

## ABSTRACT

Title of Document: RUINS AND WRINKLES: REVALUING AGE THROUGH ARCHITECTURE

Lucy Eleanor Moore, MArch & MHP, 2014

Directed By: Assistant Professor Michele Lamprakos,  
School of Architecture, Planning and  
Preservation

In this thesis I argue that an architecture that selectively intervenes in the aging landscape to provide opportunities for regeneration and mentorship can weaken our societal divisions. I tested this hypothesis in the context of an adaptive reuse, multi-generational, mixed use design for the Bailey Power Plant, Factory 60, and their surroundings: the former R.J. Reynolds tobacco district in my hometown of Winston-Salem, North Carolina. After a close study of the site's history and its urban morphology, I propose a design based on the concept of urban regeneration in the form of reclamation, adaptation, and mentorship established through a system of green infrastructure that weaves existing neighborhoods into new diverse, multi-generational communities, housed within existing but altered architecture.

RUINS AND WRINKLES: REVALUING AGE THROUGH ARCHITECTURE

By

Lucy Eleanor Moore

Thesis submitted to the Faculty of the Graduate School of the  
University of Maryland, College Park, in partial fulfillment  
of the requirements for the degree of  
Master of Architecture &  
Master of Historic  
Preservation  
2014

Advisory Committee:

Assistant Professor Michele Lamprakos, Chair  
Professor of the Practice Peter Noonan, AIA, LEEP AP  
Professor Garth Rockcastle, FAIA

© Copyright by  
Lucy Eleanor Moore  
2014

## Dedication

To Claire and Harald. Thank you.

## Table of Contents

Dedication .....	ii
Table of Contents .....	iii
List of Figures .....	iv
Introduction.....	1
Chapter 1: Theory: Humans, Time, and Architecture .....	3
Chapter 2: History: Place, Power, and Production.....	20
Chapter 3: Site Analysis: A City Divided.....	30
Chapter 4: Program: Multi-Generational Mentorship .....	37
Chapter 5: Design: Regeneration and Mentorship.....	40
Conclusion.....	55
Bibliography.....	56
Appendix A .....	60

## List of Figures

- Figure 1: Nabokov's reflections on the nature of life and mortality
- Figure 2: Shakespeare's seven stages of life
- Figure 3: Human life cycle
- Figure 4 & 5: Male stages of life
- Figure 6 & 7: Female stages of life
- Figure 8: Place and person
- Figure 9: Cyclical process of aging
- Figure 10: Mortality mirrored in architecture
- Figure 11: *Children of Men* life cycle
- Figure 12: *Children of Men* scene
- Figure 13: Multi-generational households on the rise
- Figure 14: R.J. Reynolds district, a gash in the city's fabric
- Figure 15: Winston and Salem in 1870
- Figure 16: Winston and Salem in the 1890s
- Figure 17-18: Rail yard
- Figure 19: Reynolds expansion by the 1920s
- Figure 20: Zoning and official residential segregation
- Figure 21: African American neighborhood
- Figure 22: African American women working in a stemming room
- Figure 23: Safe Bus
- Figure 24: Urban renewal
- Figure 25: Downtown after R.J. Reynolds factory closure
- Figure 26: Winston-Salem's population
- Figure 27: Downtown land use
- Figure 28: Demographic divisions
- Figure 29: Circulation and traffic counts
- Figure 30: Downtown points of entrance
- Figure 31: Urban edge
- Figure 32: National Register Historic District
- Figure 33: Bailey Power Plant
- Figure 34: Factory 60
- Figure 35: Regeneration of the R.J. Reynolds former industrial district
- Figure 36: Water collection and cleaning
- Figure 37: Urban agriculture
- Figure 38: New development and tree canopy
- Figure 39: Recreation
- Figure 40: Cultural and ecological heritage
- Figure 41: Alternative transportation
- Figure 42: Urban park
- Figure 43: Park section
- Figure 44: Insertion and extraction
- Figure 45: Program
- Figure 46: Bailey Power Plant ground floor plan
- Figure 47: Bailey Power Plant fourth floor plan
- Figure 48: Bailey Power Plant section

## Introduction

American culture is filled with prescriptive dichotomies: young and old, male and female, black and white, rich and poor. These divisions shape much of our lives: where we live, what we do, and who we know. Such categorization can be dangerous. At its worst, it has fed discrimination and led to abuse, riots, and wars. But even at their least, on a daily basis, these divisions deny our society a richness that comes from nuance and divergence.

Some individuals are able to move or find themselves slipping between these societal divisions. But for most, these dichotomies are self-sustaining throughout an individual's life. If you are born wealthy, you are likely to have the opportunities through which to stay that way, and if you are born black, the world will continue to remind you as such. Yet age stands out as is the primary exception. We were all once young, and if we are lucky, one day we will all be old. Yet although we experience both youth and age as one individual, we allow ourselves to be divided by it. When we enter school we are assigned a grade, and this small cohort of people born within a twelve month window define our worlds as we mature. As older adults, we move or are moved into senior living communities, where again we find ourselves surrounded by people who share our same narrow swath of life.

We manifest these collective divisions in the architecture that surrounds us from the shotgun house to the corporate headquarters. But like

people, all buildings experience age and are judged as such. In this thesis, I argue that an architecture that selectively intervenes in the aging landscape to provide opportunities for regeneration and mentorship can facilitate the breakdown of our societal divisions. I tested this hypothesis in the context of an adaptive reuse, multi-generational, mixed use design for the Bailey Power Plant, Factory 60, and their surroundings: the former R.J. Reynolds tobacco district in my hometown of Winston-Salem, North Carolina.

In order to contextualize my design proposal, I will begin a review of literature, theory, and demographics that speak to the place of age in our current society. I will then provide an overview of the former tobacco industrial district's discordant history, which has informed my understanding of the range of values and narratives the site may hold for local residents as well as my own design process. I will then review findings from site analysis that illustrate the urban challenges in by the former tobacco industrial district and its surrounding neighborhoods. I will review the precedents studies that have guided my design approach. And lastly I will outline the design itself, which includes a regenerative network of green infrastructure at the city scale, an application of that infrastructure within the urban block, and a multi-generational, mixed use design for the Bailey Power Plant and Reynolds Tobacco Factory 60.



## Chapter 1: Theory: Humans, Time, and Architecture

What is the relationship between humans, time, and architecture, and how can this relationship inform a design that enhances our collective and individual experience of aging? Architecture is both an expression of our temporal reality and a demonstration of our inescapable fate. A structure's original design expresses the intent of the architect and yet as soon as construction is complete, its fate is in the hands of time, weathering, and successive transformations. And just as the designer must accept the fate of his or her creation as beyond his or her control, so too must the individual accept the passage of time and its effects in his or her own life.

How a society constructs its buildings is a reflection of its values. Industrial and post-industrial society privilege the new and the efficient over the aged and the worn, placing greater value on youth and innovation over age and its accompanying wisdom. In efforts to revalue the role of age in modern society, this project pairs the reuse of existing buildings – the Bailey Power Plant and Factory 60 in Winston-Salem, North Carolina – with a program that facilitates, both directly and indirectly, the transference of knowledge from one generation to the next. Through a study of literature, theory, and demographics I explored the place of aging in our society and the way in which our perceptions, fears, and/or acceptance of mortality shape our relationship with the built environment around us.

## *Mortality, Regeneration, and Transference*

Vladimir Nabokov opens his memoir, *Speak, Memory*, with the following:

*The cradle rocks above an abyss, and common sense tells us that our existence is but a brief crack of light between two eternities of darkness. Although the two are identical twins, man, as a rule, views the prenatal abyss with more calm than the one he is heading for (at some forty-five hundred heartbeats an hour).*

Human life, “rock(ing) above an abyss” is precarious and fleeting. That abyss is the absences of ourselves. Though that absence was there before our existence began, it is our return to it that we most fear. And yet Nabokov’s recognition of our end as the same as our beginning is a critical insight into the relationship between mortality and age (Figure 1). He speaks to both the fear we hold of death and the underlying sense that the end is simply a return to the beginning.<sup>1</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup> Vladimir Vladimirovich Nabokov, *Speak, Memory* (New York: Putnam, 1966).



Figure 1: These diagrams depict Nabokov's reflections on the nature of life and mortality in the introduction to his memoir, *Speak, Memory*. (Source: Author)

Shakespeare too recognizes this internal overlap within one's life. In his monologue, "all the world's a stage," from *As You Like It*, Shakespeare describes man's life as passing through "seven ages": 1) the infant, 2) the schoolboy, 3) the lover, 4) the soldier, 5) the justice, "full of wise saws and modern instances," 6) the fading "sixth age...with spectacles on nose and pouch on side," and 7) the "second childishness and mere oblivion"(Figure 2).

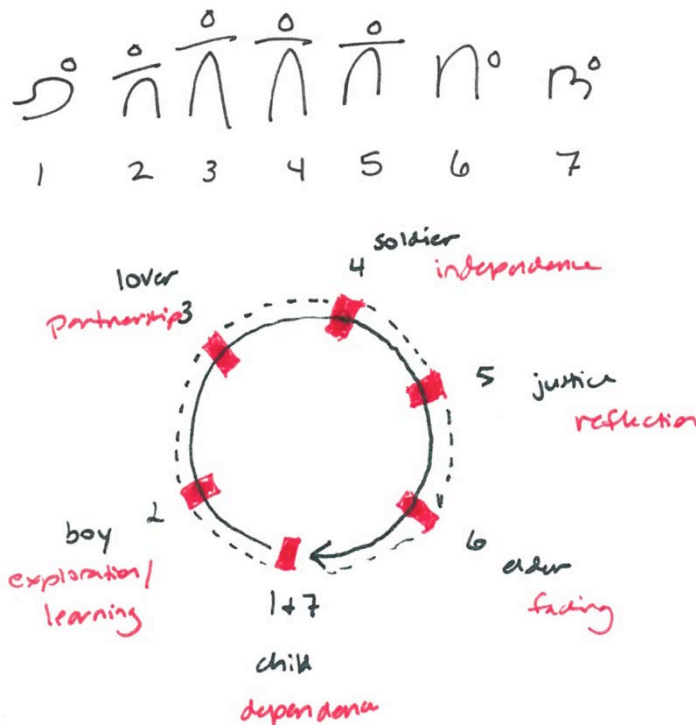


Figure 2: Shakespeare's seven stages of life, depicted first as a linear progression, like those of 19th century American lithography (see Figure 4-7), and then cyclically.

Interestingly, Shakespeare identifies the first five stages – infancy to “justice” – with a clear name, while the final two stages are only identified through descriptions. The physical also dominates in these last two stages. “With spectacles on nose and pouch on side” describes the sixth age, and “Sans teeth, sans eyes, sans taste, sans everything” describes the seventh and final stage. As such, Shakespeare links age first to wisdom – the stage of “wise saws and modern instances” – then to a sense of physical return. But unlike Nabokov and his depiction of life bookended by a vast abyss, Shakespeare returns man to childhood and infancy, not absence. If extrapolated from the individual cycle of life to that of several generations, Shakespeare's stages

can be interpreted as capturing a transference of knowledge between generations, from “justice” to “infant,” who then grow back into “justice” (Figure 3).<sup>2</sup>

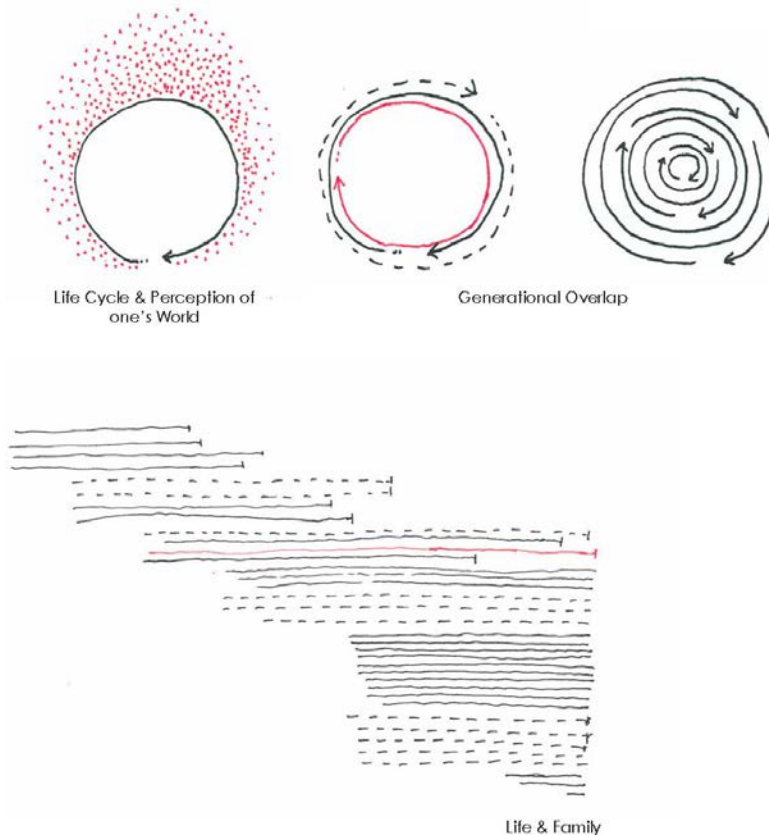


Figure 3: Illustrations of the human life cycle and overlapping lifecycles. (Source: Author)

Nineteenth-century America seemed to derive a similar satisfaction out of the categorization of life's stages. Between the 1830s and 1880s, American printers produced lithographs illustrating the stages of human life (Figures 4 to 7). Depicting both men and women, most of these drawings portray an aspirational one hundred year life cycle, surprising at a time when

<sup>2</sup> William Shakespeare, *As You Like It*, Act II, Scene VII, <http://shakespeare.mit.edu/asyoulikeit/full.html>.

most were living not long past the age of forty. Each life forms an arc, rising from infancy at ten year increments to a peak at age fifty, then declining into the decrepit state of old age. Like Shakespeare, the depictions of each stage are both social and physical, but again, while the earlier stages emphasize the action or performance of a stage – the young men burnishing swords and the women tending babies – the later stages are expressed more clearly through physical decay – the curving spine and wrinkled features. Also like Shakespeare, these lithographs repeat the sense of return. There is a strong symmetry to each image in which each person ends much as they began. In the 1835 illustration of an aging woman (Figure 7) the outline of the woman in her final stage bears striking resemblance to that of her earlier child. Even stronger is the resemblance between the start and end of man depicted in the 1848 (Figure 5) and 1883 (Figure 4) lithographs. In both, the stature, color, and texture repeat at the beginning and the end. In both, only the infant and the elder are seated – supported first as an infant by his mother, then by a chair. In the 1848 rendition, the aging man rests upon a chair, upholstered in a material matching that worn by his mother in the infant stage. In 1883, the image shows a woman tending to the aging man, dressed alike in cloth and hairstyle to his mother at the start. This sense of return can be interpreted both as a return of the physical body to the earth and a transference of the spirit and wisdom from the elder to the youth.



Figure 4 & 5: Left, male stages of life depicted in lithograph, 1883. Right, male stages of life depicted in lithograph, c. 1848. (Source: “The life & age of man – stages of mans life from the cradle to the grave – resist the Devil and he will flee from you” (Indianapolis: Wm. Burford Lith., 1883) Library of Congress, Accessed April 6, 2014, <http://www.loc.gov/pictures/item/96502207/>; “The Life and age of man, stages of man’s life from the cradle to the grave” (New York: James Baillie, c1848) Library of Congress, Accessed April 6, 2014, <http://www.loc.gov/pictures/item/2006686267/>).



Figure 6 & 7: Left, female stages of life depicted in lithograph, c. 1848. Right, female stages of life depicted in lithograph, 1835. (Source: “The Life and age of woman, stages of woman's life from the cradle to the grave” (New York: James Baillie, c1848) Library of Congress, Accessed April 6, 2014, <http://www.loc.gov/pictures/item/2006686266/>; “The Life and age of woman, stages of woman's life from the infancy to the brink of the grave” (Barre, Mass.: A. Alden, 1835) Library of Congress, Accessed April 6, 2014, <http://www.loc.gov/pictures/item/2006686268/>).

## *Humans and Their Architecture*

What does this sense of regeneration and knowledge transference mean for our built environment? In his essay, "Replacement," W. G. Clark argues that, "Architecture, whether as a town or a building, is the reconciliation of ourselves with the natural land."<sup>3</sup> Not only does architecture provide an intermediary between humans and nature, but it acts as a placeholder for human agency, culture, and spirit. Clark writes,

*Every site contains three places: the physical place with its earth, sunlight and view; a cultural place, the locus of the traditions of human intervention; and a spiritual place, or that which we would call an evocative presence, which stirs our imaginations and sends us in search of images, memories, and analogues. These three aspects of place roughly correspond to body, mind and spirit.<sup>4</sup>*

Here, it is not that every site innately shares a parallel existence with humans, after all, the site is just a conglomeration of objects to which human consciousness, self-awareness, and the search for identity give meaning. Rather it is the sense that every site has a series of identities that both reflect ourselves as a society and project our collective values (Figure 8). In place, the individual "body, mind and spirit" merge into a collective "physical place," "cultural place," and "spiritual place." Clark presents here both an argument for the deep interconnectedness of man and architecture, but also the careful reuse of sites. Just as our society does not demolish itself and build anew, so too should our architecture find ways to respond to existing conditions and build on what has come before. Architecture as commodity involves the

---

<sup>3</sup> W. G. Clark, "Replacement," *Modulus 20* (Charlottesville, VA: University of Virginia, 1991) 10.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid*, 13.



linear process of design, construction, use, and demolition. When architecture and site are conceived as existing in a cyclical process, just as humans see themselves as part of a cyclical transformation from one generation to the next, the process involves construction, use, adaptation, decay, and reconstruction (Figure 9).

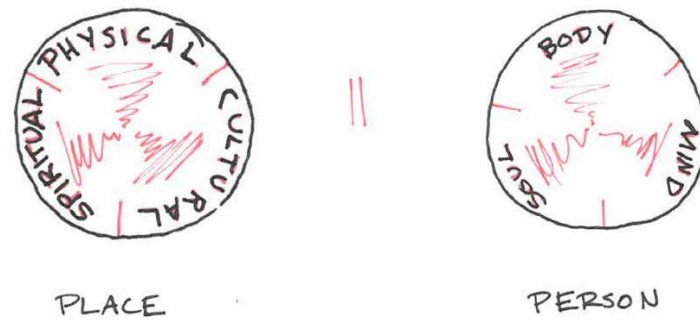
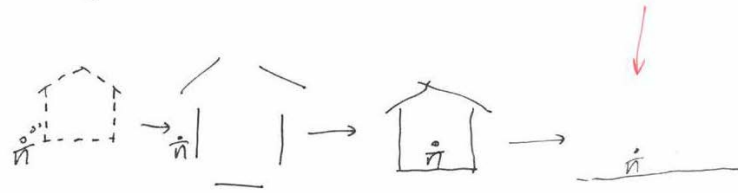


Figure 8: The parallel nature of place and person as described in W. G. Clark's essay, "Replacement." (Source: Author)

Building lifecycle:

Basic: design → construction → use → demolition



tradition: construction → use → adaptation → reuse ... → decompose

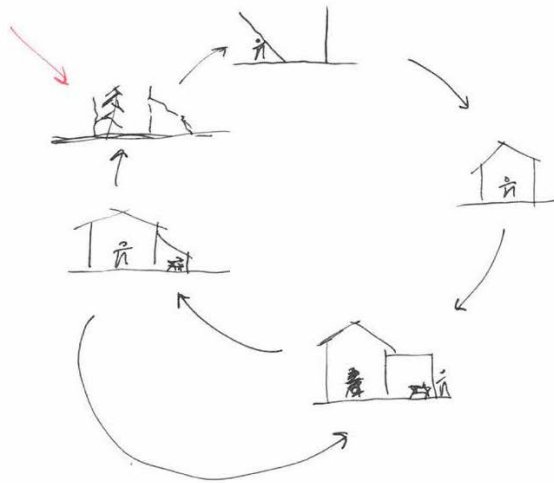


Figure 9: Architecture as a linear versus a cyclical process. (Source: Author)

This awareness of what has come before is a key concern defining our individual and social relationship to architecture (Figure 10). As individuals, we read meaning into each site as it relates both to our larger society and to our own mortality. In his 1903 argument for historic preservation, *The Modern Cult of Monuments: Its Character and Origin*, Alois Riegl argues that all monuments, or objects, have “art value” and “historic value.” Amongst the largely knowledge-based “historic values” lies “age value,” which connects the

observer to the object through direct emotional appeal. Riegl writes,

*Take, for instance, the ruins of a castle...the castle's historical value alone fails to account for the obvious interest, which it excites in the modern observer. When we look at an old belfry we must make a similar distinction between our perception of the localized historical memories it contains and our more general awareness of the passage of time.<sup>5</sup>*

In short, when we see old building, we are reminded of our own mortality.

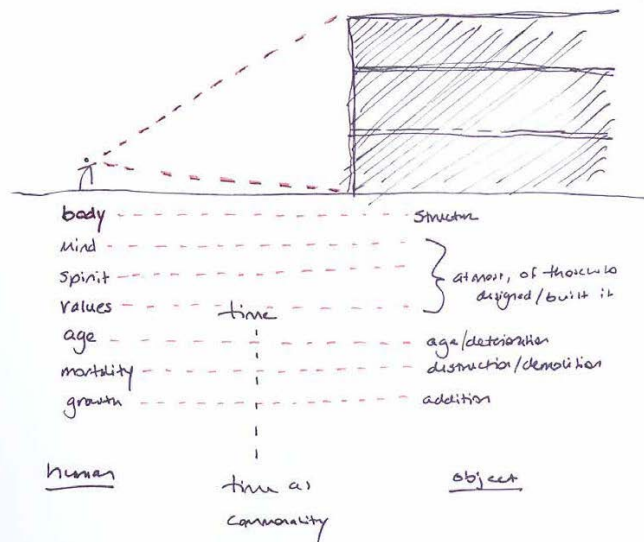


Figure 10: The recognition of the individual's inter-connectedness with architecture is defined by the recognition of time and its visible passage on the architectural object. (Source: Author)

Riegl also argues that by choosing to preserve visibly aging structures, we simultaneously accept and reject the passage of time. By preserving the physical signs of aging, we celebrate time and its effects, but through the very act of preservation, we deny mortality to culture itself. I, however, argue that by preserving tracing of age in existing structures while also inserting new uses and aesthetic conditions, designers can create spaces that inspire a

<sup>5</sup> Alois Riegl, "The Modern Cult of Monuments: its Character and Origin," *The Nineteenth-Century Visual Culture Reader*, edited by Vanessa R. Schwartz and Jeannene M. Przyblyski (London: Routledge, 2004) 57

reflection on time's passage, more powerful than either the existing or the new could foster on their own.

Alfonso Cuarón visually explores the relationship between decaying infrastructure and mortality in his film, *Children of Men*. Loosely based on a P. D. James novel, the film tests the link between our cyclical transmission of life from one generation to the next and our investment in the world around us.<sup>6</sup> In the year 2027, humankind has been unable to conceive children for almost twenty years and the world has dissolved into chaos. In a world in which no new generation exists to receive the wisdom of the aging population, humans turn on each other in anger and desperation. Without collective regeneration, the individual experience of aging is perceived not as a return, but as a complete end (Figure 11). With no sense of human rejuvenation and continuity, there is a disinvestment in both the social and the physical world society has created. While humans imprison, starve, and kill each other out of fear, anger and paranoia, they also let their cities crumble and decay, their architecture becoming receptacles for state propaganda. Scenes in London show dirty streets, barbed wire fences, and televised news projected everywhere – in cafes, buses, and on urban facades (Figure 12). Though this fictional projection, *Children of Men* taps into a very real fear

---

<sup>6</sup> *Children of Men*, Director Alfonso Cuarón, Universal Pictures, Strike Entertainment, and Hit & Run Productions, 2006, Film.

about contemporary construction and consumption, expressed by Clark when he writes:

*The sickness of the heart that I believe we all feel when we see development spreading from every town into the country is the recognition that our settlement represents not only lost nature, but lost settlement. What home have we made? Given a new world, we have let the land degenerate into real estate and architecture into style. The implication is frightening: that we don't belong here, that we are no longer of the place but merely on it, a lost colony in a lost paradise.*

In turn, not only does architecture suffer when humanity is cut off from its future and hope, but humanity also suffers when architecture is cut off from its past and sense of place. Here Clark argues that architecture should build both on a site's identify – its mind, body, and soul – and also on our own social history – our past settlements and our ways of building, gathering, and living.

