



1940-ca. 1970

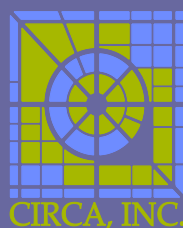
**HISTORIC RESOURCES SURVEY
PLANNING PHASE REPORT**

PREPARED FOR:

City of Greensboro > Housing and Community Development Department
P.O. Box 31316 > Greensboro, NC 27402

North Carolina State Historic Preservation Office
4671 Mail Service Center > Raleigh, NC 2799-4671

SEPTEMBER 2009



P.O. Box 28365 > Raleigh, North Carolina 27611

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Introduction	3
Methodology	4
Background History	6
Quality and Quantity of Historic Resources	12
Historic Contexts	20
A. Post Urban Renewal African American Churches	20
B. Architecture of North Carolina Agricultural and Technical State University.....	23
C. The Civil Rights Movement: Individuals and Events.....	24
D. Mid-Twentieth Century Mill Villages.....	25
E. Modernist Architecture	27
F. Public Schools	31
Recommended Scope of Work	33
Annotated Bibliography	36
Appendix A: Qualifications of CIRCA, Inc. Staff	40
Appendix B: List of 1940-70 Resources Surveyed 2006-2009	43
Appendix C: Mid-Twentieth Century Neighborhoods (Not Surveyed)	52



Introduction

The purpose of this planning phase was to develop a thorough scope of work for a forthcoming survey of Greensboro's architecture of the period 1940 to ca. 1970. This report includes a brief history of Greensboro during the survey period, 1940-ca. 1970; an assessment of the quality and quantity of the identified resources; brief discussions of appropriate historic contexts; a methodology for the proposed project; and an annotated bibliography.

Prior architectural survey work in Greensboro has focused on pre-World War II resources. The first of these surveys was conducted in 1975-1976 by M. Ruth Little. Ms. Little's work resulted in a report entitled "An Inventory of Historic Architecture: Greensboro, North Carolina." Callie Dalton conducted a second, more comprehensive survey in 1989-90 with more than 3,000 properties in approximately 25 neighborhoods recorded. The culmination of over fifteen years of survey work was the publication in 1995 of Marvin A. Brown's book *Greensboro: An Architectural Record*. Preservation Greensboro, the Junior League of Greensboro, and the City of Greensboro (City) provided funds for the book.

The most recent effort, a historic architecture survey update for Greensboro, was conducted from 2006 to 2009 by Circa, Inc. (Appendix A). The primary focus of this work was to update the survey data for the 3,000 properties surveyed by Ms. Dalton and to enter that data into the Historic Preservation Office's new survey database. In addition, the City identified five areas of special interest to be surveyed for the first time (Hamilton Lakes, Lee and Patterson Street Corridor, Overseas Replacement Depot, Benbow Road, and Kirkwood/Browntown).



Methodology

During the planning phase Circa, Inc. 1) identified historic contexts for the period 1940-ca. 1970 and the resources associated with those contexts; 2) identified concentrations of resources dating to the era; and 3) conducted reconnaissance-level survey of properties identified through steps 1 and 2.

Step 1: Historic Contexts

The 1940s, 50s and 60s were a time of significant changes in Greensboro. While the physical development of the city was catapulted by population growth and the diversification of the city's industrial base, changes to the community's social fabric, particularly in the categories of race and class, also occurred during this era. The latter is an integral part of Greensboro's history and may have physical manifestations appropriate for preservation efforts.

Based on observations in the field during the last three years and the general overview of Greensboro's history 1940-ca. 1970 provided in this report, five themes are proposed for development through future survey work:

- Post Urban Renewal African-American Churches
- Mid-Twentieth Century Construction on the Campus of NC A&T
- The Civil Rights Movement: Individuals and Events
- Mid-Twentieth Century Mill Villages
- Modernist Architecture
- Public Schools

Step 2: Location of Resources

Using the City's tax data, the locations of structures constructed between 1940 and 1970 were mapped (Figure 1). The distribution of these resources was widespread within the city limits. However, concentrations of 1940-1970s structures could be found in the residential areas of mid-twentieth century suburbs (Figure 2) and along established commercial and industrial corridors. More than seventy neighborhoods in the Greensboro city limits have concentrations of 1940-1970 properties greater than 50%. Over the last three years the survey projects conducted by Circa, Inc. have identified mid-twentieth century resources in approximately 30 of the 70 neighborhoods.

Step 3: Reconnaissance Survey

The Benbow Park, Clinton Hills, Dellwood Park, Friendly Homes, Garden Homes, Green Valley, Guilford Hills, Hillsdale Park, Lawndale, Lincoln Heights and



Woodmere Park neighborhoods were all surveyed at the reconnaissance level for 1940-1970 properties. Benbow Park, Dellwood Park, Friendly Homes, and Guilford Hills are worthy of intensive survey as they have a concentration of resources with a high level of architectural integrity. In addition, Benbow Park has historical associations with the mid-twentieth century expansion of NC A&T as a preferred location for faculty residences.

Distinctive industrial complexes dating to the period can be found along South Elm Street, East Market Street and the Lee/Patterson Corridor. Roadway improvements in these areas and the availability of large tracts of land during the 1950s and 60s attracted clusters of industrial businesses to these areas. Similar commercial concentrations can be found along Battleground Avenue, just north of its intersection with Wendover Avenue, along the Lee-Patterson Corridor, and in areas north and west of the downtown business district. The development of Friendly Center, a shopping center located on West Friendly Avenue just beyond its intersection with Wendover Avenue, dates to the period but has had substantial redevelopment and infill construction in recent decades, losing much of its architectural integrity.

Institutional buildings such as schools, universities, libraries, health care complexes and government offices dating from 1940 to 1970 are spread throughout the city. These properties often are associated with prominent architects and display more stylistic distinction than their residential and commercial counterparts. Because these buildings are constructed on sites with proximity to the communities they serve, they do not exist in concentrations but in and around residential and commercial developments of the period.



Background History: 1940-1970

The 1940s, 50s and 60s were a time of significant changes in Greensboro. The city's population more than doubled from 59,319 in 1940 to 144,076 in 1970, while its physical size more than tripled from 18.4 square miles to 60.5 square miles by 1980¹. The war years and the decades of prosperity that followed brought diversification of the city's industrial base, new designs in architecture and planning, the expansion of the city's transportation network, and the state's first urban renewal project. Later in the period events associated with the Civil Rights movement transformed Greensboro's social fabric and civic life.

During the early 1940s Greensboro, like the rest of the country, was focused on World War II. The city became actively involved in the war effort in 1943 with the establishment of Basic Training Camp-10, later called the Overseas Replacement Depot (ORD). The United States Army developed 650 acres, purchased from Cone Mills in the Edgeville community, for the ORD, which processed soldiers going to and returning from service overseas. During its operation the Army constructed more than 900 prefabricated buildings on the site. The ORD closed in 1946, just three years after it opened, and the land was eventually sold back to Cone Mills.

In Marvin Brown's 1995 text *Greensboro: An Architectural Record*, he states that the majority of the buildings associated with the ORD have been demolished, but that some of the temporary frame structures remain. Fieldwork conducted by Circa in 2008 did not identify any structures associated with the ORD. There is a concentration of warehouse structures south of East Bessemer Avenue and just west of North English Street. These structures are plain forms with gable and flat roofs, finished in synthetic siding with vinyl windows and doors. Whether these structures are associated with the ORD is unknown, and given their lack of integrity, the question does not merit further research.

