1. NAME OF PROPERTY

Historic Name: Old Salem Historic District (updated documentation and boundary change)

Other Name/Site Number: 31FY395

2. LOCATION

Street & Number: 600 South Main Street Not for publication:

City/Town: Winston-Salem Vicinity:

State: NC County: Forsyth Code: 067 Zip Code: 27101

3. CLASSIFICATION

Ownership of Property	Category of Property
Private: X	Building(s): __
Public-Local: X	District: X
Public-State: __	Site: __
Public-Federal: __	Structure: __
	Object:

Number of Resources within Property

Contributing		Noncontributing	
buildings	147	buildings	66
sites	10	sites	0
structures	24	structures	6
objects	3	objects	0
Total	184	Total	72

Number of Contributing Resources Previously Listed in the National Register: 34

Name of Related Multiple Property Listing: N/A

Designated a National Historic Landmark by the Secretary of the Interior November 13, 1966
Updated NHL Boundary and Documentation December 23, 2016

4. STATE/FEDERAL AGENCY CERTIFICATION

As the designated authority under the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966, as amended, I hereby certify that this ____ nomination ____ request for determination of eligibility meets the documentation standards for registering properties in the National Register of Historic Places and meets the procedural and professional requirements set forth in 36 CFR Part 60. In my opinion, the property ____ meets ____ does not meet the National Register Criteria.

Signature of Certifying Official Date

State or Federal Agency and Bureau

In my opinion, the property ____ meets ____ does not meet the National Register criteria.

Signature of Commenting or Other Official Date

State or Federal Agency and Bureau

5. NATIONAL PARK SERVICE CERTIFICATION

I hereby certify that this property is:

___ Entered in the National Register
___ Determined eligible for the National Register
___ Determined not eligible for the National Register
___ Removed from the National Register
___ Other (explain): _____

Signature of Keeper Date of Action

6. FUNCTION OR USE

Historic:	Domestic	Sub:	Single Dwellings
			Multiple Dwelling
			Secondary Structure
			Hotel
			Institutional Housing
	Commerce/Trade		Business
			Professional
			Financial Institution
			Specialty Store
			General Store
			Restaurant
			Warehouse
	Government		City Hall
			Fire Station
			Government Office
			Public Works
	Education		School
			College
			Library
			Education-Related/Dormitories
	Religion		Religious Facility
	Funerary		Cemetery
			Mortuary
	Agriculture/Subsistence		Processing
			Storage
			Agricultural
			Animal Facility
			Horticultural Facility
			Agricultural Outbuilding
	Industry/Processing/Extraction		Manufacturing Facility
			Extractive Facility
			Waterworks
			Energy Facility
			Communication Facility
			Processing Site
			Industrial Storage
	Health Care		Hospital
			Clinic
			Medical Business/Office
	Landscape		Plaza/Square
			Garden
			Natural Features
			Street Furniture/Object
			Conservation Area

Historic (con't): Transportation			Rail Related
			Road Related (Vehicular)
			Pedestrian Related
Current:	Domestic	Sub:	Single Dwellings
			Multiple Dwelling
			Secondary Structure
			Hotel
			Institutional Housing
	Commerce/Trade		Business
			Professional
			Specialty Store
			General Store
			Restaurant
	Education		College
			Library
			Research Facility
			Education-Related/Dormitories
	Religion		Religious Facility
			Church-Related Residence
	Funerary		Cemetery
	Recreation and Culture		Museum
			Outdoor Recreation
			Work of Art
	Agriculture/Subsistence		Agricultural
			Horticultural Facility
			Agricultural Outbuilding
	Industry/Processing/Extraction		Manufacturing Facility
	Landscape		Plaza/Square
			Garden
			Natural Features
			Street Furniture/Object
			Conservation Area
	Transportation		Road Related (Vehicular)
			Pedestrian Related

7. DESCRIPTION

ARCHITECTURAL CLASSIFICATION: Colonial: German. Early Republic: Federal. Mid-19th Century: Greek Revival. Late Victorian: Gothic; Italianate; Second Empire; Queen Anne; Stick/Eastlake; Romanesque. Late 19th & 20th Century Revivals: Colonial Revival; Classical Revival. Late 19th& early 20th century American Movements: Bungalow/Craftsman. Other: 2-part Commercial.

MATERIALS:

Foundation:	Stone, Brick, Stucco
Walls:	Brick, Wood (Weatherboard, Half-Timber, Log), Stucco
Roof:	Wood (Shingle/Shake), Stone (Slate), Asphalt, Metal, Concrete, Terra Cotta
Other:	Brick, Wood, Stone

Describe Present and Historic Physical Appearance.

Summary

The Old Salem Historic District was designated a National Historic Landmark (NHL) in 1966/1978 based on the "Old and Historic Salem District" created in 1948 by a City of Winston-Salem and Forsyth County Zoning Ordinance.[1] The original NHL encompassed approximately 62 acres with a period of significance from 1766 to 1856.[2] Further understanding of significance in the intervening years led to re-examination, and the revised and expanded Old Salem Historic District NHL encompasses 193 acres and two periods of significance: Town of Salem 1766-1913 (founding to consolidation with neighboring Winston), which includes Moravian Architecture 1766-1856, and the Old Salem period 1948-2010 (historic preservation in the vanguard). The Old Salem Historic District NHL includes planned, articulated, and restored landscape that records the dynamic story of the Moravians in Piedmont North Carolina during the life of the town of Salem, and the local community efforts to preserve and restore that experience through Old Salem, Inc. at the forefront of historic preservation in America.

Salem was established in 1766 as the central town of the Wachovia Tract, a 100,000-acre tract of Moravian land encompassing the drainage basin of Muddy Creek, a tributary of the Yadkin River, and 240 miles from the Atlantic Ocean. Salem's story includes the founding of Winston and the ultimate consolidation with that neighbor as Winston-Salem in 1913. People of European and African descent built Salem through time. Their relationship to each other, which began as an anomaly in the South, was to test the human conscience and make its mark on the landscape. Enduring as legacy are sacred places, open spaces, creeks, roadways and paths, fence lines, houses, gardens, a college, places of business, native trees and shrubs. Descendants of early populations are legacy as well. The Salem Historic District is a place of material wealth in the retention and restoration of historic fabric in its buildings, structures, objects, landscape, and archaeological resources, and as such, it is also a container of memory.

Salem's design on the landscape reflects the opportunities and constraints of the environment as addressed by Moravian planners in the 1760s. Global experience in community enterprise brought forth a town plan organized around a central grid anchored to a town square that was laid out on a ridge above a broad creek bottom in a rolling landscape. Natural resources of Carolina red clay, varieties of stone, forests, and plentiful water supply provided the materials for construction of fine and enduring buildings and structures with skillful hands and in remembered European traditions. The plan set in place was then naturally and sustainably expandable, and with an educated and committed population, and guided by a central authority (theocratic government followed by municipal government), the town grew in an orderly manner and steadily, from a backcountry craft and trade center to an industrial city, all the while in the presence of a strong religious context.

The physical appearance in form and presence endures today with a high degree of integrity in the Old Salem Historic District NHL. The durability of design and architectural fabric speak to the quality of the built environment and the care taken by the community. Preservation parameters of scholarship and integrity have guided restoration efforts by the museum. It is a multi-use district, as it has been throughout its life, and the eighteenth-century structure continues to support a living community of church, college, museum, businesses, residents, and visitors.

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[1] Frances Griffin, *Old Salem: An Adventure in Historic Preservation*, rev. ed. (1970; repr., Winston-Salem: Old Salem, Inc., 1985), 78.

[2] Horace J. Sheely, Jr., "Old Salem Historic District" (Date of Visit 10/5/63), National Survey of Historic Sites and Buildings, United States Department of the Interior, National Park Service, 1966; and Polly M. Rettig, "Old Salem Historic District" National Register of Historic Places Registration Form, United States Department of the Interior, National Park Service, 1976.

Origin of Physical Appearance

Salem has its origins in the broad planning for the Wachovia Tract, a body of land sold to the *Unitas Fratrum*, or Moravians, by the English Lord Granville's land office in 1753. The Moravians had established successful settlements in Pennsylvania and Maryland; however, their desire for a large, concentrated autonomous settlement, coupled with an offer from Lord Granville, brought these German-speaking people to the North Carolina backcountry in the mid-eighteenth century. The plans for the tract of approximately 100,000 acres called for a central congregation town to handle administrative functions in Wachovia, surrounded by smaller congregations within the tract which would fall under the jurisdiction of the central town.

The expediency of the moment on the Carolina frontier of the 1750s resulted in the creation of two smaller towns before Salem was actually begun in 1766: Bethabara (1753) and Bethania (1759), both NHL Historic Districts. Until Salem was formally occupied in 1772, Bethabara functioned as the *de facto* administrative center of Wachovia, containing the crafts and the leadership organization of the Wachovia Tract. With the formal occupation of Salem in 1772, these functions were moved to the new administrative center, and Bethabara became an agricultural community. At the same time Salem was established, the Country Congregations of Friedberg, Friedland, and Hope were also put in place at the south end of Wachovia, and development of the tract commenced.

The site for Salem was selected in 1765 and the new town was assigned land of its own within the broader land of Wachovia, which had been established as Dobb's Parish in 1756. The Salem Town Lot of 3,159 1/2 acres was administered by the Salem Congregation, or *Diacony*, in a system of theocratic governance created by the Moravian church. This arrangement was allowed under the colonial government of England, as the *Unitas Fratrum* had been recognized by the English Parliament as an ancient Protestant Episcopal church and therefore entitled to protections and privileges in the English dominions.[3]

As the central town, Salem was located in the middle of the Wachovia Tract. The Salem Town Lot was composed of rolling land diagonally bisected by a major stream, Salem Creek. The core of the town was placed on a central ridge on the north side of the creek valley. This ridge generally runs north-south and slopes down to a broad bottom at Salem Creek, with tributaries on either side of the ridge. On the south side of the creek valley, the land slopes up again. The plan for Salem was a grid system anchored to a north-south axis (Main Street) and a central square, with major roads leading out of town in all directions to connect with a regional road system already in place. The elevations above sea level indicate the rolling nature of the topography: Salem Square at 825 feet, the highpoint of God's Acre at 900 feet, the rising hillside of the Salem Farm/Liberia at 800 feet, and the low point of the Salem Creek valley at 745 feet.

With central authority, development and growth of the town was controlled and orderly. All land was owned by the church until 1857. The Salem *Diacony* maintained a strict control over residence and economic activity in Salem, with primary means of authority resting in the ownership of the land, with lots leased to residents, and control of the economy through craft monopolies. Members of the community actually owned the houses, outbuildings, fences and other improvements they built on the leased lands. If a resident was asked to leave the community, the improvements were purchased by another member of the congregation, or by the *Diacony* for resale to the next lessee of the lot; those who voluntarily left the community also sold their improvements to the *Diacony*. Because of the ever-present possibility of having to purchase houses and other buildings in these circumstances, the *Diacony* maintained careful control over the value of the buildings erected in Salem.

[3] Act of English Parliament, 1749, in Adelaide L. Fries, ed., *Records of the Moravians in North Carolina* (1922; repr., Raleigh: State Department of Archives and History, 1968), 1:23-25.

Density dictated growth so that outer town lots were not surveyed until lots closer in were in use, and sprawl was averted. An early numbered lot system was revised and expanded in 1821, and some lots still retain this nomenclature in twenty-first century property tax information. Vacant lots were leased for use as supplemental orchard and garden space, which ensured maintenance and upkeep until needed for building. In 1788 the town adopted a set of Building Regulations. These regulations did not specify style but rather addressed issues such as fire hazards, zoning, building standards, filing of plans, and enforcement, all of which can be seen as precursors to building codes today.

Inherent in the grid system established in 1766 was future expansion, and thus, growth was logical and anticipated. The grid expanded as Salem grew, even to the new town of Winston, created in 1849. Development in western Salem, begun in 1843 and fully realized in the 1880s and 1890s, became the neighborhood of West Salem (National Register Historic District), as an extension of the Salem grid. Development southeast across the Salem Creek valley on the former Salem Farm/Schumann Plantation was in an orderly grid laid out for Freedmen in 1872 by the Moravian Church as "Liberia" and soon known as Happy Hill.

Present and Historical Physical Appearance

The town of Salem included churches, graveyards, schools, institutional buildings, industries and businesses, agricultural land, houses, gardens, and outbuildings. With the exception of most outbuildings, these structures remain, either extant (or reconstructed) and in use as intended, or as museum interpretations, adaptively reused, or protected as archaeological components. Industry is no longer present as a use in the area of the NHL.

The street grid in its entirety is presently used. Streets were uniformly forty feet wide with Main Street sixty feet wide, as designed in 1766. Streets were formally named in 1857 when the Town of Salem became a municipality, although core street names (Main, Church, Salt, Shallowford, New) were noted on the 1821 map[4] following the 1819 survey of new lots and the numbering of all lots.[5] The 1849 boundary between Salem and Winston was First Street (known in Salem as North Street), and all streets below First Street (in Salem) were given the directional "South" while the streets above First Street (in Winston) have the directional "North." Main Street in Salem was stabilized with bark, poles, and stone until it was macadamized in the 1850s. In 1890 road improvements in Salem included the installation of the handsome granite curbing from the nearby quarry at Mt. Airy, North Carolina (which remains throughout the district) and the paving of Main Street (followed by other streets) with Belgian block. The core area is asphalt-paved with a pea gravel surface, while beyond the core are asphalt-paved streets. Sidewalks are ubiquitous, as stone and brick-paved at the core, and concrete beyond the museum area. Street lighting in the core area is a lamp post form derived from documentary information.

Old Salem is defined by the orderly simplicity of its layout and fine architecture. Buildings front the sidewalks and lots are neatly fenced or in some cases, have stone walls. Fencing styles in Salem varied over time and according to use, and historic fencing styles on the landscape include picket (split and sawn), post and board, board, stacked rail, and snake rail.[6] Within the core, individual buildings and their lots have been restored to reflect a specific interpretive period, so that rather than a town frozen for a moment in time, there are multiple time periods for observation and learning. And with the buildings and structures beyond the core, Salem's story emerges in the architecture and layout: an extended street system including historic masonry bridges, industrial buildings, late nineteenth and early twentieth-century housing, high style architecture, and a non-Moravian

[4] F. C. Meinung, "Report of the Committee appointed to lay out the Town of Salem according to the Principles adopted since 1819," February 15, 1821 (Old Salem, Inc. Files, Winston-Salem, NC).

[5] Adelaide L. Fries, ed., *Records of the Moravians in North Carolina* (Raleigh: State Department of Archives and History, 1947), 7:3414.

[6] David Bergstone, "Fences," *Old Salem Builder's Companion Series*, Restoration Division, Old Salem, Inc., n.d.

cemetery, as well as the distinct landscape of the African American neighborhood across the creek from the historic black church.

Salem Square was designed to be the center of the community and anchors the grid system which remains the framework for the town: Main Street on the west side of the Square paralleled by Church Street on the east side, and at the north side, a cross street, Academy Street, led west. On the south side of the Square is West Street. Beyond this basic grid were additional secondary streets and further, outlying agricultural lands. To the south is Salem Creek and across the creek to the southeast was the Salem Farm or Plantation established to provide farm products to the town, which became a neighborhood for Freedmen after the Civil War. From this extant structure, within the 3,159 1/2-acre Salem Town Lot is the 193-acre Salem Historic District NHL.

Salem Square was and is the focal point of Salem. This center of the town is a city block of designed open green space in lawn with brick walks crossing at a planted circle of red cedars in the middle. There are native hardwoods for shade and a white rail fence at the perimeter. The Square is surrounded by significant community buildings. The only building in the Square is the reconstructed brick Market-Fire Engine House which stood from 1803-1858, holding the town's advanced fire-fighting equipment and regular sales of fresh meat from Wachovia farms. The Square is the site of the start of the Easter Sunrise Service (since 1772), Moravian band concerts, and annual July 4th observations (since 1783) which now include a Citizenship Naturalization Ceremony; there are seasonal pottery sales, other special events, and much leisure. The Square features significant architecture spanning 100 years and includes: Home Moravian Church, Single Brothers House, Single Sisters House, Community Store, Boys School, and Salem College buildings. The Square was also the central location for distribution of the 1788 gravity-fed municipal water works system. Bored logs transported spring water nearly a mile from the **Reservation** (discontiguous resource) to the town core. The cistern pump in the southwest corner of the Square is a reconstructed element of the waterworks and a highlight for visiting children to Old Salem who enjoy pumping to watch the water pour out of the spout.

Located at the northwest corner of the Square is the 1769 **Single Brothers' House**. This outstanding example of *fachwerk* construction is two-stories with full cellar of stone, double attic under red clay tile roof, and stucco banded chimneys. A Flemish bond addition from 1786 doubled its size. The Single Brothers House is an individually listed NHL and was little altered over time. It was an early restoration and is used by Old Salem, Inc. as headquarters and as a museum exhibit building; it continues to be owned by the Salem Congregation. The first floor and cellars interpret the life of the Single Brothers, including their crafts and trade shops (joiner, potter, shoemaker, tailor, dyer, tin and pewter), kitchen, and *Saal* with original Tannenberg organ. The organ is regularly played for visitors and underscores the significance of music in Salem's life. Single Brother Johann Friedrich Peter lived in the Single Brothers House prior to his marriage in 1786. "Peter is considered to be the most gifted of Moravian composers [and] his 6 string quintets, composed while in Salem between 1780 and 1789, are some of the earliest chamber music composed in America."[7]

When the Single Brothers' House was built, a large terraced **Kitchen Garden** was laid out in its rear yard, with nearly 700 acres of agricultural fields beyond. Although the Old Salem Visitors Center was built on the garden site in 1964, that intrusive building was removed and the garden was recreated in 2004. A dramatic reminder in the landscape, it includes garden squares of vegetables, examples of field crops, and perimeter fruit trees and grapes. A large two-story log **Workshop**, with an interior end chimney venting a hearth and attached bake oven, was built for the Single Brothers in 1771. It was demolished in 1921 and replaced with an apartment building. The lot was acquired by Old Salem in the 1970s, and after extensive archaeology, the Workshop was

[7] Scott Carpenter (Coordinator of Music Programming and Tannenberg Organs, Old Salem Museums & Gardens), e-mail message to MB Hartley, 9 April 2013.

reconstructed to serve as an educational facility, particularly for children, with areas for textiles, pottery, joinery, and other crafts, as well as office and meeting space.

The Single Brothers Workshop fronts Academy Street, early known as the Road to the Shallowford, with its link to the colonial highway system based on the Great Philadelphia Wagon Road. Academy Street extends west from the Workshop and crosses two tributary creeks: Town Run (also known as Tar Branch) and Tanners Run. In the vicinity of these water resources, the outlying industrial complex was located and included the **Single Brothers Brewery/Distillery** (1773) and **Slaughterhouse** (1784), and the **Congregation-owned Tannery** (1769); a sickle smithy was located at Academy Street and Town Run. The Single Brothers industries are listed on the National Register. All three industrial areas are protected archaeological components, and portions of the visible streams on which they were built have been reclaimed and restored. This western location of early industry served as a precursor to the western development of Salem beginning in 1819.

Diagonally across the Square from the Single Brothers House is the **Single Sisters House** at the southeast corner. This large two-story building by master mason Gottlob Krause has Flemish bond walls featuring the striking pattern of red brick stretchers and dark headers, rubbed brick elliptical relieving arches, and there is a double row of gabled dormers on the red clay tile roof with corner lock plates. This 1786 building had an addition made in 1819. The oldest building on the Salem College campus, it was restored in 2007 and has offices, assembly space, and a museum. The Moravian tradition of female education is seen in the legacy that is Salem Academy and College, with origins in the day school for girls in Salem begun in 1772 by Single Sister Elisabeth Oesterlein in the sisters' quarters of the *Gemeinhaus*, consecrated in 1771. The Single Sisters grew this school into Salem Academy and College, today the oldest institution of higher learning for women in the United States. The land around the Sisters House began its transformation into a college campus in 1802 when the decision was made to expand educational offerings to include boarding students, and the **Girls Boarding School** was constructed next door in 1805. The *Gemeinhaus* was torn down in 1854 for the construction of the four-story Greek Revival classroom and dormitory, **Main Hall**, designed by Moravian industrialist Francis Fries in consultation with architect A. J. Davis. This 1856 building and the adjacent **Old Chapel** re-oriented the school inwardly with a defined courtyard and opened it to Lower Pleasure Ground down slope and across the eastern creek. Outbuildings and expansive gardens at the rear of the Single Sisters complex were replaced by new facilities, as needed, and the institution grew from the Girls Boarding School to the Salem Female Academy and finally to Salem Academy and College. In the first half of the twentieth century, new construction was designed for architectural compatibility, with dormitory and classroom buildings specifically using the Moravian Revival style. Class gifts embellish the college grounds and include fountains, gates, stone steps, and other objects. The college population continues to be active within the NHL, with nearly all students full-time residents. The student body remains all female, with certain courses available to male students. Several professors, the College president, and Academy headmaster live in Old Salem. The school day, and evening classes for the community, supports a diversity of collegiate life.

Commerce as the engine of the Salem economy focused on the **Community Store** at the southwest corner of the Square. In this L-shaped, stuccoed stone rubble, one-story building with two front doors, merchant Traugott Bagge worked for the profit of the congregation and lived with his family. Salem immediately became a center of trade in backcountry North Carolina with much activity at the Community Store. A second story was added to the building in 1840 and it was renovated and used as a residence in the early twentieth century. It was restored to its early appearance by Old Salem to function once again as a store, "T. Bagge Merchant." In addition, the Saturday morning "Cobblestone Farmers Market" on the rear of the store lot began in 2012 and restores a traditional food system by bringing rural farm product back into the urban place.

Next door to the Community Story, the two-story brick **E. A. Vogler Store** was built in 1867 with an ornamented Italianate storefront. The façade was renovated to Colonial Revival in 1938 during its use as the

Arden Farm Store, and in 1947 the building was the location for the first meeting of the "Citizens Committee for the Preservation of Historic Salem." It was also the first office and visitor center for Old Salem, Inc. and has functioned as the Moravian Book & Gift Shop since the church acquired the building in 1977.

Educational facilities for boys were also located at the Square, on the north side of Academy Street. The Flemish bond **Boys School** on a full story stuccoed cellar is another Krause work of art. At a highly visible corner, the 1794 building is the focus of intense re-restoration by Old Salem, as new information and technology have advanced building restoration practices. The brick **Inspector's House** (Girls' School headmaster) from 1810 is next door and has continued, uninterrupted, its function as office of the president of Salem Academy and College. The building was nearly lost in 1907 when college expansion plans included a new auditorium on the lot; however, early preservation voices prevailed, and the Inspector's House was saved.

At the northeast corner of the Square is **Home Moravian Church,** consecrated in 1800. Wachovia's leader, Frederick William Marshall, designed the elegant church and ushered in a classical vocabulary with this most important building. Flemish bond walls on a stuccoed stone foundation are embellished with tall multiple-pane sash windows at granite sills and capped with ogee tracery, all set in elliptical arches. With its gable to the street, the symmetrical façade, with belt course, balcony and clock face (chiming hour and quarter hours), rises to a bell-roofed belfry with a gold-leaf ball and weather vane. The prominent cantilevered hooded roof over the doorway was introduced by Marshall and used on various subsequent buildings in Salem. This feature, the Moravian hood, became the iconic symbol of Moravian Revival in the twentieth century as seen on Moravian churches, Salem College dormitories, and even fire stations and drycleaners throughout Winston-Salem.

Church life continues in many ways much as it did in the eighteenth century, with regular services, committee functions, baptisms, weddings, and funerals. The Easter Sunrise Services and the Christmas Lovefeasts highly attended by Moravians and non-Moravians alike. The Christmas-time "Candle Tea" attracts thousands and is a time-honored tradition in Winston-Salem. It is a project of the Women's Fellowship and held in the Single Brothers House. Ministers of Home Moravian Church continue to live in Old Salem. The offices of the Moravian Church in America, Southern Province and the Salem Congregation (comprised of thirteen Winston-Salem Moravian churches), with the Moravian Archives and Moravian Music Foundation nearby, are all active parts of life in the NHL.

Two simple masonry *Flurküchenhaus* are also located at Salem Square, on the south side of the West Street side. Both from the 1780s and built by prominent individuals, they were reconstructed as visually significant parts of the streetscape at the Square. The Flemish bond **Schober House** was built by Gottlieb Schober who established the Paper Mill in 1791 on Peters Creek and pursued various professions, including lawyer, minister, and postmaster. The house is owned by the college. The painted stucco **Bagge House**, historically known as the "pink house," was built by a native Swede, the merchant Traugott Bagge, for his store assistant. It is privately owned, as are the majority of houses in Old Salem.

At the east side of Salem Square, Church Street runs north-south along a narrow band of land that slopes dramatically eastward and down to a tributary creek. The topography restricted development in that direction to graveyards, pleasure grounds and parks until the late nineteenth century. Church Street extends north and uphill to **God's Acre**, originally laid out in 1766. The orderly simplicity of the Moravian graveyard, with rows of recumbent stones, is juxtaposed to the curvilinear picturesque of **Salem Cemetery** to the east. Designed by Moravian E. A. Vogler in 1857, the cemetery is an obvious clue to changes occurring in the mid-nineteenth century Moravian town. Prominent citizens of Salem and Winston formed the Salem Cemetery Company and purchased land from the Moravian Church for this family-plot burial ground with upright markers, grave sculpture, and mausoleums. Both graveyards continue in use, and the Moravian brass band continues its role at funerals in God's Acre. In 1859, at the northeast corner of Salem Cemetery, a new burial ground for the

African Moravian Church (**St. Philips Moravian Graveyard #2**) was added and continued the function begun at the Negro God's Acre on Church Street. Phoebe, a slave owned by the Wachovia Administration (died 1861) was buried there, as was church leader Lewis Hege (died 1918), and others, many of whose graves are unmarked. This graveyard functioned until the 1960s. Easter is the time when all of these graveyards are adorned with flowers at each grave.

At the south end of Church Street, near Race Street, is the **Stranger's God's Acre** laid out in 1773, to which the **Negro God's Acre** was added in 1816. Both are archaeological components that have been under active investigation since 1991 by Old Salem. As graves have been located and marked, they are decorated with flowers by the ladies of St. Philips Moravian Church on Good Fridays. Adjacent to the graveyard is the 1823 **African Church in Salem**, a log building (reconstructed), that was superseded by the stylish brick Greek Revival-style gable front brick church in 1861, also next door. Named St. Philips in 1914, it is the oldest African American church standing in North Carolina. In this sanctuary, a Union cavalry officer informed the local enslaved Black population of their Freedom on May 21, 1865. In 1890 an addition to the front of the brick church was necessary to accommodate as many as 300 who came regularly for the education that was offered. Since 1967, the St. Philips Moravian congregation has worshiped in their church building on Bon Air Avenue in East Winston; however, beginning in 2009, they hold quarterly worship in their historic home, the Brick Church, and an annual December Lovefeast to commemorate the building's consecration December 15, 1861. Today, the museum's St. Philips Heritage Center (composed of the buildings, graveyards, and grounds) shares the Salem African American story and hosts community celebrations, concerts, lectures, and events. Juneteenth observances recall the turning point in the lives of African Americans in spring 1865. St. Philips Moravian Church is the only historic black Moravian church in America and one of the oldest African American congregations of any denomination in the country.

Adjacent to the St. Philips Heritage Center and on the south side of Race Street is the **Reich-Hege** archaeological component, which includes revealed remains of the central chimney frame *Flurküchenhaus* from 1830 transformed into a center hall plan Greek Revival house with interior end chimneys ca. 1853. The stone cellar and chimney balk and added brick balk are visible. A partial façade was constructed by Old Salem to suggest the massing of the Hege building and interpretation of the archaeology is displayed. Lewis Hege and his mother Rachel (and second male, perhaps another son) were enslaved by the Heges and brought to live in a slave house in this back yard in the 1850s. They became members of the African Moravian Church next door, and Lewis soon emerged as a church leader who helped establish the first school for African American children in Forsyth County in 1867, on Moravian land across Salem Creek near the Brothers Spring. The location of slave houses and the enslaved in Salem is little understood, and documentary inquiry into history on lot 101 offered a glimpse into the lives of Lewis and Rachel Hege.

Church Street was laid out with residential lots beyond the Square; however, the predominant use along the street, historically and presently, is by the church and the college. At the northern high point of Church Street is **Dr. Vierling's** fine two-story Flemish bond, center hall plan house with classical elements and his apothecary in the front room. Built in 1802, it was master mason Gottlob Krause's final work. The lot contains multiple resources, including the Flemish bond wash-bake house, terraced gardens, the enslaved Christian David's house (archaeological component), and the reconstructed frame barn. Serving for decades as the home of the Wachovia administrator and still owned by the church, the house and lot are presently used as museum exhibit buildings. Next door to Vierling is **Cedarhyrst**, the monumental Gothic Revival home of Nathaniel Schober Siewers, a Salem physician, who built it nearly 100 years after Dr. Vierling's house. Designed by Max Schroff, a German architect from New York, the walls and decorative features are Indiana limestone. Since 1967, the house has served as offices of the Moravian Church in America, Southern Province, headquartered in Salem and overseeing fifty-seven Moravian churches across the South, including thirty-one in Forsyth County. The

Vierling and Cedarhyrst lots are reminders of the steep drop off on the east side of Salem. The Vierling lot retains partial terracing that was constructed to add garden function to the lots.

Known historically as "the main street" with its far-reaching conceptual north-south extensions, Main Street was the location for the first single family houses in Salem. These houses reflected the knowledge and skill of Moravian builders in combination with natural materials available in Salem. The *flurküchenhaus* was the choice of plan and was built in *fachwerk*—or half-timber— (**Fourth House**, 1768), log (**Miksch House**, 1771), and frame (**Reuter House**, 1772). The simple, well-built family homes, with a plan of three and sometimes four rooms oriented around a central chimney, persisted into the 1830s and 1840s, even as the center hall plan was in general use. The Fourth House, Salem's oldest extant building, was a 1936 restoration project by the National Society of the Colonial Dames of America; improved documentation allowed Old Salem to present a more accurate restoration in 1966.

Early issues related to a lack of lime sources thwarted any serious use of stone for wall construction above one story in Salem, although stone foundations and cellars were ubiquitous until the first all-brick foundation in 1839 at the **Christian Sussdorff House** on New Street. *Fachwerk*, frame, and log dominated as construction materials until after the Revolutionary War when a secure lime source was located. The 1780s and 90s produced the signature Flemish bond brick buildings of master mason Gottlob Krause, many of which were important institutional buildings necessarily postponed until after the war.

Krause's first building, the 1784 **Tavern**, was the first all-brick building in Salem. This individually listed NHL features the skill of Krause, a trained potter, stone mason, and brick layer. The Tavern was the interface with Strangers, or non-Moravians, and it was a church-owned business located on Main Street at the south end of the town, with its meadows and pasture beyond. The *fachwerk* tavern from 1772 burned to the ground in January 1784 and because of its significance to the town, the materials that had been set aside for a Single Sisters house were hastily substituted for a new tavern. The Tavern design reflected its use. A symmetrical façade on the two-story building with steep gable roof was familiar to travelers who entered a wide center hall plan that provided the expected accommodations of food, drink, and rest. The front porch sheltered a wall void of the windows that could tempt viewers from the outside in. The large rear two-story brick kitchen ell, with casement windows, was constructed with a broad hearth and attached bake oven that produced meals prepared and served by enslaved blacks, also expected by travelers. The tavern grew to include a next-door **annex** by 1816 and in the 1840s, **Dr. Zevely** used his large two-story common bond brick house across Main Street for overflow accommodations. The Tavern was rescued in the 1920s by Miss Ada Allen, a single lady who with her sister Annie, lived in the building for ten years to save it. She was an early force in Salem's preservation and served on the first Restoration Committee. The Tavern is owned by the Wachovia Historical Society and leased to Old Salem as an exhibit building. The adjacent barns and paddock further inform the function. The Tavern annex has been used as a restaurant for decades and serves meals to thousands annually. Following archaeology in 1993, the Zevely House was rehabilitated and opened as a small inn.

Much of the food production for the town was planned to be provided by the **Salem Farm**, or Salem Plantation, a church-owned operation. The 300-acre tract, including broad bottom and rolling upland, was surveyed south across Salem Creek in 1769. This farm became the **Schumann Plantation** in 1815 when Dr. Schumann and family, with slaves, moved from Bethania to Salem and were located outside the town core because private ownership of slaves was prohibited in Salem until after 1847. Schumann manumitted his slaves in 1836 and provided for their passage to Liberia, West Africa. In 1868-72, this former farm was chosen by Moravian church leadership for the location of a Freedmen's residential area named **Liberia**, soon known as **Happy Hill**.

The Salem Farm did not successfully fulfill its role and two additional smaller farms were established in the 1780s, one at the former Builders' House and the other on the tavern lane (Walnut Street) for Br. Stockburger to

produce milk and other farm products. Sixty-three acres for the **Stockburger Farm** were set aside and a one and one-half story log *Flurküchenhaus* built in 1782. The farm also included a barn and a spring. In 1819 the farm was absorbed into the Salem Mill tract for the new grist mill on Salem Creek. Late nineteenth-century development of West Salem extended the grid out to Stockburger, and the log house was expanded with later additions. The house is substantially intact under non-historic alterations, and Old Salem was finally able to purchase this eighteenth-century survivor in 2006. It remains the last of the early buildings to be restored by Old Salem, and archaeological exploration of its lot will be planned.

The wave of brick construction in the late eighteenth century did not preclude the use of other materials, and log and frame construction continued, especially for houses. Salt Street parallels Main Street at the west and was residential, as well as the location of the white tannery at Town Run Creek. On this "back street," **Martin Lick** built a one and one-half story log *Flurküchenhaus* with herringbone Dutch door when he married. Lick helped to build much of Salem in the 1780s and 90s. The house was purchased in 1795 by shoemaker Johann Leinbach who immediately added a shop to the house. He also established his salt trade, giving the street its name. The house was little altered and one of the first Old Salem restorations, and as such, it was the site of early archaeology. In the rear yard, excavations in summer 1950 revealed a well, a cistern, and outbuildings. Remains of the wooden pump shaft found in the well became a prototype for pump reconstructions. The pump, a bake oven and smokehouse have been reconstructed on this lot. Salt Street continued to develop with homes and in 1890 was pushed south to Walnut Street, and lots were subdivided for new houses. Much of this extended portion of the street is extant; however, the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth century houses and the former Visitors Center complex (built 1964) have been removed. In the 600 block, the Single Brothers Gardens were re-created in 2004. In the 700 block, a landscape composed of Plants of Economic Importance was established in the mid-1970s soon after the Old Salem Horticulture Program was initiated.

Outbuildings and support structures were numerous and ubiquitous in Salem; however, by the early twentieth century many had been removed, superseded by modern conveniences, or were demolished for the subdivision of lots. Only a very few outbuildings survived into the mid-twentieth century; however, documentation recorded a variety present in the Salem landscape, including bake ovens, kitchens, smoke houses, dry houses, wells and well houses, wash houses, barns, corn cribs, granaries, woodsheds, cow sheds, horse stables, chicken houses, pig sties, necessaries, ash houses, carriage sheds, quarters, and shops.[8] Five original free-standing shops survive in Old Salem and several have been reconstructed. When possible, outbuildings have been reconstructed in the core area, not only for presentation of lot function but also to accommodate the support needs of modern-day residents.

Following the first houses built on **Main Street** in the 1760s, the street continued to develop as a residential street and features representative house construction from Salem's beginnings to 1913. As with Leinbach's shop addition to the Martin Lick House, the economic model of home-based craft and trade shops persisted in Salem for decades. Today these houses are single family homes and several are museum buildings (**Miksch, Blum, Community Store, Bakery, Vierling, J. Vogler**). Shop signs indicated trades and have been reproduced to hang on façades. There are also examples of free-standing shops adjacent to houses.

The **Winkler Bakery**, built in 1800 on Main Street, was also a combination house-shop, but there, due to lot grade, functions were separated by floor level. This one-story brick building on a full-story, stuccoed stone foundation with steep gable roof features Krause's decorative flair and has an attached bee hive bake oven with squirrel tale flue. Enlarged and with an added front porch, the Winkler family continued operation in the

[8] Arthur J. P. Edwards, "A Catalogue of Dependencies 1766-1850" (report for Old Salem, Inc., Winston-Salem, NC, 1974).

building until 1926. Old Salem restored the building in 1968, and it operates as a full bakery with wood-fired bakery products available daily. The early morning smell of wood smoke is a welcome part of each day.

House façades with two front doors indicated living quarters and shop space. In 1815 **John Christian Blum** built a one and one-half story frame house with two entry doors on Main Street that his son raised to two-stories in the 1850s. Appointed bank agent in 1815, Blum became an important local publisher. His *Farmers' and Planters' Almanac*, first printed in this house in 1828, is in continuous publication by a Moravian family today. The lot is an archaeological component and excavations in the early 1990s focused on a free-standing print shop in the yard of the house.

Johannes Volz retired as the farm manager of the former Stockburger Farm and built a frame *Flurküchenhaus* in 1816 on the south end of Main Street below the Tavern, then considered the outskirts of town. The Volz house was regarded as a farmhouse and was set back from the sidewalk to include a front porch, a new feature for residential architecture in Salem. Saddler Heinrich Herbst then introduced a front porch over the sidewalk in 1821 for his house on Main Street north of Salem Square.

Adjacent to the Volz house and at the south end of Main Street is the renovated 1948 grocery store that was extensively remodeled in 1964 to house the Museum of Early Southern Decorative Arts. Expanded in the 1990s and named the Frank L. Horton Museum Center, it was linked to the Old Salem Visitor Center by the timber frame Heritage Bridge. The bridge gateway at Main Street serves as the visitor entry point into the Town of Salem museum.

A prominent architectural statement was made when silversmith **John Vogler** built his 1819 two-story Federal style brick house on Main Street at the southwest corner of Salem Square, which departed from traditional Germanic/Moravian architecture. An early advocate of industrialization, Vogler's hand was in the mix of the Salem grist mill in 1819, the Salem Cotton Mill in 1836, and the industrial activities that followed. However, even with its refinement and stylishness, the house contained Vogler's shop, and he did not separate his work and living space until 1846. The house was given to Old Salem in 1952 by Vogler descendants and is an exhibit building.

By the late 1820s, workspace began to be moved out of the house and into free-standing shop buildings, as personal space became more important. Shoemaker **Samuel Shultz** operated his shop in his two-story frame house on Main Street until 1827, when he built a gable-front frame shop facing the sidewalk and immediately next to, but not connected to, his 1819 house. This shop is an interpretive building in the museum where a shoemaker fabricates shoes.

While symmetry and a center hall plan became popular in early nineteenth-century Salem, the central chimney persisted until at least 1832 (Eberhardt House, Lot 99), and the asymmetry of a four-room plan (with partially exposed exterior end chimneys) until at least 1839 (Sussdorff House, Lot 89). Although there are houses with a center hall and an interior shop (Vogler, Lot 64), the center hall design saw increased use as the notion of private space spread in Salem and shops were removed from the house. The Greek Revival style gained popularity in Salem in the 1840s and 1850s and was suited to symmetry. It is noted that Salem physicians in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries continued to have their offices in their homes (Dr. Siewers at Cedarhyrst in 1895 and Dr. Pfohl at 403 S. Main Street in 1913).

Salem was never intended to be a farming community but rather a town of crafts, trades and professions; however, food production on residential lots was especially important in the early period and residential lots accommodated large kitchen gardens. The "yard" around the house, usually with outbuildings, was separated by a fence from the garden space. Garden layout was in the European style of garden squares divided by grass

or bark walks, with seasonal vegetables in the squares, medicinal flowers and herbs in border beds at fence perimeters, and fruit trees typically at the rear. **Family gardens** of Main Street houses have been recreated by Old Salem to reflect a broad period of garden interpretation based on house period. The **Miksch Garden and House** (1771) is a museum exhibit particularly focused on the "seed to table" experience. Matthew Miksch trained as a gardener in eighteenth-century Europe, and the Miksch lot displays and interprets the garden's central role in the early Moravian household. A reconstructed bake oven in the yard was located archaeologically. By the late eighteenth century, more food was being brought into town from farms beyond Salem. As this pattern broadened, less food was grown in town gardens, and increased space became available for ornamentals.

John Henry Leinbach, shoemaker, built his frame one and one-half story combination house/shop on Main Street in 1822 with a centered front door and interior end chimneys. His lot contained a yard with granary-stable-privy, shed with bee hives, pig pen, chicken yard, and ice house, and garden. He also farmed an outlot beyond town as well. Leinbach's journal from 1830-1843 is a rich chronicle of information about gardening, hunting, fishing in Salem Creek, and various outdoor activities. Leinbach's son Henry built a Daguerreotype gallery addition to the house in the late 1860s. The house was purchased by Old Salem 100 years later in 1960. During restoration, the gallery was removed, the lot examined archaeologically, and the granary reconstructed. The house and yard are privately owned; Old Salem owns and cultivates the garden.

After the Single Brothers House closed in 1823, free standing shops became a means for a single brother to establish himself in Salem. In 1825 **Adam Butner** was granted permission to build a shop on Lot 32 on Main Street and to establish himself as a hat maker (the shop is reconstructed and used for museum retail). He lived in his shop until marriage in 1829 when he built a decorative Federal style frame house Lot 32 and modeled it after his neighbor's, **Heinrich Herbst**. Saddler Herbst had introduced a front porch over the sidewalk in 1821 for his house on Main Street north of Salem Square. In the 1990s, the Herbst house and Lot 33 were extensively researched architecturally and archaeologically prior to restoration. The 1821 central chimney frame Herbst house, with front porch over the sidewalk, had been moved back from the sidewalk after the 1890 streetcar line was established on Main Street. The house was then renovated to a center hall plan. The streetcar line altered the grade along Main Street as the street was leveled, and caused little to major impact on the street-fronting buildings in Salem. As can be seen presently, additional steps were added to front stoops and porches, or the sidewalk level (and adjacent buildings) remained lower than the street level. The trolley also extended the residential living south of Salem to the new neighborhood of Washington Park, a National Register Historic District.

The first expansion to Salem's grid was in 1819 for residential development along **New Street** (Factory Row), which ran north perpendicular from Shallowford Street (Academy Street). **John Ackerman**, a cooper, built the first house in 1822, a frame *Flurküchenhaus* that stood until 1960. Archaeological investigation recovered the house and well in 1983, and they were reconstructed in 1985. In 1832 retired minister and botanist Christian Denke became a neighbor of Ackerman and built a symmetrical, end chimney, center hall plan, frame house with classical pedimented porch on New Street. Denke's house set the stage for the Greek Revival that would soon become popular in Salem. Christian **Sussdorff**, the first professionally-trained horticulturalist in Salem, built his brick home next to Denke in 1839. New Street (Factory Row) was not included in the early concept of an Old Salem historic district, and in 1970, the **Denke House** was threatened with demolition. The John Ackerman House had already been torn down and the decision was made to move the Denke House into the historic district to save it (to Salt Street). In 1980 Old Salem, Inc. was able to acquire the Denke Lot 90, and the long-range plan is to return the house to its original location on Factory Row (New Street). Lot 90 is an archaeological component that has been the location of several investigations. The three remaining Factory Row brick houses were placed on the National Register in 1978 as the "South Trade Street Houses."

In 1826 another new street was cut, the *New* Shallowford Street (Brookstown Avenue) two blocks north of the *Old* Shallowford Street (Academy Street). Along this new road, Heinrich Schaffner began a pottery operation in 1834 that ran until ca. 1907. Now an archaeological component, the shop was located in the 1766 Builders' House. Over a decade in the 2000s, archaeological excavation explored the shop, kiln, dry house, and warehouse, and the study brought forth new information on Moravian pottery. Excavations in 2015 focused specifically on aspects of the Builders' House, as Old Salem prepared for the 250th anniversary of the town of Salem in 2016. Also, on this new street, Salem's investment in cotton milling began in the three-story common bond red brick factory in 1836. Salem's industrialization focused on this street and was propelled by the leadership of the multi-talented Francis Fries in cotton, wool, and flour milling. Industry rebounded from the losses of the Civil War and grew into the **Arista Mill** in 1880, an expansive four-story brick mill complex based around the 1836 cotton factory. Arista led Salem, and ultimately Winston and Winston-Salem, into textile dominance. The triangular flat iron building across from Arista was the **Fries' Manufacturing and Power Co. Transforming Station** that received electricity from approximately 13 miles away at the Fries Hydroelectric Power Station on the Yadkin River beginning in 1898. Once again at the forefront of industrial and scientific development, the Fries family counted Thomas Edison as an investor in the project which locally powered mills, homes, and other businesses.

Arista Mill was a rehabilitation and adaptive reuse project in the early 1980s and became the Brookstown Inn and retail/office space, with the later addition of the offices of Visit Winston-Salem, the first stop for many visitors to Winston-Salem. This early use of federal preservation tax credits in Winston-Salem spread to nearby related properties. Several high-style historic homes designed by professional architects survive intact within two blocks of the mill and were remnants of a fashionable turn-of-the twentieth century neighborhood. The homes were built by wealthy citizens with ties to late-nineteenth-century Salem industrial wealth and include the Queen Anne-style **"Hylehurst"** (1884), the Colonial Revival-style **William Allen Blair House** (1901), and the English-Revival style **Henry Fries Shaffner House** (1907). Hylehurst and Blair were rehabilitated as offices, and Shaffner was renovated as a bed and breakfast. Also, from this context but beyond the NHL (a block north and separated by US 421/I-40 Business), are two additional significant houses: the Conrad-Starbuck House (1884)[9] and the James Mitchell Rogers House[10]

On Brookstown Avenue, directly across the street from Arista, is a decorative brick retaining wall that is the last vestige of the 1876 Rufus and Mary Elizabeth Fries Patterson block with stylish house, designed landscape and gardens. Further east, a brick barrel vaulted bridge constructed over Tar Branch (Town Run creek) along New Shallowford Road in 1880 was near collapse in 2006, and the City of Winston-Salem worked carefully to repair the bridge while preserving exterior historic features.

Indera Mills, a Fries knitting mill which began in the 1870s on Main Street and moved to the Arista industrial area in 1904, continued to manufacture on South Marshall Street until 1997 when the operation moved to nearby Yadkin County. This Marshall Street complex was rehabilitated as condominiums and offices in ca. 2000. Middle class and worker housing also followed the mills and **Wachovia Street** was established where one and one-half and two-story frame houses from the 1890s-1910s were built, beginning just west of the 1884 horseshoe-shaped vaulted brick bridge crossing Tanners Run. This residential area was an element of the expanding West Salem neighborhood. These houses, many with backyard gardens, stand intact and several have their original pressed-tin shingle roofs.

[9] Margaret L. Rothman, "Conrad-Starbuck House," National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form, U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, 1990.

[10] Laura A. W. Phillips, "James Mitchell Rogers House," National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form, U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, 1981

The South Marshall Street Development Plan, implemented by the City of Winston-Salem in the 1980s, targeted the mill area for mixed use residential and retail/office. Within the NHL, the former Fries Ice Plant lot became the site of the four-story **Tar Branch Towers** in 2005. The building (condominiums and restaurant) is a noncontributing resource; however, its form, design, scale and materials evoke the neighboring Arista Mill.

By the 1840s, lots on Main, Church, Salt, and New Streets were mostly developed between Brookstown Avenue at the north and Race Street at the south. In 1843 **Allen Ackerman**, became the cotton mill administrator, married, and built his frame two-story, side hall plan house west of New Street and at the edge of the former Brewery lot. This outlying lot was the beginning of another street (**Poplar Street**), and the first phase of the West Salem neighborhood that would be fully realized in the 1880s-1910s on a secondary ridge to the west of Salem core (West Salem is a National Register Historic District). At New Street, the street name change to "Factory Row" reflected the emerging industrial economy of Salem, a town founded on crafts and trades. In 1856 **Edward Ackerman** built his new house on Factory Row and used his older brother Allen's plan, although in brick and in obvious Greek Revival-style with a false chimney for symmetry. Both men had grown up on New Street, sons of John Ackerman.

Rev. Denke introduced the Greek Revival to Salem when he built his retirement home on New Street in 1832. Greek Revival-style elements appeared on houses designed by Francis Fries in 1840-41, his own house on Brookstown Avenue (now destroyed) and the **Bishop's House** on Church Street. By 1845, cabinetmaker **Jacob Siewers** built a Greek Revival-style house on Main Street that was set back from the sidewalk with a shallow yard a bit more than the depth of the classical front porch. The Greek Revival was popular in Salem, as elsewhere in America, and expressed exuberantly by **Edward Belo** on his brick and frame house/store with colossal Corinthian porticos and decorative iron work built on Main Street 1849-59. A cabinetmaker turned entrepreneurial industrialist, Belo was a leader in bringing the railroad to Winston and Salem in 1873. The house became a home for elderly women ca.1900. It was given to the Salem Congregation in the 1950s and completely renovated as apartments, the present use. This large, highly ornate building is in interesting juxtaposition to the first *fachwerk* houses in Salem directly across the street.

Extant during the period of significance and absent from the landscape today are the many residential **dwellings of enslaved people** in Salem. In 1847, regulations against individuals holding slaves in Salem ended, and by 1860, the Forsyth County Federal Census recorded the Slave Schedule for the "Salem District" (an undefined

area including Salem and Winston and environs) with approximately 418 slaves and 85 slave houses. This slave count was within the broader "Salem District" with a white population of approximately 1,894 (and 10 Free).[11] The 1860 Slave Schedule suggested approximately 158 slaves and 37 slave houses in Salem. The Sanborn Fire Insurance maps from the late nineteenth century recorded buildings labeled "servants" and other outbuildings that were likely former slave houses at the rear of residential lots. Many of these locations have archaeological potential. For example, in 1860, Edward Belo was listed as the owner of eleven slaves, male and female, from ages 1 to 65 and one slave house. A one and one-half story dwelling at the rear of the Belo House as recorded on the 1885 Sanborn map may be that slave house. The lot is clear of outbuildings and exploration may yield new information.

After 1849 and the creation of the new county seat of Winston to the north, development extended north along Main Street, with homes and businesses, including the Meinung Carriage Works, Mickey's Tin Shop, and Vogler's Cabinet shop. Vogler's continues today as a mortuary, but beyond the NHL. Mickey's shop was destroyed in 1962 by the construction of Interstate-40 (now US 421/I-40 Business) through downtown Winston-

[11] Forsyth County Genealogical Society, *The 1860 Federal Census and Supplementary Schedules of Forsyth County, North Carolina* (Winston-Salem: Forsyth County Genealogical Society, 1988), 90-99, 206-209.

Salem; however, Mickey's shop sign from 1858, the giant **Coffee Pot**, was saved and relocated two blocks south into the historic district in 1959 and became the icon for the City of Winston-Salem. Meinung's operation faded and was replaced by other businesses, with commercial buildings from the 1910s as extant reminders on Main Street.

Salem's theocracy ended in 1856 and a new municipal government was elected in 1857, composed of Salem Moravians. Salem land, formerly leased by the Moravian Church, was available for sale; however, the church continued to hold vast tracts, and although no longer a theocracy, Moravians maintained control of land and development. Streets were named, and Cemetery Street became the northern boundary of Salem Cemetery (1857).

After the new African Church in Salem was consecrated in December 1861, local construction ended for the duration of the Civil War. On April 10, 1865, the mayor of Salem, merchant **Joshua Boner**, surrendered to the 3,000 occupying Union troops and hosted the commander and his staff in his two-story frame home on Main Street. A significant land use initiated after the war was the housing of Freedmen when the Moravian Church laid out the former Schumann Plantation as a neighborhood with a grid of streets and lots for sale by 1872. Individuals formerly enslaved in Salem and black Moravians were founding resident-owners in **Liberia** (soon known as **Happy Hill)**, the first African American neighborhood in Winston-Salem. This rolling land on a hillside above Salem Creek became a vibrant black community. There were once streets dense with shotgun and simple frame houses, chicken yards and gardens of the early period which no longer stand. Schumann's house is an archaeological component, and urban renewal of the 1950s shattered architectural fabric and cohesive community; however, the retrieval of the **Happy Hill Cemetery** (discontiguous resource), initiated by the Black community in 2010 with Old Salem leadership, has recovered a sense of the history. There beneath the choking undergrowth and refuse emerged a sacred place with over 1500 burials, from at least the 1880s. The shaded grassy area with occasional markers interspersed across its surface also has many more sunken graves indicating unmarked burials. The volunteer work to reveal this meaningful space was made by some who knew they had relatives buried in the cemetery, others who learned of their interred relatives as the cleaning progressed, and additional interested individuals and community groups. Housing from the post-1913 period is extant in Happy Hill and a 2004 Habitat for Humanity project constructed compatible infill housing; however, many empty lots remain. Retrieval of Happy Hill as a historic place has also been made possible through special museum exhibits at Old Salem and at Winston-Salem State University's Diggs Gallery, and the permanent exhibit at the St. Philips Heritage Center. These exhibits have stimulated a resurgence of inquiry into the history of African Americans in Salem.

By the 1870s, the Italianate style emerged in Salem, and newly-founded Fogle Brothers construction company of Salem built the eclectic styles of the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries. Old houses of log and *fachwerk* were torn down for new, stylish brick and frame homes on Main Street by **Nathaniel Shober Siewers** and **John Levin Belo**. Others built on vacant lots: **Livingston Clinard** on Factory Row and **Charles Pfohl** on Poplar Street. The tour de force, however, was E. A. Vogler's design for the Second Empire Style house of his niece Caroline Fries and her husband **Dr. John Francis Shaffner**. A fine large house built in 1874 and set well back from the street, it was a controversial issue in Old Salem for decades. Not only was it beyond the early period of interpretation by the museum, it was also built on the significant pottery site of 1767-1829. Demolition was continually thwarted, and the house remains in its stylish splendor and is privately owned. It is now recognized as a significant example of post-bellum architecture in Old Salem.

The 1870s and 1880s also saw renovations to Moravian houses with architectural features of the period. The 1841 Charles Kremer House adjacent to God's Acre is one of the few houses that has not been restored, and carries its renovations including bay windows, decorative sawn and turned porch elements, and replaced

window sash. Houses in West Salem, on West Street and Poplar Street, constructed in the 1880s-1910s, display their styles as constructed.

Fogle Brothers not only built commissioned work but also built speculatively. Their **Fogle Flats** were a pioneering effort at apartment house living in the growing towns of Salem and Winston, which had duplexes and boarding houses, but not yet apartments. One of the Second Empire style row houses survives facing God's Acre at Cemetery Street. Owned by the Salem Congregation, they are leased to Salem Academy and College for faculty and student housing. Fogle Flats was the stylistic inspiration for a new college dormitory built across Cemetery Street in 2015. The McHugh Sisters Flats is the first new student housing at Salem College since the Gramley Hall dormitory opened its doors in 1965.[12]

The 1873 rail line into Winston crossed Salem land at the northeast but met the depot in Winston. The 1910 Winston-Salem Southbound Railway for freight service sent a spur directly into Salem in 1912 from the south, crossing Salem Creek and through a corridor paralleling Town Run/Tar Branch. The rail ran to a long brick Italianate style **Freight Warehouse** built in 1913 on the former site of the Salem Town Hall that had removed to the other side of the street the year prior. The freight warehouse replaced the Fries Woolen Mill complex from 1840. In use until 1985, the building was rehabilitated as offices and restaurant. Paving at the building includes surviving cobblestone in the parking lot. Across the street, the Italianate **Salem Town Hall** was completed in time for the December 1912 Salem Commissioners meeting. The building served only briefly, as consolidation with Winston was effective May 9, 1913, and the Winston Town Hall became the municipal headquarters for Winston-Salem until a new building was completed in 1926 at Main Street and First Street (the former dividing line). The Southbound rail line was removed in the 1980s, and the corridor became the **Strollway**, a popular pedestrian and bicycle path. It links Downtown Winston-Salem and Old Salem to the Salem Creek Greenway which runs east along Salem Creek to Salem Lake, three miles away.

The beautiful Salem Academy and College grounds now occupy much land on the east side of Old Salem beyond the NHL boundary. The broad bottom of Salem Creek is floodplain and remains undeveloped in park land and athletic facilities. The north side of the creek was known as Central Park after 1922 and portions purchased in 2001 by Salem Academy and College were groomed as playing fields.

The south side of the creek on former Salem Farm land is the Salem Creek Greenway and the Happy Hill Park, owned by the City of Winston-Salem. Several bridges link the north and south sides of the creek, all at historic crossings. A pedestrian metal truss bridge from 1936 crosses Salem Creek at the foot of Liberia Street, and two vehicular bridges cross Salem Creek at Main and Waughtown Streets. In ca. 2000, a North Carolina Department of Transportation project re-worked the intersection of Main Street, Old Salem Road, and Salem Avenue with a roundabout. The 1921 Waughtown bridge was transitioned to pedestrian/bicycle use only and became a feature in the Salem Creek Greenway. Nearby, a forested section in the southwest corner of Happy Hill Park is wetland related to the **Brothers' Spring**, re-discovered by Old Salem in 2013.

Salem Creek is the major landscape feature of Salem, as it has been throughout the existence of the town as an important resource for food, water, power, and recreation. It was the location of the first and second Salem Mills, and the mill race (now archaeological) was the source for water that turned the wheel of the second mill, flowing from a dammed mill pond in an area east of the NHL. Salem Avenue was originally named Park Avenue, as it bordered Wachovia Park and the Lower Pleasure Ground of the school, and was extended through the Salem Creek bottom in 1923. It lies on much of the mill race built in 1819-20, and the cross street at the south end of Church Street carries the name "Race Street." Park Avenue was renamed Salem Avenue in the mid-twentieth century. Salem Creek was a source of fish, and waterfowl were hunted along its channel. Today,

[12] Lisa O'Donnell, "New dorm creates excitement among returning students," *Winston-Salem Journal*, 24 August 2015.

wild ducks and a variety of other birds and wildlife are supported by this creek ecosystem. The Salem Creek Greenway, with its walking and biking path parallel to the creek, is popular access to the outdoors.

Inventory

Information in the Inventory is taken directly from three preliminary surveys conducted by the M.O. and Martha (Boxley) Hartley, with the associated bibliographies attached. A basic source for these survey inventories were the comprehensive Lot Files maintained by Old Salem, Inc. and consisting of relevant documentation from the Moravian Archives, Winston-Salem and other accumulated information. *The Records of the Moravians in North Carolina* (13-volumes) are always invaluable sources of information. In addition, generally used sources included: "History of Properties in Old Salem" by Frank Albright and Frank Horton (unpublished manuscript, 1970), *Old Salem: Official Guidebook* (1994), and the Sanborn Fire Insurance Maps (1885-1917). For information about Salem Academy and College property, the Salem College Library Archives were essential.

Preliminary Surveys:
Michael O. Hartley and Martha B. Boxley, "Salem Survey," 1997, an Old Salem Inc. Project prepared under a CLG Grant from North Carolina Division of Archives and History, Survey and Planning Branch;

Michael O. Hartley and Martha B. Hartley, "Town of Salem Survey," 1999, an Old Salem, Inc. Project prepared under a CLG Grant from North Carolina Division of Archives and History, Survey and Planning Branch; and

Michael O. Hartley and Martha B. Hartley, "Archaeology at Old Salem: Assessment and Inventory," 2001, an Old Salem, Inc. Project prepared under a CLG Grant from North Carolina Archives and History, Archaeology Section.

The Inventory includes resource entries organized by street name (north, south, east, west) and by individual resources.

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North Side

11 Lot 29 Inspector's House 1810 Contributing Building

The Inspector's House takes its name from its construction as the residence and office of the headmaster of the Girls Boarding School (*Anstalt*), who was known as the "Inspector." Prior uses of this lot were for lumber storage and later farming. Plans for this house began in June 1809 during Abraham Steiner's leadership as Inspector, and by the end of October, the following report was made:

> Sketches of the house for the Inspector of the Girls' *Anstalt* which is to be built on lot 52 [by 1805 Map], between the church and the Boys' School were submitted to Eld. Conf. and studied. It is to be 48 ft. long and 33 ft. wide, and on the east side, behind the steps, a living room and bedroom; on the west side a living room and kitchen. Under the latter 2 rooms will be the cellar which has an entrance from the house and from the yard. Under the roof another room could be arranged.[13]

These plans were somewhat amended when construction began in 1810; Steiner requested that one of the cellars be built with a vaulted ceiling, which was approved. Construction was undertaken by Br. David Blum, mason. Toward the end of 1811, a letter from Br. Herbst reported: "Last week Br. Steiner moved with his family into his new house. Eight [Boarding School] children sleep in their house since there is no more room in the Boarding School Dormitory."[14] Continuous pressures for housing students at the Girls Boarding School required that many were "outboarded" or lived in Salem family homes. Steiner also built a brick smokehouse in the rear yard and a small brick house (14 feet by 18 feet) to the west near the Boys School lot for housing Widow Welfare, who looked after the boys.

The Inspector's House was occupied by successive Inspectors. Br. Gotthold Reichel added a chimney to the small house and it was converted to a laundry in 1823. In 1834, Br. John Christian Jacobson arrived in Salem to become the new Inspector and assistant pastor of the church, and in 1838 he built an addition on the Inspector's House to the west because of a lack of room. The new addition was to contain two rooms; one as the personal office of the Inspector, and the other for strangers visiting the Inspector. After the construction of the new addition, concern was expressed that it was endangered by the chimneys of the small house, and it was recommended that they be vaulted. The small house disappeared mid-century and another addition was made at the west end of the Inspector's House.

Facing Salem Square and situated on the prominent northeast corner at Academy and Church Streets, and strategically located near the Girls Boarding School, the house was built against both sidewalks of this corner lot. The one-story building with a side gable roof (red tile) with flush ends is on a raised foundation and is composed of the 1810 building and two additions to the west. The original building is the symmetrical five-bay portion at the east end with a center hooded entry at a masonry stoop and interior end chimneys with corbelled caps. The walls are Flemish bond brick with dark headers on a stuccoed stone foundation; there is a kick at the eave, a cove and bead cornice, and a brick water table. The four-panel front door with ogee tracery in the

[13] "Minutes of the Elders Conference, Oct. 25, 1809" (Lot 29, Old Salem, Inc. Lot Files, Winston-Salem, NC).
[14] Herbst to Reichel, Sep. 2, 1811(Lot 29, Old Salem, Inc. Lot Files, Winston-Salem, NC).

elliptical arch above is surmounted by the original hood and enters a center hall, two room deep plan. The hall has a stair and rear door. The front door is at a granite doorsill at a granite landing on a masonry stoop with six to seven granite steps off each end. Windows are nine-over-six sash set in elliptical relieving arches and hung with louver shutters. Windows and doors have molded casings. There are two gable dormers, one at the entry bay and one at the last bay on the left, each with a six-over-six sash window. At the cellar level to the left of the stoop are a three-light casement window (at the steps) and a six-light casement window, each set in a relieving arch. The upper gable end on the east elevation at the second-floor level has two six-over-six sash windows set in relieving arches flanked by four-light attic casements. There are two vertical two-light casements in the upper attic.

