Original address was 35 Cypress Street; retains early car shed]								
96	C	2412 Cypress St	Gable-front bungalow	Residence	c.1920	1	W.C. Thornton	Weaver
[Original address was 33 Cypress Street]								
97	C	2410 Cypress St	Gable-front bungalow	Residence	c.1920	1	L.W. Berrier	Clerk
[Original address was 31 Cypress Street; retains square porch posts]								
98	C	2408 Cypress St	Gable-front bungalow	Residence	c.1920	1	E.B. Barnes	Beaver
98a	C	" " " "	Gable-front	Car shed	1925-30	1		
[Original address was 29 Cypress Street; retains square porch posts and early car shed]								
99	C	2406 Cypress St	Gable-front bungalow	Residence	c.1920	1	R.R. Mann	Weaver
[Original address was 27 Cypress Street]								
100	C	2404 Cypress St	Gable-front bungalow	Residence	c.1920	1	T.W. Michael	Mill hand
100a	C	" " " "	Gable-front	Car shed	1925-30	1		
[Original address was 25 Cypress Street; retains square porch posts and early car shed]								

**8. Statement of Significance**

Certifying official has considered the significance of this property in relation to other properties:

nationally     statewide     locally

Applicable National Register Criteria     A     B     C     D

Criteria Considerations (Exceptions)     A     B     C     D     E     F     G

Areas of Significance (enter categories from instructions)

Architecture  
Community Planning and Development  
Industry

Period of Significance

1920-1941  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

Significant Dates

1920  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

Cultural Affiliation

N/A  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

Significant Person

N/A  
\_\_\_\_\_

Architect/Builder

Unknown  
\_\_\_\_\_

State significance of property, and justify criteria, criteria considerations, and areas and periods of significance noted above.

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Continuation SheetSection number 8 Page 1White Oak New Town Historic District  
Greensboro, Guilford Co., NCSummary

White Oak New Town, built by the Cone family's Proximity Manufacturing Company about 1920, is the most intact of the many mill villages that characterize northeast Greensboro. Its small well-maintained houses, car sheds, and lots illuminate the day to day lives of the city's thousands of textile employees and their families in the 1920s and 1930s. More broadly, the village reflects the power and importance of the textile industry in twentieth-century Greensboro and the physical impression it made upon the city's landscape. Continuing to form a separate distinct community, White Oak New Town's little-altered houses retain their integrity of location, association, feeling, and setting, as well as their attributes of form and style. Cut from two molds, they stand on their original lots in the same relationship to streets and alleys, car sheds and each other, as they have since the 1920s. The altered White Oak Mill, their reason for being, still stands less than a half-mile walk to their east.

White Oak New Town's period of significance, which stretches from its circa 1920 construction until the onset of World War II, falls within the second of Greensboro's historic contexts, Modern Suburbanization and Industrialization, 1900-1941. The most relevant subsections within that context are the two which cover the textile industry and mill village development. The contexts for the district's architecture and overall appearance are found at Property Type 1, particularly at its discussion of bungalows; Property Type 2, which covers industrial housing; and Property Type 7, which describes the characteristics of Greensboro's suburbs.

History

The White Oak textile mill was erected by Moses and Ceasar Cone, the founders of the Cone Mills textile empire. The two brothers had established their first textile works in Greensboro, the Southern Finishing and Warehouse Company, in 1892. By the close of the century, they had built the Proximity Cotton Mill, and Emanuel and Herman Sternberger had built the Revolution Cotton Mill, which the Cones were later to acquire (Arnett 1955:171-172; Half-Century Book 1941; Balliett 1925; Fripp 1982:57-58.) Between 1902 and 1905 they constructed their largest textile mill, White Oak, on a tract of wooded land outside of the city limits, about two-and-a-half miles northeast of the courthouse. It was named for a large, old white oak that was used as a starting point in surveying the property ("White

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Oak Plant" 1980). Opened in 1905 with 700 looms, the mill was designed for 2,000. Initially referred to as the "White Elephant" according to Herman Cone, it was expanded to 3,000 looms in 1922 (American Jewish Times, March 1937). By 1925 White Oak was producing 160,000 yards of denim a day (Balliett 1925). By the end of the 1930s it was the largest denim mill in the world (Half-Century Book 1941; Arnett 1955:173).