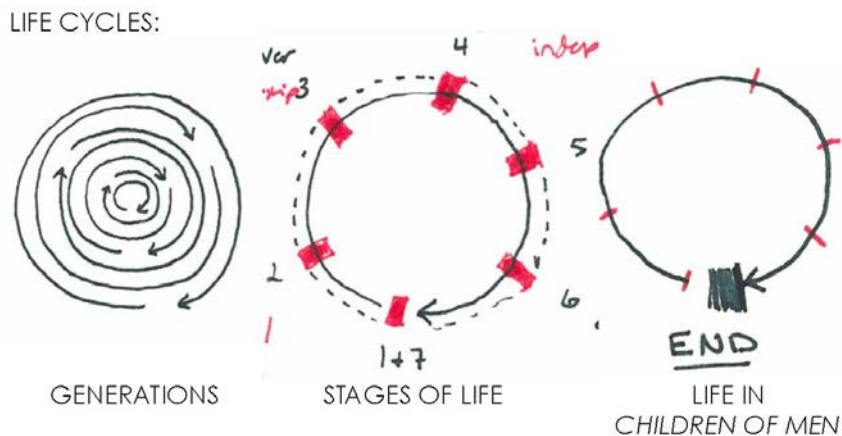


Figure 11: *Children of Men* projects a world in which no new generation exists to receive the wisdom of the aging population. Without collective regeneration, the individual experience of aging is perceived not as a return, but as a complete end. (Source: Author)

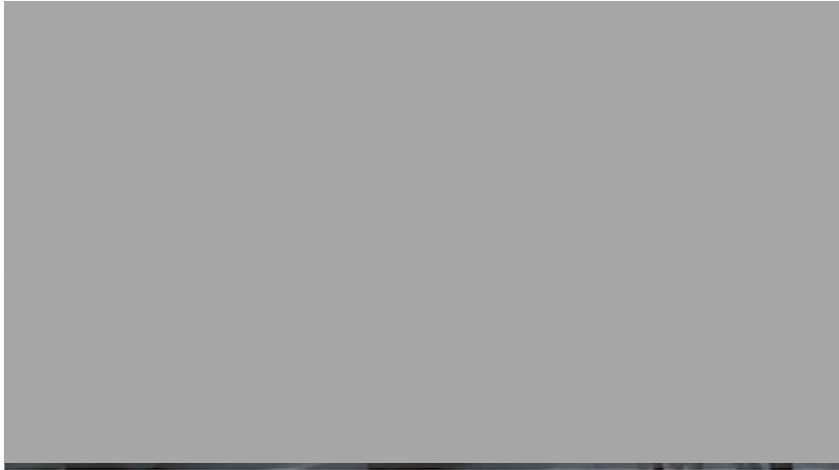


Figure 12: A scene from the opening of *Children of Men* shows a dirty, deteriorating London almost twenty years after the last new birth.

Mohsen Mostafavi and David Leatherbarrow also address the interconnectedness of humans, architecture, and time in their text, *On Weathering: The Life of Buildings in Time*. Broadly, their text argues for a design process that involves the study and anticipation of aging on material surfaces, not only because aging is inevitable in any completed building, but also because of the relationship between the traces of age on a building and the traces of the past in the human mind. They write,

*This temporal structure of building can be compared to a person's experience of time. At every moment in one's life earlier times of infancy, childhood, youth, and all other stages up to now are still present, increasing in number yet unchanged and familiar, and subject to redefinition and appropriation.*<sup>7</sup>

Here, the erosion of building material is like physical aging, a removal or detraction from the original material, but also like memories and the way in which they serves as constant reminders of time's passage.

---

<sup>7</sup> Mohsen Mostafavi and David Leatherbarrow, *On Weathering* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1993) 112.

But their argument is not just based in past and present. It also calls for a recognition of the past as a parallel state to the future. Much as Nabokov, nineteenth century lithographers, and Shakespeare before them recognized an equality to the start and end to life, Mostafavi and Leatherbarrow focus on a similar quality found in our relationship between our present and either our past or future. They write,

*One's sense of the past or of the future involves a reach out of the present into some time when it (one's present) was not yet, or some time when it will be no longer. Events in the past — at least our feelings, thoughts, tastes, and so on about them — “mark” the memory, like a signet on a “good thick slab of wax” said Socrates in Theaetetus.<sup>8</sup>*

Recognizing this parallel experience of reaching out from the present to either the past or the future, they argue that age as experienced in architectural material can facilitate a heightened understanding of both the past and future. They assert that “the transformation of a building’s surface can also be positive in that it can allow one to recognize the necessity of change, and to resist the desire to overcome fate...”<sup>9</sup> In turn, not only is an aging building the marker of memory and history, but it is also key to the acceptance of what lies ahead.

### *Multi-Generational Families on the Rise*

On a pragmatic level, our society also does not have the luxury of maintaining generational stratification and the constant replacement of old

---

<sup>8</sup> Ibid, 116.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid, 117.

with new. Americans are living longer, meaning more older adults are in need of greater care.<sup>10</sup> Real income in the United States has also been on the decline for over a decade, meaning young people cannot always afford to live on their own. As a result, multiple adult generations are increasingly living under one roof (Figure 13).<sup>11</sup> In turn, not only do we need a wider variety of housing types and sizes than that offered by the traditional single-family home, but we also need a community structure that not only accepts but embraces multi-generational living and the opportunities for mentorship it can provide.

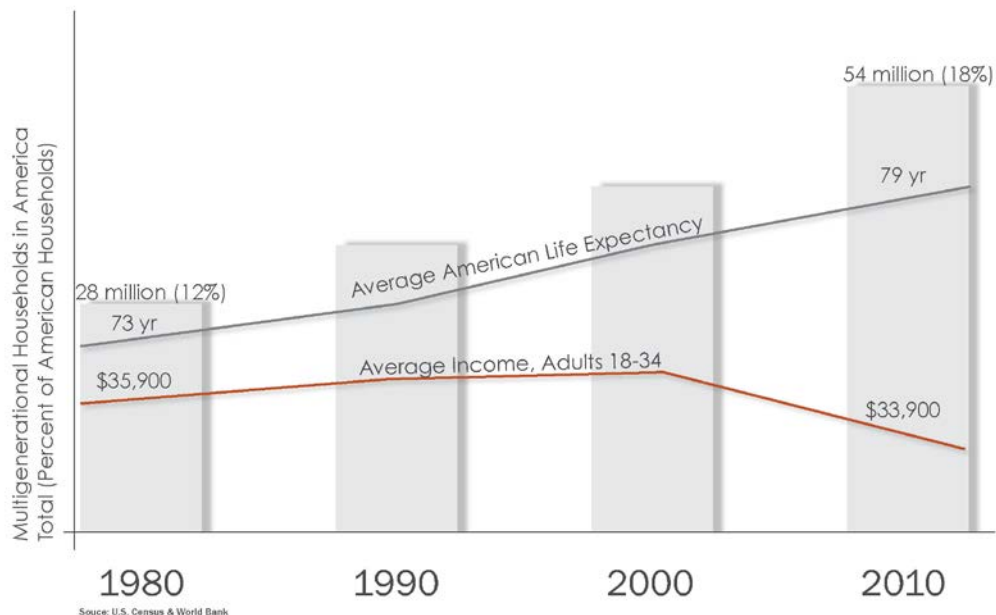


Figure 13: Multi-generational households in America are on the rise as life expectancy grows and income declines. (Source: Author)

<sup>10</sup> U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, "Health, United States, 2011: With Special Features on Socioeconomic Status and Health" (Hyattsville, MD, 2011) <http://www.cdc.gov/nchs/data/hus/hus11.pdf#fig32> (accessed November 28, 2014).

<sup>11</sup> Matt Goebel, "Changing Demographics: The Consequences for Historic Preservation" (Past Forward, National Preservation Conference, Savannah, GA, November 14, 2014).



Lastly, latest housing bubble has demonstrated that we cannot continue our love affair with new, single-family housing developments. Instead, we must reinvest in our cities, and adapt its existing infrastructure to our changing needs

## Chapter 2: History: Place, Power, and Production

*Note: See Appendix A for a complete history of Winston-Salem, R.J. Reynolds, and the downtown tobacco district including full citations.*

The former Reynolds tobacco industrial district in Winston-Salem, with the Bailey Power Plant at its core, is one such urban center in need of reinvestment and adaptation. Today, over one hundred acres of post-industrial land near downtown Winston-Salem stands vacant, a gash in the city's urban and social fabric. In many ways, today's urban condition is the byproduct of the Reynolds Tobacco Company, its wealth, its industry, and its segregated labor structure. But the former Reynolds industrial district was also home hundreds of residents who, in the face of poverty, formed thriving communities that can be seen as historical models for today's mixed-use developments. For these reasons I looked to the social, economic, and physical evolution of the tobacco district both to understand the range of values and narratives that the site may hold for local residents today and to gain inspiration for my own design process.

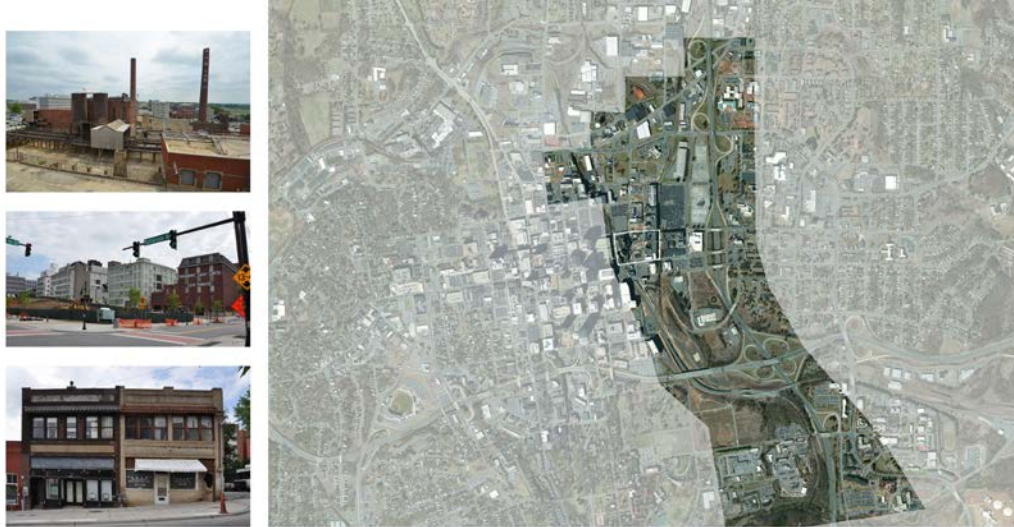


Figure 14: The R.J. Reynolds former industrial district remains as a gash in the social and urban fabric of Winston-Salem, NC. Photos illustrate sites within the district. (Source: Author using google earth aerial)

Before Reynolds Tobacco, Winston and Salem were small towns whose greatest exports were dried berries. Among their residents were a small number of African American families who resided alongside their white neighbors. At that time, the area that would become the Reynolds Tobacco District was marked by a small creek at the edge of town.

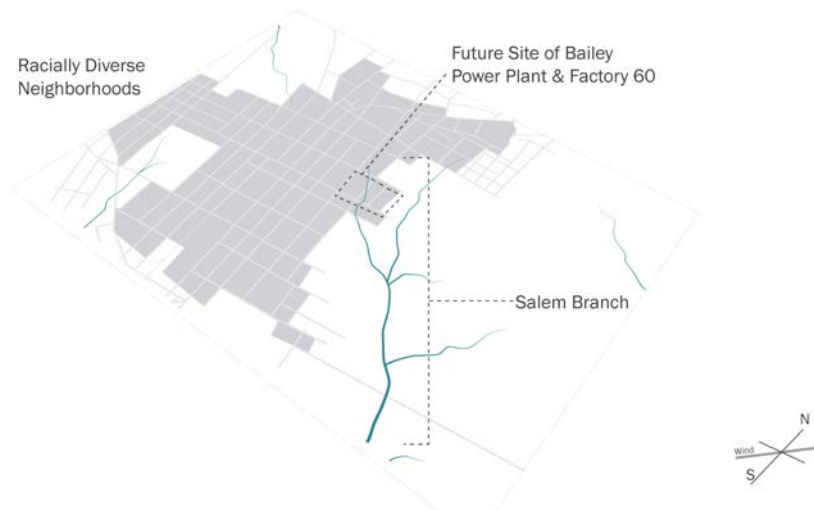


Figure 15: By 1870, the towns of Winston and Salem here home to several hundred residents and bordered by a small creek. (Source: Author)

But in the 1870s, the concurrent arrival of the railroad and bright-leaf tobacco quickly changed all that. Within thirty years of Winston's rail connection, the city had become home to fifty tobacco manufacturers and its population had grown more than ten-fold. Among those moving to Winston for factory work were thousands of African Americans who saw the city as an opportunity to escape a life of tenant farming and rural poverty. Some came as seasonal workers and lived with family or in temporary housing situated between factory walls. While others moved with their young children and aging parents in search of full time work and a small home close to the factories. Most African American workers found themselves living in East Winston, "on the wrong side of the tracks" – in homes downwind from the factories and rail yard.

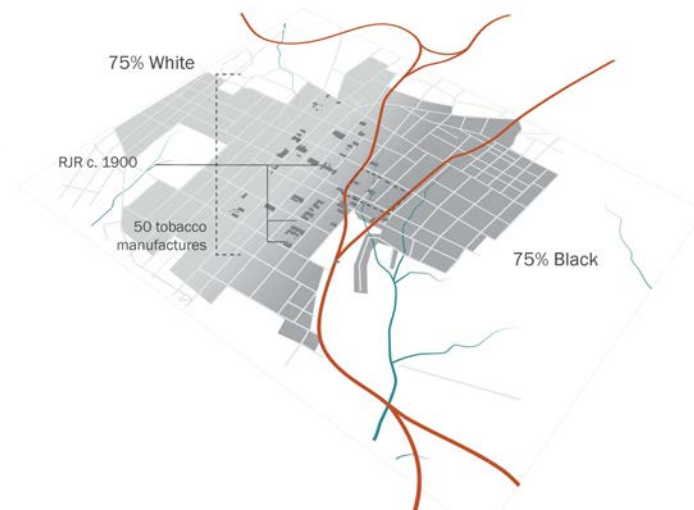


Figure 16: The concurrent arrival of the railroad and bright-leaf tobacco in the 1870s brought new business to Winston and Salem. (Source: Author)



Figure 17-18: The new rail yard was built between Winston and Salem. This 1895 Sanborn map shows the buildings likely captured in the photo. Source: “Railroad Yard Looking North” / “First Sight of Winston-Salem,” (c. 1895) Digital Forsyth, <http://hdl.handle.net/10339/17626>; *Winston and Salem, North Carolina* (New York: Sanborn Map & Publishing Co, June 1885) North Carolina Maps: <http://dc.lib.unc.edu/cdm/compoundobject/collection/ncmaps/id/3051/rec/1>.

At the turn of the century, R.J. Reynolds was just another factory owner. But after a strategic partnership with American Tobacco, the Standard Oil of the tobacco industry, and a series of innovative production and marketing campaigns, Reynolds quickly became the biggest game in town. Within years, Reynolds Tobacco became the largest cigarette manufacturer in the world, employing almost a quarter of Winston-Salem residents and operating factories across more than one hundred acres of downtown real estate. In 1926 Reynolds built the Bailey Power Plant to independently generate its own electricity and steam. And in 1929, Reynolds marked its wealth and power with the construction of an art deco skyscraper on the site of Winston-Salem’s former town hall. Designed by Shreve and Lamb, better known for their design of the Empire State building, the headquarters stood the tallest building south of Baltimore at the time of its construction.

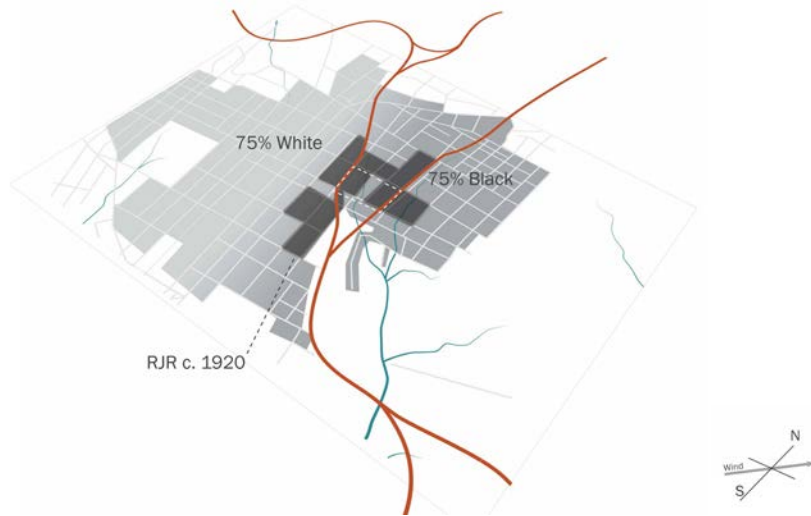


Figure 19: By the 1920s, Reynolds had greatly expanded its factory footprint in downtown Winston-Salem. (Source: Author)

Reynolds could not have grown so swiftly were it not for its low paid workforce, including what was seen as the time as an endless supply of low skilled, African American labor. Life for the growing number of Reynolds employee in the early 20th century grew increasingly segregated. Inside the factories, African American workers were assigned physical tasks that offered little room for advancement, while white workers were employed in skilled or managerial positions. And outside the factories, what had begun as informal residential segregation was codified by city ordinance and promoted by city officials. In turn, as the city grew, it did so along racial divisions with the industrial district as the dividing line.

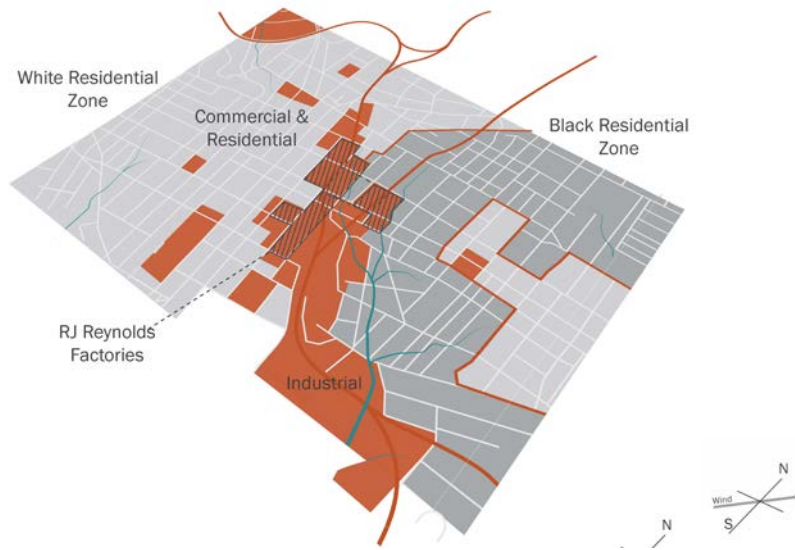


Figure 20: City zoning and segregation policies further divided Winston-Salem in the 1920s and 1930s. (Source: Author)

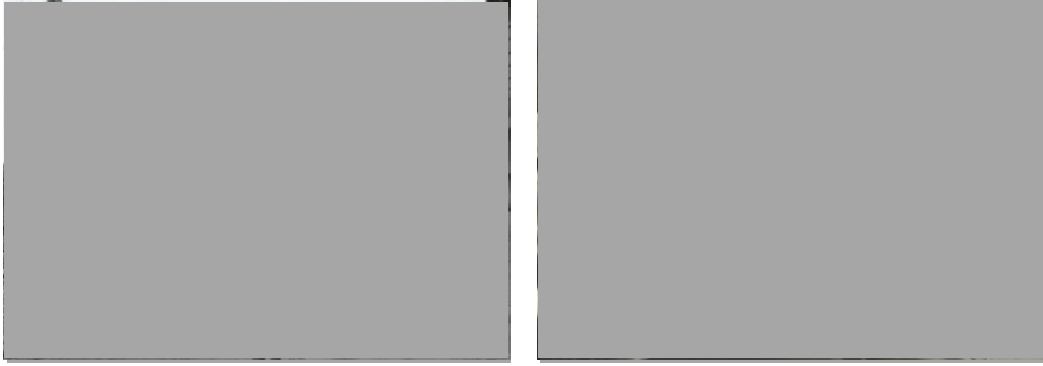


Figure 21: African American neighborhoods included area with unpaved streets and poor plumbing. Source: “Slums in Winston-Salem, 1950,” Frank Jones (1950) Digital Forsyth: <http://www.digitalforsyth.org/photos/1186>.

Figure 22: African American women were often employed in tobacco factories as stemmers. Source: “Workers in the stemming room of a tobacco factory” (1938) Digital Forsyth: <http://www.digitalforsyth.org/photos/12031>.

Housing near the factories became some of the poorest in the city, occupied almost exclusively by African American residents. These neighborhoods had little infrastructure and faced horrible pollution and sanitary conditions, but they also formed thriving communities that can be seen as historical models for today’s mixed-use developments. Houses were small and close together, multiple generations lived under one roof, streets were treated as social spaces, and businesses and work places were all within walking distance of the home.

In the face of discrimination, members of the African American community organized in innovative ways. In the 1920s, a group of African American entrepreneurs founded the Safe Bus Company who offered services to African American neighborhoods excluded from city bus routes. And in the 1940s, African American workers including many women in the Reynolds factories organized a series of factory strikes and voter registration campaigns that sparked local civil rights activism for decades to come.





Figure 23: Safe Bus operated routes over 20 percent of Winston-Salem from 1922 to 1972. Source: "Safe Bus at a Crossroad, 1965..." The North Carolina Room, Forsyth County Public Library, <http://northcarolinaroom.wordpress.com/2012/02/27/safe-bus-at-a-crossroad-1965/>.

But what gradual economic and social change labor and civil rights brought to Winston-Salem and the Reynolds factories, they were countered by the physical separation of East Winston from Winston-Salem's downtown. In the 1950s and 1960s, urban renewal projects and the construction of two major highways displaced hundreds of African American families and black-owned businesses and cut off many African American neighborhoods from the city center. This new traffic loop and Euclidean zoning drove out most of the remaining housing downtown, black and white. At the same time, suburban shopping malls brought an end to downtown retail.



Figure 24: Urban renewal and highway construction cleared Winston-Salem of downtown residential neighborhoods. Demographic information from 1970 census data. (Source: Author)

But what really spelled the end for Winston-Salem's once bustling urban core was the shuttering of the R.J. Reynolds downtown factories. Reynolds remained the primary employer in Winston-Salem through the 1980s but much had changed since the days when tobacco was king. A growing antismoking campaign in the 1970s and 1980s emerged coincident to corporate transformations, which diversified the Reynolds product base and opened plants around the world. In 1987, Reynolds executives relocated corporate headquarters from Winston-Salem to Atlanta, and, within ten years, closed down the entire downtown factory district, leaving behind acres of vacant buildings and an uncertain future for thousands of Reynolds employees.

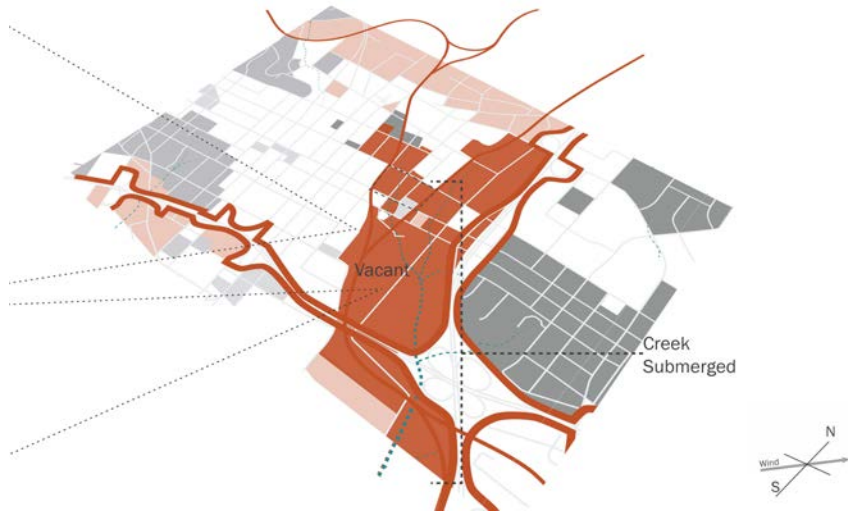


Figure 25: R.J. Reynolds closed all factories in downtown Winston-Salem by 1997, leaving behind a vacant rail yard and empty buildings, some of which have since been torn down due to fire damage. (Source: Author)

## Chapter 3: Site Analysis: A City Divided

Today Winston-Salem has long since recuperated from the loss of thousands of Reynolds factory jobs. Its population has continued to grow with new residents drawn to the city for work in the health and education sector. And Wake Forest Baptist Medical Center has replace R.J. Reynolds as the city's largest employer.<sup>12</sup>

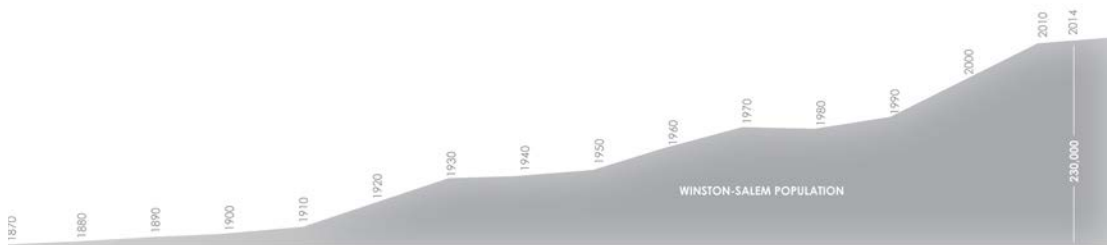


Figure 26: Winston-Salem's population has continued to rise since the loss of R.J. Reynolds thanks to jobs in the health and education sector. (Source: Author)

And after years of retreat from downtown, local businesses and institutions are moving back into the city center, bringing entertainment, retail, and small pockets of housing back to the urban core. This downtown revitalization is

<sup>12</sup> "Largest employers in Forsyth County," Winston-Salem Chamber of Commerce, pdf, accessed November 13, 2014.

due in part to the concentrated efforts of both public and private city leaders, and has been the focus of recent planning efforts.<sup>13</sup>



Figure 27: Downtown land use, with the largely vacant district outlined in red. (Source: Author)

But the former Reynolds factory district and rail yard remain a gash in the city's social and urban cloth. Neighborhoods downtown and just to the west are racially integrated but generationally homogenous, home primarily to young professionals - adults 20-40 who make over twice the annual income of residents to the east. By contrast those neighborhoods directly to the east remain almost exclusively African American with family income levels around \$13,000 annually. However, these neighborhoods are far more generationally diverse.