The 1838 addition to the west continues the roof line and is a two-bay common bond (3:1) brick façade on a brick foundation with an interior end chimney with corbelled cap. There are two nine-over-six sash windows set in segmental relieving arches and hung with louver shutters, one gable dormer at the left bay, and a six-over-six sash window and three-light casement at the cellar level. The ca. 1850 addition, further to the west, is a common bond (4:1) brick which also continues the roof line. The brick foundation is stuccoed here and painted a reddish color. The three-bay façade has two nine-over-six sash windows hung with louver shutters, and a four-panel door, all set in segmental relieving arches, and there is an interior end chimney. The door is at a granite door sill at a granite landing on a masonry stoop with a flight of granite steps at the east end to the sidewalk. The lot slopes to the west revealing a full story cellar at the west end, and under the stoop there is an entry to the cellar. There are also openings at each bay of the cellar level set in relieving arches, three six-over-six sash windows and a three-light casement at the steps.

The additions to the building (1838 and ca. 1850) doubled its size, and although they are common bond and with different header/stretcher courses themselves, the consistency of form and details create a total structure of harmony: relieving arches above the windows and door, nine over six windows, continuation of cornice and roof lines, end chimneys, the two entry doors located at the third bay from each end, molded window and door casings, and evenly spaced dormers. The rear elevation is generally consistent with the façade, although there are three doors and there is a nearly centered three-bay shed roof porch. Photographs from the early twentieth century show a fourth dormer at the far east of the roof.

Since construction in 1810, the house has served the office of the head of the school (known at times as: Inspector, Principal, Headmaster, President), and the reception room remains the same as well. The Girls School evolved into Salem Academy and College, which was led by Moravian ministers until Dale H. Gramley was chosen as the first non-clergy President (1949-1971).

The Inspector's House was scheduled to be demolished in the early twentieth century. Memorial Hall, a Salem Academy and College fine arts building, had been constructed by 1907 just behind the Inspector's House on the back half of Lots 29 and 31. This large building was to have a portico matching the 2-story Doric portico on Main Hall, and the Inspector's House would have to be removed for it. Due to funding shortages and many objections (particularly by Ada Allen), the Inspector's House was not torn down and instead was restored in 1936 with gifts from Mrs. Robert D. Shore. Her children made a gift in her honor towards further restoration of the building in 1967. Memorial Hall was demolished in 1965 after the Salem Fine Arts Center was completed.

3 Lot 30 Boys School 1794 Contributing Building

A beautiful building by Johann Gottlob Krause at this prominent corner of Academy and Main Streets, the Boys School faces Salem Square and was built against both sidewalks. The building has a full story stuccoed stone foundation that is painted and scored to resemble cut stone. Due to the slope of the lot, the cellar at the façade and west elevation is a visible full story. The one-story Flemish bond brick building with dark or glazed headers has a steep side gable roof (with clay tile from Germany) with corner lock plates and interior end

chimneys with corbelled caps and stucco bands. There are numerous details, including a cove cornice and decorative brickwork. Krause used reduced dimension bricks in the gable ends to lighten the load of the upper walls and highlighted each with different elements. The west, and most prominent side, has a diamond pattern in dark headers in the upper gable. The east gable end has a raised brick belt course. Circle vents and a single chevron in dark headers below the rake are on both gable ends. The symmetrical façade has a centered entry at the cellar level with a six-panel door and four-light transom. The door is at a granite doorsill at a large granite stone landing that is set in and flush with the sidewalk grade. Window sash is six-over-six throughout the building and set in elliptical relieving arches. In each upper gable end at the second floor/attic are two six-over-six sash windows flanked by vertical two-light attic casements. Windows and doors have wide casings and window sills, and the cellar level windows have single leaf, two-panel shutters. A high stone wall extends from the northwest and southeast building corners, along the sidewalk frontage.

A "stranger" William Grieg (Craig) was hired by Krause to assist him with the Boy's School. Craig probably first came to Wachovia in the late 1780s/early 1790s, and was a skilled mason, as would be seen in his work on the 1797 Vorsteher's House (Lot 34). The influence of Craig on Krause is unclear; Krause had been using dark headers to highlight his Flemish bond since the 1784 construction of the Tavern, but it was with the Boy's School that the design patterns (chevron, diamond) appear in his walls.

The front door enters a center hall, two room deep plan. The cellar hall is paved in brick and has a rear staircase. At the cellar level, the northwest room (identified on original plans as the living room) has a bake oven, and the northeast room has a vaulted ceiling. In the southeast room is the large cooking fireplace with cast iron crane in place.[15] At the cellar level on the east side of the northeast and southeast rooms, brick-in doorways were explored archaeologically in 2013. The graceful open stairway at the rear of the hall ascends to the vaulted attic as a "continuous winding staircase, three stories in height, with details similar to the staircase in the Tavern"[16] At the landing midway between the cellar and the first floor, is a four-panel door at a granite doorsill with a sixteen-light window above, set in an elliptical relieving arch. The rear elevation is symmetrical with two six-over-six sash windows set in elliptical relieving arches on either side of the door. At the cellar level are two three-light casements to the right of the centered door, and to the left there are two vents. The door opens onto the rear schoolyard. A drawing by a student in 1798 (Nathaniel Shober, age 14), illustrated the schoolyard with a piazza or open-sided shelter, a woodshed with a privy, and large garden squares, the entirety surrounded by a fence and wall. A sketch from 1850 by Maximilian de Grunert recorded an ornamental garden on the east side of the Boys School.

The Boys School served Salem boys ages 6-14 with a variety of subjects being taught, including: writing, arithmetic, history, geography, geometry, Latin, Greek, English, French, German, drawing of landscapes and flowers, and music. The first floor served as the schoolhouse, while the ground floor was the residence of the school master and his wife. The second floor/attic was a sleeping hall for boarding students from nearby Moravian communities.

Education has been a significant part of Moravian life since their early period in Europe. This education tradition was maintained in Salem and throughout Wachovia. With the formal occupation of Salem in 1772 and the arrival of children with their families from Bethabara, the means to educate them were begun. Rev. Paul Tiersch, minister to the congregation of Salem, proposed a school for the boys choir in December of 1771 to begin in Br. Aust's house. The school for girls was begun in the *Gemeinhaus* in 1772 by the Single Sisters.

[15] David Bergstone (Director of Architecture, Old Salem Museums & Gardens), email message to MB Hartley, 26 April 2013.
[16] Hall Crews, "Old Salem, Now a Part of Winston-Salem, North Carolina," in *The Monograph Series Recording The Architecture of the American Colonies and the Early Republic*, vol. 15, no. 2. (New York: Russell R. Whitehead, 1929), 36.

A school for boys continued in Salem in various locations through the next decade until it became possible in 1783 to establish an *"Anstalt"*, or home-school, with resident students in a house recently vacated by Brother Triebel. By 1793 the need for a new school building for boys had reached the point that agreement was reached for the construction of the Boys School building. Gottlob Krause's contract for construction dated February 26, 1794 contains the following statement:

> Gottlob Krause undertakes in building the school house, all the work of masonry in stone and brick, wattle and daub plastering, and white washing the entire house, to plaster and smooth the walls outside, to cover the roof, to pave the hall and lower parts, to make and overlay cellar vault, chimneys, and fireplaces, and all like masonry howsoever it might be called, according to the rules of the trade, well and skillfully done, as can be demanded by a master mason; and to hire sufficient masons, and likewise hod-carriers, to pay all of them for their work, to furnish and give them the usual drams, and to have prepared all the lime, sizing, and mortar-slaking; also to make the scaffolds; whereby he shall begin immediately after Easter and not stop until the building is finished[17]

From 1823 to 1829 the Boys School was moved to the recently vacated Single Brothers' House for a short period during which the school accepted boarding students from outside the Moravian communities. Andreas Benade, the Inspector of the Boys School, and his wife occupied the old Boys School building as their residence. The number of students necessary for a successful operation was not maintained, however, and by 1828 a general depression on the country had reduced the number of boarding school students to six. In 1829 the decision was made to abandon the boarding school initiative and return the school to its old home in the Boys School building. In late 1839 a normal school was established in Salem which met for a time in the lower floor of the Boys School, and then moved to the Concert Hall (Lot 48). In 1840 a "Young Men's Literary Society" was established and used room in the Boys School, and a night school for apprentices was held in the Boys School through 1843. The Boys School building remained the site of schooling for boys from 6-14 years until the second Boys School building was completed in 1896 (Lot 34, 500 S. Church St.).

The formation of the Wachovia Historical Society (WHS) in 1895 brought about their 1897 acquisition of the recently vacated Boys School building, and it housed artifacts in the collection of the Society from that time (see Lot 62, Young Men's Missionary Society). In 1937-38, the Hall of History was built to the rear of the Boys School by the Works Progress Administration and served as a museum for the WHS collection. In the 1950s, Old Salem Inc. acquired the property through lease and assumed management of the WHS artifacts. Old Salem, Inc. also restored the Boys School building in 1954 and in 1985 removed the large brick annex built in the 1930s. Using previously unavailable methods in diagnostics and new research, the Boys School was re-examined by Old Salem from 2013 to 2015 for additional restoration.

31FY395*30
Lot 30 Archaeology
Contributing Component to the Contributing Site

1985 Michael Hammond (OSI)
Testing area west of Annex prior to demolition.

2013 Michael O. Hartley (OSI)
East wall investigation and lightning rod on west wall

[17] Johann Gottlob Krause Contract, Feb. 26, 1794 (Lot 30, Old Salem Inc. Lot Files, Winston-Salem, NC).

Academy Street
South Side

10 Lot 61 Single Brothers' Workshop (reconstruction) 1979 Contributing Building
The Single Brothers Workshop was built in 1771 in the rear yard of the Single Brothers House (Lot 62), occupied two years prior. It was the second large building erected in Salem, following the Brothers House, and was a story-and-a-half double-pen log building with a gable roof. The two pens were connected by a half-timbered section. The Workshop was removed by 1921. The lot was excavated in 1976 and the Workshop was reconstructed by Old Salem, Inc. in 1979 as an educational facility. The exterior is interpreted to the original construction date, the interior is designed for a variety of interactive education uses, offices, and meeting space. The building's presence gives greater understanding to the early operation of the Single Brothers living and working arrangements.

The Single Brothers House provided living quarters, kitchen/dining, larder, *Saal*, and limited craft room space. The need for other buildings to provide additional room for the Single Brothers crafts and trades was discussed as early as August of 1770. Plans for a new building adjacent to the Single Brothers House to contain the trade shops were proposed in January of 1771 and then revised in February. Among the crafts the building was to hold were the blacksmith, the weaving establishment, carpenters and joiners, and the locksmith shop. The cornerstone was laid in March, and the Brothers began to lay up the log walls in May. The building was under roof by mid-June of 1771. The workshop was home to a number of shops and craftsmen throughout the succeeding years. However, as the Single Brothers House foundered toward its dissolution in 1823, its end was preceded by the sale of the Workshop.

As early as April 1819, Brother Matthew Rights (Reuz) began making arrangements to buy the Workshop, with its shed and stable, to use as a residence and a shop, and to lease the narrow strip of land which was its lot. At some point after 1840, the eastern pen was removed. The Rights family held the building until the ca. 1892 extension of Liberty (Salt) Street to the south when it was sold back to the Salem Congregation. In 1921, the western pen was torn down to make way for a brick residence known as the "Pfohl Apartments." In 1974 Old Salem, Inc. proposed the reconstruction of the Single Brother's Workshop to house a learning center for the museum. Based on archaeological and documentary information, the Workshop was reconstructed in 1979 and has become an important tool for the education in Old Salem, Inc. The exterior represents the Workshop as conceived and built in 1771, and the interior includes an interpretive kitchen which utilizes the wide hearth and bake oven for cooking. There are workshop areas for textiles, pottery, joinery, and other crafts.

The two-story double pen log building with *fachwerk*, or half-timber, connector has a steep gable roof (concrete to simulate wood shingle) and sits on a raised stone foundation a few feet back from the sidewalk. The hand hewn white oak logs have full dovetail joints. There is a kick at the eaves, which are open, and extended top locking plates. At the east gable, a peak extends for a block and tackle. The gable ends of the building are sheathed in board and batten siding. There are two interior brick chimneys with stucco band and an interior end chimney at the west end. This latter chimney vents the cellar kitchen hearth and the attached stone wall bake oven with gable roof (clay tile). The north elevation has five bays on the first floor and three on the second. There is one herringbone door in the second bay from the right and located at a stone stoop with granite landing and granite steps. Windows are paired eight-light casements on the first floor and paired six-light casements on the second floor, as found on each elevation. The south elevation is symmetrical and has a pent eave. At the entry is an extended shed roof at the centered entry which is reached by an ADA stone ramp with wrought iron handle. The double-leaf herringbone door has a six-light transom and is located in the center bay (*fachwerk* section). Fenestration repeats on the north. Due to the slope of the lot, the west and part of the south elevation are full story cellar. At the cellar level on the south, there is a herringbone door to the left of the ramp and one eight-light casement window, both set in brick segmental arches.

Well and Pump (reconstruction) 2006 Contributing Structure

There was much discussion about additional water needs of the Single Brothers. During a visit by a well digger in 1789, a location on the Single Brothers' land was one of several in Salem chosen for well digging. The well was dug in 1789 and lined with stone. Discussion in 1815 referenced repairs to the pump in the yard. The location of the well was noted by Frank Albright in 1963. Excavation in 2006 recovered the well opening and upper five feet of the shaft. Reconstructed and centered over the well is a low square stone foundation with a frame structure and batten decking supporting a pump (built by the Old Salem Historic Trades Department).

31FY395*61
Lot 61 Archaeology
Contributing Component to the Contributing Site

1963 Frank Albright (OSI)
Yard testing

1975 John Clauser, Jill Loucks (consulting archaeologists)
Single Brothers Workshop

2006 Michael O. Hartley and Martha Hartley (OSI)
Single Brother's Well, with Jennifer Garrison

Lot 94 Single Brothers' Slaughterhouse 1784 Contributing Component to the Contributing Site

Listed on the National Register of Historic Places ("Single Brothers Industrial Complex Site"—with Lot 93).

The Single Brothers' House Lot 62 stretched west and intersected their large tract of nearly 700 acres. The part of the lot between Town Run and at Tanners Run became an area of industrial activity in 1773 when they built their Brewery and Distillery (Lot 93). This area was across the Shallowford Road (Academy St.) from the Tannery (Lot 92), a Congregation industry established in 1769. In 1784, the Single Brothers established a Slaughterhouse (Lot 94) to the west of Town Run.

The Slaughterhouse complex included at least three structures. The main building was a one and one-half story stone building that was stuccoed; it had a wood shingle roof. It measured approximately 62.5 by 19 feet (oriented north-south) with the gable end fronting the street. The building was divided into sections according to use. There was also a large stable (54 feet long) and a one and one-half story log storage building. Floor plans of the buildings are held by the Moravian Archives, Winston-Salem. The organization of the buildings formed an interior courtyard. The buildings are recorded in nineteenth-century photographs and on eighteenth and nineteenth-century maps and paintings of Salem, and in written documentation. The slaughterhouse operation functioned until ca. 1803 when the Market-Fire Engine House was built on Salem Square for fresh meat sales by area farmers. By 1816, renowned Moravian cabinetmaker Karsten Petersen leased the former slaughterhouse complex, and it remained a Petersen family cabinet shop into the late nineteenth century. [18]

The 1885 Sanborn Insurance map recorded the cabinet shop operation. By 1890 changes took place on Lot 94. The storage building was removed and a house built in its place. A wall of the slaughterhouse collapsed in 1897 and the whole building was soon demolished. In the 1950s the entire lot was cleared of buildings.[19] The construction of the Southbound rail spur in 1912 (now the Strollway) reduced the dimension of Lot 94. Old Salem owns the remaining portion of the lot and it is in grass lawn. A snake rail fence marks the perimeter of

[18] Kathleen Gilmore and John Larson, "Site of Single Brothers Industrial Complex (Salem Lots 93 and 94)," National Register of Historic Places Registration Form, U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, 1979, 7:3-4.
[19] Ibid., Section 7:5.

the parcel at The Strollway and along Academy St. Old Salem acquired the industrial lots (including Lot 92) for protection of the archaeological resources and for retrieval of the urban streams.

31FY395*94
Lots 94 Archaeology
Contributing Component to the Contributing Site

1978 Kathleen Gilmore, Ned Woodall (WFU)
Lots 93 & 94 Industrial sites

Lot 93 Single Brothers' Brewery and Distillery 1773 Contributing Component to the Contributing Site

Listed on the National Register of Historic Places ("Single Brothers Industrial Complex Site"—with Lot 94).

The Single Brothers' House Lot 62 stretched west and intersected their large tract of nearly 700 acres. The part of the lot between Town Run and at Tanners Run became an area of industrial activity in 1773 when they built their Brewery and Distillery at Tanners Run (Lot 93). This area was across the Shallowford Road (Academy St.) from the Tannery (Lot 92), a Congregation industry established in 1769.

The Brewery was a *fachwerk*, or half-timber, building of one and one-half stories with a side gable roof (wood shingle) oriented east-west. It measured approximately 60 by 28 feet. The building fronted the street and had a stone cellar with a full exposed south cellar wall and two interior chimneys, probably brick. A floor plan of the building is held by the Moravian Archives, Winston-Salem.[20] It was a successful enterprise for the Single Brothers until ca. 1805. The building passed through several occupants until 1818 when it became a laundry for the Girls Boarding School until 1842.[21] During this period, the building was covered with weatherboards. The building is recorded in nineteenth-century photographs, on eighteenth and nineteenth-century maps and paintings of Salem, and in written documentation.

In 1870, Fogle Brothers Construction Company had its origins in the former Brewery building. Begun by Charles Fogle and Gottlieb Sides in 1870 as a lumber dressing plant, the business moved the next year to its location on Belews Creek Street, and Charles' brother Christian bought Gottlieb's shares. The Salem Paper Company began operation on Lot 94 in 1884. Bishop Rondthaler noted in 1884 that "The pure water required for the manufacture of paper is supplied in ample quantities by an artesian well."[22] The 1885 Sanborn Insurance map recorded the paper company's operations in the former Brewery building and buildings fronting Marshall Street. The operation was noted as "closed" on the 1890 Sanborn Insurance map. Across Academy St., the tannery (Lot 92) had been owned and operated by J. W. Fries and was also noted as "closed" on the 1890 map. In ca. 1892, Marshall Street was pushed north from Academy St. through the tannery land. The buildings on Lots 93 and 92 were demolished and the area developed as residential. J.W. Fries owned much land in the area of West Salem.

During the late 1970s, the City of Winston-Salem initiated the South Marshall Street Redevelopment Plan and removed much of the early-mid twentieth century development in the area. Old Salem was able to acquire that part of Lot 93 east of Tanners Run; the western part of the lot remains green space. Historic-style fencing is along the entire northern property line of Lot 93 at the sidewalk along Academy St. Old Salem acquired the

[20] Ibid., Section 7:2.
[21] Ibid., Section 8:2.
[22] Edward Rondthaler, *The Memorabilia of Fifty Years 1887-1927* (Raleigh: Edwards & Broughton Company, 1928), 48.

industrial lots (including Lot 92) for protection of the archaeological resources and for retrieval of the urban streams.

31FY395*93
Lots 93 Archaeology
Contributing Component to the Contributing Site

1978 Kathleen Gilmore, Ned Woodall (WFU)
Lots 93 & 94 Industrial sites

1983 Ned Woodall (WFU)
Lot 93 salvage at west end of Brewery lot

1987 Michael Hammond (OSI)
Lot 93 Brewery site

1988 Michael Hammond (OSI)
Lot 93 Brewery site

Bridge 1884 Contributing Structure

The Shallowford Street crossings of Tanners Run and Town Run had bridges since the early days of Salem. This east-west thoroughfare was initially determined by the north boundary of the Salem Square, the focal point of the town, and was established as a major route of communication, particularly to the west. The roadway, as laid out on the Salem grid, extended west to link to the *Weg von der Shallow ford* or "Road to Shallow ford," which continued to the Yadkin River and the important Shallowford crossing. The road name changed to "Old Shallowford Street" in 1826-27 when New Shallowford Street was built.

The Shallowford name held until 1891 when Old Shallowford St. was re-named "Academy Street" in recognition of the Salem Female Academy. The street was widened at this time and the 1884 brick common bond barrel vault carrying the street over Tanner's Run was extended north. Until recent time the south arch had a dated keystone. The north end extends upward as a brick wall about three feet above ground level. It is one of only three late nineteenth-century bridges remaining in Winston-Salem, and all three are in the Salem Historic District NHL and all are in use.[23] The bridge over nearby Town Run was lost when the Old Salem Road was built in 1956-58 and the creek was culverted and filled.

Gas Station (former) ca. 1930 Noncontributing Building

Set back from the corner of Academy and Marshall Streets is a one-story, one-room masonry building with a cross gable tile roof. This former gas station building, with a Spanish Colonial Revival/Mission flavor, was retained and renovated as an open shelter as part of the South Marshall Street Redevelopment Plan by the City of Winston-Salem. Of significance is the deliberate protection by Old Salem and the City of this intersection as an attractive entry point into Old Salem. Three corners are owned by others and attractive landscaping is maintained: the northwest corner has the gas station building on a grassy parcel, the southwest parcel is open grass with shrubbery and a split rail fence along the street, and the southeast parcel is open grass with plantings adjacent to the open creek of Tanners Run, with a split rail fence. The northeast parcel is owned by Old Salem and is part of Lot 92 (Tannery), and the Marshall Street side has a snake rail fence along the sidewalk edges.

[23] "Spanning the Past: A Survey of Selected Historic Bridges in Winston-Salem, North Carolina" (Winston-Salem: City-County Planning Board of Forsyth County and Winston-Salem, North Carolina), 2008, 13.

Blum Street
South Side

12 Lot 23 Whipple House 1917 Noncontributing Building
On the shady block with stone paved gutters, this narrow house was built after Lot 23 was subdivided. Sanborn Insurance maps form 1917 recorded the house set back from the street and built on the center section of Lot 23, facing Blum Street. Another house had been built at the rear of Lot 23 by 1912 at the corner of Blum Street and Church Street. Subdivision of lots in Salem was common in the early decades of the 20th century and the house here is an example of fitting a building into the narrow lot in a densely developing community. Lot 23 is the location of the Zevely House (803 S. Main St.), which became the Zevely Hotel in the 1840s. The building was rehabilitated in the 1990s as the Zevely Inn, and at that time, the house (ca. 1912) at the corner of Blum and Church was demolished.

At 12 Blum Street, the 1917 Sanborn Insurance map recorded a two-story house with a full façade, one-story front porch and a one-story rear ell on this parcel. Sometime later, the house was renovated in a Colonial Revival style. The gable front, two-bay frame (beaded weatherboard) Whipple house has returned eaves and box cornice. There are vented lunettes in the upper gable ends. There is an interior brick chimney, an engaged brick chimney at the east side of the ell, and a stuccoed brick foundation. The ell has plain weatherboard. The entry on the right side of the façade is a pedimented portico with slender paired Tuscan columns and clay tile roof. There are two to three brick steps off either side of the porch as access to brick walkways to the sidewalk. The six-panel door has a four-light transom. Window sash is six-over-six and hung with three-panel shutters. The house stretches back to the rear of the shallow lot with a shed roof porch attached to the gable roof ell. The roofs are standing seam copper. There is a partially enclosed, shed roof stoop at the east side of the ell with a flight of wood steps to the ground.

Brookstown Avenue (also known as New Shallowford Street)
North Side

301 Commercial Building 1930 Noncontributing Building
One-story, brick commercial building with multiple tenants. Located at the south end or front of the Fries block and on a portion of Lot 160 (see S. Cherry Street). In this location, the 1840 map of Salem shows a two-story, 4-bay, interior end chimney building that was associated with the cotton factory.

Brookstown Avenue (also known as New Shallowford Street)
South Side

Lot 81 Builders' House/Schaffner-Krause Pottery 1766 Contributing Component to the Contributing Site
On Monday, January 6, 1766, a dozen brethren from Bethabara and Bethania went to the site chosen for the new Moravian town of Salem. That afternoon they felled trees to build a one-story log house for shelter during construction of the new town. Known as the "Builders' House," this first permanent structure in Salem served the builders for as long as needed. In the 1780s, the building and vicinity was used as a small farm managed by Daniel Schnepff, farmer and his family, to provide farm products to the town. In the 1820s during the lot system re-numbering, Lot 81 was designated and in the 1830s became part of Salem's pottery enterprise.

The potter Heinrich Schaffner arrived in Salem from Neuwied, Germany on November 15, 1833 and was immediately recognized for his industrious ways. Although John Holland was already producing pottery in Salem, by 1834 Schaffner was given permission to establish a second pottery, which he located on Lot 81, using the Builders House as the shop in his operation. This pottery, first under Schaffner and then Daniel Krause, was

in production until near the turn of the twentieth century. The Builders House stood until 1907, and other aspects of the operation, including the kiln and additional outbuildings were also present until then.

At the southwest corner of Brookstown Avenue and Old Salem Road, this component is located in a grass lawn with a snake rail fence marking the street sides. This significant property was purchased by Old Salem in the 1980s to protect the archaeological potential, and excavation began in 2000.

31FY395*81
Lot 81 Archaeology
Contributing Component to the Contributing Site

This component of the Old Salem Archaeological Site is one of the two most extensive archaeological investigations in Old Salem, the other being the St. Philips Complex on Church Street. During the eight years of annual excavations, between 2000 and 2008, the 1766 Builders' House was located, which was the first building erected in Salem, and which became the Schaffner Pottery in 1834. Additional structures revealed archaeologically were the kiln, the dry house, the warehouse and the well. The excavation has provided new understanding of production of lead-glazed earthenware, specialty pottery, and cultural meanings associated with the ware. Analysis and publication of findings from these excavations continues, and the component remains available for further excavation and research.

2000 - 2008 Michael O. Hartley (OSI)
Pottery Kiln, Builders House/Pottery Shop, Dry House, Warehouse, Shop well, waster piles, and yard information

2015 Geoff Hughes (UNC PhD candidate) under supervision of Michael O. Hartley, Director of Archaeology (OSI)
Exploration of south foundation of Builders' House and 1844 addition

Bridge **1880** **Contributing Structure**

Brookstown Avenue was originally named "new Shallowford path," laid out on November 13, 1826 to connect the upper part of Salem to the road to the Shallowford, *Weg von der Shallow ford*; the roadway was actually cleared by February 19, 1827. The original road to the Shallowford ran west from Salem Square (now Academy Street), and became known as the Old Shallowford Street. New Shallowford Street became the industrial heart of Salem and Wachovia. When the Plank Road was constructed from Fayetteville to Bethania in the 1850s, Francis Fries was a director of the road project and sought, unsuccessfully, to have the Plank Road built along New Shallowford in front of his mill operations. The route north along Main Street through Winston was chosen, however. Fries then built his own plank road, a wooden spur road which ran along New Shallowford west and joined the main Plank Road to the northwest in its direction toward the terminus in Bethania.

In conjunction with the construction of Arista Mills in 1880, the bridge over Town Run (Tar Branch) at the New Shallowford crossing was rebuilt and widened, and the brick common bond barrel vault has an 1880 dated keystone. There has been subsequent concrete reinforcement added over the years, and structural issues of a near-collapse in 2006 prompted repair and reconstruction, preserving the exterior features.[24] It is one of only three late nineteenth-century bridges remaining in Winston-Salem, and all three are in the Salem NHL and all are in use.

[24] Ibid., 13.

Southbound Railroad Corridor (former)/Strollway 1912 Contributing Structure

The Winston-Salem Southbound Railway was incorporated in 1905 with Francis H. Fries as chairman. Following the Winston-Salem Southbound Railway's construction in 1910 (eighty-nine-mile line between Winston-Salem and Wadesboro, NC), with passenger depot in Winston, a spur line for freight was built into Salem.[25] This spur was constructed in 1912 in a corridor that went north from Waughtown and crossed Salem Creek and into Salem. It then ran upstream along Tar Branch (the confluence of Town Run/Tanners Run) and then north along Town Run (Tar Branch) to the Southbound Freight Warehouse at Liberty Street. Lines were also run west on Brookstown Avenue to serve Arista and Maline Mills. Following the railroad construction in 1912, vehicular traffic on cross streets was at grade, except Washington Street where an iron truss bridge was built and at Bank Street where a steel and wooden bridge was built. The rail line served the industrial heart of Salem.

In the late 1980s, the train tracks were removed and the right-of-way was re-purposed as The Strollway, an active pedestrian and bicycle corridor. It is a paved path with embedded pea gravel and edged with flush curbing that runs from the Salem Creek Greenway north into Downtown Winston-Salem and passes by the front of the Old Salem Visitor Center. The short trestles that carried the track over creek crossings are extant and carry The Strollway. The path was extended from its original endpoint at First Street to Fourth Street. It is a popular urban bicycle and pedestrian link and connects to the Salem Creek Greenway trail which runs three miles to Salem Lake. A portion of the railroad track survives in the vicinity of the University of North Carolina School of the Arts, south of Salem.[26]

126 Hilltop House Apartments 2014 Noncontributing Building

This large five-story apartment block sits back from the sidewalk the depth of a stair tower on the right side of the three-bay façade. The stair tower is capped by a pyramidal roof (standing seam). The walls are running bond brick and brick-colored stucco with details inspired by neighboring industrial buildings. The building is fourteen bays deep. On the west elevation, each bay is an apartment unit with a door and one-over-one sash window opening onto a balconied corridor. The east elevation fronts The Strollway, with the first two floors brick with bays of paired windows set in a large segmental arch. Upper floors are stucco with paired windows, some balconies with French-style doors, and there is a plain cornice with simple brackets.

200 Lot 103 Arista Mill (former) 1836 Contributing Building

Individually listed on the National Register of Historic Places ("Salem Cotton Manufacturing Company and Arista Cotton Mill")

The core of the Arista Mill complex is the 1836 Salem Manufacturing Company, which was expanded and upgraded as the F. and H. Fries Arista Mill in 1880. The Arista Mill complex included the extant 1898 Transformer Building and structures no longer standing: two-story gable roof warehouse, wagon shed, wood yard, reservoir, ice plant, power station, as well as support structures such as well, cistern, waste house, etc.[27] The complex was rehabilitated in the 1980s and houses the Brookstown Inn (in the 1836 portion) and the city-county visitors center (Visit Winston-Salem) and offices (in the 1880 addition).

The 1836 building is located at the west end of the lot. The building was constructed as a three-story, common bond (5:1) brick building on a stone foundation with a shed roof addition at the rear (south). The east elevation of the building contains a portion of the original nine-bay deep building with monitor roof that has a corbelled brick cornice with two rows of mouse teeth. Historic graffiti on an interior third floor wall at the stairway is

[25] Laura A. W. Phillips, "Winston-Salem Southbound Railway Freight Warehouse and Office," National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form, U. S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, 1991, 8:2-4.

[26] John Larson (Vice-President of Restoration, Old Salem Museums & Gardens), conversation with MB Hartley, April 2013.

[27] Gwynne S. Taylor and Brent D. Glass, "Salem Cotton Manufacturing Company and Arista Cotton Mill (Fries Mill Complex)," National Register of Historic Places Registration Form, U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, 1979, Section 7.

preserved and protected by a glass panel. Earthquake bolts are visible. In the upper gable end of the rear (south) elevation, the decorative brick detail that was below the rake is seen. Other brickwork reveals the extension of the building.

The 1836 mill property also included a dormitory style building and mill management housing across the street. In addition, duplexes were constructed along Factory Row on the mill property. None survive.

With the 1880 construction of Arista, the 1836 building was expanded. A four-story, two-bay deep brick addition with a tower was made to the façade (north) of the 1836 building, and the west side was extended with a brick addition as well. The four-story façade has a corbelled brick cornice and bracketed eaves. The seven-bay façade is divided by four brick pilasters into three panels with a center panel of three bays flanked by panels of two bays. The center panel has a sidewalk-level, centered door with an arched four-light transom, set in a segmental arch. This was the original door to the office. At the fourth-floor center bay is a louver door set in a segmental arch with block and tackle. Each of the other bays is a window. On the first floor are nine-over-nine sash windows and on the upper floors are large-light six-over-six sash windows, all set in segmental arches. On the flat roof near the northwest corner is a hip roof (asphalt shingle) tower that rises one-story above the roof and repeats the decorative cornice and eaves of the main building. On the tower, there are two bays of six-over-six sash windows on the north and one twelve-over-twelve sash windows on the west. The twelve-over-twelve window size is also in the nine bays on the west and east elevations, with some variation in windows sash in other places. All windows are set in segmental arches. There are two double doors in wide segmental arches on the west elevation and the entry to the inn. The rear has a one-story brick addition with sixteen-over-sixteen sash windows. This building was the Wachovia Flouring Mills.

Arista Cotton Mill was the 1880 expansion located east across a courtyard from the 1836 building. It included a large core building with various wings. The large core building (for the weaving, carding, spinning and warping, as recorded on Sanborn Insurance maps 1885, 1895) is the two-story, common bond (5:1) brick building with nearly flat gable roof with wide bracketed eaves. It is eight bays wide and nineteen deep. The foundation is brick and there is a full basement with windows in the bays. Window sash is sixteen-over-sixteen set in segmental arches. At the second and third floor levels of the rear (south) elevation are centered double doors at stone doorsills, set in segmental arches, with block and tackle.

At the southwest rear corner of the large core building is a two-story brick wing (picker room, etc., recorded on Sanborn Insurance map 1895), with a small brick open tower, that connects to the 1836 section/expansion with an arched open hyphen. At the northwest corner of the large core building and projecting slightly is a two-story, two-bay brick stair tower capped by a pyramidal roof with open eaves and decorative iron crest. On the first floor, the entry is a double panel door with an arched three-light transom. Attached to the tower at the west is a one-story brick engine room wing with a four-bay façade, which includes three sixteen-over-sixteen windows and a double leaf door (entry to Visit Winston-Salem), all set in segmental arches. South of this wing is a large four-sided tapering brick chimney with corbelled cap that rises well above the mill complex.

In ca. 1898, a one-story addition twelve bays deep and seven wide was added to the rear of the large core building (for weaving, as recorded on Sanborn Insurance map 1900). It also has a nearly flat gable roof with wide bracketed eaves, and window sash is twelve-over-twelve.

South of the mill complex is a landscaped parking lot that was the site of the large mill reservoir by 1890.

The Salem leadership's decision in the mid-1830s to engage in the industrial production of cotton cloth was a pivotal moment for the community and the beginning of its transition to an industrial city. By 1836 the site for the mill was selected on New Shallowford Street in close proximity to a dependable water source. The

financing was by subscription by Salem congregation members or by the Administration, Salem Congregation Diacony, or the Salem Female Academy. Francis Fries was an emerging young leader in Salem and traveled to the North to learn about cotton milling. He returned to help complete the design of the building. Fries was the first mill manager until he left to establish his own woolen mill a block east on New Shallowford Street in 1840. Labor for the new mill was non-Moravian "strangers," and dynamics emerged with mill workers and their habits and needs. A series of ineffective mill managers, as well as fluctuations in cotton prices, competition, and other issues, convinced the investors that the mill was not sustainable and it was closed in December 1849 and offered for sale. In 1854 former North Carolina governor John Motley Morehead purchased the mill for his son-in-law Rufus Patterson, who ran the mill for a short time. Robert Gray, of Winston, may have owned the mill for a time.

Francis Fries successfully established his woolen mill and added a cotton factory. He created the successful base that would propel industrial innovation for decades to come. Labor at his mill depended on enslaved labor as well as paid white labor. His brother Henry W. Fries joined the business in 1846 and it became the F. & H. Fries Manufacturing Company, which was one of the largest textile mills in the South.[28] The Slave Schedule from the 1860 Forsyth County Census listed F & H Fries as owner of 48 slaves, male and female, from ages 1 to 52 and five slave houses.[29]

When the Plank Road was constructed from Fayetteville to Bethania in the 1850s, Francis Fries was a director of the road project and sought, unsuccessfully, to have the Plank Road built along New Shallowford in front of his mill operations. The route north along Main Street through Winston was chosen, however. Fries then built his own plank road, a wooden spur road which ran along New Shallowford west and joined the main Plank Road to the northwest in its direction toward the terminus in Bethania.

In 1856 Francis and Henry Fries acquired control of the former Salem Manufacturing Company and refitted it as a flour milling operation (Wachovia Flour Mills). In 1858 they built a Gas Works north of the woolen mill to supply power for lighting the mills and for powering a Corliss engine set in place in 1860. The by-product of the gas production process was discharged into the adjacent Town Run, which gave the creek a new name: "Tar Branch."

During the Civil War, the mill supplied cloth for Confederate uniforms. Francis Fries died at age 51 in 1863. The losses of the Civil War, including cotton and wool inventories stored elsewhere that were burned or stolen and the emancipation of forty slaves, were estimated at approximately one million dollars in property. Following the war, Henry Fries began to rebuild the industrial empire and was joined by Francis' oldest son John in 1867.[30] All three of Francis' sons entered the partnership as they reached their majority. By the late 1870s they had recovered and in 1880 made a tremendous investment when Francis' middle son Frank supervised the construction of the Arista Mill.[31] The local Chamber of Commerce described it as "a decided achievement in modern manufacturing. This structure was erected following the most approved plans of the successful New England cotton mills at a cost for building and equipment of about $125,000."[32] The mill was well advanced in lighting, machinery, and power and employed approximately 150 workers in 1915. Milling operations at Arista transitioned to all textiles by 1900 and continued production until the mid-1920s.

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[28] Gwynne S. Taylor, "Hylehurst," National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form, U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, 1983, 8:2.

[29] Forsyth County Genealogical Society, *The 1860 Federal Census*, 209.

[30] Taylor, "Hylehurst," 8:2.

[31] Taylor and Glass, "Salem Cotton Manufacturing Company," 8:2.

[32] Chamber of Commerce, "Description of Winston-Salem, 1888" in Taylor and Glass "Salem Cotton Manufacturing Company," 8:2.

Following mill closure, the facility served as a warehouse for Lentz Transfer and Storage into the 1970s prior to rehabilitation.[33]

The Arista Complex included the textile mill and flour mill, Transformer Station (1898), ice plant (1900), Maline Mills (1905), and various support structures. In the early twentieth century, the Fries Family expanded their textile operations to other locations in Winston-Salem, Rockingham County, NC, and Fries, Virginia. Francis Fries, his family and relatives were the significant leaders of nineteenth century industrial growth and development in Salem and Winston.

300 Fries Manufacturing and Power Co. Transforming Station 1898 Contributing Building
The transformer station was built by the Fries Manufacturing and Power Company in 1898. This building was the location of the transformer for power sent from the Fries' Power Plant on the Yadkin River, approximately 13 miles west. The hydroelectric power plant was built at the location of the former Douthit's Mill and Idol's Ferry on the river, and was North Carolina's first hydroelectric dam and power station. Thomas Edison was an early backer of the project.

The transforming station is located in the F and H. Fries Arista Mill complex. The power was also used by other factories in Salem, Winston, and Southside. An Ice Plant was built in 1900. In 1913, the Fries Manufacturing and Power Company was sold to Southern Public Utilities Company, a forerunner of Duke Power Company. The building is privately owned and used as a residence.

The flat iron building was constructed to fit the small triangular lot bounded by Brookstown Avenue, Wachovia Street, and Marshall Street. and is built against the sidewalks. It is a two-story, common bond (5:1) brick building on a brick foundation. There is a flat roof with wide eaves and a corbelled brick cornice. The building is basically triangular in form with two blunt corner ends. The longest side has five bays, the two other long sides have three bays each, and the blunt ends have one bay each. Windows are twelve-over-twelve sash with wide concrete sills and set in segmental relieving arches; however, many of the windows are bricked-up. The long side on Brookstown Avenue has five bays with a first floor of four windows and door set in a round arch in the far right bay; the second floor has five windows. The one-bay blunt corner end facing Brookstown Avenue has a round arch, double door entry with boarded-up fanlight at the first floor and there is a window at the second floor. This former main entry is at a masonry stoop with several steps down to the sidewalk. The grade slopes westerly and the one-bay blunt corner end facing Marshall St. has a wide wood service door at the basement level, with windows on the first and second floors. In the three-bays of the Wachovia Street side, all the windows are bricked up; only the middle bay of the three-bay Marshall Street side has window sash. These two sides do have sash in the graduated-size basement windows.

Cemetery Street
South Side

St. Philips Moravian Graveyard[34] #2 1859 Contributing Site
At the northeast corner of Salem Cemetery, and separated by a low hedge, is the graveyard for Blacks established in 1859 as a continuation of the Negro God's Acre at the African Church (St. Philips) and in use until ca. 1966. There are 234 burials.[35] The level grass plot is bounded by a wooded area on its east side at Salem Avenue.

[33] Taylor and Glass, "Salem Cotton Manufacturing Company," 8:3.

[34] Salem Congregation formally named the graveyard; Conrad Mitchell (St. Philips Moravian Church member and board member of Salem Congregation), telephone conversation with MB Hartley, 2012.

[35] Kym Riewe Maddocks (Manager of Research & Interpretive Operations, St. Philips Heritage Center, Old Salem Museums &

The earliest burials of black Moravians in Salem were in God's Acre alongside white Moravians. Black Strangers (non-Moravians) could be buried in the Parish Graveyard/Stranger's Graveyard, first laid out in 1773, and this graveyard also served as burial grounds for white Strangers who died in Salem until 1816 when they were permitted burial in God's Acre. In 1816, the Parish Graveyard was expanded to serve as the assigned place for the burial of African Americans, Moravian or otherwise, and was designated the Negro God's Acre (see St. Philips Moravian Church, 911 S. Church St.).

Discussion had begun in the late 1850s about the need for additional burial space, and in 1859, a new plot of land was designated for the burial of African Americans. The St. Philips Moravian Graveyard, #2, also known historically as the "Second Colored Cemetery" was established contiguous to the newly created Salem Cemetery (established 1857).

The organization of burials in the 1859 graveyard is unclear. Many gravestones are missing or covered with sod and not visible, and many were unmarked. Phoebe (died 1861), wife of Bodney and called the "Mother" of St. Philips, is buried there; Bodney is buried in the Negro God's Acre. They were owned by the Wachovia Administration and were two of the first three communicant members of the African Church in Salem, established May 1822. Lewis Hege (died 1918) is also buried in this graveyard. He was a leader in the African Church (see Lot 101, Race Street).

Salem Cemetery 1857 Contributing Site

Salem Cemetery, adjacent to God's Acre, presents a significant juxtaposition illustrating the changes occurring in nineteenth-century Salem. The first half of the nineteenth century was a time of industrialization, entrepreneurship, and the increasing use of enslaved labor. There was a growing tendency away from communal society to individual privacy, as generational changes took the Moravians further from their European roots and into the mainstream American South. A manifestation of this is seen in the desire on the part of prominent leadership in Salem to break with Moravian burial tradition in favor of freedom of expression and choice. The traditional Moravian burial practice is in the rectilinear organization of God's Acre with burials grouped by choir membership rather than by family. Choirs were organized according to age, gender and marital status, reflecting the belief in the significance of the family of God. Grave markers in God's Acre are simple, flat, recumbent tablets, reflecting the belief in equality at death.

Immediately following the end of the theocracy in Salem and the incorporation of the town of Salem (1856-57), a group of Salem and Winston citizens formed the Salem Cemetery Company, which was incorporated by the N.C. General Assembly 24 January 1857. Four months later, the Company purchased about eight acres of land from the Moravian Church for $50.[36] The undulating land was located just east of God's Acre and on the opposite side of the ravine east of the Salem ridge.[37]

Elias Alexander Vogler (1825-1876) was the landscape designer of Salem Cemetery. He was a gifted artist and designer and an important member of the Salem community (Lots 63, 27). The son of renowned Salem silversmith and businessman John Vogler, the young Elias attended school in Salem and showed an artistic talent from an early age. At age 14, he spent a year in the Moravian town of Lititz, Pennsylvania where he "studied drawing and worked on perspective landscape scenes."[38] A snow scene of Salem Square by E. A. Vogler ca. 1840 was probably painted soon after his return from Pennsylvania. This image inspired the

Gardens), telephone conversation with MB Hartley, 22 April 22 2011.

[36] Michael Hayes (Wachovia Bank Trust Dept., Assistant Secretary of Salem Cemetery Co. beginning 1975), telephone interview by MB Hartley, 27 October 1998.

[37] C. Daniel Crews and Lisa D. Bailey, eds., *Records of the Moravians in North Carolina* (Raleigh: Division of Archives and History, 2000), 12:6241.

[38] Julie R. Peery, "The John Francis Shaffner House" (master's thesis, Wake Forest University, 1994), 30.

landscape restoration of Salem Square following a devastating tornado in 1989. Vogler was also an architect and designed the Shaffner House (Lot 48) and several stylistic renovations to Salem houses (Lot 9, 40) in the 1870s. In addition, he produced important maps, including the 1863 Map of Forsyth County and the 1876 Map of Salem, Winston and Liberia (Happy Hill). Significantly, he was instrumental in the creation of Liberia for Freedmen in the late 1860s–early 1870s.

Beginning in November 1857, Salem Cemetery was laid out in a curvilinear form with narrow, winding paths (one vehicle wide) among the large burial plots. The paths have low curbing and are paved with asphalt. The large plots were offered for purchase as family burial plots. The Charter specified that plot owners might embellish their plots with plantings and fencing, etc., and for decades it was the owner's responsibility to also maintain their plots.[39] This led to much variation in appearances. For some time, a maintenance staff has been in place to keep the grounds in order and maintain landscaping. Easter, Memorial Day and Christmas are the major seasons of preparation. A western section, beyond the ravine and contiguous to God's Acre, was devoted to single plot burials; it remains separated by topography and granite walls.[40] In 1890, the Forsyth County Confederate Veterans Association purchased a plot in the eastern part of the cemetery. It contains the burials of thirty-six veterans, each marked by a flat tablet.[41] Each May, the United Daughters of the Confederacy holds a memorial wreath laying at the "Confederate Plot."

The Salem Cemetery Company purchased additional contiguous land in 1906 (south and east) and 1922 (south) for a total of about sixteen acres. In the 1930s and 40s, the ravine at the creek was filled. A culvert was laid and 28-40 feet of fill was added, thus creating additional land for burial. The high retaining wall at the Cemetery Street boundary (north) gives an idea of the ravine depth.[42] By 1928, Wachovia Bank became the fiscal agent for Salem Cemetery Co.; Wells Fargo purchased Wachovia Bank in 2008 and maintains oversight of the cemetery. Although a 1989 tornado destroyed more than forty large trees, the grounds remain largely shaded by tall conifers and hardwoods. Due to the terrain, graves continue to be hand dug, a job which takes 5-6 hours depending on the hardness of the ground. To date, there are over 10,000 burials.[43] The cemetery is rich with a variety of markers, including traditional tablets, upright markers, obelisks, and various sculpture, and many of Winston-Salem's leading citizens are buried there. Mausoleums with elaborate façades are built into the hillside and hold the remains of families with the names Fries, Shaffner, etc. A columbarium was added in 2006 with the first inurnment in 2007.[44]

Salem Cemetery's curvilinear design and thousands of upright monuments of various size and shape contrast the simplicity of God's Acre with its row upon row of identical recumbent gravestones. Both graveyards have been popular places for promenade throughout their history. When Wachovia Park was established ca. 1885 adjacent to the Lower Pleasure Ground of the College, the east side of Salem was, effectively, a large park.

S. Cherry Street
East Side

241 Patterson Wall ca. 1876 Contributing Structure
The brick retaining wall fronts Brookstown Avenue at the south end of the Patterson block and is a remnant of the fashionable Cherry Street property of Rufus and Mary Elizabeth (Fries) Patterson. The wall is extant at the

[39] Salem Cemetery Company, *Charter, By-Laws and Regulations* (Salem: L. V. Blum Printer, 1858).
[40] Emmett Adcock (Superintendent of Maintenance, Salem Cemetery Co.), conversation with MB Hartley, 1998.
[41] Richard W. Starbuck, *Civil War Notables of Salem God's Acre and Salem Cemetery* (Winston-Salem: Moravian Archives, 2005), 1.
[42] Adcock, 1998.
[43] Emmett Adcock (Superintendent of Maintenance, Salem Cemetery Co.), conversation with MB Hartley, 2006.
[44] Emmett Adcock (Superintendent of Maintenance, Salem Cemetery Co.), conversation with MB Hartley, 2013.

southwest and south perimeter of the lot and built back from the sidewalk several feet. The decorative common bond brick wall with granite coping features decorative piers capped with granite to mark the entry on Brookstown Avenue and the lot corners. The entry is bricked-in and filled, as much fill was added to the lot when it was redeveloped. The Patterson house was demolished in the mid-twentieth century and a motel built on the block. The property was renovated in 2012 as The Hilltop House Apartments.

Late-nineteenth century photographs, Sanborn Insurance maps, and the 1891 Bird's Eye View indicate a city block with the Patterson house in the center facing south surrounded by landscaped grounds with outbuildings at the rear (north) of the lot. A walkway entered the property at the south gate of the brick wall at Brookstown Avenue and meandered north to a round-about and then further to the house. The property was bounded by Brookstown Avenue, Cherry Street, High Street, and Elm Street. The Patterson block was across Cherry Street from the John and Agnes (de Schweinitz) Fries' block, known as "Hylehurst," and mirrored the layout of that lot. Mary Elizabeth Patterson was a sister of John Fries. Prior to the Patterson House, this block was part of the Salem Mill property with a mill manager house, like that on the Hylehurst block, as indicated on the map of Salem from 1840. Rufus Patterson had owned the mill in 1854 and had twice lived on Factory Row (Lots 87 and 88).

S. Cherry Street
West Side

210 Lot 150,151 William Allen Blair House 1901 Contributing Building
Individually listed on the National Register of Historic Places ("William Allen Blair House").

The Blair House is one of four surviving high-style houses on Cherry Street, once a boulevard of Salem's finest from the wealth of the late nineteenth and early twentieth-centuries. William Allen Blair (1859-1948) was born in nearby Guilford County, North Carolina to a family deep in the Quaker faith. Following home and Quaker schooling, he received degrees from Haverford College, Harvard University, and Johns Hopkins University. His field of expertise was education and he served as professor, principal, and superintendent of schools. Blair came to Winston in 1887 to be superintendent of the State Normal School; he was Winston's superintendent of schools the next year. He also had an interest in business, and in addition, pursued a law degree. Blair was a participant in the 1892 founding of Slater Industrial Academy by Simone Green Atkins, now Winston-Salem State University (WSSU), a historically black college. Blair served on the WSSU Board of Trustees for over forty years.[45]

In 1895 he married Mary Eleanor Fries (1873-1966), daughter of John and Agnes Fries. The Fries were a prominent Salem family. Mary Eleanor was a talented artist who had graduated from Salem Academy and College in 1890 and studied art for two years in Italy. William and Mary Eleanor Blair lived with her parents at Hylehurst for the first five years of marriage until they built their home at the rear of the Fries block at the former location of tennis courts and gardens.[46] The Fries block was bound by Cherry Street, High Street, Marshall Street, and Brookstown Avenue, and the Blair lot is the rear third of the block. At a high point of land at the corner of Cherry and High Streets, the house sits in the middle of the parcel and faces Cherry Street, with a drive at the carriage porch on the north side of the house at High Street. Designed by George Barber of Knoxville, Tennessee,[47] and built by Fogle Brothers Company, the house is "one of the finest Colonial Revival

[45] Gwynne S. Taylor, "William Allen Blair House," National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form, U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, 1984, 8:1-2.
[46] Ibid., 2.
[47] "William Allen Blair House," Local Historic Landmark #85 (10/19/92), Forsyth County Historic Resources Commission.

houses remaining in Winston-Salem."[48] Mary Eleanor Fries participated in the design process and the interior is patterned after her childhood home next door.

The Blair House is a large, two-story frame (weatherboard) house with a hip roof (scalloped slate), wide plain cornice, and three tall brick chimneys, all set on a brick foundation. The symmetrical façade features a projecting gabled center entry bay with returned eaves framing a Palladian window above a second story balcony with simple balustrade, which is above the further projecting columned entry on the wrap-around porch. Paired Doric columns frame the porch entry bay to the double leaf four-panel wood doors with leaded glass transom and plain sidelights. Four wide granite steps access the entry bay from a curved walk to the side driveway. Doric columns and turned balustrade lend a formality to the wrap-around low hip roof porch, which is partially enclosed on the south side and meets the carriage porch on the north side. Window sash is large light one-over-one on the façade and there are single pane windows in pedimented dormers. Window sash on the other elevations is one-over-one. The north side with the carriage porch faces High Street, and this elevation features an octagonal bay at the northeast corner and a projecting overhanging bay with scrolled brackets. The south side also features a projecting gabled bay. At the rear are a two-story hip roof ell and a porch with a deck. The interior of the house is spacious and appointed with Colonial Revival interior details. Off the large stair hall are two parlors, the library and dining room, with a rear service hall to the kitchen and butler's pantry, with a service staircase to second floor and basement. The second floor has five bedrooms. The full basement contained servants' quarters, coal chute, furnace room, storage space and a conservatory.[49]

The house is surrounded by wrought iron fence and gardens had once been planted at the northwest side of the lot. The house was in Blair family until John Fries Blair (son of William and Mary Eleanor) moved into Hylehurst to live with his sister in 1983. The Blair house retained remarkable integrity when sold and has been used for offices, with the rear of the lot in parking.

William Blair's life was filled with major accomplishments in education, business, and community service. In 1905 he was recognized by President Theodore Roosevelt and given an honorary title of "Colonel." The Blair children, Margaret Blair McCuiston and John Fries Blair, were also highly accomplished. Margaret McCuiston was a prominent civic and religious volunteer, and her brother followed in their father's footsteps with an impressive variety of achievements (law, theatre, teaching, publishing), and included the founding of John F. Blair, Publisher, in Winston-Salem to promote regional writers.

224 Lot 160, 161 Hylehurst 1884 Contributing Building
Individually listed on the National Register of Historic Places ("Hylehurst").

Hylehurst is one of the few surviving "high-style homes of prominent industrialists and community leaders."[50] John W. Fries (1846-1927) was the oldest son of Frances Fries, and in 1867 at the age of 21, John was made partner in F. and H. Fries Manufacturing Company. Francis Fries had died in 1863 at the age of fifty-one and son John helped his uncle Henry Fries recover the company's losses during the Civil War (estimated at one million dollars). John then worked to build and expand the Fries industrial empire (Arista Mills in 1880), invented the Normalair Humidifier for use in textile mills, and was an active civic minded businessman and lay leader in the Moravian church.

In 1884 John, wife Agnes (de Schweinitz), and their daughters moved into their fashionable new Queen Anne-style house set amid a landscaped city block bounded by Cherry Street, Brookstown Avenue, Marshall Street, and High Street. Their home was across Brookstown Avenue from John's place of business, the F. and H. Fries

[48] Taylor, "William Allen Blair House," Section 8.
[49] Ibid., 7:6-7.
[50] Taylor, "Hylehurst," 8.

Arista Mills. His sister Mary Elizabeth and her husband Rufus Patterson lived in their stylish ca. 1876 house (destroyed) on the city block across Cherry Street.

The land of the Fries block was part of the Salem Manufacturing land in 1836 and had a mill manager's house standing in the vicinity of Hylehurst. John Fries had purchased the land from Robert Gray in 1870, the year he married Agnes de Schweinitz. The former mill manager's house was home to the Fries family until the new house was built.[51] A brick outbuilding was also on the lot and was retained when the new house was constructed (it survives).

John Fries engaged New York architect Henry Hudson Holly to design his new house. It is the only H. H. Holly house identified in North Carolina and the full set of architectural drawings survives.[52] Fogle Brothers Company built the house, which is Queen Anne-style with Stick Style elements. The large two-story frame house with a steep side gable roof (asphalt shingle) sits in the center of the lot and faces south. The picturesque house has several projecting bays, a large rear ell with a hip roof and brick chimney, and a raised brick foundation. The combination of plain weatherboard, scalloped wood shingles, and "half-timbering" create various wall textures, and two tall decorative brick chimneys rise from the roof. The façade is distinguished by a projecting decorative gabled entrance bay, ornate exterior chimney, balcony, and front porch that wraps to the east. On the façade are features used throughout the house: "half-timber" framing, grouped windows in various styles, louver shutters, scalloped shingles, a decorative rake, and supporting brackets. A wide set of seven wood steps rises from the drive to the front porch set on brick piers with lattice between. The shed roof porch is made light and airy by the slender posts with fluting and curved brackets supporting lattice along the porch frieze. The entry is a double-leaf paneled door with a two-light transom and flanked by one-over-one sash windows as sidelights. The doors enter a "free-flowing plan which centers around a large stair hall with fireplace."[53] Numerous windows bring much light into the large spaces of the house. First floor rooms include the parlor, sitting room, library, and dining room, each paneled with a different hardwood (oak, curly maple, cherry, birch). Wood mantels throughout the house are elaborately carved. A rear hall leads to the kitchen, butler's pantry, and back porch. The stair, which features a landing with a conservatory, leads to the second floor with five bedrooms, a bathroom, and servants' quarters.[54]

John's and Agnes's daughter was the renowned historian and Moravian archivist, Dr. Adelaide Fries, who began the publication of the *Records of the Moravians in North Carolina* in the 1920s. Their other daughter, noted artist Mary Eleanor, married William Blair and they built their large home on the former tennis court and garden area at the rear of the Hylehurst city block.[55] Cherry Street and neighboring blocks became the location for large, stylish homes built in Salem from the late nineteenth through early twentieth centuries. Unfortunately, most have been destroyed. Dr. Fries lived in Hylehurst until her death in 1949 and willed the home to her sister's children. Hylehurst remained in the Fries family (through the Blairs) into the 1990s. Retaining high integrity, it was sold and has been used for offices. Hylehurst's city block has been reduced, and the house sits on a large lot with two outbuildings and adjacent parking and is surrounded by a high metal fence.

Outbuilding ca.1840 Contributing Building

The one-story common bond (4:1) brick building on a brick foundation with a side gable roof (asphalt shingle) has an interior brick chimney with corbelled cap. The south side of the two-bay building is attached to the rear (north) of Hylehurst. There is one six-over-six sash window on the south side and one on the north. A wooden door is on the east elevation. These windows and the door are set in segmental arches. On the west is a large

[51] Taylor, "William Allen Blair House," 8:2.
[52] Taylor, "Hylehurst," Section 8.
[53] Ibid., Section 7.
[54] Ibid., 7:1.
[55] Taylor, "William Allen Blair House," 8:2.

arched doorway. The building was used as a woodshed and for a laundry and meat storage by the Fries family.[56]

Outbuilding ca. 1870 Contributing Building

One-story frame (weatherboard) building with a side gable roof (metal) on a brick foundation. There are two wood doors on the façade (south) and one large arched opening, now glassed. There are four-over-four sash windows on the east and north. The building was used by the Fries family as quarters for the cook, as well as a small studio and a school for the children (for three years the "Hylehurst School").[57]

S. Church Street

East Side

God's Acre 1766 Contributing Site

One of the first tasks in laying out the town of Salem was the selection of the site for the Salem graveyard, known as *Gottes Acker*, God's Field or God's Acre. Moravian surveyor Philip Christian Gottlieb Reuter chose a high point to the northeast of Salem Square on April 12, 1766. Salem Square was shifted a block south in 1768, and in 1770, the site of the graveyard was also shifted south to maintain its relationship to the center of town. The first interment was in June 1771, prior to the town's formal occupation in 1772. The graveyard was located along a north-south street, later named "Church Street," a block east of Main Street. The land falls sharply off to the east of Church Street, down to a small stream, and in the twentieth century, 30-40 feet of fill was deposited into this ravine. The boundaries of the graveyard were expanded east, across the fill, on land that was known as "Wachovia Park" by ca. 1885. By 2013, there were over 7,000 burials in God's Acre.

God's Acre is anchored to the east side of Church Street, which through the graveyard is diminished to a pathway known as "Cedar Avenue." Cedar Avenue is a one-lane, paved asphalt drive lined with granite curbing and is gated at the north and south graveyard entrances by monumental gateways. The south gateway has solid granite piers and wrought iron fencing. The north gateway has laid granite piers that reflect the form of the granite wall along the west boundary. At both gateways, wrought iron gates guard vehicular access and are flanked by openings for pedestrian passage. Also known as Cedar Alley (allée) and Graveyard Alley, Cedar Avenue has long been a tranquil walkway in Salem and is named for the cedar trees which have historically lined the path (and presently). In 1841 the *Aufseher Collegium* noted, "For many Brethren of the Community as well as for travelling strangers our Graveyard Alley is an embellishment and attraction."[58]

Separating Cedar Avenue from the rear lots along Main Street at the west is a low wall of three visible courses of rough cut granite with raised mortar joints. The wall runs from the south gate at Church and Bank Streets to the north gate at Church and Cemetery Streets. This wall was built in 1893.[59] There are openings in five places along the wall. From Main Street, there are two lanes between house lots that access Cedar Avenue, reserved as walking paths, or vehicular at special times. A lane is located between Lots 83 and 43, and Maiden Lane is between Lots 40 and 39; both align with east-west cross walks in the graveyard. A pedestrian opening at Lot 36 aligns with the outer south cross walk, and there are pedestrian openings at Lot 83 (Belo-Stockton House, 313 S. Main St.) and Lot 84 (Fogle Flats, 300 S. Church St.).

God's Acre has been surrounded by various fencing styles through time. The present fence along Cedar Avenue, similar to one noted in a late nineteenth-century photograph, is six brick courses topped by wooden pickets with regularly spaced brick piers with pyramidal concrete caps. Along this fence, five regularly spaced

[56] Taylor, "Hylehurst," 8:4
[57] Ibid., 8:4-5.
[58] "Minutes of the *Aufseher Collegium*, March 1841" (God's Acre, Old Salem Research Files).
[59] Rondthaler, *The Memorabilia of Fifty Years,* 120-121.

gateways enter the graveyard at major east-west cross walks. Each gateway has brick gate piers with pyramidal concrete caps surmounted by a wooden arch bearing a scriptural passage of hope and comfort. The fence along the south boundary is a board fence. At the north gate, the granite wall which runs along Cedar Avenue continues around and is the perimeter for the north end of the graveyard along Cemetery Street. The east side of the graveyard drops off and is unfenced. At the northeast side, God's Acre adjoins Salem Cemetery, laid out in 1857 in a curvilinear form for family burial plots. This juxtaposition of burial practices illustrates a break with Moravian burial tradition by some members of the community following the end of the theocracy in 1856.