The pace of construction throughout the rest of the city was significantly slower during the 1940s than in previous or subsequent decades. While the Army constructed more than 900 structures on 650 acres in less than 3 years, fewer than 5,000 extant properties were constructed within the city limits between 1940 and 1949.² This rate of growth is

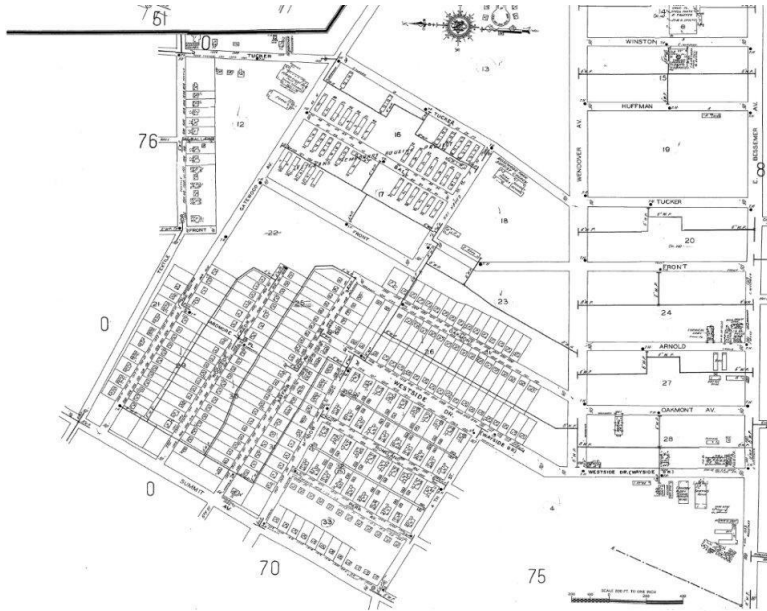
¹ http://www2.census.gov/prod2/decennial/documents/1970a_nc-01.pdf, August 28, 2009; Fripp, Gayle Hicks. *Greensboro: a chosen center: an illustrated history*. American Historical Press, Sun Valley, California 2001, 131.

² This figure does not account for properties constructed between 1940 and 1949 that were demolished prior to 2007.



consistent with regional and national trends for the decade and is largely the result of the country's focus on World War II.

After World War II, many families in Greensboro were able to purchase their first homes thanks to an increase in two-income households and the assistance of



government programs like the GI Bill and FHA loans. Residential units were being constructed in new suburban developments at the city's edges. Commercial shopping centers followed the residential migration exemplified by the Friendly Center on West Friendly Avenue and Irving Park Plaza on Battleground Avenue. Annexations of these new developments into the city limits followed, allowing for the provision of city services to these

populations. In contrast to the previous decade, more than 12,000 structures were constructed in the city of Greensboro between 1950 and 1959.

Throughout the mid-twentieth century much of Greensboro remained a mill town. Cone Mills was the world's largest denim maker, Blue Bell was the country's leader in manufacturing overalls, and Burlington Industries was the world leader in Rayon weaving.³ Greensboro's textile industry survived the war years with the help of government contracts. Between 1941 and 1946 70% of Cone Mills' output was directed toward the defense effort⁴. After the war, textile companies continued to grow through diversification of product and acquisitions of companies. In 1954 the manufacturing base of the city was expanded when the Lorillard Company opened a factory on East Market Street for the production of cigarettes. The growth and diversification of the city's industrial base created jobs and drew more residents and services to the city.

The Federal Urban Redevelopment Assistance Program was created following World War II to provide assistance to communities in revitalizing their aging and decaying inner cities. In 1951 North Carolina passed the Urban Redevelopment Law (GS 160A Article 22), the state's version of the federal law, to provide guidance for redevelopment projects in the state. Under the North Carolina law each municipality

³ www.greensboronc.gov, August 25, 2009.

⁴ www.fundinguniverse.com/company-histories/Cone-Mills-LLC-Company-History.html, August 25, 2009

interested in participating was required to establish a Redevelopment Commission. The City of Greensboro Redevelopment Commission was incorporated on October 23, 1951 and remains in existence today.⁵

Blight was a key term of the urban renewal era. In order for a community to establish a redevelopment commission it had to first establish the existence of blight. The North Carolina Urban Redevelopment Law defined a blighted area as:

“...an area in which there is a predominance of buildings or improvements (or which is predominantly residential in character), and which, by reason of dilapidation, deterioration, age or obsolescence, inadequate provision for ventilation, light, air, sanitation, or open spaces, high density of population and overcrowding, unsanitary or unsafe conditions, or the existence of conditions which endanger life or property by fire and other causes, or any combination of such factors, substantially impairs the sound growth of the community, is conducive to ill health, transmission of disease, infant mortality, juvenile delinquency and crime, and is detrimental to the public health, safety, morals or welfare;...”⁶

The criteria above had to be present on more than two-thirds of properties in a given area for it to be considered blighted. Slight variations to this definition existed for commercial and industrial areas.

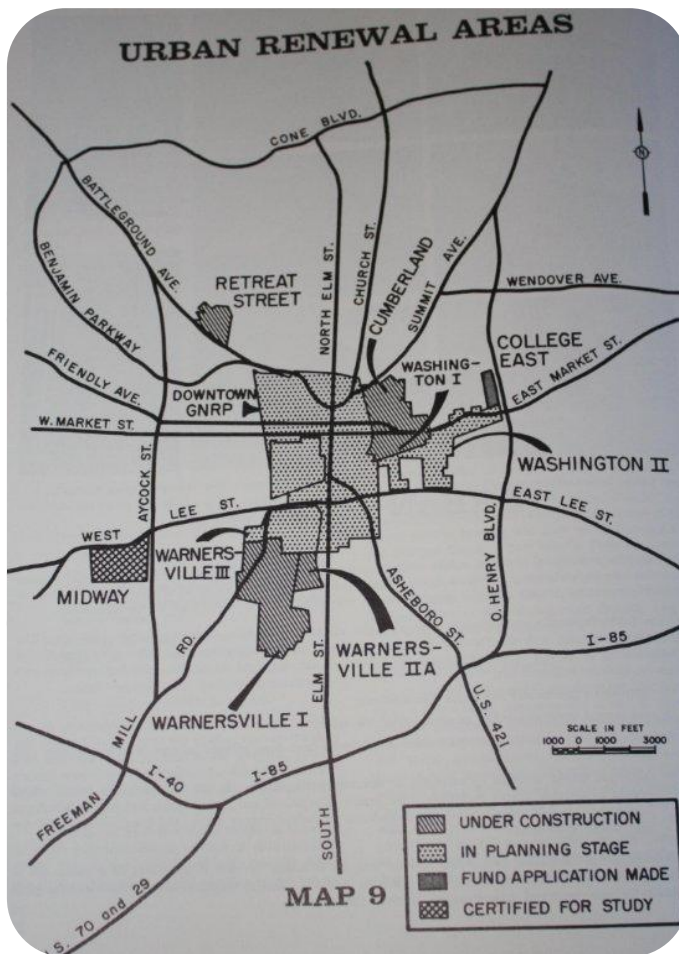
Greensboro was the first community in North Carolina to undertake urban renewal projects. The first projects were in the Warnersville neighborhood, south of the downtown commercial district, and the Washington/Cumberland neighborhood located in the eastern section of the city, between downtown and the NC A&T campus. In these two neighborhoods urban renewal programs redeveloped approximately 570 acres by demolishing the existing buildings, putting in new roads, water and sewer services, and constructing light industrial businesses, public housing projects, and some single-family residential units. The provision of parks was also an element of urban renewal and each of these areas incorporated land for parks in their redevelopment plans. By the late 1960s the Redevelopment Commission had identified a 605-acre redevelopment area encompassing all of downtown and linking the Warnersville and Washington/Cumberland project areas. The remnants of the city’s early residential areas that had been spared by the Warnersville and Washington/Cumberland projects were lost as a result of the downtown project.