---

<sup>13</sup> *Winston-Salem Downtown Plan*, City-County Planning Board (2013) <http://www.cityofws.org/departments/planning/area-plans/downtown>.



Figure 28: Demographics on either side of the R.J. Reynolds district reveal a legacy of division. (Source: Author, with information from the 2010 U.S. Census)

While many socio-economic dynamics that continue to reinforce historic inequalities are at play here, this project will focus on issues of connectivity. U.S. 52 remains a major barrier between East Winston and downtown, routing traffic around, rather than through the city (Figure 29). As a result only three main roads connect over the highway, greatly limiting access between East Winston neighborhoods and the growing downtown, despite their close proximity (Figure 30). The urban edge is also fragmented moving east to west into town and offers a less than cohesive transition from single family homes to large downtown blocks (Figure 31).



Figure 29: Circulation downtown, with lines weighted to reflect traffic counts. (Source: Author using traffic counts from “Winston-Salem MOP Traffic Counts,” City of Winston-Salem (2014) <http://cows.maps.arcgis.com/apps/Viewer/index.html?appid=e1e22a29ee5b46b7b4fbb04ce683a98f>, accessed November 13, 2014)



Figure 30: Entrance points to downtown Winston-Salem from the east and west. (Source: Author)



Figure 31: The urban edge is fragmented from East Winston into downtown and lacks the cohesive transition seen from west to east. (Source: Author)

But the Reynolds tobacco district has great potential to serve as a new gateway from the east into downtown. In recognition of its role in industry, commerce, African American heritage, and labor history, Reynolds factories and a few nearby store fronts have been listed as a National Register Historic District. The district is recognized for significance under Criteria A, which recognizes sites for their association with major events and patterns in history, and not Criteria C, which focuses on distinctive architecture. In turn, a design that regenerates the city, its environment, and neighborhoods home to a diversity of residents and land uses draws on the spirit of the site's past to create a stronger future.



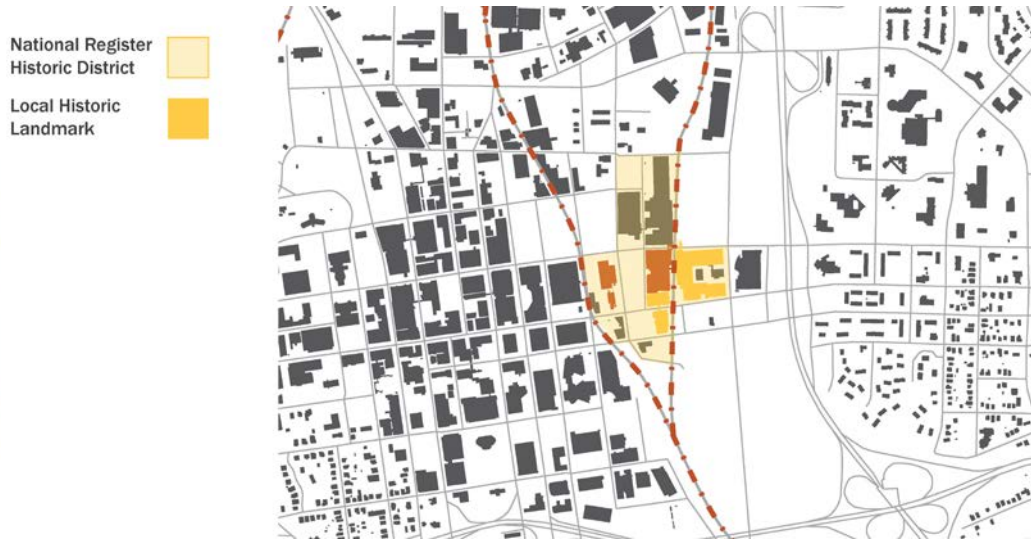


Figure 32: Part of the former R.J. Reynolds industrial district has been listed as a National Register Historic District. (Source: Author)

The Bailey Power Plant and Factory 60 are also particularly well suited to become nodes for a new, connective intervention. With its iconic smoke stacks, the power plant stands in the center of the district, a marker of the Reynolds legacy. Yet it also embodies the need for adaptation and alteration. R.J. Reynolds began the plant in 1926, then expanded first in the late 1940s and again in the 1960s. And smaller additions and connectors have been added throughout the building as needed. Its interior, which once housed seven story tall turbines and boilers, must also be adapted and altered for any future use. By contrast, Factory 60 was all built within a few years in the 1920s and bears a uniformity reflective of the monotony of its work. Its

expansive floors must be broken up in order to create a dynamic, multi-generational space.



Figure 33: Bailey Power Plant. Source: Author.



Figure 34: Factory 60. Source: Author.

## Chapter 4: Program: Multi-Generational Mentorship

This design draws on standard programming elements including housing, a school, and retail, but overlaps and integrates their circulation, points of entrance, and space requirements in order to create a multi-generational, mixed use development that fosters mentorship and learning through informal social networks.

In America, we are told that children live with their parents until they go to college, at which point they are on their own until they themselves settle and have children of their own. Grandparents are a stop at the holidays or occasionally on weekends, and are left to either enjoy their retirement or fade into the depths of an old folk's home. The reality, of course, is more complicated than that. Many in America do not "go away to college" for financial reasons or familial obligations. And for those that do, a tough job market has left as many as 85% of new graduates moving back home as they look for a job.<sup>14</sup> Financial shifts have also started to change expectations for those facing retirement. According to Pew Research, while 79 million baby boomers (age 47-65) are facing retirement, an estimated six in ten plan expect to postpone retirement either for financial reason or to stay active and

---

<sup>14</sup> Erica Ho, "Survey: 85% of New College Grads Move Back with Mom and Dad," *Time* (May 10, 2011) <http://newsfeed.time.com/2011/05/10/survey-85-of-new-college-grads-moving-back-in-with-mom-and-dad/>.

engaged in their field.<sup>15</sup> While the interest in working longer speaks to improvements in health later in life, working longer because of financial pressures highlights the challenge of living longer. With lifespans extending and retirement plans not always keeping up, it is not uncommon for aging parents to move in with their children for greater care.

Shifting demographics have changed the makeup of the American household. According to the Pew Research Center, “As of 2008, a record 49 million Americans, or 16.1% of the total U.S. population, lived in a family household that contained at least two adult generations or a grandparent and at least one other generation.” Almost half that number lived in multi-generational households in 1970.<sup>16</sup> Despite the changing demographics, popular culture and media coverage often mocks the “boomerang generation” – young adults living with their parents – for being needy, dependent, or less fully developed.<sup>17</sup> Popular movies like *Bridesmaids* (2011) and television programs like *Arrested Development* (2003-2013) depict the choice of adult children to live with their parents as a sign of defeat or character flaw. At the same time, media headlines include catchy questions like “Is 27 the New 18?” again suggesting that multi-generational households are the byproduct of dysfunction or a stagnation in personal growth.

---

<sup>15</sup> Pew Research, Social & Demographic Trends, "Most Middle-Aged Adults Are Rethinking Retirement Plans" (May 28, 2009), <http://www.pewsocialtrends.org/2009/05/28/most-middle-aged-adults-are-rethinking-retirement-plans/>.

<sup>16</sup> Pew Research Center, *The Return of the Multi-Generational Family Household* (March 18, 2010) <http://pewsocialtrends.org/files/2010/10/752-multi-generational-families.pdf>.

<sup>17</sup> "Is 27 the New 18? Living at Home with Mom and Dad," Fox Business (August 14, 2013) <http://www.foxbusiness.com/personal-finance/2013/08/14/is-27-new-18-living-at-home-with-mom-and-dad/>.

Through a combination of residential units and shared workspaces housed within the school, this project will reframe the time and space shared by members of different generations as a source for creativity, productivity, and learning rather than a byproduct of societal failure.

## Chapter 5: Design: Regeneration and Mentorship

### *Precedents*

As I began my design process, I looked to a range of precedents including the American Tobacco Historic District in Durham, North Carolina; the Seirenscho Art Museum in Inujima, Japan; and the Hedmarksmuseet in Hamar, Norway.

The American Tobacco Historic District in Durham, North Carolina is the result of the comprehensive redevelopment of a district much like the Winston-Salem Tobacco Historic District. Beginning in the 1870s, the American Tobacco Company grew the district into a hub of tobacco production, leading the industry with its Lucky Strike Brand and expanding factory space for production over time. In 1987, American Tobacco closed in Durham leaving behind its aging infrastructure. Almost twenty years and \$200 million later, the tobacco district has been restored and repurposed into a thriving office, entertainment, and residential complex. The district redevelopment has help me to reimagine the empty lots and buildings currently found in the former R.J. Reynolds district.<sup>18</sup>

The Seirenscho Art Museum in Inujima, Japan was designed by Hiroshi Sambuichi in 2009 around an early 20<sup>th</sup> century copper refinery. His design employs a strong contrast between the existing brick and new steel and

---

<sup>18</sup> "American Tobacco Historic District 10th Anniversary," American Tobacco Historic District, <http://www.americantobaccohistoricdistrict.com/about/24/10th-anniversary>.

glass, yet he weaves these two material languages seamlessly into the landscape. As such, his design, even just after completion, anticipates his observation that “Architecture, one of artificial materials, fades into natural scenery as time goes by, by being interwoven into the circulating system of nature and local landscape.”<sup>19</sup> His design responds to the environment both aesthetically and thermally, as he uses the one-hundred year old smoke stack to circulate warm and cool air.

Lastly, I studied the Hedmarksmuseet in Hamar, Norway. On the site of a 13<sup>th</sup> century fortress and a 19<sup>th</sup> century barn, the mid-twentieth century museum was designed by Sverre Fehn. This precedent shows not only a skillful insertion of new throughout old, but also the value of carefully chosen materials that age in harmony with the existing site. According to Fehn, “only by manifestation of the present, you can make the past speak. If you try to run after it, you will never reach it.” This sentiment is captured by the way in which his poured concrete ramps have stained with age.<sup>20</sup>

---

<sup>19</sup> Hiroshi Sambuichi, *TedX Seeds*, <http://en.tedxseeds.org/Speaker/hiroshi-sambuichi/>.

<sup>20</sup> “The Story of Building: Sverre Fehn’s Museums,” Josh Mings, [http://www.joshuamings.com/files/Mings\\_fellowship\\_lecture.pdf](http://www.joshuamings.com/files/Mings_fellowship_lecture.pdf).

## *Design*

After a close study of the site's history and its urban morphology, I propose a project based on the concept of urban regeneration in the form of reclamation, adaptation, and mentorship through a system of green infrastructure that weaves existing neighborhoods into new diverse, multigenerational communities, all housed within existing but altered architecture.

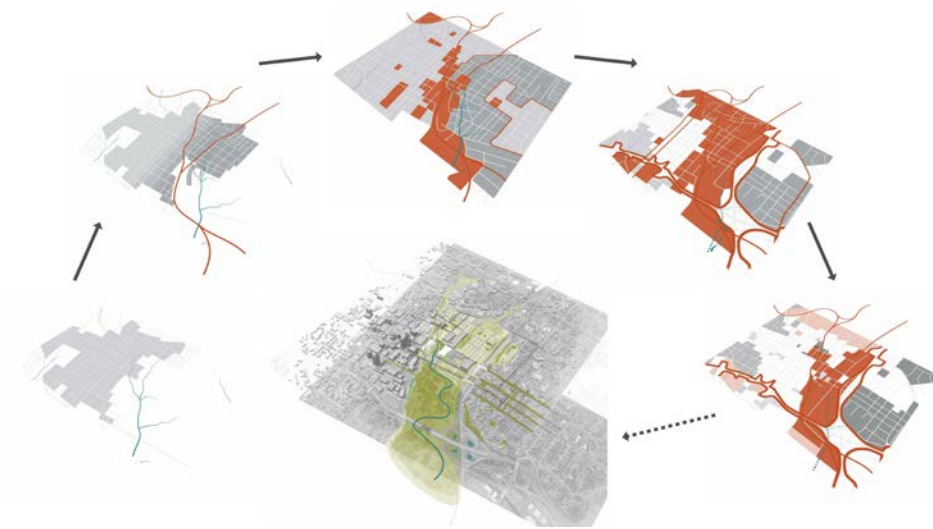


Figure 35: Regeneration of the R.J. Reynolds former industrial district.  
(Source: Author)

The former Reynolds industrial district in Winston-Salem has entered Shakespeare's "second childishness" and, in turn, is ready for regeneration. In that spirit, this design begins with the restoration of the once submerged creek bed. It is joined by a system of bio swales that capture and clean storm water runoff before it flows into the creek.





Figure 36: Bioswales collect and clean storm water runoff before it enters the creek. (Source: Author)

This water system then helps to irrigate a network of urban agriculture including garden plots and larger farms on vacant lots.

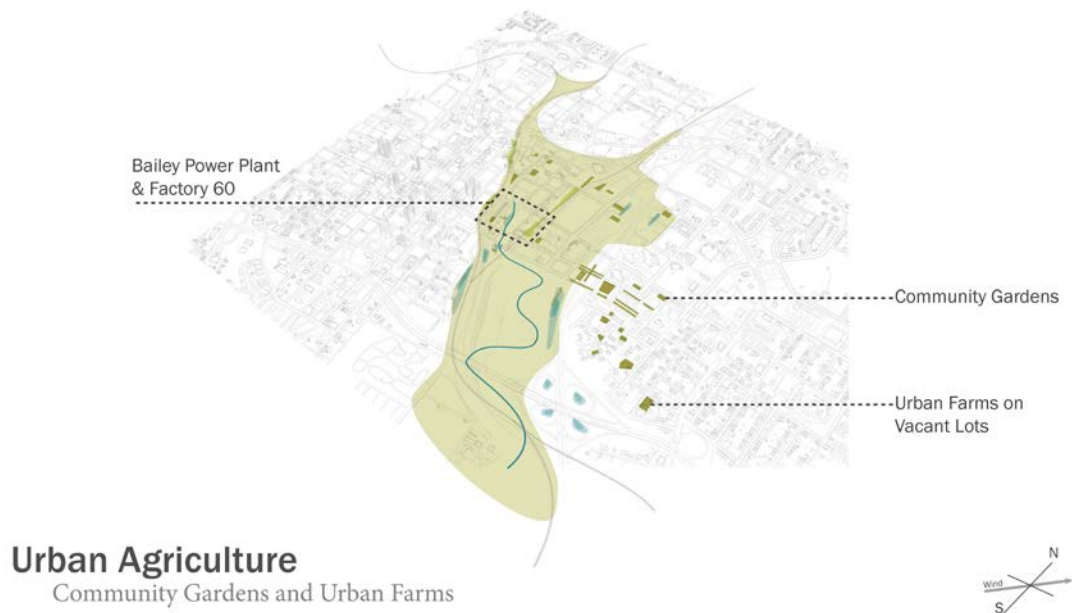
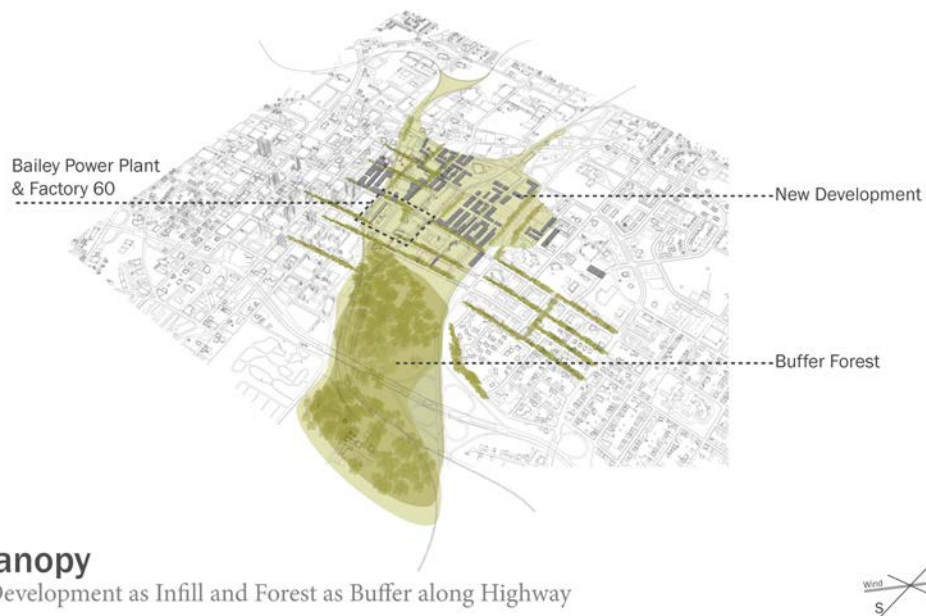


Figure 37: Community gardens and small urban farms form a network of urban agriculture. (Source: Author)

New development will be encouraged as connective infill, leaving open the former rail yard, which will be cultivated into a forest. Dense tree growth will serve as wildlife habitat, recreation space, and a visual and sound buffer between the district and the surrounding highways.



### Tree Canopy

New Development as Infill and Forest as Buffer along Highway

Figure 38: New development will be encourages as infill while a forest will act as a buffer between the highway junction and the district and downtown. (Source: Author).

Opportunities for recreation will dot the landscape with a mix of playing fields and bike and walking paths, which wind through sites of cultural and ecological heritage. These sites and trails provide opportunity for interpretation of the history no longer visible on the landscape.



**Recreation**  
Playing Fields and Trails

Figure 39: Playing fields and jogging and walking paths form a network of recreational green space. (Source: Author)



**Cultural & Ecological Heritage**  
Reclamation, Adaptation, and Mentorship

Figure 40: Cultural and ecological heritage sites will be interpreted to tell stories otherwise lost on the landscape. (Source: Author)

And finally, a sustainable transportation network will expand out from this green core through the reactivation of passenger rail service and the extension of city bike lanes and paths.

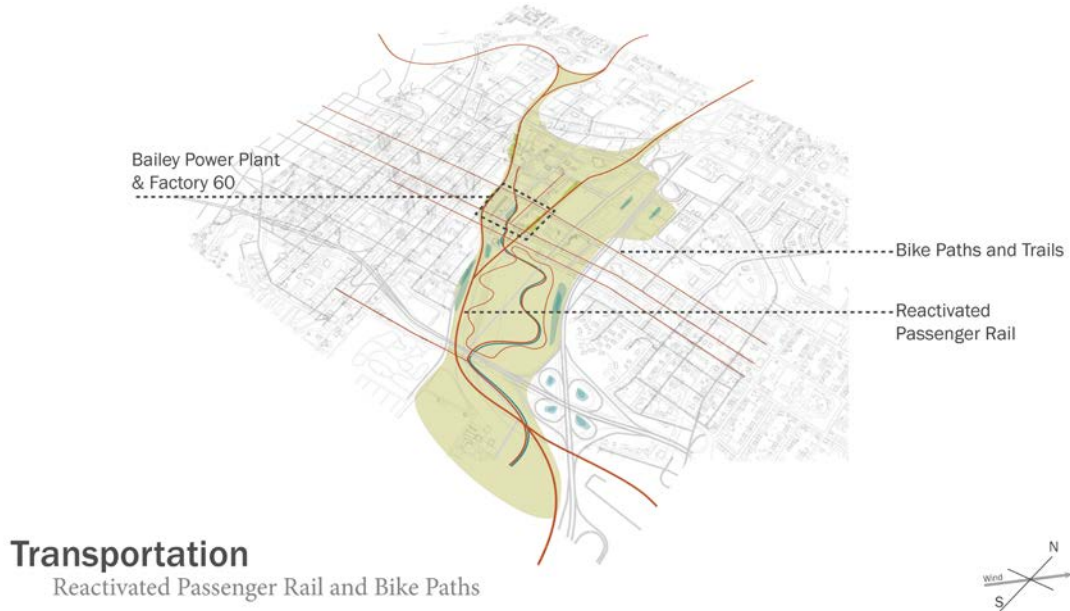
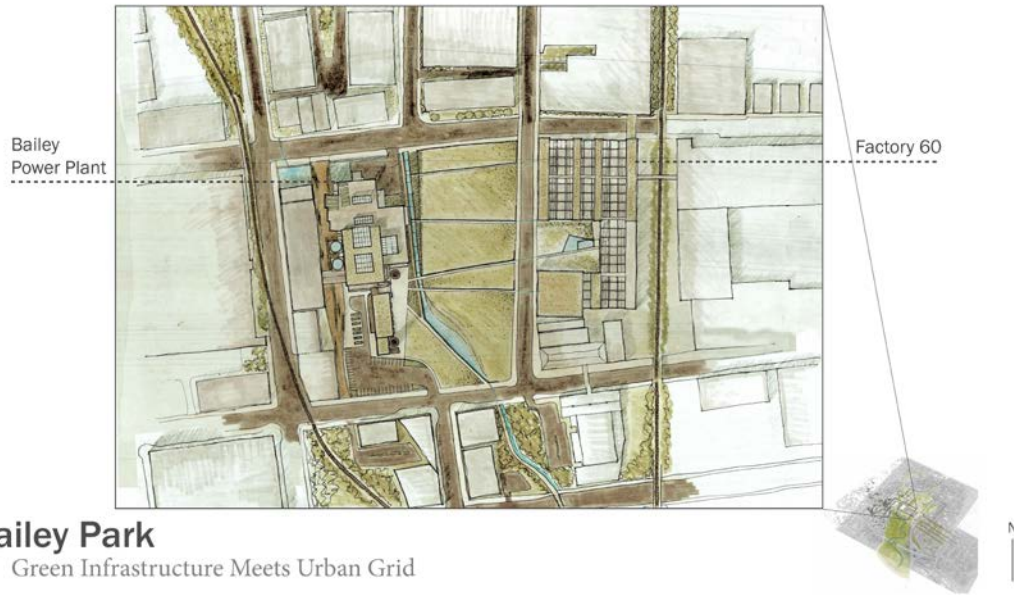


Figure 41: A new transportation network will extend out from the site including a reactivated passenger rail line and a network of bike and walking paths. (Source: Author)

At the core of this design is an urban park framed by Bailey Power Plant and Factory 60. Here the network of green infrastructure meets the urban grid. The park is cut north south by a walking path that follows the restored creek. As you walk south along the path, a hard urban edge transforms into open fields, cut through by a series of smaller walking paths and water channels. These channels direct storm water collected off the surrounding hardscape into the creek. At the entrance to the Bailey Power Plant, now a multigenerational community, the path opens out onto a public plaza before continuing with the creek south to the forest.



**Bailey Park**  
Green Infrastructure Meets Urban Grid

Figure 42: This urban park sits at the core of the district, framed by Bailey Power Plant (left) and Factory 60 (right). (Source: Author)



Figure 43: This section cuts through the park north-south along the restored creek bed and shows the east elevation of Bailey Power Plant. (Source: Author)

The urban park is framed by the Bailey Power Plant and Factory 60, both of which are now mixed use, multi-generational communities. Each building has been altered in ways reflective of their formal properties. Just as Bailey Power Plant has been altered over time to adapt to changing uses, its reuse will take the form of a series of insertions with pieces added to accommodate new uses along its main core. Factory 60, by contrast, is treated through a series of extractions, removing sections of floor that once supported cigarette machines so as to create better light and air for healthy living.

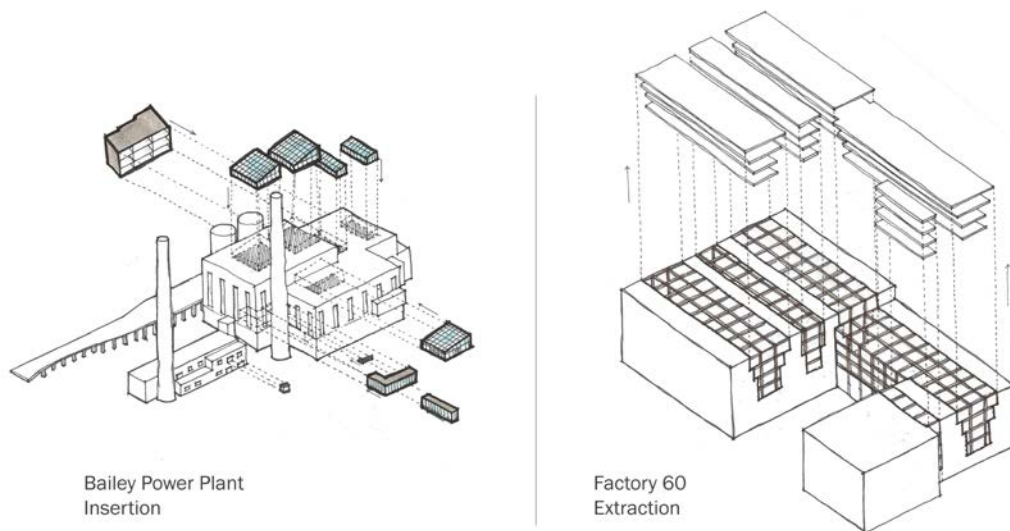


Figure 44: Bailey Power Plant is treated through a series of insertions while Factory 60 is treated through a process of extraction. (Source: Author)

Regarding program, both Bailey Power Plant and Factory 60 are home to residential units, a vocational school, and retail and office space.