White Oak New Town was built all at once, about 1920, by the Proximity Manufacturing Company, under which name the Cone family cotton mills were operating at the time. Its addresses first appear in the 1921 Greensboro city directory, although the community was not actually encompassed by city limits until 1923. (Company records are largely inaccessible, so precise construction dates and other early information is not available.) The need for additional housing--the White Oak Mill already had hundreds of houses arrayed in regular rows in villages around it--was probably necessitated by the 1,000-loom expansion of the mill in the early 1920s. One hundred hollow-tile-walled, stuccoed houses, all of which still stand, were built, along with three no longer extant small, frame classroom buildings (Greensboro City Directories; Sanborn Map Company 1925).

White Oak New Town is in many ways typical of all of the Cone Mills company villages, which by 1925, according to the company, housed 15,000 textile workers and their families (Balliett 1925). (The name "New Town" indicates that other White Oak mill villages preceded it.) Its houses are small but sturdy, laid out in a regular grid, close to the street. Inexpensive to rent, they were located within walking distance of the mill, shopping, school, churches, and the YMCA, all of which were built or subsidized by the company. In fact, the village had its own classrooms, contained in the three frame buildings at Hubbard and Cypress streets which no longer stand and at 2500, 2501, 2502, and 2503 Hubbard Street. With the construction of the Ceasar Cone Public School in 1935 just to the west of the village on North Church Street, the frame buildings were removed and the others converted into dwellings (Sanborn Map Company 1925; Balliett 1925).

The job list of the village's first male household heads reads like a primer on the various stages of textile production. (Although most of the women in the village, and many of the children, worked in the mills, their occupations are rarely given in the city directories.) There were speeder operators, dolphers, slubbers, card

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Greensboro, Guilford Co., NC

holders, and card grinders, warpers, spoolers, lapper operators, beamers, and slashers. Ten were loom fixers, fifteen weavers, and about a third were simply identified in city directories as mill hands. Jobs beyond the mill floor were represented as well. Three residents worked as clerks, another as a traveling salesman, and yet another as a draftsman. Emery Pegram of 2400 North Church Street laid bricks for the mills, J.R. Weaver of 2409 Cypress Street was employed as a watchman, and Flake Redmond, who moved into 2500 Hubbard Street when it ceased to be a schoolhouse, patrolled the mills as a company sheriff (Greensboro City Directories).

Two different house types were built in the village. On the 2400 block of Hubbard Street, twenty two-story, six-room houses were built. The remaining eighty houses were a single story tall and held four rooms each. The larger houses were rented out to individuals with large families (personal communication with Bill Dixon, June 12, 1991). The exact weekly rental is unclear, but it was cheap, around \$1.00 a week for the four-room houses. Carrie Owen, who first moved to the community with her family in 1924, believes that rentals in that year were ninety-eight cents a week. Bill Dixon, who moved to the neighborhood with his family in 1925, recalls that rentals were \$1.25 a week from the 1920s through the early 1950s, when the company remodelled the houses and raised the rent to \$10.00 a week (personal communications with Bill Dixon and Carrie Owen, June 12, 1991). These figures jibe with a 1925 company publication that put rentals at \$1.00 per room per month, and the comments of a local historian of the mills, Norman Pinkelton, who states that rental of a four-room house during the Depression was ninety-two cents a week and an additional twenty-five cents if a garage was included (Balliett 1925; Greensboro New & Record, May 19, 1991).

Rentals had to be cheap, for wages were low. When Bill Dixon started working at White Oak in the mid-1920s, at the age of fourteen, he made \$10.75 a week. Carrie Owen's first husband, Moss Varner, who worked in the spool room, was making \$9.00 a week when they married in 1933 (personal communications with Bill Dixon and Carrie Owen, June 12, 1991).

The houses had electricity, which was included in the rent, but initially no running water or plumbing. They were built with bathrooms that throughout the twenties remained empty, necessitating the use of outhouses and of water spigots set between pairs of houses. In 1931 the company let contracts for bringing sewer lines to the

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Greensboro, Guilford Co., NC

villages and began to install toilets and kitchen sinks (Greensboro News-Record, March 25, 1931). All of the outhouses were subsequently removed.