In addition to the physical growth of the city, there were many changes in Greensboro’s civic environment during the survey period. In 1949 Juliette Dwiggin was elected as the city’s first female council member. Two years later Dr. William Hampton was elected to Greensboro City Council and became the first African-American to serve.

⁵ <http://www.greensboro-nc.gov/departments/hcd/boards/RCG/>, August 29, 2009

⁶ GS 160A-503(2)





The 1954 ruling of the United States Supreme Court in the case *Brown v. Board of Education* established that the law of separate but equal facilities was unconstitutional. Greensboro was one of the first cities in the state to begin the process of desegregation. In May 1954, the city school board passed a resolution to take the necessary steps to comply with the ruling in *Brown*. Based on the guidance provided in the state's Pearsall Plan, the approach was not true integration but a series of choices for individual students and families that undermined the Supreme Court's ruling. In North Carolina the actual integration of schools would not come until seventeen years later in 1971⁷. In 1957, six African American students in Greensboro requested and were granted transfers to all-white schools in the city.

Josephine Ophelia Boyd transferred to Greensboro Senior High School (now Grimsley High School) and became the first African American graduate of a white high school in North Carolina.⁸

At 4:30 p.m. on February 1, 1960, four African American men walked into the Woolworths lunch counter on South Elm Street in downtown Greensboro. They sat down at the counter and requested coffee. The men were denied service, based on their race, and remained in their seats until the store closed at 5:00 p.m. The sit-in was continued the following day with twenty-nine people, on February 3rd with 63 people, and on the 5th as part of a protest involving more than 300. Within two months what began with four men on South Elm Street spread to 54 cities in 9 states and became a signature non-violent protest of the Civil Rights movement⁹.

⁷ "James Benson Dudley Senior High School and Gymnasium." National Register Nomination. 1994. Section 8.

⁸ Josephine Ophelia Boyd Bradley, "Wearing My Name: School Desegregation, Greensboro, North Carolina, 1954-1958" (Ph.D. diss, Emory University, 1995), 39-40.

⁹ <http://www.sitins.com/timeline.shtml>, September 1, 2009

The February 1st, 1960 sit-in was a defining moment in Greensboro’s Civil Rights history. However, the whole of the movement as it developed up to that day and for more than a decade afterwards is a larger story. The integration of schools, desegregation of public facilities, such as parks, pools, and golf courses, and the decentralization of populations as the result of government-sponsored revitalization programs were all components of Greensboro’s Civil Rights movement between the mid-1950s and the early 1970s. In 1963, 1968, and 1969, protests were held downtown, evidence that the Civil Rights Act of 1964 was not an instant solution.

While African Americans, particularly the students and faculty of North Carolina Agricultural and Technical State University (NC A&T) and Bennett College, led the push for civil rights, they were not alone. Greensboro’s well-respected and long-standing Quaker community helped to foster an environment favorable to the events that transpired because of their commitment to equality for all people. In addition, the Cone Mills Company, the largest employer in Greensboro during this era, was owned and operated by the Cone family, who were Jewish. The Jewish community was recognized throughout the Civil Rights movement as supporters of integration and equality. Cone Mills employed African Americans in their mills and provided mill housing for them prior to 1964. Oral histories of mill workers in Greensboro indicate that Cone Mills permitted their employees, African American and white, to miss work to attend protests.

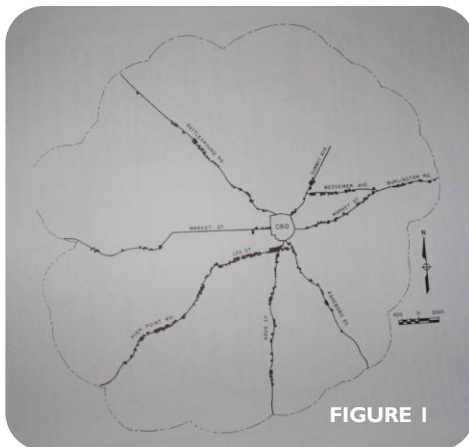


FIGURE 1

Significant transportation projects were undertaken by the City during the 1960s. Some projects were planned and constructed with urban renewal funds while others were part of the city’s Thoroughfare Plan. When the Wendover Avenue project was completed during the 1960s at a cost of \$12.5 million, it was the most expensive road project in North Carolina to date. A series of maps in the city’s 1967 Land Use Plan illustrate the extant “commercial ribbons” (Figure 1) and the proposed thoroughfare plan (Figure 2). The difference between the two is dramatic, the latter

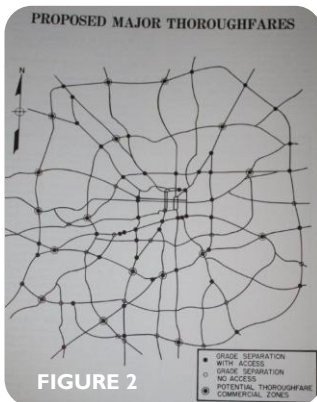


FIGURE 2

creating a series of radial routes emanating from the city’s core and more than a dozen direct routes leading away from the core in all directions.

The effects of the 1950s- and 1960s-era building projects are evident in Greensboro today. The displacement of populations from the Warnersville and Washington/Cumberland urban renewal projects transformed the south Greensboro area from a white working class neighborhood to an African American neighborhood. The result of this and similar projects around the city led to the creation of

Greensboro's early "white flight" suburbs. Many of the transportation improvement projects are main arteries of Greensboro's present road network. The residential communities that lined them are now commercial and industrial strips. The manner in which these projects cut through existing neighborhoods is still obvious along O'Henry Boulevard (US 220) and East Lee Street where four- to six-lane highways carry cars whizzing by modest early-twentieth century dwellings just a few feet away.



Quality & Quantity of Historic Resources

The City of Greensboro tax data identifies 30,544 extant properties constructed within the city limits between 1940 and 1970. Approximately 215 resources, including twelve residential neighborhoods, were surveyed at a reconnaissance level during the three years Circa, Inc. conducted the Greensboro architectural survey update.