Residential units come in a range of scales to accommodate a mix of family structures. There will be accessible units for a range of ages and needs, and

a mix of affordable and market rate units. The vocational school is based on the third floor of Bailey Power Plant and includes classrooms, a technology center, a woodshop and other spaces for crafts and trades, a gym, and dance studios. A grocery store and café located on the first floor of Bailey Power Plant are open to the public. While each use has its independent space, the program types are interwoven in each building around a core in which different user groups have the opportunity to meet and learn from one another.

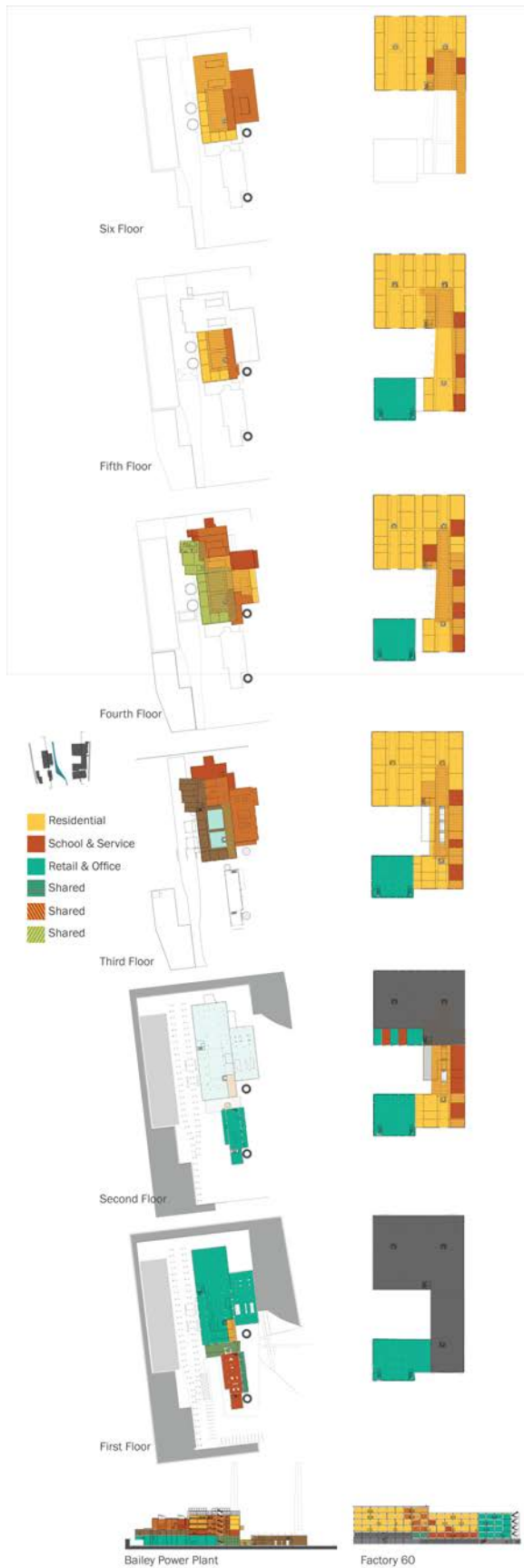


Figure 45: Program (Source: Author)



To illustrate this program structure and the strategy of insertion, I have focused on the entrance and circulation space of Bailey Power Plant. Here, students, residents, and customers all arrive at Bailey Power Plant's main entrance, marked by its iconic smokestack. Customers enter and move through to the grocery store, while students and residents enter through the main lobby, which takes them to the central stair that looks out over the main atrium. The atrium serves as something of an indoor street. A place of great activity, the atrium is a space where students and residents can run into each other as they go about their daily routines.

Most student would get out at the third floor, which hosts most of the schools classrooms and workspaces. The third floor can also be accessed from the outside by an entrance on the raised rail tracks that have been converted into a pedestrian walkway. The majority of residential units are on the fourth through six floors. But shared resources are also scattered throughout each floor, clustered around the main circulation core. Here, spaces like the woodshop, the technology center, and dance studios are accessed from the main stair, and are open to students and residents alike.

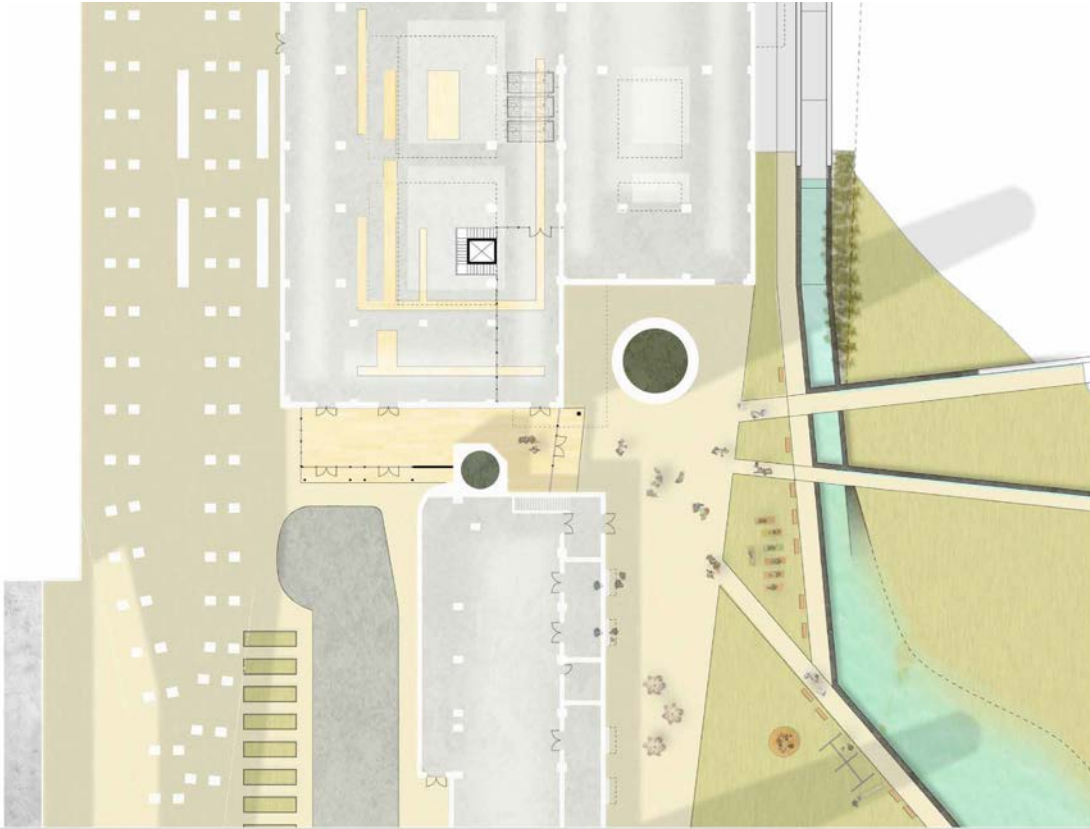


Figure 46: This ground floor plan shows the entrance to Baily Power Plant, marked by its iconic smoke stack. (Source: Author)

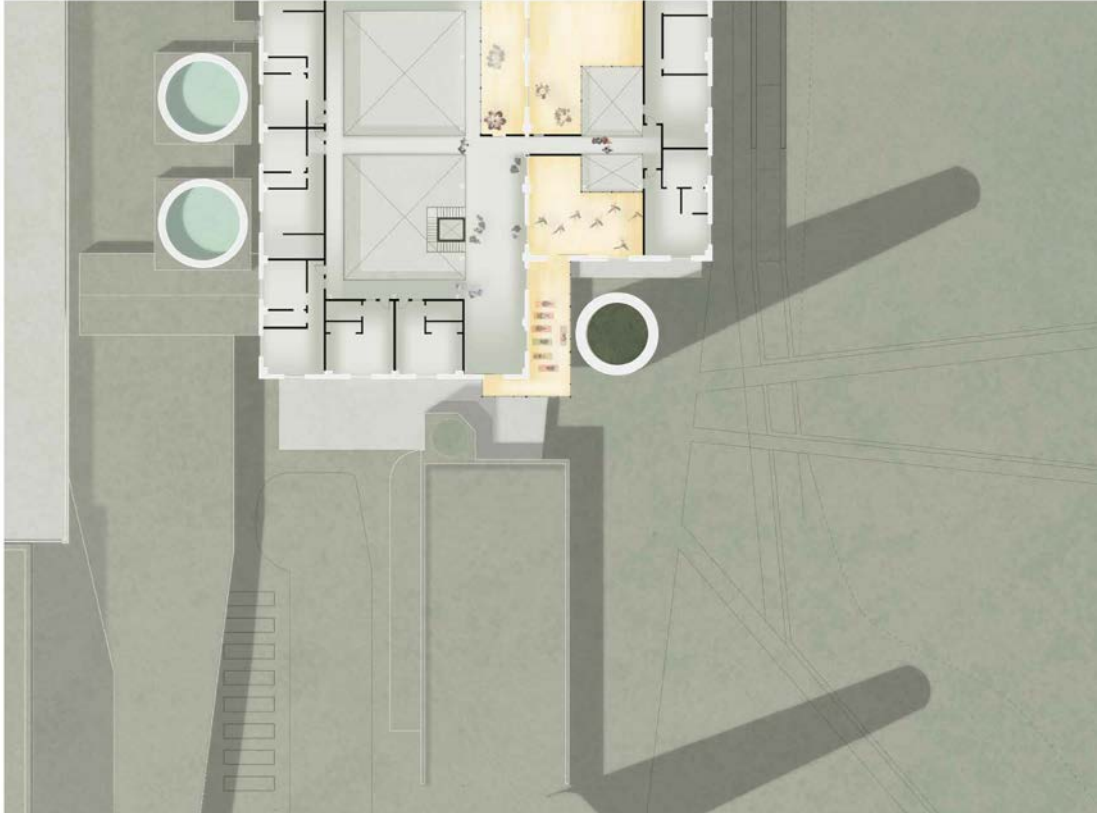


Figure 47: This fourth floor plan shows the main atrium, central stair, and shared spaces. (Source: Author)



Figure 48: This section cuts through the main atrium and central stair of the Bailey Power Plant. (Source: Author)

## Conclusion

This regenerative design takes the former R.J. Reynolds tobacco industrial district – a gash in the urban and social fabric of Winston-Salem, North Carolina – and transforms it into a multigenerational community that can serve as a physical and cultural bridge between historically divided neighborhoods and generations. In doing so, this project has explored the ways time can both take from and give back to a community and its sense of place, creating architecture more powerful than either the existing or the new could become on their own.

## Bibliography

### *Primary Sources:*

*Children of Men*. Director Alfonso Cuarón. Universal Pictures, Strike Entertainment, and Hit & Run Productions, 2006. Film.

“The Life and age of man, stages of man’s life from the cradle to the grave.” New York: James Baillie, c1848. Library of Congress, Accessed April 6, 2014, <http://www.loc.gov/pictures/item/2006686267/>

“The life & age of man – stages of mans life from the cradle to the grave – resist the Devil and he will flee from you.” Indianapolis: Wm. Burford Lith., 1883. Library of Congress, Accessed April 6, 2014, <http://www.loc.gov/pictures/item/96502207/>.

“The Life and age of woman, stages of woman's life from the cradle to the grave.” New York: James Baillie, c1848. Library of Congress, Accessed April 6, 2014, <http://www.loc.gov/pictures/item/2006686266/>

“The Life and age of woman, stages of woman's life from the infancy to the brink of the grave.” Barre, Mass.: A. Alden, 1835. Library of Congress, Accessed April 6, 2014, <http://www.loc.gov/pictures/item/2006686268/>

### *Theory & Adaptive Reuse:*

Becker, Ernest. *The Denial of Death*. New York: Free Press, 1973.

Bollack, Françoise Astorg. *Old Buildings, New Forms*. China: The Monacelli Press, 2013.

Boym, Svetlana. *The Future of Nostalgia*. New York: Basic Books, 2001.

Brand, Stewart. *How Buildings Learn*. New York: Penguin, 1994.

Clark, W. G.. “Replacement,” *Modulus 20*. Charlottesville, VA: University of Virginia, 1991.

Colquhoun, A. “Newness and Age Value in Alois Riegl,” *Modernity and the Classical Tradition: Architectural Essays, 1980-1987*. Cambridge, MD: MIT Press, 1989.

Lebow, Richard Ned and Wulf Kansteiner. *The Politics of Memory in Postwar Europe*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2006.

- Lowenthal, David. *The Past is a Foreign Country*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1985.
- Moneo, Rafael. "The Idea of Lasting. A Conversation with Rafael Moneo," *Perspecta*. Vol. 24, 1988, 146-157.
- Mostafavi, Mohsen and David Leatherbarrow. *On Weathering*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1993.
- Nabokov, Vladimir Vladimirovich. *Speak, Memory*. New York: Putnam, 1966.
- Riegl, Alois. *The Modern Cult of Monuments: Its Essence and Its Development*. Vienna: W. Braumuller, 1903.
- Shakespeare, William. *As You Like It*. Act 2, Scene 7. Accessed April 6, 2014. <http://shakespeare.mit.edu/asyoulikeit/full.html>.
- Site:*
- Craver, Richard. "RJR closing plant: Whitaker Park to make city's last cigarette in 2011," *Winston-Salem Journal*. May 29, 2010. Accessed April 6, 2014. [http://www.journalnow.com/business/article\\_e855bd18-e8ba-562a-8aed-7433ff5934f5.html](http://www.journalnow.com/business/article_e855bd18-e8ba-562a-8aed-7433ff5934f5.html).
- Craver, Richard. "Work proceeding on Bailey Power Plant renovations." *Winston-Salem Journal*. December 12, 2012. Accessed April 6, 14. [http://www.journalnow.com/business/article\\_e29b464f-d63a-5fe1-b7a7-966556b82130.html](http://www.journalnow.com/business/article_e29b464f-d63a-5fe1-b7a7-966556b82130.html)
- Cross Street Partners. "Bailey Power Plant: a New Kind of Power," leasing brochure. Accessed April 8, 2014. [http://crossstpartners.com/Bailey\\_Power\\_Plant\\_files/Bailey%20Power%20Plant%20Leasing%20Brochure.pdf](http://crossstpartners.com/Bailey_Power_Plant_files/Bailey%20Power%20Plant%20Leasing%20Brochure.pdf).
- Gates, Henry Louis, Jr., "Why Was Cotton 'King'?" *The Root*. February 4, 2013. Access April 6, 2014. [http://www.theroot.com/articles/history/2013/02/why\\_was\\_cotton\\_king.html](http://www.theroot.com/articles/history/2013/02/why_was_cotton_king.html).
- "History of Tobacco." *North Carolina's Dependence on Tobacco*. UNC-TV. Accessed April 5, 2014. <http://www.unctv.org/content/nctobacco/history>.

National Register of Historic Places, Winston-Salem Tobacco Historic District, Winston-Salem, Forsyth County, North Carolina, National Register # FY3151.

"The Tobacco Industry." *Digital Forsyth*. Accessed April 6, 2014. <http://www.digitalforsyth.org/photos/stories/the-tobacco-industry>.

Walbert, David. "Industrialization in North Carolina," *North Carolina in the New South*. Accessed April 5, 2014. <http://www.learnnc.org/lp/editions/nchist-newsouth/4745>.

*Program:*

Goebel, Matt. "Changing Demographics: The Consequences for Historic Preservation." Past Forward, National Preservation Conference. Savannah, GA. November 14, 2014.

Ho, Erica. "Survey: 85% of New College Grads Move Back with Mom and Dad," *Time*. May 10, 2011. <http://newsfeed.time.com/2011/05/10/survey-85-of-new-college-grads-moving-back-in-with-mom-and-dad/>.

OATS: Older Adult Technology Services. <http://www.oats.org/programs>.

Pew Research Center. *The Return of the Multi-Generational Family Household*. March 18, 2010. <http://pewsocialtrends.org/files/2010/10/752-multi-generational-families.pdf>.

Pew Research, Social & Demographic Trends. "Most Middle-Aged Adults Are Rethinking Retirement Plans." May 28, 2009. <http://www.pewsocialtrends.org/2009/05/28/most-middle-aged-adults-are-rethinking-retirement-plans/>.

Silverman, Lauren. "Learning New Skill Works Best to Keep Your Brain Sharp" *Morning Edition*. National Public Radio. May 5, 2014. <http://www.npr.org/blogs/health/2014/05/05/309006780/learning-a-new-skill-works-best-to-keep-your-brain-sharp>.

U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, Centers for Disease Control and Prevention. "Health, United States, 2011: With Special Features on Socioeconomic Status and Health." Hyattsville, MD. 2011. <http://www.cdc.gov/nchs/data/hus/hus11.pdf#fig32>.



*Technical References:*

Cramer, Johannes and Stefan Brietling. *Architecture in Existing Fabric*. Berlin, Germany: Birkhäuser Architecture, 2009.

Jester, Thomas C.. *Twentieth Century Building Materials: History and Conservation*. New York: McGraw-Hill Professional Publishing, 1995.

Weaver, Martin E. *Conserving Buildings: A Manual of Techniques and Materials*. New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1997.

## Appendix A

### **Place, Power, and Production: A History of Winston-Salem, its Downtown Tobacco District, and the R.J. Reynolds Power Station**

#### **Introduction**

A pair of truncated smokestacks stands at the heart of Winston-Salem, North Carolina's former downtown tobacco district. Bearing the words, "R J R Tob Co," the stacks at Bailey Power Plant, which generated electricity for R.J. Reynolds factories for over 70 years, remain the clearest reminder of the Reynolds Tobacco Company and its century of tobacco manufacturing and industrial growth. Through resourcefulness, industrialization, and the taxing work of low-paid, largely African American labor, R.J. Reynolds turned a small factory run by a dozen employees into the largest tobacco company in the world; and in doing so, turned a city of barely 400 into the biggest city in state.<sup>1</sup>

Today, Reynolds remains a leader in the tobacco business, but its presence in Winston-Salem has long since faded, leaving behind more than thirty-eight acres of downtown, industrial real estate.<sup>2</sup> What had once been a dense, bustling factory district stood, for years, a largely vacant landscape. Wake Forest University, along with a consortium of research and bio-tech companies, have begun a redevelopment of the former tobacco district, transforming it into a new research park: the Wake Forest Innovation Quarter.<sup>3</sup> The majority of this new

---

<sup>1</sup> *Census of Population and Housing, 1870*, vol. 1, <http://www.census.gov/prod/www/decennial.html>, accessed June 20, 2014; Langdon E. Oppermann, "Winston-Salem's African American Neighborhoods: 1870-1950," *Architectural and Planning Report* (Winston-Salem, NC: Forsyth County Joint Historic Properties Commission, 1994) 12.

<sup>2</sup> "R.J. Reynolds Tobacco Company announces sale of iconic Reynolds Building," R.J. Reynolds Tobacco Company, May 22, 2014, [http://files.shareholder.com/downloads/RAI/0x0x757026/40c43d4a-1339-4a8f-85f2-d48be8075147/2014-02\\_RJRT\\_announces\\_sale\\_of\\_iconic\\_Rey\\_Bldg.pdf](http://files.shareholder.com/downloads/RAI/0x0x757026/40c43d4a-1339-4a8f-85f2-d48be8075147/2014-02_RJRT_announces_sale_of_iconic_Rey_Bldg.pdf).

<sup>3</sup> Scientists from Winston-Salem State University and Wake Forest Baptist Medical Center led efforts to move research facilities to the area as early as the 1990s. "Innovation Quarter: A

redevelopment is slated for offices and laboratory space, but the Bailey Power Plant and its now empty neighboring block – the Bailey Site – have been set aside for entertainment, retail, and a public park, to create spaces that will serve both those who live and work in the revitalizing downtown area as well as residents across the city.

The reoccupation of the former R.J. Reynolds tobacco district presents the opportunity to look back at its social, economic, and physical history, with a particular focus on the Bailey Site and its place within the city. But a close study of the historical landscape, its businesses, its residents, and its relationship to city-wide development patterns offers alternative narratives to that of the rise and fall of a single corporation.<sup>4</sup> Here, families were raised, businesses were run, and urban migrants found jobs paying ten times what they could earn in the rural countryside. Unfortunately, none of the site’s homes and few of its storefronts remain today, leaving little physical reminder of the district’s eclectic history. Importantly, its past reflects the economic, social, and political developments that have shaped Winston-Salem, and an understanding of that past can reveal the range of ways in which citizens may still see the site today, and inform its best use going forward.

---

History,” Wake Forest Innovation Quarter,  
<http://www.wakeforestinnovationquarter.com/about/history/>.

<sup>4</sup> The district was designated a National Register Historic District in 2009. National Register of Historic Places, Winston-Salem Tobacco Historic District, Winston-Salem, Forsyth County, North Carolina, National Register #09000602, <http://www.hpo.ncdcr.gov/nr/FY3151.pdf>.

## **Tobacco is King: The Rise of Tobacco Manufacturing in 19<sup>th</sup>-Century Winston**

Winston-Salem began as two separate towns in North Carolina's piedmont region: Salem, founded in 1766 by Moravian settlers fleeing religious persecution in Europe; and Winston, just to its north, in 1851 as a commercial center.<sup>5</sup> Winston and Salem survived the Civil War with little direct destruction from battles or troop movement, but they both suffered shortages and severe economic decline. In the immediate post-war years, the two towns were home to just over 1,500 residents combined, and the export of dried fruits and berries made up its largest source of income.<sup>6</sup> In the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century, area farmers began to grow tobacco, a crop that had not been economically viable in the region since the colonial era when regional farmers grew and traded tobacco, while the scale of North Carolina's tobacco production was much smaller than in Virginia and Maryland, the introduction and spread of bright-leaf tobacco would change all that. In the 1850s, bright-leaf, a flue-cured variety that grew well in the region's poor soil, brought tobacco back to the North Carolina piedmont. However, its production and wider distribution did not take hold until some twenty years later when post-war economic recovery brought a renewed investment in manufacturing.

Hamilton Scales opened Winston's first tobacco factory in 1870, and he was followed two years later by Thomas J. Brown and his tobacco warehouse. Together, their operations drew local bright-leaf tobacco farmers into town every August and September to sell their harvest. By 1873, local businessmen had ensured the continued growth of their tobacco market by opening their own thirty-mile rail line connecting Winston and Salem to the Richmond and Danville Railway, the primary transit artery linking southern products to northern markets. This new line ran from Greensboro, North Carolina, to a new rail yard built between Winston and

---

<sup>5</sup> Frank V. Tursi, *Winston-Salem: A History* (Winston-Salem, NC: John F. Blair, 1994) 65, 105.

<sup>6</sup> Tursi, 114.

Salem, just two blocks south of the Bailey Site.<sup>7</sup> Because of this new rail connection, Richard Joshua (R.J.) Reynolds, the son of a tobacco plantation owner in southwest Virginia, chose Winston as the site for his first tobacco factory in 1875.<sup>8</sup> Reynolds was not alone, as Winston became home to fifteen new tobacco manufacturers, employing more than a thousand laborers, within just five years of the opening of the new rail line.<sup>9</sup> The city's growing tobacco industry demanded even greater market connectivity, and in 1887 another group of local business leaders formed the Roanoke and Southern Railroad; they opened a second line connecting Winston to tobacco markets in southwest Virginia in 1892.<sup>10</sup> By 1896, Winston's rail yard saw as many as 200 car transfers a day, providing shipping for Winston's forty-two tobacco factories as well as its textile manufacturers.<sup>11</sup>

In just twenty years, Winston went from 450 residents to over 8,000 residents and from a berry exporter to an industrial metropolis, complete with urban challenges and advancements. In 1886, the city funded the study and implementation of its first sewage system, and two years later it began collecting taxes to fund grade schools. It launched an electric streetcar and an electric street light system in 1890, and in that same year banned all hog raising, arguing that "the maintaining or keeping of hogs in the midst of a large population is ... detrimental to health." This ban also reflects the city's sudden shift from small town to urban center and its interest in distancing itself from its agrarian past.<sup>12</sup>

---

<sup>7</sup> Manly Wade Wellman and Larry Edward Tise, "Industry and Commerce, 1766-1896," *Winston-Salem in History*, Vol. 7 (Winston-Salem: Historic Winston-Salem, 1976) 19-20; *Map of Salem and Winston, North Carolina*, compiled from the original survey by E. A. Nogler, 1876.

<sup>8</sup> Michele Gillespie, *Katherine and R.J. Reynolds: Partners of Fortune in the Making of the New South* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2012) 44-45.

<sup>9</sup> Wellman and Tise, pg 22.

<sup>10</sup> Manly Wade Wellman, "Transportation and Communication," *Winston-Salem in History*, Vol 4. (Winston-Salem: Historic Winston-Salem, 1976) 20-21.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid*, 20-21; Wellman and Tise, "Industry and Commerce, 1766-1896," 29.