The lives of Bill Dixon and Carrie Owen are typical of many early residents of White Oak New Town and other Cone Mills villages. Owen first lived in the neighborhood on North Church (then Poplar) Street in 1924, sharing a house with her family and another family until the company could find them their own. The family had moved to Greensboro from Danville, Virginia. Her father, James Crum, pushed the Coca Cola truck through the mill and her mother, Leonie Crum, was a spinner and also took care of the "kitchen" or commissary. Carrie Owen attended school at one of the schoolhouses on Hubbard Street and went to work at the mill at the age of fourteen as a spinner (personal communication with Carrie Owen, June 12, 1991).

Bill Dixon came to Greensboro with his family in 1923, at the age of thirteen. He had been raised on a farm near Star, a small town in Randolph County, North Carolina, located about fifty miles south of Greensboro. His father was a sharecropper who almost starved in a failed effort to make a living off the land. A photo of the family's Starr house pictures a one-story, one-room deep, gable-end house that looks like much of the early Cone Mills housing, although not like the New Town bungalows. With his parents and seven of his siblings, Dixon moved to a house on North Church Street in 1925. His father, Franklin, worked as a filling hauler and his mother, Chaddie, as a weaver. He attended school on Hubbard Street and at the age of fourteen went to work for the mill. His first job was hauling water to workers. He carried two buckets and two ladles, one for the black workers and one for whites. He later worked as a weaver and retired from the company with a fifty-year commemorative watch in his possession. He worked fifty-five hours a week for his \$10.75 starting wages, of which his father let him keep seventy-five cents, the rest going towards the support of the family (personal communication with Bill Dixon, June 12, 1991).

The quality of life in White Oak New Town and the mills remains open to question. According to Bill Dixon, every worker in a company house had to be employed by the mills or the family would be put out. In addition, wages were low, prompting Dixon, Carrie Owen, and many others to start working after a limited amount of schooling. Together these factors restricted the opportunity of the young to move beyond the small, hard world of the mill. As historian Samuel M. Kipp III

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has written, the mill schools "ensured a continuous supply of modestly educated, reasonably efficient workers, but failed to open significant new avenues of upward mobility for workers" (Kipp 1974:306). Historian William H. Chafe characterized working conditions and pay as poor and the social efforts of the owners as paternalistic and opportunistic (Chafe 1980:20).

Cone Mills did not deny their paternalism. Rather, they chose to cast it in a positive light. They provided social services--they were the first in the state, in 1903, to hire a social worker (Herring 1929:114)--schools, recreational opportunities, subsidized fuel and food, and nominal rents, and declaimed that the "welfare of the operatives and their families is a consideration that is always put ahead of volume or profits." They also bluntly stated, however, that "The management has always realized that it is upon the physical, spiritual and mental well-being of the operatives and their families that steady, economical production and a resultant profit depend" (Balliett 1925).

Whether economically exploited or not, Carrie Owen and Bill Dixon fondly remember a tight-knit community of people who looked out for each other. They talk of neighbors keeping cows and horses, chickens and goats, and the company providing fruit trees and shrubs and encouraging gardens. Both happily recall free hams on Christmas. In 1958, when the company offered to sell the houses of White Oak New Town to their occupants for about \$5,000.00, they bought their homes, as did many of their neighbors (personal communications with Bill Dixon and Carrie Owen, June 12, 1991).

9. Major Bibliographical References

Previous documentation on file (NPS):

- preliminary determination of individual listing (36 CFR 67) has been requested
- previously listed in the National Register
- previously determined eligible by the National Register
- designated a National Historic Landmark
- recorded by Historic American Buildings Survey # \_\_\_\_\_
- recorded by Historic American Engineering Record # \_\_\_\_\_

See continuation sheet

Primary location of additional data:

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

Specify repository: \_\_\_\_\_

10. Geographical Data

Acreage of property 27

UTM References

A 1,7 6,0,9,8,0,0 3,9,9,6,5,0,0  
 Zone Easting Northing

C 1,7 6,0,9,8,6,0 3,9,9,5,9,2,0

B 1,7 6,1,0,1,9,0 3,9,9,6,3,3,0  
 Zone Easting Northing

D 1,7 6,0,9,6,3,0 3,9,9,6,2,0,0

See continuation sheet

Verbal Boundary Description

The boundary of the White Oak New Town Historic District is shown as the line on the accompanying base map.