The organization of burials in God's Acre is in the Moravian tradition of rectilinear arrangement of burial squares by choirs, rather than family groups, and burials are further ordered chronologically. The major east-west cross walk, which splits the graveyard in half, separates burials male (south) and female (north). These two sections are further subdivided into sections for Married Brothers and Single Brothers (with male children's area) and Married Sisters and Single Sisters (with female children's area). Burial squares are separated by walkways. Choirs were part of the early organization of Moravian congregations, with members grouped according to their age, gender, and marital status. The traditional burial practice by choirs continues into the present, and emphasizes membership in God's family above the earthly family.

Similarly, egalitarian relationship is emphasized in the nature of the headstones found in God's Acre. These are small tablets of various stone types (marble, steatite) with simple inscriptions that are placed flat on the ground rather than upright. The graves face east, an orientation to meet the rising sun at the Resurrection. The graves were historically mounded; however, ca. 2010, a re-landscaping of the graveyard removed this feature to facilitate maintenance, and each headstone was then re-laid on a concrete pad.

The orderly simplicity of the graveyard, with rows of recumbent white tablets stretching off into the distance across the gently rolling site, projects an aura of stability of place, and recognition of those who came before and have now departed. Trees have been planted in God's Acre over time, and although many ancient trees have been lost through storms, replanting has continued through the years and there are large cedar, bald cypress, pond cypress, dawn redwood, holly, and mixed hardwoods present. A specimen ginkgo (Gingko biloba) deserves mention. This noteworthy tree has its origins in seed gathered by Bishop Edward Rondthaler while travelling in the Holy Land in 1889-90.[60] It has been determined the largest in North Carolina and was recognized by the Forsyth County Treasure Trees program in 2011 (height: 75 ft., diameter: 53.5 in., circumference: 168 in., crown spread: 92 ft.).[61] This ancient of trees is resplendent in golden fall foliage.

Burials in God's Acre are conducted with attention to tradition and form. Funeral services begin in Home Moravian Church, a processional bears the casket to God's Acre, accompanied by a Moravian brass band, and the service ends at the grave site. As time has passed and the numbers of those interred in God's Acre steadily increased, the eastern section was opened. God's Acre serves as the burial ground for the Salem Congregation, made up of thirteen Moravian churches in the Winston-Salem urban area. Burial of Black Moravians in God's Acre ceased by 1816 when the Negro God's Acre was established at the Stranger's Graveyard, about five blocks to the south (the final burial was that of an African American child in 1813). This was a culmination of changes in attitude toward enslaved Moravians. The Rev. Dr. Cedric Rodney, native of Guyana and St. Philips's first ordained minister of African descent, was buried in God's Acre in November 2012.

God's Acre has been the site of the Easter Sunrise Service since the first one held in April 1773 (rain in 1772 kept the service indoors). The service is attended annually by thousands, Moravians and non-Moravians alike, who come to celebrate the Resurrection. The observance begins in the dark at the door of Home Moravian

[60] Joseph Lineberger (Superintendent of the Graveyard and Manager of Property Matters, Salem Congregation), conversation with MB Boxley, 1997.

[61] Treasure Trees of Forsyth County, North Carolina Cooperative Extension Service, Forsyth County, Winston-Salem, NC, 2011.

Church with the congregation assembled on Salem Square and nearby streets. As antiphonal brass bands play, the congregation proceeds to God's Acre for the conclusion of the service as the morning sun rises in the east. In preparation for the occasion, head stones are scrubbed clean and graves decorated with Easter flowers in preceding days. The Easter Sunrise Service has its origins with the Moravians in 1732 in Herrnhut, Germany.

455 Lot 5 Charles Kremer House 1841 Contributing Building

Sitting at the southern edge of God's Acre and well back from Cedar Avenue with a front lawn, the Charles Kremer House is an example of late nineteenth-century stylistic updates for an earlier building type. Victorian transformations were common in Salem; however, restoration efforts in the second half of the twentieth century have mostly removed this evidence.

The 1841 form of the house is visible beneath the late nineteenth-century Victorian decoration and alterations. It was originally designed as a one and one-half story, three-bay, common bond brick house with a center hall, two-room deep plan, and a side gable roof (now with asphalt shingles). The south chimney is interior end and the north is set forward of the ridge. Window sash at the north end remains six-over-six; second floor gable end windows are nine-over-six sash windows flanked by four-light attic casements. Windows throughout have panel shutters. At the rear of the house, a frame addition (weatherboard) has a shed roof and an exterior end, single shoulder stepped brick chimney; window sash is six-over-six.

Stylistic changes were made during Henry Siddall's occupancy beginning after 1873. Much of the window sash was replaced with two-over-two sash. A full façade, one-story, hip roof, attached porch with a central projecting bay with dormer above gave the house a Victorian cottage appeal. The porch is decorated with sawn and scrolled brackets, chamfered posts, and turned balustrade. Bay windows with panel skirting replaced sash windows at each side of the double leaf front door. A bay window was also added to the north end. At the rear, a gable roofed, frame ell (weatherboard) with an interior end chimney was added to the shed addition. The roof of the ell extends out beyond the raised porch to cover an exterior stair and below-ground entry. The corner of the extended roof meets the shed roof at a post in the ground. Flush panel dormers (shed and gable) are at the rear.

The use of Lot 5, in its position south of and almost against God's Acre, was a matter of concern to the *Aufseher Collegium*. In 1833 the Collegium expressed concern for the cedar trees which lined Cedar Avenue, saying that if anyone built on that lot, they must position their house at least eight and probably ten feet behind the line to preserve the "beautiful" trees. They said further, "Moreover, we maintain that it will always take serious consideration as whether these lots are to be used for construction purposes at all."[62] The Collegium wished to postpone as long as possible any construction on Lot 5, but in 1841 approved Charles Kremer's application to construct a new house for himself on the lot. This was done with the stipulation that the lot itself was measured from a line ten feet east of the walkway. To protect the graveyard from any additional requests for lots, the land between Kremer's new lot and the graveyard was leased to the Inspector of the Girl's School.

The Collegium approved Kremer's plan for a one-story brick house, 22 feet wide and 26 feet deep, with a porch, a kitchen and a cellar, even though it was thought that Kremer was, "probably going to ruin his economic situation on account of this construction."[63] By the next month Kremer had enlarged the plan for his house, the concern of the Collegium notwithstanding, so that his mother-in-law, Martha Miksch Vierling could live there as well (widow of Dr. Vierling, Lot 7, 463 S. Church St.). The house was built shortly thereafter, and Kremer took residence. He was there in 1850, when he was admonished to keep his cows out of the "Grave Yard Avenue".

[62] "Minutes of the *Aufseher Collegium*, Jan. 7, 1833" (Lot 5, Old Salem Research Files).
[63] Ibid., May 17, 1841.

The property was deeded to Henry Siddall in 1873, and after that was for many years the residence of Maria and Regina Vogler, two sisters who deeded it to the Moravian Church. It remains in use as office space.

457 Lot 5, 6 Archie K. Davis Center 2001 Noncontributing Building
The Archie K. Davis Center opened in 2001 to great fanfare, not only in memory of the life of Mr. Davis but also in celebration of the new state-of-the-art facility to house the Moravian Archives and the Moravian Music Foundation. The large, two-story, L-shaped brick building with gable roof crowned by cupola is a compatible addition to its surroundings in its "Moravian Revival" style. Overlooking God's Acre and located against the east slope at the rear of Lots 5 and 6, topography disguises the scale of the building with its full basement containing climate-controlled vault for archival materials. The building repeats many design elements from late eighteenth-century Moravian architecture in Salem and includes: Flemish bond walls with dark headers, full story cellar that is stuccoed (concrete) and lined to simulate coursed stone, segmental relieving arches at six-over-six sash windows, ogee tracery in arches above doors, cove cornices, a kick at the eaves, gable dormers, and a red "tile" roof. The Moravian Archives, Winston-Salem is an agency of the Moravian Church in America, Southern Province and dates from 1753. Prior to this new facility, the Archives was housed in the Vorsteher's House, Lot 34, 501 S. Main St. Archives have been maintained by the Moravian Church since their establishment in North Carolina.

459 Lot 6 Cedarhyrst 1895 Contributing Building
This monumental Salem house of Gothic and Romanesque Revival design is at the south entrance to God's Acre. Built 1893-1895 for Salem physician Dr. Nathaniel Schober Siewers (1845-1901) and his wife Eleanor de Schweinitz as their home and his office, it was a bold departure for Salem and the area, and is in the tradition of a great house of Germany. Siewers had been a successful physician in Salem for a quarter of a century by the time he built his second house in Salem (the first on Lot 26, 715 S. Main St.) and made this dramatic architectural statement. Siewers built Cedarhyrst on the lot where his father had resided in the former Theodore Schulz House (1842).

It is likely that the concept for Cedarhyrst was inspired during Siewers's travel and medical study abroad, to Berlin, Vienna and Prague, following medical school. He engaged Max Schroff, a German architect from New York, to design the house. Stone masons, both Italian and Scottish, were brought to Salem to lay up the huge structure made of limestone which came by rail from Indiana. The contractors for this major construction project were the Fogle Brothers Company of Salem.

The picturesque asymmetry of the house creates a castle-like feeling. The two-story stone house with side gable (fish-scale slate) roof is on a stone foundation and is set back from Cedar Avenue/Church Street. Verticality is emphasized with highly pitched roofs, pointed arches, massive tall chimneys, battlements, parapet gables, a projecting wing on the façade with parapet gable edged in carved stone, parapets on the dormers, buttresses, and the steeply pitched roof. The textured stone walls feature various decorative elements, including sill courses, hood moldings, and cornice. The stone work is further detailed with scrolled carvings and various mottos. One corner of the house displays a scroll with the name "N. S. Siewers" carved in it; and one of the pillars has the carved name of "M. Schroff," the architect. A particularly Moravian text is found over the entrance door, *Fest gebaut Gott vertraut*, "Firmly built, having trusted in God".[64] Above is a carved date stone panel with "A. D. 1893." The two-story, semi-octagonal entrance tower with pointed arches at the entry level and horizontal stone banding, is topped with battlements. Battlements are repeated on the carriage porch where "Cedarhyrst" is carved into a panel above the round arch opening. Richly decorated fenestration is found throughout the house as round and segmental arches with hood moldings hold casement windows with stained glass transoms. An original copper and glass ball lightning rod survives behind the projecting front parapet. On the rear of the

[64] Lot 6, Old Salem Research Files.

building are two sets of shed roofed, screened porches with decorative wood posts. A set of wooden and then stone, then brick, steps lead down to the Moravian Archives building at the rear of the lot.

The interior of the house is elaborate. At the entrance, heavy oak doors with medieval-type hardware open into a center hall with a grand staircase at the rear. Off this main hall, a secondary hall accesses the carriage porch on the south side. Fogle Brothers' employees Peter Regennas and son Paul Regennas, and Nat Peterson produced detailed and elegant wood carvings for the interior of the house, including richly decorated balustrades, doors, coffered ceilings, door and window casings, and built-ins. There is much oak, but also bird's eye maple and yellow pine. The floors of the first level are herringbone patterned oak and the walls combine oak paneling and Lincrusta.[65] German inscriptions are carved above each first-floor door, with *Mach Uns Gesund* ("Make Us Well") above the entrance to the room in which Dr. Siewers saw patients. All the first-floor rooms have a fireplace, each with a mantle of different design, with stone, tile and/or carved wood detail. Stained glass and "bull's eye" glass in various designs and motifs decorate the windows.[66]

A drive enters the lot from Church Street at the south gateway to God's Acre, passes through the carriage porch, and leads to a roundabout with a stone fountain. The drive then continues easterly, downhill, along the south property line, to the large frame carriage house at the rear of the lot. A copper pipe intercom system connected parts of the house with servants' quarters and the carriage house at the rear of the lot.

Dr. Siewers died in 1901 (age 56), and his family continued to occupy Cedarhyrst until 1928, when the Salem Congregation purchased it following the death of his widow. It was used as the residence for the pastor of the Home Moravian Church until 1967. By 1970 it became offices for Southern Province of the Moravian Church. During excavations of the adjacent Lot 7 in 1985, a notation recorded an observed corner of a back-yard outbuilding on Lot 6.

Fountain 1895 Contributing Object

Located in the center of the driveway roundabout is a fountain. The round concrete structure is lined with metal and edged in a medallion design. Water emerges vertically from a simple fountain in the center. The lower (east) side of the fountain sits on a stone rubble foundation.

Carriage House 1895 Contributing Building

At the rear of the lot is a two-story frame (cove siding), multiple-bay carriage house with hip roof on a common bond brick foundation. On the façade (west), the projecting first floor is composed of three carriage doors flanked on either end by single doors with individual gables above; all these doors have recessed panels with angled boards and are hung with strap hinges. The second floor has a projecting central bay with a round arched loading door, flanked on either side by groupings of four one-over-one sash windows above similar panels to the doors below. The high hip roof (fish-scale asphalt shingle) is crowned by a pair of louvered roof vents with pyramidal roofs. Window sash on side and rear elevations is six-over-six. The lot drops off on the east side of the building exposing a full basement level in common bond brick with several doors and windows. The hipped roof extends salt box fashion on this side.

463 Lot 7 Dr. Samuel Benjamin Vierling House 1802 Contributing Building

Johann Gottlob Krause set the standard for brick construction in Salem in the 1780s and 90s with a high degree of skill as a mason. Having mastered the potter's trade as a young man, Krause's knowledge of clay and glazes enabled him to prepare and use bricks which gave his buildings their defining look. Dr. Vierling's house was

[65] Joseph R. Lineberger, "Cedarhyrst," (report, Salem Congregation, Winston-Salem, NC, 1995).
[66] Ibid.

Krause's final work, as his untimely death came within the year of the house's completion. A bold departure in size for a single-family dwelling, it was detailed with many of Krause's signature features.

Sited on a high point in Salem and against the sidewalk of Church Street looking straight down Bank Street is the elegant two-story brick house with steep side gable roof (clay tile) with a kick at the eave and on a stone foundation. There are interior end chimneys with corbelled caps. The Flemish bond brick walls with dark headers feature decorative and painted brick work. Herringbone designs and a diamond in dark headers are in the upper gable ends, and brightly painted brick quoins and highlights at relieving arches and around windows and doors add further interest. The house is detailed with a brick water table and a cove and bead cornice. The symmetrical five-bay façade has a center bay distinguished by a cantilevered, elliptical, copper sheathed hood over an eight-panel Dutch door with ogee tracery in the arch above (the hood is a reconstruction based on documentary photographs) and at a granite door sill. Above the entry is a twelve-over-eight sash window at the second-floor level that lights the second-floor hall. Granite steps, with wrought iron railing, rise from the sidewalk to a granite stoop at the door. The center hall plan, two-room deep house served Dr. Vierling's medical practice with the north, first floor street-front room as his apothecary; the house also served as a hospital. The center hall has a rear stair and door to the back porch. All window sash is set in elliptical relieving arches and is nine-over-six, with the first-floor windows hung with single leaf, double panel shutters. In each upper gable end are two six-over-six sash windows at the third floor/attic level which are flanked by vertical two-light casements. Window and door casings are molded and window sills are plain and wide. Above in the gable peaks are circular vents formed in the brickwork. There are iron lightning rods at each gable end. At the rear elevation is an interesting porch configuration. It is a three-quarter width, shed roof (wood shingle) supported by chamfered posts on stone footings at grade which shelters a detached frame deck on masonry end supports with a turned balustrade. The shed roof also covered a bulkhead doorway form the cellar. The rear entry door is an eight-panel Dutch door with a granite doorsill, as on the front, but here with a four-light transom. Above this entry is a twelve-over-eight sash window to light the staircase. Earthquake bolts were installed in the house following the Charleston earthquake of 1886, which was felt in Salem. The half-cellar under the northern part of the house has vaulted ceilings, is whitewashed, and contains original meat hooks and hangers for suspended platforms.

By 1801 Gottlob Krause had calculated the cost of the proposed house, which he determined to be L1,200. This was a concern to Salem leadership, who raised the question of the valuation of the house in the lease, as the Church purchased improvements on lots when the occupants moved. They said the value should be no more than L800. Vierling reported that he would not have the space he needed in a one-story house, he proposed building a two-story one. The Collegium agreed, if the valuation did not exceed their limit of L800. On March 3, Vierling took the indenture for Lot 7 and his house was staked off.

Vierling lived and practiced medicine in the house until his death in November of 1817, during an extensive typhoid epidemic. Vierling and his wife Martha Miksch (daughter of Matthew Miksch, Lot 59, 532 S. Main St.) had several children. Vierling domestic help included enslaved African Americans. In 1807, he received as payment for a debt, a woman named "Penny." Following his death, the large house became the residence of the Administrator of Wachovia, including Lewis David von Schweinitz, followed by Theodore Schulz, and it became known as the "Administration House." During the von Schweinitz residence, and carried over into Schultzes's, was the presence of Christian David (or Davy), an enslaved Moravian, who cared for the house and large terraced garden (he died in 1839). In 1852 von Schweinitz's son Emil de Schweinitz became the administrator, following a short period as Inspector of the Salem Female Academy. The Slave Schedule from

the 1860 Forsyth County Census listed Emil de Schweinitz as owning one male slave, age 52 and one slave house is listed.[67]

Due to a shortage of water, the second Salem Water Works (1828-1878) was built in 1828 to serve the town, in addition to the first Salem Water Works, which continued to function. The second water system was another engineering marvel. In this new system, water was pumped about 75 feet vertically from a spring east of Lot 7 to a cistern or reservoir located across the street from the Vierling House near the gate to God's Acre. To power the pump, water from Bath Branch to the north was transported by gravity above ground in plank troughs for more than a mile to a fifteen-foot overshot water wheel.[68] This system was in use until the third water works was constructed in 1878.

The Vierling House was used by officials of the Moravian Church until it was leased to Old Salem, Inc. and restored in 1980. The house retained a high degree of integrity and was restored to its 1802 appearance with a board fence at the property lines. The Vierling House is a key exhibit building in the Town of Salem and interpretation explores early medical practice as well as household and yard activities. Archaeological investigation contributed substantially to this restoration. Using previously unavailable methods in diagnostics and new research, the Vierling House was re-examined by Old Salem in 2015 for additional restoration.

Terraced Garden **1802** **Contributing Structure**

Terraced gardens at the east half of the lot reflect the practical earth moving activity required on this steep east side of Church Street to create functional garden space, here for a kitchen garden and the medicinals needed by Dr. Vierling. Upper terraces remain; however, lower terraces were lost when the creek area was filled with dirt from the construction of Interstate 40 (ca. 1965) in anticipation of the Salem Academy and College Fine Arts Center. Archaeological excavation in 1986 revealed upper terrace information.

Wash-bake house **1831** **Contributing Building**

Theodore Schulz built the brick washhouse next to a bake oven located to the rear of the back porch of the house at the edge of the yard. The one-story, gable front building sits on a stone rubble foundation and repeats the use of Flemish bond (the last known use of this bonding pattern in Salem) with a bit of herringbone in dark headers featured on the exterior end chimney at the bake oven. A squirrel tail bake oven is attached to the chimney and protected by a gable roof. A Dutch door on the façade (west) is the entry, with an access hatch above in the gable. Paved with stone, the one-room interior is well lighted by two six-over-six sash windows on north and south sides, each hung with a single leaf board and batten shutter, and a fireplace is located at the rear (east) of the room, with the bake oven accessed through a raised opening in the rear of the firebox. The building roof and bake oven roof are split wood shingles. It is one of only a few surviving outbuildings in Salem.

Davy's House **1835** **Contributing Component to the Contributing Site**

In the yard in 1835, Theodore Shultz built a small house for Christian David, an enslaved man owned by the Unity Administration and known by then as the "old Negro Davy."[69] "Davy" had been baptized on March 7, 1824, and given the name Christian David. He was married to Rose.[70] David was a member of the African Moravian congregation and worshipped in the Log Church where he was appointed Sexton. David had lived at

[67] Forsyth County Genealogical Society, *The 1860 Federal Census*, 208.

[68] Robert W. Neilson, "Story of the Water Supply Systems in the Town of Salem, N.C. 1778-1913" (report for Old Salem, Inc., Winston-Salem, NC, 1973), 2-10.

[69] "Minutes of the *Aufseher Collegium*, Sept. 12, 1835" (Lot 7, Old Salem Research Files).

[70] Adelaide L. Fries and Douglas L. Rights, eds., *Records of the Moravians in North Carolina* (Raleigh: State Department of Archives and History, 1954), 8:3680.

the Slave Quarter on the Administration plantation (about 2 miles south of Salem Square) and at some point entered into the service of Lewis von Schweinitz, Administrator of Wachovia, and moved to Lot 7. David was in service in the house and in the yard and garden.[71] When Theodore Shultz succeeded von Schweinitz, David remained on Lot 7. Christian David died in 1839 at approximately 60 years of age and was buried in the Negro God's Acre. Today, his story is included in the interpretation at the Log Church.

The Davy House is shown on the 1917 Sanborn Insurance Map. It was removed sometime in the twentieth century. Archaeological excavation in 1977 revealed the site of this house and a smoke house connected by a breezeway. The partial archaeological ruin of Davy's House is marked by the stone foundations of the building. This is a rare example of a known African-American residence in Salem, and has a particular significance for this reason.

Barn (reconstruction) 1986 Contributing Building

Dr. Vierling constructed a one-story frame barn for a cow in 1804, which furnished milk for his family and his patients, just south of his house with its gable end to Church Street. Archaeological excavation fully recovered the barn foundation in 1984-5, with an interesting root cellar intact. Reconstructed in 1986 based on archaeology and documentation, including a ca. 1860 photograph, the frame building with random width weatherboards on a stone foundation has a gable roof with split wood, side-lapped shakes and tapered rafter ends. The north elevation is the façade of the building with three bays. Centered, large double barn doors hung on poles are flanked by single doors hung with strap hinges. The east and west gable ends of the building have open barn windows at the loft level. The east side features the root cellar protected by a shed roof on posts; there is also a single door on this elevation. The interior is modern in design and houses restrooms, education space, and offices.

31FY395*7
Lot 7 Archaeology
Contributing Component to the Contributing Site

Lot 7, containing the Vierling House and other extant buildings, was an early subject of extensive archaeology in Old Salem. Prior to 1974, when exploration began on Lot 7, systematic archaeology conducted in Old Salem had been sporadic excavations conducted by Frank Albright, Stanley South, and Brad Rauschenberg. Prior to work by these trained archaeologists, Frank Horton had also operated in the "foundation-chasing" mode. However, the work on Lot 7 was of a different character because of the ongoing and sequenced approach to this component of the Old Salem site

1974 John Clauser (consulting archaeologist)
House rear yard explorations
1977 Judith Newkirk—Wake Forest University (WFU), Ned Woodall, Prin. Inv., WFU
(Davy house, smokehouse complex, well, bake oven)
1978 Melonie Coats (WFU)
Back porch and north yard
1984 Michael Hammond (OSI)
Barn testing
1985 Michael Hammond (OSI), Michael O. Hartley (consulting arch)
Barn—OSI/Salem College Field School

[71] Louis von Schweinitz to Hueffel, 9 Oct. 1821, BA 3-No. 464, Moravian Archives, Winston-Salem, NC.

1986 Michael Hammond (OSI), Michael O. Hartley (consulting arch)
Terraces, Davy's house—OSI/Salem College Field School

513 Lot 9 Abraham Steiner House 1823 Contributing Building

Abraham Steiner's plans for his house were approved by the *Aufseher Collegium* in 1822 and construction was completed the next year. Steiner, the son of the Rev. Abraham Steiner, was a turner, chair (coach) maker, and later operated a cabinet shop. Restoration of the house in 1969 by Home Moravian Church retrieved this original configuration. The house serves as the parsonage for Home Church for the assistant pastor.

The house sits against the sidewalk and has a picket fence at property lines. As designed, the two-story frame (weatherboard) house has a side gable roof (concrete to simulate wood shingle) with flush ends and box cornice with bed molding. The house is on a stuccoed stone foundation and there are interior chimneys with corbelled caps. The façade has six bays with two entry doors, indicating living quarters and a shop for Steiner's chair making business. The north end of the house was the two-bay shop portion, with its own entry door and interior brick chimney. The residence portion was four-bays, which included an entry door to four rooms clustered around a central chimney. The house entry is a six-panel door with a four-light transom. From the sidewalk, four granite steps lead to each door. Window sash is evenly spaced nine-over-six with louvered shutters. In each upper gable end are two six-over-six sash windows at the third floor/attic level. Windows and doors have molded casings. There are several foundation windows lighting the full cellar. A rear porch (screened) extends across the back to a rear kitchen wing.

Following the Steiner family's occupation, the house was sold to Dr. Friedrich Schumann in 1837. Schumann began the establishment of a terraced garden on the rear of the lot, with its extreme steep slope down to a small creek. These gardens were further developed after 1874 by subsequent owner, Dr. Henry Theodore Bahnson. Documentary photographs show extensive cultivation on the terraces, with a spectacular ending at a pond below featuring giant *Victoria amonizonica*. Vestiges of the upper terraces remain; however, the lower terraces and pond were lost when the creek was diverted through a culvert and the area filled with dirt from the construction of Interstate 40 (ca. 1965) in anticipation of the Salem Academy and College Fine Arts Center.

In 1874, the newly married Dr. Bahnson and Emma Fries Bahnson (daughter of Francis Fries) engaged her uncle, architect E. A. Vogler, to renovate their new home in the latest fashion. Numerous Victorian stylistic elements were added to the house. Most dramatically, the façade was reworked: the shop door became a window and the middle two bays (window and door) were replaced by a recessed center bay entry with decorative sawn work on the first floor and recessed bay with balcony of decorative sawn work on the second floor. Two large interior, highly decorative chimneys replaced the original chimneys. Two bay windows were added to the first-floor south elevation, and a wing was added at the rear. Sometime later, the window sash was replaced with two-over-two throughout the house. These renovations were removed during restoration. During the restoration of the house in 1969, an icehouse at the rear of the house was removed. In the 1970s, there was discussion of restoring the barn.

Barn 1823 Contributing Building

A one and one-half story frame outbuilding on a brick foundation is located at the north property line to the rear of the house and used as a garage, with two large double doors on the west façade. An access hatch is above the southern door. The side gable roof (asphalt shingle) is vented at each upper gable end and there is one four by two light window on the rear elevation. The high exposed common bond brick foundation on the rear has access and covered windows to a cellar. This building is most likely the 18' x 30' structure built by Steiner in 1823. It has been speculated that this building was dismantled and moved to its present location between 1840 and 1895. Although missing elements, the barn retains a large proportion of original framing members and is one of few surviving outbuildings in Salem.

519 Lot 10 Bishop's House 1841 Contributing Building

In 1840 the decision was made to completely turn over the *Gemeinhaus* to the growing Girl's Boarding School (known by 1818 as Salem Female Academy). There was thus the need for a new pastor's residence, and the Academy funded its construction. Plans for the house were prepared by Br. Francis Fries and approved in December 1840. The design was for a building 45' X 32', two-stories, with a cellar, laundry, and porches on the front and rear. The Bishop's House has features used by Fries on his own home built in 1840. In an unusual deviation from Salem's Building Rules, it was decided to set the house back from the street about ten feet to remove it somewhat from stables which were directly across the street. There is a picket fence at the sidewalk. In December 1841, the pastor and his wife moved from the *Gemeinhaus* to the new Parsonage.

The Greek Revival-style house is a two-story common bond (4:1) brick house with penciled mortar joints on a brick foundation. The side gable roof (slate) has flush ends and interior end chimneys with corbelled caps. The corbelled brick cornice is a feature seen on other brick houses from the 1840s in Salem. The symmetrical five-bay façade features a center bay pedimented gable portico with slender Tuscan columns and simple balustrade on a brick foundation. The four-panel front door with a single light transom is at a granite doorsill. The first-floor windows are nine-over-nine sash (north elevation windows are nine-over-six) and second floor windows are nine over six sash. In each upper gable end are two six-over-six sash windows at the third floor/attic level. Three-panel shutters hang at all windows. The two-room deep, center hall plan house has a rear two-story shed roof porch with chamfered posts. A two-story common bond (5:1) brick ell has a gable roof with returned eaves that was added in the late nineteenth-century and has two-over-two sash windows.

After passing out of ownership by the church, in 1891, it was again acquired and served three bishops of the Moravian church: William Van Vleck, George F. Bahnson, and Edward Rondthaler, giving it the name "Bishop's House." It is used by Home Moravian Church for meetings and other functions.

Lot 10 Church Education Building 1940 Noncontributing Building

At the rear of Lot 10, behind the Bishop's House, is the Home Moravian Church Education Building. Although quite large, this "Moravian Revival" style building is compatible in scale as it is advantageously sited against the east sloping rear of the lot. Visible from Church Street, the façade is a two-story, five bay (centered entry bay), side-gable roof (slate) building with window sash of eight-over-eight and twelve-over-twelve. The design repeats elements from late eighteenth-century Moravian architecture in Salem and includes: Flemish bond walls with dark headers, segmental relieving arches at windows, ogee tracery in arch above double leaf front door with Moravian hood, cove cornice, a kick at the eaves, flush gable ends, and gable dormers. There is a large exterior end chimney at the north end. At its south end, the building is connected to the church by a two-story hyphen under which a vehicular lane passes through a segmental arch and down slope to the rear of the building. The building extends east as flat roofed large ell of multiple stories and accommodates a full basement with a large fellowship hall and stage. The east façade faces the parking lot at the Salem Fine Arts Center and provides a cross gable porte cochère entrance with handicap accessibility, also repeating the Moravian hood and other familiar design elements. The building was designed by local firm of Northup and O'Brien.

529 Lot 11, 12 Home Moravian Church 1800 Contributing Building

By spring of 1797, it was recognized that the *Gemeinhaus* was not only too small for the expected Easter crowd, it was also, in fact, too small for the congregation itself and serious consideration was given to building a new church. It had been intended for the church to be built at the center of the Church Street side of Salem Square on Lot 14; however, the Single Sisters successfully defended their use of this lot as their bleaching green and the new church was located two lots to the north at the northeast corner of Salem Square on Lot 12.

Frederick William Marshall, administrator of Wachovia since appointed in 1763, was a broadly-gifted individual who had already designed many buildings in Salem and undertook the design of this significant

work. As designed by Marshall, the church reflected a growing distance from traditional German Moravian style toward classicism in the architecture of Salem. The building is Flemish bond brick with dark headers on a stuccoed stone foundation. It is 45' X 89'6" with the narrow gable end to the street. This prominent symmetrical gable end sits against the sidewalk and is defined by the bell-roofed belfry topped with a weather vane and gold leaf ball topped lightning rod. The upper façade features the clock, "trombone" balcony with arched doorway with ogee tracery, and a belt course. The lower façade has three bays with a center bay hooded doorway over a double leaf door with ogee tracery in the elliptical arch above. Above the hood is an elliptical arched twenty-light window with ogee tracery. On either side of the entry are tall elliptical arched windows with twenty-over-twenty sash and ogee tracery. Windows on north and south walls are stained glass, and all windows have granite sills. Windows and doors have molded casings. The cove cornice has a molded brick bead. The front door, designated for the Brothers, leads to a vestibule with stairs to the balcony. A molded brick water table sits above the stuccoed stone foundation. A south entrance room, set back on the side of the building, was also included and designated for the Sisters so they could enter at the original mid-point of the interior configuration. The east elevation has an end chimney flanked by six-over-six sash windows.

In the design for the church, Marshall introduced several features new to Salem: stone window sills, a round cantilevered hooded roof over the main entrance, and a truss system which eliminated the need for central pillars. The hood, known as the "Moravian hood," became a well-used architectural element in Salem and beyond. The church was Marshalls's final legacy, as he died in February 1802 after having firmly established Salem on the landscape.

The foundation stone was laid with ceremony on June 2, 1798 and the foundation walls completed by September. Johann Gottlob Krause burned tile for the roof and brick for the walls; Adam Wolf was engaged as carpenter. The roofing tiles proved ill-fired and were replaced in 1802 with jointed yellow poplar shingles. The clock, made in Germany in 1788-1790 and in Salem since 1790, was placed in the front gable. The larger bell, hung in the steeple, had been cast in Bethlehem, Pennsylvania in 1771 and had been in use in Salem since 1772 in a free-standing bell tower at the northeast corner of the *Gemeinhaus* lot (Lot 12). Salem clockmaker Ludwig Eberhardt set up the clock and bells to strike quarter hours on a smaller bell and on the hour, on the larger bell.

By the end of October 1799, discussions of the church concerned the finishing work. The door, window frames, the gallery and the tower were painted a light yellow, and the "molding" of the tower was painted white, and in December the ball and the vane for the spire arrived from Lititz, Pennsylvania. On the interior, Marshall followed Moravian tradition in his seating plan by placing the pews parallel to the long axis of the building, facing north, and until the mid-nineteenth century, seating was separated by gender with men on the west side and women on the east, with children at the front. Also following the traditional practice in Europe, there was no pulpit and the sermon was delivered by a seated preacher from a small platform with an arched canopy; this was modified in 1830 when a tall pulpit replaced the platform. A gallery extended along the west, south and east walls, the west being the location of the David Tannenberg organ; and the ceiling was coved.

On November 9, 1800 the church was dedicated before an estimated crowd of 2,000 with an "earnest prayer to the Saviour," asking that "through His Holy Spirit manifest Himself…so that all perplexed, weary souls, hungry for grace, may be comforted by the Gospel preached here."[72] The dedication also included an afternoon Lovefeast at which, "Beer and buns were served, and the buns, of which one thousand had been baked, must be cut in half to serve all those present"[73]

[72] Adelaide L. Fries, ed., *Records of the Moravians in North Carolina* (Raleigh: North Carolina Historical Commission, 1943), 6:2949.

[73] Ibid., 6:2951-52.

In 1803, a new Corpse-House was built on the north side of the church to replace the Corpse-House which had functioned on Salem Square since 1775. The Corpse-House held the body from soon after death to the time for burial; later, the Corpse-House held the body only during the church service. Undertaking practices of the later nineteenth century made the need for a Corpse-House obsolete.[74]

As the *Gemeinhaus* had functioned, so did the new church as the spiritual home to all Moravians, including those enslaved in Salem. However, late-eighteenth century changes in views began to alter this condition, as Moravian attitudes began to reflect those of the broader white population. Segregation of burial (1816) and church (formerly 1822) practices notwithstanding, the funeral of Phoebe was held in Home Church in August 1861 due to the estimated attendance, as the Brick Church was not built yet.[75]

The church was modified through time, with major work occurring in 1870 and 1913; however, the 1800 building is recognizable as an intact element and the façade has been restored. In the 1830s, the balcony on the front gable of the church was found to have rotted supports and was removed, with the door replaced by a window. This feature was reconstructed in 1966. In 1840-41 a *saal* or chapel building was added to the north side of the church in place of a "corpse chapel." The *Gemeinhaus* had been turned over to the Girls' Boarding School (Salem Female Academy) in 1840, and because of this displacement, the Academy funded the new *saal* construction.

These changes notwithstanding, the church remained basically intact until 1870 when complaints about the glaring light from the windows on either side of the pulpit prompted a reorganization of the interior, which was gutted and the old pews removed. New pews were arranged to face the eastern end of the building, and the gallery extended along the south, west, and north walls. The 1870 renovation also resulted in the lowering of the window sills for the "improvement of light and air."[76] A hipped roof, two-story addition to the east end drops with the slope of the lot and may have been added at this time.

The growth of Moravian churches and Sunday Schools (Elm Street Chapel, East Salem, etc.) brought about the name "Home Sunday School" for the Salem church in 1882.[77] By 1888, it was referred to as the mother church or "Home Church to which all will look with interest and affection as the centre of the work and the seat of venerable and memorial services, while we shall have young congregations springing up around the common home, each acting for itself to the best of its ability."[78] In 1913 there was an extensive renovation and addition to the church, designed by local architect Willard C. Northup, which created the basic configuration of today. The north Chapel from 1840-41 was removed and a large complex added to the north. The 1913 complex houses Church Offices and a Chapel and extends from Lot 12 into Lot 11. It is named the "Rondthaler Building" for Bishop Edward Rondthaler, pastor of Home Moravian Church 1877-1908 who was consecrated a bishop in 1891 (died 1931). This addition sits well back from the sidewalk and was built in Flemish bond. It continued the cove cornice line, arched window openings with tracery, and many basic features of Marshall's church design, and is harmonious although noticeably different, with varying fenestration. The addition is a three-bay, gable front central block with hooded entry flanked by hipped roof one-bay sections; the roof is slate. The addition is connected to the church with a recessed three-bay section featuring dormers and a cupola. There are at least three chimneys in the 1913 addition.

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[74] Adelaide L. Fries, ed. *Records of the Moravians in North Carolina* (Raleigh: State Department of Archives and History, 1925), 2:773.

[75] S. Scott Rohrer, "Freedman of the Lord: The Black Moravian Congregation of Salem, N.C., and its Struggle for Survival, 1856-1890" (report for Old Salem, Inc., Winston-Salem, NC, 1993), 16.

[76] Aug. 29, 1870, (Lot 12, Old Salem Research Files).

[77] Rondthaler, *The Memorabilia of Fifty Years*, 34.

[78] Ibid., 81-82.

The church interior was extended into this addition and congregation seating was reoriented to the original direction, facing northward. The congregation faced newly installed stained-glass windows and a raised choir, organ, and pulpit built in the post-Victorian manner, with the organ pipes as the backdrop. A large balcony was added to the south wall which replaced the gallery along the west, south, and north walls. Early light fixtures were reused and electrified. Seating in the church is approximately 600. The historic Tannenberg organ was removed at this time to storage. The organ, built by the first American organ builder, a Moravian David Tannenberg, was restored in 2004 and is located in the James A. Gray Auditorium of the Old Salem Visitors Center.

Renovations to the Rondthaler building were undertaken in 1956 by Lashmit James Brown & Pollock, which eliminated the original large Akron-plan two-story chapel with surrounding classrooms, and replaced it with a smaller separate chapel and created independent rooms.

In 2010, the interior of the church was freshened by the removal of wall-to-wall carpeting to reveal wood floors and the walls were repainted a soft yellow and the wood trim a crisp white. Home Moravian Church is the largest congregation in the Southern Province of the Moravian Church.

601 Lot 13 Main Hall 1856 Contributing Building

Main Hall is the large and distinctive building on Salem Square that is the formal address for Salem College (601 S. Church Street), established in 1772. Salem Academy and College is a legacy of Moravian tradition in female education which goes back to the early period of the *Unitas Fratrum*. John Amos Comenius (1592-1670) was a Moravian bishop in Bohemia and Moravian who strongly advocated for the education of little girls as well as little boys and is known as the father of modern education. Salem Academy and College is part of the continuum of female education in Salem, which began in the predecessor building on this lot, the *Gemein Haus*, the first house of worship in Salem. The *Gemein Haus*, or congregation house, was built on Lot 13 in 1771 and served for over 80 years various functions for the community: *saal* or meeting hall, home and administrative office for church leadership, housing for Single Sisters, classrooms for town girls' school and girls' boarding school, quarters for visiting dignitaries, small library and archives, and storage. Built in Salem's early period, the *Gemeinhaus* was a two-story stone (first floor) and half-timbered (second floor) building with a pent eave mid-story, and was similar in form to the Single Brothers' House (Lot 62, 600 S. Main St.) directly across the Square. The *Gemeinhaus* was torn down in 1854 for the construction of Main Hall, a huge Greek Revival style building with a monumental Doric portico entry and four-story façade crowned by a heavy modillioned cornice and pediment. For several decades during the restoration work of Old Salem, there were numerous voices who called for removal of Main Hall and reconstruction of *the Gemein Haus*.

Designed by Francis Fries, with input from A.J. Davis,[79] Main Hall was to ease the constant overcrowded conditions of the Salem Female Academy (known as the Girls Boarding School prior to 1818) by providing classrooms and dormitory space in the main block with infirmary and support facilities in the north wing. Main Hall continues to serve as offices and classrooms for Salem College and is the most prominent building on Salem Square. The cornerstone contents of the old *Gemeinhaus* were transferred to the cornerstone of the new building, laid on August 9, 1854, and on March 24, 1856 the Salem Diary recorded that the new building was occupied.

Main Hall is a large Greek Revival-style four-story brick building on a brick foundation highlighted by a colossal Doric portico and heavy cornice on the façade. The cornice and pediment are made very bold by the use of large modillion blocks. The roof is flat and sloping to the rear behind the cornice. The façade is stretcher bond of pressed brick with eleven bays of six-over-six sash large light windows with wide wood lintels and sills

[79] Catherine W. Bishir, *North Carolina Architecture* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1990), 221.

and hung with louvered shutters. Six-over-six window sash is used throughout the building, except on the rear at the fourth-floor level where the roof slopes to narrow casements. The two-story Doric portico is five bays wide and is supported by four fluted Doric columns. The building is set back from the sidewalk the depth of the portico, with planting beds on either side. From the sidewalk, memorial granite steps are inset into the portico which shelters a four-panel double leaf door with sidelights and elliptical fanlight, all with delicate tracery and molded casings. The doors open into a formal reception area which intersects the main corridor at a wide elliptical archway. Greek Revival moldings and doors are used throughout the first floor. The second and third floors are corridor plan as well; however, they are rather bare of decorative features, although their north windows retain a geometric yellow stained-glass sash, a style which was used on much of the building in the late nineteenth or early twentieth centuries. The third floor had been a large hall without partitions. Due to the sloping roof, the fourth floor is one-room deep.

The four-story north wing (stretcher bond) sits back from the main block the latter's full three-bay depth, but is connected by a continuous cornice line. Against Home Church's south entrance, the north wing and the main block of Main Hall form a landscaped courtyard with decorative wrought-iron gates (Memorial Gift, Class of 1897) at the sidewalk entrance and a path leading to a decorative frontispiece at the north end of the main block. The three-panel double leaf door with a delicate traceried transom is recessed at a stone door sill and framed by paneled pilasters, fluted brackets and dentil cornice. At the south end of the main block, the space between Main Hall and South Hall is accessed through a decorative wrought-iron gate (Memorial Gift, Class of 1906).

The south and rear exterior walls are common bond (4:1) brick, with the rear elevation made less formal by the open eaves and wide hip roof veranda. On the rear, the first-floor veranda wraps from the main block to the north wing in an "L" shape, is on brick piers and forms a gallery at the cellar level. The shed roof veranda on the north wing is double tiered. At the rear porch of the main block, two flights of wide wood steps descend, each from a porch end-bay, to a landscaped courtyard. Known as the Upper Pleasure Ground, this courtyard is surrounded on three sides: the main block to the west, with north and south wings. The south wing (not contiguous) is Old Chapel, also known as Salem College Chapel, which was completed in 1857 as part of the expansion project. In 1858, Principal Robert de Schweinitz laid out the Lower Pleasure Ground to the east (outside the NHL boundary) when "The piece of woods lying back of the Academy was metamorphosed into a beautiful park with alternations of hill and valley, of winding walks and cozy nooks and arbors."[80] De Schweinitz added pavilions and a rose garden. A walkway from the rear of Main Hall formed an east-west axis extending to a staircase at the ravine edge which descended into the Lower Pleasure Ground. These grounds began transitioning to sites for school buildings in the 1930s with the new Academy building designed by Hobart Upjohn constructed on the hillside east of and across the creek. This also became the site of the Rondthaler Science Building in 1951. The Lower Pleasure Ground endures in the May Dell, a natural landscape with dramatic topography, hardwood canopy, creek, and spring house (ca. 1890), that was the site of May Day festivals beginning in the late 1920s. A short section of the creek featured in the May Dell is the only daylight portion until its confluence with Salem Creek. The east-west walkway intersects another walkway that was implemented in the 1920s as the central north-south axis of Thomas Sears's landscape plan. The northern terminus of this walkway is the Annex Hall/Rondthaler Gramley House (1888) and the southern terminus is Bitting Hall Dormitory (1930), all currently outside the NHL boundary.

619 Lot 14 Old Chapel/Salem College Chapel 1857 Contributing Building
Referred to historically as the south wing of Main Hall, Old Chapel framed the south side of the courtyard, or Upper Pleasure Ground, behind Main Hall, also bounded by the main block and the north wing, and opening to

[80] Frances Griffin, *Less Time for Meddling: A History of Salem Academy and College* (Winston-Salem: John F. Blair Publisher, 1979), 256.

the east at the Lower Pleasure Ground. A component of the complex designed by Francis Fries, the south wing's completion was delayed by a measles epidemic at the school.

Like Main Hall, Old Chapel, also known as Salem College Chapel, is pressed brick in a stretcher bond on the façade (west) and common bond (4:1) brick on the other elevations. It is a two-story, gable front, long rectangular building with returned eaves and box cornice. There are three entry doors on the façade, which has a full length shed roof attached porch/connector stair cover from the Main Hall porch, and there is a staircase to the basement. The first-floor façade has been reworked; however, the second floor is three bays with a round arched, small stained-glass window in the center bay, flanked by nine-over-nine large light sash set in segmental arches. The stained-glass window is repeated in the upper gable end. The southwest corner has shadows and brick repairs indicating changes with contiguous buildings over time (Wash House and connector to South Hall).

The north and south walls extend six bays each with large light nine-over-nine sash windows set in segmental relieving arches on the second floor, with six-over-six sash windows on the first floor. Two stair hall additions were made to the north elevation in recent time. Of the stained-glass windows, one was a gift from the class of 1894 in honor and memory of Zebulon Vance, governor of North Carolina during the Civil War. Governor Vance had assisted in securing and shipping goods to the school during the scarcity of war and was a valued friend.

Old Chapel is located on Lot 14 behind the Girls' Boarding School and is connected to the east porch of Main Hall by a covered walkway. The building has served various functions throughout the years: first floor dining hall, second floor chapel then library, basement gymnasium. Presently it is used for classrooms and offices.

Upper Pleasure Ground 1857 Contributing Site

A landscaped courtyard was created by the construction of the Main Hall in 1856 with its "L" shape on the west and north, and then south side closure by Old Chapel in 1857. The three-sided enclosed space was leveled as a yard with stones from the taking down of the *Gemeinhaus* used for a wall at the edge of the slope. This formal private outdoor space for the school, known as the Upper Pleasure Ground, contrasts to the more public side at Salem Square on the west side of the school. In 1858 the Lower Pleasure Ground was designated in the low area to the east, with an east-west walkway from Main Hall to steps descending to the creek and its surrounding landscape. The courtyard then became known as the "Upper Pleasure Ground" and with it, a new inward orientation, an internal focus for the school which would guide development of the buildings and grounds into major expansion in the early twentieth century.

Decorative objects, including Class Memorial Gifts, adorn the Upper Pleasure Ground. A fountain to the south of the east-west walkway is cast iron (painted black) with several levels of cascade into circular metal pool on a brick base. This fountain was placed in Salem Square in 1890[81] and moved to its present location in the twentieth century. The fountain is a product of noted Philadelphia foundry Wood & Perot (1857-1865), whose name is cast into the base, and thought to have been imported by local merchant and foundry operator Edward Belo.[82] The east-west walkway leads from the rear of Main Hall through the Upper Pleasure Ground to descend at several granite steps (Memorial Gift, Class of 1905) that are flanked by granite pedestals with lamps (Memorial Gifts, Classes of 1908 and 1909).

609 Lot 14 Girls Boarding School/South Hall 1805/1966 Contributing Building

This building has been used to house students since its construction in 1805. The Girls Boarding School building, later known as South Hall, was completed in 1805 to house young girls boarding as students and to

[81] Rondthaler, *The Memorabilia of Fifty Years,* 98.
[82] Kim Proctor, Belo Iron Works (report for Old Salem, Inc., Winston-Salem, NC, 2009).

provide classroom space for boarders and day students. The day school was begun for girls in Salem in 1772 when Single Sister Elizabeth Oesterlein moved the school from Bethabara. It was held in the *Gemeinhaus* and gained such a reputation that non-Moravian families in the region desired to send their daughters to Salem for an education. In 1802 the decision was made to offer a boarding school and plans were immediately made for a new building to house classrooms, dining hall, sick rooms, storeroom and sleeping quarters. The new building was located on the former bleaching green facing Salem Square, between the *Gemeinhaus* and the Single Sisters House.

The first circular advertising the school, from May 22, 1804, set the total yearly cost for a year to be $160-$180, which included board and tuition. The course work list included: 'Reading, Grammar, Writing, Arithmetic, History, Geography, (German, if desired), plain Needlework &c.' "Music, fine needlework, and drawing were" 'extra branches in which instruction is given, if expressly desired'[83] The first boarders arrived even before completion of the building in July 1805, and the press of demand continued so that the building was expanded and altered multiple times. By 1818, the school was known as "Salem Female Academy." An addition to the building for a chapel, sleeping hall, and additional staircase was made to the north in 1824, and a clerestory for extra light and ventilation was added in 1837. During the 1820s and 30s, boarding students included two Cherokee girls, the daughters of Cherokee chief Major Ridge and principal chief of the Cherokee nation, a Scot-Cherokee John Ross. Salem had been involved in mission work among the Cherokee at Springplace, Georgia since 1801. A major renovation to the building in 1873 removed the clerestory and added two additional floors with a continuation of the imposing Greek Revival-style cornice line of Main Hall. Later hyphens connected South Hall to Main Hall at the north and to the Single Sisters House at the south (West Gate Hall), forming a continuous façade. Rear additions were also made during the nineteenth century, so that by the late nineteenth century, the early building was fairly obscured. The building was restored by the college in 1966 with the removal of additions post-dating 1837, including the two stories added in 1873, leaving a free-standing structure with a reconstructed clerestory.

The two-story brick building with side gable roof (clay tile) and brick water table is on a stuccoed stone foundation. It sits against the sidewalk and is composed of the 1805 main block of seven bays with centered door into a hall, and the 1824 two-story northern addition of three bays, also with a centered door. The façade is unified by materials and design, brick water table, cove cornice, and the 1837 front clerestory with six-over-six sash windows and louvered shutters. The 1805 building has Flemish bond walls with dark headers. Painted brick window and door surrounds and painted brick quoins imitate the rubbed brick on the 1786 Sisters House. There are interior end chimneys, elliptical relieving arches with nine-over-six sash windows hung with two panel shutters on the first floor and louver shutters on the second floor. Windows have wide casings and molded sills. In the south upper gable end, two third floor windows are nine-over-six sash flanked by four-light casements. An upper attic level also has four-light casements. There is a single chevron of dark headers in the gable end which would have been below the rake prior to the clerestory addition. The 1805 entry bay has a Moravian hood sheltering a double leaf door in a plain wide casing with ogee tracery in the segmental arch above. The stone doorsill is at a shallow stone stoop with four granite steps from the sidewalk. The door enters a center hall that runs the depth of the building, with a rear staircase and back door. To the right of the door there are two windows in the foundation, one is a six-light casement and the other is a vent. The northern addition (1824) façade has Flemish bond walls of uniform-color bricks, with north and east walls common bond (3:1) brick. Fenestration is consistent with the 1805 building although here set in segmental arches. The entry is a four-panel door in a plain wide casing with ogee tracery in the segmental arch above. The granite door sill is at a shallow stone stoop with two granite steps. There is a false interior end chimney at the north, owing to the proximity of the neighboring building. The north upper gable end repeats the south gable fenestration, and there is no chevron. The shed dormer across the rear roof of the entire building was added during the

[83] Ibid., 40.

restoration in 1966. The rear elevation (which has ten bays similar to façade) faces a courtyard garden with a fountain onto which also front the Wash House and the Old Chapel, all on Lot 14.

The Single Sisters performed much of the hard work associated with the function of the Girls Boarding School; however, records indicated that they were assisted by slaves who were owned or rented by the Girls Boarding School and Single Sisters Diacony, including Sam, Elisabeth, Caty, and Nat (between 1811-1835). Since Emancipation, African Americans were among the school's employees as maids, cooks, gardeners, etc., many from nearby Happy Hill who walked to their jobs across Salem Creek.

Memorial Fountain ca. 1890 Contributing Object
The fountain is centered at the rear door of central hall of 1805 building and is decorative cast iron (painted white) with two levels of cascade into a circular metal pool. It was a gift of Bishop Edward Rondthaler, who served as Salem College president 1884-1888 and was pastor of Home Moravian Church 1877-1908.

Lot 14 Single Sisters Wash House/Alumnae House 1817 Contributing Building
Located behind South Hall and presently known as the Annie Spencer Penn Alumnae House, the former wash house bears shadows and marks of the many changes and reconfiguration of structures and spaces through time, as the Girls Boarding School/Salem Female Academy adjusted to the needs of an ever-growing student body.

The Single Sisters Diacony served the school as teachers and provided necessary support services, such as meals, laundry, etc. In 1804 the old shed and laundry in this vicinity were removed and a new laundry built in 1805. This was replaced by a larger wash house/woodshed in 1813-14 to which the extant building was added in 1817, with the second floor used as a sleeping hall. In subsequent years, the wash house became a dining room, a porch was added, and in 1835 a two-story building connected its west side to the rear (east) of the Girls' Boarding School. The portion of the building dating from 1813 was removed for the construction of Old Chapel (1857), leaving the present building as an attachment to this new building. In the mid-twentieth century, the building was physically separated from Old Chapel and a new north elevation wall and partial façade built/repaired; a narrow brick path separates the two buildings presently. The 1835 connection to South Hall was also removed. The east elevation also shows signs of brick repair. Following renovations, the former laundry became the college alumnae house.

The two-story Flemish bond building with side gable roof (red tile) has box cornice and a south interior end chimney and is on a stone foundation. The four-bay façade has an entry in the second bay from the left at a double leaf entry door sheltered by a shed roof. Window sash is set in relieving arches and on the first floor is nine-over-six and on the second floor is six-over-six. Windows and doors have plain wide casings. One gable dormer with a six-over-four sash window is on the front and two on the rear. The upper gable ends of the building are weatherboarded and the south gable has two six-over-six sash windows. The building is two rooms deep and the brick floors at the first-floor level are probably original. The rear has a small shed roof porch with square posts at the back door. Earthquake bolts are seen on the south elevation.

627 Lot 15 Single Sisters' House 1786 Contributing Building
After moving from Bethabara to Salem in 1772 and housed initially in the *Gemein Haus*, the growing Single Sisters Choir requested to build their own choir house by 1782. With authorization the next year, plans were made and materials assembled; however, the destruction of the Salem Tavern by fire in early 1784 disrupted preparations, as materials and labor were diverted to rebuild the tavern, a significant community function. Following his work on the new Tavern, Gottlob Krause was appointed master mason in December 1784[84] and supervised the Sisters House construction which was back on track by early 1785 when the Single Sisters'

[84] Adelaide L. Fries, ed., *Records of the Moravians in North Carolina* (Raleigh: North Carolina Historical Commission, 1941), 5:2043.

House cellar was excavated on the lot of a former Sisters Garden. The building site was diagonally across Salem Square from the Single Brothers House, the male counterpart. The Sisters House cornerstone was laid at the southwest corner on March 31, 1785, and the roof timbers were put in place on August 19, 1785. By April 5, 1786, the Sisters House and outbuildings had been completed and were dedicated. The large building followed the plans of other choir houses with *saal* or prayer hall, sleeping and dining halls, work rooms and sitting rooms, and the kitchen was originally housed in the north end of the building. Thirty-three Single Sisters and older girls moved into the new building. In 1793, the first African American Single Sister, Anna Maria Samuel, the enslaved daughter of Johannes Samuel, moved into the Single Sisters House; it is unclear if additional enslaved sisters lived in the house.

The Single Sisters, "individually and collectively, were to be the very backbone of the girls' school in Salem for close to a century,"[85] and the ever pressing needs of the growing school impacted the function and use of the Single Sisters' buildings and grounds. The grounds included much of what is now the Salem Academy and College campus and encompassed expansive kitchen gardens (first laid out by P.C.G. Reuter in 1771) and over the decades a variety of structures including wash house, smokehouse/meat house, butcher house, woodsheds, linen weave house, privy, pig pen, cow stable, cow pen, granary, ice house, well, cistern, and spring house.

The Single Sisters House was adjusted to meet demands. A bake oven was installed in the kitchen in 1807, the oven opening was discovered on the north wall during the removal of West Gate Hall in 1966. Double-tiered dormer windows were added in 1812 for increased light and ventilation in the two attics, and in 1817 the building (and roof line) was extended to the south with an addition containing a new *saal,* dedicated in 1819. In 1837 there was an addition to the north. With the transition of the *Gemeinhaus* to Salem Academy in 1840-41, space in the Single Sisters House changed use and the kitchen converted to living area. In 1859, much of the Single Sisters property was acquired by the school, and part of the Single Sisters House was used for school housing. By this time, the Single Sister Diacony had mostly ceased to function, and by 1896, the Sisters had completely vacated the building.

In 1910 the Single Sisters House, known as "Sisters," was formally deeded to the Salem Academy and College, and in 1911, West Gate Hall was built at the north end, connecting Sisters to South Hall and creating a continuous college façade across this east side of Salem Square, covering Lots 13, 14, 15, from Main Hall through the Single Sisters House. West Gate Hall provided entry from Salem Square to the interior of the school grounds and the major east-west axis of the campus. In 1966 when South Hall was restored, West Gate Hall was removed and a picket fence and gate replaced it at this vehicular entrance to the grounds. Major new construction on the college grounds in 2014, the Student Center located south of the Rondthaler Science Building, became the new eastern terminus of this axis.

In 1974, Old Salem assisted the College with some exterior restoration of the Sisters House, including work on the original clay tile roof. In 1983, archaeological investigation was conducted in the kitchen area. The Sisters House ceased function as a dormitory in 1994, and in 2003, U.S. Congress granted funds from the "Save America's Treasures Fund" to preserve the building. Several years of architectural investigation resulted in the restoration of the building. It formally reopened in 2007 as offices, classrooms, assembly space, and a section in the north was set aside as a museum showcasing the history of the building and architectural findings, including archaeological work in the kitchen area.

The Single Sisters House has been little altered on the exterior. It sits against the sidewalk and is a two-story Flemish bond building with a steep side gable roof (clay tile) and has a box cornice with bed molding and it is on a stone foundation that is partially stuccoed. The building has a twelve-bay façade that is composed of the

[85] Griffin, *Less Time for Meddling*, 20.

original nine-bay building and the three-bay south addition from 1819. The 1786 building is Flemish bond with dark headers and a gable roof with corner lock plates. The rubbed brick arches over windows and doors are noteworthy. As designed, it had a symmetrical façade of nine-bays with two entry doors, in the third and seventh bay. The six-panel doors are set in segmental arches with pronounced keystones. The north door, with lancet tracery above, is at a granite doorsill and has a handicap ramp access from the sidewalk. The south door has a blind arch and there are two granite steps from the sidewalk. Each door enters a hallway with a rear staircase and a back door; a middle corridor connects these halls. Windows are six-over-six sash set in elliptical relieving arches, and on the first floor are hung with single leaf two panel shutters. Windows and doors have wide casings and there are wide window sills. There are interior end chimneys and one interior chimney. The north gable end has a single chevron of dark brick below the rake. The upper gable end has two six-over-six sash windows at the third floor/attic level, flanked by six-light casements. The upper attic has four-light casements. The original date stone (1785) on the south gable is visible in the attic of the 1819 south addition. The 1819 south addition is harmonious and continues in roofline, form and style the original building. It is three bays with a six-panel door in molded casing at a granite doorsill in the northern most bay, with four granite steps from the sidewalk. Window sash follows that of the 1786 building and here with molded casings and sills. This door enters a hallway with a rear staircase and back door. The brick is Flemish bond in a mostly uniform color and there is an interior end chimney at the south end. The upper gable south end has two six-over-six sash windows at the third floor/attic level, flanked by four-light casements. The upper attic has four-light casements.

Fenestration on the rear elevation of the whole building mimics the façade and the back doors have hoods. There are three sets of double-tiered dormers on the front and two sets on the rear. The lower dormers are gabled and have six-over-six sash windows. The upper dormers are gabled and have six-light casements. The foundation of the building façade, where visible, is stuccoed stone that is scored to resemble cut stone; the rear foundation of the 1786 building is stone and that of the addition is the stuccoed stone. There are arched openings in the foundation emitting light into the cellar. Earthquake bolts are visible in the south gable end. The building is a unified whole and balances the Single Brothers House diagonally across Salem Square.

31FY395*15
Lot 15 Archaeology
Contributing Component to the Contributing Site

1967	Brad Rauschenberg (OSI) Lot 15 Single Sisters
1982-1983	Julie Risher and Beth Pearce (Salem College students) under supervision of Michael Hammond (consulting archaeologist) Single Sisters Kitchen floor

701 Lot 15 Clewell Dormitory 1922 Noncontributing Building
The first building constructed here was the small, log, one and one-half story, central chimney house of Br. Tycho Nissen in 1782. Next door to the immediate north, the Single Sisters House was built in 1786. Following Nissen's death in 1789, his house was purchased as lodging for widows, and by 1807, the house and lot were added to the Single Sisters holdings. It was used for various support functions until the early twentieth century (by which time the Single Sisters House had become an integral part of Salem Academy and College and was deeded to the school in 1910), when the college faced the need for additional dormitory space. A program of new construction, designed by Willard C. Northup, architect, and Thomas Sears, landscape architect, was approved which would integrate three new buildings into the campus, including a large new dormitory on Lot 15.

Named for Alice Wolle Clewell, wife of Salem Academy and College's 11th president, the new building was designed by Northup of Winston-Salem and was shown on the Northup/Sears plan as "Dormitory No. 2." It was completed in 1922. Clewell Dormitory was constructed partially over the site of Tycho Nissen's house and several other buildings: smokehouse, laundry, kitchen/woodshed, storage, and greenhouse. The dormitory is a large two-story, gable roof building in the form of an "L", with a corridor plan and two main entrances: one on the building's west side, fronting Church Street at the Square's southeast corner, and the other on the building's north side, fronting the campus road at the West Gate. A structure of this size could overwhelm its surroundings; however, the design and configuration of the building as it stretches around the Single Sisters House serves to lessen its impact.

The Colonial Revival building repeats in materials and detail many features of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century brick buildings in Salem and on the campus, including segmental relieving arches at nine-over-six and six-over-six sash windows, Flemish bond walls with dark headers, steep gable roof (red tile) with flush ends, and double-tiered dormers. The symmetrical façades on the two end blocks each have three bays, the middle bay being the entrance bay with a graceful Colonial Revival frontispiece framing double leaf three panel doors with delicate fanlight. The Church Street façade is set back from the sidewalk the depth of two wide granite steps to the front door at a wide granite doorsill. A high gable roof on each end block, with interior end chimneys, continues the unified relationship of this building to its older neighbors.