<sup>12</sup> "Town of Winston Directing Board: 1880-1889," *City of Winston-Salem Government Meeting Notes*, 2, 13, 14, <http://www.cityofws.org/portals/0/pdf/marketing-and-communications/history/winston/Winston%201880-1889.pdf>,

## Plug Tobacco Production: A Sticky Business

The growth of Winston's tobacco industry and, in turn, of the city itself was built on an expanding labor base. Tobacco manufacturers based their production on low-paid workers who could make more in the factories than in the fields; these firms also commonly employed women and children at significantly lower wages than men. In 1880, R.J. Reynolds had as many as 110 people working in his plants at peak season, including 45 women and 10 children.<sup>13</sup> While men in these plants earned around \$1.25 per day, roughly equal to the cost of one week's groceries for a single adult, women were paid 75 cents and children 50 cents per day on average.<sup>14</sup> Throughout the tobacco manufacturing process, factory workers spent long hours in hot, physically demanding jobs. And their wages were barely enough to cover city living expenses. However, factory wages far outdid farming income for sharecroppers, averaged only \$4 a month in good times.<sup>15</sup>

In the 19<sup>th</sup>-century, Winston primarily manufactured chewing tobacco, in the form of plugs or twists, which remained the dominant form of tobacco consumption in the United States up until World War I. According to tobacco historian Nannie Tilley, these plug and twist tobacco factories all followed a similar structure and process. Every year, regional farmers brought wagonloads of cured tobacco to Winston's auction houses where speculators and manufacturers, like R.J. Reynolds, inspected and purchased their leaf. Hogsheads of tobacco were transported to the factories where workers placed them on steam-powered elevators that carried them to the

---

accessed August 27, 2014; "Town of Winston Directing Board: 1890-1899," *City of Winston-Salem Government Meeting Notes*, 4, 8, 11, <http://www.cityofws.org/Portals/0/pdf/marketing-and-communications/history/Winston/Winston1890-1899.pdf>, accessed August 27 2014; Tursi, 160-161.

<sup>13</sup> Nannie M. Tilley, *R.J. Reynolds Tobacco Company* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1985) 37.

<sup>14</sup> Learn NC, "Worker's Pay and Cost of Living," <http://www.learnnc.org/lp/editions/nchist-newsouth/4716>; Gillespie, 88.

<sup>15</sup> Gillespie, 88.

factory's top floor. There, stemmers, who were mostly black women, removed the midrib, or the central vein, from each stemmed leaf. Other workers, generally black men, carried the stemmed leaves to a drying room where they were heated using a furnace. After drying, men moved the leaves to a conditioning room where they were dipped into huge kettles of hot candied sugar and licorice. Men carried the dipped leaves to the roof to dry in the sun, then to a second, furnace-heated room for further drying. Once dry, "Lumpers" applied flavoring, like rum, to the leaf then formed them into "lumps," the filling for the plug or twist. These men stood in pairs at tall workbenches, shaping, measuring, and trimming the leaves into a uniformed rectangular cake. There they also wrapped the lumps with unflavored leaf to finish the plug or twist, which were then further pressed and packaged for distribution.<sup>16</sup>

### **Tobacco Labor and Winston's Growing African American Community**

The promise of better-paid work drew thousands of African Americans to Winston's tobacco factories in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century, drastically changing the city's demographics. The population of Winston and Salem grew ten-fold between 1870 and 1900, and its African American population increased sixteen times in this same period. Less than thirty years after the opening of Winston's first tobacco factory, almost 5,500 African Americans made up 40% of the city's population (Table 1).<sup>17</sup> At first, many African American workers came and went with the tobacco crop, working in factories through the summer and fall, then returning home to the countryside after their jobs had finished for the season. As seasonal workers, they rented rooms or lived in crowded homes with family members. But over time, more and more families settled

---

<sup>16</sup> Nannie M. Tilley, *Bright-Tobacco Industry, 1860-1929* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1948) 491-492.

<sup>17</sup> Larry Edward Tise, "Government," *Winston-Salem in History*, Vol. 6 (Winston-Salem: Historic Winston-Salem, 1976) 36.

in town. As industrialization expanded the processing season, some worked in the factories year round while others found off-season jobs.<sup>18</sup> With limited incomes and transportation options, most of the city's new African American residents lived in close proximity to and downwind from the factories on the east side of town. In 1880, over 80 percent of Winston's tobacco workers, and 75 percent of its African American residents, lived in a twenty block area surrounding the tobacco factories on the east side of Main Street. At the same time, roughly 75 percent of the city's white residents lived within the neighboring twenty-eight square blocks, just west of Main Street and centered around the commercial district and city court house.<sup>19</sup>

---

<sup>18</sup> Robert Rodgers Korstad, *Civil Rights Unionism: Tobacco Workers and the Struggle for Democracy in the Mid-Twentieth Century South* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2003) 44.

<sup>19</sup> Michael Shirley, *From Congregation Town to Industrial City: Culture and Social Change in a Southern Community* (New York: NYU Press, 1994) 202.



Table 1: Population of Winston-Salem, North Carolina by Race, 1870-2014<sup>20</sup>

Year	Population			Percent of Population		Percent Increase between Census Years		
	Total	African American	White	African American	White	Total	African American	White
1870	<b>1,291</b>	327	964	25%	75%			
1880	<b>4,194</b>	1,678	2,516	40%	60%	<b>325%</b>	513%	261%
1890	<b>10,729</b>	4,292	6,437	40%	60%	<b>256%</b>	256%	256%
1900	<b>13,650</b>	5,460	8,190	40%	60%	<b>127%</b>	127%	127%
1910	<b>22,700</b>	9,080	13,620	40%	60%	<b>166%</b>	166%	166%
1920	<b>48,395</b>	19,358	29,037	40%	60%	<b>213%</b>	213%	213%
1930	<b>75,274</b>	33,000	42,274	44%	56%	<b>156%</b>	170%	146%
1940	<b>79,815</b>	36,000	43,815	45%	55%	<b>106%</b>	109%	104%
1950	<b>87,811</b>	36,732	51,079	42%	58%	<b>110%</b>	102%	117%
1960	<b>111,135</b>	41,199	69,936	37%	63%	<b>127%</b>	112%	137%
1970	<b>132,913</b>	45,533	87,380	34%	66%	<b>120%</b>	111%	125%
1980	<b>131,885</b>	43,258	88,627	33%	67%	<b>99%</b>	95%	101%
1990	<b>143,485</b>	56,328	87,157	39%	61%	<b>109%</b>	130%	98%
2000	<b>185,776</b>	68,924	116,852	37%	63%	<b>129%</b>	122%	134%
2010	<b>229,617</b>	79,598	150,019	35%	65%	<b>124%</b>	115%	128%
2014	<b>236,441</b>	82,045	154,396	35%	65%	<b>103%</b>	103%	103%

Although, for decades, the tobacco industry’s economic success relied on a labor structure akin to the very plantation system many of its workers left behind, its 20<sup>th</sup>-century

<sup>20</sup> 1870-1910 from Tise, “Government”; 1950-2014 from U.S. Census Bureau publications.

racial inequality was not a direct carry-over from the antebellum south. In the 1880s and 1890s, Winston was home to a politically vocal African American community along with a growing African American professional class, who tried to work with the city's white leadership to establish greater rights and opportunities for the city's black community. Unfortunately, their work met with mixed success. For example, in 1880, after public outcry following an incident in which city police poorly handled the arrest of two black women, black leaders petitioned the City's Board of Commissioners to appoint Israel L. Clements as the city's first black police officer. According to Board records, however, Clements was not appointed because the Board learned that the pay they planned to offer him was less than what he earned working in one of R.J. Reynolds' tobacco factories. This decision was either a convenient excuse or an illustration of the low value placed on the proposal. The next year Clements was elected to Winston's Board of Commissioners, becoming the first African American elected to public office in the city. Unfortunately, he died within a year of his election, before he could enact any policy that may have improved city race relations.<sup>21</sup> Ten years later, city voters elected three African American Republicans, all from Ward Three, to the Board of Commissioners. These men all defeated R.J. Reynolds himself, who had been nominated by the Democratic Party.

Control over the North Carolina General Assembly, which at the time was responsible for setting municipal election districts and procedures, was also in flux. After years of Democratic control, a joint Republican and Populist ticket won a majority in the General Assembly in 1894 and enacted significant electoral reforms, expanding political participation. As a result, 85 percent of eligible African Americans in North Carolina voted in the 1896 election. And in

---

<sup>21</sup> "Town of Winston Directing Board: 1880-1889," 2.

1898, Winston elected two African American tobacco workers to its Board of Aldermen.<sup>22</sup> Democrats with ties to the state's leading tobacco industrialists quickly launched a racially heated campaign to reclaim the statehouse.<sup>23</sup> In Winston, the local Democrats formed the "Winston-Salem White Man's Club," and *The Winston Journal* published a letter from "a Democrat" to "The Colored People," reminding them that those "white Democrats in whose factories you work...have become tired of your ingratitude and will resent" those who vote against them. It went on to threaten that "on the day of the election, we will keep a list of those who help us and those who vote against us and after the election we will reward those who aid us and turn away from those who try to injure us." In doing so, they openly acknowledged that Winston's political framework was one and the same as its labor structure.<sup>24</sup> Tobacco workers did attempt to organize in order to strengthen their political voice in the face of such threats. The Knights of Labor led early organizing efforts, establishing segregated worker assemblies in 1886 and 1887. Though the African American assembly held regular meetings to discuss working conditions, the racially divided structure weakened their leverage in the factories.<sup>25</sup>

Within Winston's expanding African American community, an educated professional class including doctors, lawyers, teachers, and ministers began to emerge, providing those services that white institutions and businesses denied black residents. At first, most of these professionals, including Simon Green Atkins, and their families first lived in homes along Depot Street, a few blocks north of the Bailey Site. Atkins, Winston's most prominent black leader at the time, had moved from Salisbury, North Carolina, in 1890 to become principal of the African

---

<sup>22</sup> Winston's Board of Commissioners changed their title to the Board of Alderman as of the April 8, 1891 meeting. Meeting records do not explain the switch, but historians have argued that it was made to distinguish Winston's government from the Board of Commissioners in Salem. "Town of Winston Directing Board: 1890-1899," 8.

<sup>23</sup> Korstad, 49-52.

<sup>24</sup> *The Winston Journal*, Nov. 1898 quoted in Korstad, 52.

<sup>25</sup> Korstad, 49-50.

American Depot School on the corner of 7<sup>th</sup> and Depot Streets. But his vision for Winston's African American community extended far beyond the school. In 1892, he opened the Slater Industrial Academy, a one-room school building offering higher education to around twenty-five black students. Slater was later chartered as The Winston-Salem Teachers College, granting teaching certificates to black instructors, then Winston-Salem State University, as it is known today. More than half the school's opening costs were provided by the Slater Fund, established by John Fox Slater of New York to assist in the education of emancipated slaves. R.J. Reynolds and his wife Kathryn donated the final twenty-five percent, the first of many donations they made to African American institutions.

In that same year, Atkins also established Winston's first black suburb. Early suburban neighborhoods offering clean air and tree-lined streets to wealthy, white residents were going up in the western half of Winston, and Atkins wanted to create this same environment for members of the black community. With the support of the City's white leadership, Atkins established Columbian Heights, a suburban neighborhood soon home to most of Winston's black professionals. Though the neighborhood would become the wealthiest black neighborhood in the city, even it was built on a flood plain and sandwiched between rail lines.<sup>26</sup>

For those who could not afford to move away from the city's industrial center, living conditions for Winston's growing workforce, black and white, were generally poor. Homes were crowded, often with families and boarders crammed into four small rooms, and the surrounding air smelled of tobacco and smoke from the nearby factories. The biggest challenge, however, was sanitation. Factories dumped waste into creeks running through residential areas, including one through the Bailey site. Residents and factory workers alike also used privies placed over

---

<sup>26</sup> Oppermann, 15, 25-32; M. Ruth Little, "The Other Side of the Tracks: The Middle-Class Neighborhoods That Jim Crow Built in Early-Twentieth-Century North Carolina," *Perspectives in Vernacular Architecture*, Vol. 7, Exploring Everyday Landscapes (1997), pp. 268-280, accessed October 20, 2014, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3514397>.

creek beds or over holes dug between homes and factories, contaminating water and spreading disease. Although residents had to contend with this life-threatening problem on a daily basis, it only came to the attention of city officials when they realized that the contaminated water was spreading to the city's main streets. In the late 19<sup>th</sup>-century, Winston's downtown streets were sprinkled to control dust, with water drawn from a small creek that ran through town, crossing Depot Street just north of 4<sup>th</sup> Street on the Bailey Site. Upon learning in 1880 that the water sprayed on downtown streets was polluted, the Mayor ordered street sprinklers to stop their use of the creek and requested that the City Commissioners inspect the creek and its surroundings. According to Commissioner meeting notes, on June 8, the Board "made a tour of inspection of the privies and other foul places on the East side of Town," where the majority of African American residents and tobacco workers lived. Commissioners visited five privy sites near the factories. According to the Board's Meeting Notes, at one site visited,

*The excrement in the hollow under and near the privies was standing in cess pools in a liquid state in such a foul condition and so offensive that this Secretary is not scholar enough to describe it. The next place visited was a number of privies placed directly over and along the side of the branch above where Depot Street crosses the branch and above where Smith gets water to sprinkle the streets; all of these privies were found to be in very bad condition.*

The board then gathered "under the oak trees east of the Baptist Church ... and ordered that Everitt Smith (the street sprinkler) be compelled to discontinue using the branch water after tomorrow."<sup>27</sup> No mention was made of those living along, and likely washing in and drinking from, the same creek.

Commissioner meeting minutes also make little mention of the health hazards faced by those working in tobacco factories. While workers suffered serious injury or even death on the

---

<sup>27</sup> "Town of Winston Directing Board: 1880-1889," 2.

job, factories were only cited for minor infractions, such as R.J. Reynolds who was instructed “to put his sidewalk in good condition” and “an iron railing ... around his stairway on the street...”

Under these ongoing hazardous living and working conditions, life expectancy was significantly lower for African American residents. In 1892, Dr. Robah Gray began recording births and deaths throughout the city. Between October 1891 and March 1892, he documented 42 white births and 14 “colored” births. In that same period, he recorded the death of 22 white residents and the death of a shocking 63 black residents. Dr. Gray reported similar proportions in 1894: out of almost 200 deaths reported, 134 were of African Americans. In short, black residents accounted for 40 percent of Winston’s population in the 1890s, but almost three quarters of its deaths.<sup>28</sup>

### **The Bailey Site, 1870-1899**

Many of the changes taking hold throughout the city in the late 19<sup>th</sup>-century were reflected at the Bailey Site. It was host to three tobacco manufacturers, served by two rail extensions, and home to several hundred residents, half of whom, if of working age, were employed in the tobacco factories. As tobacco firms expanded, factory and storage buildings were constructed on the Bailey Site’s western block. As more residents moved to Winston from rural parts of North and South Carolina, Georgia, and Virginia, more housing was also constructed.<sup>29</sup>

With the new rail yard opened just to the south, the Bailey Site was prime real estate for businessmen joining the city’s burgeoning tobacco industry. Of the twenty-three Winston tobacco manufacturers in operation in 1885, two were located on the Bailey Site while thirteen

---

<sup>28</sup> “Town of Winston Directing Board: 1880-1889,” 12.

<sup>29</sup> See Appendix A for maps showing changes to the Bailey Site over time.

more fell within a three block radius. Brothers Mumford & Phillip Bailey opened a four and a half story brick factory on Chestnut Street in 1882. With a fifteen-horse power engine and a steam boiler, they quickly became one of the larger manufactures in the city.<sup>30</sup> Next door, Hardin Harbor Reynolds operated a smaller, brick and wood framed factory, while his older brother, R.J., ran a factory two blocks south.<sup>31</sup>

Within a few years the Bailey Brothers expanded, taking over Hardin's factory and adding a second, three-and-a-half story storage structure on Depot Street. By 1890, the Baileys were joined by the Brown Brothers. Leaders in the local tobacco industry, the Brown Brothers had opened a tobacco warehouse on Main Street by 1885. They expanded operations to the lot south of the Bailey factory, likely chosen for its proximity to the rail yard, where they constructed a three story, brick tobacco storage house. Within five years, the Brown Brothers had expanded their storage building into a five-story cigarette factory, the newest form of tobacco production in Winston at the time.<sup>32</sup>

Surrounding these early tobacco factories were the homes of over 150 residents, ranging from wealthy, white tobacco manufacturers to ten-year-old factory workers. Census records from 1880 list city residents by street but not address, making it difficult to match census respondents with specific homes. But a study of residents living on or near 4<sup>th</sup> Street and Depot Street provides a glimpse into the social and economic life of those near the site. As was true for the greater tobacco district, in 1880 almost three quarters of the residents living on or near the Bailey Site were identified as black or mulatto. Half of residents aged sixteen and over worked in

---

<sup>30</sup> Tilley, *R.J. Reynolds Tobacco Company*, 305.

<sup>31</sup> *Winston and Salem, North Carolina* (Sanborn Map & Publishing Co., June 1885) Page 5, available through North Carolina Maps, <http://dc.lib.unc.edu/cdm/compoundobject/collection/ncmaps/id/3051/rec/1>, accessed June 3, 2014.

<sup>32</sup> *Winston and Salem, North Carolina* (Sanborn Perris Map Co., July 1890) Page 4, available through North Carolina Maps, <http://dc.lib.unc.edu/cdm/compoundobject/collection/ncmaps/id/3061/rec/2>, accessed June 10, 2014; Tilley, *R.J. Reynolds Tobacco Company*, 81.

tobacco factories, less than reported throughout the district, but 86 percent of those who did were African American. Over 25 percent of tobacco workers were women, and one-fifth were children, some as young as seven (Table 2).<sup>33</sup> African American women and children were generally hired for light manual labor like stemming and picking that did not require great strength but still demanded long hours in often overheated factory rooms.

Table 2: Percent of Bailey Site Residents by Race, Birth Location, Residential Status, and Tobacco Factory Labor Based on the U. S. Census, 1880 – 1940.<sup>34</sup>

Year	African American	Born in NC	Boarders	Tobacco Factory Labor			
				Proportion of Adult Residents	African American	Women	Children (15 and under)
1880	74%	97%	26%	49%	86%	27%	20%
1900	88%	80%	21%	63%	96%	60%	10%
1910	89%	68%	13%	52%	97%	58%	18%
1920	100%	69%	48%	62%	97%	27%	1%
1930	100%	31%	64%	59%	100%	51%	0%
1940	100%	42%	83%	36%	100%	0%	0%

Reflective of the influx of new labor to the district, boarders accounted for more than a quarter of the population. Some, like African American tobacco workers Edward Draper, Ligon Massie, and Albert Baker, rented from individuals who made their living operating boarding houses. Others, like brothers Nelson and Green Scales (aged 17 and 13), rented from fellow tobacco factory workers like fifty-year-old Jeremy Williamson. Williamson supplemented his meager factory wages by opening his already nine-person family home up to three additional boarders.<sup>35</sup>

<sup>33</sup> 1880 U. S. Census, Winston, Forsyth County, North Carolina. Enumeration District 85, Page 23. Three children between the ages of seven and nine are listed as “Works in Tobo Factory,” then crossed out.

<sup>34</sup> Based on U.S. Federal Census records accessed through Ancestry.com.

<sup>35</sup> 1880 U. S. Census, Winston, Forsyth County, North Carolina. Enumeration District 85, Page 26.



Renting rooms to boarders was in no way limited to African American residents or factory workers. Peter Dalton, a tobacco manufacturer and a charter member of the Knights Templar, an organization akin to the Free Masons, rented space in his home to boarders. According to a 1919 “who’s who” history of North Carolina, Peter and wife Nancy were both born and raised on Virginia plantations. The book’s authors were particularly impressed by Nancy’s background, reporting that she was "a lineal descendant through her father of Pocahontas, Governors, Major General Alexander Spottswood, and John West and also a descendant from William the Conqueror, Robert Bruce and other historical characters."<sup>36</sup> Peter and Nancy lived on Chestnut Street – just three houses down from the Williamson family. They shared their home with their four children, a housekeeper and a nurse (both black), and seven white boarders, five of whom worked in tobacco factories.<sup>37</sup> That children of pre-war plantation owners were, by 1880, living a stone’s throw from tobacco factories and housing boarders in their home reflects both the post-war shift of power and money from plantations to factories and the destabilized southern economy.

Although Bailey Site residents lived in close proximity to one another, they occupied a range of housing types, the location and quality of which varied in correspondence to the site topography. The two Bailey Site blocks sloped downhill from north to south and from west to east and were traversed by a southeast-flowing branch of Wachovia Creek, now called Salem Creek, which crossed Depot Street between 4<sup>th</sup> and 5<sup>th</sup> Streets. It was this creek that City Commissioners inspected for privy contamination in 1880. Two-story homes with front porches

---

<sup>36</sup> *History of North Carolina: Biography, Vol. IV by Special Staff of Writers* (New York: Lewis Publishing Company, 1919) 332, <http://books.google.com/books?id=k0Q4AQAAMAAJ&lpg=PA332&ots=z5XY7rXP3v&dq=%22peter%20w.%20dalton%22%20tobacco&pg=PA332#v=onepage&q=%22peter%20w.%20dalton%22%20tobacco&f=false>, accessed September 24, 2014.

<sup>37</sup> 1880 U. S. Census, Winston, Forsyth County, North Carolina. Enumeration District 85, Page 26.

and greenhouses were constructed at the highest point on the site, furthest from the creek. Freestanding L-shaped homes were built just down the hill. And a mix of subdivided single story homes and larger tenement buildings were erected near the lowest point on the site, closest to the creek.

Even within these smaller homes and tenements, living conditions varied. Some residents, like 28-year-old Sallie Russelle who moved from Virginia to Winston where she found work as a tobacco picker, could afford to live on their own. Others, like the Scales family, fit ten family members into their small unit. Factories also claimed the best real estate, leaving clusters of worker housing to squeeze between the factory walls and the polluted creek bed. While the City Commission made no mention of living conditions along the creek during their 1880 inspection, the Commissioners did hear complaints from residents living along other creeks. They complained of foul smells and numerous deaths from typhoid fever as a result of water contamination. It is likely that these those living along the creek on the Bailey Site also faced horrid odor, disease, and even death.<sup>38</sup>

This mix of both economic status and building type among neighbors living on and around the Bailey site in the 1880s and 1890s reflects a period of greater fluidity in the city, echoing the political and social freedoms that were briefly opened to Winston's African American community. Just as the city quickly embraced segregation by the late 1890s, so too did the area around the Bailey site. By 1900, 88 percent of residents were African American, up from 74 percent 20 years earlier. Roughly 60 percent of adult residents worked in tobacco factories, and all but four were African American. Of those tobacco workers, 60 percent were women and 10 percent were children. In some cases, entire households worked in the nearby

---

<sup>38</sup> "Town of Salem: 1900-1913," *City of Winston-Salem Government Meeting Notes*, 6, <https://www.cityofws.org/portals/0/pdf/marketing-and-communications/history/Salem%201900-1913.pdf>, accessed September 19, 2014.

factories. Liley Allen, a 39 year-old widow, lived with her nine children in the back half of a single story, attached, wood-framed house at 410 Vine Street. She was a “washer and ironer” while four of her nine children, all those over age ten, worked as tobacco stemmers. Within ten years, Liley and her five children who were too young to labor in 1900, had also become tobacco stemmers. None of the family members could read or write.<sup>39</sup>

While tobacco manufacturing jobs offered greater income than the rural alternative, they offered little opportunity for advancement and education. Mattie Tinsley lived with her five children in a single story, L-shaped home just across the street from the Bailey Brother’s factory in 1900. All could read and write, yet Mattie was employed as a tobacco picker, while four of her five children, including her ten year-old daughter Frannie, worked as stemmers.<sup>40</sup> In some cases, tobacco work cut short children’s education. Hannah and her daughter Henrietta Scales were originally from Virginia but by 1900 were living in Winston just north of the Bailey Factory with Henrietta’s seven daughters and one son. Henrietta and her three oldest children all worked in the factories as stemmers. Although Henrietta could read and write, none of her children, ages two to nineteen, were literate, suggesting that their financial situation did not afford them the opportunity to attend school.<sup>41</sup>

Of those living on the Bailey Site by 1900, only one white family, the Lloyds, owned their own home. Harper L. Lloyd worked as a grocer, with wife Delphine and their four daughters lived in a two story house up the hill from the creek at 316 5<sup>th</sup> Street on the corner with Vine. He likely ran the grocery store just down the street from their home.<sup>42</sup> Most white families

---

<sup>39</sup> 1900 U. S. Census, Winston, Forsyth County, North Carolina. Enumeration District 39, Page 6A.

<sup>40</sup> Ibid, Page 6B.

<sup>41</sup> Ibid, Page 2B.