See continuation sheet

Boundary Justification

See continuation sheet

11. Form Prepared By

name/title Marvin A. Brown

organization Greensboro Preservation Society date 9-15-91

street & number 447 West Washington Street telephone 919-272-5003

city or town Greensboro state North Carolina zip code 27402

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American Jewish Times. March, 1937. Clipping of an article by Herman Cone entitled "A Short History of the Cone Textile Enterprises" located in the vertical files of the Jackson Library, University of North Carolina at Greensboro.

Arnett, Ethel Stephens. 1955. Greensboro, North Carolina, the County Seat of Guilford. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press. Located at the Greensboro Public Library, Caldwell-Jones Room.

Balliett, Carl J. 1925. World Leadership in Denims, Through Thirty Years of Progress. Baltimore: Privately printed by the Thomsen-Ellis Co. for the Proximity Manufacturing Company. Company publication located at the Greensboro Public Library, Caldwell-Jones Room.

Baylin, Jonathan F. 1968. "An Historical Study of Residential Development in Greensboro, 1808-1965." Master's thesis, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. Located at the Greensboro Public Library, Caldwell-Jones Room.

Fripp, Gayle Hicks. 1982. Greensboro, A Chosen Center. Woodland Hills, CA: Windsor Publications. Located at the Greensboro Public Library, Caldwell-Jones Room.

Greensboro City Directories, 1920-1941. Located at the Greensboro Public Library, Caldwell-Jones Room.

Greensboro News & Record. May 19, 1991. Clipping of article, from advertising supplement, entitled "Mill Village Way of Life is Bygone Era" located in the vertical files of the Jackson Library, University of North Carolina at Greensboro.

Greensboro News-Record. March 25, 1931. Clipping of article entitled "\$200,000 to be Spent by Cone Interests to Improve Mill Houses" located in the vertical files of the Jackson Library, University of North Carolina at Greensboro.

Greensboro Record. February 26, 1948. Clipping of article entitled "Many Southern Mills Selling their Villages" located in the vertical files of the Jackson Library, University of North Carolina at Greensboro.

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Guilford County Deed Books. Located at Guilford County Courthouse, Greensboro, North Carolina.

Guilford County Plat Books. Located at Guilford County Courthouse, Greensboro, North Carolina.

Half Century Book, 1891-1941. 1941. Greensboro: Cone Export & Commission Co. Company publication located at the Greensboro Public Library, Caldwell-Jones Room.

Herring, Harriet L. 1929. Welfare Work in Mill Villages, the Story of Extra-Mill Activities in North Carolina. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press.

Kipp, Samuel Millard III. 1974. "Urban Growth and Social Change in the South, 1870-1920: Greensboro, North Carolina, as a Case Study." Ph.D. dissertation, Princeton University. Located at the Jackson Library, University of North Carolina at Greensboro.

Personal communication. June 12, 1991. Bill Dixon, longtime resident of White Oak New Town.

\_\_\_\_\_. June 12, 1991. Carrie Owen, longtime resident of White Oak New Town.

Sanborn Map and Publishing Co. 1885, 1888, 1891, and 1896. "Greensboro, North Carolina." Fire insurance maps located at Greensboro Planning Department, Greensboro Municipal Building.

Sanborn Map Company. 1902, 1913, 1919, and 1925. "Greensboro, North Carolina." Fire insurance maps located at Greensboro Planning Department, Greensboro Municipal Building.

"White Oak Plant, Cone Mills Corporation, Greensboro, N.C., 75 Years of Progress, 1905-1980." 1980. Pamphlet located at the Greensboro Public Library, Caldwell-Jones Room.