711 Lot 16 Lehman Hall 1892 Contributing Building

In 1794, this lot was used as pasture by Gottlieb Shober, who lived across the street on the corner lot (Lot 28). It was later subdivided between two Salem householders and outbuildings were constructed along the street side in 1840. As Salem Female Academy grew, new buildings were needed and several were constructed in the late 1880s and early 1890s that expanded the school grounds, including Lehman Hall, first known as "New Sisters House" and later "The Cottage." It was the southern-most school building for several decades and named Lehman Hall in honor of Emma Augusta Lehman, beloved English teacher for fifty years (1964-1915) and alumnae, who was born and raised in the Moravian town of Bethania. Currently used as college offices.

The two-story, common bond (5:1) brick building on a brick foundation has a side gable roof (standing seam metal) with returned eaves, a projecting box cornice, and narrow board frieze. The symmetrical five-bay façade has a graceful Colonial Revival frontispiece with fluted pilasters that frames a four-panel door with delicate fanlight above. The building is set back from the sidewalk several feet, and the wide granite doorsill is reached by three wide granite steps from the sidewalk. A pair of narrow four-over-four sash windows is above the entry on the second floor. The 1895 Sanborn map indicates a full façade front porch, and scars on the façade allude to a low hip roof porch. It is not known when the porch was removed (post 1917); however, with the Northup/Sears plan of the 1920s focused on Colonial Revival architectural elements, a renovation may have taken place then, as was done to Annex Hall in 1923. Windows throughout the house are large light four-over-four sash set in segmental relieving arches with wide wood sills and hung with double louver shutters. Each upper gable end has a set of tripartite windows, with four-over-four sash, at the attic level. There are two exterior end chimneys on the north wall projecting on each side of the middle bay and one interior end chimney at the south. The rear elevation has a small shed roof porch supported by square posts at the back door. The foundation has four-over-four window sash at each bay on the sides and rear which light the basement level.

In the late nineteenth century when this building was constructed and for several decades into the early twentieth century, the south side of the Lehman Hall was bounded by Mink Street, later known as Shober Street. Sanborn Maps from 1895-1912 indicate African American housing along this street, as single dwellings and tenements. East of Lehman Hall on Lot 16 is the site of a single dwelling labeled "Negro D." By 1917, Mink/Shober Street and this housing had disappeared and a new college Heating Plant was in the vicinity.

In the vicinity of Lot 15/16, the early path to the Potters' Meadow (Archaeological Component 31FY395*Potters' Meadow outside the NHL boundaries)[86] ran from Church Street east and down slope to the bottom land. In this meadow, now used for playing fields and parking, Salem potters dug clay beginning in 1771 with the first Moravian potter of Wachovia, Gottfried Aust (who moved his shop from Bethabara to Salem) to the ending of Salem pottery production ca. 1904. The bottom was also a source of clay for brick. A portion of the bottom was flooded in the winter to freeze and cut ice to store in ice pits in town. The 1820 mill race for the Salem Mill also ran through the bottom. By 1769, a significant road from the core of town to the Salem Farm crossed the bottom, then the creek, and then the bottom on the south side. The Salem Farm became the Schumann Plantation, and then following the Civil War in 1872, the Freedmen's land of Liberia, or Happy Hill; thus, the road was an important and well-traveled roadway by Black residents to access work, church, mail, etc. By the early twentieth century, Alder Street was cut into Happy Hill from Waughtown Street and served as the main vehicular access to Happy Hill. The roadway through the bottom became a pathway for pedestrian travel and remains in use between Salem Avenue and the 1936 pedestrian metal truss bridge over Salem Creek. The bottom, owned by Salem Academy and College, has high archaeological potential.

715 Lot 16 Babcock Hall Dormitory 1957 Noncontributing Building
Built in 1957 on the south side of Lot 16, by the Mary Reynolds Babcock Foundation, this dormitory is an illustration of ongoing construction at Salem Academy and College within certain traditional forms, the Colonial Revival refined to the "Moravian Revival" style. The large building (eleven bays) used forms and features of the Moravian context which allowed it to comfortably fit into the whole scheme. The two-story building has walls of Flemish bond with dark headers and a steep gable roof (red tile) with a dormer at each bay, cove and bead cornice, segmental relieving arches at the six-over-six sash windows, ogee tracery in arches above doors, and Moravian hoods at the entrances. There is a full basement which utilizes the slope of the lot to best advantage.

By the late nineteenth century, Mink Street, later known as Shober Street, ran east from Church Street through the middle of Lot 16 and what would be the north edge of this building. In the vicinity of the footprint of this dormitory there were located a series of "Negro Tenements." The area of Mink, Coon, and Church Streets was a block of African American housing, as seen on Sanborn Insurance Maps (1895-1912). By 1917, this street and the African American housing had disappeared and a new college Heating Plant was in the vicinity.

721 Lot 17 Bahnson House 1925 Noncontributing Building
Built as the "Bahnson Infirmary" in memory of Henry Theodore Bahnson, MD by members of his family, it served as the Salem Academy and College infirmary until 2002 when it was renovated for student housing. Dr. Bahnson was the Academy and College physician for many years and a resident of Salem (see Lot 9, 513 S. Main St.).

Standing between Babcock Dormitory on the north and Gramley Dormitory on the south, both of which post-date it, Bahnson Infirmary is an example of the architectural style on the Salem College campus as prescribed in the Northup/Sears plan from the 1920s. The Colonial Revival is Moravian Revival in this building which is at the scale of a house. The one-story building with gable roof (red tile) and front dormers is set back from the street and centered at the front of Lot 17. Expected features include Flemish bond brick walls with dark headers, segmental relieving arches at the six-over-six sash windows, and the Moravian hood at the north projecting entrance. There is a brick water table, an exterior end chimney at the south end, and the foundation is brick.

[86] John W. Clauser, Jr., "Report on Salvage Excavation Old Salem Potter's Meadow" (report for Old Salem, Inc., Winston-Salem, NC, 1975).

Bahnson House is built on Lot 17, land used historically for outbuildings and garden space for householders on Main Street. By the late nineteenth century, Coon Street, later called Liberia Street, and then Blum Street, ran diagonally across Lot 17, southwest to northeast. Sanborn Maps from 1895-1912 indicate African American housing in the area. Two tenements were located in the vicinity of Bahnson House, one facing Church Street and the other facing Coon Street. A grouping of "Negro Tenements" were located east of Bahnson House along Coon Street, on Lots 16 and 17. The area of Mink, Coon, and Church Streets was a block of African American housing, as seen on Sanborn Insurance Maps (1895-1912). Mink Street disappeared by 1917; however, Coon or Blum Street remained in 1917 and tenement housing was present.

801 Lot 18, 19 Gramley Hall Dormitory 1965 Noncontributing Building
The Dale H. Gramley Dormitory is named for the 13th president of Salem Academy and College, who served 1949-1971, and was the first non-clergy to head the school. The large "L" shaped building utilizes the slope of the lot to best advantage and its form and style fit into the scale of its context. This two-story, Moravian Revival style building features Flemish bond brick building on a "stucco" (concrete) foundation. The steeply pitched gable roof has dormers at each bay. Other traditional features include: cove and bead cornice, elliptical relieving arches at each six-over-six sash window, and Moravian hoods at the entrances. It sits back from the sidewalk.

The hill slope of Lot 19 became a Pleasure Garden for the Girls Boarding School Garden in 1804, with earthworks and terracing recorded by a visitor to Salem in 1809, and lower Church Street was used as a promenade.[87] There was also discussion of a lane to the Potters' Meadow at the south end of Lot 19.[88] The garden remained in use until 1858 when the Lower Pleasure Ground to the east of the school was created (see Lower Pleasure Ground). By 1859, the two-story, brick Dr. Samuel Martin House was built on Lot 19, on the corner at Church Street and Blum Street (also known as Coon Street), facing Blum Street. By 1917, Lot 19 was split in half and the rear of the lot had a house facing Church Street. These houses were removed in the mid-twentieth century.

A large deodor cedar (Cedrus deodora) stands near the northwest façade of the dorm and was recognized by the Forsyth County Treasure Tree Program in 2011 (height: 82 ft., diameter: 54.4 in., circumference: 171 in., crown spread: 82 ft.).[89]

813 Lot 20 Philip Reich House 1824 Contributing Building
In the eighteenth century, this lot was part of the land allocated to the Tavern for fields and pasture. In 1815, the Inspector of the Girls Boarding School, Abraham Steiner, received permission to establish an orchard between the Girls Boarding School Garden and the Parish Graveyard. The land continued in this state until 1823, when Christoph Reich received permission to lease Lot 20 and construct a house there for his retirement. The lot drops quickly down to the east and the Potters' Meadow. He died during the construction of the house, and his son Philip, took over the unfinished house. He finished the house and joined his mother in the operation of the coppersmith, tinsmith, and sheet iron trade. In 1832 he added the detached shop building.

Reich sold his house and shop in May 1849 to the Single Brother Theodore Keehln (Kuhln), and it continued in that family for some time. Dr. David Kuhln later used the shop building as an apothecary (see Lot 97, 901 S. Main St.). The Slave Schedule from the 1860 Forsyth County Census listed Theodore Kuhln as owning 2 male slaves, ages 14 and 17, and one slave house is listed.[90] The 1885 Sanborn map shows the shop being used as a dwelling, a common occurrence in Salem. By 1912, a house had been built at the south end of Lot 20, set back

[87] David Bergstone, "Salem Lot 104, Historic References Report" (report for Old Salem, Inc., Winston-Salem, NC, 1992) 20.
[88] Ibid., 22.
[89] Treasure Trees of Forsyth County.
[90] Forsyth County Genealogical Society, *Forsyth Co., NC 1860 Federal Census*, 207.

from the street. Thus, three separate dwellings fronted Church Street on Lot 20 by this time. The early twentieth century saw dense development in Salem as lots were subdivided.

The house is built against the sidewalk with picket fence at lot line. The one and one-half story frame (beaded weatherboard) house with a side gable roof (concrete to simulate wood shingle) has flush ends and a box cornice with bed molding and is on a stone foundation with the façade foundation stuccoed. The symmetrical five-bay façade has a centered entry at four-panel door with four-light transom, and a molded door cap. Three wood steps lead to a granite step at the sidewalk with turned posts and railings. The house is a center hall, two-room deep plan. Window sash is nine-over-six on the first floor and the gable end windows at the second floor are six-over-six sash flanked by horizontal two-light attic casements. Windows are hung with three panel shutters. Windows and doors have molded casings. There is lean-to at the rear, which is partially an open porch with chamfered posts and simple balustrade and partially enclosed with frame (weatherboard) and with an exterior end, two-shoulder brick chimney on the east, rear wall. Constructed with interior end, brick chimneys, Reich's first shop may have been in the north front room, following that popular Salem pattern. The north interior end chimney was removed and replaced by a single shoulder stepped exterior end breakaway brick chimney early in the house's life. This alteration may have taken place around 1832 when Reich moved his shop from inside his house to the new shop building. The front entrance to the house reflects the talent of the resident craftsman in uniquely fabricated elements: the metal drip above the entry and a four-light transom with pewter muntins above the door. In a documentary photograph (ca. 1862), the house had an attached pedimented front portico, reflecting a Greek Revival stylistic upgrade to the house that was later removed.

In 1961, the house and shop were purchased and restored by Frank L. Horton and given to Old Salem, Inc. The house is restored to an 1849 appearance. It was the residence of Mr. Horton and his mother Theo Taliaferro. Horton was a major figure in Old Salem's preservation effort and served as the Director of Restoration for the first twenty years. He and his mother established the Museum of Early Southern Decorative Arts in 1965.

The ravine on the east side of Salem cuts deeply into the ridge at this south end of Church Street, and Lot 20 has some terracing down to the bottom. A bomb shelter was constructed in 1961 in the upper terrace. The house and shop are privately owned.

Bomb Shelter 1961 Noncontributing Structure

Approximately thirty yards east of the house, a bomb shelter was dug into the upper earthen terrace. A fieldstone retaining wall (facing east) is the outer wall of the bomb shelter room and is accessed by a steel door. Mrs. Taliaferro had collected plans and guidelines for its construction, and had the bomb shelter stocked with food, medicine, bedding, and other supplies.[91]

817 Lot 20 Shop 1832 Contributing Building

In 1832, Philip Reich built a free-standing shop on Lot 20 just to the south of his house. This move followed a general trend in Salem in the 1830s and 40s of moving one's business from within the dwelling to a nearby free-standing shop. The gable front, one and one-half story shop is a frame (beaded weatherboard) building with box cornice on a stone foundation with an interior brick chimney. The two-bay façade has a herringbone Dutch door and a six-over-six sash window; there is a nine-light casement window in the gable. Other sash is six-over-six. The exterior was restored to the 1832 appearance and the interior has been remodeled for modern use. The shop sign hangs above the door and advertises "Tinsmith P. Reich." This is one of five extant original free-standing shop buildings in Salem.

[91] Penelope Niven, "Frank L. Horton and the Roads to MESDA," *Journal of Early Southern Decorative Arts* 27 (Summer 2001): 85-87.

31FY395*20 Lot 20 Archaeology
Contributing Component to the Contributing Site

1960 Frank Albright (OSI)
Lot 20 Reich rear yard (well, drains, brick wall)

823 Lot 95 Anna Johanna Vogler House 1827 Contributing Building

In the eighteenth century, this lot was part of the land allocated to the Tavern for fields and pasture. Gunsmith Christoph Vogler built his first house in Salem on Main Street (see Lot 65, 710 S. Main St.) in 1797, only to move three years later to the Loesch House (Lot 168) at the former fulling mill for his gunsmith operation. Upon his retirement, in January of 1827, he asked permission to build a house between Philip Reich (Lot 20) and the Negro God's Acre, and in the same month he presented the plans for his house. His son Nathaniel, also a gunsmith, bought the Walnut Street house at the fulling mill, and Christoph constructed his new house on Church Street during the year, only to die in December, a few weeks after moving in. In 1828 the lot was indentured to his wife Anna Johanna (m.n. Stauber) Vogler. From that time until her death in 1870, she lived in the house.

In 1872 the property was deeded to a Single Sister Lavinia Williams, and sometime after that was purchased by Harvey Sylvester Crist. Crist was the grandson of Rudolph Christ, the famous Salem potter, and he also was the grandson of Dr. David Kuehln (see Lot 97, 901 S. Main St.). The house remained in the Crist family and was occupied in 1977 by Mr. and Mrs. Crist Blackwell. The Blackwells renovated the property in the late 1970s by removing later additions to the house and reconstructing the cow barn. During archaeological work on Lots 7 and 41 in 1977, investigation of this outbuilding site took place. The property was acquired by Salem Academy and College and is used as faculty/staff housing.

The house sits against the sidewalk and has a picket fence at property lines. It is a one and one-half story brick building with side gable roof (wood shingle) has a slight kick at the eave. There are flush gable ends, box cornice with bed molding and narrow beaded board frieze. The interior end chimneys have corbelled caps, there is a molded brick water table, and a stone foundation. The asymmetrical three bay façade with an offset center door and two windows is in the Flemish bond with other elevations common bond (3:1). The entry is a simple gabled portico with scalloped fascia edging and chamfered posts. It shelters a six-panel door with four-light transom at a stone stoop, entered from each side. The house is a side hall, four room plan with an offset attached common bond (5:1) brick kitchen ell with end chimney. The ell is on a brick foundation and is accessed from the back porch (enclosed with flush sheathing). The ell has a brick addition at the chimney, and there is a frame addition to the rear. First floor window sash is nine-over-six, except an unusual six-over-four two-light wide sash window hung with a single leaf panel shutter on the north elevation. In each gable end are two six-over-six sash windows at the second-floor level, flanked by four-light attic casements. Ell windows are also six-over-six sash. All windows have two panel shutters. There are wide, plain window and door casings and wide window sills. There are earthquake bolts.

Additions from the late nineteenth and early twentieth century are apparent on the 1907 Sanborn map, and a photograph from the 1970s (pre-renovation) showed form and stylistic changes that probably date from the 1870s. At that time, the front door was replaced by a window and a new entry was created at a decorative porch added at the north side. Window sash had been replaced by two-over-two sash and a dormer with paired two-over-two sash windows had been installed at the front. A glassed-in sun room was added across the south side.

The ravine on the east side of Salem cuts deeply into the ridge here, and due to the shallow nature of Lot 95 and the significant drop, the lot's street frontage was increased beyond the typical 66-foot lot width to 162 feet. In the early twentieth century, a house was constructed at the south end of Lot 95.

Cow Shed (reconstruction) 1979 Contributing Building
An outbuilding was constructed to the south of the house and set back from the street in 1832 and disappeared in the nineteenth century. It was reconstructed in 1979 based on photographic documentation. The small one and one-half story frame building (weatherboard) with side gable roof (wood shingle) has two bays on the west side facing the street. One is a barn door that remains closed and the other is a single door. The north gable end has a loft window. The east side of the building is access to the garage. Archaeological investigation in 1977 explored this site.

909 Lot 104 Crist House 1890 Contributing Building
In the eighteenth century, this lot was part of the land allocated to the Tavern for fields and pasture. By the 1820s and 1830s, residential development was progressing at this southern end of Salem's ridge. Adam Fischel was a young man of twenty-three when he built the first house here in 1841, upon his move to Salem from Friedberg. He also built at least one outbuilding, a smokehouse, before he died in 1843. Ernst Vierling (son of Dr. Vierling, see Lot 7, 463 S. Church St.) bought the house and made additions to the simple one story, three-bay building with central chimney. In 1847, Vierling was given permission to re-orient a shed to the street front and onto the adjacent graveyard property in order to make room for a southern addition to his house. Due to the constraints of his lot because of the deep drop to the bottom, Vierling had access to land at the rear of the adjacent graveyard for a small barn, and he was also allowed an extension of his lot to the east in 1854. Traugott Crist acquired the property in 1862 and requested another expansion of the lot, to the east and south on the back side of the church.[92]

Indications are that the 1841 Fischel House was removed ca. 1890 and the present Crist House built at that time. Oral tradition suggests the house was moved to Happy Hill. The Crist family occupied the Lot 104 property until 1935. Several Crist family members were involved in work at the Sunday School at St. Philips Church next door (Maria Crist, wife of Traugott, and their son William).

The Crist House sits back from the street and has a picket fence at the sidewalk. It is a one and one-half story frame house (weatherboard) with side gable roof (asphalt shingle) and returned eaves and molded cornice with wide frieze board. There are interior end chimneys and it is on a brick foundation. The symmetrical three bay façade has a full width hip roof porch with Tuscan columns and simple balustrade. The centered six-panel front door has sidelights and a two-light transom. The house is a center hall, two-room deep plan. Window sash is two-over-two with louver shutters, and a pedimented gable dormer with paired windows is above the entry bay. In the upper gable ends are two two-over-two sash windows at the second-floor level flanked by attic casements. A shed roof dormer is on the rear roof. A driveway enters the lot at the south side and follows along the property line to the rear where a pyramidal roofed, frame garage was formerly located. The lot drops off steeply at the rear. Owned for several decades by Salem Academy and College, it is a private residence that was substantially rehabilitated in 2010.

Garage 2015 Noncontributing Building
The gable-front, frame garage with side shed was built at the site of an earlier garage which was removed ca. 2000. Located to the side rear of the house, the garage façade (west) includes a single car door and a window (on the shed); the pedestrian door is at the north.

911 Lot 249 St. Philips Moravian Church 1861 Contributing Building
Individually listed in the National Register of Historic Places ("Saint Philip's Moravian Church").

[92] Bergstone, "Salem Lot 104."

The cornerstone for the new African Church in Salem was laid on August 24, 1861[93] and on December 15, 1861 the building was consecrated at the Sunday service. The building was constructed east of and adjacent to the Parish Graveyard. In 1859 the Negro congregation became a part of the Salem Congregation after having been shepherded and funded by the Female Missionary Society since 1823. The minister, Br. Francis Holland, was keenly interested in a new building for the Black congregation and pressed for it. A new church building for the "Negro Congregation" was discussed in earnest in 1860, with plans and costs submitted to the Board of Trustees.[94] The Log Church on the neighboring lot had served the enslaved population since 1823. (The congregation had been organized in May 1822 as a result of the increasingly segregated religious life in Salem.) Although the Black Moravian congregation was small (44 communicants in 1861), special services often attracted many more than could be accommodated, as "the number of stated hearers is about 200."[95] In addition, the enslaved population of Salem had grown significantly since the Slave Regulations in Salem prohibiting individual ownership were revoked in 1847. The total cost for the new church was $2916.18 and included $1104.62 for "Brickwork" to Charles Houser and $378.45 for "carpenter work" to George Swink. Alfred Brown was paid for 28,000 shingles.[96] J. Gottlieb Seitz was superintendent of the project.[97]

Having been constructed during the first year of the Civil War, the African Church would serve as the vessel of good news at the end of the war. In the spring of 1865, the federal army under General Palmer (with 3,000 troops) stayed overnight in Salem, camping at the Brothers Spring on April 10 without incident.[98] Then on May 14, the 10th Ohio Volunteer Cavalry entered Salem and remained until July 13.[99] On Sunday May 21 in the African Church, their chaplain, the Rev. Seth Clark read scripture, delivered remarks, and read two general orders from General Schofield, at the headquarters of the Army of the Ohio in Raleigh, NC. "General Orders 32" was the formal announcement of freedom to the enslaved population.[100] Emancipation brought new challenges and opportunities, and the African Church prioritized education. Formalized education was established through the efforts Freedmen in Salem and vicinity with two church members, Lewis Hege and Alexander Vogler, plus Robert Waugh, elected by their peers to lead the effort to establish a public school for African American children. In conjunction with the Board of Trustees of the Salem Congregation, the Freedmen built the school in 1867 on Moravian land near the Brothers' Spring. It was the first school for African American children in Forsyth County and one of the earliest in North Carolina.[101]

Although church membership remained small, the Sunday School effort begun in the Log Church in 1827 by the Female Missionary Society became significant outreach for the African church as growing numbers of participants in the late nineteenth century prompted the construction of an addition to the front of the church in 1890, which was built onto the front and over a portion of the Parish Graveyard. The church continued to be led by a white Moravian minister and had typical services of the Moravian Church with sermons, Moravian hymns, communions, and Lovefeasts. Church programs expanded to include revivals, prayer meetings, lectures, magic lantern shows, church suppers, and Sunday picnics. The church was named "St. Philips" in 1914 by Bishop Edward Rondthaler. The small congregation focused on outreach and worked diligently to

[93] "Diary of the African Church in Salem, 1861" in *Records of the Moravians in North Carolina*, Crews and Bailey, 12:6402-6407.

[94] Ibid., "Board of Trustees of Salem Congregation, 1860," 6367-6368.

[95] Ibid., "Diary of the African Church in Salem, 1861," 6406.

[96] Salem Diacony Journal 6, The Building of the 1861 Brick Church, transcribed in S. Scott Rohrer, "The 1823 African-American Log Church: An Assessment" (report for Old Salem, Inc., Winston-Salem, NC, 1995), 67-70.

[97] Ibid., 32.

[98] "Memorabilia of Salem Congregation, 1865," in *Records of the Moravians*, Crews and Bailey, 12: 6553-6555.

[99] Ibid, "Salem Diary, 1865," 6565-6567.

[100] Ibid, "Diary of the African Church in Salem, 1865," 6572.

[101] "Board of Trustees of Salem Congregation, 1867" in *Records of the Moravians in North Carolina*, eds. C. Daniel Crews and Lisa D. Bailey (Raleigh: Office of Archives and History, 2006), 13:6784.

collect clothes and supplies for Moravian missionaries across the globe. They were also active supporters of a nearby African American orphanage (in Waughtown) and cared for the old and infirm.

Black leadership of St. Philips began in 1946 when George Hall, a Moravian of African descent from Nicaragua, became the Lay Pastor of St. Philips. Dr. Hall was a science professor at Winston-Salem State Teachers College (now Winston-Salem State University). At his retirement, The Rev. Dr. Cedric Rodney (1924-2012), a Moravian from Guyana, became the first ordained minister of African descent to lead St. Philips. Dr. Rodney's service to St. Philips began in January 1968 and lasted over thirty years. Dr. Rodney was an impetus for the retrieval of the historic building and co-chaired the St. Philips Committee which guided the restoration.

The congregation moved from the building in 1952. Although the building was used for storage and mostly forgotten for almost forty years, suffering water and insect damage as well as structural issues relating to its construction over a graveyard, it retained enormous integrity. Storm damage in 1989 was another stimulus for addressing the state of the building. Following more than two decades of Old Salem's intense architectural and archaeological investigation, and a community participatory process, the Brick Church, as it is also known, was restored to an early twentieth century appearance. John Milner Architects, Chadds Ford, PA, was the architect of record for the project, and the building opened to the public in 2003. It is used for interpretation and is a key feature of the St. Philips Heritage Center, which shares the Salem African American story and hosts community celebrations, concerts, and lectures. Juneteenth observances recall the turning point in the lives of African Americans in 1865. Although the St. Philips Moravian Church congregation worships in East Winston, they hold regular quarterly services in their historic home and an annual Christmas Lovefeast to commemorate the December 15, 1861 consecration of the church. The building and grounds are owned by the Salem Congregation and leased to Old Salem, Inc. St. Philips is the oldest African American church standing in North Carolina. The St. Philips Moravian congregation is the only historic black Moravian congregation in the United States and one of the oldest African American congregations of any denomination in the country.

The Greek Revival-style, gable front, rectangular church building is brick with large windows, a gable roof (wood shingle), and a belfry. A lightning rod is located at the north elevation and runs to the rear of the belfry. The church is composed of the 1861 building and the 1890 front addition. The 1861 building followed the plan proposed in 1860 and is a common bond (4:1) brick building on a brick foundation, 40 by 60 feet, with four windows of nine-over-nine sash on each of the north and south elevations and an interior chimney midway on each wall for venting the heating stoves in the sanctuary. The east elevation (rear) has a small, shed roof apse with a small four-over-four sash window at each side wall. A white painted, frame square bell tower sits at the west end of the 1861 roof line. The original façade at this west end was three bays with a center entry and nine-over-nine sash windows on each side. The double front doors entered a 10-foot-deep vestibule with stairs at each side to access the gallery above and with two doors into the sanctuary at side aisles.

It was at the front of the church (west) that the full width brick addition was made in 1890, following the lines of the 1861 building. The addition is common bond (5:1) brick with twelve-over-twelve sash windows with wide window casements and sills, taller than the 1861 and with simple header brick lintels. On each side elevation of the addition (north and south) are two windows and between them is a terra cotta flue pipe for venting stoves. Each pipe is supported by a bracket about midway up the wall. There are also earthquake bolts on these walls. The three-bay façade (1890) is composed of the double door entry with the Greek Revival-paneled doors from 1861 and a twelve-light transom, surmounted by a Moravian hood. The granite landing has four granite steps to the sidewalk. Twelve-over-twelve sash windows flank the entry. The two builds are united by a box cornice with gable end returns and simple, wide window and door casings, all painted white. To the left of the front doors at foundation level is a marble plaque "In Memory of 131 Lives", installed upon completion of restoration, engraved with the names and death dates of those buried in the two graveyards: the Strangers' God's Acre and the Negro God's Acre.

The front doors enter the 24-foot-deep addition at the wide central hall leading to the 1861 vestibule. On either side of the hall was a classroom, each accessed by two doors. The north room is intact and on its east wall, missing plaster at the filled-in 1861 window reveals a portion of the original façade. The doorways to the south room are intact; however, this space has been reworked. Restrooms have been added to the building at this location and an archaeological exhibit includes a cut-out in the floor to reveal three of the eleven graves located beneath the 1890 addition. The ceiling of the addition slopes eastwardly and reflects the form of the balcony above.

The central hall enters the 1861 vestibule at the original front door location. At each side of the vestibule are steps and a doorway leading to the flush board, partially-enclosed stairway to the second-floor balcony (south stairs predate north stairs).[102] The stairs are open at the balcony level and have simple balustrade. In the area directly above the vestibule (former gallery space) there is a rope bell pull hanging through a hole in the ceiling from the bell in the belfry. To this former gallery area was added the 1890 stepped balcony with its beaded board ceiling. The space is presently used for historical interpretation and features a recreated Sunday School classroom. In addition, walls are lined with panels discussing the history of the Moravian Church, peoples of African descent, local race relations, and St. Philips' congregation history. At the balcony edge, open across the width of the east wall of the sanctuary, is a decorative sawn work railing. Behind it are sliding, beaded board doors which serve to enclose the balcony.

The interior is simple and elegant Greek Revival, with two-paneled doors and simple post and lintel surrounds with plain corner blocks. The walls are plastered, the ceiling is flush board, floors are uniform width wooden boards, and as the 1860 plan proposed, the "the space from the floor to the windows ceiled with boards."[103] The large sanctuary is painted white and well-lit by the large windows with roll-up shades. This building was the first in Salem to have electric lighting and fixtures have been reproduced (interpretation in the balcony includes a section of wall showing early wiring and text on early electricity in Salem). The pews are all original wide board construction and face the pulpit at the east end of the building. The two aisles accessed from the vestibule are on either side of the middle pews, with a dividing board down the center to separate male and female. There are also rows of pews against the north and south walls on the outer side of the aisles. Centered on each of the side walls is a gap in the rows of pews at the location of the heating stoves and flues to the wall chimneys. The coal stoves from 1905 are featured here. At this location on the north wall is a door to an exterior ramp for ADA access that was added to the building during restoration. At the east end (front) of the sanctuary are center facing pews, four on the north side and two on the south side leaving room for the 1920 piano. The east end pulpit is the focal point of the interior and composed of a one-step raised dais with a pair of steps to an upper preaching platform in a simply framed shallow apse. Original carpet was recovered and reproduced for this area. In addition, decorative carved and turned pulpit furniture, likely a ca. 1890 gift from a Hopewell Lutheran Church (near Friedberg), remained in the building and has been restored and is used. St. Philips is individually listed on the National Register of Historic Places.[104]

The church sits on the high point of a low hill with two graveyards in front. A board fence is along the north and south property lines to define the graveyard and a picket fence is at the sidewalk. A central walk (found archaeologically) begins at the sidewalk at two granite steps and leads to the church entrance at granite steps and stoop. The stoop was required for building code purposes; as built in 1890, there were four granite steps to a fifth step/threshold at the front doors. A brick walkway encircles the rear of building to give ADA access to all parts of the site including a rear pathway to an overlook and connecting path to Happy Hill

[102] Gwynne S. Taylor and William Turner, "St. Philips Moravian Church," National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form, U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, 1991, 7:2.
[103] "Board of Trustees of Salem Congregation, 1860," in Crews and Bailey, *Records of the Moravians*, 12:6367.
[104] Taylor and Turner, "St. Philips Moravian Church."

31FY395*104 Archaeology (for Lots 249, 248)
Contributing Component to the Contributing Site

The St. Philips African American complex has been the subject of ongoing and comprehensive archaeological research from 1991 until the present. This complex is a focal point for the African American presence in Salem through time. The St. Philips Brick Church remains a consecrated place, and the congregation that brought about the inception of the Log Church still holds services in the Brick Church sanctuary as well as at its sanctuary on Bon Air. This complex is significant to the history of the black population through time. Archaeology relating to all aspects of the complex is listed below.

1991 Leland Ferguson, University of South Carolina (USC)
Preliminary testing-May and July

1992 Leland Ferguson (USC)
Rear lot testing

1993 Leland Ferguson-(USC)
Graveyard

1994 Michael O. Hartley (OSI consulting arch.)
Graveyard

1995 Michael O. Hartley (OSI consulting arch.)
Graveyard

1996 Michael O. Hartley (OSI consulting arch.) and Martha Boxley
St. Philips NW Sunday School room

1997 Leland Ferguson (USC)
Lot 104 St. Philips graveyard

Leland Ferguson, (USC), Michael O. Hartley (OSI consulting archaeologist)
Log church exploration

1998 Leland Ferguson (USC), Michael O. Hartley (OSI)
Lot 104

1999 Geoffrey Hughes (USC) under Leland Ferguson
St. Philips Sunday School rooms

2000 Leland Ferguson (USC)
Graveyard

2010 Michael O. Hartley (OSI)
Graveyard

2013 Michael O. Hartley (OSI)
Graveyard

911 Lot 249 Strangers' God's Acre 1773 Contributing Site

The location of the Parish God's Acre in Salem was mentioned in July 1772 to be "on the hill, opposite the Tavern."[105] By summer 1773, the records discuss laying out the graveyard and that "[i]n digging graves no difference will be made as to age or sex."[106] Reuter's 1774 map of Salem delineated the *Fremden Gottes Acker*, Strangers' God's Acre, on a slight rise at the southeastern end of the Salem ridge where there is also a bump-out

[105] "*Aeltesten Conferenz* Minutes, 1772" in Fries, *Records of the Moravians,* 2:717.
[106] Ibid., 771.

ridge that curls around the south end of the Potter's Meadow bottom, providing a deeper, more usable lot than neighboring lots 104, 95 and 20. The graveyard location was on the east side of the lane that would become Church Street, in land surrounded by Tavern fields and pasture.

The Strangers' God's Acre was established to accommodate non-Moravians who died while in Salem and needed a place for burial. The first internment was in 1775. Burials included white and black men, women, and children. The final burial was in 1815, after which time a transition in burial practices in Salem took place. It was decided that the Strangers' Graveyard would become the Negro God's Acre, and (white) strangers who could follow the guidelines would be allowed burial in God's Acre (costs of digging grave, gravestone, etc.). Remaining space in the Strangers' Graveyard and the expansion of that graveyard west to the lane became the Negro God's Acre. Burials in the Negro God's Acre lasted from 1816 – 1859, when a new graveyard for Blacks was established contiguous to Salem Cemetery (see St. Philips Moravian Graveyard #2).

When the Brick Church was built in 1861, it was built at the eastern edge of the Strangers' God's Acre. In 1890, the Sunday School addition was built onto the front of the building and over a portion of the former Strangers' Graveyard. In 1913, a landscaping event occurred on the church grounds that included the removal of headstones and grading and filling portions of both graveyards. This resulted in the effective disappearance of the graveyards. The lawn was used for picnics, ice cream socials and games.

The restoration of the African American complex by Old Salem has included more than two decades of archaeology. Examination of the graveyards and locating graves has been a primary focus. By 2012, 103 of the 131 graves had been located. There is speculation that there are four additional graves, making the total 135.[107] During early investigation of the church building, removal of flooring from the central hall of the Sunday School addition revealed nineteen gravestones stacked beneath the floor. This became a timely element for artist Fred Wilson's installation through the "Artist in the Community Series" in 1994 by the Southeastern Center for Contemporary Art in Winston-Salem: "Insight: In Site: In Sight: Incite: Memory."[108] An additional twelve gravestones were found stacked behind the front granite steps. A whole gravestone *in situ* was found on a grave, and in 2012, a gravestone fragment was found during a period of excavation, making the total thirty-three gravestones recovered. Of those, analysis has been able to associate seven gravestones with their probable location in the graveyard, and reproduction gravestones have been placed on those graves. For the Strangers' God's Acre burials, six graves have been marked, three under the Sunday School addition and visible through a cut-out in the floor. Three others are marked outside of the building. For those graves that are unidentifiable but have been seen archaeologically, they are marked with red/pinkish marble tablets engraved as either "child" or "adult" depending on the size of the grave. One of the identified burials is an upright stone, a style not typical of the Moravian burial tradition. The other recovered stones are flat stones in the Moravian tradition, of steatite or marble. The graveyard is owned by the Salem Congregation and leased to Old Salem, Inc. St. Philips Moravian Church ladies decorate each marked grave in the graveyards with flowers on Good Friday in preparation for Easter.

31FY395*104 Archaeology (for Lots 249, 248)
Contributing Component to the Contributing Site

For complete listing of archaeological investigations, see entry above for Lot 249, St. Philips Moravian Church.

[107] Leland Ferguson, *God's Fields: Landscape, Religion, and Race in Moravian Wachovia* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2011), 205-206.

[108] *Insight: In Site: In Sight: Incite: Memory* (Published in conjunction with the Southeastern Center for Contemporary Art exhibition "Artist in the Community: Fred Wilson," Old Salem, Inc., Winston-Salem, NC, 1994).

911 Lot 249 Negro God's Acre 1816 Contributing Site

God's Acre was the burial place for all Moravians, black and white, until a transition in burial practices took place in 1815-1816 when it was decided that the Strangers' God's Acre would become the Negro God's Acre. This was a part of the increasing segregation of religious life in Salem. Remaining space in the Strangers' Graveyard and expansion of that graveyard west to the lane became the Negro God's Acre. Burials in the Negro God's Acre lasted from 1816-1859. A new graveyard for blacks was established contiguous to Salem Cemetery in 1859 (see St. Philips Moravian Graveyard #2).

Records indicate that there were 108 burials in the Negro God's Acre from 1817-1859. The Brick Church was built in 1861 at the eastern edge of the Strangers' God's Acre, and in 1890, the Sunday School addition was built out over a portion of the former Strangers' Graveyard. In 1913, a landscaping event occurred on the church grounds that included the removal of headstones and grading and filling portions of both graveyards. This resulted in the effective disappearance of the graveyards. The lawn was used for picnics, ice cream socials and games through 1952.[109]

The restoration of the African American complex by Old Salem has included more than two decades of archaeology. Examination of the graveyards and locating graves has been a primary focus. By 2012, 103 of the 131 graves had been located. There is speculation that there are four additional graves, making the total 135.[110] During early investigation of the church building, removal of flooring from the central hall of the Sunday School addition revealed nineteen gravestones stacked beneath the floor. An additional twelve gravestones were found stacked behind the front granite steps. A whole gravestone in situ was found on a grave, and in 2012, a gravestone fragment was found during a period of excavation, making the total thirty-three gravestones recovered. Of those, analysis has been able to associate seven gravestones with their probable location in the graveyard, and reproduction gravestones have been placed on those graves.

Archaeology in the Negro God's Acre found the only gravestone so far recovered *in situ* on a grave, that of "Squire," an enslaved man owned by Francis Fries, who died in 1844 while digging a well at the Fries Factory. It is a flat, marble stone. For protection and presentation, the original stone was left *in situ* and a reproduction placed above it. For those graves that are unidentifiable but have been seen archaeologically, they are marked with marble tablets engraved as either "child" or "adult" depending on the size of the grave. There is speculation about the organization of the Negro God's Acre in terms of choir burials, with the center walkway and evidence of a midway cross walk. A children's section has been identified at the east end of the Negro God's Acre, where it overlapped the Strangers' God's Acre. A 2012 excavation in the children's area recovered a corner of a gravestone. The graveyard is owned by the Salem Congregation and leased to Old Salem, Inc. St. Philips Moravian Church ladies decorate each marked grave in the graveyards with flowers on Good Friday in preparation for Easter.

31FY395*104 Archaeology (for Lots 249, 248)
Contributing Component to the Contributing Site

For complete listing of archaeological investigations, see entry above for Lot 249, St. Philips Moravian Church.

Pathway from Schumann's/Happy Hill 1816 Contributing Structure

After Dr. Frederick Schumann moved to the Salem Farm in 1816 with his enslaved African Americans, a path was established that African Americans used from his farm to town. The path split from the early road to the Salem Farm and climbed the point of the ridge that St. Philips sits on today to access the Negro God's Acre (by 1816) and in 1823, the Log Church. This pathway continued in use throughout the nineteenth and into the mid-

[109] Lethia Coleman (1938-2012; member of St. Philips at age 11), interview by MB and MO Hartley, in historic St. Philips Moravian Church, 18 February 2010.
[110] Ferguson, *God's Field,* 205-206.

twentieth century by enslaved African Americans, then by Freedmen who first lived in Happy Hill, and followed by twentieth-century residents who walked to church at St. Philips from Happy Hill and Columbia Heights.[111] The path heads east/southeast from the rear of St. Philips Moravian Church. The portion of the path within the NHL is the section leading to the pedestrian metal truss bridge which crosses Salem Creek and connects to Liberia Street in Happy Hill.

913 Lot 248 Log Church (reconstruction) 1999 Contributing Building
This log building was constructed for a congregation established among the enslaved population of Salem in 1822. The congregation is St. Philips Moravian Church and is the only historic black Moravian congregation in America and one of the oldest African American congregations of any denomination in the country.

The Wachovia Moravians purchased their first slave in 1769, Sam, and he was baptized in 1771 as Johann Samuel, and although he was owned and enslaved by the Moravians, he was considered spiritually equal and a Moravian Brother. For several decades, black and white Moravians lived, worked and worshipped together. As the late eighteenth century progressed, there were increasing signs of racial spiritual separation, and by the turn of the century, black Moravians were being held at the church door and/or seated at the rear. The nineteenth century brought additional generational changes and outside pressures such that there was a definite separation.

In 1818 the newly established Female Missionary Society made it their first item of business to press Salem's leadership for "beginning a mission among the Negroes in this neighborhood, in which attempt the members of this society feel moved to assist to the extent of their ability."[112] In March 1822 Br. Abraham Steiner was chosen to begin this work. He was a Moravian minister who had begun the mission to the Cherokee at Springplace, Georgia in 1799 and who had then led the Girls Boarding School in Salem. The first services were held at the home of Bodney and Phoebe, slaves owned by the Wachovia Administration who live on the Administration Plantation south of Salem. Additional services were held there and other places.[113] By May 5, 1822 a congregation was formally begun with three communicants: Bodney, Phoebe and John Emmanuel. In early 1823, plans for a church building were discussed and approved by the *Aeltesten Conferenz*: "It has been decided that the Negro church shall be 32 by 28 feet in size, and 12 feet high. On the south gable there shall be an 8-foot addition for the use of the minister. In the wall between this room and the church there shall be a chimney, with a fire-place in the church and another in the room. Along the west wall there shall be a porch where the Negroes may gather before a service."[114] There was also a frame steeple/bell tower on the north end of the one and one-half story building. Documentary photographs indicate nine-over-six sash windows. This was of comparable size and configuration to the log *Gemeinhaus* built for the Country Congregation of Hope in the 1770s, with a large *saal* and a room for the minister with loft above, in this case a very small room because it did not also serve as living quarters, as in Hope.

On the site chosen by the *Helfer Conferenz* adjacent to the Negro God's Acre, materials (logs, boards, shingles) were gathered in hopes of summer 1823 construction, "but because of the great amount of field work, the Negroes have not been able to do anything on it."[115] The logs used for the church were from trees (some white oak) cut on land of the Single Brothers and Salem Diacony land, the latter probably taken from a stand behind the Schumann house.[116] On September 27, 1823 the Salem Diary recorded, "Thirty Negroes gathered to lay up

[111] Lethia Coleman, 2010; Faye Little (member of St. Philips since childhood), interview by M.B. and M.O. Hartley, in historic St. Philips Moravian Church, February 18, 2010.
[112] C. Daniel Crews, *Neither Slave nor Free: Moravians, Slavery, and a Church That Endures* (Winston-Salem: Moravian Archives, 1998), 9.
[113] Ibid., 10.
[114] Fries and Rights, *Records of the Moravians*, 8:3638.
[115] "Minutes of the Female Missionary Society July 27, 1823" in Rohrer, "The 1823 African-American Log Church," 9.
[116] Ibid., 13.

the logs for the church for Negroes. The Female Missionary Society has with pleasure undertaken to bear the expense. All went off well"[117] And in December "several Negroes were here to plaster the inside of the church."[118] On December 28 the Log Church was consecrated and according to the Salem Diary, "about ninety Negroes, men and women, gathered from the neighborhood"[119] as well as a number of white supporters. The total cost of the new building was $381.00 ¾ plus donated materials and non-paid labor. This church was the only known structure in the immediate area built specifically as a place of worship for people of African descent, enslaved and free.

The Log Church remained unchanged with these exceptions: the minister, Br. Abraham Steiner, had the bell tower painted and the ball and vane gilded in 1825; the Female Missionary Society "pd. Oct. 1, 1827, toward finishing the Negro Church"[120] by having the building weatherboarded; and in 1838 they added shutters to the windows. Periodic maintenance was done to the building between 1824-1858 with a total expenditure of $350.59 by the Female Missionary Society.[121] Their funding mostly ended by 1859 when the Negro Congregation became part of the Salem Congregation.

The interior was likely whitewashed and very simple, with benches. Other furniture included "the table, the chair and the white cloth formerly destined in the Choir hall of the Brothers House."[122] (The Single Brothers Diacony dissolved in 1823.) There was likely a loft above the minister's room and that may have been the storage area, including graveyard tools.[123] A small melodeon organ was purchased in 1856.[124] Although the congregation and attendance was small for regular Sunday Services, special occasions (Lovefeasts, funerals, Easter) attracted more than one hundred. Weekday gatherings were held as well. The Female Missionary Society began Sunday School in 1827 with instruction in reading the Bible until a 1831 North Carolina law forbade teaching slaves to read or write. Evidence suggests that some instruction was continued in the 1840s. This early effort at education then flourished in the late nineteenth century at the Brick Church. In any case, the log church building was a focal point for the Black community who would gather to socialize on the front porch and recreate in the surrounding meadows.[125]

The building served as the meeting house of the African Moravian congregation until the Brick Church was built next door in 1861 and the Log Church was sold into private hands. The building and lot were sold at auction on Dec. 4, 1861 to Calvin Peck (a non-Moravian) who purchased the building as a rental property. The Town of Salem rented the building beginning in January 1867 for a Freedmen's hospital, when Salem's doctors Shaffner and Kuehln needed an out-of-the-way place for indigent small pox patients. The physicians had offered to treat patients for free if the town would provide the space. Due to the objections of neighbors, however, the hospital only lasted a few months in the former church. By November 1867, the building was rented by "Old Nancy." At some point, the building was remodeled with the removal of the front porch and steeple and the addition of several feet of height under the roof and a chimney at the north gable.

The building also changed hands a couple more times, and in the early twentieth century, it was removed. The lot was subdivided and two residences were constructed, a house ca. 1910 and a duplex in 1922. Central Park School was built on Lot 101 at the south end of Church Street at Race Street in 1922-23. An expansion of the

[117] Fries and Rights, *Records of the Moravians*, 8:3632.
[118] "Congregation Diary Dec. 6, 1823" in Rohrer "The 1823 African-American Log Church," 13.
[119] Fries and Rights, *Records of the Moravians*, 8:3635.
[120] "Female Mission Society Sept. 30, 1827, Book A" in Rohrer "The 1823 African-American Log Church," 17.
[121] Ibid., 17-18.
[122] "*Aufseher Collegium* Dec. 15, 1823" in Rohrer "The 1823 African-American Log Church," 13.
[123] Rohrer, "The 1823 African-American Log Church," 22-23.
[124] Ibid., 13.
[125] Ibid., 15-16.

school in 1950 required the demolition of the houses on Lot 248. The school was a very large L-shaped two-story building with full basement. Old Salem, Inc. purchased the school building in 1976 with the intention of restoration of the lots, and in 1977 the school was removed.

The restoration of the African American complex by Old Salem has included more than two decades of archaeology. Exploration of the Log Church lot was a part of the archaeological examination, and the building was reconstructed in 1999. White oak trees in southwestern Virginia provided the appropriate sized logs for the reconstruction, and the Blue Ridge Timberwrights coordinated the erection (see Old Salem Pedestrian Covered Bridge, S. Main Street). In September 1999, a symbolic and celebratory raising of the building, in memory of the September 27, 1823 raising, was held with local African American masons (Prince Hall Masons) and members of St. Philips Moravian Church lifting the first two logs on each side. This well-attended event was documented on video.

The Log Church was reconstructed as it was built in 1823, with John Milner Architects, Chadds Ford, PA, the architect of record for the project. The building is set back from the sidewalk the depth of the front porch. It is a one and one-half story (v-notch) log building (40 x 28 feet) with side gable (wood shingle) roof with flush ends, open eaves and tapered rafter ends. It sits on a stone foundation. There is a north steeple/bell tower with ball and weathervane and a brick interior chimney (false) at the south end marking the wall between the minister's room and the sanctuary. The façade has four bays, a four-panel entry door with four-light transom flanked by nine-over-six sash windows, and a four-panel door to the minister's room (non-functioning). All other windows are nine-over-six with a north gable six-over-six sash window. Windows and door have wide surrounds. Across the façade is a full length shed roof porch with plain posts and simple balustrade supported by stone piers. Its roof is also open eave with tapered rafter ends. The center bay of the porch features wide wood steps from the sidewalk. There is also a set of wood steps off the north end of the porch. On the rear (east) elevation, a stone with brick ramp enters a small shed roof porch at the rear door to the minister's room and provides ADA access. A rail fence is along the sidewalk and south property line, with a snake rail fence along the rear (east) lot line.

The interior of the building functions as multi-purpose space with the *saal* used for art and history exploring the African and African American story, as well as African games, and other children's activities. Receptions and meetings are also held in the Log Church. The minister's room is support space with a restroom, and the loft above is used as office space. New York designer Warren Parker created much of the interpretation in the Log Church. The Log Church is a major element of the St. Philips Heritage Center which shares the Salem African American story. The St. Philips Moravian congregation is the only historic black Moravian congregation in the United States and one of the oldest African American congregations of any denomination in the country.

31FY395*104 Archaeology (for Lots 249, 248)
Contributing Component to the Contributing Site
For complete listing of archaeological investigations, see entry above for Lot 249, St. Philips Moravian Church.

S. Church Street
West Side

300 Lot 84 Fogle Flats 1895 Contributing Building
Fogle Flats is a block of five row houses on the east half of Lot 84, fronting Cedar Avenue and God's Acre. As designed and built in 1895 with Mansard roofs and projecting front bays, a matching row had stood on the west half of Lot 84 facing Main Street until demolition in 1972. These early row houses were built by Fogle Brothers Company, Salem's first construction company, as part of a pioneering effort at apartment house living in the growing towns of Salem and Winston, which had duplexes and boarding houses, but not yet apartments.

Earlier construction on Lot 84 was the home and shop of wheelwright William Hauser, who built his house in 1840. It was purchased by Adam Butner and was moved west on Cemetery Street prior to 1891 (see 203 Cemetery Street). The Slave Schedule from the 1860 Forsyth County Census listed Adam Butner as the owner of seven slaves, male and female, from ages 2 to 50 and one slave house.

"The Flats," as they were sometimes called, face the open green space of God's Acre, at the graveyard's monumental north entrance at Cemetery Street. The granite wall along the lot edge has an opening at the middle of Lot 84 accessing the Flats from Cedar Avenue. The two story, common bond (5:1) brick row houses step up slightly in elevation from south to north following the gentle slope of the land. Each of the five units has a two-bay façade composed of first floor bay window and a low hip roof porch at the double leaf front door with transom above (windows and doors with flat arches), second floor paired windows and a single window in segmental relieving arches, and two gabled dormers in the attic. Windows are two-over-two sash; shutter hardware is intact although shutters are no longer present. There are wide window and door casings and wide window sills. The northernmost unit (#300) forms the Cemetery Street façade and is handled differently, with a recessed porch and varying fenestration. All porches have slender columns on square wood bases with turned balustrade. The Mansard roofs are stamped shingle sheet metal with corbelled brick fire walls separating each unit. Although the end units (#300, 308) have somewhat different configurations than the three inside units (#302, 304, 306), the whole is very unified and pleasing in its composition. Chimneys for each unit are partially visible at the roof. The unit's front door accesses a full-length hall with staircase. Off this hall are located (front to back) parlor, dining room, and rear stair hall. The kitchen is off this back hall, which also has a door to the outside. There appear to be full basements.

The apartments remained in the Fogle family until they were acquired by the Moravian Church. In a state of decline in the 1970s, the Fogle Flats were renovated in the late 1970s as "luxury" apartments. Owned by the Southern Province of the Moravian Church, they are leased by Salem Academy and College as faculty and student housing. The site of the matching block is now a parking lot for the remaining units.

500 Lot 34 Salem Boys' School 1896 Contributing Building

Lot 34 became the location of the congregation Vorsteher, or business manager, in 1797 when a house was built on the west side of this lot fronting Main Street. One hundred years later, the rear of Lot 34 was selected as the building site for the new Salem Boys School. The Boys School on the Square (Lot 30, 3 E. Academy St.), which was built in 1794 and had served as that school facility since, was no longer sufficient to house the needs.

The building is on a prominent corner lot and built against the sidewalks of Church and Bank Streets. A tall board fence surrounds an adjacent parking lot. The large, two-story, nearly square Romanesque Revival-style brick building with truncated hip roof (slate) was constructed on this high point of the ridge in Salem in 1896. The common bond (5:1) brick walls are divided into brick panels at each bay. There are five panels on the east (façade), four on the west elevation, and six panels on the north and south elevations, each with large, paired four-over-four sash windows. Each of the brick panels terminates at a corbel course below a wide cornice board. First floor paired windows are in brick flat arches, and at the second floor, paired arched windows are set in round arches with brownstone keys. The entrances on the east, south and north elevations are round arches with keys and corbels which hold double doors with lancet tracery in the arch above. The façade (east) has a centered entry reached by three granite steps; the north and south entrances are in the third bay from the east and also have granite steps. Where the lot slopes down toward the west, basement level panels have shorter paired window sash. The truncated hip roof has a decorative iron railing around the flat portion which holds a trap door, affording access to the roof and panoramic views of Salem and the surrounding area. At each side of the roof is a shingled pedimented gable with a single arched casement window with lancet tracery. On the west side, there is an interior end chimney with flanking arched casements.

The main entrance on Church Street enters a central hall which extends through the building and T's into a mid-way cross hall with stairs and secondary entrances at either end. Renovations have altered the west end somewhat, and the first-floor classrooms have been divided into offices. The second-floor spaces are basically intact classrooms (with blackboards) and the large auditorium, used in the past for a variety of performances, continues to serve as a rehearsal hall for the Salem Band.

The building served schooling needs for many years, as the Salem Boys School, the Tinsley Military Academy in the early 1900s, then later as Central City Public School (grades 1-4), and later as a Salem Academy building. In 1931 it became the offices of the Moravian Church, Southern Province. When many of those offices moved across the street to Cedarhyrst (Lot 6, 459 S. Church St.), the building became home to the Church's Education Offices.

700 Lot 28 Gottlieb Schober House (reconstruction) 1979 Contributing Building
(Note: this building faces West Street at Salem Square but has been given a Church Street address.)

In the early twentieth century, the Schober House was demolished in preparation for the construction of a new library for Salem Academy and College. In 1972, the large brick library building was then moved 90 feet south so that the Schober House could be reconstructed.

The reconstructed house is interpreted to the date of original construction by Gottlieb Schober in 1785. The house was built on the corner lot against the sidewalks of West and Church Streets and faced Salem Square. A board fence surrounds the lot, which includes a rear parking lot. The one and one-half story Flemish bond brick house with dark or glazed headers has a side gable roof (clay tile) with corner lock plates, a kick at the eave, and box cornice. There is a central chimney with corbelled cap and stucco band, and the house is on a stuccoed foundation. The asymmetrical four-bay façade has a herringbone Dutch door and three six-over-six sash windows, all set in elliptical relieving arches. The door enters a side hall plan. All first-floor windows are hung with single-leaf, two-panel shutters. In each upper gable end are two six-over-six sash windows set in elliptical relieving arches at the second-floor level with a circular vent in the gable peak in the upper attic. There are wide window and door casings and wide window sills.

Following removal of the library, examination of the house site recovered glazed headers and foundation information. Archival information used to reconstruct the house included photographs of the house and yard, representations of the house in eighteenth century paintings of Salem, eighteenth and nineteenth-century maps of Salem, and written records.

Gottlieb Schober proposed to build his residence in the spring of 1785 on the lot between Tycho Nissen and Br. Bagge, fronting the Square. His initial plan called for a one-story log house. He and his wife moved in to their new brick home in October 1785.

Schober was a man of many parts, and has been called one of the most talented and difficult men to live in Salem. He undertook the various activities of tinsmith, paper mill owner, postmaster (with Salem's first post office—1792—in the Shober House), house painter, lawyer, politician, minister, teacher, organ player. In 1801-1802 Shober built a tinsmith shop on his lot west of the house which also contained a room for the post office. Schober built the Paper Mill on Peters Creek in 1790. This early industry in Salem used slave labor in the operation and probably housed the enslaved people there. The Paper Mill was a location of services for the enslaved population of Salem led by Br. Steiner beginning in 1822 and until the Log Church was built in 1823.

Shober's daughter Anna Paulina was chosen in 1804 with another town girl, Polly Steiner, to represent the Salem congregation in the newly established Girls Boarding School, and all four of Shober's daughters were

teachers in the school. On November 7, 1810, the diary recorded: "Br. Gottlieb Schober was ordained as a Lutheran pastor on Oct. 21. We were of the opinion that altho' he has severed his connection with us by this step, he should be permitted, for his family's sake, to continue to live in our place as long as there are no detrimental results there from."[126] He remained in Salem and returned to the Moravians by the end of his life.

In 1827 Shober built a smokehouse on his lot and in 1831 and 1833 proposed enlargements to the post office, which were approved. Gottlieb Shober died in 1838 and his will emancipated two slaves, Enoch Morgan Gottlieb Schober and Nancy Fanny Schober, and paid their passage to Liberia, West Africa. They traveled in 1839.[127] At his father's death, son Emanuel took over the house and continued to operate the post office. Emanuel added a second story and a kitchen to the house by ca.1840 and the house remained in the Shober family into the late nineteenth century. The Slave Schedule from the 1860 Forsyth County Census listed Anna Hanes Schober, Emanuel's wife, as owning two slaves, a female age 15 and a male age 37, and one slave house is listed.[128] The 1885 Sanborn Insurance map recorded that the lot had been subdivided and another house built on the street front and against the west property line. Near the turn of the century, the Schober house became the residence of the Dean of the School of Music of Salem College and was called "the Dean's Residence." An article from the late 1920s recorded the demolition of the house:

> The house long occupied by the late Dean Shirley, on the southeast corner of Salem Square, has been removed in view of its unsuitableness for further tenancy, and the obstruction which offered to ultimate development of the property fronting on both West and Church Streets. This house has been variously known as the Shober place, the Siddall house, but for nearly thirty years as "the Dean's residence." The east wall had a peculiar offset which seemed to indicate that the upper portion was not built with the skill which characterized the erection of the first floor. In the rear of the house there stood a brick out-kitchen and bake oven and in the kitchen itself a very large fireplace evidently furnished cooking facilities in earliest days. The house is reputed to have been built by Mr. Shober, then later became the residence of Thomas Siddall. For many years Dean Shirley occupied it with his aged mother, and upon her death he continued in residence with his son, William, and later with Professor Charles Higgins and Professor Roy Campbell, both of the Department of Science. It was not occupied after Dean Shirley's death. In removing the house great care was taken to preserve any particularly significant memorials and parts of historic value for incorporation in any subsequent erection. [129]

In 1937, Salem Academy and College built the large brick library, a school function with origins in 1805. The reconstruction of the Schober House was initiated in 1971, and as a result, the library building was moved off the site to its present location and named the Dale H. Gramley Library in 1972. The Shober House was then reconstructed on its original location in 1978-79 by Old Salem, Inc., and the key to the door of the reconstructed building was turned over to Salem Academy and College in 1979. The building serves as offices for the College.

Lots 28, 26 Gramley Library 1937 Noncontributing Building

In 1937, the Gramley Library of Salem Academy and College was built at the corner of Church and West Streets at the site of the ca. 1785 Gottlieb Schober House, which had been removed in the late 1920s. The school has had a library since at least 1805, soon after the Girls Boarding School was established (Lot 14, 619 S. Church St.). The library was originally located in the Girls Boarding School (South Hall) and was moved to

[126] Lot 28, Old Salem Research Files.
[127] Michael O. Hartley, "Reflections on History," Liberian Flag Presentation, St. Philips Moravian Church, Winston-Salem, NC, 21 March 21 2010.
[128] Forsyth County Genealogical Society, *The 1860 Federal Census*, 208.
[129] Lot 28, Old Salem Research Files.

Main Hall after its completion in 1856 and back to South Hall in 1883. The Salem Chapel, or Old Chapel, was the library location in 1909 and until the Gramley Library was built in 1937. In the early 1970s, Old Salem, Inc. wished to return this important corner lot on Salem Square to its earlier configuration and entered into negotiations with Salem Academy and College which resulted in the huge brick library building being moved ninety feet to the south in 1972. This opened up the site of the Schober House, which was subsequently reconstructed. The library building was also renovated and expanded at that time and named in honor of Dale H. Gramley, 13th president of Salem Academy and College (1949-1971). Gramley was the first non-clergy president of that institution and was a well-respected community leader who worked with Old Salem, Inc. to sympathetically address and restore the school campus as a component of the broader historic area. The building was designed by the local firm of Northup & O'Brien, who also worked on alterations when it was moved.

The 1937 library was one of a number of significant buildings constructed during a major building program on the Salem College campus during the 1930s when the "Moravian Revival" style was specifically chosen for new construction. The materials and form recall the historic fabric of brick buildings constructed in Salem during the 1780s and 90s. The building is set back a few feet from the sidewalk. The two-story, gable roof (red tile) building with Flemish bond brick walls and window sash set in relieving arches is on a full-story, stuccoed (concrete) foundation and was designed in an L-shape. The building has three sections. The north section is a gable-front block with kicked eaves, cove and bead cornice and an interior end chimney at the west end. The two-bay façade (east) and five-bay north elevation feature tall, arched windows of twenty-over-thirty sash with ogee tracery, to light the reading room inside. At the attic level is a meeting room with two six-over-six sash windows at each gable end and five gabled dormers on the north side. Six-over-six sash windows are in each bay of the basement level. The main block, or southeast section, houses library stacks and offices. There is a mouse tooth brick cornice. The façade (east) has eight bays with seven bays of six-over-six sash windows. Three gable dormers are at the attic level and six-over-six sash windows are at six of the bays at the basement level. The basement level is the main entry level and the second bay from the north features a Moravian hood above a double leaf door with ogee tracery in the arch above. A secondary entry (for staff) is located in the eighth bay (at an interior staircase); there is one four-over-four sash window in this bay. When the building was moved in 1972, a 12,000 sq. ft. addition (for increased library stack space) was made to the building, effectively closing the L-shape into a massive rectangle. This southwest addition repeats the design elements of the southeast block and is capped with a truncated hip roof.