<sup>42</sup> Ibid, Page 6B, 7A.

who had lived on the Bailey Site before 1900 had by this point moved west. By 1900, Peter Dalton and his family had moved two streets away to a larger, two-story house on Main Street.<sup>43</sup>

**R.J. Reynolds is King:  
Consolidation, Prosperity, and White Supremacy in Winston-Salem, 1900-1929**

As Winston moved through the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, shifting socio-economic trends solidified into a centralized, stratified, and segregated social order with R.J. Reynolds at its core. In 1913, Winston and Salem officially merged under one city government. By this point, R.J. Reynolds had already taken over much of the local tobacco market and was poised to launch an enormous national campaign. At the turn of the century, Winston had been home to fifty tobacco manufactures, almost all of which were clustered within a few blocks of the city's expanding rail yard. At the time, R.J. Reynolds was just another factory owner, but his affiliation with James Buchanan Duke, called "Buck" for short, and his American Tobacco Trust would quickly change all that.<sup>44</sup>

Buck was a tobacco manufacturer in Durham, North Carolina, eighty miles east of Winston. In the 1880s, he was one of the first to use a cigarette-making machine in his production line, and quickly became one of the largest cigarette producers in the country. Building on this early success, Buck began to buy out the competition. By 1889, he controlled 91 percent of the country's cigarette production. For years, R.J. resisted Buck's attempts to buy his company. But faced with financial trouble, he eventually caved, selling a controlling share of company stock to Buck's Tobacco Trust in 1899. Under their agreement, Reynolds was allowed to keep its branding, and R.J. was put in charge of the Tobacco Trust's chewing tobacco

---

<sup>43</sup> 1900 U. S. Census, Winston, Forsyth County, North Carolina. Enumeration District 38, Page 2A; *Insurance Maps of Winston and Salem, Forsyth Co., North Carolina* (Sanborn-Perris Map Co., May 1900) Page 5.

<sup>44</sup> James Howell Smith, "Industry and Commerce 1896-1975," *Winston-Salem in History* Vol. 8 (Winston-Salem: Historic Winston-Salem, 1976) 13; Tilley, *R.J. Reynolds Tobacco Company*, 100-119.

business. Under its auspices, R J. did his best to buy out his competition, including companies in Virginia and Kentucky and many of his Winston neighbors.<sup>45</sup> As he did, Reynolds expanded its footprint downtown. In addition to the factories purchased, Reynolds also constructed eleven new factory buildings in downtown Winston between 1900 and 1910.<sup>46</sup>

According to the Reynolds-American Tobacco agreement, Reynolds' production was to be strictly limited to chewing tobacco, which, although still popular, was gradually being replaced by smoking tobacco and cigarettes. Not wanting to miss out on a growing market base, however, Reynolds disregarded the agreement and launched Prince Albert, a new brand of smoking tobacco, in 1907. Named after the popular Prince of Wales, this line was not just a new product for Reynolds, but also a new marketing strategy. Unlike chewing tobacco brands, with southern names like Tar Heel, Thistle Dew, and Uncle Ned (based on a minstrel song) Prince Albert had an international flare, giving this southern product a global cache.<sup>47</sup> Despite a law suit brought by the Tobacco Trust for violating their agreement, Prince Albert was a huge success: its annual production rose from 250,000 pounds in 1907 to 14 million pounds in 1911.<sup>48</sup>

By 1907, the American Tobacco Trust was the third largest corporation in the country, behind only Standard Oil and U. S. Steel. In that same year, the Tobacco Trust was indicted for violating the Sherman Antitrust Act. The indictment did little to slow the Trust, but in 1911, the Supreme Court ordered its dissolution – a moment that Reynolds described to its salesmen as “News of Freedom.”<sup>49</sup> Four companies, including R.J. Reynolds, emerged from the negotiations following the *United States v. American Tobacco Co.* decision, a result criticized for making

---

<sup>45</sup> Smith, “Industry and Commerce 1896-1975,” 13-16; Tilley, *R.J. Reynolds Tobacco Company*, 100-119.

<sup>46</sup> Tilley, *R.J. Reynolds Tobacco Company*, 152.

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.*, 542-545.

<sup>48</sup> Smith, “Industry and Commerce 1896-1975,” 16.

<sup>49</sup> American, Liggett and Meyers, P. Lorillard, and Reynolds were named the four successor companies to the American Tobacco Trust, Tilley,

little real change in the tobacco market dynamic. Out of the four companies, R.J. Reynolds gained control over the smallest portion of the tobacco market: commanding a quarter of chewing tobacco production and a tenth of smoking tobacco. But after the success of Prince Albert, and with its other brand names intact, Reynolds was poised for growth, with Winston as its headquarters.<sup>50</sup>

While Prince Albert revealed a shift in Reynolds marketing, its next major line marked a complete overhaul in company strategy. Not wanting to miss out on the growing cigarette market, Reynolds launched Camel Cigarettes in 1913, under the ad slogan, “The Camels are Coming.” In preparation for their new product, Reynolds invested in five new Standard Cigarette Machines and hired mechanics experienced in cigarette production to run them. It also carefully tested tobacco blends, opting for a Turkish-domestic mix that capitalized on an existing public association between cigarettes and Turkish tobacco and presented an advertising opportunity to link the new product to the Orient, an alluring unknown. While Reynolds billed its cigarettes as exotic, it priced them for the masses: at ten cents a pack, they sold for two-thirds the price of its competition. Within months, Camels had been “accepted as a standard brand wherever it has been offered to the public,” according to the trade journal *Tobacco*.<sup>51</sup> Within four years, Camels made up 40 percent of the national cigarette market, and Reynolds was contracted by the United States government to supply them to the troops in World War I.

R.J. Reynolds passed away in July 1918, leaving company leadership to his brother William and his philanthropic efforts to his widow Katharine.<sup>52</sup> Despite the loss of its founder, Reynolds Tobacco remained a national leader in the industry and the principal corporate force in Winston-Salem. By 1922, Reynolds Tobacco was the most profitable tobacco company in the

---

<sup>50</sup> Tilley, *R.J. Reynolds Tobacco Company*, 191.

<sup>51</sup> *Ibid*, 205-215, quote on 213.

<sup>52</sup> *Ibid*, 576.

country. It directly employed almost a quarter of the city's population, paid a fourth of the city's property taxes, and accounted for 40 percent of state corporate income taxes.<sup>53</sup> The success of Reynolds Tobacco in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century turned small town Winston into a bustling city, complete with the extremes of tremendous wealth and widespread poverty found throughout U.S. industrial centers of the day. Between 1900 and 1920 Winston-Salem's population more than tripled, jumping from 13,650 to 48,000 residents in just twenty years, making it the biggest city in North Carolina and the largest metropolis between Atlanta and Washington, DC.<sup>54</sup> In this time, the city became home to both grand estates furnished with European antiques and to crowded tenements racked with disease.

Although Reynolds Tobacco avoided the kind of direct paternalism seen at local textile mills, which housed workers in neighborhoods outside the city and shuttled them to and from their factories on private buses, Winston-Salem could only be described as a company town. R.J. and his successors generally avoided political office, but the company's local authority was unquestionable. As a local lawyer wrote at the time, Reynolds "turned the town from a thriving little city of small shops and moderate incomes into a city with one company so great, so rich, so powerful that the city itself became relatively insignificant."<sup>55</sup>

Reynolds also exerted great physical control over the city, including its institutions, its housing, and its skyline. In addition to the 100 acres of factory land Reynolds Tobacco amassed downtown, R.J. and Katharine funded public institutions throughout the city.<sup>56</sup> After the success of the Slater Industrial Academy, the couple worked with Simon Atkins to establish the Slater Hospital. Opened in 1902, the hospital served black patients for ten years, until it ran out of

---

<sup>53</sup> Ibid, 255; Korstad, 47, 65, 321.

<sup>54</sup> Opperman, 12.

<sup>55</sup> Quoted in Korstad, 48.

<sup>56</sup> Ibid, 46.

funds to support its services.<sup>57</sup> Katharine worked with both the black and white YWCA in town, supporting new facilities for education, training, and sports. She also spearheaded the development of Reynolda, the Reynolds family estate built a few miles north of town in 1912. Centered on their large bungalow manor, Reynolda was home to a model farm, which raised 60 head of cattle, 121 sheep, and 52 hogs; and a village complete with a Presbyterian church, two schools – one for white students and the other for the children of the estate’s black farmhands – and segregated housing.<sup>58</sup> The Reynolds children hosted lavish parties at the house, attracting wealthy visitors from Baltimore and New York. Today, Reynolda is open to the public as an American art museum. In memory of her husband, Katherine also funded the establishment of R.J. Reynolds high school, an all-white public school offering high quality education, in 1919. In that same year, the Reynolds Tobacco Company built Reynoldstown, an 85-acre neighborhood intended to reduce the housing shortage brought on by the city’s growing population and to help factory workers become home owners. Although one third of Winston’s tobacco workers were African American, only one of Reynoldstown’s six primary streets housed “colored employees.”<sup>59</sup>

Reflective of Reynolds Tobacco’s place on the national corporate stage and its local dominance, the company built the city’s first skyscraper in 1929: a twenty-two story office building constructed on the site of the city’s former town hall. New York architects Shreve and Lamb designed the new headquarters, rumored to be a test run for their 1931 design of the Empire State Building. At its completion, the Reynolds office stood as the tallest building south of Baltimore. Located in the heart of Winston-Salem’s downtown, it offered a 360 degree view

---

<sup>57</sup> Ibid, 84.

<sup>58</sup> Gillespie, 222-245.

<sup>59</sup> National Register of Historic Places, Reynoldstown Historic District, Winston-Salem, Forsyth County, North Carolina, National Register #08000111, Section 8, Page 58, <http://www.hpo.ncdcr.gov/nr/FY2353.pdf>; Gillespie, 211.



of both the tobacco district to the east, and the city's commercial and government district to the west, a clear reminder of "one company so great, so rich, so powerful that the city itself became relatively insignificant."<sup>60</sup>

### **Seeking Opportunity, Finding Segregation: The Jim Crow Factory Structure**

While Winston-Salem's booming economy brought the country's rich to the grounds of Reynolda, it also brought the countryside's poorest to the factory floors. In the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, five million African Americans left the rural South for the industrialized North, Midwest, and West in a movement later termed the Great Migration. Of those, 1.5 million moved between 1900 and 1920, fleeing harsh economic conditions and the oppression and violence of Jim Crow.<sup>61</sup> While Winston was fraught with staunch segregation and racial injustice, Reynolds tapped into the desire to flee rural poverty, recruiting heavily from rural black communities and offering economic opportunity like that seen in the north and west, but at a location closer to home.<sup>62</sup> Women, in particular, were likely to choose a southern city like Winston-Salem over a further flung locale. There, single African American women could find jobs in the tobacco plants or as domestic servants while still remaining relatively close to family in the countryside.<sup>63</sup> Together, these new workers and their families added more than 15,000 members to Winston-Salem's African American community between 1910 and 1920 alone.

Even as tobacco processing continued to industrialize, Reynolds factories demanded more and more labor. Instead of replacing jobs, early new machines like stemmers, steamers, and

---

<sup>60</sup> Smith, "Industry and Commerce 1896-1975," 22; Richard Craver, "Historic Reynolds Building has New Owner," *Winston-Salem Journal*, June 27, 2014. [http://www.journalnow.com/news/local/historic-reynolds-building-has-new-owner/article\\_2efe0ce6-fe2e-11e3-a9f7-0017a43b2370.html](http://www.journalnow.com/news/local/historic-reynolds-building-has-new-owner/article_2efe0ce6-fe2e-11e3-a9f7-0017a43b2370.html);

<sup>61</sup> Korstad, 68.

<sup>62</sup> Gillespie 210.

<sup>63</sup> Korstad, 70-71.

cigarette rollers all increased the speed of production and specialized the related manual tasks. With the introduction of Camels in 1913, Reynolds reorganized its production and, in turn, its workers into two divisions: leaf preparation, which included reordering, stemming, and drying tobacco leaves; and manufacturing, which included rolling, packaging, and boxing. Within these two divisions, workers were systematically divided by race and gender and in relation to both tasks performed and products made. Black women were almost exclusively hired for manual, prefabrication work such as picking and sorting, dirty jobs that required workers to keep pace with the factory machines. Black men were also employed primarily as manual labor, but in both the prefabrication and the manufacturing divisions, moving tobacco between processing stages and working in casing, drying and cutting rooms. Casing and drying, in which the leaves were conditioned and compressed, involved particularly hot, physical labor. Before compressing machines were integrated into factory production in the 1930s, workers were required to stomp the tobacco with their feet in order to achieve maximum compression. Lonnie Smith, a Reynolds employee in a casing and drying room, recalled, “It was so hot, sometimes you couldn’t catch your breath. When I’d come down from there and walk to the restroom, you could trail me from the water coming out of my shoes.” At the other end of manufacturing, white men were generally employed as mechanics and craftsmen, jobs that required training largely denied to African American workers, or as floor supervisors. White women were then hired for cigarette packaging and inspection. While chewing tobacco, the most old-fashioned of Reynolds tobacco products requiring the least technical labor, was manufactured by black workers, cigarette machines were operated almost exclusively by white men. If black men and women stayed in the factories, they were often kept in the same position for years and even decades, while management was drawn up through the white labor force.<sup>64</sup>

---

<sup>64</sup> Ibid, 95-97; See 106-107 for a description of pre-WWII factory conditions; Lonnie Smith quoted on page 107.

In the face of these challenging working conditions, tobacco workers tried to organize, but faced great opposition. This was an era in which corporate freedom trumped worker protection and in which segregation permeated unioning efforts, weakening their bargaining power. Throughout the country, the early 20<sup>th</sup> century was a period in which economic liberties and contract rights outweighed government regulation of working conditions. Following the 1905 Supreme Court decision in *Lochner v. New York*, which ruled that the state did not have the right to define working hours, companies hired, fired, scheduled and paid their workers independent of government regulation.<sup>65</sup> For Reynolds this translated to job insecurity, long hours, and the lowest wages for tobacco workers in the state as of 1916.<sup>66</sup> In the absence of government regulations, unions became the primary means of labor advocacy. But just as labor was segregated at Reynolds, so too were its early unions. Under intense local criticism, the Tobacco Workers International Labor Union (TWIU) organized a black and a white local for Reynolds factory workers, negotiating wage increases and a maximum workweek. But within two years the TWIU had dropped in popularity, the result of both red-scare rumors and pressure from factory leaders. In 1921, the TWIU did not renew their contract. Shortly thereafter, Reynolds fired over 14 percent of its workers, reduced wages and extended workweek hours for cigarette production.<sup>67</sup>

---

<sup>65</sup> Alex McBride, "Lochner v. New York," *Supreme Court History: Capitalism and Conflict* (PBS: 2007), [http://www.pbs.org/wnet/supremecourt/capitalism/landmark\\_lochner.html](http://www.pbs.org/wnet/supremecourt/capitalism/landmark_lochner.html), accessed September 4, 2014.

<sup>66</sup> Gillespie, 265.

<sup>67</sup> Korstad, 100-101.

## Segregation as a Matter of Policy

Winston-Salem's growing population demanded more and more housing, and area developers could barely keep up. According to local records, construction began on a new house in the city every week for twenty-two years in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>68</sup> And as the city expanded out to new suburbs, it did so along an increasingly segregated path. While a mix of real estate fear mongering and city policy segregated old neighborhoods that had once been integrated, new developments with restrictive covenants were segregated from the start. In 1912, residential segregation was made official city policy when Winston passed an ordinance categorizing residential blocks by race and forbidding individuals from living "where the majority of residents on such street are occupied by those with whom said person is forbidden to intermarry."<sup>69</sup> Black homeowner William Darnell challenged the city ordinance in court. In 1914, the state Supreme Court heard his case and invalidated Winston's segregation ordinances and others like it throughout North Carolina.

Despite the court ruling, housing segregation remained as strong as ever, bolstered by economic discrimination and support by local officials. A 1920 city planning map entitled, "Several Phases of a City Plan, Map of Winston-Salem, NC" identifies the "Negro Section," as distinct from the "Residence Section – First Class" and "Residence Section – General," suggesting that the city not only allowed but prescribed segregation by zone.<sup>70</sup> The map shows the largest "Negro Section" beginning at the tobacco district and stretching north and east to form East Winston, a section of town that remains home almost exclusively to African American

---

<sup>68</sup> Ibid, 10.

<sup>69</sup> Policy quoted in Oppermann, 15.

<sup>70</sup> Harry L. Shaner, "Several Phases of a City Plan, Map of Winston-Salem, NC," 1920, on display at the St. Philips African Moravian Church at 911 South Church Street in Winston-Salem.

residents.<sup>71</sup> Public officials also openly promoted segregated neighborhoods as a policy they thought would improve race relations within the city. In 1922, the Mayor introduced a resolution to define black and white districts, arguing that “it would be a great step toward the prevention of racial trouble in the city.”<sup>72</sup> In the preceding years, Winston-Salem had seen “racial trouble” escalate to violence. On November 17, 1918, a white mob around 2,000 strong gathered outside the town hall, which housed the city jail, threatening to lynch a black man wrongly accused of raping a white woman. When the mob stormed the hall, local authorities fought them off with fire hoses. Angry members of the mob then turned on black neighborhoods, killing an unknown number of residents and looting black-owned shops along Depot Street.<sup>73</sup> Such moments of violence spoke to the level of fear held by members of the white community for Winston-Salem’s growing black population, spurring violence that fed off of the very segregationist policies intended to prevent it.

Working class African Americans found their own ways of coping with the segregated world of Winston-Salem and Reynolds Tobacco. Black-owned businesses popped up along 4<sup>th</sup> Street, including restaurants, bars, and movie theaters for black residents denied services elsewhere. By 1938, with black commercial districts along 4<sup>th</sup> and Depot Streets, down near Columbian Heights, and up along East 14<sup>th</sup> Street, Winston-Salem was home to over 200 African American-owned businesses.<sup>74</sup> When blacks faced growing distances between their work and their homes as neighborhoods grew further and further from downtown, a handful of entrepreneurial young men began running “jitneys,” shared taxis that allowed groups of workers

---

<sup>71</sup> “Racial Dot Map,” Weldon Cooper Center for Public Service, Rector and Visitors of the University of Virginia (Dustin A. Cable, creator, 2013) <http://demographics.coopercenter.org/DotMap/>, accessed September 22, 2014.

<sup>72</sup> Meeting notes quoted in “City of Winston-Salem: 1920-1929,” *City of Winston-Salem Government Meeting Notes*, 14, 8, <http://www.cityofws.org/portals/0/pdf/marketing-and-communications/History/Winston-Salem/Winston-Salem%201920-1929.pdf>, accessed September 4, 2014.

<sup>73</sup> Opperman, 13.

<sup>74</sup> Korstad, 80.

to pool their funds and ride together to and from work. By 1926, at least 22 black men operated 35 jitneys. Competition between the drivers grew hazardous, so in that same year, thirteen drivers joined their resources to charter the Safe Bus Company Inc., which developed fixed rates, routes, and schedules throughout East Winston. In its early years, Safe Bus operated out of offices just a block west of the Bailey Site, serving areas north and northeast of the “colored business district.” Safe Bus operated routes over 20 percent of the city until 1972 when it ran into financial difficulty and was purchased by the city.<sup>75</sup>

### **The Bailey Site, 1900-1929**

During this period, changes to the Bailey Site continued to reflect those taking hold throughout the city. Bailey Brothers Tobacco was one of the few local manufacturers able to stay in business during American Tobacco’s takeover. But by 1924, they could not compete in the national market and lost their company to Reynolds Tobacco in a bankruptcy sale. As part of the purchase, Reynolds acquired the Bailey Brothers’ Erie City Steam Boiler, Westinghouse generator, and power transmission equipment, which may have been a factor in the company’s decision to build its new main power station on the site of the old factory in 1925.<sup>76</sup> J. E. Sitrine and Company, industrial architects from South Carolina, designed the original Bailey Power Plant as a two-story reinforced concrete and steel complex with double height spaces for the boilers and turbine. At the time, Duke Power Company, also a legacy of James B. Duke, supplied electricity to most of Winston-Salem. Duke generated electricity through a hydroelectric plant on the Yadkin River, which it purchased in 1914 from the local power

---

<sup>75</sup> "Safe Bus History," Winston-Salem Transit Authority, <http://www.wstransit.com/safe-bus-history/>, accessed September 4, 2014.

<sup>76</sup> Tilley, *R.J. Reynolds Tobacco Company*, 305-306.

company, Fries Manufacturing.<sup>77</sup> For decades Reynolds had generated its own steam power, avoiding early limitations of the Fries hydroelectric plant. But the new Bailey Power Plant allowed Reynolds to supply power and steam to its surrounding facilities from one centralized location.

As Reynolds Tobacco claimed more and more downtown real estate for its operations, many residents living in the tobacco district were displaced. On the Bailey Site alone, Building 1 at Plant No. 8 replaced 30 homes at the corner of Chestnut and Fifth Street in 1900 (See Appendix A, 1895 and 1900).<sup>78</sup> Despite industrial expansion, the block between Depot and Vine Streets remained almost exclusively African American housing, likely due to the creek, which was run underground at higher points on the site for Reynolds factory construction.<sup>79</sup>

As was true in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century, at least half of adult residents living on the Bailey Site were employed in tobacco factories. But while white residents once accounted for a quarter of those living in and around the Site, the residents in 1920 were exclusively African American, the remaining residential block zoned as part of a “Negro Section” in the city’s 1920 planning map.<sup>80</sup> An increasing number of residents were also emigrants from nearby states. While almost all nearby residents in 1880 were born in North Carolina, around 30 percent in 1910 and 1920 came from outside the state, a trend seen throughout the city as well.<sup>81</sup> By 1930, the proportion of out-of-state born residents near the Bailey Site leapt to 70 percent. While that increase may, in part, reflect the changing nature of housing options within the city, with more successful residents moving out to newer homes leaving poorer housing downtown to those newly arrived,

---

<sup>77</sup> Tursi, 161.

<sup>78</sup> Tilley, *R.J. Reynolds Tobacco Company*, 152; Sanborn, 1900; *Insurance Maps of Winston and Salem, Forsyth Co., North Carolina* (Sanborn-Perris Map Co., April 1907) Page 19.

<sup>79</sup> U.S. Census Bureau records for Winston, 1880 and 1900; Opperman, 11.

<sup>80</sup> Shaner.

<sup>81</sup> U.S. Census Bureau records for Winston, 1880 and 1910 and Winston-Salem, 1920; Gillespie, 210.

it also reflects a fraction of the millions of African Americans who fled the rural south as part of the Great Migration. Some new Bailey Site residents had moved as families, such as 32-year-old Lizzie Border, who came with her three children, Beatrice, Ethel, and Jim Lee, from Muscogee County, Georgia. By 1910, the family was living in Winston where they all found work as stemmers and lived in a one story, L-shaped home across from the Bailey Brothers factory.<sup>82</sup> Others arrived on their own, such as most of the fifteen boarders living with the Young family at the corner of Depot and 4<sup>th</sup> Street in 1920. Of those boarders, all but two were under age 30, nine had moved from South Carolina, and all were tobacco laborers.<sup>83</sup>

With crowded homes, a polluted stream, and new residents moving in from the country, the neighborhood developed a seedy reputation in the eyes of white outsiders. Winston native and author Loretto Carroll Bailey reflected on the white public perception of this area of town when she was growing up, writing,

*As a child I was warned to keep away from 'Cocaine Alley' and the streets of North Winston that front the railroad tracks. Here lived black monsters who stole, begged, smuggled dope, and lived by choice in poverty and filth. What matter if here lived also the servants who washed our clothes and prepared our food.*<sup>84</sup>

According to local historian Fam Brownlee, “Cocaine Alley” referred to an area of town around Vine Street including the eastern edge of the Bailey Site. Bailey’s description was part of a larger piece funded by the Federal Writers Project arguing for housing reform. In turn, she likely chose her words to reflect the extremes of bigotry in Winston-Salem at the time. But they do speak to an era in which fear and hypocrisy governed racial policy and public opinion.

---

<sup>82</sup> 1910 Census, NC, Forsyth, Winston Ward 2, District 0071, Sheet 4A; 1900 Census, Georgia, Muscogee, Columbus Ward 01, District 0084, 17A; Sanborn, 1907.

<sup>83</sup> 1920 Census, NC, Forsyth, Winston Ward 2, District 0089, Sheet 26B.

<sup>84</sup> Loretto Carroll Bailey, *We Have No Slums* (Federal Writers' Project, 1939), 3826, <http://dc.lib.unc.edu/cgi-bin/showfile.exe?CISOROOT=/03709&CISOPTR=668&filename=711.pdf>, accessed September 5, 2014.



## **Crash-Proof Camels: Winston-Salem during the Great Depression**

Economic hardship and the New Deal policies that tried to soften its blow defined much of America in the 1930s. And while this held true for Winston-Salem to a large extent, particularly for its working class residents who faced unemployment and growing poverty, the city as a whole was not as hard hit as many parts of the country thanks to its tobacco industry. While national unemployment reached 25 percent during the 1930s, cigarette consumption only dropped 13 percent.<sup>85</sup> For Reynolds Tobacco, and in turn the city, this meant a slowing of, but not a halt to, economic and population growth. From 1930 to 1940, net earnings at Reynolds Tobacco dropped from \$34 million to \$25 million, and Winston-Salem's population growth slowed to just six percent.<sup>86</sup> But while nation-wide unemployment levels spiked, Reynolds Tobacco actually increased production during the Depression years and avoided large-scale layoffs by cutting the workweek to distribute hours amongst employees. In the early years of the Great Depression, Reynolds actually doubled their marketing budget to keep Camel Cigarettes in the minds of America. Tobacco consumption and Reynolds company policy both lessened the economic blow for many Winston-Salem residents and maintained stability for the company.<sup>87</sup>

But the success of Winston-Salem's flagship industry in the face of economic downturn did little to improve the living conditions for many of those they employed, and the city did little to change that. At the start of the Great Depression, Mayor George W. Coan negotiated an agreement for Works Progress Administration (WPA) funding to support housing improvements in the city's worst neighborhoods. Although this type of "slum clearance" project would later prove politically and socially complicated, Coan's efforts represented a major effort by the city

---

<sup>85</sup> Smith, "Industry and Commerce 1896-1975," 34.