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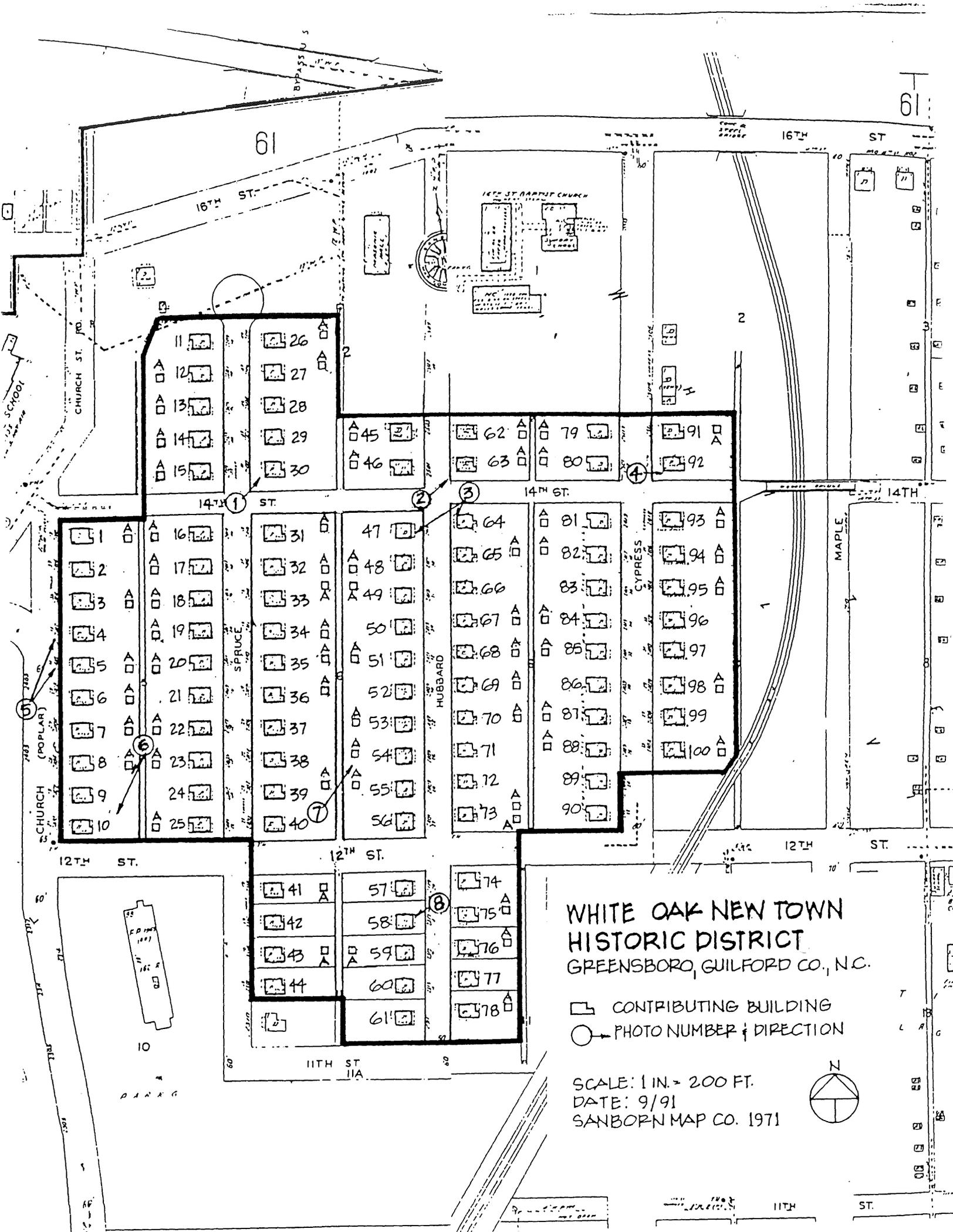
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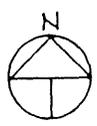
The boundaries of the White Oak New Town Historic District encompass the original extent of the mill village. The village is a separate entity, its streets terminating at train tracks at the east, fields and a modern apartment building at the south, North Church Street at the west, and at the north at 16th Street and a modern Baptist Church and Masonic Hall.



**WHITE OAK NEW TOWN  
HISTORIC DISTRICT**  
GREENSBORO, GUILFORD CO., N.C.

- CONTRIBUTING BUILDING
- PHOTO NUMBER & DIRECTION

SCALE: 1 IN. = 200 FT.  
DATE: 9/91  
SANBORN MAP CO. 1971



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