730 Lot 24 Ada Allen House 1938 Noncontributing Building
Lot 24 (Ebert-Reich House facing Main Street, #731) was subdivided after 1900, with a one-story house built on the east (rear) of the lot by 1912. Miss Ada Allen purchased the lot in 1936, removed the house, and soon thereafter built the extant two-story, Colonial Revival house set back a few feet from the street. There is a brick wall along the sidewalk at Blum Street. Many details on the house recall the Federal-style 1818 John Vogler House (Lot 64) on Main Street. The center hall plan brick house is running bond with interior end chimneys having stucco bands on a side gable roof (asphalt shingle). The third floor/attic windows are six-over-six sash set in relieving arches. Other windows are set in flat arches with keys. Façade windows are eight-over-eight sash, with six-over-six sash on the sides and rear. The side gable roof has returned eaves and box cornice with bed molding, molded brick water table, and brick foundation. Arched openings with louvers are in the foundation. The three-bay façade has a centered entry at a pedimented hood above a six-panel door with transom of four lights with X-shaped muntins. The front door is at a brick stoop entered from each side by four or five steps. Windows and the front door are hung with louver shutters. The door shutters can be opened and closed from the interior. There is a rear frame addition with shed roof.

Miss Allen was an early preservation force in Salem. She was involved in 1907 with saving the Inspector's House when it was threatened by the construction of Memorial Hall. Her concern over encroaching commercial

development and its impact of the historic buildings in Salem, led her to negotiate a lease agreement for the Tavern building in 1929. She and her sister Annie lived there for ten years and ultimately the building was purchased and protected by the Wachovia Historical Society. She was a founding member of the Old Salem Board of Trustees and was involved in many early restoration projects.

900 Lot 97 House ca. 1890 Contributing Building
Lot 97 (Dr. Kuehln House facing Main Street, #901) was subdivided ca. 1890, with the northeast corner of the lot (at the rear) split off as a separate lot where the extant house was built. A ca. 2010 purchase reunited the lot to its original dimension. The ca. 1890 house is a one-story, T-shaped frame cottage (weatherboard) on a stuccoed brick foundation. The house is built against the sidewalks on this corner of Church and Walnut Streets. The gable roof (asphalt shingle) has returned eaves and molded cornice. Window sash is two-over-two, has wide casings, and is hung with louvered shutters. The façade is three bays, including a projecting gable front bay with a diamond vent in the gable. A six-panel entry door is in the middle bay at seven brick steps from the sidewalk to a stoop. The original wrap-around front porch has been removed. There is an interior brick chimney and a rear shed roof addition with a variety of window styles (one-over-one sash, casement).

921 Lot 99 House ca. 1915 Noncontributing Building
Lot 99 (Eberhardt House and Shop facing Main Street, #919, 921) was subdivided (in half) at the turn of the twentieth century and a house was built on the south end of the rear half of the lot, facing Church Street, by 1912, according to the Sanborn Map. By 1915, this new lot had been subdivided (in half) and a house built on the north end, facing Church Street and set back from the street. This building is a two-story, T-shaped frame house (vinyl siding) with gable roof (asphalt shingle) and two interior brick chimneys. The façade has three bays, including a projecting gable front bay; a shed roof porch extends across the other two bays with simple balustrade and paired square posts. The centered entry is a six-paneled door with upper panels glazed and a two-light transom above. Above the entrance bay sits a balcony on the porch roof with door access.

The house functions as a duplex (up and down) and there is a side porch on the south side to an enclosed rear staircase. Window sash has been replaced by vinyl; however, one two-over-two window sash survives at the basement level. Oral tradition suggests that this house or part of it was moved from elsewhere. The Sanborn Map footprint of this house from 1917 bears a close resemblance to the house footprint shown at the south end of the rear half of the lot on the 1912 Sanborn Map, although in a different orientation. Buildings were commonly moved and reused, and that may be the case here.

922 Lot 99 Perryman House ca. 1930 Noncontributing Building
Lot 99 (Eberhardt House and Shop facing Main Street, #919, 921) was subdivided (in half) at the turn of the twentieth century and a house was built on the south end of the rear half of the lot, facing Church Street, by 1912, according to the Sanborn Map. It is unclear what happened to that house, as the 1917 Sanborn Map shows a different footprint that is most likely not an expansion of the 1912 version. The extant building was constructed ca. 1930 and sits back from the street. It is a two-story, three bay frame house (aluminum siding) with side gable roof (asphalt). The centered entrance bay on the façade has a shed roof porch. Windows are eight-over-eight sash, and there is a central brick chimney and an ell. The south side has a shed roof porch. A one-car detached brick garage is located at the northwest (rear) corner of the lot and was probably built soon after the house.

Historic development extended north along Church Street as well, currently outside the NHL boundaries. At the corner with Cemetery Street is the Edward Leinbach House (1855). Leinbach was a musician and music

teacher at Salem Female Academy[130] and a composer who wrote several important Moravian hymns. His fine two-story common bond brick Greek Revival house on Church Street was designed by Francis Fries and sits back from the sidewalk with a deep front yard. Fries' efforts on this house coincided with his considerable undertaking of the design work for the Main Hall complex at the Salem Female Academy.

Also, outside the NHL boundary along the north side of Cemetery Street are two historic resources. The 1840 Hauser House was originally built on Main Street (Lot 84) by William Hauser, a wheelwright. The one and one-half story frame house was sold to Adam Butner prior to 1876, and probably after his death in 1884 and before 1891, it was moved to Lot 126 on Cemetery Street adjacent to the Fogle Brothers Company lot. Lot 84 was developed as the row houses "Fogle Flats" in 1895. Next door to the Hauser House, a large Queen Anne-style house was built in 1902 by Bernard Pfohl for his family. He is remembered for his devotion to the musical life of the Moravian church as a musician and band director.[131] At the turn-of-the-20th-century, demand prompted the subdivision of lots in Salem, and the Pfohl and Hauser houses are built on parcels carved out of Lot 126. These properties currently remain housing.

Factory Row (also known as New Street, Elm Street, and Trade Street)
East side

The rear of the Salt Street lots front Factory Row. When the 1912 Southbound Railroad spur came in to Salem and parallel to Town Run/Tar Branch, it cut off the rear of the Salt Street lots from the front where the houses are located. And then when the Old Salem Road was built in 1956-58, the lots were reduced again. The rear of the Salt Street lots, along Factory Row, are planted with fruit trees, in keeping with the historic pattern of fruit trees at the rear of the garden.

Factory Row (also known as New Street, Elm Street, and Trade Street)
West Side

434 Lot 87 Rufus Lenoir Patterson House 1857 Contributing Building
Listed on the National Register of Historic Places ("The South Trade Street Houses").

The ante-bellum industrialization of Salem continued even though the Salem Cotton Mill had initially suffered financial setbacks and closed in 1849. Former North Carolina governor John Motley Morehead bought the shuttered Salem Cotton Mill in 1854 for his son-in-law Rufus Patterson who became owner and manager of the mill, by then a private enterprise. From 1855-1860 Patterson was the Forsyth County chairman of the Court of Pleas and Quarter Sessions and also served as mayor of Salem. During this time in Salem, he built the house on Lot 87 in 1857 contiguous to the mill tract and the mill housing. 1857 was the first year of Salem's incorporation and there had been a formal naming of the streets in February 1857 with Factory Row renamed Elm Street.[132] The Slave Schedule from the 1860 Forsyth County Census listed Rufus Patterson as owning five slaves, two males, ages 18 and 11 and three females, ages 10, 13, 18, and one slave house is listed.[133] It is likely this labor was used in the mill operation and perhaps also in the household. He and Marie Morehead had five children, including a daughter, Lettie, who married Col. Frank H. Fries.

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[130] Jennifer Bean Bower, *Moravians in North Carolina* (Charleston, SC: Arcadia Publishing, 2006), 33.

[131] His daughter Katherine (1908-2012) was a beloved resident of Salem who fondly recalled her childhood in the house with its commanding views of neighboring God's Acre and Salem Cemetery and games of hide-and-go-seek played there. After Mr. Pfohl's death in 1960, Robert W. Neilson, Director of Public Works for the City of Winston-Salem, purchased the house. Author of "The History of Government, City of Winston-Salem, N.C. 1766-1976" and documentation on the Salem Water Works, his work is of great value to local historians.

[132] "Minutes of the *Aufseher Collegium*, Feb. 23, 1857" (Old Salem Research Files).

[133] Forsyth County Genealogical Society, *The 1860 Federal Census*, 206.

Following the pattern set by his neighbors to the south, Patterson built his 1857 Greek Revival-style house about 25 feet back from the sidewalk. It is a two-story, common bond (4:1) brick house which has a side gable roof (standing seam metal) with returned eaves and box cornice with molding and narrow frieze board. There are partially exposed, exterior end single shoulder brick chimneys with corbelled caps and a brick foundation. The three-bay façade is nearly symmetrical and has a centered entry at a pedimented portico with four chamfered posts and a simple balustrade. The portico is one step up from the walkway to the sidewalk. The two panel Greek Revival door with four-light transom enters a two-room plan house. Windows on the first-floor façade are nine-over-six sash and on the second-floor façade there are six-over-six window sash. The façade windows and the door are set in header flat arches. On the other elevations, windows sash is six-over-six. All windows are hung with louver shutters. There is a large two-story frame ell with gable roof and returned eaves. Also, at the rear, is a shed roof porch that has been enclosed (all have weatherboard walls and standing seam metal roofs). Cellar door access is at the south side of the house.

When his wife died in 1862, Patterson sold his property and returned to his home in Caldwell County to manage the mill there. His neighbor E. T. Ackerman (Lot 88) accompanied him and was the mill manager in Lenoir. Lot 87 was purchased by Thomas Sullivan in 1866. Patterson and Ackerman returned to Salem after the Civil War because Union troops had burned the Caldwell County mill in spring 1865. In 1863 Ackerman had transferred his property (Lot 88) to Henry W. Fries to settle a debt and then in 1873, Ackerman bought Lot 87 with the Rufus Patterson House, his former neighbor. Back in Salem, E. T. Ackerman worked for a short while at the paper mill and then spent the next thirty years as a foreman in the carding and spinning rooms of the F. and H. Fries Mill.[134] E. T. died in 1911 and the property remained with his wife until after her death when it was purchased by T. E. Johnson in 1937.[135] Sanborn Insurance maps from 1907, 1912, and 1917 recorded six outbuildings, including one identified as a dwelling in 1917. A wide front porch was also recorded and photographs from the 1970s showed a hip roof front porch with turned posts and decorative sawn brackets. In 1977 Dr. Houck Medford, a dentist, purchased the property and converted part of the house for his dental practice in the 1970s.[136] He rehabilitated the house and added several outbuildings. There is a board fence at the north, south and west property lines.

Outbuilding (reconstruction) ca. 1980 Contributing Building
Located in the yard to the northwest of the house and against the north property line is a one and one-half story half-dovetail log building with a side gable roof (wood shingle) and large exterior end stone chimney. Gable ends have weatherboard. Building faces south.

Outbuilding (reconstruction) ca. 1980 Contributing Building
In the yard to the southwest of the house is a one-story frame building with a gable front roof (wood shingle) with returned eaves on a brick foundation. The building faces east.

Shed Noncontributing Building
About the middle of the lot and against the north property line is a one-story timber frame shed with side gable roof (wood shingle) that is partially enclosed with vertical boards. Building faces south.

440 Lot 88 Edward Theophilus Ackerman House 1856 Contributing Building
Listed on the National Register of Historic Places ("The South Trade Street Houses").

[134] Laura A. W. Phillips, Jean M. Craddock, and Jerry L. Cross, "The South Trade Street Houses," National Register of Historic Places Registration Form, U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, 1978, 8:3.
[135] Ibid., 8:4-5.
[136] Ibid., 7:4.

Born in 1830, E. T. Ackerman was a son of John Ackerman (Lot 91), the first resident of New Street. E. T. Ackerman grew up on Factory Row. In January 1856 he received permission to build a house on Lot 88 and the house was completed that year.[137] He married Mary Elizabeth Davis.

Following the pattern of his neighbors on Lot 89 and 90, Ackerman's house was set back from the sidewalk about 25 feet. He borrowed his brother, Allen's side hall plan and built it in a Greek Revival-style. The two-story common bond (4:1) brick house with side gable roof has wide overhanging eaves with box cornice and narrow frieze board. The house is on a raised brick foundation. There are interior end brick chimneys with corbelled caps; the north chimney is false but establishes symmetry. The two-bay façade and all elevations have large light six-over-six sash windows hung with single panel shutters, and windows are evenly spaced, although the north elevation has only one bay of windows toward the front of the house. The entry in the right bay is a two-panel Greek Revival door with four-light transom and sidelights. The door enters a side hall, two-room deep plan. Windows and door have molded casings. The full façade porch on brick piers is likely the representation recorded on the 1917 Sanborn Insurance map and has turned posts and decorative sawn balustrade and scrolled brackets. The original portico was probably a pedimented form. A frame ell (weatherboard), the width of the house, has a gable roof (wood shingle) with open eaves. The ell includes an engaged porch along the north elevation that is enclosed at the north end. Six wood steps lead from the porch to the ground level. Windows on the ell are six-over-six with single panel shutters, as seen on the main block of the house. The front (east) and south foundation walls of the house have six-over-six sash windows. The lot is surrounded by a picket fence.

Ackerman's new neighbor on Lot 87 in 1857 was Rufus Patterson and family. After Patterson's wife died in 1862, he moved to his home in Caldwell County to manage the mill there. Ackerman accompanied Patterson to Lenoir and worked as the mill manager. In 1863 Ackerman transferred his property (Lot 88) to Henry W. Fries to settle a debt. Patterson and Ackerman returned to Salem after the Civil War because Union troops had burned the Caldwell County mill in spring 1865. Patterson had married Mary Elizabeth Fries in June 1864 and after they returned to Salem, they occupied Lot 88 and the former E. T. Ackerman House. Patterson may have rented the property from his business partner Henry W. Fries.[138] By 1876, Rufus and Mary Elizabeth Fries Patterson had built their home on Cherry Street (see Patterson Wall, Cherry Street, #241) in the block across Cherry Street from "Hylehurst," her brother's home. Patterson owned much land. Subsequent to Patterson, there were a variety of occupants of Lot 88 including Spach, Porter, Dettmar. By 1884 J. L. Tyler, the superintendent of Arista Mills, was living in the house; he lived there until his death. Henry W. Fries owned the house again, until 1900 when Forsyth County sheriff W. W. Spainhour bought the house and lived there until his death in 1937. The house passed to T. E. Johnson and remained in the Johnson family for several decades. The house was purchased and rehabilitated in ca. 2000 and remains privately owned.

Stable (reconstruction) ca. 1999 Contributing Building

Following archaeological excavation in 1999, a nineteenth century stable was reconstructed along the north property line and facing east. The one and one-half story frame (weatherboard) building on a brick foundation with side gable roof (wood shingle) has a box cornice. Two barn doors with strap hinges are on the façade and six-over-six sash windows on side elevations. The building functions as a garage.

31FY395*88
Lot 88 Archaeology
Contributing Component to the Contributing Site

[137] Ibid., 8:3.
[138] Ibid., 8:3.

1990 Michael Hammond (OSI)
Ackerman outbuilding testing

1999 Roger Kirchen (WFU graduate student), N. Woodall, K. Robinson Prin. Inv. (WFU), under supervision of Michael O. Hartley, Director of Archaeology (OSI)
E.T. Ackerman Lot

448 Lot 89 Christian Frederick Sussdorff House 1839 Contributing Building
Listed on the National Register of Historic Places ("The South Trade Street Houses").

A European trained horticulturalist, Christian Sussdorff built the third house on New Street in 1839. In 1838 he had become a member of the Salem community and married Louisa Hagen (Lot 72, 520 Salt St.). Following his immediate neighbor Denke's model from 1832, Sussdorff set his house back from the street about 25 feet also. Sussdorff built a one and one-half story common bond (4:1) brick house with a side gable roof on a brick foundation, the earliest brick foundation in Salem. And like the Denke lot, Sussdorff's lot featured gardens. Nineteenth-century paintings with representations of Lot 89 show ornamental design and cultivated garden squares. In addition, shadows and marks on the brick indicate the probable location of a hot house on the southwest side of the south elevation of the house.[139]

Sussdorff's predominant income was from piano tuning and repair, and he also had ventured into a tobacco factory operation and briefly worked as manager of the Salem Cotton Factory, established a block north of his house in 1836-37. It was probably at this time that New Street was renamed "Factory Row." Housing for non-Moravian mill workers had been built on the New Street portion of the Salem mill tract.

Sussdorff's wife operated a millinery in the home, and Sussdorff traveled extensively with his piano work. In 1847, the minutes of the *Aufseher Collegium* recorded that he had come to the attention of Thomas Day, the free black cabinetmaker who lived in Milton, North Carolina.[140] It is likely that Mr. Day's daughter came to Salem, lived in the Sussdorff House and studied music:

> A certain Mr. Day from Milton, a mulatto, however in his neighborhood a man of good reputation, would like to send his 16-year-old daughter, educated in the North, to Br. Sussdorff in order that he may give her music lessons. Br. Susdorff would like the opinion of the Collegium as to whether this is thought advisable. The Collegium does not think it objectionable if Br. Susdorff takes the girl into his house for some time and gives her the requested music instruction.[141]

Sussdorff sold his house in 1854, and he and his family moved to Winston. The new owner, Julius Kern, was a music teacher and raised the house to two-stories. This is the same time that Levi Blum raised his frame house to two stories (Lot 67, 724 S. Main St.).

The brickwork of the addition was so skillfully laid that it is barely perceptible. The two-story house with low, side gable roof (pressed tin shingle) has flush ends, and at each corner, corbelled brick anchors the box cornice which has plain bed mold. The partially exposed, exterior end single shoulder brick chimneys have corbelled caps and there are lightning rods at each gable end. There is evidence of lined mortar joints. The asymmetrical façade of the four-room house has an entry in the second bay from the right. The six-panel door with four-light transom is at a granite doorsill. The door was likely sheltered by a pedimented portico, as was built on

[139] John C. Larson (owner of Sussdorff House), conversation with MB Hartley, 1 April 2013.
[140] Phillips, Craddock, and Cross, "The South Trade Street Houses," 8:1-2.
[141] Minnie J. Smith, ed., *Records of the Moravians in North Carolina* (Raleigh: State Department of Archives and History, 1964), 9:4966.

numerous houses in the mid-nineteenth century in Salem. A frame deck one step up from the brick walkway to the sidewalk has been built in anticipation of portico reconstruction. One window, to the right of the door, and two to the left are nine-over-six sash, as are the other first floor windows. Windows and doors on the first floor have molded casings. Second floor windows are six-over-six sash. Windows are evenly spaced on all elevations and have plain wide window sills. In each upper gable end are two four-light casements at the attic level. There is a shed roof addition on brick piers at the rear (west). It is partially enclosed (south) and has an open porch with plain posts and simple balustrade with four wood steps to a granite step at grade. At the northwest, a frame kitchen ell (weatherboard) has a gable roof (wood shingle) with open eaves and an interior end brick chimney. The ell is off-set one bay where there is one window on the east facing the street. The ell was added in 1880 and has large light six-over six sash windows.

The Sussdorff House was sold to Isaac Lash in 1857 and remained in the Lash family (through a daughter who married a Spaugh) until it was sold in 1904 to the Smothers who in 1906 sold it to James M. Perryman. Sanborn Insurance maps from 1907, 1912, and 1917 recorded five outbuildings in the yard, although none survive. The front porch also changed configuration twice. The present owner, John Larson, purchased the house in 1978 and has carefully restored it. Larson has been the leader of Old Salem, Inc.'s restoration since becoming a staff member in 1976.

Lot 90 Original lot of the 1832 Denke House (moved to Lot 75, see 498 Salt Street)

Factory Row (then known as S. Trade Street) was located beyond the Old Salem Historic District (as established in 1948) and was separated from the historic district by the construction of a four-lane bypass, Old Salem Road, built in 1956-58. The John Ackerman House was demolished in 1960, and the Denke House (built in 1832) was threatened with demolition in 1970. The owner of Lot 90 had had no interest in the house and wanted to develop the lot. The Denke House was saved by moving it one block due east and into the Old Salem Historic District in 1970. It was placed on the street front of Lot 75, Salt Street, facing east, and was restored. Old Salem was able to acquire Lot 90 in 1980 and the lot has been examined archaeologically on several occasions. The long-range plan is to return the Denke House to its original location.

The Denke House was the second house built on New Street, following that of John Ackerman ten years earlier, and set important stylistic and development precedent. Unlike other contemporary houses in Salem, Denke set his house back from the street approximately 25 feet and introduced the front yard/garden as a new pattern in lot development. In addition, the house was a center hall plan symmetrical façade house with classical porch and set the stage for the Greek Revival that would be so popular in Salem. Denke was a retired Moravian minister and a gifted botanist and painter. His wife, Maria (m.n. Steiner) was a painter as well and a teacher. The Denkes planted ornamental gardens in the front and rear yards of their house.

31FY395*90
Lot 90 Archaeology
Contributing Component to the Contributing Site

1982 Michael Hammond (ARC)
Denke lot testing

1984 Michael Hammond (OSI), Michael O. Hartley (consulting arch.)
Denke lot

1997 Roger Kirchen and Aaron Russell (WFU graduate students), Ned Woodall, Prin. Inv. (WFU), under supervision of Michael O. Hartley, Director of Archaeology (OSI)
Denke wash house

1998 Michael O. Hartley (OSI consulting arch.)
Denke barn

500 Lot 91 John Ackerman House (reconstruction) 1985 Contributing Building

Due to the topographical constraints of the ravine on the east side of Salem, westward was the direction for growth and development in the early-nineteenth century. Although it was delineated on the earliest maps of Salem, it was not until 1819 that New Street (later known as Factory Row) was formally designated and lots laid out along this north-south street in the vicinity of the 1769 Tannery (Lot 92). New Street was the first expansion of Salem's grid and initiated residential growth to the west, with the first house built in 1822.

The son of a Hessian soldier, John Ackerman was born near Bethabara in 1790. He became a cooper and after living away, returned to Salem and established himself on Lot 91. He built his house against the sidewalk of New Street in 1822 and several outbuildings were also constructed. The one and one-half story log (weatherboard) house with side-gable roof (wood shingle) has flush ends and a central brick chimney with corbelled cap. It is on a raised stone foundation. The Ackerman House was very similar to the Solomon Lick House (Lot 71, 524 Salt St.), also built in 1822. Both houses are side-hall plan. The Ackerman House has a half-cellar (north), found archaeologically. Following archaeological excavation, the Ackerman house and well-pump were reconstructed to reflect the 1822 appearance.

The asymmetrical three-bay façade with molded cornice has a four-panel door with four-light transom at the far right bay and two six-over-six sash windows hung with two-panel shutters. A frame stoop at the front door has simple posts and balustrade and three steps off the north end to a granite step at the sidewalk. Each upper gable end of the house has a six-over-six sash window at the second-floor level flanked by single-light casement attic windows. An engaged lean-to at the rear (west) is enclosed on the south end and has an open porch on the north end, with chamfered post and simple balustrade. This addition is on a brick foundation with a full cellar and has an exterior end single shoulder brick chimney at the south end.

The 1917 Sanborn Insurance map recorded alterations: the front door had shifted to a new porch on the north elevation, and a portion of the rear addition had been removed. However, several outbuildings remained in the yard. In early twentieth century photographs, the front door was replaced by a window and a hip roof porch with turned posts and scroll brackets added to the north elevation. The house and lot passed through many owners throughout its life. The house was demolished in 1960. Old Salem acquired the lot and initiated archaeological excavation of the site in 1983 that was essential to the 1985 reconstruction. In addition, documentary photographs, nineteenth century maps of Salem, and other pictorial information also aided the reconstruction. The reconstruction of the 1822 John Ackerman House visually re-established the temporal range in the history of this street and underscored the significance of this first western expansion in the early nineteenth century. Prior to the Ackerman reconstruction, architectural presence on the street led to a general assumption that the street was tied directly to the establishment of the cotton mill.

Well and Pump (reconstruction) 1985 Contributing Structure

To the northwest rear of the house is a well and pump. The brick lined and stone lined well was excavated in 1983. The square stone foundation has a frame board and batten decking.

31FY395*91
Lot 91 Archaeology
Contributing Component to the Contributing Site

1983 Michael Hammond (consulting arch.), Michael Hartley (consulting arch.)
Ackerman house and lot

1984 Michael Hammond (OSI)
Ackerman feature

512 Lot 92 Livingston N. Clinard House 1874 Contributing Building
When factory supervisor Livingston Clinard bought the lot for his house in 1874, Factory Row was called Elm Street and had been extended north to Fourth Street in Winston. The lot he purchased was a parcel carved out of Lot 92, a tannery operation since 1769 and under the ownership of J. W. Fries for much of the second half of the nineteenth century. The house was built in 1874.

Set back from the street about 15 feet by a shallow fenced yard, the Italianate house is a one and one-half story frame (weatherboard) with a side gable roof (pressed tin shingle) with wide eaves and box cornice. There are two decorative interior end brick chimneys with corbelled caps and the foundation is common bond brick. The symmetrical five-bay façade features a prominent centered three-bay hip roof porch with chamfered posts and decorative sawn balustrade on a brick foundation. The entry is a double-leaf two-panel door with large-light three-light transom and sidelights. The porch is one step up from the short brick walkway to the sidewalk. Centered above the portico is a gabled wall dormer with round-arched paired two-over-two windows hung with arched louver shutters and the gable peak has lattice motif decoration. First floor windows are large light four-over-four sash. Each of the upper gable ends has two four-over-four sash windows at the second-floor level flanked by four-light casement attic windows. All sash windows are hung with louvered shutters. At the northwest rear there extends a deep frame ell (weatherboard) with four-over-four large-light sash windows. The ell includes a full length engaged porch along the south elevation. It is joined to a shed roof porch on the southwest rear. The ell and porch are on brick piers and have simple posts and balustrade. The lot is surrounded by a picket fence.

Following Livingston Clinard and after intermediate owners, the house passed to the Lamb/Carone family in 1912 and the street was named Trade Street in the 1920s. Owner "Frenchie" Carone was a wood worker who had been employed by Fogle Brothers prior to starting his own business specializing in dowels and church pews. His shop area was at the rear of the lot until 1981. The house was very much intact when Rolfe and Richard Teague restored it in the 1980s.

Liberty Street
East Side

301 Lot 86 Salem Town Hall 1912 Contributing Building
Individually listed on the National Register of Historic Places ("Salem Town Hall").

Salem Commissioners approved the construction of a spur of the Winston-Salem Southbound Railway in November 2011, and with the impending construction of a freight warehouse to occupy the land where the Salem Town Hall with fire station (1886) stood, Salem Commissioners established a building committee in March 1912 to plan for a new town hall. In May 1912 they purchased the west end of Lot 86 from William Dettmar's widow. Fogle Brothers Company was selected as the contractor and designs were completed by Winston-Salem architect Willard C. Northup. Construction began in the summer 1912 and the first regular monthly meeting was held in the building in December 1912.

The two–story common bond (5:1) brick Italianate building is prominent with a three-story corner bell tower at a corner lot. Built against the sidewalks of Liberty and Cemetery Streets, the Liberty Street façade has three bays and the Cemetery Street side is seven bays deep. Concrete is used in highlights (window sills, keystones, etc.), there is a brick water table, and the mortar joints are painted red. The bell tower, with brick quoins, projects slightly from the rest of the building. On the tower's one-bay façade at Liberty Street, the main entry is

highlighted by a Moravian hood. Here a panel door at a stone door sill has a fanlight in a round arch with keystone above. This entry with hood is repeated around the corner on the north side with interior access to the bell tower stairway. At the second-floor level of the tower façade is a large eight-over-eight sash window with a four-light transom and prominent keystone. This window type is repeated on the north side of the tower, however, transoms are four-light. The third floor of the tower, which housed the bell, is open and has brick corner posts and a simple balustrade. A molded entablature with dentilled cornice and modillioned eaves is capped by a finial-topped, red tile pyramid roof.

At the first floor, the façade on Liberty Street served as garage with two large round-arch openings with keystones for fire engines and a single pedestrian door in between them. Above is a concrete sill course at the second-floor windows with three bays of eight-over-eight sash windows, with the center bay paired eight-over-eight sash windows. This window sash and the sill course are repeated and evenly spaced on the seven bays of the north elevation second floor fronting Cemetery Street where windows on the first floor are eight-over-eight small-light sash. The second-floor windows on the façade and north are sheltered by a red tile hip roof supported by large brackets which then wraps around the southwest corner. The hip roof is punctuated by four chimneys each on the façade, north and south, creating a crenellated effect. South elevation windows are simplified versions of the façade. Rear (east) elevation windows are eight-over-eight set in segmental relieving arches.

The building served only briefly as the Salem Town Hall, as Winston and Salem consolidated on May 9, 1913, and Winston's Town Hall on Courthouse Square was used for the new consolidated city. The former Salem Town Hall continued to house the Salem Rough & Ready Fire Department, which was renamed Fire Station No. 2. In the 1940s, a frame shed at the south elevation was bricked and served as the secure location of the city's iron lung during the polio epidemic.[142] In 1958, a new fire station building, in the Moravian Revival style, was constructed on the east end of Lot 86 (300 S. Main Street) and connected to the former building as a shared facility. In the late 1970s, a new fire station replaced this one and in 1980 the city of Winston-Salem sold the former Salem Town Hall, which was rehabilitated as offices.

Liberty Street
West Side

300 Lot 103 Winston-Salem Southbound Railway Freight Warehouse and Office
1913 Contributing Building

Listed on the National Register of Historic Places ("Winston-Salem Southbound Railway Freight Warehouse and Office").

The Winston-Salem Southbound Railway was incorporated in 1905 with Francis H. Fries as chairman. Following the Winston-Salem Southbound Railway's construction in 1910 (eighty-nine-mile line between Winston-Salem and Wadesboro, NC), with passenger depot in Winston, a spur line for freight was built into Salem.[143] This spur was constructed in 1912 in a corridor that entered Salem from the south and ran along Town Run/Tar Branch and into the industrial center of Salem at Brookstown Avenue and Liberty Street. In February 1913 the Railway company bought a parcel from the Town of Salem for the construction of a freight warehouse.[144] The lot contained the former Salem Town Hall (and fire station), built in 1886, on the north end of Lot 103 of the F & H Fries Woolen Mill complex. A new Salem Town Hall had been completed across

[142] Laura A. W. Phillips, "Salem Town Hall," National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form, U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, 1982, 8:12.
[143] Phillips, "Winston-Salem Southbound Railway," 8:2-4.
[144] Ibid., 4.

Liberty St. in November 2012[145]. Joseph F. Leitner, a prominent Wilmington, NC architect, designed the freight warehouse and office building, and Rhodes & Underwood of New Bern, NC was the contractor.[146]

Construction followed in 1913. The 1917 Sanborn Map recorded that the F & H Fries Woolen Mill Complex, located there since 1840, had been entirely replaced by the new rail facilities. The new rail entered the lot from the south and ran to the building's west end. South of the freight warehouse toward Brookstown Avenue were a series of sidings for train car maneuvering and unloading. The rail line then continued north almost to First Street, serving Salem Iron Works and an RJ Reynolds Tobacco Company Hogshead Storage facility. Rail lines also extended west on Brookstown Avenue to serve Arista and Maline Mills.

Italianate in style, the freight building was sited at a forty-five-degree angle to Liberty Street and when built, its south corner abutted Liberty Street. When Liberty Street was widened in 1964, fourteen feet of the (façade) east end of the building was removed and a new façade created with modern brick and 1960s office detailing. A renovation in 1990 reworked this façade to match the west elevation.

The long, narrow two-story stretcher bond brick building is an Italianate-style structure with a bracketed shallow gable roof (standing seam metal) on a brick foundation. The building has a pleasing rhythm in the repetition of features. Windows and doors are set in segmental arches with limestone sills, keystones and spring blocks (concrete is used for trim on the new façade). The reconstructed façade (east) and west elevation have a gable parapet with rounded peak and concrete coping and three bays. On the façade (east) there is a center double door entry with a multi-light transom that is flanked by windows on the first floor and three bays of windows on the second. On the west, there is no entry door on the first floor but steps to a cellar entry and flanking windows are half-size with metal bars. The façade has paired one-over-one window sash while the original west elevation has single one-over-one window sash. There is a circular window at each upper gable end. The long sides of the building (north and south) are basically identical, each with a first floor of eleven bays with ten large wood and glass warehouse doors and a single-entry door. This level is sheltered by a long hip roof canopy with scrolled joist ends supported by large brackets. The south side (located at the former rail sidings) has a raised wooden loading dock. The north side is at grade. The second floor, north and south, has twenty-two bays of one-over-one sash windows, matching the single windows on the west elevation in their decoration. There is an interior end brick chimney centered on the north side. Paving on the north side of the building is the Belgian block first used as pavers in Salem in the 1890s, the sole visible survivor of this material in Salem, as subsequent asphalt has covered the earlier Belgian block and cobblestone paving.

The building served as the headquarters for the Winston-Salem Southbound Railway until 1985. The building was rehabilitated as offices and a restaurant in the 1990s. The rails were taken up in the 1980s and the rail bed along Tar Branch became The Strollway, a pedestrian path links UNC School of the Arts, Old Salem, and Downtown Winston-Salem, and ties in to the Salem Creek Greenway.

S. Main Street
East Side

313 Lot 83 Belo-Stockton House 1875 Contributing Building
In the fall of 1839, the "lots in the upper part of the Community" were examined by the *Aufseher Collegium* and reconfigured creating three lots from four (lot 43, 83, 84 with an alley between 43 and 83). Lot 83 was allotted 130 feet on account of a water ditch running through the lot. Peter Fetter established his home and chair-making business on Lot 83 and constructed a house and several outbuildings. In 1856 the lot transitioned to Orestes Kuhln, and was subdivided by 1875, when John Levin Belo constructed his house on the northern half

[145] Phillips, "Salem Town Hall," Section 8:9.
[146] Phillips, "Winston-Salem Southbound Railway," Section 8:4.

of Lot 83 (brother of Edward Belo, Lot 35, 36, 455 S. Main St.). The house is commonly associated with Tilla Stockton, a music teacher who taught lessons in her home and at Salem College.

Set back from the street by a shallow yard with picket fence, the Italianate house is a one and one-half story common bond (5:1) brick building. The side gable roof (wood shingle) has open eaves with exposed rafter and purlin ends. There are two interior brick chimneys with corbelled caps. The symmetrical five-bay façade features a prominent centered entry-bay portico with chamfered posts and turned balustrade. It shelters a double-leaf door with large two-light transom and sidelights. From a low concrete retaining wall at the sidewalk, three concrete steps lead to four wide wood steps which access the portico. Centered above the portico is a gabled wall dormer with narrow glazed doors set in a round arch, which open onto the flat porch roof. This basic configuration is repeated in simpler form on the rear elevation. First floor windows are large light four-over-four sash. The upper gable ends have four-over-four sash windows at the second-floor level and are flanked by four-light casement attic windows. All sash windows are hung with louver shutters.

By 1895, the house was in its present configuration with a frame one-room, gable roof rear addition attached at the northeast corner. Two outbuildings were recorded on the 1895 Sanborn Insurance Map. A garage, built ca. 1990, is located in close proximity to one of those outbuildings. In the 1990s, restoration work included the removal of a two-story rear porch addition, re-establishment of fenestration on the north wall and removal of a chimney there, and the addition of a wood shake roof.

The granite wall along Cedar Avenue is the east (rear) line of Lot 83 and there is a gate in the wall. This is one of three lots adjacent to Cedar Avenue with a gate; the others are Lots 84 and 36.

Garage ca. 1990 Noncontributing Building
Located at the side rear of the house and near the south property line is a one-story, gable front, frame carriage house/garage. The façade has a carriage door and single door; a louvered vent is in the upper gable. The open eaves and wood siding add to its compatibility.

319 Lot 83 Peter Fetter House ca. 1840 Contributing Building
The ca. 1920 purchase of this house by Walter Hege and his conversion of it into a duplex concealed and modified the original center hall, two-room deep single-family house. Located at the south end of Lot 83 and against the sidewalk, the two-story frame (weatherboard) building with side gable roof (asphalt shingle) has returned eaves and is on a high stuccoed stone foundation. The symmetrically arranged three-bay façade has wide cornice and corner boards and paired four-over-one sash windows with wide casings. Side porches (north and south) have low hip roofs supported by square posts with shingled balustrade. A two-story frame (weatherboard) centered rear ell has a hip roof with an interior chimney.

The remodeling of the house removed front and rear porches, altered fenestration, and adjusted the interior to accommodate two housing units. The house was split in half and a two-story rear ell was added to accommodate a kitchen/ pantry and additional bedroom for each unit. With the front entry removed, side porches were added to shelter new entrances. The roof retains interior end brick chimneys (south has lost its corbelled cap), and each upper gable end retains the two six-over-six sash windows at the third floor/attic level.

In the fall of 1839, the "lots in the upper part of the Community" were examined by the *Aufseher Collegium* and reconfigured creating three lots from four (lot 43, 83, 84 with an alley between 43 and 83). Lot 83 was allotted 130 feet on account of a water ditch running through the lot. Peter Fetter occupied Lot 83 after returning to Salem in 1839 from learning chair making in Indiana. He built a shop, house, and outbuildings. In 1856 Fetter sold his house and the other buildings on Lot 83 to the single Br. Orestes Kuhln (son of Dr. Kuhln, Lot 97, 901 S. Main Street). Sometime after this, Lot 83 was divided into two lots, with the Fetter house at the south end.

A path to God's Acre lies against the south property line. The Cedar Avenue granite wall is at the rear of the lot. Sanborn Insurance maps from the late nineteenth century indicate four outbuildings; however, none survive. Other than the Fetter house, the lot is open with garden squares.

Lane to God's Acre 1839 Contributing Structure

The narrow asphalt paved lane, bordered with a hedge on the south side, is between Lots 83 and 43 and connects Main Street to Cedar Avenue at God's Acre. It is for regular pedestrian use and occasional vehicular access. In the fall of 1839, the "lots in the upper part of the Community" were examined by the *Aufseher Collegium* and reconfigured creating three lots from four (lot 43, 83, 84) with a thirty-foot alley between 43 and 83. This "alley" or lane was then reduced in width to 15 feet in 1860, which was thought acceptable for foot traffic. This alteration added 7 ½ feet to Lots 43 and 83. Adjoining residents had previously requested closing the lane and gaining the land to increase lot size; however, the Collegium denied the request saying, "it is the only convenient passage from Main Street to the Graveyard Avenue for those people who live west on Main Street."[147]

327 Lot 43 Welfare House ca. 1860 Contributing Building

Lot 43 was one of the three lots created from four in 1839. This reconfiguration by the *Aufseher Collegium* created wide lots (Lots 84, 83, 43), Lot 43 being 124' wide, with an alley at its north line extending from Main Street to Cedar Avenue. Lot 43 was first divided into two lots (1855) and then into three (1924) and back to two (1950). Various buildings have been constructed on Lot 43; however, presently there are two houses on Lot 43 and the site of the 1839 Theophilus Vierling Shop. This site remains undeveloped at the north end of Lot 43 where Vierling built a shoe shop in 1839. It was a gable front building (18 X 24 feet) with a brick ground floor and frame upper story, which was standing in 1920.

Ownership of Lot 43 changed twice following Vierling's sale of his improvements in 1849. In 1855, Lot 43 was divided and the upper half was sold to Alanson Welfare. Welfare (b.1824) was a gunsmith, watchmaker and locksmith. In 1860, the lane on the north property line was reduced in size by fifteen feet, with 7 ½ feet added to Lot 83 and Lot 43. It is probable that Welfare built his brick house at this time. The ell was added sometime later. The Welfare portion of Lot 43 was sold in an estate sale to C.S. Hauser in 1885 and was held by Mrs. Wm. P. Ormsby in 1924. She sold the top third of Lot 43 (with the Vierling shop building) to R.R. Kinney and kept the Welfare house for herself. The shop lot and house lot were reunited in 1950 when Francis Pepper added the shop lot to the house lot he acquired in 1947; it is not known when the shop disappeared. Mr. Pepper converted the main block of the house into two apartments and the ell into a third, a form and use which remain presently.

The Welfare House sits back from the sidewalk several feet and has a picket fence at the sidewalk. It is a two-story, common bond (4:1) brick house with a low-pitch side gable roof (standing seam metal) on a full story brick foundation. There are exterior end brick chimneys with corbelled caps. The one-room deep center hall plan house is built into the slope of the lot and has a one-story brick ell at the rear. The symmetrical three bay façade has a centered entry bay portico supported by four tall brick piers with a cellar door below at street grade. The portico is accessed on its north end by two granite steps to a landing and then a turn to a flight of wooden steps. The portico has square paneled posts with turned balustrade and shelters a six-panel door with three-light transom. The low hip porch roof (standing seam metal) supports a projecting frame gabled bay with paired one-over-one sash windows with lunette in gable. First and second floor window sash has been altered to two-over-two while the cellar retains earlier six-over-six window sash. Windows are hung with single panel shutters. There are no windows on the south elevation and one is on the north first floor. The common bond (5:1) brick ell is an L-shape with gable roof and open eaves and a central brick chimney. The windows are two-

[147] "Minutes of the *Aufseher Collegium*, Feb. 1852" (Old Salem Research Files).

over-two sash. A late nineteenth-century photograph of the house and shop (as sewing machine and music store) recorded the front porch of the house with turned posts and sawn bracket and balustrade.

Sanborn Maps from the late nineteenth century indicate several outbuildings on the lot: wood house, shed, servants' room, and the Vierling shop. The Vierling shop had several uses: shoe shop, post office, photo, pressing. The building labeled "servants" adjoined the wood house and sat to the east of and behind the ell and suggests the presence of African American residents.

331 Lot 43 Charles Pfohl House 1905 Contributing Building

Lot 43 was one of the three lots created from four in 1839. This reconfiguration by the *Aufseher Collegium* created Lots 84, 83, 43 with Lot 43 being 124' wide. Lot 43 was first divided into two lots (1855) and then into three (1924) and back to two (1950). In 1860, the southern portion of Lot 43 was purchased by James Hall, this lot went through other owners and the narrow lot was purchased by the Pfohl family. At the turn of the century, Sanborn Insurance maps show a small house at the street front of this lot. The present house was built for Charles and Mary Josephine (Eberhardt) Pfohl by their son Herbert, then president of Fogle Brothers Company. Charles was working for Salem College and Herbert built this house to bring his father closer to his work. Herbert, with Fogle Brothers since a part-time job at age 12 or 13, had risen through the company to become president upon the death of founding partner Christian Fogle in 1889. Prior to moving to this house, Charles and Mary Josephine had lived at 632 Poplar Street from their wedding day in 1870. The house on Lot 43 remained in the Pfohl family until 2006, with the exception of a 15-year ownership by retired Salem College president Dale Gramley beginning in 1971.

The Charles Pfohl House sits back from the sidewalk on a raised yard with a brick retaining wall at the sidewalk. Concrete steps from the sidewalk lead to a short walk and to a flight of wood steps at the front porch. The one-story frame (weatherboard) Queen Anne-style cottage is on a brick foundation. The high cross-gable main roof (asphalt shingle) meets at a large central brick chimney with corbelled cap. A variety of roof lines is created by multiple projecting pedimented gables with flared eaves and assorted dormers. Vertical and horizontal elements on the exterior walls, pointed arch and shingled solid verge boards, a tall partially engaged exterior end brick chimney with corbelled cap, and a range of window features give this frame house a decorative appeal. Window sash is four-over-one with wide surrounds. The projecting front bay with tripartite windows has one large light one-over-one sash flanked by smaller one-over-one sash and louver panels. Paired and tripled windows are in dormers. Lunettes are featured in the north and south gable ends; the rear gable is clipped. The engaged front porch with Tuscan columns and turned balustrade is a reworking of the original porch as shown on the 1912 Sanborn Insurance map. This map also recorded two outbuildings. The rear yard, which ends with the granite wall at Cedar Avenue, is currently empty, although a formal garden with a fish pond and a frame garage were present in the mid-twentieth century.[148] The house was rehabilitated in 2009.

403 Lot 42 Dr. Samuel Frederick Pfohl House 1913 Contributing Building

John Solomon Mickey, a cooper, built a shop on Lot 42 in 1828. At the time of its proposal a year earlier, it was on "the last building ground for the time being on the east side of Main Street".[149] Mickey soon married and built a house in 1830 with a front porch projecting over the sidewalk, as initiated by the Herbst House (Lot 33) in 1821. House and shop façades are shown on the 1840 Map of Salem. Mickey was on the lot in 1854 when he received permission to build a brick laundry. Lot 42 was clear of dwellings in 1912; however, the 1907 Sanborn Map shows what is likely the Mickey complex on the lot.

[148] Rev. Herbert Weber (b. 1930; grandson of Herbert Weber, a first cousin of Dr. Fred Pfohl's father), interview by MB Boxley, 28 January 1997 (notes on file, Department of Archaeology, Old Salem, Inc., Winston-Salem, NC).

[149] "Minutes of the *Aufseher Collegium*, Dec. 1827" (Old Salem Research Files).

Dr. Samuel Frederick Pfohl lived in the first unit of Fogle Flats which stood on Main and Cemetery Streets, Lot 84 (extant building at 300 S. Church St.) before moving down the street several lots into his newly constructed home with office in 1913.[150] Although he made house calls, Dr. Pfohl had this house designed with a secondary entrance on the north side to accommodate a suite of rooms for his medical practice. In this way, Dr. Pfohl continued the Salem tradition of the doctor's office in the residence (see Dr. Vierling, Lot 7, 463 S. Church St.). He also served as physician to Salem College, refusing a salary. His daughter Virginia assisted him as secretary and nurse, and it was from her the house passed to the Parker Family, then to the Epperlys.

The two-story pebble dash house with a low hip roof (asphalt shingle) sits far back from the street on a raised lot held by a masonry retaining wall. Concrete steps at the sidewalk to a curvilinear walk lead to a short flight of steps at the front portico. The asymmetrical façade is four bays. A recessed bay on the north side is the office area with a stoop and single-entry door. The front portico and hipped roof side porch (south) have square posts with panels and simple balustrade. The balconied entry portico has a Chippendale railing on the upper level. The front door has multiple-light sidelights (two wide by five high) and a transom. The house is a two-room deep, center hall plan. Window sash is evenly spaced large light one-over-one sash, and has been hung with louvered shutters. Five exterior end brick chimneys and one interior brick chimney, all with corbelled caps, rise high above the low hip roof. Wide open eaves on the main roof are repeated on the two front hip roof dormers, with paired two by two casement windows, and on the long porch along the south side. A two-story rear ell has a second floor sleeping porch with French-type casement windows on three sides. According to niece Katherine Pfohl, Dr. Pfohl "required" sleeping porches for his family's homes; her own home at 113 Cemetery Street included a large sleeping porch.[151] The front yard has a notable gingko tree and two large willow oaks; the rear yard, which ends with the granite wall at Cedar Avenue, has a carriage house in the northeast corner.

Carriage House 1913 Contributing Building
A driveway follows the north property line to the rear of the lot at a one and one-half story pebble dash carriage house with apartment. The roof is a high Dutch gable (asphalt shingle) capped by a gable vent. The west elevation has a carriage door and single-entry door with wall dormers of French windows. Exterior chimney on one side is painted and has an arched brick cover.

411 Lot 41 Shultz-Cooper House (reconstruction) 2010 Contributing Building
Samuel Shultz (blacksmith) rented this lot and used it for a garden (he also rented Lot 40 as an orchard). In 1824, he built a small retirement home on the north end of Lot 41, probably a log building (weatherboarded in 1827) on a stone foundation (found archaeologically). After his death in 1825, his widow continued to live in the house. Charles A. Cooper purchased the improvements in 1834. Born in Germanton, NC, he was apprenticed to the turner Abraham Steiner (Lot 9, 513 S. Church Street) in the 1820s. When Cooper purchased the Schulz house, he was a furniture maker and house painter. He moved into the house and immediately staked out his new shop in 1834 on the south side of the lot. During the 1820s-1840, detached shops replaced in-house shops throughout Salem. Cooper also expanded the house to a length of 45 feet with two full stories in 1840, and in 1852 added a second story to the shop. The house and shop are on the 1912 Sanborn Insurance maps; however, by 1917, they have been removed and replaced by two new houses. These buildings were removed by Old Salem in order to gain access to archaeological information. The house and a well were the subject of an archaeological excavation in 1982, recovering the full foundation. Based on this evidence and

[150] Katherine Pfohl (1908-2012; daughter of Bernard Pfohl), interview by MB Boxley, 22 January 1997 (notes on file, Department of Archaeology, Old Salem, Inc., Winston-Salem, NC).
[151] Ibid.

archival materials, including photographs of the house in the nineteenth century, the building was reconstructed in 2009-2010 by restoration contractor Steven Cole, in conjunction with Old Salem, Inc.

The house was reconstructed to an 1840 appearance with two stories. It sits against the sidewalk and there is a tall picket fence. The house is a frame building (weatherboard) with a side gable roof (wood shingle) with returned eaves and box cornice. An interior brick chimney with corbelled cap is located at the north end (Shultz period) and an exterior end brick chimney with corbelled cap and a lightning rod at the south end. The foundation is full height against the sidewalk and the north end reflects the early construction by Shultz with a stuccoed foundation indicating the first house on a stone foundation. The remainder of the foundation is common bond (4:1) brick and there is a cellar window and door at the first and second bays from the south. The asymmetrical six-bay façade has nine-over-six sash windows, with cellar windows six-over-six sash, all hung with two panel shutters. In the upper gable ends are two six-light casements in the attic. The entry is a pedimented portico which is not centered over the doorway. The portico has four Tuscan columns and a simple balustrade on a full story brick foundation with a lattice door at sidewalk grade. At the south end of the portico, a flight of brick and stone steps descends to the sidewalk level. The four-panel front door has a four light transom and is slightly off-center in the porch. Windows and doors have molded casings. The center hall plan house is one room deep with a shed roof back porch with the north half enclosed. The rear yard, which includes the recovered well, ends at the granite wall at Cedar Avenue.

Well 1824 Contributing Structure
The well, located just east of the house, was found archaeologically in 1982. During reconstruction of the house, the well was also re-established.

419 Lot 41 Cooper Shop (reconstruction) 1979 Contributing Building
Charles Cooper constructed his shop at the south end of Lot 41 when he purchased the Shultz house in 1834, a move which reflected the growing popularity of free-standing shops in Salem. Built as a one-story shop, he raised it to two stories in 1852. As reconstructed to the 1852 appearance, the shop sits against the sidewalk and is a gable front (concrete simulated wood shingle) frame building (weatherboard) on a stuccoed foundation. There is an interior end brick chimney with corbelled cap at the east end of the two-story section. Continuing to the east is a one-story rear, gable roof addition. The façade has two bays with a four-panel door, accessed by four wood steps, and window on the first floor and two windows on the second. Window sash is nine-over-six and is hung with two panel shutters. Archaeology was conducted on the site of the Cooper Shop in 1977, revealing building footings. Based on this evidence and archival materials, including photographs of the shop in the nineteenth century, Old Salem, Inc. reconstructed the Cooper Shop on its original location in 1979.

31FY395*41
Lot 41 Archaeology
Contributing Component to the Contributing Site

1977 Judith Newkirk—Wake Forest University (WFU), Ned Woodall, Prin. Inv., WFU
Cooper Shop

1982 Michael Hammond (ARC)
Schulz-Cooper House

421 Lot 40 Hall House 1827 Contributing Building
The Hall House is a combination shop and residence in Salem. The house was built in 1827 and is restored to an 1843 interpretation. At that time, occupant James Hall used the structure as a bakery, bake shop and

residence. The door north of the centered main entry door provided entrance into Hall's shop. A reconstructed bake oven structure on the south end of the house recalls the bakery in Hall's cellar.

The house sits against the sidewalk and has a picket fence at property lines. The house is a two-story frame (beaded weatherboard) building with a steep side gable roof (wood shingle) with returned eaves. The box cornice has scrolled modillions and plain board frieze. There are interior end chimneys with corbelled caps and the foundation is common bond (4:1) brick with partial stone foundation at the north. The asymmetrical façade has six bays with two entry doors at a shared stoop, indicating living quarters and a shop, each entry has a raised six-panel door with a four-light transom. The granite stoop with wrought iron railing is entered from each end by four and five granite steps. As designed, the north end of the house was a three-bay portion that was the shop, with its own entry door and two windows. The shop had three windows on the north elevation in the front room. The residence portion was the southern three bays, which included an entry door to a side-hall plan and two windows. Windows and doors have decorative molded casings. Window sash is nine-over-six with first floor windows hung with three panel shutters and second floor windows hung with louvered shutters. On the front foundation are two casement windows hung with paneled shutters. In each upper gable end at the third floor/attic level are two six-over-six sash windows. Across the rear (east) elevation is an attached shed roof addition partially enclosed for a kitchen at the north with an exterior shouldered end chimney and partially an open porch with chamfered posts (glassed-in). The south elevation of the house has an exterior entry door to the cellar bake room. Here is reconstructed the attached bake oven in brick with a gable roof (wood shingle). An ornamental garden is located in the area between the house and the south line. The rear yard, including a wash-bake house, ends at the granite wall at Cedar Avenue. At the south property line, the lot adjoins "Maiden Lane," the path to God's Acre from Main Street to Cedar Avenue.

Lot 40 had been used as an orchard by Samuel Shultz until it was leased to James Hall to build his house. Hall was a shoemaker who built the house in 1827, and in 1830, he had a well dug in his yard. He also worked with his brother in a tannery business northeast of Salem. In 1837, he requested permission to have a bakery and a beer stand at his house, in addition to his shoemaking business. The Collegium granted permission for the bakery but not the sale of beer. In 1841 he excavated under the house and established a bake room with attached bake oven in the newly constructed cellar. He also built a back porch with a kitchen in 1843, and received permission to build an ice house on the rear of the lot in 1851. Hall occupied the house until his death in 1870. The house passed to his oldest son William Henry Hall, who also operated a confectionery business in the house. He continued to use the cellar as a bakery and kept his store on the north side of the first floor.

Very similar in form to the 1823 Steiner House (Lot 9 at 513 S. Church Street), the Hall House was also updated in similar fashion, probably in the 1870s when William Henry Hall became owner. The façade was altered to five bays with a central recessed entry. A bay window was added to the south side first floor, and at some point, window sash was replaced with two-over-two; however, attic sash remained six-over-six. After Hall became too feeble to work, the door to the north side was closed and that section was rented as an apartment. Following his death in 1895, his oldest daughter Florence (Mrs. John) Stockton lived in the house for twenty-five or more years. The house left Hall family ownership in 1939 when John J. Ingle acquired interest in the property, and by 1968 the building was a five-unit apartment house known as the "Florence Hall Apartments." In 1968 Old Salem, Inc bought the property from Mrs. John J. Ingle. The house remained apartments until it was restored by Mr. and Mrs. Howard Gray in 1976, who had purchased the house from Old Salem, Inc. With Old Salem's consultation, the Grays restored the house in 1977 to its 1843 exterior configuration, which involved removing a later two-story wing and porch at the rear, replacing a one-story porch and enclosed kitchen, replacing window sash, and returning the recessed front entrance to its original position.

Wash-Kitchen (reconstruction) 1976 Contributing Building
A one-story, two-bay, frame (weatherboard) wash-kitchen on stone foundation has a side gable roof (wood shingle) with flush ends and a central brick chimney. It sits on a dry laid stone foundation. It was reconstructed in 1976 to the rear of the house. The six-over-six window sash is hung with panel shutters. Solid board Dutch doors are located on the north and south elevations. Archaeological examination in the 1970s focused on the house rear porch configuration and the wash-bake house.

31FY395*40
Lot 40 Archaeology
Contributing Component to the Contributing Site

Ca. 1976 Charles Philips and John Larson, (OSI)
Lot 40, Hall Wash House Foundations.

Maiden Lane 1772 Contributing Structure
The narrow asphalt paved lane, bordered by hedges, between Lots 40 and 39 connects Main Street to Cedar Avenue at God's Acre. It is for regular pedestrian use and occasional vehicular access. This avenue to God's Acre, opened in 1772, may have been formalized as a lane when Lot 39 was re-surveyed in 1827 creating Lot 39's present 80-foot frontage.[152] Tradition says the lane was named for the two unmarried Van Vleck sisters, daughters of Charles and Christina, who were instructors at Salem College. The eldest, "Miss Lou," was a gifted painter and musician who died in 1903. The youngest, "Miss Amy," was a pianist and talented composer who outlived her sister by almost thirty years.

427 Lot 39 Beitel-Van Vleck House (reconstruction) 1976 Contributing Building
In 1831 the hatter Thomas Boner built a one and one-half story shop on Lot 39. This building was converted to a full dwelling in 1841 by the tailor, Edward Beitel, as the records noted that "Br. Edwin Beitel has changed his purchased shop through additional construction into a real house."[153] The house was purchased in 1847 by Christina (Kramsch) Van Vleck, widow of the Rev. Carl A. Van Vleck. The house remained in the Van Vleck family until the death of Amy Van Vleck in the 1930s after which time the house was demolished. Old Salem purchased the vacant lot in 1951. The lot has been the site of archaeological exploration in the 1950s and 1970s. The 1975 excavations examined the house location and the important pottery operation on the lot. The Van Vleck House was reconstructed by Old Salem Inc. in 1976 to an exterior interpretive date of 1841, to include Beitel's additions, the brick front foundation, and a pump in the yard. The façade symmetry and pedimented portico display the growing popularity of the Greek Revival style in Salem in the 1840s.

This one and one-half story frame house (weatherboard) sits against the sidewalk and has a picket fence. The house has a steep side gable roof (concrete simulated wood shingles) with flush ends and box cornice. There are interior end brick chimneys with corbelled caps. The five-bay symmetrical façade has a centered pedimented portico entry with square posts and simple balustrade on a brick foundation. The portico extends over the sidewalk and a short flight of wood steps rises at the south side. The six-panel door has a four-light transom. First floor windows are nine-over-six sash. In each upper gable end at the second-floor level are two six-over-six sash windows. Windows are hung with two-panel shutters. The foundation is common bond (3:1) brick with two casement windows on the front foundation. There is a stone portion of the foundation on the south elevation. At the rear (east) elevation is a gable roof ell on the south end of the building with exterior end single shoulder brick chimney and four-over-four sash windows. At the north end of the rear is a shed roof (standing seam metal) porch (glass enclosed) with square posts and simple balustrade. A pump over a well was

[152] Frank Albright and Frank Horton, "History of Properties in Old Salem," Old Salem, Inc., Winston-Salem, NC, 1970.
[153] "Minutes of the *Aufseher Collegium*, Nov. 1841" (Old Salem Research Files).

reconstructed to the rear of the house. The lot is otherwise open and ends at the granite wall at Cedar Avenue. The north property line adjoins "Maiden Lane," the path to God's Acre from Main Street to Cedar Avenue, named for the unmarried Van Vleck sisters "Miss Lou" and "Miss Amy."

Prior to the construction of the building which became the Beitel-Van Vleck House, Lot 39 was known as the "Potter Kiln Lot," a part of the Salem pottery complex, where wood was stored initially and later was the site of several important experimental kilns. The first of these kilns was built in 1793, expressly for firing tin-enameled pottery ("faience"), and it stood until 1805 when it was torn down. A larger kiln was built in its place, along with a smaller one which was also established on the lot. The Congregational Diacony sold the pottery business in 1829 and the kilns were razed that year.

Well and Pump (reconstruction) 1976 Contributing Structure
The well was exposed during the 1975 archaeology. The square brick foundation has a frame cover with board and batten decking. A wooden pump is set over the well.

31FY395*39
Lot 39 Archaeology
Contributing Component to the Contributing Site

1956 Frank Albright (OSI)
Lot 39 Pottery operation

1974 John Clauser (consulting archaeologist)
Lot 39 Van Vleck lot, exploration for kiln and pottery remains

Lot 38 Pottery Kiln Lot 1811 Contributing Component to the Contributing Site
In 1772, Lot 38 and many adjacent lots were used for farming by Johann George Stockburger and then after a decade, by the Single Brothers Diacony. The Pottery (across the street, Lots 48, 49) began using several lots on this east side of Main Street in the 1780s. In 1790, the *Aufseher Collegium* requested that all kiln firing be done on the east side of the street. Kilns were built on Lot 39 and later Lot 38 (in 1811), as well as support buildings. The pottery operation ended in 1829 and the kilns were razed.

On adjacent Lot 37, Thomas Christman, a saddler, built a large frame house in 1827 that included his shop; however, he and family left Salem the next year. A reconfiguration of Lots 36-39 took place in 1831, and Lots 38 and 37 were considered together for a "store lot," with the former Christman House serving as a second community store in Salem. Store manager Theodore Pfohl and family lived in the house. In 1837 the two Salem stores were sold to the storekeepers. In 1850, Pfohl built a new store building to the north on Lot 38. Documentation indicates a three-story brick store building with a three-bay façade crowned with a decorative cornice that fronted Main Street. The business grew and a new partnership with Pfohl's son Edward, and later, with Edward's brother-in-law, Joseph (husband of Julia Pfohl) Stockton, created Pfohl & Stockton in 1862.[154] This mercantile business remained in Salem until 1871 when it moved to the courthouse square in Winston. It was the forerunner of the men's fine clothier "Norman Stockton," established in 1909 and in operation in Winston-Salem until 2010.[155]

Other proprietors continued mercantile use of the store building on Lot 38 until ca. 1905. Sanborn Insurance maps from the late nineteenth century indicate numerous support structures on the lot, including wash house,

[154] Joseph Lineberger, "Mission Society Residence" (report, Salem Congregation, Winston-Salem, NC, 1993).
[155] Ibid.; Fran Daniel, "Clothier succumbs to changing times," *Winston-Salem Journal*, 24 February 2010.

well house, two barns, and a livery stable. In 1890, the house on Lot 37 was moved back from the sidewalk and a large ell added. Sanborn Insurance maps from 1890 identify an outbuilding at the rear of the Pfohl house on Lot 37 as "dwelling," suggesting African American housing. The house stood until soon after the death of Julia Pfohl Stockton in 1933. Lot 37 is owned by the Moravian Church and remains open.[156] It hosts the Wachovia Garden, a community garden to benefit of Sunnyside Ministry's food pantry.

The store building and other structures on Lot 38 were removed in 1906 in preparation for the construction of a house by Frank Stockton, son of Joseph, and family. The Colonial Revival style house was set back from the sidewalk and built by Fogle Brothers. It was a two-story frame, three bay symmetrical house with low hip roof, decorative interior brick chimneys, and full façade hipped roof porch. The Stockton house/Lot 38 was sold to the Mission Society of the Moravian Church, South in 1957 and altered into a duplex to house Moravian missionaries between assignments,[157] until 2007 when Lot 38 was purchased by Old Salem, Inc. with an interest in the archaeological potential of the pottery site. Exploratory archaeology in 2007 revealed a portion of a kiln. The house was dismantled for architectural salvage and removed in 2015 in preparation for archaeology.