Examples of each property type are listed under each property type heading. A comprehensive list of all surveyed resources is provided in Appendix B. These resources generally fall into the following categories or property types:

- Residential: Subdivision
- Residential: Individual
- Commercial: Shopping Center
- Commercial: Individual
- Industrial
- Institutional: Government
- Institutional: Religious
- Institutional: Educational
- Institutional: Hospitals

Residential units are the predominant property type for the survey period. Individual residential units were often constructed as infill in existing early-twentieth-century suburbs while the development of subdivisions was more common along the city's perimeter. Mid-twentieth-century commercial development followed residential construction while the location of industrial development was dependent on accessible transportation networks and the availability of land. Institutional buildings were constructed throughout the city with locations dependent on their service populations.

Residential: Subdivision

More than seventy neighborhoods in Greensboro have concentrations of 1940-1970 properties greater than 50%, approximately forty-five of these were developed completely within 1940-1970 survey period, while the remainder are infill of earlier subdivisions. Over the last three years the survey projects conducted by Circa, Inc. have identified mid-twentieth-century resources in approximately 30 of the 70 neighborhoods. The Benbow Park, Clinton Hills, Dellwood Park, Friendly Homes, Garden Homes, Green Valley, Guilford Hills, Hillsdale Park, Hunter Hills, Lawndale, Lincoln Heights and Woodmere Park neighborhoods were surveyed at the reconnaissance level for 1940-1970 properties. Benbow Park, Dellwood Park, Friendly



Homes, and Guilford Hills are worthy of intensive survey as they have a concentration of resources with a high level of architectural integrity. In addition, Benbow Park has historical associations with the mid-twentieth-century expansion of NC A&T as a preferred location for faculty residences. The remaining neighborhoods are identified in Appendix C with a map of the neighborhood boundary and a list of the properties within the neighborhood identified by the address and accompanied by their date of construction.

Benbow Park



Delwood Park



Friendly Homes



Guilford Hills



The Hamilton Forest and Starmount Forest neighborhoods date from the later part of the survey period, and will be worthy of further study once more properties within them have reached fifty years of age.

Residential: Individual

The majority of individual residences from the survey period are Minimal Traditional, Ranch, and split-level dwellings. Most of these property types are found within subdivisions which were already recorded, and since they rarely hold any historical significance, they do not merit individual recordation. Individual residences of unique design or associated with notable architects were surveyed at the reconnaissance level as part of the planning phase. The examples listed here are exclusively not modernist as those resources are addressed in the Modern Architecture context section of this report.

Residential: Individual Properties of the Mid-Twentieth Century

*denotes properties surveyed during the planning phase

- *House, 1208 Ross Drive, Benbow Park, architect: unknown
- *Hinsadale House, architect: Loewenstein-Atkinson
- *Isabel & Sydney Cone House, architect: Loewenstein-Atkinson
- *Hyman House, architect: Loewenstein-Atkinson

- *Falk House, architect: Loewenstein-Atkinson
- *Boren House, architect: Loewenstein-Atkinson
- *Addie & John Miller House, architect: Loewenstein-Atkinson
- *Joyner House, architect: Loewenstein-Atkinson

Commercial: Shopping Center

Irving Park Plaza on Battleground Avenue and Friendly Center on West Friendly Avenue were the largest mid-twentieth-century shopping centers in Greensboro. Both centers were identified during the planning phase but were not recorded because of extensive alteration.

Commercial: Individual

Individual commercial buildings housing retail businesses and offices were constructed in Greensboro during the survey period. These structures exist in concentrations along Battleground Avenue just north of its intersection with Wendover Avenue, along the Lee Patterson Corridor, and in areas north and west of the downtown business district. The following properties recorded during the planning phase are representative examples of the type found throughout the city.

Commercial: Individual Properties of the Mid-Twentieth Century

*denotes properties surveyed during the planning phase

- *618 N Eugene
- *Hinnant Funeral Home, 624 Martin Luther King, Jr. Drive
- *Carolina Tractor, 2820 South Elm Street
- *First Home Federal Savings and Loan, 330 N Eugene Street
- *444 North Elm Street
- *628 North Elm Street



Industrial

Distinctive industrial complexes dating to the period can be found along South Elm Street, East Market Street and the Lee/Patterson Corridor. Roadway improvements in these areas and the availability of large tracts of land during the 1950s and 1960s attracted clusters of industrial businesses to these areas. The following properties recorded during the planning phase are representative examples of the higher-style individual buildings.

Industrial Properties of the Mid-Twentieth Century

*denotes properties surveyed during the planning phase

*Carolina Steel, 1451 S Elm-Eugene Street

*Altivity Packing, 2600 East Market Street, architect: Walter Gropius (not confirmed)

*Lorillard Tobacco, 2525 East Market Street

*Cone Mills, White Oak Plant corner of 16th Street and Fairview Street

*Dow Corning, 2419 Patterson



Institutional: Government

The Guilford County Government Center and the Melvin Municipal Complex are two excellent examples of mid-twentieth-century Modernism. The same aesthetic can be seen, in more modest interpretations such as fire stations and community centers built by the City during the survey period. A number of these, as well as public libraries and Guilford County Schools facilities, merit inclusion in the forthcoming survey of 1940-1970 resources. The following properties surveyed during the planning phase are representative examples of the higher-style individual buildings.

Institutional: Government Properties of the Mid-Twentieth Century

*denotes properties surveyed during the planning phase

*Guilford County Government Center, architect: Eduardo Catalano

*Melvin Municipal Complex, architect: Eduardo Catalano

*Guilford County Schools Administration Building, architect: Robert E. Peterson

*National Guard Armory, 110 Franklin Road, architect: unknown

*North Carolina Highway Patrol, 2527 East Market Street, architect: unknown

*Julian Community Center, 1305 Julian Street, architect: unknown

*Chavis Library, 900 South Benbow Road, architect: unknown

*Blanche Benjamin Library, 1530 Benjamin Parkway, architect: Loewenstein-Atkinson

Fire Stations, multiple locations
 Guilford County Schools Facilities Office, 617 West Market Street
 Public Libraries, multiple locations
 Community Centers, multiple locations



Institutional: Religious

One-hundred and eighty-six churches and one temple were constructed in Greensboro between 1940 and 1970. Church architecture underwent an evolution during the period, with earlier examples following the traditional revival styles. By the 1960s, churches commonly took on a more modern aesthetic, rendered in brick and concrete with details such as curving planes, angled walls, and faceted surfaces.

Institutional: Educational

Twenty-eight public schools were built in Greensboro during the survey period. All of these structures were recorded during the planning phase and all display characteristics of the Modernist movement. Bennett College, the Women’s College of the University



of North Carolina (now the University of North Carolina at Greensboro) and North Carolina A&T all undertook significant building campaigns during the mid-twentieth century. Many of these structures were designed by prominent local architects in the Modernist style. Both the public schools and NC A&T appear to have properties worthy of preservation. Bennett College and UNC-G were not surveyed during the planning phase.

Institutional: Hospitals

The Moses H. Cone Memorial Hospital was opened in 1953 to serve the community by providing high quality health care. The hospital and the clinics and offices that surround it date to the survey period and a number of them are attributable to architects with the Loewenstein-Atkinson firm. These properties were not surveyed during the planning phase. The L. Richardson Memorial Hospital, at 2401 Southside, is located in Benbow Park. Constructed in 1966 and designed by architect Adrian P. Stout, it is the second location of the city’s traditionally African American hospital. The hospital is a four-story, flat-roofed, linear building with Modernist elements.