<sup>86</sup> U.S. Census Bureau; Tilley, "Table 10-2, Advertising Expenditures of the Reynolds Company as a Percent of Net Earnings, 1925-1940," 332.

<sup>87</sup> Smith, "Industry and Commerce 1896-1975," 42.

to address the serious housing issues faced by those living in poverty. In Winston-Salem, as in many cities throughout the country, black residents could not borrow money for home ownership and were often left to rent property, some in incredibly poor condition. In the worst areas, houses were in disrepair, lacked adequate plumbing, and were, in turn, surrounded by filth. Loretta Carroll Bailey described one such street in her 1935 investigation into the city's worst housing conditions. She observed that "there is no plumbing in any of the houses on this street. Six families use two outdoor commodes, and a single spigot supplies all of them with water. The houses are double, two rooms to each family, and rent for \$1.50 a week."<sup>88</sup> With landlords either unable or unwilling to spend money to improve their property, conditions worsened. Not only were residents left to live in squalor, but they were often blamed by outside observers as the source of their own poor housing conditions.

In 1935, W. T. Wilson was elected Mayor and opened the WPA project up for public debate at a Board of Aldermen meeting. Although the city inspector presented evidence of fourteen specific sites throughout the city in need of improvement, the project met with strong public opposition. In particular, city residents objected to the proposed federal ownership of the plan's new housing. At the next public meeting, the Board of Aldermen voted to end the project. The Board officially explained the decision by arguing that WPA improvement funds were unnecessary because Winston-Salem simply did not have slums to improve.<sup>89</sup> Ironically, under the same Mayor, Winston-Salem's Board had no problem accepting WPA funds three years later for the construction of Reynolds Park, a complex including a public pool, tennis courts, and a

---

<sup>88</sup> Bailey, 3827.

<sup>89</sup> "City of Winston-Salem: 1930-1939," *City of Winston-Salem Government Meeting Notes*, 11, <http://www.cityofws.org/portals/0/pdf/marketing-and-communications/History/Winston-Salem%201930-1939.pdf>, accessed September 5, 2014; Bailey, 3825-3836.

golf course.<sup>90</sup> Not surprisingly, at a time when black citizens were largely disenfranchised, this city government decision revealed the degree to which officials prioritized the desires of affluent residents over the basic housing and sanitation needs of its poorest citizens.

### **The War Overseas and the Battle at Home: World War II and Unionization**

The onset of World War II and the tremendous scale of U.S. military involvement meant dramatic changes for Winston-Salem, as it did around the country. Over 13,000 residents of Winston-Salem and its surrounding county joined the armed forces.<sup>91</sup> Winston-Salem's textile and tobacco industries both increased production in order to supply the army with uniforms and cigarettes, including billions of Camel Cigarettes, over the war's duration.<sup>92</sup> Several new, large industries also opened factories and offices in Winston-Salem. Companies like the National Carbon Co., which produced submarine batteries; R.Y. Sharpe, which ran a trucking business; and Western Electric, which opened a radio plant, diversified the city's economy. After the war, many of these new businesses remained in operation, shifting their production from wartime supplies to consumer goods.<sup>93</sup>

World War II's demand for greater production and more men overseas meant a shift in labor for Reynolds Tobacco. Although the company managed to fill about 250 positions with German prisoners of war in 1945, Reynolds Tobacco primarily relied on black and female workers to keep up production.<sup>94</sup> While they kept tobacco production running, most African American female tobacco workers made less than half the annual income identified by the

---

<sup>90</sup> "City of Winston-Salem: 1930-1939,"19.

<sup>91</sup> Tursi, 229.

<sup>92</sup> Smith, "Industry and Commerce 1896-1975," 44.

<sup>93</sup> Ibid, 45-47.

<sup>94</sup> Tursi, 229.

federal government as a “minimum subsistence of living.” By 1938, tobacco workers found some protection in the Fair Labor Standards Act, which established a minimum wage and forty-hour workweek.<sup>95</sup> In the summer of 1943, a group of African American women who worked in the stemming room of Reynolds Tobacco Plant No. 65 launched an unplanned strike after an incident with their foreman. Although the workers were not officially unionized, early strike leaders like Theodosia Simpson and Velma Hopkins, had been trained by organizers from the Tobacco Workers Organizing Committee (TWOC).<sup>96</sup> After widespread strikes, months of negotiations, and the intervention of the National Labor Relations Board, a federal agency created under the National Industrial Recovery Act of 1933, the TWOC of the Congress of Industrial Organization (CIO) was elected the bargaining agent for the tobacco workers.

Unlike past unions at Reynolds Tobacco that were supported by the American Federation of Labor (AFL), who at the time promoted segregated organizing, the new Local 22 sought representation for all tobacco workers.<sup>97</sup> In practice, however, the union base was primarily African American. At its peak, Local 22 had about 5,000 black members and 50 white members. In 1946 and 1947, the union organized a strike that lasted thirty-eight days and called for better wages in the face of a rising cost of living. The strike drew heated controversy from city leaders. *The Winston-Salem Journal* ran an exposé on strike organizers, revealing union affiliations with the Communist Party, thereby tapping into early Cold War fears. The union eventually negotiated a wage increase, but settled for an amount well below their stated goal.

Between the Red Scare rumors and a National Labor Relations Board ruling that excluded seasonal workers from voting in union elections, Local 22 failed to renew their position

---

<sup>95</sup> Korstad, 16.

<sup>96</sup> Ibid, 13-40.

<sup>97</sup> Korstad, 167-204.

as bargaining agent.<sup>98</sup> Historian Robert Korstad argues that this collapse of civil rights unionism in Winston-Salem, and in other industrial centers reliant on black labor, forced a fundamental shift in strategy for the Civil Rights Movement as a whole. From then on, black organizing took place not within factories but within churches and new, independent organizations advocated not for worker representation but for equal access to education and public places.<sup>99</sup> This certainly held true in Winston-Salem, where later civil rights efforts turned away from the tobacco plants and towards high schools and lunch counters. In 1957, Gwendolyn Bailey became the first black student to attend a white school in Winston-Salem. On Bailey's first day at R.J. Reynolds High School, former Local 22 leader Velma Hopkins accompanied her to ensure her safe arrival, reflecting the continued activism of local civil right leaders despite the change in strategy. In 1960, students from Winston-Salem Teacher's College followed the lead of the North Carolina Agricultural and Technical State University students in Greensboro who famously staged a sit-in at the white-only Woolworth's lunch counter. After Johnson C. Smith, a black student at Winston-Salem Teacher's College, was denied service at the Kress Store in downtown Winston-Salem, he refused to leave. Twenty students, black and white, from both Winston-Salem Teacher's College and Wake Forest University, later joined him in protest.

Although Local 22 was short lived, its efforts beyond the factory also had a lasting legacy. While still active at Reynolds Tobacco, the union fought political discrimination and helped increase black voter registration for municipal elections. In the 1940s, roughly 33,000 of the 36,000 African American residents of Winston-Salem were grouped into a single election ward, which was represented by white City Aldermen for decades thanks to Jim Crow policies

---

<sup>98</sup> Tursi, 246; Korstad provides an in-depth analysis of union organizing at Reynolds Tobacco, its leadership and its strategies.

<sup>99</sup> See introduction to Korstad.

and voter discrimination.<sup>100</sup> In 1944, only 300 African American residents, less than one percent, were registered to vote. Thanks to the efforts of Local 22, more than 3,000 black residents were registered within the next two years. In 1947, their ward elected Kenneth Williams to the Board of Alderman. As Alderman, Williams became the first black representative in Winston-Salem in the 20<sup>th</sup> century, and the first black man to win an election against a white opponent in the south since the 1890s.<sup>101</sup>

This surge in African American voter strength drew the attention of local white politicians. Marshall Kurfees, a white politician who had stumbled through failed election campaigns in the 1930s, found success in the 1949 mayoral race by garnering the support of black labor. But once in office, with Local 22 discredited in the public eye, Kurfees took on a pro-African American but anti-union stance, thereby consolidating the black and the wealthy industrialist vote under the Democratic ticket. Despite its incongruity, this approach kept Kurfees in office until 1961. Ironically, it was Kurfees' election promises to black voters – better housing and improved transportation – that ushered in urban renewal projects, which, as in many cities around the country, demolished African American neighborhoods and cut off East Winston from its downtown business center.<sup>102</sup>

### **The Highway Age**

Post-war Winston-Salem saw a return to its pre-war expansion, but this time in the form of suburban sprawl. Growing industry, returning veterans, and a recovering economy drove a second wave of population growth. Between 1940 and 1970, the city grew from just under

---

<sup>100</sup> Opperman, 14.

<sup>101</sup> Larry Edward Tise, "Government," *Winston-Salem in History* Vol. 6 (Winston-Salem: Historic Winston-Salem, 1976) 13; Opperman, 14; Korstad, 310.

<sup>102</sup> Tise, "Government," 50.

80,000 residents to over 130,000. These news residents demanded more housing, better roads and a modern city-center. In 1948, the city and Forsyth County formed the City-County Planning Board to oversee City expansion and redevelopment. On the advice of the Planning Board, the City annexed parts of the surrounding area in 1948 and again in 1963 in order to accommodate its growing suburbs, which were developing further and further from town and using whimsical names like Sherwood Forest and Peace Haven.<sup>103</sup>

As held true around the country, these new developments were exclusively car-based, which strained the roadways connecting the county and city. In 1954, two years before the passage of Eisenhower's National Highway and Defense Act and its initial \$25 billion in funding, the city began construction of its first major highway. Following in the footsteps of New York City urban planner Robert Moses, these highway projects had a dual purpose: to connect suburbs into the city center and to remove areas of poor-quality housing. The city began with the construction of a four-lane, east-west highway, now Interstate-40, that ran just south of downtown along the line that once divided Winston and Salem and directly through a handful of African American neighborhoods. Next, it started work on a north-south highway, U.S. 52, which cut right through the core of East Winston and created a physical barrier between black neighborhoods and Winston-Salem's downtown.

The junction of I-40 and U.S. 52 alone displaced the over six hundred African American families who once made up the Belews Street community. In the 1950s, Belews Street was a neighborhood with unpaved roads, homes heated by wood stove, and a creek polluted by

---

<sup>103</sup> Larry Edward Tise, "Building and Architecture," *Winston-Salem in History* Vol. 7 (Winston-Salem: Historic Winston-Salem, 1976) 47; "City of Winston-Salem: 1940-1949," City of Winston-Salem Government Meetings Notes, 21, <http://www.cityofws.org/portals/0/pdf/marketing-and-communications/History/Winston-Salem%201940-1949.pdf>, accessed September 23, 2014; "City of Winston-Salem: 1960-1969," City of Winston-Salem Government Meetings Notes, 15, <http://www.cityofws.org/portals/0/pdf/marketing-and-communications/Winston-Salem%201960-1969.pdf>, accessed September 23, 2014.

Reynolds Tobacco factories upstream. Landowning residents in Belews Street and other displaced neighborhoods were paid for their lost property, and some like Barbara Morris's family were able to move from rundown homes without plumbing to better housing further from town. As was often the case with urban renewal programs of the time, the almost exclusively white city officials did not consult with residents before the move, and though neighbors tried to move near one-another, the community effectively dissolved after relocation.<sup>104</sup> The Belews Street community was among the 4,000 families who inhabited over 600 acres of housing that was demolished as part of city redevelopment plans in the mid-to-late 1960s. In black neighborhoods like East Winston and Happy Hill, an early African American community that had developed at the outskirts of 19<sup>th</sup>-century Salem, city officials relocated families from rundown homes and placed them in federal housing projects.<sup>105</sup>

New suburbs and highways were matched by a new kind of downtown, one that could accommodate shopping excursions and business conventions rather than small shops and homes. In 1966, the city adopted the Central Winston-Salem Plan in order to remake its city center. According to the plan, downtown Winston-Salem,

*...presents a dramatic image of a vital and confident city. But on closer inspection, this striking image fades. Some streets are dull or confusing, many buildings drab and uninviting. The multitudes of signs are self-defeating, and open green spaces are rare. The Central Area Plan and Program foresees distinctively tree-lined streets, with major buildings grouped around carefully landscaped squares; protected pedestrian promenades; a convention and tourist center; and a truly inviting, efficient shopping plaza.*

This plan, backed by over \$100 million in private and public funds, facilitated the construction of the Benton Convention Center, a handful of Brutalist style government buildings, and the

---

<sup>104</sup> Annette Fuller, "Belews Street community 'sacrificed' for highway construction," *The Winston-Salem Journal* (May 11, 2011) [http://www.journalnow.com/news/local/article\\_45c6253e-4e84-5503-a3ac-cdb95e9ad6a0.html](http://www.journalnow.com/news/local/article_45c6253e-4e84-5503-a3ac-cdb95e9ad6a0.html), accessed September 5, 2014.

<sup>105</sup> Opperman, 20.



Wachovia Building, a thirty-story tall, international style office tower. It also backed the demolition of those “buildings drab and uninviting”: one and two story brick storefronts home to dozens of black-owned businesses. At the corner of 4<sup>th</sup> and Chestnut Street, kitty-corner to the Bailey Site, at least forty-six small business, including the Lincoln Movie Theater, which catered to African American audiences at a time when Winston-Salem movie theaters were segregated, were demolished for the construction of a massive seven-story computer center that supported the Wachovia offices next door. Ironically, with a bunker-like exterior complete with concrete slabs and small slits for windows, this new building could not have been more “drab and uninviting” itself.<sup>106</sup>

### **The Bailey Site, 1930-1963**

Winston-Salem’s industrial base diversified during and after World War II, but Reynolds Tobacco continued to dominate the City’s downtown manufacturing. Reynolds Tobacco owned more than 38 acres in the downtown containing 73 factories and office buildings, all run on electricity and steam from the Bailey Power Plant. To keep up with demand, Reynolds expanded the plant several times between 1947 and 1963.<sup>107</sup> In 1947, Reynolds added a seven-story building just north of the 1925 plant. This new building had a reinforced concrete base and first floor to support the enormous new boilers and steel framed walls clad with red brick, punctured by long, vertical windows. In 1949, Reynolds expanded the plant again, adding a five-story extension to the east face of the new building in order to house new turbines. Reynolds also

---

<sup>106</sup> Tursi, 237; *Winston-Salem, Vol. 1* (New York: Sanborn Map Company, 1950) Proquest: Digital Sanborn Maps 1867-1970.

<sup>107</sup> R.J. Reynolds Tobacco Co., "Winston-Salem Downtown Area Minature Plot Plan, Building Numbers and Location," date unknown but highway indicates map dates from ca. 1956; National Register of Historic Places, Winston-Salem Tobacco Historic District, Winston-Salem, Forsyth County, North Carolina, National Register #09000602, <http://www.hpo.ncder.gov/nr/FY3151.pdf>.

replaced the existing railroad tracks, used to bring coal from the rail yard to the silos that then fed the boilers, at the southern end of the site with concrete trestles. It also constructed two new freestanding, brick smoke stacks. The stacks, still on the site today, stood around 200 feet tall and bore the label, “R.J.R. TOB. Co.” Seven years later, Reynolds expanded again, adding another seven-story, reinforced concrete building onto the west face of the original power plant building, an addition that housed a coal hopper.<sup>108</sup>

As the Bailey Power Plant morphed and expanded to meet growing energy needs, its neighboring block remained untouched by Reynolds Tobacco until the 1960s. While unaltered by industry, other shifts within the city brought changes to the Bailey Site’s once residential block. In 1920, almost 140 people in about twenty households lived on the narrow, sloping block. By 1930, however, those numbers had halved. By 1940, a single rooming house with 24 residents run by James Curlee and his wife Bessie was the only housing left on site. As was true for decades before, all of the remaining residents were black, many from out of state, and several employed in tobacco manufacturing.<sup>109</sup> After housing disappeared, the eastern block of the Bailey Site never regained a cohesive land use. By 1950, a gas station had opened at the north end of the block, reflective of the area’s growing car traffic. A few remaining one-story brick buildings, constructed in the 1910s and 1920s, housed several black-owned businesses at the southern end of the site, at least through 1957. But even these were eventually torn down and replaced with parking, (Appendix A).<sup>110</sup>

---

<sup>108</sup> National Register of Historic Places, Winston-Salem Tobacco Historic District, Section 7, Page 13-19.

<sup>109</sup> U.S. Census Bureau, Winston-Salem records for 1920, 1930, 1940.

<sup>110</sup> *Winston-Salem, Vol. 1* (New York: Sanborn Map Company, 1957) Proquest: Digital Sanborn Maps 1867-1970.; Aerial photographs dated 1984 available in the Forsyth County Public Library, North Carolina Room.

**“More doctors smoke Camels than any other cigarette”:  
The Growing Public Health Awareness of Tobacco’s Health Hazards**

As Reynolds expanded during the mid-20<sup>th</sup>-century, it did so in the face of growing medical concerns over the health effects of tobacco and smoking. In the 1940s and 1950s, British and American researchers began to publish findings that linked cigarette smoking to higher rates of cancer. Although later investigations demonstrated that tobacco companies were aware of the health risks posed by cigarette smoking, they continued to specifically advertise the health benefits of their brands. According to the colorful, alluring ads produced by the Reynolds Tobacco marketing department in the 1940s and 1950s, Camel Cigarettes kept you slim, relaxed, and energized. In 1946, they launched a major ad campaign based on the claim that “More doctors smoke Camels than any other cigarette.” For the next six years, Reynolds ran this slogan along with images of doctors making house calls, delivering babies, and caring for children, all suggesting that the consumer should not be worried about smoking because their trusted doctors “smoke for pleasure” too. While they claimed their slogan was based on the findings of “three leading, independent research organizations,” it was actually based on informal polling conducted by an in-house advertising agency at medical conferences. But in 1953, a medical report confirming that cigarettes were carcinogenic grabbed the public attention. After major publications like *Time* and *Reader’s Digest* covered the story, tobacco companies dropped their health claims.<sup>111</sup>

Despite an initial lull in cigarette use following the 1953 report, adult per capita cigarette consumption in America continued to rise, peaking at twelve cigarettes per day per adult. In

---

<sup>111</sup> “Slogans,” Stanford Research into the Impact of Tobacco Advertising, Stanford School of Medicine, [http://tobacco.stanford.edu/tobacco\\_main/slogans.php](http://tobacco.stanford.edu/tobacco_main/slogans.php), accessed Sept 13, 2014; Martha N. Gardner and Allan M. Brandt, “‘The Doctors’ Choice is America’s Choice,’ The Physician in the U.S. Cigarette Advertisements, 1930-1953,” *Am J Public Health* (February 2006) 222-232, <http://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC1470496/#r2>, accessed September 14, 2014.

1964, the Surgeon General released its first report on smoking and health, concluding that cigarette smoking caused lung and laryngeal cancer. With tobacco now recognized by the federal government as a public health threat, Congress sought ways to counter the popular message of Big Tobacco advertising. In 1966, Congress passed the Federal Cigarette Labeling and Advertising Act requiring health warnings on cigarette packaging and, in 1969, the Public Health Cigarette Smoking Act was passed, banning cigarette advertising on television or radio.<sup>112</sup> Despite the growing public awareness of the direct link between cigarettes and cancer, smoking remained a social norm through the 1960s and 1970s, and cigarette consumption in America remained at close-to-peak rates. The Surgeon General attributes this lag to a range of factors including persistent advertising, a drop in cigarette prices, and a lag in the appearance of health effects.<sup>113</sup>

In the face of mounting evidence linking their multibillion-dollar industry to early death, the tobacco industry in the 1970s flipped the smoking debate from a question of medical concern to one of individual choice, questioning the constitutionality of government regulation of smoking and advertising. Concerns over second-hand smoke and its reported risks, however, shifted the conversation back to public health. Businesses began to delineate smoking and non-smoking sections in their offices and restaurants, and states began to ban smoking in public places, granting rights to non-smokers to enjoy smoke-free air. These advocacy efforts on behalf

---

<sup>112</sup> Federal Cigarette Labeling and Advertising Act of 1966, Federal Trade Commission, <http://www.ftc.gov/enforcement/statutes/federal-cigarette-labeling-and-advertising-act-1966>, accessed September 14, 2014; Public Health Cigarette Smoking Act of 1969, Tobacco Documents Online, <http://tobaccodocuments.org/atc/71066088.html>, accessed September 14, 2014.

<sup>113</sup> Lung cancer death rates in America peaked in the 1990s, about thirty years after peak cigarette consumption in the 1960s. U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, “Chapter 2: A Historical Review of Efforts to Reduce smoking in the United States,” *Reducing Tobacco Use: A Report of the Surgeon General* (Atlanta, Georgia: U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, National Center for Chronic Disease Prevention and Health Promotion, Office on Smoking and Health, 2000) 29-52.

of non-smokers helped to reduce smoking rates, which were halved between the 1960s and 1990s.<sup>114</sup>

Since the 1953 report first linked cigarettes to lung cancer, more than 800 individual lawsuits have been brought against tobacco companies, including R.J. Reynolds Tobacco. Tobacco companies were generally successful in these cases, arguing it was the individual smoker and not the manufacturer that decided how and when to use the product. But the process did bring forth thousands of documents revealing both company knowledge of medical issues and strategies to evade them. With this information in hand, the state of Mississippi brought suit against the tobacco industry in 1994, suing for Medicaid costs spent treating the health issues of 20,000 smokers.<sup>115</sup> By 1997, more than forty states had followed suit. And in 1998, the attorneys general of forty-six states settled with the four biggest tobacco companies: R.J. Reynolds, Philip Morris, Brown and Williamson, and Lorillard. The Tobacco Master Settlement Agreement required the industry to pay the states a total of around \$206 billion through 2025, to end campaigns targeting youth, and cease using of cartoon characters in advertising among other stipulations. In exchange, the tobacco companies remain exempt from private liability claims.<sup>116</sup>

### **Industrial Boom and Bust: Winston-Salem without R.J.R.**

Winston-Salem faced an uncertain future during the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century.

During the 1960s, the city was still buzzing with post-war economic success, and its industrial

---

<sup>114</sup> U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, "Chapter 2: A Historical Review"; Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, "Achievements in Public Health, 1900-1999," *Morbidity and Mortality Weekly Report* (November 5, 1999) <http://www.cdc.gov/mmwr/preview/mmwrhtml/mm4843a2.htm>, accessed September 14, 2014.

<sup>115</sup> Carrick Mollenkamp, Adam Levy, Joseph Menn, and Jeffrey Rothfeder, "Chapter 1," *The People vs. Big Tobacco, How the States Took On the Cigarette Giants* (New York: Bloomberg Press, 1998) <http://www.nytimes.com/books/first/m/mollenkamp-tobacco.html>, accessed September 14, 2014.

<sup>116</sup> National Association of Attorneys General, "Tobacco Master Settlement Agreement Summary," State of California Department of Justice, Office of the Attorney General, <http://oag.ca.gov/tobacco/resources/msasumm>, accessed September 14, 2014.

base continued to shift from local to national manufacturing. By the late 1980s, anti-smoking policies and corporate shuffling broke the city's century-old bond with Reynolds Tobacco.

Despite early public concerns over the health effects of tobacco smoke, Reynolds Tobacco remained an industrial powerhouse, introducing a new filtered line of cigarettes, Winstons, to replace the unfiltered Camels as their leading brand. Within ten years of its launch, Winstons had become the top selling cigarette in the country. In 1968, Reynolds also expanded its tobacco research and technology arm, opening the new \$9 million Bowman Gray Development Center, where researchers developed ways to use more of the tobacco leaf, use less tobacco per cigarette, and create a more efficient production process.<sup>117</sup>

To house this expansion in both production and research, Reynolds opened a new, fourteen-acre manufacturing center, Whitaker Park, three miles north of downtown in close proximity to the new campus of Wake Forest University. The university had just moved from central North Carolina to Winston-Salem thanks to financial persuasion from the Reynolds family. The move from the center city to the growing suburbs, and specifically to a site near the city's newest university, suggests that Reynolds saw their cigarette production as both part of 1960's mainstream America and a field for scientific advancement. The new Whitaker Park facility did not replace production downtown immediately, but its more efficient equipment outperformed and outlasted that in use downtown.<sup>118</sup>

While developing new cigarette production techniques at home, Reynolds began to diversify its production and product base both nationally and internationally. In 1960 Reynolds opened their first cigarette plant outside the United States with the acquisition of the Haus Neuerburg plant in West Germany. Three years later, Reynolds diversified into the food industry,

---

<sup>117</sup> Smith, "Industry and Commerce 1896-1975," 56-58

<sup>118</sup> *Ibid.*, 56-59.

purchasing of Hawaiian Punch, and within three years, Reynolds had formed a food production subsidiary, Reynolds Foods. The company also looked to heavier industry, acquiring freight transportation and oil drilling companies.<sup>119</sup> Non-tobacco production quickly outranked its original product, and in 1970, Reynolds Tobacco was made a subsidiary of the new parent company, R.J. Reynolds Industries, Inc.<sup>120</sup>

Just as it had in 1929, Reynolds marked its stature in Winston-Salem with the addition of a new headquarters building in 1977, but this time it did so not with a skyscraper but with an office park. In contrast to the 22-story limestone-clad downtown tower, this new, mirrored-glass office complex stood only five-stories tall, but housed ten acres of new office space across eight consecutive, interlocking diamond shaped pods. Rather than overlooking the bustling downtown, the new headquarters offered views of parking lots and parkways.<sup>121</sup> Just as the old headquarters marked tobacco's primacy over Winston-Salem, its new headquarters marked the company's sprawling portfolio and its shift away from the core of its hometown. Fittingly, while both buildings remained in use, the 1929 skyscraper housed Reynolds Tobacco executives while Reynolds Industries executives moved to the shiny new World Headquarters.