31FY395*38
Lot 38 Archaeology
Contributing Component to the Contributing Site

The tests in 2007 confirmed the location of a pottery kiln on this Lot that was part of the production of specialty pottery during the operation of the Salem Pottery across Main Street on Lot 49. Excavation of this kiln location is given a high priority in the research of Moravian pottery production, a research goal that remains to be achieved.

2007 Michael O. Hartley, Martha Hartley, Jennifer Garrison (OSI)
Faience Kiln

455 Lot 36, 35 Belo House 1849 Contributing Building

Lot 35 was first used in 1772 by Salem store manager Traugott Bagge who built a "skin house" as an auxiliary building to the first community store across the street on Lot 53. Converted to a dwelling the next year, the former skin house had a series of occupants until its purchase by cabinet maker Friedrich Boehlow (Belo) in 1808. After Boehlow's death, his son Edward, also a cabinetmaker, lived with his widowed mother in the house and worked out of his father' shop after returning to Salem from study in Pennsylvania in 1834. In 1837, Edward bought the house and married his across-the-street childhood neighbor Carolina Amanda Fries (sister of Francis Fries). In 1840 he opened a dry goods store in the house. Meanwhile, in 1826, the bookbinder David Clewell built a shop on vacant Lot 35 next door. Edward's brother Lewis bought the Clewell building in 1845 and used it as a dwelling.

In 1849, Edward Belo purchased Lewis' house and began the process of building the imposing Greek Revival structure composed of two brick buildings connected by a frame section. In the proposal for the construction of this new building, Belo intended to set up two brick buildings of three stories, twenty feet wide by fifty feet deep and to connect these two buildings with a two-story frame house 110 feet wide. The frame connector was proposed to incorporate his brother's former house (from Lot 36) and his store (from Lot 35). This middle connector was to stand back six feet from the street and the western end of the side wings. A store was to be located on the first floor, and the second floor was to be used partly as living quarters for his family and partly

[156] Michael O. Hartley and Martha B. Hartley, "Archaeology at Old Salem: Protocols for Component Evaluation," Old Salem, Inc., Winston-Salem, NC, 2007.
[157] Ibid.

as storage rooms. The whole was to be roofed by tin.[158] In 1859, the middle section third story and the Corinthian pedimented porticoes were added. The third story housed rooms for store clerks and storage space.

The Belo House is painted white and has a flat roof with a modern membrane. The symmetrical Main Street façade sits against the sidewalk and has three basic parts, the brick end blocks and the middle frame section dominated by a colossal portico. Each end block is a two-bay, three-story common bond (4:1) brick building capped with pedimented gable. Window sash is nine-over-six with wide sills. Second and third floor windows have header brick flat arches. The north end block has an exterior door and chimney on the north elevation. The three-story, nine-bay frame connector has various wall treatments and windows: the ground floor has raised panels divided by plain pilasters and windows are large light six-over-six sash spaced differently than on the second and third floors; the second floor has flush siding and nine-over-six window sash; and the third floor has weatherboard (except under the portico which is flush board) and window sash is nine-over-six. Corinthian columns at the street level support a one-story decorative iron grill work gallery with shed roof across the frame section (no roof under portico). A colossal Corinthian pedimented portico (three stories high) with four columns is the central feature of this façade. The wooden columns have cast zinc pieces forming small details of the capitals.[159] The front doors in the middle bay of the ground floor at sidewalk grade are paneled doors. The letters "BELO" sit on the five-light transom.

The Belo House is built into the easterly rising lot and a one-story masonry retaining wall extends from the building's southwest corner to hold the south yard. The retaining wall is stuccoed and scored and topped with a decorative iron fence. The Bank Street façade of the Belo House is the symmetrical two-story, five-bay south elevation of the south end block and features a two-tiered porch of decorative iron work within a colossal Corinthian pedimented portico with four columns on a brick base. The centered front door is a replacement and is surrounded by an enclosed transom and sidelights. Window sash is nine-over-nine and was once hung with louver shutters.

The decorative iron work used on the house and featured on the fence along the top of the retaining wall continues along the Bank Street perimeter, which transitions to a brick wall capped with granite and iron fence. The sidewalk at Bank Street steps up along the retaining wall with granite steps and features recumbent animal sculptures along the outer wall (two dogs and a lion). Decorative iron hitching posts are along the Main Street sidewalk. Some of the decorative iron work at Belo can be attributed to noted Philadelphia foundry Wood & Perot (1857-1865)[160]; however, other pieces were cast by Edward Belo in his foundry, which he established in 1852 at the prior location of the Van Zevely mill, an area known into the twentieth century as "the Pond" (historic African American neighborhood).

The eastern side of Lots 35 and 36 end at the granite wall at Cedar Avenue. There is an opening in the wall into Lot 36 which aligns with the outer south walk of God's Acre. The 1885 Sanborn Insurance map recorded numerous outbuildings on the lot, including a large "Hot House," small dwelling, and sheds; there is also an attached kitchen on the east side of Belo House. Edward Belo greatly enjoyed flowers and had established a greenhouse on the lot with a formal garden located nearby. He supplied flowers for the decoration of God's Acre for the Easter Sunrise Service. The Slave Schedule from the 1860 Forsyth County Census listed Edward Belo as the owner of eleven slaves, male and female, from ages 1 to 65 and one slave house.[161] The one and one-half story dwelling with shed attachment just to the rear of the Belo House on the 1885 Sanborn may be the slave dwelling enumerated in the census.

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[158] Minutes of the *Aufseher Collegium*, May 1849 (Old Salem Research Files).
[159] Kim Proctor, Belo Iron Works.
[160] Ibid.
[161] Forsyth County Genealogical Society, *The 1860 Federal Census*, 208.

Following Edward's death in 1883, son Robert acquired the house and property, and opened a hotel in the Belo House, later renting rooms in it as a boarding house. In 1894, Robert became postmaster of Salem and the north end of the first floor was used as the post office. That same year, he and his wife built a large two-story house on the east end of Lot 35 near the south entrance to God's Acre. In 1899, Robert's brother Alfred, then of Dallas, Texas, purchased the western sections of Lots 35 and 36 and established the Belo Home Association in memory of his parents, which was incorporated to provide a home for "worthy women" at a nominal rent. During the Civil War, Alfred fought as a Confederate officer in most major battles of Robert E. Lee's army and reached the rank of Colonel. He left for Texas at the end of the war severely injured. He joined the *Galveston News*, eventually becoming a partner and in 1885 founded the *Dallas Morning News* which he directed until his death. He died in 1901 and was buried in the Salem Cemetery. His empire survives today as the A. H. Belo Corp.[162]

In 1900, C.S. and M.A. Hampton bought the east end of Lot 36 and built a house, subsequently purchased in 1944 by the Belo Home Association and named the "Belo Apartments." Lots 35 and 36 were clear of earlier outbuildings by this time. In 1927, the Robert Belo house was bought by G.F. and Stella Teague and then purchased in 1947 by Mrs. Caro Buxton Edwards, daughter of Agnes Caroline Belo Buxton, the youngest child of Edward and Amanda. Caro presented it to the Belo Home Association in her mother's memory and it was known as the "Agnes Belo Memorial." By 1953, the corporation was folded and the assets were transferred to Salem Congregation which undertook a major renovation in 1960-61 of the building by Frank L. Blum Construction Company replacing the interior of the Belo House with steel and concrete. Apartments and several lounges were created to provide living space for the elderly. The renovation provided space for the then current residents of the Single Brothers House (in use as the Widows House). This made possible the leasing of the Single Brothers House to Old Salem, Inc. for restoration and interpretation. The Robert Belo and C.S. Hampton houses were removed in 1994. Since ca. 2005, the Wachovia Gardens have been planted on the east half of the lots where the houses were located. A project of the Salem Congregation, the gardens supply fresh food for clients of Sunnyside Ministry, an outreach of the Moravian Church. The Belo Home continues to serve as apartment housing.

501 Lot 34 Vorsteher's House 1797 Contributing Building

In 1796 the *Aufseher Collegium* determined to build a new house for the Vorsteher, or business manager, on Lot 34 and the house was occupied on November 20, 1797 by the Warden, Br. Stotz and his family. Prior to house construction, a well with well house was located on the lot. It had been constructed in the first years of building Salem and was located diagonally across from the first houses. The well was filled in prior to building the Vorsteher's House. This was the first house in Salem to be built by a non-Salem contractor, William Grieg (Craig), and although he adhered to traditional forms, he introduced two unusual features: an A-shaped hood over the front entrance and a brick cantilever to form the cove cornice. Craig had been hired by master mason Gottlob Krause to help in the construction of the 1794 Boys School. The influence of Craig on Krause is unclear at this time.

The one-story Flemish bond brick building with dark headers has a steep side gable roof (clay tile) with a kick at the eave, cove cornice supported by brick cantilever, molded brick water table, and interior end brick chimneys with corbelled caps. Dark headers are used in herringbone patterns at each upper gable end and are a highly visible decorative finish to this corner building. The house is against the sidewalks of Main and Bank Streets on this corner lot and is built into the steep slope of this east side of Main Street where a full story cellar is accommodated. The north property line at Bank Street has a picket fence. The stuccoed stone cellar is the Main Street entry level for the symmetrical five-bay façade with a door and four six-over-six sash windows.

[162] Starbuck, *Civil War Notables,* 14; David Bergstone (Director of Architecture, Old Salem Museums & Gardens), email message to MB Hartley, 26 April 2013.

The front entrance is marked by a cantilevered gable hood with arch. It is located above a round arch opening with recessed entry at a herringbone door with lancet tracery in the arch above the door. A short flight of granite steps from the sidewalk reaches the entry and may date from ca. 1890 when the new streetcar line necessitated grade changes along Main Street. Five first floor windows of nine-over-six are hung with two panel shutters across the façade. At each upper gable end in the second floor/attic are two six-over-six sash windows hung with louver shutters and they are flanked by vertical two-light casements in the attic; there are arched one-light openings at the upper attic. Windows are set in elliptical relieving arches and have wide casings and sills. The north gable end has a lightning rod. The building is a center hall, two-room deep plan. At the rear (east) of the building, the first floor is at grade. The five-bay elevation has four nine-over-six sash windows and a centered entry with a board and batten door held by large strap hinges. The lancet tracery in arch on the façade entry is repeated here. This rear entry has a Moravian hood and granite stoop.

A decorative common bond (5:1) brick retaining wall with pilasters and corbelled top extends from the southwest building corner along the sidewalk to the south property line where it turns east and continues as a stone wall. The wall may be related to a southern addition to the building, removed by the late nineteenth century. Prior to the construction of the Salem Boys School (500 S. Church Street) in 1897 on the east end of Lot 34, the lot contained outbuildings, including a smoke house and a wood house.

The building continued to be occupied by the Vorsteher until the change in the administration of the Salem Congregation in 1873, when a Treasurer was appointed and took on the Vorsteher's duties and occupied the cellar floor; the upper floor was then used as quarters for Moravian ministers. A rear porch, an ell, and dormers were added in the early twentieth century. In 1942, renovation removed the additions, wood flooring was replaced with concrete to make the building fireproof, and it became the Moravian Archives. In 2001 the new Moravian Archives facility opened at the Archie K. Davis Center (see Lot 5, 6, 457 S. Church Street) and the Vorsteher House became the Salem Congregation facilities offices.

511 Lot 33 Heinrich Herbst House 1821 Contributing Building

The Herbst House restoration was completed in 2003, following more than a decade of research and archaeological excavation of the lot. A major part of the restoration involved moving the house back to its original location against the sidewalk. The house was also restored to its early appearance as a two-story, frame (weatherboard) house with a steep side gable roof (wood shingle) with flush ends, box cornice, and central brick chimney with corbelled cap. The full façade front porch over the sidewalk was re-created; it is the defining feature of the house and was a first in Salem when the house was constructed in 1821. The house is built into the rising slope of the lot and a full story stuccoed cellar at the sidewalk served as the shop level for Herbst, with its own entry, a herringbone Dutch door. The façade has four bays and it was a four-room plan house with the rooms clustered around the central chimney. The first floor is a story above the sidewalk level and the front porch is accessed by a wooden staircase rising from the sidewalk. The shed roof porch covers the entire width of the sidewalk in front of the house and has plain posts at both levels, with a simple balustrade at the first floor where the six-panel front door is in the second bay from the left. Nine-over-six sash windows are evenly spaced across the façade on first and second floors. Windows are hung with two panel shutters. Window sash is six-over-six at the cellar and in the upper gable ends at the third floor/attic level. Much of the original window sash was found in the attic and reused in the restoration. A shed roof porch is across the rear (east) elevation and has plain posts with simple balustrade with the north bay enclosed (frame and weatherboard). Due to the slope of the lot, the rear porch is at grade. Windows and doors have wide plain casings.

Heinrich Herbst was a saddle-maker and later added candle-making to his trade. Evidence indicates that the front cellar room on the south functioned for a time as his shop. In 1829, he constructed a free-standing saddle making shop south of his house and fronting Main Street. This movement of workspace out of the residence was seen throughout Salem from the mid-1820s. After his death in 1835, the shop was used as a warehouse, a

confectionery shop, and then again as a saddle maker's shop. Henry Winkler, son of Christian Winkler (Lot 31, 527 S. Main Street), ran a confectionary shop in the former Herbst shop 1837-1842. The Herbst House was occupied by Widow Herbst until 1843, when it was acquired by the Salem governing boards and used as a house for a retired minister and his wife. In 1861, the house and lot were purchased by Charles Brietz, the first elected mayor of Salem. It is not known exactly what happened to the 1829 shop, but shortly after the purchase, Brietz constructed a second shop over the ruin of the first shop.

The 1890 streetcar line necessitated grade changes along Main Street, and the sidewalk level was lowered about three feet in front of the Herbst House. Subsequently, the house went through major changes with alterations and stylistic upgrades. The house was moved straight back on the lot more than 19 feet and substantially remodeled. The full story cellar was gone and the house was rearranged from a central chimney plan to a center hall plan with interior chimneys. A symmetrical façade of three bays was created with a centered double door entry with three-light transom. Window sash was mostly relocated and changed to two-over-two. A rear shed roof addition was added. A full façade porch with turned posts and decorative sawn work finalized the transformation from German Moravian to American Victorian. In addition, Lot 33 was split in half and a shingle-style house was built on the rear half, fronting Church Street. This house was removed in the late twentieth century and the land is used as a parking lot. The Herbst House remained in the Brietz family until the late 1980s, when it was acquired by Old Salem, Inc. following the death of Margaret Brietz, who was in her 90s. Deep study of the lot began in the early 1990s to prepare for restoration of the house. Presently the upper levels of the house are used as offices and the cellar level at the street is guest quarters for Old Salem. Outbuildings on the lot included a woodhouse with privy, bake oven, and two shops.

31FY395*33
Lot 33 Archaeology
Contributing Component to the Contributing Site

The Lot 33 archaeology, conducted over five successive seasons, was a comprehensive study of the archaeological remains of shops and outbuildings in the yard, as well as archaeological aspects relating to the original house location. The excavations revealed two successive shop builds in one location, a woodhouse with a privy, a bake oven, and elements relating to the extant house. A substantial number of artifacts dating from the second quarter of the nineteenth century shed light on the transforming Moravian culture of that time. Pottery remains from Lot 33 led to research questions and the initiating of excavations on Lot 81 and the Schaffner Pottery.

1995 Michael O. Hartley (OSI consulting arch.), Brad Bartel (UNCG)
Lot 33 Herbst terrace, wood house, shops, and house

1996 Michael O. Hartley (OSI consulting arch.), Brad Bartel (UNCG)
Lot 33 Herbst wood house, shops, and house

1997 Michael O. Hartley (OSI consulting arch.), Brad Bartel (UNCG)
Lot 33 Herbst shops, wood house, bake oven, privy

1998 Michael O. Hartley (OSI), Brad Bartel (UNCG)
Lot 33 Herbst shops, wood house, bake oven, privy

1999 Michael O. Hartley (OSI)
Lot 33 Graduate Student Practicum.
Completion of Drawing and Record-keeping of shops; limited excavation

At some point prior to 1890, a wood-house had been constructed on the lot behind the shop, which stood through 1917. Again, archaeology on the site has shown the foundations and artifacts of this structure.

Shop archaeology: Archaeology on the shop area has exposed the cellar hole of the 1829 shop, which was dug by Herbst in 1833, after the building was constructed. The archaeological materials from the ruin include leatherworking tools as well as a heavy presence of utilitarian earthenware such as would have been used in a confectionery bakery. There is presently a strong possibility that these kitchen artifacts relate to Winkler's occupation of the shop and were left in the cellar as he moved during a stressful period. Again, archaeology in the shop area has revealed the foundations of the second shop, which stood through 1912 but was gone by 1917.

Shop in-house archaeology: archaeology on the original footprint of the house, as well as observations made of the original fabric of the extant house, indicate that the southwest room of the cellar floor was paved with brick, contained a corner fireplace, and had a ceiling of an additional layer of boards unlike the other ceilings of that level. This room had a doorway opening directly onto the sidewalk underneath the stair to the second story porch and the family quarters of that level. Evidence indicates that this doorway was for a shop operating in this southwest room beneath the upper floor residential floors.

517 Lot 32 Adam Butner House 1829 Contributing Building

Lot 32 was used as pasture early and then later for firewood storage by the bakery on Lot 31 next door. In 1825 the Single Brother Adam Butner was granted permission to construct a shop on vacant Lot 32 and to establish himself as a hat maker in Salem. The Single Brothers Diacony had disbanded in 1823, and the Single Brothers House no longer functioned. From that time, the establishment of single brethren in Salem often followed this procedure: establish oneself on a lot by building a shop which also served as a dwelling until one's circumstances permitted the construction of a residence on the lot.

In 1828 Butner proposed the plans for his house, which followed his adjacent neighbor Herbst's prototype in the design of the house against the sidewalk and the porch over the sidewalk, a plan which well accommodated their steeply sloping lots. A picket fence surrounds the lot and is a board fence at the rear. The houses are similar in form, with the Butner House featuring decorative elements of the Federal style. The two-story, frame (weatherboard) house has a side gable roof (wood shingle) with central brick chimney with corbelled cap and is on a full story stuccoed stone foundation against the sidewalk. The gable ends are pedimented and have flush sheathing and the box cornice has scrolled modillions and bed molding. The four-room plan house had four rooms clustered around the central chimney. The first floor is a story above the sidewalk level and the full façade porch is accessed by a wooden staircase rising from the sidewalk. The six-panel front door is in the second bay from the left. The shed roof porch covers the entire width of the sidewalk in front of the house. It continues the bed molding at the cornice and has four Tuscan columns with simple balustrade at the first floor, supported by plain posts at the cellar level. The façade has four bays and window sash is evenly spaced six-over-nine on first and second floors, with six-over-six sash at the cellar. Windows are hung with louver shutters. In each pedimented gable end are two six-over-six sash windows at the third floor/attic level. Windows and doors have molded casings. Built into the slope of this east side of Main Street, the full story cellar façade has a six-panel entry door and two windows. Two granite steps up to this door were needed following the lowering of the street grade in 1890 with the coming of the street car. A shed roof porch is across the rear elevation, which is at grade.

By 1829 Butner had built a bake oven and a cowshed in his yard. He sold his improvements in 1847, and in 1857 the house was leased as a town hall and watch house for the new municipality of Salem. The house passed through other owners and by the late nineteenth century, there were several outbuildings in the yard. By 1917, the Sanborn Insurance Maps show that all outbuildings and the shop had been removed and Lot 32 split in half with a new large two-story frame Colonial Revival house built on the rear (east) half fronting Church

Street. Old Salem acquired the front half of Lot 32 and the house was restored in 1961. By that time, the front porch had been lost, the door replaced by a window, and a side entry porch added to the north elevation.

525 Lot 32 Butner Shop (reconstruction) 1965 Contributing Building
The shop was built in 1825 as Adam Butner's hat shop. It is an early example of a single brother establishing himself on a residential lot following the disbanding of the Single Brothers House in 1823. The one-story frame (weatherboard) gable front building has a kick at the eaves and an interior end brick chimney with corbelled cap. It is built against the sidewalk and into the slope of the lot on a full story stuccoed foundation. The upper gable ends have small circular vents in the attic level. The street "cellar" level is three bays with six-over-six sash windows flanking a centered, double leaf front door, all set in relieving arches. The first-floor façade is a single bay of six-over-six sash window. All windows are hung with single leaf shutters. The cellar is poured concrete and, on the interior, extends to a subterranean rear level basement.

When Lot 32 was subdivided in ca. 1915, all the outbuildings and the shop were removed. The shop was reconstructed in 1965 and is presently an Old Salem retail establishment. The hat shop sells fine wool felted hats, identified by the shop sign on the southwest corner of the building.

527 Lot 31 Winkler Bakery 1800 Contributing Building
The Winkler Bakery is one of the most popular attractions in Old Salem, as an exhibit building for visitors and as a commercial establishment. The building has its origins in 1799, and from 1807 until 1926, it housed the bakery and residence of successive generations of the Winkler family.

Lot 31 was used as pasture in the early decades of the town. The first bakery in Salem, an important aspect of the economy and subsistence of the community, was located in the Single Brothers House. From the outset, this was not regarded as an ideal location, as the *Aufseher Collegium* recorded in April 1772, "As it is not best for persons of both sexes to go to the Single Brothers House, we will plan for a town bakery, where anyone can go without offense."[163] This plan did not come to fruition until 1799 when it was decided that the bakery be moved to a new location and operated by a Married Brother, and the Miksch family provided baked goods during the interim. Thomas Buttner was to be the baker and his new establishment was to be located on Lot 31, where he would build the new bakery. Buttner entered into a contract with Gottlob Krause for the construction of the building, which was to have a cellar dug out under the whole house, the lower walls to be of stone, with interior brick partitions. The upper story was to be made of "good hard Brick," with all interior walls and ceilings plastered. Chimneys were required at either end with flues as called for in the plans, and a bake oven was to adjoin the south end[164] Krause began construction in 1799, and the excavation dirt was to be deposited in the street between the Brothers House and the Store (Main Street, on the west side of the Square was very low). The house was completed shortly thereafter, although Buttner reported some difficulties in financing the construction.

The bakery is a fine masonry building in the tradition of Salem construction found in the skillfulness of master builder Gottlob Krause. The Bakery sits against the sidewalk and has a picket fence on a stone wall. The bakery is a one-story Flemish bond brick building with dark headers is on a full story stuccoed stone foundation and has a steeply pitched side gable roof (clay tile) with a kick at the eaves and interior end chimneys. The gable ends feature decorative brick work in a single chevron of dark headers below the rake and a diamond design at the peak. A brick water table, brick quoins, and cove and bead cornice are additional features of the building. All windows are set in elliptical relieving arches. With a three bay, symmetrical façade, the building is a two-room deep, center hall plan that accommodated shop and residence by floor level. The cellar level was

[163] Lot 31, Old Salem Research Files.
[164] Contract between Thomas Buttner and Gottlob Krause, 25 November 1799 (Old Salem Research Files).

designed to contain the bake shop, a wash-kitchen, and a cellar, and the first floor and upper stories were family living quarters.

The bakery was built into the slope of this east side of Main Street with a full story stone cellar that was stuccoed and painted to resemble cut stone, with the first-floor brick level above. Located on the building's south wall (at the cellar level) is the reconstructed wood-fired beehive bake oven with squirrel tail flue that is protected by an open gable roof with ceramic tile. The cellar level was the public space, with a centered entry having a herringbone Dutch door at a granite doorsill. Lancet tracery is in the elliptical arch above the door and the entry is protected by a gabled arch hood. A shop sign with sheaves of wheat hangs from the hood and identifies the business as a bakery. Three granite steps up to this door were needed following the lowering of the street grade in 1890 with the coming of the street car. Six-over-six sash windows flank the door and are hung with two panel shutters. The first floor above has three bays of six-over-six sash windows. The front door enters a center hall with baking rooms to the right and sales area to the left. A rear staircase accesses the first floor living area. The first floor is also accessed from the exterior at a rear (east) full length shed roof (wood shingle) porch that is nearly at grade. This porch, with a cellar underneath, was added in 1818. The entry door to the family quarters is a four-panel Dutch door with ogee tracery in a round arch above. The center hall has a staircase up to a two-room attic level and with an upper attic above. In the upper gable ends, each attic level has two three-over-six sash windows with two four-light casements above in the upper attic. A shed roof three-light dormer on the rear roof lights the attic staircase. Windows and doors have wide, plain casings and wide window sills.

Buttner's operation of the bakery was not completely satisfactory, either to himself or to the governing boards of Salem. The mutual dissatisfaction lasted until 1807, when through common agreement a new baker, Christian Winkler, came from Pennsylvania and bought Buttner's house, shop and business. Winkler was given permission to bake and sell baked goods and to brew and sell beer, not uncommon among bakers, as they used fermentation regularly in the production of various goods. Winkler added a woodshed in 1810 and other outbuildings over time. The woodshed has been reconstructed on the lot. He ran the bakery until his death in 1839 when his son William took over operation. His other son Henry operated a confectionary two lots north at the Herbst Shop, Lot 33, 511 S. Main Street.

A two-story brick addition was added to the north side of the bakery building by William in 1841 and housed a new sales room. At some point in the nineteenth century, a porch was added over the street, similar to the neighbors on Lots 32 and 33. The building and the bakery business remained in the Winkler family until 1926 and changed owners several times until 1953, when Old Salem, Inc. acquired the building. At this time, there was an addition to the south side and the bake oven had been removed; the front porch had also disappeared. In 1968, Old Salem, Inc. restored the building as the Winkler Bakery, and it is interpreted to its 1818 appearance, and baking is done the old-fashioned way in this place of business.

Woodshed (reconstruction) 1968 Contributing Building

Christian Winkler built a woodshed in 1810. Following archaeological exploration in 1967 and photographic evidence, the woodshed was reconstructed. It is a 16 ft. by 20 ft., timber frame, side gable (wood shingle) building with two bays. A portion of the north bay is enclosed by board and batten walls. The open south bay is regularly filled with hardwood to fire the bake oven daily. South upper gable end is also board and batten with door access to the attic level.

31FY395*31
Lot 31 Archaeology
Contributing Component to the Contributing Site

1967 Brad Rauschenberg (OSI)
Lot 31 Bakery yard and bake oven

Salem Square 1768 Contributing Structure

Initial steps in planning the new town in 1765-66 were the location of the central town square and the main north-south axis, or the main street. Salem Square is the focal point of the town and has been the location for significant buildings, including the church, the schools, the first craft shops, and the store. It continues to include the location of Home Moravian Church, and the administrative offices of Old Salem, Inc. and Salem College, as well as key museum exhibit buildings. It is a city block and bounded on the west by Main Street, on the east by Church Street, on the north by Academy Street, and on the south by West Street. The Square was restored by Old Salem in 1955 and is a grass lawn with specimen trees, a cross walk of brick, a central circle of cedars, the Market-Fire Engine House, and the Cistern and Pump. The perimeter is surrounded by a white board fence based on a description from 1793. Gates are located at each corner and there is one at the middle of the east side (for the Girls School). The Market-Fire Engine House and the water pump-over-cistern are structures located in the Square. Major events occur in the Square year-round, from the annual Easter Sunrise Service (beginning in 1772) to the July 4th observation (since 1783, the first in the country). Naturalization Ceremonies have become a part of the Independence Day celebrations, since 2011. Salem Square is owned by the Salem Congregation and maintenance is shared through a three-way lease that includes Old Salem, Inc. and Salem College.

After site selection, the Square location was moved in April 1766 a block north, where it was laid out and planted. Construction of the first houses thus began in relationship to that location. However, in April 1768, the Square was moved back to the original position to take the best advantage of elevation for a gravity-fed water system. At this time, the Square was planted with a perimeter of trees and a circle of trees in the center. The Square was the center of the town and planned for important administrative and religious buildings to be built around it. Initially the Square was cultivated and fenced to keep out wandering cattle; after 1775 it was sown with grass and sheep were used to keep the grass short.

The Square was intended to be open space, although a few structures have been built in it over time. A sundial on a pedestal was set in the Square in 1772. The stone Corpse-House was built at the east side of the Square in 1775 and was removed at some point after a new Corpse-House was built in 1803 on the north side of the new church building. In 1778 a standpipe for the water system was located at the north end of the Square for water distribution to various buildings, with excess collected in a cistern dug in 1780 at the southwest corner of the Square. Entrances and fencing styles have varied at the Square.[165] At one point, there was only one diagonal walk through the square, running southwest to northeast from the cistern to the church; however, in time the cross walk was added. The Market-Fire Engine House was built in 1803 to serve as a fresh meat market as well as a fire house to house fire-fighting equipment. A water trough for horses was on the west fence line. A cement covered cistern is located at the east side of the Square near the Girls School entrance. In 1890 a cast iron tiered fountain was placed in the center of the Square. This fountain was relocated to the Upper Pleasure Ground of the Salem College campus.[166]

Many species of trees have been planted on the Square over time, including lindens (1778), catalpas (1782 and 1788), water-beech (1784 and 1790), poplars (1800), and "Italian poplar trees" (1810).[167] In 1989, a fierce tornado ripped through Old Salem causing damage, including the destruction of nearly all the old trees on the Square, with the fortunate exception of a large tulip poplar along the west fence line. A recovery plan was

[165] Fries, *Records of the Moravians*, 6:2856.
[166] Rondthaler, *The Memorabilia of Fifty Years*, 98.
[167] Albright and Horton, "History of Properties in Old Salem," 33.

inspired by the ca. 1840 water color of the Square by E.A. Vogler (1825-1876), and the decision was made to re-create the circle of cedars in the center that he had painted. In addition, catalpas, Lombardy poplars, and lindens were added. The surviving tulip poplar (*Liriodendron tuliperfera*) was recognized by the Forsyth County Treasure Trees program in 2011, and it was noted as very tall poplar tree for an open location (height: 109 ft., diameter: 57.6 in., circumference: 181 in., crown spread: 64 ft.).[168]

A cast bronze medallion was placed in the center of the square where the walks cross as part of the celebration of the 200th anniversary of Winston-Salem in 1966 to commemorate the first July 4 observance in the United States, in Salem, in 1783. President Lyndon Johnson was invited to attend and in hopeful anticipation, a medallion was cast recognizing his presence; however, Johnson was unable to attend the ceremony and a second medallion had to be hastily cast and placed in the Square. The medallion in the Square reads: "Commemorating the First Official 4th of July Celebration in the United States at Salem, NC 1783. This plaque unveiled in the 200th anniversary year of Winston-Salem July 4, 1966." The medallion in error survived and was a surprise gift to Old Salem in 2012.

Market-Fire Engine House (reconstruction) 1955 Contributing Building

The Market-Fire Engine House stood on the Square from 1803 to 1858, located at the center of the west side at Main Street against the sidewalk. During the restoration of Salem Square in 1955, a reconstruction of the original Market Fire Engine House was made on the original foundations. It is a one-story, two bay, Flemish bond brick building with a side gable roof (painted wood shingle) with a kick at the eaves and on a stone foundation. Each bay has a wide round arched door opening, front and rear. The north end also has a wide round arched door opening and a blind window in the gable. The south end has a blind window on the main level and in the upper gable. The blind windows are set in relieving arches. There is a single chevron of dark headers below the rake in the gable ends.

The original building was erected in 1803 and accommodated fire-fighting equipment and a meat market. On display are fire engines which were the first of their kind in North Carolina. The fire engines were purchased for the protection of the town and were housed in the southern half of the building. "The Brethren ordered parts for the engines in 1784 after a fire destroyed the original Salem Tavern."[169] The smaller of the engines, used for small fires and those inside buildings, was a portable single-cylinder device. The larger was a two-cylinder pump operated by a team of four men who pulled it about on wooden wheels. These engines were inspected once a month during fire drills. Also associated with the fire house was the cistern and pump located on the southwestern corner of the Square which provided water for bucket brigades and which refilled the engines.

The northern half of the Market Fire Engine House contained Salem's first public meat market, where fresh meat and other farm products were sold regularly during the week by area farmers. Dr. Vierling (Lot 7) had raised concerns about hypertension in his older patients due to salted meat consumption and requested the availability of fresh meat. The Market-Fire Engine House was torn down in 1858 after it had been purchased by the Odd Fellows "and altered in an unseemly fashion."[170]

The records indicated that brick for the 1803 Market-Fire Engine House had been made by "Sam" in 1803. During the 1950s when this building was reconstructed, well-known local brick maker George Black, an African American craftsman, produced hand-made brick used in Old Salem's restoration work.

[168] Treasure Trees of Forsyth County.

[169] Hunter James and Frances Griffin, *Old Salem: Official Guidebook*, rev. ed. (1977; repr., Winston-Salem: Old Salem, Inc., 1994), 15.

[170] Ibid.

Cistern and Pump (reconstruction) 1955 Contributing Structure

The Salem Waterworks, completed in 1778, brought fresh spring water to town from nearly a mile away (at the Reservation) through bored logs coupled with iron collars. There were standpipes built in town, with an important distribution point from a standpipe in the north part of the Square directing water to major buildings. In 1780, a cistern was dug at the southwest corner of the Square against the sidewalk to collect excess water. It served as a public cistern and as a source for firefighting with engines and a bucket brigade.

This structure disappeared and was reconstructed by Old Salem in 1955 during the restoration of Salem Square. A square Flemish bond brick foundation supports a frame structure with an angled frame cover of thick wood battens and plank to protect the source. The wood pump with cast iron elements sits on the lower edge of this sloping structure. Two open wood steps access the pump. Reconstruction is based, in part, on details from a painting by E. A. Vogler from the 1840s. This is a favorite stop in Old Salem, where the pump continues to attract children who are thrilled by the action of pumping the pump and watching water pour out of the spout and onto the granite basin in the sidewalk.

Cistern 19th century Contributing Structure

Various wells and cisterns were proposed for the Square. This concrete capped structure is located on the east side of the Square near the Sisters' gate.

31FY395*Square
Square Archaeology
Contributing Component to the Contributing Site

1989 Michael Hammond (OSI)
Salem Square, corpse house

715 Lot 26 Nathaniel Shober Siewers House 1872 Contributing Building

Lot 26 was first used as a residential lot by Philip Transou who built a central chimney, one and one-half story log house in 1788 (the house was clapboarded in 1812). Nathaniel Schober (son of Gottlieb and Maria née Transou Schober, see Lot 28, 700 West Street) purchased the improvements in 1818. He and his wife Rebecca Hanes had a daughter Rebecca Paulina who married cabinet maker John Siewers (see Lot 102, 832 S. Main Street). She died at the birth of their son Nathaniel Shober Siewers in 1845. When he was only nine years old, his maternal grandmother Rebecca Schober died and left her young grandson financial resources for his education, as well as her property on Lot 26, the latter to be his at age 21. Her stipulations for Nathaniel's education included Nazareth Hall in Pennsylvania. His education, although interrupted by his service in the Confederate Army, was extensive. Following the war, he received his medical degree from the University of Pennsylvania and continued his studies in Europe. He returned from Europe in 1869 and began his medical practice in Salem, with his office at the residence of his father on Lot 102. Sometime soon thereafter, Nathaniel removed his grandmother's house on Lot 26 and built his own house. It was one of the first houses built during the post-war period when Salem was re-establishing the momentum generated in the first half of the nineteenth century.

Sitting back from the sidewalk a little more than the depth of the front porch, the Italianate two-story, common bond (4:1) brick house with brick foundation has a hip roof (wood shingle) with projecting eaves and two interior brick chimneys. The symmetrical façade has a wide plain cornice and three bays with a centered hip roof porch. The porch has chamfered posts with sawn lattice decoration at the balustrade and along the porch frieze. The porch is on a brick foundation. The slightly off-center entry is double leaf panel doors with sidelights and transom. Windows and doors have molded casings and wide window sills. The brick walls under the porch have penciled mortar joints. At the sidewalk, two granite steps meet the porch. Large light six-

over-six sash windows flank the entry and there are three on the second-floor façade and on other elevations, all hung with louver shutters. The house is a center hall, two-room deep plan. Across the rear (east) elevation is a one-story brick kitchen ell with gable roof and exterior end chimney, a two-story frame flat roof section, and a shed roof brick addition. There is a small gable dormer at the rear. The lot has a picket fence at property lines.

A former brick kitchen is in the yard to the southeast of the house. The rear half of Lot 26 is covered by the Gramley Library of Salem Academy and College, which was moved from Lot 28 in 1972 (See Gramley Library).

In 1875, Nathaniel Shober Siewers married Eleanor de Schweinitz and began a large family. His medical practice thrived, and the Siewers began the construction of their Gothic Revival house, Cedarhyrst (see Lot 6, 459 S. Church Street), in 1893. The family moved into their new home two years later. In 1899 he sold his first house (on Lot 26) to Phineas Horton, a dentist. The Horton family kept the house until 1979, when it was purchased by Old Salem, Inc. The house was subsequently resold with covenants. The house has retained a high degree of integrity throughout the years, the addition of a front dormer was one of the few alterations, and it was subsequently removed.

Kitchen 1872 Contributing Building
Built as a kitchen in the 1870s, the one and one-half story common bond (4:1) brick building with side gable (wood shingle) roof has a central brick chimney and open eaves with exposed purlins on the gables. It is located in the yard to the southeast of the house and presently used as a garage/storage, reached by a short gravel drive (near the south property line) from the street. The two-bay façade has a six-over-six sash window, hung with louver shutters, and an arched opening for autos. There is a six-over-six sash window in the upper gable end. A single door is located on the north end. In each upper gable is a small six-over-six sash window at the second-floor level.

723 Lot 25 Joshua Boner House 1844 Contributing Building
Lot 25 has been the location of two dwellings and a variety of outbuildings. The second house built on the lot, the Boner House, was restored in 1970 by Mr. and Mrs. P. Huber Hanes, Jr. to an 1844 interpretation. Mr. and Mrs. Hanes gave the house to Salem Academy and College for a president's house, and it continues to serve that function.

The house sits against the sidewalk and has a picket fence. The house is a two-story frame (weatherboard) building that has a side gable roof (wood shingle) with flush ends and box cornice. There are interior end brick chimneys with corbelled caps and a stone foundation. The five-bay façade has a centered main entry at a six-panel door with four-light transom. The house is a two-room deep, center hall plan. To the left of the front door is a double door entry to the northwest front room which was used as a store by Boner. Each door has two granite steps from the sidewalk. Nine-over-six window sash is hung with three panel shutters and evenly spaced. In each upper gable end is a six-over-six sash window at the third floor/attic level flanked by horizontal two-light attic casement windows. Windows and doors have molded casings. There is a partially enclosed two-story rear porch with shed roof. A brick, gable roof bake oven with a single shoulder stepped brick chimney is at the north end of a kitchen addition at the northeast. A small enclosed gable roof entry to the cellar is on the rear of the enclosed porch.

Lot 25 was first built on in 1791, when the one and one-half story log house of Johann Kuschke was erected. The building was evidently plastered at some point; however, it went through a process of early dilapidation, and was in a deteriorated state when Isaac Boner rented it from Kuschke in 1816. In 1818 Boner bought the house and built a shop on the north property line rear of the lot for his hatter's business. Isaac's son Joshua took over his father's house in 1841 and proposed to build an addition to it. On the advice of the *Aufseher*

Collegium, Joshua Boner decided to start entirely fresh by tearing down the old house and building a completely new one. This was delayed until 1844, when Boner presented a draft plan for a frame house, which was approved. He also received approval to operate a general store with his brother-in-law Rudolph Christ (son of potter Christ), which was located in the new house, completed in 1844. The store was located in the north street front room of the house and was entered from the sidewalk, through a large double door. In 1850, after having earlier built an "iron house" and a warehouse on his lot, Boner received permission to build a northern wing with about 10' frontage onto his house. This additional space appears on the Sanborn map until 1917, by which time it has been removed.

Boner was mayor of Salem during the Civil War and part of the contingency that met Union troops entering Salem April 10, 1865. The general and his staff quartered at the Boner House, and 3,000 troops spent the night on the hillside beyond Salem Creek.[171] By 1879 the property was owned by D.H. Starbuck, and in 1886 the house and property were sold to Charles R. Welfare, and there was a separate kitchen building located to the rear of the house along the north property line and a smokehouse on the southern property line. A small dwelling and a tenement fronting Church Street at the rear of Lot 25, according to the 1890 Sanborn Insurance maps, are likely African American housing, as a group of "Negro Tenements" were located just across Church Street and in the vicinity by 1895. The Slave Schedule from the 1860 Forsyth County Census listed Joshua Boner as owning two slaves, a female age 60 and a male age 17, but no slave house is listed.[172]

By 1912, only the house and detached kitchen stood on Lot 25. By 1917, the detached kitchen was gone, the 10' north addition has been removed, and Lot 25 has been split in half, with a house fronting Church Street.

731 Lot 24 Ebert-Reich House 1793 Contributing Building
This two-story frame house was begun in the last decade of the eighteenth century as a one and one-half story log house. Like other houses in Salem, expansions occurred to accommodate growing needs. The frame (weatherboard), side gable roof (ceramic tile) house with returned eaves and box cornice with bed molding has interior end brick chimneys with corbelled caps. It sits against the sidewalks of Main and Blum Streets on this corner lot with picket fence. The foundation is stone and there are regular openings with wood slatted vents. The four-bay façade has a pedimented gable portico at a stone stoop at the second bay from the south, entered from the north side by stone steps. The portico has four slender Tuscan columns with simple balustrade, and it shelters a six-panel door with a four-light transom. Nine-over-six window sash is hung with three panel shutters. Windows are evenly spaced. At each upper gable end are two six-over-six sash windows in the third floor/attic. Windows and doors have molded casings. The rear two-story shed roof frame addition across the width of the house has a shallow shed roof one-story porch enclosed at each end. There is a single shoulder chimney at the north end of the two-story addition. A frame carport is located to the rear of the house.

The house was initially constructed in 1793 as a home and workshop by wood turner Johann George Ebert. Gottlieb Schober acquired the improvements in 1795 and opened a tinsmith shop, renting it to Christoph Reich. In 1801 Reich bought the house, and it was weatherboarded that year. Reich opened a coppersmith shop, and by 1815, built a workshop to the rear of his house, facing Blum Street. After Christoph's death in 1824 (he was building the house at 813 S. Church Street), his widow and son, Jacob, continued the business. The house passed to Jacob, who became a master in 1827. In 1843, Jacob added the stoop entry to the front of the house, and it is thought, the second story at about the same time. The Slave Schedule from the 1860 Forsyth County Census listed Jacob Reich as owning one slave, a male age 37, and having one slave house listed.[173] There

[171] Crews and Bailey, *Records of the Moravians in North Carolina* , 12:6562-6563.
[172] Forsyth County Genealogical Society, *The 1860 Federal Census*, 207.
[173] Ibid., 206.

were several outbuildings on the lot in 1885 as recorded on the Sanborn Insurance map, including a detached kitchen, shed, smokehouse, and shed.

At Jacob's death in 1876, the property passed to his son William Augustus Reich. Augustus Reich, who made his living as a tinsmith, became well known as "Gus Rich, The Wizard of the Blue Ridge." The tin shop stood until the end of the nineteenth century. By ca. 1915, Lot 24 had been divided into three lots and houses were built on the other two. The early house and lot fronting Main Street were acquired by Mr. and Mrs. William K. Hoyt and renovated in 1938. The Hoyts were early proponents of preserving Old Salem. Their son continues to live in the house. The middle lot was added back to the house lot in the twentieth century and the ca. 1915 house was removed. Exploratory archaeology for the tin shop occurred in 1950. The rear of the lot remains a separate parcel and has a 1938 house (see Ada Allen House, 730 S. Church Street).

Carport ca. 1960 Noncontributing Building
To the rear (east) of the house is a two-bay, timber frame carport with a side gable roof (ceramic tile) and enclosed shed addition on the west elevation. Three sides of the building are weatherboarded. The south side is open and is reached by a short driveway from Blum Street.

31FY395*24
Lot 24 Archaeology
Contributing Component to the Contributing Site

1950 Frank Horton, (OSI)
Lot 24 Ebert-Reich lot (Reich shop)

803 Lot 23 Augustus Zevely House 1844 Contributing Building
Lot 23 was first occupied by a log building which had served as a powder magazine during the Revolutionary War on the Tavern lot across the street. When the Tavern burned in 1784, the log building was moved to Lot 23 and functioned as temporary accommodations while the Tavern was being rebuilt. When David Blum leased Lot 23 in 1842, he moved the log building to the rear of the lot, where it was used for many years as a coppersmith shop by his brother Edmund. At the front of Lot 23, David Blum built the large two-story brick building with a one-story ell to be his house. The house was never occupied by Blum; however, because his plans to operate a store were denied and in 1844, he sold the new house and the log building to Dr. Augustus Zevely (grandson of Gottlieb Schober, Lot 28), a recent medical school graduate.

The building sits against the sidewalks of Main and Blum Streets on this corner lot. The two-story, common bond (4:1) brick building with side gable roof (wood shingle) has interior end chimneys with corbelled caps and is on a brick foundation that is partially stuccoed. The Greek Revival five-bay façade has corbelled brick cornice, evenly spaced windows, and a centered front door at a stoop. To its left is a second entry door for the northwest front room, also at a stoop. Each entry is a six-panel door with three-light transom. Each stoop is an arched masonry structure with five to seven brick steps, with wrought iron hand rails, at their north sides going down to the sidewalk. The building is a two-room deep, center hall plan. There is a two-story ell (one-story ell original to 1844) with an interior end chimney. A two-story rear shed roof porch with chamfered posts and simple balustrade is on both sides of the rear formed by the ell and main block. Nine-over-six window sash is on the main block and six-over-six sash windows are on the ell and in the upper gable ends at the third floor/attic of the main block. Windows and doors have wide sills and molded casings. The side and rear yards are fenced with picket fence which continues around the rear of the adjacent house (on Blum St.) to the rear of the lot at Church St. to enclose the entirety of Lot 23.

In the late 1840s and early 1850s Zevely operated the house as an inn for overflow guests from the Tavern across the street. The ell was originally one story and was raised to two stories in the 1850s. The Slave Schedule from the 1860 Forsyth County Census listed Augustus Zevely as owning one slave, a male age 30, but no slave house is listed.[174] A two-story addition was made to the south end of the house and a large two-story front porch was extended over the sidewalk so that by 1880s, the Zevely abutted the three-story addition at the north side of the Traugott Leinbach House next door, forming expansive street front. The Zevely family held the property until 1905. The 1885 Sanborn Insurance maps recorded several outbuildings on the lot, including a kitchen, large shed, and smokehouse. By 1907, the Sanborn Insurance maps, the house without the southern addition and the Leinbach House next door without its northern addition as well; Lot 23 had been cleared and subdivided into two additional lots, each with a new house by 1917.

Salem Academy and College removed later additions and partially restored the Zevely House in 1941 for apartments. In 1976 it was acquired by Old Salem, Inc. and continued as apartments until being sold with deed and covenant restrictions for the ca. 1993 rehabilitation as the "Augustus T. Zevely Inn," Old Salem's only bed and breakfast, with twelve guest rooms. In preparation for the rehabilitation, archaeology was done on the lot in 1993. The middle parcel of Lot 23 retains a house; however, the rear parcel house was removed by Old Salem.

31FY395*23
Lot 23 Archaeology
Contributing Component to the Contributing Site

1981 Michael Hammond, Archaeological Research Consultants (ARC)
Zevely bake oven testing

1993 Loretta Lautzenheiser, Coastal Carolina Research (CCR)
Zevely yard

807 Lot 22 Traugott Leinbach House (reconstruction) 1974 Contributing Building
The Traugott Leinbach House was reconstructed in 1974 by Thomas Gray, who had previously restored the Christman House, Lot 74, 500 Salt Street. The Leinbach house is built against the sidewalk and has a picket fence surrounding the lot. The house is a one and one-half story Flemish bond brick building with side gable roof (ceramic tile) with flush ends and a kick at the eave. The box cornice has bed molding and a plain frieze board. The house has interior end chimneys with corbelled caps and is on a high stuccoed foundation. It was the last house in Salem to be constructed in the Flemish bond. Built as a house/shop configuration, the façade has five bays with two entries. The centered entry to the residence is a six-panel door with a fanlight; the shop entry is also a six-panel door. Each door has a stone door sill at a brick and stucco arched stoop with a flight of stone steps off the north ends of each, down to the sidewalk. Window sash is nine-over-six with six-over-six sash on the second floor at the gable ends and flanked by vertical two-light attic casements. Windows are hung with three panel shutters and are evenly spaced. A shed roof addition is across the rear and partially enclosed (weatherboard). The enclosed portion has a reconstructed masonry bake oven with stucco and a brick chimney. The open porch has chamfered posts with arch decoration and simple balustrade. There is a full story cellar, with grade level access at the rear due to the sloping lot. Window sash at the cellar is six-over-six with single leaf shutters.

Lot 23 was originally part of land dedicated for use by the Salem Tavern across the street. The plans for the house were presented by Traugott Leinbach in October 1823 and construction was completed in 1824. Leinbach had apprenticed to renowned silversmith John Vogler (Lot 64, 700 S. Main Street) and became even

[174] Ibid., 207.

more accomplished in hollow ware than his teacher. In 1854 Leinbach, silversmith and watchmaker, constructed a three-story addition to the north side of his house. His interests were many, including, galvanic battery operations and Daguerreotype photography. In 1860, Leinbach moved to Bethlehem, Pennsylvania and the house and lot were turned over to son Felix. The Slave Schedule from the 1860 Forsyth County Census listed Traugott Leinbach as owning one slave, a female age 13, and one slave house was listed.[175] Outbuildings recorded on the 1885 Sanborn Insurance maps included a kitchen and large shed; the attached bake oven is noted as well.

With the Zevely addition on the lot north, there was a continuous façade from Blum Street to the Leinbach House. By 1907, the northern addition to the house had been removed and by 1912, the Leinbach House was gone from the lot, which had been subdivided. A new house was built on Main Street (seemingly into Lot 23) and another new house was built on the rear half of Lot 22 fronting Church Street. Sanborn Insurance maps recorded a third house on the lot, fronting Main Street. In 1922, a fourth house was built fronting Church Street. These houses were removed in preparation for the Traugott Leinbach reconstruction in the early 1970s, with the exception of the 1922 cottage which was removed in the late 1980s, and Lot 22 was restored to its original dimension. A wash house and pump were reconstructed in the yard of Lot 22 in 1974, and the garden area has garden squares. There are excellent documentary photographs of the front, rear, and rear yard from ca. 1890.

31FY395*22
Lot 22 Archaeology
Contributing Component to the Contributing Site

2004 Michael Hartley (OSI)
Yard, testing for garden

Wash House (reconstruction) 1974 Contributing Building
The Leinbach wash house was reconstructed in 1974. It is a one-story frame (weatherboard) building on a fieldstone foundation. It has a side gable roof (wood shingle) with interior end brick chimney. The façade (west) has one door and a six-over-six sash window hung with a single leaf shutter. There are windows on the north and west elevations.

Pump (reconstruction) 1974 Contributing Structure
To the rear of the house in the yard is a pump. A square brick foundation has an angled frame cover with thick wood battens and plank decking. A wood pump sits on the upper edge of this sloping structure.

823 Lot 21 Jacob Siewers House 1845 Contributing Building
Lot 21 was surveyed out of lands belonging to the Salem Tavern in 1819 for the Single Brother Thomas Wohlfarth (Welfare) who built a two-story frame house and a cabinetmaker's shop on the lot, which were completed by 1821. In 1827, the house and shop passed to David Clewell, bookbinder and shoemaker, and the improvements were soon purchased by Jacob Siewers, a former employee of Wohlfarth. Siewers parents were Moravian missionaries on St. Thomas, West Indies, and his brother John left St. Thomas for schooling in Nazareth, Pennsylvania before coming to Salem to learn cabinetmaking from him in 1833 at age 14. In 1838-39, the Siewers brothers spent time in Milton, North Carolina working with Thomas Day, free black cabinetmaker.[176]

[175] Ibid.
[176] Kristin H. Hill, "Shrinking Doors and Painted Ghosts: The Siewers Cabinet Shop and Cultural Change in Nineteenth Century Salem, North Carolina" (master's thesis, University of North Carolina at Greensboro, 2002), 24.

Jacob Siewers lived in the house built by Wohlfarth until 1845, when he constructed a new house on the lot, the house which stands there today, a fine example of Greek Revival architecture in Salem. Siewers set a new model in architectural style and in lot development on Main Street by setting his house back the depth of the porch plus a foot or two. Christian Denke had set his house back from the street in 1832 on New Street, creating a yard, and his neighbor Christian Sussdorff followed in 1839. Francis Fries set his house back in 1840 on New Shallowford (Brookstown Ave.); however, Siewers was the first to make such a statement on Main Street.

The two-story frame (weatherboard) house has a low side gable roof (wood shingle) with returned eaves, flush ends, and a box cornice with bed molding. The exterior end brick chimneys have stepped shoulders and are early examples of this form in Salem. The house is set back from the sidewalk a little more than the depth of its front porch, the first house on Main Street to have a "front yard." There is a picket fence at the property lines. The three-bay symmetrical façade features a centered porch with four Tuscan columns and a deck above, both with simple balustrade. The entry design for the front door, with transoms and sidelights, molded surrounds and corner blocks, is duplicated above on the entry to the deck. A masonry stoop is on the sidewalk at the front center of the porch and has a short flight of stone steps with wrought iron railings at the north side. The high foundation and stoop are stuccoed stone and painted to imitate cut stone blocks. A stuccoed retaining wall extends from the north side of the porch. Windows on the façade are six-over-six large light sash flanked by raised panels and set within molded surrounds with corner blocks. Other window sash is nine-over-six and hung with paneled shutters. Four-light attic casement windows are in the upper gable ends and there are lightning rods at the gable ends. Windows and doors have molded casings. The house has a center hall, one-room deep plan. A one-story shed roof addition across the rear elevation is enclosed with a glassed-in balustraded center section.

Siewers lived in the house for a short time. He suffered financial difficulties which in part may have been the result of the fire which destroyed the Siewers brothers' cabinet shop on Lot 102.[177] Jacob accepted a call to mission among the enslaved on the Alberti estate in Florida[178] and sold the house to Dietrich Tewes in 1847. A "Negro house" was recorded on Lot 21 in 1846.[179] Tewes then sold the house to Sr. Elis. Conrad in 1851. After the dissolving of the Congregation Town in 1856 the house was deeded to Mrs. Amanda Lemly in 1859. The Slave Schedule from the 1860 Forsyth County Census listed Henry Lemly (husband of Amanda) as owning 10 slaves, ages 2-50, and one slave house is listed.[180] He owned Lots 128 and 254 also, so it is unclear where the slaves were living. The two-story frame Clewell shop was located at the corner of Main and Walnut Streets into the twentieth century and may have served as slave/African American housing.

In 1887 the house became a home for aged women. By 1900, the Sanborn Map recorded a deep rear ell and porch with a "woodhouse" also shown. By 1917, the woodhouse has disappeared and the main house is labeled "Salem Home for Infirm Widows," with two outbuildings to the rear. The facility for this institution was substantially expanded by 1928 and stretched to the rear of the lot with a structure facing Church Street. It operated until increasingly strict government regulations regarding the operation of such a home caused it to close in the late 1960s. The house was restored in 1971 and a barn reconstructed (original ca. 1824) on the south property line where the "woodhouse" had been located.

Barn (reconstruction) 1971 Contributing Building

Located along the southern property line, the one-story, frame (weatherboard) building is on a stone and brick foundation. It has a gable front roof (wood shingle) with a shed roof addition on the west side. Barn door

[177] Ibid., 106-107.
[178] Smith, *Records of the Moravians in North Carolina*, 9:4940, 4953.
[179] Arthur J. P. Edwards, "A Catalogue of Salem Dependencies, 1776-1850" (report for Old Salem, Inc., Winston-Salem, NC)
[180] Forsyth County Genealogical Society, *The 1860 Federal Census*, 207.

centered on the north elevation is access to garage with a single six panel door at shed addition. There is a six-over-six sash window in the upper gable end. Six-over-six sash window above in gable end. On the south elevation at Walnut Street, a simple board Dutch door enters at the corner of the main structure and a wide (false) opening with a board door is on the shed addition. In the upper gable end, a solid hinged board shutter covers a square loading access at the upper floor level. All are hung with strap hinges.

901 Lot 97 Dr. Christian David Kuehln House 1831 Contributing Building
The Kuehln House was constructed in 1831 as a home and apothecary. Dr. Kuehln was born in 1793 in Saxony, and arrived in Salem in 1818. He married, became the community doctor and in 1829 was successful enough to present the plans for this fine house to the *Aufseher Collegium*. The land he chose for the location of the house had not yet been taken into the Salem residential lot system, and at his request, the block was drawn to contain three lots of 120' frontage each, instead of four of 90' as intended. These newly opened lots were immediately taken. The house has survived remarkably intact and was partially restored in 1947 and again in 2012.

The house sits against the sidewalks of Main and Walnut Streets on this corner lot with a picket fence at property lines. The two-story, common bond (5:1) brick building on a stuccoed stone foundation has a side gable roof (asphalt shingle) with returned eaves, flush ends and box cornice with bed molding. The north chimney is a partially engaged exterior chimney; the south chimney is an interior one on the wall between house and shop. There is a one-story brick kitchen ell (original to 1844) with an exterior end chimney and two gabled dormers. This is an early use of the common bond in Salem, here at 5:1, with 4:1 becoming more popular in the 1840s. The two-door façade indicates the house's use as dwelling and workspace. It is unusual in that the work space is located in the south street front room, as in-the-house workspace in Salem tends to be located in the north front room. The façade is six bays with five of those the house portion with evenly spaced windows and a centered front door. The sixth bay (at the south) is the entrance to the doctor's apothecary. Each door is a six-panel Dutch door at a stone doorsill, and the main entry has a four light transom and a Moravian hood. The house is a two-room deep, center hall plan. The doors each front a masonry stoop with wrought iron railings and steps off the north ends. Window sash is nine-over-six hung with louvered shutters. Four-light casement windows are in the upper gable ends at the attic. Doors and windows have molded casings. A one-story shed roof addition across the rear of the house and across the ell is partially enclosed with frame (weatherboard) on the house end; otherwise, it has plain posts and simple balustrade. There is a full cellar under the house, ell and addition.

At some time after 1849 when his son Theodore Keehln purchased the Reich House on Lot 20, 813 S. Church Street, Dr. David Kuhln used the Reich shop building as an apothecary. The Slave Schedule from the 1860 Forsyth County Census listed Christian David Kuhln (although he died in 1859) as owning one female slave, age 60, and one slave house is listed.[181] There is a wood house shown on the 1907 Sanborn Map, although other outbuildings are not extant.

By the late nineteenth century, Lot 97 was subdivided and cottage built on the rear portion of the lot by 1890 (see 900 S. Church Street). The house remained in the hands of the Kuehln family and its descendants, the Kesters, until 1947, when it was purchased by George and Italy Waynick. The Waynicks partially restored the house in that year as a residence. Their son Dr. George Waynick, Jr. and his wife Carolyn were the next residents. At the death of Carolyn Waynick (Mrs. George Waynick, Jr.) in 2010, the house was purchased by Mark and Lisa Chandler who renovated the house and restored the apothecary door in 2012. They also purchased that portion of the rear of the lot split off in the late nineteenth century, uniting Lot 97 in its original form.

[181] Ibid.

909 Lot 98 Timothy Vogler House 1832 Contributing Building

Timothy Vogler built his gunshop on Lot 98 in 1831 following his return to Salem after a brief time in Georgia as a journeyman. Following the construction of the shop, he married and soon presented the Collegium plans for his 30' X 26' house, which were approved and his house was completed the next year.

The house is built against the sidewalk and has a picket fence around three sides of the lot. The two-story, frame (weatherboard) building with side gable roof (concrete to simulate wood shingle) has returned eaves, flush ends and box cornice with bed molding. There are interior end brick chimneys with corbelled caps and the house is on a stone foundation. There are four rooms on each floor with the front door entering the north room with the stair. This configuration is expected in Salem with central chimneys; however, the interior end chimneys make it unique. Timothy's parents had built their house on Lot 95, 823 S. Church Street, five years earlier, also on this plan. The entry is in the second bay from the left and is a six-panel door with a four-light transom at a granite stoop with wrought iron railing; the step is at the north side. Windows are evenly spaced nine-over-six sash with two panel shutters. In each upper gable end are two six-light attic casements. Windows and doors have molded casings. A shed roof porch on brick piers is across the rear (east) elevation and has chamfered posts and simple balustrade. The 1890 trolley line impacted the street level at the Timothy Vogler House. The sidewalk level remained the same; however, the street level is several feet higher.

Born in 1806, Timothy Vogler learned gunsmithing from his father Christoph (Lot 65, Lot 168), and eventually rented and operated his father's shop. After having established himself on Lot 98 as a gunsmith for over a decade, Timothy ventured a block up Main Street and successfully managed the deficit-plagued Salem Tavern from 1844 to 1846. He returned to gunsmithing and practiced this trade for a half a century, until he died in 1896. The Slave Schedule from the 1860 Forsyth County Census listed Timothy Vogler as owning one male slave, age 10, and one slave house is listed.[182] There was a log barn at the rear of the lot and another outbuilding to the rear of the house (possible slave house). Additions to the house included a Victorian style porch added to the north side and a northern extension of the back porch as an enclosed room; these were probably added in the 1870s or 80s.

The property was known as the "Horton Homestead" in the early twentieth century, as it passed to Timothy and Charlotte's daughter Mary Jane and her husband Hamilton Horton. Old Salem purchased the property and in the late 1950s, the Junior League of Winston-Salem took an interest in the work of Old Salem, Inc. and agreed to fund the restoration of the Timothy Vogler House. Completed in 1960, the house served as the Junior League's offices until the late 1980s, with a rental apartment on the second floor. The house is now privately owned. Archaeological excavation has explored the barn site and the shop.

Two large trees on Lot 98 were recognized by the Forsyth County Treasure Trees program in 2011, an American elm (*Ulmus americana*) behind the gun shop and a hybrid sugar maple (*Acer saccharum*) on the north property line (elm height: 83 ft., diameter: 38 in., circumference: 119.4 in., crown spread: 89 ft. and it was noted in good health; maple height: 79 ft., diameter: 34.9 in., circumference: 109.6 in., crown spread: 65.7 ft. and it was noted as an old tree.).[183]

31FY395*98
Lot 98 Archaeology
Contributing Component to the Contributing Site

2000 Linda Stine (contracted) under supervision of Michael Hartley, Director of Archaeology (OSI)
Testing for the barn

[182] Ibid.
[183] Treasure Trees of Forsyth County.