THE L. RICHARDSON MEMORIAL HOSPITAL
2401 SOUTHSIDE

Historic Contexts

Post Urban Renewal African-American Churches

The history of mid-twentieth-century urban renewal programs in the United States is as well known for its displacement of urban populations as it is for its infrastructure and housing programs. This was certainly the case in Greensboro where urban renewal programs were focused in the areas south and east of downtown. In the mid-twentieth century these areas were predominantly African American.

The housing developments Warnersville I, Warnersville II-A, and Warnersville III effectively demolished the entirety of the century-old African American community of the same name, which had been settled in the 1860s. The only original part of the community that was spared was Union Cemetery, which remains in the neighborhood today and was listed in the National Register of Historic Places in 1993. The Washington I, Washington II and College East housing developments resulted in significant displacement of communities that had built up around NC A&T since its inception in 1891. While displacement of residential communities through these three projects was significant, the larger impact came from roadway improvements. Both East Market Street and O’Henry Boulevard were significantly widened, cutting off communities to the south and east from the A&T campus.

The impact of urban renewal projects on the city’s fabric is extensive, affecting residential communities, the commercial core, transportation networks, and landscapes, but for the purposes of this study, it has been agreed in coordination with the City and Preservation Greensboro, Inc., that the focus will be on post-urban renewal African American churches. Along with the widespread removal of housing, many church buildings were demolished as part of urban renewal projects. In marked contrast to the neighborhoods, in many cases congregations survived and rebuilt. Because of this trend Greensboro has many 1960s- and 1970s-era African American churches. A list of these churches follows:

Post Urban Renewal African-American Churches

*denotes properties surveyed during the planning phase

- *Providence Baptist Church, 1106 Tuscaloosa St
- *St. James Presbyterian Church, 820 Ross Ave, architect: Loewenstein-Atkinson
- *St. Matthews Methodist Church, 600 E Florida St, architect: W. Edward Jenkins
- *Trinity AME Zion Church, 631 E Florida St
- *New Zion Missionary Baptist Church, 1310 Martin Luther King Jr Dr
- *Shiloh Baptist Church, 1210 S Eugene St
- *St. Stephen United Church-Christ, 1000 Gorrell St



- *St. Mary's Catholic Church, 812 Duke St
- *Wells Memorial Church of God in Christ, 1001 E Washington St
- *Metropolitan United Church of Christ, 1701 E Market St
- *Episcopal Church - The Redeemer, 901 E Friendly Ave
- *Prince of Peace Lutheran Church, 1100 Curtis St.

Providence Baptist, St. James Presbyterian and St. Matthews Methodist were the three original churches of Warnersville and founders of Union Cemetery. The original church structures were demolished as part of urban renewal programs and the congregations rebuilt in locations south and east of Warnersville in the area now referred to as South Greensboro. Trinity AME Zion Church was founded in the 1890s with its original sanctuary located at the intersection of Washington and Gilmer Streets. Also demolished through urban renewal, the church was rebuilt in South Greensboro at 631 East Florida Street.



Post-urban renewal church rebuilding in the 1960s and 1970s within Greensboro's African American community and the particular strains of architecture that it produced merit intensive survey. The twelve churches surveyed during the planning phase were identified with the assistance of Preservation Greensboro staff. However, approximately forty-five churches date to the 1960s in the areas surrounding the city's urban renewal projects. The history of these churches, whether they were relocated from urban areas or new churches built to meet the needs of the growing population, needs to be established. In addition, the interiors of the twelve churches surveyed as part of the planning phase also require evaluation. The completion of these two tasks will result in a thorough context for post-urban renewal African-American churches in Greensboro and the identification of structures worthy of future preservation efforts.

Owner	Street #	Street Name	Year Built
FIRST PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH	603	N ELM ST	1954
HOLY TRINITY PARISH	607	N GREENE ST	1951
FAITHWAY BAPTIST CHURCH	610	EAST LAKE DR	1948
ST BENEDICTS	113	W SMITH ST	1960
SWANN ERNEST J JR TRUSTEE OF	320	WINSTON ST	1960
FIRST BAPTIST CHURCH	1000	W FRIENDLY AV	1952
BETHEL A M E CHURCH	200	N REGAN ST	1967
PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL CH	901	E FRIENDLY AV	1956
NEW HOPE MISSIONARY BAPTIST	236	S ENGLISH ST	1945
WILLIE B HARBOUR MEMORIAL	225	GILLESPIE ST	1950
UNITED INSTL BAPTIST CH	802	E MARKET ST	1952
GREENSBORO PRIMITIVE	301	S TATE ST	1953
SAINT JAMES TRUE HOLLY CHURCH	505	GILLESPIE ST	1940
NEW CALVARY BAPTIST CHURCH INC	1901	SPENCER ST	1967
MT ZION CHURCH OF GOD	1531	MCCONNELL RD	1950
NEWMAN MACHINE CO INC	801	SPRING GARDEN ST	1948
RISING EBENEZER MISSIONARY	455	GORRELL ST	1950
WOODARD LESTER D	2501	EVERITT ST	1963
UNION MEM METHODIST CHURCH	1010	E LEE ST	1950
MT OLIVET AFRICAN METHODIST	2123	MCCONNELL RD	1960
MT CALVARY CHURCH OF GOD	1007	MOODY ST	1960
REDEVELOPMENT COMM	2141	MCCONNELL RD	1950
C & A CHRISTIAN CENTER INC	2726	MCCONNELL RD	1948
GODS MIRACLE HOUSE	800	SILVER AV	1967
CHURCH OF GOD	1006	DUNBAR ST	1960
NEW CEDAR GROVE	1114	MORRIS ST	1958
NEW TABERNACLE COMMUNITY	2529	PEAR ST	1950
FAITH HOPE & CHARITY	2116	PEAR ST	1950
SOUTH ENGLISH ST	1413	S ENGLISH ST	1966
NEW TESTAMENT CHURCH OF GOD	1415	IVY HEIGHTS	1940
MOUNT PLEASANT CHRISTIAN	1515	BRITTON ST	1960
HAYES MEMORIAL	1515	WILLOW RD	1963
ST PHILLIPS A M E ZION CH	1330	ASHE ST	1966
PILGRIM BAPTIST CHURCH	711	OXFORD ST	1954
SAINT JAMES BAPTIST	536	W FLORIDA ST	1968
NC VENTURE I LP	1802	BRITTON ST	1948
EBENEZER UNITED CHURCH OF GOD	1701	ALICE AV	1950
NEW COVENANT HOUSE OF PRAISE	201	LAWRENCE ST	1960
SUMMIT ENTERPRISES INC	2300	S ELM-EUGENE ST	1954



Architecture of North Carolina Agricultural and Technical State University

In 1890, Congress passed a law, known as the Second Morrill Act, which directed the states to either allow African Americans access to their land-grant universities or to provide separate institutions for them. In Greensboro, an African American dentist, Dr. DeWitt, along with C. Benbow and Charles H. Moore, donated 14 acres of land and \$11,000 in cash for the construction of the university. On March 9, 1891, the plan for the Agricultural and Mechanical College for the Colored Race was approved. The first building was completed in 1893.