Despite the launch of a ten-year, \$1 billion modernization effort at the Whitaker Park Plant in 1980, Reynolds Tobacco was looking to expand again, but this time outside of city lines. In 1982, Reynolds began construction on another manufacturing center in Tobacoville, North

---

<sup>119</sup> Reynolds Industries lost its oil operations in 1977 after its nationalization by the government of Kuwait; R.J. Reynolds Company, "R.J. Reynolds Company Historical Timeline," available in the R.J. Reynolds Collection of the Legacy Tobacco Documents Library, University of California, San Francisco, <http://legacy.library.ucsf.edu/tid/vpb50d00/pdf>.

<sup>120</sup> Smith, "Industry and Commerce 1896-1975," 58-59; "R.J. Reynolds Company Historical Timeline."

<sup>121</sup> Ibid.

Carolina, named for an 1870s tobacco factory landmark, sixteen miles north of its downtown beginnings.<sup>122</sup>

Reynolds Industries also continued to grow in non-tobacco sectors throughout the 1980s. In 1985, Reynolds bought Nabisco, the cookie and snack manufacture. With this acquisition, sales of non-tobacco goods exceeded that of tobacco products for the first time in company history. Reflective of this shift, the company changed its name to R.J.R. Nabisco. But the bigger change for Winston-Salem came the following year when newly elected CEO F. Ross Johnson announced that the now \$50-billion company would be moving its headquarters from Winston-Salem to Atlanta, Georgia. Riling Winston locals, Johnson called Winston-Salem “bucolic,” and explained the move as a way to attract smart, young professionals, arguing that “they are interested in the arts, or they are interested in education. They look for, not only their own style of living, but for peers like themselves. You’re not going to find that in a Winston-Salem...”<sup>123</sup> Though the move only affected a few hundred employees, a small figure compared to the total of 15,000 it employed in Winston-Salem and Forsyth County at the time, it was a blow to local pride and solidified the gap already growing between the city and the company that made it.

By the time Reynolds executives and Winston-Salem parted ways, the city was no longer a tobacco-driven company town. Other local brands like Hanes Corporation, a major textile manufacturer; T. W. Garner foods, best known for Texas Pete Hot Sauce; and M. C. Goodman, maker of Goody’s Headache Powders, had become nationally recognized brands in the 1960s and 1970s. At the same time, outside companies also began to move operations to the city, making use of its existing industrial work base and infrastructure. In 1969, Joseph Schlitz

---

<sup>122</sup> Ibid; “How did Tobaccoville Get its Name?” *The Village of Tobaccoville*, <http://www.tobaccovillenc.org/>, accessed September 8, 2014.

<sup>123</sup> Quoted in Tursi, 276.



Brewing Company built a 1.1 million square foot brewery, billed as the largest in the world at its opening, south of downtown Winston just off U.S. 52.<sup>124</sup>

But the industrial success of the 1960s and early 1970s didn't last long. Like the rest of the nation, and much of the world, Winston-Salem was hit by the global recession in the late 1970s and early 1980s. At its height, state unemployment reached 10.2 percent in 1983, its highest since the Great Depression.<sup>125</sup> For the first time since tobacco manufacturers opened their doors in Winston-Salem, the city's population stagnated.

It is easy to draw connections between and greater restrictions on public smoking and the end of Reynolds as an industrial anchor in Winston-Salem. In recent decades, tobacco use in the United States has declined dramatically. In 1983, the United States was home to 53 million adult smokers, almost a third of the country's adult population. In that same year, Reynolds employed 17,000 residents in Winston-Salem and Forsyth County. Today, an estimated 38 million American adults smoke, making up 18 percent of the adult population, and Reynolds employment in the area has dropped to 2,000.<sup>126</sup> This drop in employment, however, has far more to do with changes in the global market that have sent American industrial jobs overseas. Reynolds began closing factories in downtown Winston-Salem in the early 1980s and completely

---

<sup>124</sup> Smith, "Industry and Commerce 1896-1975," 51-52; "Stroh's brewery closing after 30 years," *The Item* (August 6, 1999) A6, <http://news.google.com/newspapers?id=6jQjAAAIBAJ&sjid=z6oFAAAAIBAJ&pg=1167%2C599278>, accessed September 12, 2014.

<sup>125</sup> Peter S. Onge, "North Carolina's unemployment rate hits new high," *The Charlotte Observer* (March 27, 2009) <http://www.mcclatchydc.com/2009/03/27/64960/north-carolinas-unemployment-rate.html>, accessed September 13, 2014.

<sup>126</sup> Richard Craver, "Old Reynolds Sites are Economic Building Blocks," *The Winston-Salem Journal* (July 20, 2014) [http://www.journalnow.com/business/business\\_news/local/old-reynolds-sites-are-economic-building-blocks/article\\_38efdb2e-44ea-5ce5-8556-709b0d3d3cb1.html](http://www.journalnow.com/business/business_news/local/old-reynolds-sites-are-economic-building-blocks/article_38efdb2e-44ea-5ce5-8556-709b0d3d3cb1.html), accessed September 14, 2014.

closed its last downtown cigarette plant in 1990.<sup>127</sup> After years of downscaling and cutbacks, Reynolds closed its Whitaker Park Plant in 2011.<sup>128</sup>

But Reynolds remains the second largest cigarette manufacturer in the country and has found new markets globally. Today, there are 967 million smokers around the world, making up 13 percent of the global population. The vast majority of the world's smokers live in developing countries where anti-smoking regulations are slowly going into effect, with much pushback from Big Tobacco.<sup>129</sup> With more and more smokers, the World Health Organization has reported tobacco to be one of the world's leading causes of death, killing "more than five million people every year – more than HIV/AIDS, tuberculosis and malaria combined."<sup>130</sup>

### **The Reynolds Legacy**

Winston-Salem has long since recovered economically from the loss of its founding industry. Health care and education have replaced tobacco manufacturing as the city's leading employers, which have continued to attract new residents.<sup>131</sup> Between 1990 and 2010, the population rose from under 150,000 to almost 230,000 residents.<sup>132</sup> But the Reynolds' history remains visible from the city's skyline to the swath of empty factory buildings reinforcing the

---

<sup>127</sup> National Register of Historic Places, Winston-Salem Tobacco Historic District, Section 7, Page 5.

<sup>128</sup> Craver, "Old Reynolds Sites."

<sup>129</sup> Duff Wilson, "Cigarette Giants in Global Fight on Tighter Rules," *The New York Times* (November 13, 2010) [http://www.nytimes.com/2010/11/14/business/global/14smoke.html?\\_r=0](http://www.nytimes.com/2010/11/14/business/global/14smoke.html?_r=0), accessed September 24, 2014.

<sup>130</sup> Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, "Fast Facts," *Smoking & Tobacco Use*, [http://www.cdc.gov/tobacco/data\\_statistics/fact\\_sheets/fast\\_facts/](http://www.cdc.gov/tobacco/data_statistics/fact_sheets/fast_facts/), accessed September 14, 2014; Sandi Doughton, "Global cigarette consumption number of smokers climbing," *The Seattle Times* (January 7, 2014) [http://seattletimes.com/html/localnews/2022617190\\_smokingupxml.html](http://seattletimes.com/html/localnews/2022617190_smokingupxml.html), accessed September 14, 2014; World Health Organization, "10 facts on second-hand smoke" (December 2009) <http://www.who.int/features/factfiles/tobacco/en/>, accessed September 14, 2014.

<sup>131</sup> Winston-Salem Chamber of Commerce, "Largest Employers in Forsyth County," (November 2012) <http://www.winstonsalem.com/files/ForsythLargestEmployers2012Q3.pdf>, accessed September 24, 2014

<sup>132</sup> U.S. Census Bureau, "General Population Characteristics, North Carolina," *1990 Census of Population* (1990) <http://www.census.gov/prod/cen1990/cp1/cp-1-35.pdf>, accessed June 10, 2014; U.S. Census Bureau, "North Carolina: 2010, Summary Population and Housing Characteristics," *2010 Census of Population and Housing* (September 2012) <http://www.census.gov/prod/cen2010/cph-1-35.pdf>, accessed June 10, 2014.

divide between East Winston and its urban center. And though Winston-Salem no longer produces cigarettes now smoked around the world, its architecture, wealth, and population are very much the legacy of a company that still profits from a product responsible for millions of deaths each year.

For years, the Reynolds Tobacco district has stood empty, with its structures increasingly at risk of damage and destruction. In August 1998, the factory complex No. 256 burned to the ground just two blocks south of the Bailey Site. And in 2003, Reynolds made plans to demolish the Bailey Power Plant, which had been closed since 1997, but dropped the idea after it was denied State funding to do so.<sup>133</sup> Today, the former Reynolds district sits amidst redevelopment. Seven new and restored buildings have opened in recent years. In May, 2014, Reynolds sold its iconic 1929 headquarters building to a Philadelphia-based developer who plans to turn it into a boutique hotel and luxury housing.

With this reoccupation of Winston-Salem's former tobacco district comes the responsibility to consider a new way forward. A look back at its social, economic, and physical history reveals a collection of complex stories – of commercial success, racial tensions, opportunism, and resistance – all of which can be read onto the scarred, polluted shell of the Bailey Power Station and its barren surroundings. The redevelopment of this site should sufficiently preserve the physical remains to tell these stories, while creating new spaces that offer the chance for a more enlightened future. Reuse must provide facilities for the kind of innovative, commercial and scientific energy that drove Winston-Salem's, and R.J. Reynolds', expansion and success. At the same time, it should include community spaces that build on Reynolds' paternalistic social activism, while rigorously rejecting and mitigating the city's

---

<sup>133</sup> "Rising from the Ashes: A developer central to the economic resurrection effort recovers from a devastating fire," *Wake Forest Magazine* (June 1999) 14-15, <http://archive.magazine.wfu.edu/archive/wfm.1999.06.pdf>, accessed September 24, 2014; Craver, "Old Reynolds Sites."

legacy of racial and economic inequality. Such redevelopment could both acknowledge and honor the site's past, while becoming a new, dynamic center for a city that is once again growing with confidence.

# Appendix A Bibliography

## Books and Reports:

Gillespie, Michele. *Katherine and R. J. Reynolds: Partners of Fortune in the Making of the New South*. Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 2012.

*History of North Carolina: Biography, Vol. IV by Special Staff of Writers*. New York: Lewis Publishing Company, 1919.  
<http://books.google.com/books?id=k0Q4AQAAMAAJ&lpg=PA332&ots=z5XY7rXP3v&dq=%22peter%20w.%20dalton%22%20tobacco&pg=PA332#v=onepage&q=%22peter%20w.%20dalton%22%20tobacco&f=false>.

Korstad, Robert Rodgers. *Civil Rights Unionism: Tobacco Workers and the Struggle for Democracy in the Mid-Twentieth Century South*. Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2003.

Mollenkamp, Carrick, Adam Levy, Joseph Menn, and Jeffrey Rothfeder. *The People vs. Big Tobacco, How the States Took On the Cigarette Giants*. New York: Bloomberg Press, 1998.

National Register of Historic Places. Reynoldstown Historic District. Winston-Salem, Forsyth County, North Carolina. National Register #08000111, Section 8, Page 58,  
<http://www.hpo.ncdcr.gov/nr/FY2353.pdf>.

--. Winston-Salem Tobacco Historic District. Winston-Salem, Forsyth County, North Carolina. National Register #09000602,  
<http://www.hpo.ncdcr.gov/nr/FY3151.pdf>.

Oppermann, Langdon E. "Winston-Salem's African American Neighborhoods: 1870-1950," *Architectural and Planning Report*. Winston-Salem, NC: Forsyth County Joint Historic Properties Commission, 1994.

Shirley, Michael. *From Congregation Town to Industrial City: Culture and Social Change in a Southern Community*. New York: NYU Press, 1994.

Tilley, Nannie M. *Bright-Tobacco Industry, 1860-1929*. Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1948.

--. *R.J. Reynolds Tobacco Company*. Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1985.

Tursi, Frank V. *Winston-Salem: A History*. Winston-Salem, NC: John F. Blair, 1994.

U.S. Department of Health and Human Services. "Chapter 2: A Historical Review of Efforts to Reduce smoking in the United States." *Reducing Tobacco Use: A Report of the Surgeon General*. Atlanta, Georgia: U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, National Center for Chronic Disease Prevention and Health Promotion, Office on Smoking and Health, 2000. 29-52.

Wellman, Manly Wade Wellman, Larry E. Tise, James Howell Smith, Robert W Prichard, Chester S Davis. *Winston-Salem in History*. Winston-Salem: Historic Winston-Salem, 1976.

### Articles, Websites, and Press Releases:

Bailey, Loretto Carroll. *We Have No Slums*. Federal Writers' Project: 1939.  
<http://dc.lib.unc.edu/cgi-bin/showfile.exe?CISOROOT=/03709&CISOPTR=668&filename=711.pdf>.

Centers for Disease Control and Prevention. "Achievements in Public Health, 1900-1999." *Morbidity and Mortality Weekly Report*. November 5, 1999.  
<http://www.cdc.gov/mmwr/preview/mmwrhtml/mm4843a2.htm>.

Centers for Disease Control and Prevention. "Fast Facts." Smoking & Tobacco Use,  
[http://www.cdc.gov/tobacco/data\\_statistics/fact\\_sheets/fast\\_facts/](http://www.cdc.gov/tobacco/data_statistics/fact_sheets/fast_facts/).

Craver, Richard. "Historic Reynolds Building has New Owner." *Winston-Salem Journal*. June 27, 2014. [http://www.journalnow.com/news/local/historic-reynolds-building-has-new-owner/article\\_2efe0ce6-fe2e-11e3-a9f7-0017a43b2370.html](http://www.journalnow.com/news/local/historic-reynolds-building-has-new-owner/article_2efe0ce6-fe2e-11e3-a9f7-0017a43b2370.html).

--. "Old Reynolds Sites are Economic Building Blocks." *The Winston-Salem Journal*. July 20, 2014. [http://www.journalnow.com/business/business\\_news/local/old-reynolds-sites-are-economic-building-blocks/article\\_38efdb2e-44ea-5ce5-8556-709b0d3d3cb1.html](http://www.journalnow.com/business/business_news/local/old-reynolds-sites-are-economic-building-blocks/article_38efdb2e-44ea-5ce5-8556-709b0d3d3cb1.html)

Doughton, Sandi. "Global cigarette consumption number of smokers climbing." *The Seattle Times*. January 7, 2014.  
[http://seattletimes.com/html/localnews/2022617190\\_smokingupxml.html](http://seattletimes.com/html/localnews/2022617190_smokingupxml.html)

Fuller, Annette. "Belews Street community 'sacrificed' for highway construction." *The Winston-Salem Journal*. May 11, 2011. [http://www.journalnow.com/news/local/article\\_45c6253e-4e84-5503-a3ac-cdb95e9ad6a0.html](http://www.journalnow.com/news/local/article_45c6253e-4e84-5503-a3ac-cdb95e9ad6a0.html).

*Federal Cigarette Labeling and Advertising Act of 1966*. Federal Trade Commission.  
<http://www.ftc.gov/enforcement/statutes/federal-cigarette-labeling-and-advertising-act-1966>.

- Gardner, Martha N. and Allan M. Brandt. "'The Doctors' Choice is America's Choice,' The Physician in the U.S. Cigarette Advertisements, 1930-1953." *Am J Public Health*. February 2006. 222-232, <http://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC1470496/#r2>.
- "How did Tobaccoville Get its Name?" The Village of Tobaccoville. <http://www.tobaccovillenc.org/>.
- "Innovation Quarter: A History," Wake Forest Innovation Quarter, <http://www.wakeforestinnovationquarter.com/about/history/>.
- Learn NC, "Worker's Pay and Cost of Living," <http://www.learnnc.org/lp/editions/nchist-newsouth/4716>.
- McBride, Alex. "Lochner v. New York," *Supreme Court History: Capitalism and Conflict*. PBS: 2007. [http://www.pbs.org/wnet/supremecourt/capitalism/landmark\\_lochner.html](http://www.pbs.org/wnet/supremecourt/capitalism/landmark_lochner.html).
- National Association of Attorneys General. "Tobacco Master Settlement Agreement Summary." State of California Department of Justice. Office of the Attorney General. <http://oag.ca.gov/tobacco/resources/msasumm>.
- Onge, Peter S. "North Carolina's unemployment rate hits new high." *The Charlotte Observer*. March 27, 2009. <http://www.mcclatchydc.com/2009/03/27/64960/north-carolinas-unemployment-rate.html>.
- Public Health Cigarette Smoking Act of 1969*. Tobacco Documents Online. <http://tobaccodocuments.org/atc/71066088.html>.
- R.J. Reynolds Tobacco Company. "R.J. Reynolds Tobacco Company announces sale of iconic Reynolds." May 22, 2014. [http://files.shareholder.com/downloads/RAI/0x0x757026/40c43d4a-1339-4a8f-85f2-d48be8075147/2014\\_02\\_RJRT\\_announces\\_sale\\_of\\_iconic\\_Rey\\_Bldg.pdf](http://files.shareholder.com/downloads/RAI/0x0x757026/40c43d4a-1339-4a8f-85f2-d48be8075147/2014_02_RJRT_announces_sale_of_iconic_Rey_Bldg.pdf).
- "Rising from the Ashes: A developer central to the economic resurrection effort recovers from a devastating fire." *Wake Forest Magazine*. June 1999. 14-15. <http://archive.magazine.wfu.edu/archive/wfm.1999.06.pdf>.
- "Slogans." Stanford Research into the Impact of Tobacco Advertising. Stanford School of Medicine. [http://tobacco.stanford.edu/tobacco\\_main/slogans.php](http://tobacco.stanford.edu/tobacco_main/slogans.php).
- "Stroh's brewery closing after 30 years." *The Item*. August 6, 1999. A6. <http://news.google.com/newspapers?id=6jQjAAAAIIBAJ&sjid=z6oFAAAAIBAJ&pg=1167%2C599278>.

Wilson, Duff. "Cigarette Giants in Global Fight on Tighter Rules." *The New York Times*. November 13, 2010. [http://www.nytimes.com/2010/11/14/business/global/14smoke.html?\\_r=0](http://www.nytimes.com/2010/11/14/business/global/14smoke.html?_r=0).

Winston-Salem Chamber of Commerce. "Largest Employers in Forsyth County." November 2012. <http://www.winstonsalem.com/files/ForsythLargestEmployers2012Q3.pdf>

Winston-Salem State University. "History and Mission Statement of Winston-Salem State University." 2014. <http://catalog.wssu.edu/content.php?catoid=5&navoid=151>.

Winston-Salem Transit Authority. "Safe Bus History." <http://www.wstransit.com/safe-bus-history/>.

World Health Organization. "10 facts on second-hand smoke." December 2009. <http://www.who.int/features/factfiles/tobacco/en/>.

### **Winston-Salem Government Meeting Note Summaries:**

"City of Winston-Salem: 1920-1929." *City of Winston-Salem Government Meeting Notes*. <http://www.cityofws.org/portals/0/pdf/marketing-and-communications/History/Winston-Salem/Winston-Salem%201920-1929.pdf>.

"City of Winston-Salem: 1930-1939." *City of Winston-Salem Government Meeting Notes*. <http://www.cityofws.org/portals/0/pdf/marketing-and-communications/History/Winston-Salem%201930-1939.pdf>.

"City of Winston-Salem: 1940-1949." *City of Winston-Salem Government Meetings Notes*. <http://www.cityofws.org/portals/0/pdf/marketing-and-communications/History/Winston-Salem%201940-1949.pdf>.

"City of Winston-Salem: 1960-1969." *City of Winston-Salem Government Meetings Notes*. <http://www.cityofws.org/portals/0/pdf/marketing-and-communications/Winston-Salem%201960-1969.pdf>.

"Town of Winston Directing Board: 1880-1889." *City of Winston-Salem Government Meeting Notes*. <http://www.cityofws.org/portals/0/pdf/marketing-and-communications/history/winston/Winston%201880-1889.pdf>

"Town of Winston Directing Board: 1890-1899." *City of Winston-Salem Government Meeting Notes*. <http://www.cityofws.org/Portals/0/pdf/marketing-and-communications/history/Winston/Winston1890-1899.pdf>.

"Town of Salem: 1900-1913." *City of Winston-Salem Government Meeting Notes*. <https://www.cityofws.org/portals/0/pdf/marketing-and-communications/history/Salem%201900-1913.pdf>.



## Census Publications:

### Individual entries:

1880 U.S. census, population schedule. Ancestry.com (accessed June, 2014).

1900 U.S. census, population schedule. Ancestry.com (accessed June, 2014).

1910 U.S. census, population schedule. Ancestry.com (accessed June, 2014).

1920 U.S. census, population schedule. Ancestry.com (accessed June, 2014).

1930 U.S. census, population schedule. Ancestry.com (accessed June, 2014).

1940 U.S. census, population schedule. Ancestry.com (accessed June, 2014).

### Summary Reports:

U.S. Census Bureau. *Census of Population and Housing, 1870*. Vol. 1.

<http://www.census.gov/prod/www/decennial.html>.

--. *Census of Population and Housing, 1960*. Vol. 1, Chapter 5.

<http://www.census.gov/prod/www/decennial.html>.

--. *Census of Population and Housing, 1970*. Vol. 1

[http://www2.census.gov/prod2/decennial/documents/1970a\\_nc-01.pdf](http://www2.census.gov/prod2/decennial/documents/1970a_nc-01.pdf)

--. *Census of Population and Housing, 1980*. Vol. 1, Chapter B.

<http://www.census.gov/prod/www/decennial.html>.

--. "General Population Characteristics, North Carolina." *1990 Census of Population*. 1990.

<http://www.census.gov/prod/cen1990/cp1/cp-1-35.pdf>.

--. "North Carolina: 2010, Summary Population and Housing Characteristics."

*2010 Census of Population and Housing*. September 2012.

<http://www.census.gov/prod/cen2010/cph-1-35.pdf>.

## Maps:

Aerial photographs dated 1984 available in the Forsyth County Public Library, North Carolina Room.

Cable, Dustin A. "Racial Dot Map." Weldon Cooper Center for Public Service, Rector and Visitors of the University of Virginia. 2013.

<http://demographics.coopercenter.org/DotMap/>.

*Map of Salem and Winston, North Carolina*, compiled from the original survey by E. A. Nogler. 1876.

Shaner, Harry L. "Several Phases of a City Plan, Map of Winston-Salem, NC." 1920. on display at the St. Philips African Moravian Church at 911 South Church Street in Winston-Salem.

R.J. Reynolds Tobacco Co. "Winston-Salem Downtown Area Miniature Plot Plan, Building Numbers and Location." date unknown but highway indicates map dates from ca. 1956.

Rand, McNally & Company. *Indexed Atlas of the World*. "North and South Carolina." 1883. North Carolina Maps, <http://dc.lib.unc.edu/cdm/singleitem/collection/ncmaps/id/439/rec/1>, accessed September 10, 2014.

*Winston and Salem, North Carolina*. New York: Sanborn Map & Publishing Co., June 1885. North Carolina Maps: <http://dc.lib.unc.edu/cdm/compoundobject/collection/ncmaps/id/3051/rec/1>.

*Winston and Salem, North Carolina*. Sanborn Perris Map Co., July 1890. North Carolina Maps: <http://dc.lib.unc.edu/cdm/compoundobject/collection/ncmaps/id/3061/rec/2>.

Winston-Salem/Forsyth County Planning Board. "Central Winston-Salem Plan." 1966.

*Insurance Maps of Winston and Salem, Forsyth Co., North Carolina*. New York: Sanborn-Perris Map Co., April 1895. North Carolina Maps: <http://dc.lib.unc.edu/cdm/compoundobject/collection/ncmaps/id/3078/rec/1>.

*Insurance Maps of Winston and Salem, Forsyth Co., North Carolina*. New York: Sanborn-Perris Map Co., May 1900. North Carolina Maps: <http://dc.lib.unc.edu/cdm/compoundobject/collection/ncmaps/id/3196/rec/4>.

*Insurance Maps of Winston and Salem, Forsyth Co., North Carolina*. New York: Sanborn-Perris Map Co., April 1907. North Carolina Maps: <http://dc.lib.unc.edu/cdm/compoundobject/collection/ncmaps/id/3251/rec/5>.

*Insurance Maps of Winston and Salem, North Carolina*. New York: Sanborn Map Company, 1917. North Carolina Maps: <http://dc.lib.unc.edu/cdm/compoundobject/collection/ncmaps/id/3701/rec/1>.

*Winston-Salem, Vol. 1*. New York: Sanborn Map Company, 1950. Proquest: Digital Sanborn Maps 1867-1970.