913 Lot 98 Vogler Gun Shop 1831 Contributing Building

With the closing of the Single Brothers House in 1823, single brethren began to establish themselves in Salem by first building a shop to use as workspace and residence until their circumstances permitted the construction of a dwelling. Because of this practice, many free-standing shops were built in the 1820s -1840s; however, the original free-standing Vogler shop is one of only five extant in Salem, and is the oldest known freestanding gun shop in the United States. It is a key interpretive building with active gunsmithing, including work on the forge.

Vogler built the one-story frame (weatherboard), gable front (wood shingle) shop with boxed cornice on a stone foundation against the sidewalk. There is an interior brick chimney with a corbelled cap serving both the fireplace in the front room and the forge in the rear. The façade has two bays with a door and window. The shop sign is an oversized carved wood cap lock rifle mounted above the door. The door is a simple plank door at a two-step wood riser. Window sash is six-over-six with simple shutters on strap hinges. The shop has two rooms, the front room and a back forge room. There are two windows and a door on the north elevation, two windows on the south elevation, and a window and an upper gable opening on the east. Paint analysis did not show any pre-1900s finishes on original fascia boards, so the building exterior was left unpainted. Original plaster walls survived with a multitude of notes, drawings, and other markings related to the gun shop. This evidence was recorded, and although most was encapsulated with a new plaster coat on top of a protective coating, some locations of special interest were left visible. The original flooring was put in storage but used to identify wear pattern locations and to anchor locations of historic shop furnishings.[184] A ramp on the north side provides ADA access to the side door.

With the impact of the trolley, the foundation of the shop was raised by a brick foundation laid on top of the original fieldstone. The shop was used as a dwelling by the early twentieth century. Many shops in Salem were converted to dwellings or other uses. After 1930, this shop had been expanded to the rear, adding a kitchen and bathroom. It was used as housing until Old Salem restored the building in 2003. It is a significant exhibit building for Old Salem where craftsmen create rifles and shotguns in the early style.

31FY395*98
Lot 98 Archaeology
Contributing Component to the Contributing Site

2000-2001 Kim Riewe and Jennifer Garrison (UNCG graduate students) under supervision of Michael Hartley, Director of Archaeology (OSI)
Vogler shop area

919 Lot 99 Eberhardt Shop (reconstruction) 1967 Contributing Building

Lewis Eberhardt built this detached shop on his lot and against the sidewalk for a blacksmithing operation in 1834. The one and one-half-story frame (weatherboard) gable front (wood shingle) shop building on a fieldstone foundation has an interior brick chimney and follows the form seen at this time in Salem. The open eaves have rounded rafter ends. The two-bay façade has a herringbone door at one granite step and a six-over-six sash window. Other elevations have six-over-six sash windows. Windows and doors have molded casings. The upper gables have four-light casements. Evidences of a foundation uncovered in the restoration of the house in 1950-51 were believed to be the remains of this shop.

921 Lot 99 Lewis Eberhardt House 1832 Contributing Building

Lot 99 was originally part of Tavern pasture and meadow land that was cleared and fenced by 1780, and probably before. This block became residential lots when Dr. Kuehln requested his lot at the corner of Main

[184] David Bergstone (Director of Architecture, Old Salem Museums & Gardens), email message to MB Hartley, 26 April 2013.

and Walnut Streets (1829-30), and the block was divided into three residential lots. Timothy Vogler built his shop in 1831, and Lewis Eberhardt asked for the corner lot to the south. Lewis was the son of clockmaker Ludwig Eberhardt, who had arrived in Salem in 1800 from Germany, just in time to work on the clock in the new church (Lot 12). Young Lewis was a locksmith and intended to build a house with shop, which he proposed to the *Aufseher Collegium* to carry on his trade as a locksmith. He received permission for construction of this building, and it was still under construction by the writing of the annual Salem Memorabilia in December of 1831 which recorded a "dwelling and workshop." The house and shop were finished by 1832, by which time Eberhardt had married, and in 1833 he received permission to construct a blacksmith shop on his lot north of his house, to supplement his income.

The house is built against the sidewalks of Main and Race Streets at this corner lot with surrounding picket and board fencing. The one and one-half story frame (weatherboard) building with a side gable roof (concrete to simulate wood shingle) with flush ends and box cornice is on a high stone foundation, due to street grade drop with the street car line in 1890s. It has four rooms clustered around a central brick chimney with corbelled cap and is the latest extant example of this form in Salem. The three-bay façade has a four-panel door with four-light transom and two windows. At the entry is a frame stoop with a simple railing and a flight of steps off the north side down to the sidewalk. Window sash is nine-over-six on the first floor and there is one six-over-six sash window in the north gable end and two on the south gable end at the second-floor level. Windows are hung with two panel shutters and are evenly spaced. Doors and windows have molded casings. At the north side of the house and against the sidewalk is a one-bay frame (weatherboard) shed roof addition that is a reconstruction of the first shop, and its roof ties to the roof of the rear porch. It has a four-panel entry door at a granite step and wood shingle roof with an interior brick chimney. There are three six-over-six sash windows along the north elevation. Across the rear (east) of the house is a full width shed roof porch with chamfered posts and simple balustrade which is enclosed at the north end and has a solid wall at the south end at the street. A well house is to the rear and the free-standing shop to the north.

Following Eberhardt's occupancy, the house passed through a succession of residents. Lot 99 was subdivided by 1890, with the rear half becoming two separate lots fronting Church Street, now occupied by two later houses. By 1950 the Eberhardt House contained three separate apartments, each complete with kitchen and bath, but excepting one addition, the house appeared to have been stable through time. The major alteration was the removal of the lean-to at the north end of the building, which was known to exist from a drawing on the 1840 map of Salem. A new room was added in its place, and a substantial portion of the original main north wall removed.

Lewis Eberhardt's 1832 house was the first restoration in the Old Salem historic area, following the creation of Old Salem Inc. in 1950. It was also the first restoration by a private individual, Frank Horton, who restored the house in 1951 to its original configuration. Mr. Horton was also the leader of research at Old Salem, Inc. Also involved in this first project were many early preservation proponents, including Dr. George Waynick, Jr., John E. Griffin, Dr. Adelaide Fries, Bishop Douglas Rights, and Miss Ada Allen, all early proponents of the restoration effort. In addition, a fruit stand which had been built in the general location of the free-standing shop was removed. A well/dairy house just behind the house was reconstructed in conjunction with the restoration work. In 1967 Eberhardt's free-standing blacksmith shop, originally built in 1834 just north of the house, was also reconstructed.

Well/dairy house (reconstruction) 1967 Contributing Building

The frame, one-story, side gable roof (wood shingle) building has three bays. The western bay is open at the well area and has a wood floor, the center bay is enclosed (weatherboard) and has a plank door with strap hinges on the south, and the eastern bay is partially enclosed and has brick pavers instead of a floor. The two

end bays have open exposed rafters. The supporting posts are chamfered. It was reconstructed based on archaeological and historical documentation.

31FY395*99
Lot 99 Archaeology
Contributing Component to the Contributing Site

1950 Frank Horton (OSI)
Eberhardt shop

2005 Michael O. Hartley (OSI)
Yard, testing for garden

1100 block Main Street Bridge ca. 2000 Noncontributing Structure
A bridge at the Main Street crossing of Salem Creek was not present until 1890 when the street car line was built in Salem and extended over the creek to the new suburb of Washington Park.[185] Prior to that, maps of Salem recorded only one bridge crossing the Wach (Salem Creek), and that crossing was at the Waughtown Road bridge location, within one hundred yards of Main Street. With flooding, etc., bridges were difficult to maintain and two bridges in the same place was unnecessary. There was a short connector from the Waughtown road to Main Street on the south side of the creek. Main Street then headed south to where it linked the Road to Salisbury. Salem was first located in Rowan County (1753) with the courthouse location in Salisbury, North Carolina. From Salisbury, the road continued south into South Carolina.

The ca. 2000 bridge replaced a twentieth-century bridge and was constructed by the North Carolina Department of Transportation as part of a major reworking of the intersection of Old Salem Road, Main Street, Waughtown Street and Salem Avenue in preparation for the Southeast Gateway redevelopment. A large traffic circle was installed. The four-lane concrete bridge with sidewalks carries Main Street over Salem Creek just east of the confluence with Town Run/Tanners Run. Interestingly, the short connector between Waughtown and Main Street persisted until this ca. 2000 project. Waughtown Street now T's into Main Street at a stoplight intersection, and the 1921 Waughtown Street bridge was downgraded to a pedestrian bridge.

S. Main Street
West Side

300 Lot 86 Fire Station (former) 1958 Noncontributing Building
Constructed as a fire station, this one-story building with Flemish bond walls expresses the Moravian Revival style in its design and scale. The building façade sits back from the Main Street sidewalk a few feet and the north elevation is against the sidewalk at Cemetery St. Although the façade was designed with four bays of vehicular doors (for fire trucks), the expected elements of late-eighteenth century Moravian architecture are present: brick bond, steep side gable roof with red tile, kick at the eaves, cove cornice, gabled dormers, window sash set in relieving arches, stuccoed foundation, and Moravian hood on pedestrian door at the north elevation. Window sash is eight-over-eight and there is an ell with a flat roof three bays deep. The former garage doors were replaced with 30 light windows. Renovated in 2011 and again in 2014 as offices.

The E.A Vogler Map of 1876 listed Lot 86 as owned by "A. Steiner" and Sanborn maps from 1895 show a house at the northeast corner of this lot. In 1912, the Salem Town Hall (301 Liberty Street) was built on the west end of Lot 86 and housed Salem's "Rough & Ready" Fire Department. Following consolidation of

[185] Michael O. Hartley and Martha Hartley, "Salem Creek Tour: History and Nature" (tour booklet, Forsyth Creek Week, March 2014).

Winston and Salem in May 1913, it became known as Fire Station No. 2. The 1958 building was connected to the 1912 building at the rear and they were a fire complex.[186] When a new city fire station replaced Stations No. 1 and 2, the 1958 building ceased to be a fire station and was sold.

326 Lot 44 Wells-Brietz Store 1907 Contributing Building
This two-story commercial building with a flat roof has a façade in stretcher bond brick with other elevations common bond. It sits against the sidewalk. The store front has a centered recessed entry with transom and angled plate glass windows to a single door. Flanking the entry bay are store fronts with three-part divided windows, paneled skirting below, and multi-paned transoms above. The second floor has four large divided light metal casement windows, each with a center operable panel, and the two middle windows are closely paired. The façade is fairly unadorned; however, three horizontal brick panels separate the first and second floors, a band of soldier coursing is on the upper façade, and there is a simple brick corbelled cornice. The building stretches around the back of its neighbor at 330 S. Main St. in an "L" to a three-story façade on Brookstown Avenue with a re-worked store front. The second and third floors have three bays each, of the large metal windows as on the façade.

Lot 44 and adjacent Lot 85 to the north were occupied by the Meinung Carriage Works. Wheelwright Henry Meinung built a carriage making shop in 1836-37, a blacksmith shop in 1837-38, and a one-story house in 1841.[187] The property remained in the Meinung family until the early twentieth century. The Slave Schedule from the 1860 Forsyth County Census listed Henry Meinung as the owner of three male slaves and one slave house.[188] Lot 44 was subdivided ca. 1905, and W.C. Wells purchased a parcel in 1906. By 1907 a small two-story building was built that was enlarged by 1912 to the approximate footprint of the current Wells-Brietz building. Brietz entered into a partnership with Wells, and the Wells-Brietz Co. functioned until 1950, beginning with general merchandise and later furniture. After some years of vacancy, the building was renovated in 2014.

330 Lot 44 Commercial Building ca. 1910 Contributing Building
Romanesque Revival features characterize this three-story commercial building with a rubbed brick stretcher bond façade and other elevations common bond. The façade is capped by a decorative bracketed metal cornice with a small centered gable, and end finials. The roof is flat. The first-floor commercial store front sits on a granite sill and has a recessed entry, marked by fluted pilasters, with angled plate glass windows to double doors. The entry bay is flanked by plate glass windows. A side door at the far right accesses a stairway to upper floors. A decorative cornice with dentils is above the transom and separates the ground floor from the three-bay upper floors above. The second floor has paired one-over-one sash windows with granite sills and lintels. Corbelled string course separates the second floor from the third floor, which has three paired decorative arched one-over-one sash windows set in three larger round arches. The south elevation of the building shows the marks of a predecessor two-story neighbor, now gone. At the third-floor level on this south elevation are one-over-one sash windows set in relieving arches. The lot slopes to the west and the end bay on the south elevation at ground level has a tall, wide archway (filled with modern brick).

Lot 44 and adjacent Lot 85 to the north were occupied by the Meinung Carriage Works. Wheelwright Henry Meinung built a carriage making shop in 1836-37, a blacksmith shop in 1837-38, and a one-story house in 1841.[189] The property remained in the Meinung family until the early twentieth century. The Slave Schedule from the 1860 Forsyth County Census listed Henry Meinung as the owner of three male slaves and one slave

[186] Phillips, "Salem Town Hall," Section 8:12.
[187] Albright and Horton, "History of Properties in Old Salem," 16.
[188] Forsyth County Genealogical Society, *The 1860 Federal Census*, 208.
[189] Albright and Horton, "History of Properties in Old Salem," 16.

house.[190] Lot 44 was subdivided ca. 1905, and by 1907 a one-story commercial building was located at #330-332. By 1912 the present three-story building was in place with various uses including post office, printing operation, and a lodge on the third floor. George Keehln (see Lot 97) ran the printing operation "Crist and Keehln" in the building in the early twentieth century.[191] Crist and Keehln had purchased the rights to *Blum's Farmers' and Planters' Almanac* from John Christian Blum's descendants and published the almanac until it was sold in the 1920s to Goslen Printing, Winston-Salem.

Lot 45, 46 Coffee Pot 1858 Contributing Object

The Coffee Pot has become an icon for Winston-Salem as a symbol of welcome and hospitality. The seven foot three-inch-tall coffee pot with a 64-inch base was manufactured in 1858 as an advertisement for tinsmiths Samuel and Julius Mickey. The "sign" originally stood out front of the Mickey tin shop, about two blocks north of its present location, at 200 S. Main Street (the former southwest corner of Main and Belews Streets). After standing in that location for 100 years, the coffee pot was moved to Lot 45 in 1959, in anticipation of the construction of Interstate-40 (now I-40 Business) through downtown Winston-Salem and the destruction of the Mickey shop.

The Coffee Pot sits on a landscaped traffic island constructed as part of the Old Salem Road by-pass in 1956-58. The traffic island is at the intersection of Main Street, Old Salem Road, and Brookstown Avenue. The Coffee Pot is surrounded by a large flower bed that is maintained by area neighbors. Its location is at the eastern end of original Lot 45.

Joseph Stauber built a blacksmith shop on Lot 45 in 1828 and a house in 1831-32; in 1834 he built a small house for his father in the yard. Philip Reich purchased the improvements to the lot in 1849. Lot 46 to the south, also part of the traffic island pattern, was the location of the David Clewell bookbinders shop in 1837 and his house in 1839. His son-in-law, Robert Jenkins expanded the house in the second half of the nineteenth century.[192]

416 Lot 47 Owen House ca. 1920 Noncontributing Building

The one and one-half story Colonial Revival brick bungalow (running bond veneer) has a steep side gable roof (slate) with a full width, three-bay shed dormer resting on an engaged full façade front porch supported by square outer brick piers and inner fluted Doric columns. The entrance has fluted pilasters, an elliptical fan light and sidelights. The sash windows are six-over-one. A band of brick soldier coursing runs between the foundation and first floor. On the south elevation, quarter-elliptical attic windows flank an engaged single shoulder chimney. The center hall plan house has been reconfigured as a duplex, with one unit on the first floor and one unit on the second. There is a two-story rear ell with infill clapboard in several areas and rear access and a metal open fire stair. The rear elevation is lower and has walk out access to basement level.

There are many layers of use in this lot's history. Lot 47 was laid out for the blacksmith George Schmidt who built a shop and log house in 1768. The lot was laid out with a wider street frontage than other residential lots. Blacksmith Samuel Schultz took over the operation in 1788 and bought the improvements on the lot in 1790, which included, in addition to the house and shop, a well, coal shed, bake oven, dry house, pig stall, garden and fruit trees. The property passed out of Schulz's hands in 1823 to a carpenter, John Martin Lick. Charles Kramer, a saddler, purchased the improvements in 1831, and tinsmith Edward Reich purchased them in 1841. The J. Renard store was built on the corner with Fish Alley by 1880 and the lot included the grocer, a hothouse, and dwelling. By 1890, there were three dwellings fronting Main Street on Lot 47. The parcel adjacent to Fish Alley had a large "hot house" with a "heating boiler." This configuration remained until 1912 when two houses

[190] Forsyth County Genealogical Society, *The 1860 Federal Census,* 208.
[191] David Bergstone (Director of Architecture, Old Salem Museums & Gardens), email message to MB Hartley, 19 August 2014.
[192] Albright and Horton, "History of Properties in Old Salem," 17.

were replaced by the Brickenstein-Leinbach House (moved to Old Salem Road in 1990). The Owen House was then constructed at the north end of the lot. It was given to the Salem Congregation ca. 1930 by the family and has served various residential needs over the decades: ministers, retired missionaries and others. The property remains in the hands of the Salem Congregation.

Lot 47 Garage ca. 1920 Noncontributing Building
The garage faces Salt Street and was associated with the Brickenstein-Leinbach House built on Lot 47 in 1907. The house was removed from the lot in 1990 (see Old Salem Road). The one-story brick garage has stepped side walls and a flat roof. The façade has three sliding wood paneled and glazed garage doors. The building is used to house Heritage Carriages which provides horse-drawn carriage experiences for Old Salem visitors. An attached fenced area contains the recycling center for Old Salem residents.

428 Lot 48 Shaffner House 1874 Contributing Building
This fine example of the Second Empire style, the Shaffner House, is symbolic in many ways. Associated with three historically significant families in Salem: Shaffner, Vogler and Fries, the house represented growth and expanding wealth of Forsyth County in the 1870s and that manifestation in the town of Salem. In addition, the house was also a hotly-debated preservation issue during Old Salem's first forty years, with many eager to remove it as an intrusion and interpret the important early pottery site on the lot.

Lot 48 was laid out larger than usual to accommodate the Salem Pottery, a Congregation-owned business, which was the source of production for much of the famous Moravian ceramic tradition. A half-timbered L-shaped building, the Sixth House, was staked out in 1767 and completed the next year as the pottery shop and home for the potter, Gottfried Aust. Aust was followed by Rudolph Crist, and finally John Holland. Lot 49 next door at the Fifth House also served the pottery. The pottery operation as a Congregation business ended by 1829, and Holland purchased the business and continued some work; however, Heinrich Schaffner was brought to Salem from Germany to be the potter, with his operations on Lot 81 by 1834. Holland died in 1843 and the Sixth House was divided into four parts and served various functions, including the Concert Hall (used for many public functions, including museum as precursor to the Wachovia Museum), the Temperance Society, the 1849 Forsyth County courthouse, and as a brief location for an elementary boys classroom. The lot was sold at auction in 1865 to John Nissen, who in turn sold it to Dr. J.F. Shaffner in 1868 for $2000.[193] Shaffner, a Salem native and son of potter Heinrich Schaffner, was then recently back from service as a doctor in the Civil War. A protégé of Francis Fries since before the war, Shaffner became a prominent physician and was an active participant in the railroad, industrial pursuits, the Moravian Church, and the Town of Salem.

By 1871, Dr. Shaffner was operating a drug store in a building constructed by Nissen on Lot 48. The pottery buildings were cleared and construction of the Shaffner House began in 1873 by Fogle Brothers Company. Elias A. Vogler was the architect of this new house for his niece Caroline Fries (daughter of Francis and Lisetta Vogler Fries) and her husband Dr. Shaffner. Vogler was an artist and former merchant who had designed Salem Cemetery (1857) and stylistic renovations to homes in Salem in the 1870s. Caroline drew on a trust fund left by her father to help with the building cost of the stylish new house. It was the first large house to be built in Salem after the Civil War.

The highly decorative, two-story brick house on a brick foundation has a clipped-corner, gray slate Mansard roof with concave sides. The house was set well back from the street and connected to the pre-existing drugstore and an icehouse by several porches. The main block of the house is five bays and has a pressed brick façade of running bond (other elevations common bond) with many decorative features, including red glass transoms and sidelights at the arched paneled double door centered entrance, richly ornamented pediments and

[193] Ibid.

bracketed sills at the tall four-over-four sash windows, and a center-bay tripartite window above the portico. There are pilaster strips at the corners, rectangular brick panels between paired scrolled brackets set on small molded shelves supporting wide eaves, and decorative hood molds at the round arch dormers. The tall brick end chimneys feature recessed arches above the roof line (south corbelling is missing). The paired brackets and brick panels at the cornice continue around the house; however, other decorative features are less apparent on other elevations. A large frame decorative bay window room on the south elevation served as a greenhouse for Dr. Shaffner.

Caroline Fries Shaffner commented on the 1874 move into the new home in her diary: "Our house was not completed until June much to our annoyance....On Jun 9th Husband and myself started North taking Henry with us...We purchased our furniture part in Philadelphia and part in New York...We moved into our new house in July and were soon comfortably fixed. 'Tis with varied emotions that I think of this move...we were busy all of the fall getting our house in order."[194]

The center hall plan house utilized a former brick smokehouse in the yard as a kitchen. The house cellar is the location of a brick well. Dr. and Mrs. Shaffner, their four children and an African American cook, "Nannie," lived in the house without making changes until 1906-07 when a rear frame addition was built to house bathroom and plumbing fixtures. Previously, around 1904-06, the level of the yard had been raised to meet the street level after the grade had changed with the introduction of the street car in 1890. Following the deaths of Dr. Shaffner and his adult son John Francis, Jr., their widows (Caroline and Margeretta, respectively) had changes made to the house and lot in 1913. The drugstore and icehouse were removed and a two-story brick addition (with one-story rear brick section) was made to the north side of the house by Fogle Brothers. A new dining room and kitchen were included in this addition which is dominated by a large bay window on the first-floor façade, the remaining fenestration (without decorative pediments and sills) and roof line continue from the main block. The three-bay front porch was altered at this time from Italianate to Classical Revival with four Ionic columns and a modillioned cornice. The 1874 main block and the 1913 addition blended together to create a unified and pleasing whole.

Shaffners continued to live in the house until 1938, when Margeretta moved to the Moravian Church Home on Main Street. The house stood empty until 1944 when it was acquired by Evan and Emma Norwood, Moravian missionaries just returned from China. They remodeled the house as six apartments, one of which was their residence. Their son John assumed responsibility for the property after they left. It was during the Norwood family's ownership that the house became the subject of great controversy in the debate of the restoration in Old Salem. Because of the pottery site significance and because the Shaffner house was beyond the interpretive dates for Old Salem (1766-1856), there was a strong desire to acquire Lot 48 and remove the house. John Norwood repeatedly refused to sell the property for demolition. His brother Wilson took care of the house following John's death in 1989, and it was not sold until 1994 to the current owners, the Bambachs, who restored the house as their single-family residence.

The yard of Lot 48 contains the kitchen and a shed. In addition, the retaining wall at the Salt Street end of the lot is interesting in its several layers. The base is common bond brick (6:1) with a layer of rough laid stone, and capped by another layer of brick. There are multiple archaeological opportunities on Lot 48, including the pottery operation and the early Shaffner occupation. A granite marker with bronze plaque is located at the northeast corner of the lot against the sidewalk and commemorates the brief use of Lot 48 as the site of the Forsyth County's first courthouse business. The plaque reads: "Site of Salem Concert Hall in which were held the first courts of Forsyth County 1849-1850." The courthouse business moved to Winston after the classical,

[194]"Caroline Fries Shaffner Diary," in Peery, "The John Francis Shaffner House," 33.

temple-front Forsyth County Courthouse on courthouse square, designed by Francis Fries, was completed in 1850.

Kitchen ca. 1850 Contributing Building
Directly behind the house is a two-story, common bond brick (4:1) building with a side gable roof (metal) with open eaves and a central brick chimney. The building was constructed as a smoke house and used by the Shaffners as a kitchen by 1874. Window sash is six-over-six. A one-story frame, shed roof addition on the west elevation has plate glass windows. This configuration was recorded on the 1885 Sanborn Insurance map.

Shed ca. 1875 Contributing Building
At the rear of the lot on the north property line and adjacent to Fish Alley is a one-story frame barn with board and batten siding on a common bond brick foundation. The side gable roof (metal) has open eaves. The south elevation is open as a two-bay garage.

434 Lot 49 Fifth House (reconstruction) 1976 Contributing Building
The Fifth House site was the place that stimulated the creation of Old Salem, Inc. when Lot 49 became the proposed location for a large supermarket in 1947. This threat led to community action resulting in protective zoning laws, the creation of the Old Salem Historic District, and eventually to the significant North Carolina legislation known as "The Old Salem Act."

The reconstruction of the Fifth House re-established an important element in the row of first houses built on Main Street in Salem in the 1760s. These *fachwerk,* or half-timber, one-story houses demonstrate in materials, form and plan the building traditions brought from Central Europe. The row of first houses (three reconstructions and one original), provide one of the most moving and dramatic elements in the Old Salem, Inc. restoration.

The site for the Fifth House was staked out in 1767 and the raising of the house was begun in that year. The collapse of a wall of the cellar delayed completion of construction until 1768. The one-story, *fachwerk,* or half timber, with brick infill *flurküchenhaus* has a large central brick chimney with corbelled cap and stucco band, steep clay tile side gable roof with a kick at the eave, an asymmetrical three bay façade, and a stone foundation. The house sits against the sidewalk and has a picket fence. The three-bay façade has two six-over-six sash windows and a six-paneled door. Other elevations have six-over-six sash windows as well. In each upper gable end is a three-over-six sash window at the second floor/attic level, with a small vent in the peak above. The full-width rear porch has a shed roof (wood shingle) and timber frame supports.

The house was used initially by craftsmen who shared the building with "stranger" workmen brought in to help with building needs of the new town. Surveyor Ludwig Meinung lived in the house until 1780, which by that time had become an adjunct to the Salem Pottery next door on Lot 48. Potters Gottfried Aust, followed by Rudolph Crist, both used the house for storage of materials and inventory, and Lot 49 was the site of an important experimental kiln during the pottery operation. The full width back porch was added in 1805 and at some point, the building was weatherboarded. Pottery journeymen used the Fifth House attic for living quarters. Crist lived in the house from his retirement in 1821 until his death in 1833. Christian Ebert bought the house in 1842, enlarged it, and added a second story. With the coming of the streetcar in 1890, houses along this side of the street were raised 4-5 feet. The Fifth House was moved to the rear of the lot and then disappeared. The 1895 Sanborn Map indicated a "Negro D." (Negro dwelling) located to the rear of the Fifth House as a one and one-half story house.

The Fifth House site has been the subject of several important archaeological excavations which have demonstrated substantial information on the house, the pottery complex, and other significant activities. After

Old Salem, Inc. acquired the site in 1975, it was sold to Bernard Gray who reconstructed the half-timbered structure in 1976 to an 1805 appearance, according to Old Salem Inc. specifications and plans on its original location. Presently, in addition to the reconstructed house, Lot 49 continues as an important archaeological site.

31FY395*49
Lot 49 Archaeology
Contributing Component to the Contributing Site

The archaeology conducted on Lot 49, particularly by Stanley South and Garry Stone, provided substantial information about the production of pottery on this lot and on the adjacent Lot 48 (seen in the excavation profile on the line between the two lots), as well as the Fifth House ruin. While these excavations provided important information that remains basic to ongoing research into Moravian pottery production, they more importantly point to the need for further excavation on Lot 48 as well as on Lot 38 across Main Street.

1956	Frank Albright (OSI) Pottery operation
1965	Stanley South, George Demmy (Office of State Archaeologist) Fifth House
1967	Stanley South, Garry Stone Fifth House
1968-1969	Stanley South, Garry Stone Fifth House

438 Lot 50 Fourth House 1768, 1966 Contributing Building

The oldest surviving building in Salem, the Fourth House was constructed as a family house by the Congregational Diacony in 1768 and reflected the Germanic traditions of the Moravians in its materials, form and plan. An "outside" mason was considered for work on the cellar as a trial; heretofore, construction was by Brethren from Bethabara and those residing in Salem. It was one of six similar *fachwerk* houses along the west side of Main Street; it is the only original one remaining and three others have been reconstructed.

The one-story, *fachwerk,* or half-timber frame house with brick infill has a large central brick chimney with corbelled cap and stucco band, steep clay tile side gable roof with a kick at the eave, an asymmetrical three bay façade, and a stone foundation. The house sits against the sidewalk and has a picket fence. This one-story, three room *flurküchenhaus* has a full cellar below street grade. The three-bay façade has two six-over-six sash windows and a six-panel door. Other elevations have six-over-six sash windows as well. In each upper gable end is a three-over-six sash window at the second floor/attic level, with a small vent in the peak above.

Charles Holder, a saddler, was the first occupant of the Fourth House. He and his family leased the house and lived there until his death in 1808. At some point the building was weatherboarded. During Holder's residency, a garden was located on the lot. Subsequent occupants were approved to construct a cow shed and a bake oven in the garden (1810-1811). The house was purchased from the Diacony in 1844 by Henry Ruede for $500. During Lewis Porter's residency in 1889-90, the trolley came to Salem causing the street elevation to be altered. Many buildings were affected by this grade change. The Fourth House was moved back away from the street and raised several feet.

The Sanborn Insurance maps documented the sequence of events from 1885 through 1917. The 1885 map showed the Fourth House directly on the sidewalk, with a smaller dwelling on Lot 50 just to the north of the Fourth House, and two "sheds" to the rear of the house. An unidentified building, possibly a stable, is shown on

Salt Street at the rear of the lot. In the period between the 1885 and 1890 Sanborn Insurance maps, the Fourth House moved several feet west of the sidewalk, as a result of the 1889-1890 trolley. The small building on the north edge of Lot 50 had become a cobbler's shop. A small two-story dwelling was at the rear of Lot 50 facing Salt Street. The 1895 Sanborn map showed a continuation of this pattern, as did 1900 and 1907, with the exception that the shop had been joined to the Fourth House and an outbuilding had disappeared. The 1912 Sanborn showed substantial change. The Fourth House had been relocated on the lot again, moved to the northwest, and a new building constructed on the southeast corner of the lot. This new building contained a barber shop. The small dwelling on Salt Street continued in its location. This pattern carried into 1917, with the exception that the original outbuildings in the center of the lot had disappeared and a new small outbuilding had been constructed.

By the early twentieth century, the house had stylistic updates with a large front porch, double front doors, additional windows, center bay wall dormer, etc. It was in this state in 1936 "with no modern conveniences" that the Forsyth County Committee of the Society of Colonial Dames purchased the building, altered and partially restored it and "rented the house to cultured tenants."[195] In 1966 Old Salem, Inc. entered into a lease agreement with the Colonial Dames for the Fourth House. It was moved back to its original position against the sidewalk and restored to a 1768 period of interpretation. The timbers and much of the brick infill are original. The Colonial Dames inspect the property on a regular basis, which is a rental residential property.

Occupants/Owners: Charles Holder, born in PA, saddler, (1772-1808); Charles Gottlieb Clauder, assistant Warden, forester (1810-1843); Gottlieb Byhan, retired minster from Friedland (1841-1844); Henry Ruede (purchased house 1844-1855); Edward Belo (1855); Orren Mitchell (1855-); Nelson Brown (1858-); William Detmar (ca. 1876); Lewis M. Porter (ca. 1889); G.F. & Stella Teague (-1936); Colonial Dames (1936-present).

31FY395*50
Lot 50 Archaeology
Contributing Component to the Contributing Site

1964 Frank Albright (OSI)
Fourth House testing

440 Lot 51 Third House (reconstruction) 1969 Contributing Building
As is true with the reconstructed First House and Fifth House, this reconstruction of one of Salem's earliest buildings returns the important massing of this early building type along this first residential block of Main Street.

As is indicated by its name, the Third House was part of the initial construction of Salem on Main Street, and was staked off on 13 February 1767. The *fachwerk,* or half-timbered frame house with brick infill has a large central brick chimney with corbelled cap and stucco band, steep clay tile side gable roof with a kick at the eave, an asymmetrical three bay façade, and a stone foundation. The house sits against the sidewalk and has a picket fence. It is a one-story, three room *flurküchenhaus* with a full cellar below street grade. The three-bay façade has two six-over-six sash windows and a six-paneled door. Other elevations have six-over-six sash windows as well. In each upper gable end is a three-over-six sash window at the second floor/attic level, with a small vent in the peak above.

The first residents of the house were in by early 1772, the year Salem was formally occupied. In May of that year, Valentine Beck signed the indenture, one of the first two indentures signed in Salem. Beck lived in the house until 1776, after which it was occupied by a succession of families. It is known that the cellar was used

[195] Colonial Dames publication (Lot 50, Old Salem Research Files).

as a large kitchen in the 1780s; the records indicate that this room was used to quarter a group of sick soldiers during the Revolutionary War. At some point the building was weatherboarded. In 1847 a room in the house was used by the Young Men's Missionary Society as a "museum" to house a collection of floral and faunal collections from Moravian missionaries' world-wide work. This was the first museum in North Carolina and the precursor to the Wachovia Historical Society (see Lot 62, Single Brothers House).

Drainage on the lot was an ongoing problem, resulting in the digging of a drainage ditch across the property. In 1889 the house and was raised and fill deposited on the lot to also raise the ground level and sidewalks in preparation for the new trolley, and the lot was subdivided. By 1907 the Third House had been removed. The Sanborn Insurance maps show subsequent buildings (a small tenant house, a barber shop) on Lot 51.

Old Salem acquired the separate parcels of Lot 51 in 1953, reuniting all, and removed later buildings. Archaeological investigation on the site was conducted in 1959 and 1966. The Third House was reconstructed in 1969 by Bowman and Gordon Gray as an integral structure of the Old Salem restoration. It now stands as part of the row of half-timbered houses demonstrating the earliest construction techniques in Salem.

31FY395*51
Lot 51 Archaeology
Contributing Component to the Contributing Site

1959 Frank Horton (OSI)
Third House

1966 Frank Horton, Brad Rauschenberg (OSI)
Third House additional excavation of foundation

446 Lot 52 First House (reconstruction) 1969 Contributing Building

Of the first six *fachwerk* houses built on this block, one original remains, the Fourth House. This original structure anchors the block; however, the reconstructed First House, Third House, and Fifth House provide a vital visual and material context which is important to understanding early residential construction in Salem and clues to architectural antecedents. The collection of these houses provides one of the most impressive streetscapes of Salem.

The one-story, *fachwerk,* or half timber house with wattle and daub infill has a large central brick chimney with corbelled cap and stucco band, steep clay tile side gable roof with a kick at the eave, a symmetrical façade, and a stone foundation. The house sits against the sidewalk and has a board fence. The three-bay façade has two six-over-six sash windows on either side of the centered entry which is a six-panel door with an eight-light transom. Other elevations have six-over-six sash windows as well. In each upper gable end is a three-over-six sash window at the second floor/attic level, with two small vents in the peak above. The full story cellar is below street grade. The apothecary shop sign is mounted to the right of the door and indicated the doctor within.

The cornerstone of the First House in Salem was laid June 6, 1766 with 18 brethren gathered at the site of this significant event. It was actually the second dwelling constructed in the new town of Salem, after a log Builders' House (on Lot 81) constructed a few months prior. The brethren had wanted to build a two-story house for this first family house in order to provide a lower story for religious services and a meeting hall and an upper story for perhaps two families; however, upon consultation of the Lot, a one-story house was approved. A sketch of the house was made by P.C.G. Reuter, Wachovia's surveyor, who also functioned as an architect and town planner in the early period. The resulting center hall plan house was essentially a

flurküchenhaus with a second *stube*. The building was designed with a variety of uses in mind: a place for lodging house builders, a family dwelling, and a *saal ad interim* for worship services before the *Gemeinhaus* was built. The first Lovefeast in Salem was held in the First House in August 1766.

Brethren from Bethabara and Bethania built early Salem, many of whom had been trained in Europe. The framing for the First House was made in Salem by master carpenter Br. Christian Triebel and his apprentice Struhle. Br. Melchoir Rasp was the mason of the stone foundation. Due to the scarcity of lime in Wachovia at this time, wattle and daub was chosen over brick and mortar as the fill in this half-timbered structure. (A section of this wattle and daub was saved when the house was taken down and is in storage at Old Salem, Inc. The uprights are grooved out for the lath to slip into and the mud and straw mixture is wrapped and packed around this.) The finished windows and doors with casings and glass came from Bethabara.

The First House had a variety of occupants. In the initial months, various craftsmen were housed and worked in the First House. Jacob Bonn and family moved into the house in 1772 after it became available as a private dwelling, and he purchased the house soon thereafter. Bonn was a doctor and the house served as his office and apothecary (in the former *saal*) as well as home. He rented land nearby for a laboratory (Lot 75). Dr. Vierling lived in the house 1790 until 1802 when his new house was completed (Lot 7). Joiner Wilhelm Fries, father of Frances, bought the house in 1812 (the year after marrying Joanna Elisabeth Nissen) and owned it until his death in 1866 (they also had a farm northwest of Salem), when it passed to Edward Belo, husband of Fries' daughter Caroline Amanda. At some point the building was weatherboarded. The lot had a garden, pig stall and woodshed by 1781. During subsequent ownership, a variety of outbuildings were approved for construction on the lot, including a woodshed, bake oven, smokehouse, ash house, laundry, necessary, cow shed, joiner shop, dry house, back porch (1818), ash house.

When the trolley came to Salem in 1889-90, the houses along this block were either raised or moved. In this case, the First House was moved to the rear of the lot to face Salt Street and a "tenant" house was built. The Sanborn Maps of 1900 and 1907 labeled the First House "Negro Tenement." The house was removed by 1912 and the lot cleared. The property came into the Belo Home Association (see 455 S. Main Street, Lot 35, 36) and then to the Salem Congregation. It was leased to Old Salem, Inc. and in the late 1960s, archaeological investigation excavated the original site and the reconstruction followed in 1969 to an exterior interpretation of its 1766 appearance.

31FY395*52
Lot 52 Archaeology
Contributing Component to the Contributing Site

1966 Brad Rauschenberg (OSI)
First House excavation of foundation

500 Lot 54 Cape Fear Bank Building 1847 Contributing Building
Hatmaker Johann Reuz (Rights) built the first house on Lot 54 in 1783, a one and one-half story frame house which he and his wife occupied until his death. At that time, the house was bought by the Congregation and adapted as the Widows House, with Sr. Rights one of five widows to occupy the facility in 1811. By 1842 the building was in such a state of disrepair that most of the women moved into the new Widows House in the former Single Brothers House (see 600 S. Main Street, Lot 62).

As early as 1812, the Collegium had "discussed the possibility of securing for Salem a depositary of the Salisbury branch of the new state bank."[196] In 1815-16, a bank agency had been established in Salem with Br.

[196] Fries, *Records of the Moravians*, 7:3171.

Christian Blum as agent operating out of his house (see 724 S. Main Street, Lot 67). By 1846, there was an effort to replace the agency with a Branch Bank of the Cape Fear Bank out of Wilmington. The lower rooms of the Boys School on the Square were proposed as the bank location; however, an inspection by the cashier of the Branch Bank in Salisbury found the space too moist for the purpose. The decision was made to remove the old Widows House and use Lot 54 for a new bank building; "Roof, window shutters and house doors could be made from wood as in other ordinary buildings. The house would have a fireproof vault..."[197] The *Aufseher Collegium* observed that "a bank in Salem would mean quite a profit for many a tradesman in Salem, who will thus be patronized by strangers too, who come to this Community to transact business with the bank"[198]

Francis Fries had presented a proposal for a building to the *Aufseher Collegium*, and the building was completed in 1847. It was to house the operation of the bank, as well as the family of the cashier. As with other buildings in Salem which incorporated homes and shops, the Cape Fear Bank building followed the pattern of street level business with a separate entrance sharing a stoop with the family entrance on the façade. The family door is centered on the façade in the regularity of the Greek Revival style. In addition to this building, Francis Fries designed several others in the Greek Revival style during the 1840s, including his own house in 1840 (destroyed), Bishop's House in 1841 (Lot 10, 519 S. Church Street).

The bank building sits against the sidewalk at Main Street. The Cape Fear Bank is a two-story, common bond (4:1) brick building with penciled mortar joints, on a brick foundation, with a side gable roof (wood shingle), interior end brick chimneys, and a corbelled brick cornice. There are lightning rods at the gable ends. The five-bay façade has two doors, indicating a house/shop with the residence in the south end and the bank in the north. The building is a center hall, two-room deep plan. The residence entry is centered on the façade and is a six-panel door with four-light transom and there are two windows to its left. To its right (north) is an identical door with transom that enters the banking room (the north half of the first floor), and there is one window to its right. Each door is at granite doorsill and they share a masonry stoop with wood decking and three granite steps off each stoop end, north and south. Windows are evenly spaced nine-over-six sash hung with three panel shutters on first and second floors. In each upper gable end are two six-over-six sash windows at the attic level. Windows and doors have molded casings and, on the façade, they are set in header brick flat arches. Stucco has been applied to the foundation level on the façade only. At the rear (west) elevation is a small shed roof porch on tall brick piers under which is the cellar door. On the north foundation there is a small hatch opening into the cellar. The lot slopes to the west and the cellar have partial full exposure. The front half of the lot has a high board fence, while the rear (garden) has a short picket fence.

In early 1847, Israel Loesch of Bethania was chosen to replace Br. Schumann as bank cashier in Salem and lived in the Cape Fear Bank Building. The bank building was located at the intersection with the Belo Store (Lots 35, 36) and the Fries Store (Lot 53). The Slave Schedule from the 1860 Forsyth County Census listed Israel Lash as owning one male slave, age 25, and one slave house is listed.[199] Following the Civil War, the bank re-opened as Lash's First National Bank of Salem until 1879, closing on his death and assets were transferred to Winston to begin Wachovia National Bank. The house was purchased in 1884 by Dr. James A. Butner, a dentist (son of Adam Butner, Lot 32). In 1948, Miss Katherine Jane Hanes bought the building for use as a storage facility for antiques. It was bequeathed by her estate to Old Salem, Inc. in 1965 and restored in her memory, by her heirs, for use as a gallery for the Winston-Salem Gallery of Fine Arts, forerunner of the Southeastern Center for Contemporary Art (SECCA) now housed at the former James G. Hanes property on

[197] "Minutes of the *Aufseher Collegium*, April 1847" (Lot 54, Old Salem Research Files).
[198] Ibid.
[199] Forsyth County Genealogical Society, *The 1860 Federal Census,* 206.

Marguerite Drive in Winston-Salem. Old Salem used the Cape Fear Bank Building for a retail store following SECCA's departure and then in 1981, the building was adapted as a residence and is privately owned.

There are no extant outbuildings, although a stable, well, and woodhouse are mentioned in the records in the early nineteenth century. A wood house was noted on the Sanborn Map by 1895, with another small outbuilding nearby. Outbuildings were located in the yard area and the garden remained undeveloped through at least 1917. Gardens were also mentioned in the records, and Old Salem, Inc. retained ownership of the garden. The garden here is the latest interpreted garden in the museum and showcases the transition from the early, mostly subsistence kitchen gardens to increased emphasis on ornamentals. By the late eighteenth century, more farm products from outlying farms came in to Salem. This practice increased in the nineteenth century, so that by 1850, more garden space was devoted to flowers. The Cape Fear garden is terraced and garden squares are planted with flowers and vegetables; fruit trees are planted at terrace edges. This garden is an important element of the Salt Street Family Gardens.

31FY395*54
Lot 54 Archaeology
Contributing Component to the Contributing Site

1981 Ned Woodall (WFU)
Fear Bank woodshed

508 Lot 55 Leinbach House 1822 Contributing Building

Prior to a house lot, Lot 55 was used for various cultivation and by 1811, it served as a fruit orchard for the adjacent Widows House on Lot 54 to the north. On February 4, 1822, Johann Heinrich (John Henry) Leinbach, shoe maker, presented plans for his house on Lot 55 to the *Aufseher Collegium*. Construction was approved and completed in 1822, as a residence with his shop. Leinbach married Sr. Elisabeth Schneider shortly thereafter.

The one and one-half story frame (beaded weatherboard) house with a side gable roof (concrete to simulate wood shingle) has flush ends and a box cornice with bed molding. It sits against the sidewalk is on a stuccoed stone foundation and has interior end brick chimneys with corbelled caps. The center hall, two-room deep plan house has a nearly symmetrical five bay façade with a centered door and two windows on each side. Leinbach's shop was located in the north front room accessed off the center hall; there was not a separate shop entrance. The shop room had four windows: two on the façade and two on the north wall. Window sash is nine-over-six on the first floor. In each upper gable end are two six-over-six sash windows at the second-floor level flanked by four-light casements in the attic. Windows are hung with louvered shutters. The entry is a six panel Dutch door with four-light transom at a frame stoop with wood steps down either end to single granite blocks at the sidewalk. The stoop has a simple balustrade and turned posts. Windows and doors have plain casings. At the rear (west) is a shed roof porch sheltering from the center doorway to the south end of the house. It has square posts and a simple balustrade supported by heavy timber posts. A flight of wooden steps descends from inside the porch to the ground level. The lot slopes to the west, and at the rear, the cellar is fully exposed and has a door and six-over-six sash windows hung with single leaf shutters. The lot has a picket fence at the front and board fence at the rear (garden).

John Henry Leinbach's Journal from 1830-1843 provides valuable insight into life in Salem. He recorded not only his extensive gardens, agricultural outlots and associated activity, but he also discussed keeping bees, ornamentals, fishing in Salem Creek, hunting various fowl, animal husbandry, buying seed and grains, etc.

In the late 1860s, Leinbach's son Henry Alexander, a photographer, requested permission to build a Daguerreotype gallery to the north end of his father's house. After some discussions, he was approved to build

a narrow gallery adjoining the house and construction was underway by 1868 (John's brother, Henry's uncle Traugott Leinbach at 807 S. Main Street, Lot 22, was an early photographer and also had a gallery). The 1917 Sanborn Insurance map recorded the two-story frame gallery addition and several outbuildings. Documentary photographs from the early twentieth century recorded additions to the north and west (rear) of the house and gabled dormers on the front.

A granary-stable was built in the yard the same year as the house. This outbuilding was reconstructed in 1971 by Old Salem, Inc., based on photographs and the archaeological exposure of the foundations by Frank Horton in 1960. A carriage shed, later used as a workshop, may have been at the south end of the yard; it is recalled by a Leinbach descendant in a 1962 correspondence with Old Salem, Inc. and was recorded on the 1895 Sanborn Map as a "shop." This descendant also noted several other outbuildings in the garden area: pig pen, icehouse, chicken house and poultry yard, garden plots and a bleaching green. A privy attached to the stable was also noted. Documentary records indicated plans for a smokehouse in 1832. Outbuildings were located in the yard area and the garden remained undeveloped through at least 1917.

John Henry died in 1870 and the property passed to his son Henry. Mrs. Lucy Leinbach Wenhold inherited the property in 1953 and it then went to her daughter Mrs. Isabel Veazie, in 1958. It was purchased in 1960 and restored by Old Salem, Inc. in 1962; the northern addition for the daguerreotype gallery and other additions were removed. The house is in private ownership, but Old Salem retained ownership of the garden and re-established the bleaching green and garden squares on the terraces. The Leinbach Journal and family recollection are the basis for the garden interpretation today. Rose bushes here date to one Mrs. Leinbach planted in 1823.[200] This garden is an important element of the Salt Street Family Gardens.

Granary-stable (reconstruction) 1971 Contributing Building
Built at the time of the house construction, this outbuilding was to the rear of the house in the yard. The granary-stable was reconstructed in 1971 by Old Salem. A documentary photograph from the 1860s at the end of Leinbach's life, shows an active yard area. The frame, one and one-half story (weatherboard), side gable (concrete to simulate wood shingle) building has a three-bay façade (east) with a barn door, a single door, and a six-over-six sash window hung with a single leaf shutter – all on strap hinges. On the garden side (west) is an attached shed roof addition for a privy with a four-light casement. There is a door and six-over-six sash window on this three-bay elevation. Window sash in the upper gable ends is three-over-six.

31FY395*55
Lot 55 Archaeology
Contributing Component to the Contributing Site

1960 Frank Albright (OSI)
Leinbach yard

520 Lot 56 Levering House (reconstruction) 1972 Contributing Building
A two-story brick apartment building replaced the Levering House on Lot 56 in 1938. Old Salem purchased the property in 1967 and removed the apartment building four years later to prepare for the reconstruction of the 1820 Levering House. The reconstructed building interprets the 1820 four-room form.

The one and one-half story frame (beaded weatherboard) house with a side gable roof (concrete to simulate wood shingle) has flush ends and box cornice with bed molding. The building sits against the sidewalk and is on a stuccoed stone foundation and has a central brick chimney with corbelled cap. The asymmetrical façade has three windows and a six-panel door. The door is at a frame and stuccoed masonry stoop with three wood

[200] Flora Ann Bynum, *Old Salem Garden Guide* (Winston-Salem: Old Salem, Inc., 1979), 47.

steps down either end to single granite blocks at the sidewalk. The stoop has a simple balustrade and plain posts. Window sash is nine-over-six on the first floor. In each upper gable end are two six-over-six sash windows at the second-floor level flanked by four-light casements in the attic. Doors and windows have molded casings and windows are hung with three panel shutters. Across the rear (west) is a full width porch—an early example of this in Salem—with chamfered posts and a simple balustrade and supported by heavy timber posts. A flight of wooden steps descends from inside the porch to the ground level. The lot slopes to the west, and at the rear, the cellar is fully exposed and has a door and six-over-six sash windows. The lot has a picket fence at the front and board fence at the rear (garden).

Lot 56 was used for various cultivation at least by 1772, and in 1815, Johannes Leinbach (see Lot 73) was granted permission to build a frame storage shed for his flaxseed on this "vacant lot." At the time, Br. Leinbach was living across Salt Street to the west and trading in linseed and salt. By 1818, Leinbach was leasing the rear half of Lot 56 and Br. Schroeter (residence on Lot 57 adjacent to the south) was leasing the front half of Lot 56; each paying 75 cents rent. The single Br. Charles Joseph Levering (also called Carl in the records), born in Nazareth, Pennsylvania in 1795, came to Salem in 1816 from Lititz to serve as barkeeper at the Tavern where he worked briefly before beginning tailoring, a skill he had trained for in Bethlehem. In 1819, he applied for Lot 56 which was granted. In November of 1819, "Br. Jacob Blum, who has made the plan for Br. Levering's house, presented this to the Collegium, and we found it to meet all our requirements and thus were quite satisfied with it."[201] Levering soon married, but lived in the house for only five years when he traded houses with Br. Conrad Kreuser, who lived on a farm west of town (house site near 420 S. Broad Street). The Leverings moved to Hope, Indiana in 1836, to join other Moravians in the establishment of a settlement there.

At Kreuser's death in 1845, the house was sold at auction to Br. Jacob Fulkerson; his wife started a millinery soon thereafter. In 1852, he requested to build an addition to the north side and created a center hall and two additional rooms. The Slave Schedule from the 1860 Forsyth County Census listed Jacob Fulkerson as the owner of two male slaves and one female slave.[202] This center hall plan house with five bays and end chimneys had stylistic renovations in the 1870s which included a front, centered wall dormer with door and iron railing above an enlarged entry, decorative sawn work on the front stoop, window alterations, and a bay window added on the south elevation. By 1876, Fulkerson remained as owner. The house was in this form at the turn of the twentieth century, with several outbuildings, as recorded by the Sanborn Insurance maps. Outbuildings were located in the yard area and one building in the garden area at Salt Street through at least 1917. The house was demolished to make way for an apartment building in 1938.

Old Salem reconstructed the house in 1972 and it is privately owned. Old Salem retained ownership of the garden and re-established the stone terraces for garden squares. The terraces here were laid out following the recollections of a man who had lived in the house as a boy and whose job it was to keep the rocks straight.[203] This garden is an important element of the Salt Street Family Gardens.

31FY395*56
Lot 56 Archaeology
Contributing Component to the Contributing Site

ca. 1972 Lashmit, Brown and Pollock Architects

[201] "Minutes of the *Aufseher Collegium*, Nov. 1819" (Lot 56, Old Salem Research Files).
[202] Forsyth County Genealogical Society, *The 1860 Federal Census*, 208.
[203] Bynum, *Old Salem Garden Guide*, 47.

Archaeological and architectural drawing of foundation (stone) of the Levering House, including notes on architectural aspects of the archaeological remains. The drawing also includes plans for reconstruction. The archaeologist is not known, but the drawing represents a substantial excavation.

520 Lot 57 Schroeter House (reconstruction) 1968 Contributing Building
The Schroeter House was demolished in 1916, the outbuildings having been lost in the late nineteenth century. The lot had passed through several hands by 1913 when it was subdivided. Dr. J.B. Whittington bought the 1805 house in 1916 and replaced it the next year with a one and one-half story Colonial Revival house which sat back from the street. Also, by 1917, a two-story duplex sat on the west end of Lot 57 facing Salt Street; the duplex stood until 1957 when Old Salem, Inc. acquired and demolished it. In 1966, Old Salem acquired Dr. Whittington's house and subsequently sold the entire lot to G. Wilson Douglas, Jr. who demolished the 1917 house and reconstructed the Schroeter House in 1968 and the Wash-Bake House in 1971. The house is privately owned. Old Salem re-acquired ownership of the garden and re-established the garden squares. This garden is an important element of the Salt Street Family Gardens.

The reconstructed Schroeter House and contiguous shop interpret the appearance of the building in 1832. The building sits against the sidewalk. The main block is a frame (beaded weatherboard) one-story house with a steep side gable roof (clay tile) with a kick at the eave and box cornice. The house has a large central brick chimney with corbelled cap. The three-bay façade has a door and two windows. This is the original *flurküchenhaus* form of the 1805 house. The use of salvaged material in the house construction may have contributed to a much lower eave line on this house than is normally seen in Salem houses of the period. The entry is a herringbone Dutch door with a four-light transom which is located at three granite steps on the sidewalk. The shop sign hanging next to the door indicates the tailor shop. Window sash is six-over-six hung with two-panel shutters. In the upper north gable end are two six-over-six sash windows at the second-floor level flanked by circular vents; the south gable end has one six-over-six sash window. A shed roof (wood shingle) frame back porch added in 1818 was enclosed as a dining room in 1823 with a brick chimney for a stove. The shop was built onto the south elevation in 1832 and is a one-story frame (weatherboard), three-bay addition with a side gable roof (wood shingle) and box cornice. There is a single shoulder exterior chimney at the rear (west side). The shop entry is a four-panel door with four-light transom located at a wooden three-step riser on a granite block at the sidewalk. Window sash is nine-over-six hung with two panel shutters. On the shop, window and door casings are molded. The masonry foundation of the house and shop is stuccoed. The lot has a picket fence at the front and rail fence at the rear (garden).

Johann Gottlieb Schroeter came directly to Salem in 1800 from Gnadenfrey (a Moravian congregation founded in 1743 in Silesia) to become the master tailor of the town and began working in the Single Brothers' House. After marrying in 1803, he made application to establish himself on his own. In 1804, as the *Aufseher Collegium* was discussing the tearing down of a laundry building behind the *Gemein Haus*, and it was proposed to reuse the materials in the laundry to construct a house for the Schroeter's, thus the atypical eave line of the house may have resulted from the re-purposed framing. In 1809 a bake oven was added to the yard and in 1820 a cow barn was built along the north property line.

Schroeter died in February 1832, and the house was sold to the tobacconist Benjamin Warner. Warner made the last known major change to the structure, adding the shop to the south gable end with an 18 1\2 foot frontage and an 11-foot depth. During his occupancy, he employed a number of apprentices. The tobacco trade grew in Salem to the extent that four other tobacco manufactories were allowed there, with cigars becoming a favorite product. The house was again owned by a tailor when it was purchased by Jacob Fulkerson in 1855. Fulkerson had just 10 years earlier bought the Levering House next door (Lot 56). He also conducted a store on Lot 58 in 1858. The Slave Schedule from the 1860 Forsyth County Census listed Jacob Fulkerson as the owner of two

male slaves and one female slave.[204] By 1876, Fulkerson owned Lots 56, 57, 58 and it is unclear where the enslaved people lived. The John Johnson family came into ownership of the house in 1882. The Schroeter House was recorded on the 1912 Sanborn Insurance Map, but had vanished by the 1917 edition.

Wash-Bake House (reconstruction) 1971 Contributing Building
Originally built by Schroeter in 1809, this building was reconstructed in 1971. The frame (weatherboard), one-room, one-story gable front (clay tile) building on a stuccoed masonry foundation sits to the rear of the house just inside the garden but opening into the yard. The façade has two bays with a herringbone Dutch door and a six-over-six sash window with a hatch covered opening above in the gable. There are two windows on the north elevation, but none on the south or west. An exterior end, single shoulder brick chimney is engaged to an attached bake oven form at the west end of the building.

31FY395*57
Lot 57 Archaeology
Contributing Component to the Contributing Site

1967 Brad Rauschenberg (OSI)
Schroeter House excavation of foundation

Lot 58 Orchard Lot Contributing Site
In 1780, a small log house was built for Heinrich Zillman, a tailor who was also the night watchman. The house had several occupants. In 1852 Thomas Boner removed the house and built a two-story store building. Jacob Fulkerson, next door, had a store there which was later operated by Mrs. T. B. Douthit, until 1913. It was then purchased by Irving Scrimger and remodeled with stucco and a two-story portico with large Ionic columns. The lot was one of the first purchased by Old Salem in 1950 and the building was removed. A local garden club planted the orchard. Vacant lots in Salem were used for orchards and gardens prior to their need for construction, thus keeping them useful, neat, and vermin-free. [205]

532 Lot 59 Miksch House 1771 Contributing Building
The first privately owned home in Salem was this small log house with its siding painted yellow. Carpenters began work in October 1770, the house was raised a month later, and in April 1771 Br. Matthew Miksch, his wife and their daughter Martha moved into their new home. Sitting against the sidewalk, the Miksch House is a one and one-half story log *flurküchenhaus* with full dovetail notching that was probably weatherboarded soon after construction. The extended top locking plates and sills are visible. The house has a side gable roof (clay tile) with a kick at the eave and a central brick chimney with a corbelled cap and stucco band. The two-bay façade has a herringbone Dutch door with three-light transom at a gabled overdoor. The entry is at a two-step wooden riser on a granite block at the sidewalk. A pair of six-over-six sash windows on the façade is hung with single leaf shutters. In the upper gable ends are windows: a six-over-six sash window (north) and six-light casement (south) at the second-floor level with two circular vents in the peak of the gables. Other windows on the house are six-over-six sash hung with single leaf shutters. Windows and doors have plain casings. The stone foundation is stuccoed and there is a cellar. The Miksch House is smaller than its predecessors in Salem and is basically a two-room plan around the central chimney, although there is a small entry room with stair to the loft separated from the kitchen by a partition wall. The interior was partially plastered initially. By 1785, a frame, one-story, shed roof addition on a stone foundation, with one room, was added to the rear. The lot has a split picket fence at property lines.

[204] Forsyth County Genealogical Society, *The 1860 Federal Census*, 208.
[205] Albright and Horton, "History of Properties in Old Salem," 21.

Johann Mattheus Miksch, born in Herrnhut in 1731, learned skills in Germany as a young Moravian man which were to serve him in America: book binding, other leatherworking, and gardening. He arrived in Bethlehem, Pennsylvania in 1754 with a group of Moravians from Germany. He married Henrietta and moved to Bethabara in 1764, and then to the new town of Salem in late 1770. Br. and Sr. Miksch operated a retail establishment in their home, until 1804, with a variety of goods for sale (many of which they made), including tobacco products, candles, oil, garden seed, cucumber pickles, dried fruit, young fruit trees which he raised, soap, and ginger bread. This was a small business and was not allowed to compete in any substantial manner against the community store operated by the Diacony. In 1805, in their old age, Br. and Sr. Miksch moved into their daughter's home (463 S. Church Street, Lot 7), and the Miksch house was sold to the Congregation.

The house saw additions and alterations as it was expanded and transformed into a large complex before it was purchased in the mid-twentieth century by Old Salem, Inc. and restored to its earlier form. The barn and bake oven to the rear of the house in the yard have been reconstructed. The lot, with its early house, outbuildings, garden, and its occupation by a Moravian trained in gardening, is a significant exhibit at Old Salem with the garden a key element in the interpretation of early horticultural practices in Salem. The adjacent Lots 58 and 60 are open lots tied into horticulture. Lot 58 is the Orchard Lot which exhibits the use of vacant lots in Salem. Prior to its need as a construction lot, open lots were leased for gardens or fruit trees (see Lot 55 as an example). Lot 60 is the former Triebel lot in use by the museum to interpret mid-eighteenth-century Moravian garden design.

Subsequent to the Miksch family on Lot 59, occupants included retired minister Samuel Gottlieb Kramsch and tailor Johannes Lehnert, who also had small retail shops in the house (it was known as the "Toy Shop"), and a shop addition had been made to the south. In 1825, the house was sold to Ernst Vierling, grandson of the Miksches, and then in 1829, he sold it to his mother, Martha Miksch Vierling, and she returned to live in the house (her childhood home), this time as a widow. Several owners followed and in 1872, Lot 59 was sold to T.B. Douthit, who also purchased Lot 58 to the north which had a general store. Mrs. Douthit operated a general milliner's shop in the south portion of the Miksch House, which had been altered by the addition of a nineteenth-century false store front. With the Douthit ownership (1872-1923), Lot 59 was divided, and a portion of the lot added to Lot 60 in 1883, where a brick store stood. Other lot divisions and commercial alterations took place through the early twentieth century, including use as the drugstore of Sam E. Welfare ca. 1925 until Old Salem, Inc. purchased the property in 1958 and returned Lot 59 to its original size.

In 1960, the Miksch House was restored to a 1771 interpretation and the barn, interpreted to 1783, was reconstructed in the yard. The bake oven was reconstructed in 2012. The garden has been through a re-interpretation. In 1963-64, the Garden Club Council of Winston-Salem and Forsyth County laid out an interpretation of Bethabara's *Hortus Medicus* (Medical Garden) as documented in the 1761 drawing by P.C.G. Reuter. Known as "The Emma Ormsby Griffith Memorial Garden," it was named in memory of Mrs. Griffith, an active leader in the garden club. The Garden Club Council renovated the garden in 1974-75. A hops arbor was also reconstructed below the garden.[206] In 1989, with the blessing of the Garden Club Council, the Landscape Restoration Committee of Old Salem, Inc., approved changing the garden to reflect a Salem family garden, as Matthew Miksch may have had.