In 1957 state legislators changed the school's name to The Agricultural and Technical College of North Carolina and redefined the purpose of the College:

"The primary purpose of the College shall be to teach the Agricultural and Technical Arts and Sciences and such branches of learning as related thereto; the training of teachers, supervisors, and administrators for the public schools of the State, including the preparation of such teachers, supervisors and administrators for the Master's Degree. Such other programs of a professional or occupational nature may be offered as shall be approved by the North Carolina Board of Higher Education, consistent with the appropriations made therefore."¹⁰

The real effect of the legislature's actions in 1957 was the removal of all references to the college being exclusively for students of color. This was likely done to be in compliance with the United States Supreme Court ruling in *Brown v. Board of Education* of 1954. Two years later, in 1959, the college was fully accredited by the Southern Association of Colleges and Schools. In 1967 the college was designated as a regional university and the name was changed to the North Carolina Agricultural and Technical University.

A small section of the NC A&T campus was listed in the National Register in 1988. This historic district comprises five Neoclassical and Colonial Revival buildings dating from the 1920s and 1930s. Between 1940 and 1970 twenty-eight buildings were constructed on the North Carolina A&T Campus. The majority of these buildings were heavily influenced by the Modernist movement in architecture. The presence of an architectural engineering program at the college during that era, which graduated notable modern architects such as W. Edward Jenkins and Clinton Gravely, may have been part of what steered construction towards that style. None of the interiors of the university buildings were reviewed as part of the planning phase. Based on exterior evaluation, many have undergone minor alterations such as window replacement and the addition of air-conditioning systems.

¹⁰ http://www.library.ncat.edu/info/archives/milestones_new.html, September 8, 2009



Mid-Twentieth-Century Campus Buildings

*denotes properties surveyed during the planning phase

Residence Halls

*Barbee Hall	Cooper Hall (1955)
Curtis Hall (1951)	Haley Hall (1969)
Morrow Hall (1960)	Vanstory Hall (1967)

Administration & Academic Buildings

*Frazier Hall (1960)	*Hodgin Hall (1954)
*Cherry Hall (1953)	Barnes Hall (1967)
Benbow Hall (1953)	Campbell Hall (1955)
Carver Hall (1955)	Coltrane Hall (1950)
Hines Hall (1950)	Merrick Hall (1968) , Architect: W. Edward
Crosby Hall (1970)	Jenkins (not confirmed)
Price Hall (1952)	Sockwell Hall (1961)
Fort Interdisciplinary Research Center (1953)	

Athletic & Events Buildings

Moore Gymnasium (1953)	Strickland Field House (1960)
The Oaks (1949)	Paul Robeson Theatre (1969)

Service Buildings

*Sebastian Health Center (1953)	Brown Hall (1960)
Ward Hall (1955)	Memorial Student Union (1967)

The Civil Rights Movement: Individuals and Events

The February 1, 1960, sit-in is the most well-known event in Greensboro's Civil Rights history, though there were many others from the mid-1950s through the early 1970s. During this time schools were integrated, as were public spaces and private businesses. Established African-American communities were uprooted through urban renewal and new communities of upper to middle-class African-American professionals developed.

A thorough history of the Civil Rights movement in Greensboro is outside the scope of this project. What follows is a list of individuals and events with ties to the Civil Rights movement in Greensboro. In-depth study of these individuals and events, along with an assessment of the extant resources associated with them, is necessary to fully develop this theme.



Notable Individuals associated with Greensboro's Civil Rights Movement
The Greensboro Four

- *Jireel Khazan (Ezell Blair Jr.)*
- *Franklin Eugene McCain*
- *Joseph Alfred McNeil*
- *David Leinail Richmond*

Ralph Jones: clothing store owner on East Market Street who encouraged sit-in movement and alerted the press of the sit-ins.

Dr. George Simkins Jr.: civil rights activist, dentist, president of the local NAACP chapter from 1959-1984. Arrested in 1955 for trespassing by playing 9-holes at the all-white Gillespie Golf Course. Challenged racial segregation of Greensboro Hospitals which resulted in the elimination of racial discrimination in medical facilities throughout the United States.

Rev. Cecil Bishop: former chairman of the Greensboro Human Relations Commission and activist in the Civil Rights Movement.

William A Thomas Jr.: A&T student and president of the local chapter of Congress for Racial Equality, 1960.

Notable locations associated with Greensboro's Civil Rights Movement

Woolworth's: contributing building, Downtown Greensboro Historic District (NR 1982)

Gillespie Golf Course: site of Dr. Simkins arrest

American Federal Savings: 1st African American Savings and Loan in NC, chartered 1959.

Locations of the 1963, 1968 and 1969 protests

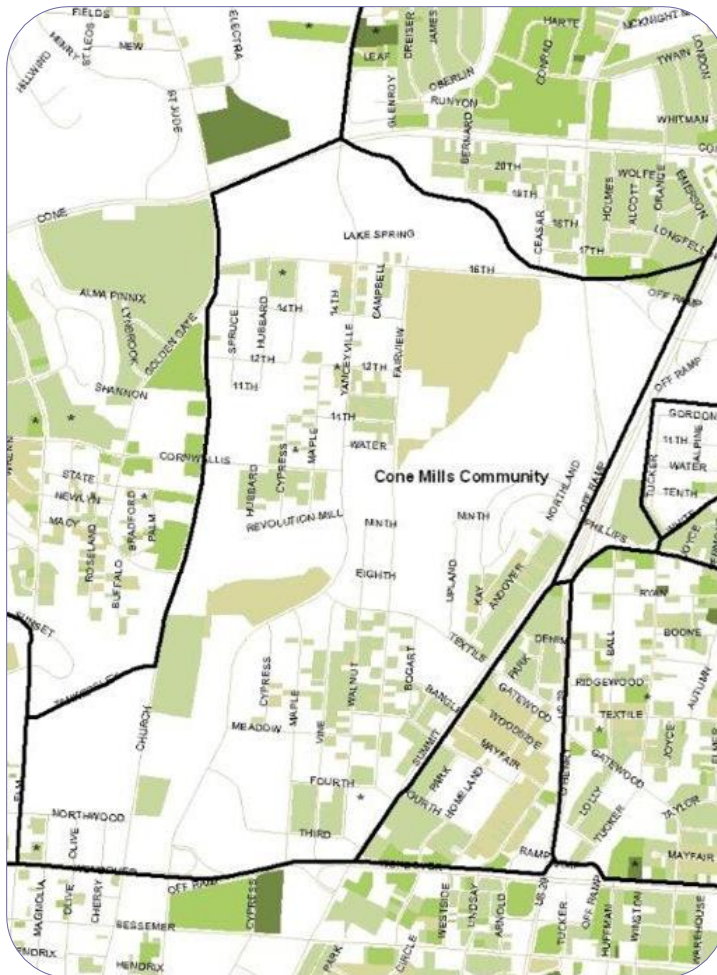
Locations of gatherings and speeches at A&T

Mid-Twentieth-Century Greensboro Mill Villages

The Cone Mills family of textile mills constructed in northeast Greensboro at the turn of the twentieth century anchored the industry as a major employer and landowner in Greensboro for more than a century. In 1896 the Proximity Cotton Mill, the Cones' first mill, opened for the production of denim. This was followed three years later with the opening of Revolution Mills for woven soft flannel, and in 1902 with the establishment of the White Oak Mill, also for the production of denim. In 1912 the Cones opened Proximity Print Works for the creation of 'finished' cotton fabric.



For each mill, the Cones built a village for their workers. The villages included single-family homes and boarding houses; company stores that sold products produced on company farms; a school; and land donated for a church. The Cones also built two YMCAs for recreation and established a welfare office staffed with social workers and nurses to care for mill employees. The White Oak/New Town mill village was listed in the National Register of Historic Places in 1992.



The history of mills and mill villages is well established in North Carolina and not unique to Greensboro. What is unique is the legacy of the Cone Mill Company, or family of companies, and their longevity in the textile industry.

Through acquisitions, reorganizations, diversification of products and taking the company public, Cone Mills remained a major player in the textile industry of the North Carolina Piedmont until it filed for bankruptcy in 2003. The Cone Mills brand of denim still remains today as part of the International Textile Group.

This longevity is reflected in the company's mill villages. Mill villages are commonly associated with the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth

centuries as those were the primary decades of their construction and use. However, the continued success and growth of Cone Mills in northeast Greensboro spurred the construction of mill housing into the 1940s and 1950s. The City of Greensboro's map of neighborhood boundaries outlines a single area as the Cone Mills Community in northeast Greensboro. This neighborhood boundary encompasses the mills and mill villages of White Oak, Proximity, Revolution, and Proximity Print Works. Within this neighborhood boundary are more than 300 properties with construction dates between 1940 and 1957. These properties are scattered throughout the villages with concentrations along Andover, Walnut, and Vine, and near the intersection of Cypress and Cornwallis.



Based on field investigation, the majority of these properties are of similar design and finish. They are typically one-story, frame, side-gable or hipped-roof dwellings with weatherboard siding, two-over-two horizontal sash windows, and one or two-bay entry porches supported by square posts. It appears that these structures were not built over a series of blocks, like earlier mill villages, but as infill, individually between earlier structures in some locations or as an entire block in others.

In 1957 Cone Mills began selling off individual houses to company employees. According to Randy Johnson, a former White Oak Plant employee, this was an uncommon practice for Cone Mills. In other areas where they sold off land they either demolished everything on it and sold vacant parcels, or sold the entirety of the village as one piece. The difference in this instance was that the mills were still in operation. The mill was likely disinterested in displacing its workforce and offered them options to purchase.

In 1972 Cone purchased the Cornwallis Development Company. Cornwallis became the real estate arm of the Cone operation and successfully developed and sold the company's landholdings. The residential subdivisions of Ascot Point, New Irving Park, Lake Jeanrette and Lake Herman are all Cornwallis projects. In 1997 the Cornwallis Development Company was sold to an out-of-state entity. Because of this sale and the bankruptcy of Cone Mills in 2003 there is no centralized archive of the Cone Mills Company. No floor plans or site plans of the mid-twentieth-century mill housing observed in the field were confirmed by company records. However, the pattern is evident. Benjamin Filene, the director of the Public History program at the University of North Carolina-Greensboro is heading a project to collect oral histories of former Cone Mills employees and residents of the villages. At the completion of the Spring 2009 semester, 23 stories had been recorded. This project is scheduled to continue during the 2009-2010 school year. Once completed, the oral histories should be reviewed for references to construction in the mill villages during the 1940s and 1950s.

Modern Architecture Movement and Architects in Greensboro During the Mid-Twentieth Century

In 1948 the establishment of the School of Design at North Carolina State College in Raleigh drew a group of architects to the state, first as faculty and later as graduates, who would be pioneers of the Modernist movement in the North Carolina. In addition to producing some of the state's early landmarks of Modernism, they brought several national and international architects to Raleigh including Mies van der Rohe and Frank Lloyd Wright.

Greensboro embraced Modernist architecture early and retains a significant body of Modernist work by notable architects of the movement. Examples of Modernism are found in all property types of the period; residential, commercial, industrial and institutional interpretations of the style exist within the city. The Altivity Packing Company building on East Market Street, constructed in 1943, is Greensboro's earliest Modernist structure. Attributed to architect Walter Gropius (but not documented), the two-story blonde and red brick flat-roof structure exemplifies Modernist design with its long angular form, bands of windows, and a contrast in exterior finish that defines the levels of the structure.

In addition to Gropius, other nationally and internationally recognized architects completed projects in Greensboro. Eduardo Catalano, designer of one of the buildings at Lincoln Center in New York City and two American embassies in Argentina and South Africa, designed the Melvin Municipal Building (1969-1972) and the Guilford County Governmental Plaza (1968-1972) at the intersection of Elm and Washington streets. The firm Vorhees, Walker, Foley and Smith designed the 1949 Ellis Stone Department Store at 203 South Elm Street, an early example of Modernist architecture in North Carolina. The firm was known for projects constructed in lower Manhattan and, in 1957, firm partner Ralph Walker was voted Architect of the Century by the American Institute of Architects¹¹.

Greensboro's local architectural firms came mainly by transplant. Charles Hartman, known primarily for his earlier work during the 1920s and 30s and the design of the 1923 Jefferson Standard Building, relocated to Greensboro from New York City. Hartman continued to design into the 1960s. Edward Loewenstein, originally from Chicago, relocated to Greensboro in 1946 and operated a dynamic practice in the city from 1946 until his death in 1970. McMinn, Norfleet & Wicker, Clinton Gravely, W. Edward Jenkins and J. Hyatt Hammond are other Greensboro-based architectural firms active from 1940-1970 with a focus on the Modernist aesthetic.

Properties identified for associations with Modern Architecture and Architects

*denotes properties surveyed during the planning phase

- *Loewenstein House, architect: Loewenstein-Atkinson
- *Marks House, architect: Loewenstein-Atkinson
- *Chandgie House, architect: Loewenstein-Atkinson
- *Stern House, architect: Loewenstein-Atkinson
- *W. Edward Jenkins House, Benbow Park, architect: W. Edward Jenkins
- *House, 1507 Tuscaloosa Street, Benbow Park,
architect: W. Edward Jenkins (not confirmed)
- *Houses, 1206, 1213, 1216 & 1224 East Side Drive,
Benbow Park, architect: W. Edward Jenkins (not confirmed)

¹¹ Modernism Tour of Greensboro, Preservation, Greensboro, Inc.



- *Green Street Parking Garage, architect: J. Hyatt Hammond
- * J. Hiatt House, builder: J. Hiatt
- *Cornwallis Manor Apartments, architect: unknown
- *Browns Funeral Home, architect: Loewenstein-Atkinson
- *Franklins Lawndale Drugs, architect: Loewenstein-Atkinson
- *Melvin Municipal Center, architect: Eduardo Catalano
- *Guilford County Courthouse, architect: Eduardo Catalano
- *Altivity Packing, architect: Walter Gropius (not confirmed)
- BB&T Tower, 201 W market St (1969), architect: McMinn Norfleet & Wicker
- Elon Law School (former Greensboro Public Library), 201 North Greene Street (1960), architect: Loewenstein-Atkinson
- Ellis Stone Department Store, 203 South Elm Street, ca. 1949, architect: Voorhees, Walker Foley, and Smith
- First Union National Bank, 122 N Elm Street (ca. 1970), architect: Valand, Benzing & Associates Architects
- *First Home Federal Savings and Loan, architect: Clark, Tribble, and Lee

Edward Loewenstein

Edward Loewenstein is regarded as Greensboro's most innovative architect of the mid-twentieth century, and he was also one of the most prolific. A native of Chicago, Loewenstein moved to Greensboro in 1946 and established his design practice. From 1946 until his untimely death in 1970, Loewenstein and his firm completed over 1,600 commissions, the vast majority in Greensboro and Guilford County¹². Loewenstein's body of work includes residential, commercial and institutional commissions. In addition to notable Modernist-style structures, there are several examples of Ranch and Colonial Revival dwellings, styles also popular during the period. A broader list of the work of the Loewenstein-Atkinson firm is provided on the NC Architects and Builders website¹³.

Loewenstein is as well known for his designs as he is for his role as mentor and collaborator. In 1952 he joined Robert A. Atkinson and established the Loewenstein-Atkinson firm, a partnership that endured for the remainder of Loewenstein's career. The firm hired W. Edward Jenkins and Clinton Gravely, both African American and both of whom went on to establish their own firms in Greensboro; and William Street, Loewenstein's classmate at MIT, who later joined the faculty at NC A&T. In addition to mentoring architects within the firm there were also collaborations with artists and interior designers on multiple projects. These collaborations were often initiated through Loewenstein's teaching position at the Women's College of the University of North Carolina (now the University of North Carolina at Greensboro).

W. Edward Jenkins

¹² Lucas, Patrick Lee. Personal interview with author. August 17, 2009

¹³ <http://ncarchitects.lib.ncsu.edu/>, September 9, 2009



W. Edward Jenkins was born in Raleigh in 1923. In 1949 he received a Bachelor of Architectural Engineering from North Carolina Agriculture and Technical College in Greensboro and joined Loewenstein-Atkinson Architects, AIA, as a project architect the same year. In 1953 Jenkins was one of the first African American architects in North Carolina to receive his architectural registration. After more than a decade of work with the firm, Jenkins left in 1962 and opened his own architectural practice in Greensboro. In later years Jenkins became the first African American architect to receive a state government contract and the first African American to serve on the North Carolina Board of Architectural Registration.¹⁴

Jenkins' work was focused in Greensboro, but he also designed projects in other cities in North Carolina as well as elsewhere in the Southeast. Notable Jenkins projects include residential properties, predominantly in the Ray Warren and Nocho Park neighborhoods, churches and institutional buildings.

J. Hyatt Hammond

The J. Hyatt Hammond design firm remains in existence in Greensboro today. In 1963 and 1965 the firm won AIA Awards of Merit for their designs for the Asheboro Bank and Randolph Public Library in Albemarle, North Carolina. In Greensboro the firm's most recognized Modernist building is the ca. 1965 Brutalist-inspired municipal parking garage at the corner of Greene and Washington Streets. The firm arrived in Greensboro near the end of the survey period, and recently celebrated its 50th anniversary. In recent decades their renovation work and additions to mid-twentieth century designs are notable for sensitivity to the buildings' original design aesthetic.

McMinn, Norfleet & Wicker

The Greensboro-based McMinn, Norfleet & Wicker firm designed numerous Modernist commercial buildings in Greensboro. The 1969 BB&T building at 201 West Market Street, the Greensboro Coliseum, and the Forum VI shopping center at Friendly Center are some of the firm's most recognized designs. Between 1955 and 1970 the firm received commissions for the design of six public school campuses in the city.

J. Hiatt (Builder)

The most notable builder in Greensboro building Modernist style houses was J. Hiatt, who was the primary contractor on many of Greensboro's architect-designed Modernist dwellings, often collaborating on projects with the Loewenstein-Atkinson firm. Hiatt helped popularize the builder-'designed' home. Instead of hiring an architect home owners would hire a builder with experience constructing the type of residence they wanted. Hiatt designed and constructed his own house at 4005 West Friendly Avenue and is reported to have built many Modernist-inspired residences in the communities of Starmount Forest and Hamilton Lakes. The firm J. Hiatt, PLLC still exists in

¹⁴ "James Benson Dudley Senior High School and Gymnasium." National Register Nomination. 1994. Section 8.

Greensboro today. A comprehensive list of Hiatt’s completed projects was not available.

Public Schools

In December of 1957 a seven-million-dollar bond issue was passed to provide capital improvements for Greensboro and Guilford County Schools.¹⁵ The rapid pace of new school construction and improvements to existing schools that followed continued through the next decade. As a result, Greensboro has a significant number of intact mid-twentieth-century Modernist-influenced schools, many designed by Greensboro’s most prominent architects.



Nationally, Modernism became a popular form for school design during the post-war period. In North Carolina this shift coincided with the appointment of architect Edward Waugh to supervise the state’s Office of School House Planning. Waugh came to the position from the North Carolina State



College School of Design, a group credited with introducing Modernism in the state. In coordination with Waugh, the School of Design hosted three-day workshops in 1949 and 1950. These workshops for architects

and local officials encouraged the adoption of Modernist principles in school construction such as the utilization of glass for improved natural lighting, reduction of ornamentation, and integration of the landscape, site and building.¹⁶



¹⁵ Bradley, 187.

¹⁶ “School House Plans,” *Raleigh News and Observer* November 20, 1949, IV-1, cited in “Early Modern Architecture in Raleigh Associated with the Faculty of the North Carolina State University School of Design, Raleigh, North Carolina,” National Register of Historic Places Multiple Property Documentation Form, 1994, E-16.

One-story, brick, flat-roofed structures with walls of windows and a linear plan were common school building forms throughout the state during the mid-twentieth century. In addition to these common forms, two-story classroom buildings with bands of windows are present on many of Greensboro's mid-twentieth century campuses, but are often built into the site to reduce the overall height of the structure when viewed from the street. The extensive use of windows to provide natural light into the classrooms impacted the interior plan of these structures, resulting in long, linear wings that intersected with one another through interior hallways. Multi-story gymnasiums and auditoriums are often the largest structures on these campuses, each is consistent with the overall design of the school in roofline and finish but often devoid of windows as a result of their use.

A 1973 book by Ethel Stephens Arnett entitled *For Whom Our Public Schools Were Named, Greensboro, North Carolina*, lists twenty-eight schools built between 1940 and 1970, along with the dates of additions. Of the twenty-eight only one, Mt. Zion, is partially-demolished and an additional two, Cerebral Palsy and Craven, are extant but no longer used as public schools. The remaining twenty-five campuses continue to operate as public schools.

All twenty-eight campuses were surveyed at the reconnaissance level and the majority are worthy of intensive survey. Alterations to the exterior of the school buildings were noted as relatively minor. The interiors of these structures have not been accessed. Many of these schools may be potentially eligible for listing in the National Register of Historic Places as representative examples of mid-twentieth century educational architecture, community planning and for their ties to local educational history. As notable as their individual designs are the location of these schools. They represent the last era of school construction in which schools were built within neighborhoods. Greensboro did not construct new school buildings for almost two decades following 1970. At the time new school construction resumed, the focus was on constructing schools that were accessible to diverse populations. This created an approach in which schools were no longer built within communities or neighborhoods but at satellite locations equidistant to the socio and racially-diverse populations they were to serve.