Shed (reconstruction) 1960 Contributing Building

Reconstructed in 1960, this single pen, log barn with full dovetail notching has a side gable roof (ceramic tile) with a kick. The building is on a fieldstone foundation and there is a central brick chimney. The barn is located in the yard at the rear of the house. The east side (facing the house) has a center barn door with double leaf

[206] Bynum, *Old Salem Garden Guide*, 44-46.

plank doors hung with strap hinges and a six-over-six sash window. The west side, facing the garden, has a plank door and a six-over-six sash window in the main room and a plank door to a room with a privy.

Bake Oven (reconstruction) 2012 Contributing Structure
Reconstructed in 2012 is the bake oven to interpret Sr. Miksch's ginger cakes and other baked goods. A Flemish bond brick foundation with a stuccoed brick dome oven is protected by a timber frame gable roof. A brick chimney vents the oven at the west end.

31FY395*59
Lot 59 Archaeology
Contributing Component to the Contributing Site

1958 Frank Albright (OSI)
Miksch yard

1990 Michael Hammond (OSI)
Miksch, testing yard south of house

2011 Chet Tomlinson (Old Salem Tradesman), under supervision of Michael O. Hartley, Director of Archaeology (OSI)
Excavation to determine location of Bake Oven

600 Lot 62 Single Brothers House 1769 Contributing Building
Listed as a National Historic Landmark.

The Single Brothers House is a large building composed of two distinct sections: the 1769 *fachwerk*, or half-timbered, building and a 1786 brick addition to the south that doubled the size of the building.[207] Located at the corner of Main and Academy Streets on Salem Square, its female counterpart, the Single Sisters House, is diagonally across Salem Square. The Single Brothers House was a priority need in the emerging town and the first institutional building constructed in Salem, immediately following construction of the *fachwerk* first houses a block away (see Lots 48-53).

Designed by the European born and educated *Oeconomus,* or Administrator of Wachovia, Frederick William Marshall, the Single Brothers House was constructed in the familiar *fachwerk* on a stone foundation. The largest *fachwerk* building in North Carolina, it was built by and under the supervision of Christian Triebel, master carpenter, and Melchoir Rasp, master mason, both of whom had been building in Salem since 1766 and prior to that, in Bethabara. Lot 62 was measured off July 25, 1768 with a frontage of 132 feet along the main street at the newly established Square. It had been decided that only half of the planned building would be built at the time. Preparations were begun and on August 30, 1768, a cornerstone was laid with ceremony. Oak timbers were cut in the winter and the frame was raised in two days during May 1769, celebrated by a trumpet blast from the top most framing member of the house. The building was completed within the year, and the dedication took place in December 1769.

The building sits against the sidewalk at Main and Academy Streets on this prominent corner lot facing Salem Square. The two-story *fachwerk*, or half-timber, building with steep side gable roof (clay tile) is on a full story

[207] Frank Horton, "Report on the Architectural History of the Single Brothers House" (report for Old Salem, Inc., Winston-Salem, NC).

stone foundation and there are two attic levels. A lightning rod is located at the north gable end. As recorded in the NHL nomination:

> It is an outstanding example of German traditional half-timber construction: the exterior walls are marked by vertical and horizontal hand-hewn timbers with diagonal bracing where needed; the interstices are filled with brick nogging, pargeted, and white-washed on the inside. The six-bay front (east) façade is developed with a system of six-over-six double-hung sash windows evenly spaced across the two floors. The [double leaf three-panel] entrance door, located in the third bay from the northeast corner, is topped by a rectangular transom. The gabled roof, broken at the ridge by two chimneys with corbelled tops, has a kick, or spring, at the eaves. A pent roof, or pent eave, supported by massive brackets girdles the structure between the first and second floors. The interior of the building has smooth whitewashed walls…and wide plank floors.[208]

As designed, the first floor, at street level, had the *Saal,* a room for the *Pfleger,* or supervisor, and three trade-shop rooms. The second floor contained a large sleeping hall, as well as rooms that included a sick room and a supervisor's room. A second sleeping hall was arranged under the attic (third floor) in 1782. In the upper attic, the northern most room was used as a meat smoking room. The building's full cellar opened up to the back yard, and this floor contained a kitchen, two cellars, a room for the weaver, and a dining hall. The kitchen was accommodated with running water in 1778 when the municipal Water Works system was completed, and there is a faucet in the north wall of this room. Six-over-six window sash is set in brick relieving arches in the cellar walls, and there is a door with four-light transom, in the second bay from the north, also set in a relieving arch. The façade and north elevation also have cellar windows which are three-light casements.

With the process of moving into the Single Brothers House, the need for additional workspace was also planned. The Single Brothers House provided the Single Brothers Choir of Salem with a permanent home and also a limited amount of work space, and supporting buildings were soon built: a privy (immediately); springhouse (1770), log workshop and washhouse (1771), cattle shed and barns (by 1773); a new smoke house replaced an earlier one in the garden, and water was piped into the kitchen in 1778 from the town's developing water system. The large double pen log workshop (10 W. Academy Street, Lot 61) was built to the rear of the Single Brothers House in 1771 for additional crafts and trades. Additional support structures also included straw and grain barns, pig stall, horse stable, waggoner's barn, and various storage sheds. To the west of the Single Brothers House were: kitchen gardens (1769) and summerhouse, Town Run Creek, brewery/distillery, Lot 93 (1773), slaughterhouse, Lot 94 (1784), and nearly 700 acres of cultivated agricultural land. The major industrial activities and craft production of the Single Brothers were important economic functions of the town.

During the operation of the Single Brothers Choir, a Salem boy attended the Boys School on Salem Square (see Lot 30) and at age fourteen, left home to live at Single Brothers' House to prepare for his life's work. Boys with scholarly talent were sent to the Moravian school in Nazareth, but most boys were apprenticed to a master craftsman for seven years. Education of the boys living at the Single Brothers' House was not completely neglected, however, and in 1774, there were plans for school "for the boys in the Brothers' House, where they could learn English, writing and arithmetic. Br. Heckewalder has been elected to this office. He will hold the school two times a week"[209] After completion of an apprenticeship, a Single Brother then functioned as a journeyman in the Choir in a craft system completely under the control of the governing boards of Salem. Competition was carefully controlled so that income, in theory, was balanced among those working in the town. A Brother's right to marry was then linked to his ability to make a living in his chosen trade without cutting too

[208] Polly M. Rettig (NHL Landmark Review) and Charles W. Snell (original form 1969), "Single Brothers House," National Register of Historic Places Inventory -- Nomination Form, U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, 1975, Section 7.

[209] "Minutes of the *Aufseher Collegium*, Nov. 23, 1774" (Lot 62, Old Salem Research Files).

heavily into another's livelihood, or linked to his establishment of a related pursuit which would not pose an economic threat to others. When a Brother achieved economic stability on these terms and was allowed to marry, he immediately abdicated all rights in the affairs of the Single Brothers Choir and went into business for himself, either in his own home or in a shop on property leased from the church.

The half-timbered section of the Single Brothers House remained as constructed, with only minor alterations, until the second half of the building was constructed at the south end in 1785-86, to bring the building to the size originally planned. The rapidly expanding economy of the Single Brothers Choir throughout the Revolutionary War hastened construction of the second half. After approval for this new construction was obtained in 1785, materials were gathered in the Square, and excavations were begun in February 1786 and the cornerstone was laid that April. The addition was to include meeting hall, dining room, and sleeping hall. This plan was carried out, and also included a new kitchen, a vaulted sub-cellar and another sleeping hall built under the roof of the new brick addition. Piped water from the municipal Water Works system was brought into the kitchen where there is a faucet in the south interior wall. The older section was remodeled with partitions to make four smaller rooms and a central hall from the great sleeping hall of the second story, and a central hall and two rooms of the old *saal,* or meeting room on the first floor. A larger room was created on the third floor by the removal of the 1769 stair and the stair-hall south partition wall.

The brick section was built by the talented Johann Gottlob Krause who had just completed much of the work on the new Tavern, constructed in 1784 immediately after fire destroyed the 1771 *fachwerk* Tavern. Krause was declared a master after only three of the usual seven years of an apprenticeship. He had worked under the aging master mason Rasp (who died in 1785), and his prior study under the potter Gottfried Aust gave him exceptional skills with clay and glazes.[210] Krause, a highly skilled and artistic craftsman, left an indelible mark on Salem during the 1780s and 1790s with his beautiful Flemish bond buildings. The addition to the Single Brothers' House is an early example of his building skill.

The 1786 roof extended the steep gable roof (with clay tile) of the 1769 building, and there is a central brick chimney with corbelled cap which repeats the stucco banding on the older section. Krause built the two-story walls with the oversized brick he favored and in the Flemish bond highlighted by dark headers. Fragments of scribing and painting survive on some mortar joints. At the corners of the south end, corner plate locks and the kick at the eave are seen. There is a single chevron of dark headers below the rake in the upper gable end where two six-over-six sash windows are flanked by six-light casements in the lower attic and there is one six-light casement in the upper attic. The five-bay façade has evenly spaced six-over-six sash windows set in painted brick elliptical relieving arches, a pattern repeated on all exposed elevations. At the cellar level on the façade are two-light casement windows with granite sills at each bay. The façade entry, at double leaf three-panel door with five-light transom set in an elliptical blind arch, is located in the bay closest to the earlier building. Windows and doors have wide, plain casings and wide window sills. The high foundation is stuccoed stone which is painted to resemble cut stone. A portion of the original paint is preserved on the south end of the building foundation.[211] The cellar is fully exposed on the south and rear elevations with openings set in relieving arches, including six-over-six sash windows and two entrances. One is a door with four-light transom which enters into the center stair hall and the other is at an attached frame ante-room with a gable roof which encloses stairs descending into the vaulted sub-cellar.

The 1786 addition extended the form and mass of the 1769 building, and the two buildings are tied together in an unusual composition through common horizontal lines and complementing materials. The whole building is

[210] Scott Rohrer, "Gottlob Krause: Master Builder," in *The Three Forks of Muddy Creek*, vol. 14, ed. Linda Starling Therrell (Winston-Salem: Old Salem, Inc., 1990), 14-23.

[211] David Bergstone (Director of Architecture, Old Salem Museums & Gardens), email message to MB Hartley, 26 April 2013.

two stories with a full cellar and double attic, and there are three interior chimneys on the high gable, clay tile roof, and a continuous roof line and box cornice. The 1786 front doors enter a wide center hall with staircase at the rear (this is the center hall for the whole building). The 1769 front doors enter a stair hall that leads to a north-south corridor down the middle of that section which T's into the center hall at the 1786 building. The lot slopes to the west revealing a full cellar.

During the 1770s and 1780s, there were three enslaved African Americans who were members of the Single Brothers Choir and either lived in the Single Brothers House or participated in choir activities. Peter Oliver was an African American who lived in the Single Brothers House after he was purchased in February 1786 by the Single Brothers Diacony. In November 1786, he was baptized and thus considered a spiritual brother, although he remained enslaved. He lived in Salem until he was purchased by the potter Rudolph Crist in 1788 and moved to Bethabara. The other two were Jacob, who worked in the Tavern and Abraham, a Mandingo from West Africa, who worked in the Tannery.

Between 1799 and 1800 the pent-roof was removed and the *fachwerk* section plastered in an attempt to protect it from the weather. In a further attempt toward protection, this section was then covered with weatherboards in 1826, in place until the restoration by Old Salem.

The Single Brothers enterprise suffered from economic problems, brought about in part by a breakdown of internal discipline, and the house, as the home of the Single Brothers, closed in 1823. Another issue in the operation of the Single Brothers House was an increasing tendency among the Single Brothers to open individual shops, even though this was contrary to the regulations and desires of the governing boards of Salem. After closing in 1823, the building was used briefly as a Boys School, and then as apartments, with partitions and fireplaces being added as needed. In 1846 the brick portion of the Single Brothers House became the Widows House.

Along the street front south of the Single Brothers House, a woodshed had stood until 1849 when it was replaced by a frame, two-story building. The Young Men's Missionary Society used the first floor as a museum and the second floor was headquarters for the Sons of Temperance. In 1856 the lower story was used by the Town of Salem as a post office. The building was removed in 1961 by Old Salem. Organized in 1840, the Young Men's Missionary Society was a repository of information and artifacts collected by Moravian Missionaries who travelled the globe. This effort had grown out of the Single Brothers' collection from the eighteenth century. The collection grew with information and artifacts from Salem and vicinity. The Young Men's Missionary Society became the Wachovia Historical Society (WHS) in 1895.[212] WHS is the oldest historical society in North Carolina and one of the oldest in the country. Henry F. Shaffner was elected the first president, with thirty-six members joining. The Hall of History, built behind the Boys School in the 1930s held the collection. Old Salem, Inc. assumed management of the WHS collection in the 1950s. The collection is estimated at 6800 artifacts,[213] much of which is relevant to the Moravians in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries (maps, paintings, furniture, textiles, pottery, carriages, signs, etc.) as well as a significant photograph collection. WHS continues as an active historical society.

In 1889-90 the installation of the streetcar system produced a change in the street grade of Main Street at the Single Brothers' House. The front entrance steps were covered and altered and the front cellar windows closed as the level of the sidewalk was raised. In 1927, the Single Sisters Diacony, outlasting the Single Brothers Diacony by many decades, gave up its Choir house across the Square for use by Salem College and the remaining Sisters moved into the Widows House, thus filling up the *fachwerk* section as well. In the early

[212] Bradford L. Rauschenberg, *The Wachovia Historical Society 1895-1995* (Winston-Salem: Wachovia Historical Society, 1995).
[213] The Wachovia Historical Society, "History of the Wachovia Historical Society," http://www.wachoviahistoricalsociety.org/history.html

twentieth century the building was changed by the addition of a double-tiered back porch, hoods over the entrance doors, a modern tile roof, and dormer windows on the front roof. This was basically the condition of the building at the beginning of restoration. The former Single Brothers' House served as the Widows House until 1961 when the building was leased by the Salem Congregation to Old Salem, Inc. for restoration and use. The Widows House occupants were then given the opportunity to move into the newly renovated Belo House (455 S. Main Street, Lots 35, 36).

The Single Brothers House was carefully restored in 1964, and it presently serves as the major exhibit building for the museum, with the second and third floors used as institutional office space for Old Salem, Inc. The interpretive craft shops on the first floor and in the cellar include: tin and pewter shop, shoemaker's shop, blue dyer's shop, tailor's shop, potter's shop, joiner's shop, and turner's shop. Also shown are the Vorsteher's room, where the business manager of the Single Brothers had his quarters and office; the *Saal*, or hall for vespers, *singstunde* (singing hour), and special services; and the kitchen and dining area. It is also the site of the popular Christmas "Candle Tea" each December by the Women's Fellowship of Home Church. The lot is defined by a stone wall at the sidewalk and board fencing and split rail feeder fencing at the garden.

The location of the terraced kitchen garden west of the Single Brothers House was reclaimed and the garden re-created in 2004 following the removal of the 1964 Old Salem Visitors Center from the lot. This represents one of the largest eighteenth-century recreated gardens in the United States. Vegetables and herbs are grown in the garden squares, as well as demonstration field crops. Fruit trees and grapes are at the edges and along fencing. This garden would have fed as many as sixty men and boys. Following the closing of the Single Brothers House in 1823, the garden continued in use and was maintained in its original configuration until Liberty Street (Salt Street) was cut through in 1890. With this new street addition, the western portion of the lot was subdivided for development. Following this, the upper section was maintained as gardens by the occupants of the "Widows House" until their move in 1961.[214]

Shed (reconstruction) ca. 1985 Contributing Structure
The Single Brothers yard contained various support structures through time and there are numerous outbuilding sites. This timber frame, gable roof (wood shingle) structure is based on pictorial information.

31FY395*62
Lot 62 Archaeology
Contributing Component to the Contributing Site

1963 Frank Albright (OSI)
Single Brothers House rear yard testing

1964 Frank Albright (OSI)
Lot 62 sidewalk area east of E.A. Vogler

1986 Michael Hammond (OSI)
Single Brothers House, testing at south end
post hole survey for chicken yard

612 Lot 62 E.A. Vogler Store 1867 Contributing Building
The ca. 1938 Colonial Revival storefront of this commercial building eradicated the richly ornamented Italianate façade as constructed by E.A. Vogler in 1867. Late nineteenth-century photographs show a three-bay

[214] Darrell Spencer, *The Gardens of Salem: The Landscape History of a Moravian town in North Carolina* (Winston-Salem: Old Salem, Inc., 1997), 41.

commercial storefront with a centered front door having "E. A. Vogler" in the fanlight above, round and elliptical arches for windows and door openings, brick drop pendant decoration, a date stone "1867," a projecting cornice supported by heavy brackets, and round pediment with a fan light. The long narrow, two-story, common bond (4:1) brick building with a full cellar and shallow pitch gable roof (metal) retains the stepped parapet at the rear (west) with chimney (reworked) and lightning rod, brick corbelling at the cornices, earthquake bolts, and large light nine-over-six sash windows on the north, west and south elevations.

The raised brick pilaster strips are all that remain of the original façade. The 1930s configuration consists of two front doors with transoms and two projecting shop windows (the south door accessing the first-floor retail space, the north accessing second floor office space). The doors are at granite doorsills. A pent eave separates the second story which has three-bays of six-over-six large light sash windows and paired louver shutters. A side gable roof with interior end chimneys and two gable dormers with six-over-six sash windows were added to the front portion of the building; south and north gable ends reveal the addition in the brick work. Several openings on the north elevation were bricked up.

In the mid-nineteenth century, two houses stood between the Single Brothers' House and the Community Store on portions of Lot 62 and lot 63. In 1867, Elias (E.A.) Vogler began construction of a new building on the site and operated "The Ladies Furnishing Store" at this location for a number of years and the building became known as the Vogler store. He offered a wide variety of goods, including: ready-made clothing, dry goods, household articles, hardware, food staples, farm equipment, etc. He also advertised that he would barter for many items, including: animal products, seed, lumber, dried fruits, etc. Elias Vogler was a gifted artist and architect (at fourteen, he studied art for a year in a Moravian school in Lititz, Pennsylvania) and contributed to the beautification of Salem in building and landscape design. He went into partnership with his father in 1846. He built his store in 1867; however, financial problems in the early 1870s forced bankruptcy and he lost the store. He and his family lived on Lot 27 (10 West Street). He was the second mayor of Salem and greatly involved in the life of the African Moravian Church in the 1860s and 1870s, serving as superintendent during the 1860s. Vogler was an important leader in the establishment of Liberia for Freedmen in 1872. He died in 1876, the year his important map of Salem, with Liberia, and Winston was completed.

Henry W. Fries, brother of Francis Fries, purchased the store building in 1871 and the second floor was later the first location of what became Indera Mills (400 S. Marshall Street). In 1890 Salt Street was pushed south and across the west end of this lot, and with this new street addition, the western portion of the lot was subdivided for development. The building was used for textile milling until 1916. In 1918 it was used as the Art Department of Salem Academy and as laboratory space for the College. The front façade was altered to its present Colonial Revival style ca. 1938 by Mr. Holt Haywood (husband of Mary Louise Bahnson, Lot 9) with elements found on early Salem buildings: tiled gable roof, dormers, interior end chimneys, and a pent roof. In this configuration the building operated as the Arden Farm Store, where the first meeting was held by the "Citizens Committee for the Preservation of Historic Salem" on October 29, 1947. In 1951, the store served as the first location of the Old Salem Office and Reception Center. Later it became the Piedmont Craftsmen's Store, and then the Old Salem Store. In 1977 the Salem Congregation retrieved the building for its own use. The Moravian Book & Gift Shop was installed as an operation of the Southern Province Board of Christian Education. In ca. 2006 Old Salem began leasing store.

626 Lot 63 Community Store 1775 Contributing Building

The Salem Community Store building is used as the Old Salem museum store: "T. Bagge Merchant," a restoration of an historic use which functions well on Salem Square. A prominent feature of the streetscape, the restored building of stone rubble walls covered with stucco which has been painted to imitate cut stone, adds variety and texture among the many Flemish bond buildings on the Square. In 2012 the Cobblestone Farmers

Market in Old Salem began operation on Saturday mornings on the rear of Lot 63, restoring a traditional food system to the local community.

A Congregation-owned business, the Community Store was a priority for the new town. The store site was selected in 1768. Traugott Bagge, a well-educated Swede trained as a merchant, was the storekeeper and ran the enterprise for the Salem Diacony. Prior to its moving from Bethabara and installation in the new building on lot 63, the store was housed on Lot 53 in the Two-Story House, with the Skin House across the street on Lot 35. A proposed floor plan for the store is attributed to Frederick William Marshall and held by the Moravian Archives.[215] The timbers for the new structure were cut in February of 1774, the cornerstone laid in April 1774, and the Bagge family moved into the building, which was also their home, in May 1775. Bagge owned at least one female slave. Numerous outbuildings were built on the lot.

The Community Store was built after the designs by Marshall, the *oeconomus*, or administrator, of Wachovia with suggested changes by Bagge.[216] The building sits against the sidewalk at Main and West Streets on this prominent corner lot facing Salem Square (although West Street was not a through street until nineteenth century). A high picket fence is at the sidewalk and a board fence is along West Street. The one-story building with steep side gable roof (concrete to simulate clay tile) with a kick at the eave is constructed of stone rubble and red clay that has been stuccoed and painted to resemble cut stone. It is on a stone foundation with a stucco covering. There are two interior brick chimneys with corbelled caps and stucco bands. The southwest end of the building has a large ell, also with an interior brick chimney with corbelled cap and stucco band, and gives the building its "L" shape. The lot slopes to the west and the cellar is fully exposed at the rear (west), with the store portion of the cellar at the north and opening onto the back yard. As a combination store and house, the seven-bay façade of the building has two front doors, each with a granite doorsill at sidewalk grade. The south end was the residence and has a herringbone door that is centered on the façade and three nine-over-six sash windows to its left. The store section at the north end has two nine-over-six sash windows and a herringbone door in the northernmost bay. Windows and doors are set in relieving arches, and windows are hung with single leaf paneled shutters. In the roof above the residence door is a single gabled dormer with a six-over-six sash window to light the stair and upper hall; the rear roof slope has a similar dormer. Each of the three gable ends of the building is shingled and has paired six-over-six sash windows at the second floor flanked by two-light horizontal casements in the attic with a two-light horizontal casement in the upper attic. Windows and doors have plain casings.

The mercantile operation of the Moravians had been a central part of the economy of Wachovia from the outset at Bethabara, and with the establishment of the store in Salem, it quickly became known as the leading commercial enterprise of a vast territory and Traugott Bagge was well known throughout the colonies. The trade of the establishment was widespread, with merchandise being sold to Moravians and as well as outsiders. Bagge bought hides, skins, tobacco and other local products for shipment to other markets; he also ordered most of the various supplies needed in Salem and by other craftsmen. Bagge was also responsible for the buying and selling of slaves that were part of the Wachovia Administration. His store became a storehouse for supplies during the American Revolution. Toward the end of that war, the Commanding General of the British Army in the South, Lord Cornwallis, visited with Bagge and Frederick Wm Marshall in Bagge's living quarters in the store, as the English army passed through Salem in pursuit of the American Army led by General Nathanael Greene.

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[215] David Bergstone (Director of Architecture, Old Salem Museums & Gardens), email message to MB Hartley, April 26, 2013.

[216] Lola Langdon Culler, "'Good Wares and Modest Manners': The Salem Store Entrusted to Merchant Traugott Bagge, 1775-1800," (master's thesis, University of North Carolina at Greensboro, 2009).

Bagge died in 1800, and was of such prominence that the Philadelphia paper carried an account of his life. Following Bagge, Conrad Kreuser of Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, was storekeeper until 1816, then Jacob Blum. Blum bought the store from the Diacony in 1837 and added a second brick story to the front portion of the building in 1840. Jacob Blum died in 1847, and his son Alexander took over the store, only to die two years later. John Vogler then bought the store for his son Elias who built a store building just to the north in 1867, but by 1871 was in a state of bankruptcy. He transferred Lot 27 and Lot 63 to Henry W. Fries, assignee, for sale to settle bankruptcy. In May of 1871 the Community Store was purchased at auction by the Moravian Church. In 1890 Salt Street was pushed south and across the west end of this lot, and with this new street addition, the western portion of the lot was subdivided for development. The building functioned as a dwelling and grocery at the turn of the twentieth century and then solely as a dwelling by ca. 1910, as designed by local architect Willard C. Northup by 1912. Stylistic changes to the two-story building created an inset entry, altered fenestration, added dormers and false keystones and quoins. In 1954 the Church leased the property to Old Salem, Inc. for restoration of the building in 1955, which were based on plans prepared by Perry, Shaw & Hepburn, Kehoe & Dean from Boston.[217] The second story was removed, the fenestration re-established, other alterations were reversed, and the building was restored to its 1775 appearance.

Public Restrooms 1993 Noncontributing Building
This one-story, low gable roof (asphalt shingle) masonry building with stucco is a supporting structure for the museum and houses men's and women's restroom facilities. Entrances are located at the north gable end. The east and west elevations feature three bays of elliptical blind arches. The building has a rather unobtrusive presence.

700 Lot 64 John Vogler House 1819 Contributing Building
An Old Salem exhibit building, the Vogler House showcases the life of John Vogler and his family. John Vogler married Christina Spach in 1819 and they had three children: Lisetta (wife of Francis Fries), Louisa (wife of Moravian minister), and Elias (architect, designer). A talented craftsman and highly respected member of the community, John Vogler (1783-1881) was an important participant in various aspects of Salem's nineteenth-century transformations, especially as a leader in the industrialization. He achieved success and renown as a fine craftsman in silver, gold, brass and other metals and in the repair of clocks and watches; he also was an accomplished silhouettist. On display in his restored home, are many original furnishings and Vogler productions. His house is an important point in the departure from the German Moravian architectural tradition.

Vogler leased Lot 64 in 1816 after the death of Anna Catharina Ernst, widow of P.C.G. Reuter, and moved the small timber frame Reuter House off the street front to make room for his new house (in 1819). By 1818, the plan for his house was approved: "...the draft of the house was considered very suitable. The house is to be built from brick, two stories high, 42 by 30 feet, with a small wing 14 by 12 feet, which is to serve as the laundry and the smithy."[218] It was the first two-story brick house constructed in town since Dr. Vierling's 1802 house (463 S. Church Street, Lot 7); however, the concerns raised then about potential re-sale were not in evidence in this case.

The house deviated from architectural tradition in Salem, introducing new elements while continuing to use others. Built on the site of the 1772 Reuter House at a prominent corner of Main Street at Salem Square (although West Street was not a through street until nineteenth century), the John Vogler House sits against the sidewalks of Main and West Streets. Federal-inspired in style, it is a two-story Flemish bond brick house on stuccoed stone foundation with a side-gable roof (concrete to simulate wood shingle) and interior end chimneys

[217] David Bergstone (Director of Architecture, Old Salem Museums & Gardens), email message to MB Hartley, April 26, 2013.
[218] "Minutes of the *Aufseher Collegium*, 1818" (Lot 64, Old Salem, Inc. Lot Files, Winston-Salem, NC).

with corbelled caps. The gable roof has flush ends and there is a kick at the eave. The brick cornice introduced a decorative double row, mouse-tooth design. The relieving arches so common in Salem's masonry construction are replaced here by rubbed brick gauged flat arches with brick keystones above six-over-nine sash windows with molded sills and window casings. Three panel shutters are hung on first floor windows and louvered shutters on the second floor. The entrance bay of the symmetrical five-bay façade is highlighted by a pedimented hood having a delicate red glass fan light and a painted clock face, the latter Vogler's symbol. The house was one of the earliest to have a single entrance for house and shop. Above the front and rear doors are four-light transoms with an "X" pattern false muntin on each light. The entry has molded door casing around a fine raised six-panel Dutch door with reproductions of the original hardware, including the Vogler "hand" door knob. The granite doorsill is at a large granite stone landing that is set in and flush with the sidewalk grade. There is one earthquake bolt on the façade. Each upper gable end has two six-over-six sash windows at the third floor/attic level and there are lightning rods at the gable ends. The two-room deep, center hall plan house accommodated Vogler's shop in the north front room. A rear door in the hall accesses the two-bay shed roof back porch supported by turned posts with a simple balustrade. Also at the rear of the house is a brick kitchen ell (off the northwest) with a half-roof, unique in Salem, and there is an attached bake oven (clay tile gable roof) at the interior end chimney. An interior forge is on the north and shares the chimney. The kitchen has a Dutch door, six-over-six sash windows with single leaf shutters, and a four-light casement in its attic. There is a molded brick water table at the stuccoed stone foundation.

An African American woman was part of the Vogler household. Known as "Bethy" she was baptized in the African Moravian Church in 1851 as "Elizabeth Jane." The Slave Schedule from the 1860 Forsyth County Census listed John Vogler as the owner of one female slave, age 25.[219]

John Vogler entered into business with his son Elias in 1846 and the next year built a one-story, free-standing, gable front brick shop against the south property line and fronting Main Street. Following Vogler's death, the shop building was used for a time in the early twentieth century as a dwelling and shop and later connected to the house by another building. The shop was removed in the 1950s. There were several outbuildings in the yard as well, including a wood shed and the Reuter House converted to a barn; the garden area remained clear of buildings. In 1890 Salt Street was pushed south and across the west end of this lot, and with this new street addition, the western portion of the lot was subdivided for development.

The Vogler House remained in the family until it was given to Old Salem in 1952 by Pauline Bahnson Gray, John and Christine's great granddaughter. She and other descendants provided funding for the restoration of the house in 1955, as well as gifts of Vogler artifacts for furnishing and display. A brick wall is along Main Street at the sidewalk, a picket fence at the West Street sidewalk, and there is a low brick retaining wall along the rear of the lot.

Reuter House (reconstruction) 1954 Contributing Building

Philip Christian Gottlieb Reuter played an invaluable role in the emergence of Wachovia on the colonial landscape and frontier of North Carolina, and especially in the planning of the central town of Salem. Reuter was sent to America specifically to record the Wachovia resources and to plan. In addition to his superb skills as a surveyor and draftsman, he designed buildings and held leadership positions in Bethabara and Salem. Reuter had married Anna Catharina Antes Kalberlahn, widow of Dr. Hans Martin Kalberlahn, in 1762 and built this frame house as their residence in Salem in 1771-72. He died in 1777, and she would be left a widow twice more. Because her husbands served in other places, she lived in her Salem house off and on until her final widowhood, during which time she spent her last years there. Several others had rented the house and it was

[219] Forsyth County Genealogical Society, *Forsyth Co., NC 1860 Federal Census*, 208.

sold and resold also. Gottlieb Krause, master mason, and his family lived in the house from 1786-Jan. 1789 and he made several "improvements" to the house.

Before Anna Catharina's death, John Vogler, the young silversmith and clockmaker, expressed interest in the lot and was assured by the Collegium that it would be held for him. In 1816, after Anna Catharina's death, John Vogler purchased the improvements on the lot and rented the house for a while before moving it back in preparation for the construction of his new house in 1819. It was used for various purposes until becoming a barn. The 1895-1912 Sanborn Insurance maps recorded it sitting in the yard of the John Vogler house against the north property line. In 1947 the house was disassembled and stored by the Colonial Dames. In 1954, Old Salem, Inc. reconstructed the Anna Catharina House reusing the original timbers. The reconstruction is positioned in the Vogler House yard as it stood after Vogler moved it in preparation for his new house.

Reuter built the first frame house in Salem, as predecessors had been *fachwerk*, log, or stone (*Gemeinhaus* first floor), and form followed the prevailing *flurküchenhaus*. The one-story building with beaded weatherboard and a side-gable roof (concrete to simulate wood shingle) with open eaves has a large central brick chimney with corbelled cap and stucco band and is on a stone foundation. The four-bay façade has a herringbone door and three six-over-six sash windows with single leaf shutters. Six-over-six sash windows are on all elevations. In the upper gable ends are six-over-three sash windows at the second-floor level. Windows and doors have plain casings. The lot slopes to the west, and south and west foundation walls have six-light casement windows set in brick relieving arches. There are exterior entrances to the cellar on the west and south sides accessed by stone stairways.

The house sat prominently on Main Street facing the southwest corner of Salem Square. Reuter had planned his house for some time and in December 1770, the records noted "Br. Reuter proposes to build a house in Salem like Miksch's between the Single Brethren's House and the tavern. He has the personal means to do this and there was nothing to be said against it."[220] By July 1771, "Br. Reuter has submitted the foundation-plan of his house to be built in Salem. We made some suggestions as to the inside arrangements. He wants a room in the front for his sketching. In making this, the best space for living room, likewise for the steps to attic and cellar, would be cut up. In planning the house Br. Reuter should also have in mind a successor to him"[221]

31FY395*64
Lot 64 Archaeology
Contributing Component to the Contributing Site

1950 Frank Horton (OSI)
Field drawing of woodshed foundation in rear yard.

710 Lot 65 Christoph Vogler House 1797 Contributing Building
A fine work of Johann Gottlob Krause, this one-story Flemish bond structure, with innovative brickwork details and overall elegance, was built as the residence, shop and smithy of the gunsmith Christoph Vogler. The house remained in a relatively unaltered condition until the 1870s when the confectioner Francis Meller purchased it made significant changes which produced, among other things, a two-story brick house with a stylish two-story front porch, new doors and windows, rearranged interior space and a bake oven in the cellar. Old Salem, Inc. was faced with tremendous challenges in the restoration of this important building to its original exterior appearance when this project was undertaken by Frank Horton, *et al* in the early 1950s. Project notes, letters

[220] Lot 64, Old Salem, Inc. Lot Files, Winston-Salem, NC.
[221] Ibid.

and photographs from that time provide important insight into the restoration process established in those early years by Mr. Horton.

Christoph Vogler's family moved to Wachovia in 1770 when he was a child, settling in Friedland with other Broadbay, Maine families. He soon came to live in Salem and learned a trade. He became a master gunsmith in 1787 and ten years later married Sr. Anna Johanna Stauber (see also 823 S. Church Street, Lot 95). After changing his house plans from frame, or *binderwerk,* to brick, by February 1797, he was working with master mason Krause to build a brick house. The Voglers moved into their new home in December 1797.

The house sits against the sidewalk and has a high picket fence. It is a one-story Flemish bond brick house with dark headers. It has a steep side-gable roof (clay tile), cove and bead cornice, and decorative brick walls. The raised stuccoed stone foundation is painted to resemble cut stone. The asymmetrical four bay façade has two doors, indicating a house and shop. Windows and doors have plain casings. Each entry is at a granite doorsill and accessed from the sidewalk by four or five granite steps on stuccoed masonry bases with wrought iron railing. The south half and second floor of the house served as the Vogler living quarters. The house entry is a six-panel door with ogee tracery in a round arch above. A German casement dormer on the roof is above and left of the arched front doorway and lights the stair and upper hall. Windows are set in rubbed-brick elliptical relieving arches. There are two nine-over-six sash windows to the left of the front door and on all elevations. First floor windows have single leaf panel shutters. In each upper gable end are two six-over-six sash windows at the second-floor level, and two circular vents are in the attic level above. There is an interior end brick chimney with corbelled cap and stucco band at the south end.

The northern half of the house was designed for the gun shop operation with its own street front entrance in a wide elliptical arch with ogee tracery above a combination six panel door and four-over-four sash window. An interior brick chimney with corbelled cap and stucco band is located at the interior wall between house and shop. The oversized carved wood flint-lock muzzle-loader mounted on the façade is the shop sign. The shop also had a steep exterior staircase on the north side of the building to the cellar below where Vogler's smithy was located. Due to the lot slope, the western wall of the full cellar was exposed onto the yard area where there was located at various times a well, stable, cistern, ice house and other outbuildings. The rear elevation provided entries into the shop cellar and into the house cellar.

Fine brickwork decorates this structure, from overall texture created by the dark headers in the Flemish bond to the molded brick water table and the rubbed brick in the arches. The gable ends are especially decorative with dark headers forming intricate herringbone patterns. The south elevation is distinguished by the "yard high" monogram of Krause "IGK" in dark headers. A "W" was formed of dark headers in the brick bond on the façade between the house and shop doors and indicated the Vogler ownership.

Vogler moved to the former Loesch House (Walnut Street, Lot 168) in 1800 and Ludwig Eberhardt, the Clockmaker, recently arrived from Europe, lived in the house on Lot 65 until 1813. Charles Bagge, son of Traugott, purchased the Vogler house at that time. He had just received permission to return to Salem and had been hired by Br. Steiner, Inspector of the Girls Boarding School, as his assistant. Charles and his family added a rear porch to the house in 1824. Charles died in 1837 and the house remained in and out of his family until 1870 when Francis Meller purchased it and had the major changes made: "Br. Francis Meller wishes to make about 40,000 brick on the yard on Shuman's former bottom, for the purpose of building a 2nd story on his house; to which there is no objection."[222] W.T. Carter bought the house sometime after Meller's death in 1887. In 1890 Salt Street was pushed south and across the west end of this lot, and with this new street addition, the

[222] "Minutes of the Board of Trustees, 20 Feb. 1872" (Lot 65, Old Salem, Inc. Lot Files, Winston-Salem, NC).

western portion of the lot was subdivided for development. The street car installation, also in 1890, impacted the grade at this lot and the sidewalk remains several feet below the street grade.

After its purchase in 1951, Old Salem, Inc. restored the house in 1955 and created three apartment units on the interior. The roofing tiles were imported from Castle Lichtenberg in Germany. The restoration was funded by the Hanes family in memory of Lucy Hanes Chatman. The house is a single-family dwelling.

31FY395*65
Lot 65 Archaeology
Contributing Component to the Contributing Site

1952 Frank Horton (OSI)
Lot 65 Christoph Vogler Lot

2002 Kym Riewe, under supervision of Michael O. Hartley, Director of Archaeology (OSI)
Testing in rear yard, clearance for planting

712 Samuel Shultz Shoemaker Shop 1827 Contributing Building
The Shultz Shop is one of five extant original free-standing shop buildings in Old Salem. It is used by the museum as an exhibit building to interpret the early nineteenth century cobbler's trade with a costumed interpreter making shoes.

Many features of the house are repeated on the one-room shop that Shultz built in 1827 just a few feet from his house and against the sidewalk. The one-story frame (beaded weatherboard) gable front shop on a stone foundation has box cornice and a wood shingle roof. The two-bay façade has a four-panel door and a nine-over-six sash window hung with two-panel shutters. Two nine-over-six sash windows are on the north elevation and one on the west, all with shutters. Windows and door have molded casings. A carved wooden boot hanging from the southeast corner of the building advertises the shoe shop. A small rear hatch leads into the attic on the west façade. The shop is heated by a wood stove which vented out an exterior freestanding brick chimney with corbelled cap at the west gable end,[223] the only surviving example of such in Salem.

Much discussion had ensued regarding the poor drainage between Lots 66 and 65, and by the time Shultz wanted to build his shop to the north of his house, it was decided to run a subterranean drain from Lot 25 across Main Street, through the Shultz lot and tie into neighbor, Blum's, water ditch on Lot 67.

By 1895, the Shultz Shop had been twice enlarged to the rear and connected to the house and was being used as a dwelling. The shop was purchased by Old Salem and restored in 1978 to its 1827 appearance.

714 Lot 66 Samuel Shultz House 1819 Contributing Building
With neighbors on either side, Lot 66 sat without a building until the shoemaker Samuel Schulz constructed his house there in 1819. Before that time, the lot was used as a paddock for cows and horses and as a place for the drainage of rainwater from lots at higher elevations. As was the case for the first houses built in Salem on the west side of Main Street several blocks north (Lots 49-53), flooding cellars were not uncommon in Salem. When Schultz received permission to build, his lot had a frontage of 75 feet rather than the usual 66 feet. A drain had been constructed between Shultz's Lot 66 and his neighbor to the north on Lot 65, Charles Bagge. Shultz married Christine Hein the same year his house was completed.

[223] John Larson, "The Restoration of the 1827 Samuel Shultz Shoemaker's Shop in Old Salem, Winston-Salem, N.C." (master's thesis, University of South Carolina, 1982).

The house sits against the sidewalk and has a picket fence. The two-story frame (beaded weatherboard) house has a steep side-gable roof (concrete to simulate wood shingle) with flush ends and box cornice with bed molding. The building is on a stone foundation and has a central brick chimney with corbelled cap. The four-bay façade has a four-panel door, and there are three nine-over-six sash windows with louvered shutters on the first floor and four six-over-six sash windows on the second floor, all evenly spaced. The front door is at a granite step at sidewalk grade. In the upper gable ends are single six-over-six sash windows at the third floor/attic level. Doors and windows have molded casings. The house has a four-room plan with the rooms clustered around the central chimney. Prior to building a freestanding shop, Shultz's workshop had been located in his house, and there was probably a separate entry door for this shop. With the slope of the lot to the west, the cellar becomes fully exposed, and there is a full-width shed roof rear porch with chamfered posts and a simple balustrade supported by brick piers. A flight of wooden stairs descends from inside the porch to the ground level.

A young Samuel Shultz apprenticed to Br. J. Kuschke the shoemaker. By 1814, Samuel was working in the Single Brothers' House as a shoemaker and requested that he be allowed to order shoes from Pennsylvania to sell, which he would be willing to repair and half-sole as necessary. This request was approved in light of a shoe shortage at the time. He built his house and married in 1819. A springhouse was built in 1825 by Shultz and Bagge, straddling their common lot line; however, the new structure interfered with the drainage installed in 1808. Shultz received permission to build a free-standing shop (1827) immediately to the north of his house so long as he did not obstruct the drain between his lot and Bagge's.

Shultz worked as a shoemaker for much of his life, but also ventured beyond his cobbler's bench. He and a few other brethren experimented, unsuccessfully, with the establishment of silk worms on a mulberry plantation on the former Schumann Plantation in 1838. In 1842 he received a prestigious appointment to rewind the church clock and ring the noon bell, and one which he nearly lost, when without approval Shultz obtained a county license to dispense liquor in 1850. He nearly lost his Salem residency over the issue; however, he was not alone, as several others were reprimanded for similar actions a few months later. Shultz died in 1871.

The Turner family owned the house in the late nineteenth century. The 1890 streetcar line dramatically changed the street level at this lot, with several feet difference between the sidewalk and street. Also, in 1890, Salt Street was pushed south and across the west end of this lot, and with this new street addition, the western portion of the lot was subdivided for development. The rear porch of the house was altered with additional levels and enclosures by 1895 and was attached to the shop with a room by 1907 as recorded on the Sanborn Insurance maps. The Sanborn maps 1895-1912 also show several outbuildings in the yard, which may include the 1822 smokehouse and a later stable. Old Salem, Inc. acquired the house and restored it in 1961; privately owned.

31FY395*66
Lot 66 Archaeology
Contributing Component to the Contributing Site

1960 Frank Albright (OSI)
Lot 66 Schultz yard

724 Lot 67 Blum House 1815 Contributing Building
The two-story house with large shade trees and remnants of Colonial Revival gardens in the rear yard is an expanded form of the one and one-half story house Christian Blum built in 1815. Located on the lot north of the Tavern complex, the house has functioned as a dwelling, including bank, print shop, and book shop.

Born in Bethabara, John Christian Blum came to Salem as a child and entered the Single Brothers' House in 1798 to learn a trade. He pursued a variety of occupations, having more success with some than with others: dyer, chairmaker, wheelwright, tavern keeper, roadmaster, combmaker, and bank agent. It was, however, as Salem's first printer and publisher that he excelled and which gave him a remarkably enduring legacy. He published Salem's first newspaper the *Weekly Gleaner* and his *Farmers' and Planters' Almanac*, now known as *Blum's Farmer's and Planter's Almanac*, has been in continuous publication since 1828. His printing business began in this house.

Blum married Maria Elisabeth Transou in 1810 and after serving as tavern keepers, they built this house on Main Street in 1815, around the time of his appointment as Salem's agent for the Cape Fear Bank. The house was built as a one and one-half story frame house with a center hall, two rooms deep, with interior end chimneys. In this new house, Blum had a banking room accessible to customers through its own entrance, just north of the family door. The house left the Blum family for a short time and Levi Blum purchased the house in 1854, raised the house to two stories, and added the exterior chimney on the north. The rear porch was enlarged and enclosed over time, and then reworked again, as an open porch. Levi Blum was publisher of the *People's Press* in Salem.

The house sits against the sidewalk and has a picket fence. The two-story frame (weatherboard) house has a side-gable roof (5V metal) with flush ends, returned eaves, and box cornice with bed molding. The foundation is stone and there is an interior end brick chimney with corbelled cap at the south end and a Flemish bond, double-shoulder, paved exterior end chimney with corbelled cap at the north end. The south gable end has a lightning rod. The five-bay façade has two entry doors indicating the house/shop configuration, as was the original 1815 form of the house. The two-room deep house has the residence in the south end with the entry a bit off-center on the façade and two windows to its left. To its right is the shop portion with shop entry and a window to its right. Each entry is a six-panel door with four-light transom above and is one step up from sidewalk grade. Nine-over-six sash windows are on the façade and all elevations. Windows are hung with double-panel shutters. Two six-over-six sash windows are in each upper gable end at the third floor/attic level. Doors and windows have molded casings. The residence door enters a center hall with staircase and rear door to a porch. There are two rooms at the south and one room at the north (originally two). The northwest room also had a door to the porch. The lot slopes to the west with full exposure to the west cellar wall. A three-quarter width flat roof rear porch at the first-floor level has chamfered posts with simple balustrade supported by timber posts. There is a four-panel door from the upper hallway to the roof of the porch centered with a nine over nine symmetrically on each side. Off the north end of the porch, a partially covered a wooden staircase descends to the ground level. A doorway leads into the cellar in the lower stone foundation. The rear yard is unrestored with Colonial Revival box wood plantings and terracing.

Blum's sons, Levi and Edward, continued the printing operation in a free-standing shop in the rear yard after 1850, with the shop used as a sales room. The Slave Schedule from the 1860 Forsyth County Census listed Levi Blum as the owner of one female slave, age 65.[224] During the late-nineteenth century, the north end of the house served as a book shop. The coming of the streetcar in 1890 changed the street level at this lot, with several feet difference between the sidewalk and street. Also, in 1890, Salt Street was pushed south and across the west end of this lot, and with this new street addition, the western portion of the lot was subdivided for development.

The house passed from the Blum family in the late nineteenth century and was renovated by Mr. and Mrs. Richard in the 1940s. Old Salem acquired the house in 1952 and the rear portion of the lot in 1965. The house continued as a rental residential property until the late 1980s when it was renovated again and the previously

[224] Forsyth County Genealogical Society, *The 1860 Federal Census*, 207.

closed-up north door was reopened, and Old Salem began using the building for special exhibits on Blum's printing operation and early photography in Salem, as well as offices on the second floor. The rear yard print shop was the focus of an archaeological field school in 1993-94.

31FY395*67
Lot 67 Archaeology
Contributing Component to the Contributing Site

1993 Brad Bartel, (UNCG), Michael O. Hartley (OSI consulting arch)
Blum yard, Print Shop

1994 Brad Bartel (UNCG), Michael O. Hartley (OSI consulting arch.)
Blum yard, Print Shop

736 Lot 68 Salem Tavern Annex 1816 Contributing Building
Completed in 1816 during the first year of Br. Gottlieb Byhan's time as tavern keeper, the "boarding house" was built to ease lodging demands in Salem as an annex to the Salem Tavern next door. Placed just north of the 1784 brick tavern, the annex fronted Main Street with a similar setback and front porch.

A tavern was one of the ten priority buildings first constructed in Salem and provided the necessary interface between the Moravians and "strangers," or non-Moravians. At the time of its original construction in 1772, an attempt was made to separate the tavern, in a physical sense, from the curiosity of the brethren, in order to discourage any outside influences. By 1816, residential construction had made its way south along Main Street and just months earlier, Br. John Christian Blum had retired as tavern keeper and built his own frame house on the adjacent lot to the north where he operated as local agent of the Cape Fear Bank (see 724 S. Main Street, Lot 67).

The tavern was a self-sufficient complex which contained a variety of buildings. Lodging and hospitality demands of the first half of the nineteenth century were met with much new construction at the complex. An October 1815 proposal for the "boarding house" was considered and "it was decided to build it two stories high, with four rooms above and four below, each room sixteen by fourteen feet in the clear, with a ten-foot passage between, a porch in front, and the chimneys inside."[225]

A "new dining hall" was built between the "boarding house" and the brick tavern in 1832 and the "boarding house" was expanded north in 1853. At some point (post 1838), a continuous two-story front porch connected the street front of the tavern complex, and it was in this form that it functioned as the Salem Hotel by the late nineteenth century, with the Zevely Hotel directly across the street. In 1890 Salt Street was pushed south and across the west end of this lot, and with this new street addition, the western portion of the lot was subdivided for development. By 1897, the "boarding house" was free-standing once again, and in 1900 it was recorded on the Sanborn Insurance maps as tenements. The property was acquired by Old Salem, Inc. in 1959 and was restored in 1968 to its 1816 appearance with the interior was adapted for a restaurant, the Tavern dining rooms, with the kitchen in the cellar, extending under the sidewalk and street.

The two-story frame (beaded weatherboard) building has a steep side gable roof (concrete to simulate wood shingle) with flush ends and box cornice. The foundation is stuccoed and there are interior end brick chimneys with corbelled caps. The building is set back from the sidewalk the width of a full façade shed roof front porch with six Tuscan columns and simple balustrade on a stuccoed masonry foundation. There are two granite steps at the center bay of the porch and three granite steps at the south end of the porch. The five-bay façade is

[225] Fries, *Records of the Moravians*, 7:3272-3273.

symmetrical and has a centered six-panel front door with five-light transom above. Nine-over-six sash windows are on the façade and all elevations. Windows are hung with louvered shutters. Two six-over-six sash windows are in each upper gable end at the third floor/attic level. Doors and windows have molded casings. The closely spaced windows on either side of the front door indicate the wide center hall within that has a rear staircase and rear door to a porch. The building is a two-room deep plan. A rear three-quarter width shed roof porch is supported by Tuscan columns with a simple balustrade is on a stuccoed masonry base. Wooden staircases descend to the ground level from the west and south sides of the porch. The lot slopes enough to provide cellar door access at the northwest end with a gabled enclosed covering.

800 Lot 68 Salem Tavern 1784 Contributing Building
Listed as a National Historic Landmark.

The Salem Tavern was a Congregation-owned business and a priority building for the new town. A two-story *fachwerk*, or half-timber, tavern was completed in 1772 to accommodate outsiders during their stay in Salem. The Tavern provided the necessary interface between "strangers" and the Moravians, and was located to the south of Salem Square at the "edge" of the town. A fire destroyed this building in 1784 and the brethren lost no time in replacing it that same year, using materials which had been assembled for the construction of the long-awaited and once again delayed Single Sisters House on the Square (627 S. Church Street, Lot 15). The new tavern building was constructed on the foundation of the 1772 tavern, with extension to the south, and a two-story ell for the kitchen off the northwest. It provided the necessary public rooms and accommodations for travelers and visitors and hosted its share of the famous and the ordinary.

The form and character of this new tavern, the first brick building in Salem, set the tone for brick construction in Salem. "The design of the building, the work of skilled craftsmen, is characterized by clean lines, excellent proportions, and simple but fine detailing."[226] Master mason Melchoir Rasp was at the end of his life and nearly blind at the time of this project and it was his apprentice, Johann Gottlob Krause (first trained as a potter under Gottfried Aust), whose hand guided the building. Four days after completion of the masonry work on the tavern, Krause was made a master mason, after only three years in a process which usually took seven.[227]

The building introduced Krause as a mason and the beautiful Flemish bond brick work with dark or glazed headers that would characterize his work for nearly two decades, until his death in 1802. On this building he used the oversized brick which he had made (intended for the Sisters House) and which he favored.[228] He also made the roofing tiles. The eave locks, interior end chimneys, and brick elliptical relieving arches above windows would continue in the brick construction that followed, and though eave locks were abandoned soon thereafter, the latter two elements persisted.

On the main block, with its symmetrical façade, is a steep side gable roof (clay tile) with flush ends, corner lock plates, and a box cornice. The roof shelters a double attic and a single gable dormer with a six-over-six sash window is in the center front of the roof. There are interior end brick chimneys with corbelled caps and stucco bands, and a high stuccoed stone foundation. The building sits back from the sidewalk the width of the full façade shed roof (wood shingle) front porch with open eaves and has eight chamfered posts with simple balustrade. The porch is interesting in that it shelters the herringbone front door (where the ceiling is cut three inches higher) at a granite door sill, but there are no windows on the first-floor façade. This was an effort to discourage the Moravian townspeople from viewing tavern activities through front windows. The porch is on a high stuccoed masonry foundation and reached by granite steps on each side of an arched masonry stoop with

[226] Polly M. Rettig (NHL Landmark Review) and Horace J. Sheely, Jr. (original form 1963), "Salem Tavern," National Register of Historic Places Inventory -- Nomination Form, United States Department of the Interior, National Park Service, 1975, Section 7.
[227] Rohrer, "Gottlob Krause," 14-23.
[228] John Larson (Vice-President, Old Salem Museums & Gardens), conversation with M.B. and M.O. Hartley.

granite landing and wrought-iron railing. At the second floor, the five-bay façade has five six-over-six sash windows set in elliptical relieving arches; this window is repeated on other elevations. On the rear elevation are two six-light casements which light the stairway at the rear of the center hall. In each upper gable end are two six-over-six sash windows at the third floor/lower attic level with a two-light vertical casement above in the upper attic level. The north gable end has a lightning rod. The front door enters a wide center hall with rear door and rear staircase with decorative railing. Windows and doors have wide, plain casings. The building is a two-room deep plan with public rooms on the first floor, including one special guest room, and lodging on the second and third floors. The vaulted cellar rooms are accessed from the main stair and from the kitchen, and there is a large exterior bulkhead hatch at the north elevation.

The kitchen ell is a two-story building with a gable roof (clay tile) having flush ends and long lock plates. The ell is three feet lower in elevation than the main block and also on a stuccoed stone foundation but there is no cellar. The west end of the ell has an interior end brick chimney with corbelled cap and stucco band which vents the wide cooking hearth and a bake oven in the large kitchen. A shed roof (clay tile) off the west elevation shelters a dry house and squirrel tail flue at the bake oven. There is a Dutch door at the south side of the kitchen which opens onto a covered walkway (wood shingle) connected to the rear door of the main block. The kitchen is reached by a stone staircase from the northwest first floor room of the main block, and with its stone paving, the kitchen encompasses the entire first floor of the ell. The municipal Water Works system brought running water to the kitchen in 1778. There is a large room on the second floor with an attic above. In the upper gable end of the ell are two two-light casements at the attic level. Windows on the ell are paired six-light sliding casements set in elliptical relieving arches with oversized brick keystones. Windows and doors have wide, plain casings.

The land of twenty-one building lots formerly comprised the Tavern's property in the southern half of Salem. Gardens, pasture, meadow, and a variety of outbuildings served the needs of the enterprise. There were a variety of support buildings over time including horse stables, cow stable, pig pen, woodshed, cistern, well, smokehouse, necessaries, and a large barn by 1803. A bake oven and dry house attached to the kitchen ell was torn down in 1811; it is reconstructed as part of the restored brick tavern. Through time, the outbuildings were lost and currently Old Salem, Inc. interprets tavern support structures through a reconstructed three-bay frame woodshed, a ca. 1825 large timber frame barn, and an adjacent fenced paddock.

As an endeavor of the Church, tavern keepers were selected and served for several years at a time. The tavern venture was recognized as one of the few places in early Salem where slave labor would be tolerated, with the thinking that, at such an establishment, travelers expected to be served by the enslaved. This began with the first tavern keepers, Br. and Sr. Jacob Meyer, who with their family and "their old negress and her children," all came from Bethabara in February 1772.[229] The Tavern relied on enslaved labor and tavern staff included slaves. Peter and wife Louisa, and their children, lived and worked at the Tavern in the 1780s and 90s. It was not until 1850 that the enterprise was run by an individual proprietor, when Adam Butner bought the Tavern improvements. Butner sold the "hotel" to Nathan Chaffin in 1857.[230] The Slave Schedule from the 1860 Forsyth County Census listed Nathan Chaffin as the owner of sixteen slaves, male and female, from ages infant to 40 and six slave houses.[231]

The tavern complex expanded to meet growing demands, especially in the first half of the nineteenth century. An example of increased demand came from the families of students attending the Girls Boarding School who required lodging and hospitality when in town. In addition, the annual school examinations held in the spring

[229] Fries, *Records of the Moravians*, 2:671.
[230] Crews and Bailey, *Records of the Moravians*, 12:6243-6244.
[231] Forsyth County Genealogical Society, *The 1860 Federal Census*, 206.

became events for not only the families, but by the 1820s, also were popular entertainment events for the region, with throngs of people coming into Salem for socializing.[232]

Expansions included several additions to meet a variety of needs. By 1805, rooms for lodging were added in the attic. An effort to more efficiently feed and house guests was made ca. 1815 with a frame wing was added off the west, paralleling the kitchen ell, to function as a dining hall (first floor) and additional guest rooms above. And the neighboring "boarding house" was added in 1816 for additional guest rooms (736 S. Main Street). In 1832, a "new dining hall" was built between the brick tavern and the frame "boarding house." In 1838, a two-story front porch was added to the brick tavern, and at some point, was extended to the "boarding house," making a double porch along the entire street front of the tavern complex.

Known as the Salem Hotel in the late nineteenth century, the complex then included a detached second kitchen, an ice house, and several sheds. It had lost much of its original land and by the twentieth century, the complex had been reduced to the single brick building with a double-tier front porch. In 1890 Salt Street was pushed south and across the west end of this lot, and with this new street addition, the western portion of the lot was subdivided for development. Also, in 1890 the trolley car line along Main Street changed the grade in this area. In 1897, the "new dining hall" was removed and the "boarding house" had become tenements by 1900. A new street was cut through ca. 1910, known as Washington Street and connected the newly-extended Salt Street with Main Street. New building lots were drawn and by 1917, development had filled them with single family houses. To the south of the brick tavern, a four-unit row of townhouses, known as the Bennett Flats was built (demolished after 1952).

The tavern was saved from demolition in 1929 by the efforts of Miss Ada Allen, who with her sister Annie, leased, lived in, and conserved the building until 1939 when the Wachovia Historical Society purchased the building.[233] Old Salem, Inc. entered into a lease arrangement with the Society, and a partial restoration was completed in 1965.

The 1840 Main Street frontage of the tavern was 356 feet (much reduced from the early period) and Old Salem, Inc. was able to reassemble this dimension through the lease with the Wachovia Historical Society, the purchase of eleven other properties, and the closing of Washington Street. Nine "non-conforming" buildings were removed as part of the restoration, as well as the two-story porch on the brick tavern. The tavern is a significant exhibit building of the museum and is interpreted to its 1784 appearance.

Tavern Barn (re-located) ca. 1825 Contributing Building

An impressive heavy timber frame structure, this large barn was removed from its original site in the Moravian town of Bethania in 1961 and moved to Salem for use in the interpretation of the Salem Tavern. The location of several outbuildings formed a courtyard behind the tavern, and by 1803, a single barn replaced two large barns which had been combined to form one. This structure, which disappeared in the late nineteenth century, was "described as covered with 'feather-edge boards' and with a roof painted red and the walls yellow"[234] It is this barn which the Bethania barn replaced in the interpretation.

Built before 1830 and probably in the 1820s, the Bethania barn was removed from the extant nineteenth-century Conrad-Jones Plantation in the northern part of the Bethania Town Lot. Dr. Beverly Jones, a Virginia physician, married Abraham Conrad's daughter, Julia, in 1843. He soon built a large brick house on his father-in-law's land in the vicinity of several outbuildings, including the timber frame barn, which pre-date the 1846

[232] Griffin, *Less Time for Meddling,* 94-96.

[233] David Bergstone, *Images of Old Salem Then and Now* (Winston-Salem: Old Salem Museums & Gardens and Blair Publishing, 2010), 12.

[234] Albright and Horton, "History of Properties in Old Salem," 26.

Jones house. Abraham Conrad owned hundreds of acres of land and slaves; he farmed and also owned and operated the Bethania grist mill nearby. It was probably Conrad who built the barn. The barn is nearly identical to one located half a mile north on his brother Jacob Conrad's land, known later as the Stauber Farm. Abraham and Jacob probably built their barns about the same time and with shared labor.[235]

The barn from the Jones plantation is a majestic, frame structure in the German tradition. It is a single-level ground barn (35 feet x 65 feet), *grundscheier*, used for stabling animals such as cows and horses, storing grains and hay, and threshing. The weatherboarded one-story barn with loft has a side gable roof (wood shingle) and is on a stone foundation. On the façade, five exterior single doors, hung by hand forged strap hinges, access the three dirt floor stalls (Dutch doors) and two wooden floor feeding passages, *der foodergangs.* Two large frame doors (held by metal strap hinges and iron collars) enter the middle bay, a tightly constructed raised wooden threshing floor, *dreschdenn*; lofts are on either side above the stalls and passages. Hays racks and two massive feeding troughs (made of single hollowed-out logs) are among the built-ins.[236] Except at the large doors, the front roof extends well beyond the face of the building as a pent roof to protect the large vent along the upper north wall in the stall and passage areas. There are small vented openings for stalls along the east and west walls, one on the north for a stall and a single vent in each upper gable end. The building was recorded by HABS in 1961. The siting for the barn interpretation in Old Salem is facing north and as a bank barn. The south side lower level has sliding frame doors at a lower-level room. The barn is adjacent to a paddock with split rail fence.

Woodshed (Reconstructed) ca.1978 Contributing Building

A woodshed in this approximate location was one of several buildings to the rear of the first tavern which by 1775 included a smokehouse, shed for horses of visitors, horse stable, cow stable, pigpen, and necessary.[237] The reconstruction is based on archaeological and historical records and documentary photographs. The timber frame, three-bay woodshed is on a fieldstone foundation and has a side gable roof (wood shingles). The east side faces the Tavern and has two open bays, one with a loft, and one bay is enclosed by a room (restrooms). Walls are board and batten siding. This building is a key support function for the museum.

31FY395*68
Lot 68 Archaeology
Contributing Component to the Contributing Site

1961 Frank Albright (OSI)
back barn yard

1966 or 67 Brad Rauschenberg (OSI)
Excavations at rear of Salem Tavern

1978 Melonie Coats (WFU)
Tavern woodhouse

832 Lot 102 John Siewers House 1844 Contributing Building

The John Siewers House is nearly identical to the Francis Fries House (destroyed) on Brookstown Avenue that Fries designed and built in 1840, and as with the 1841 Bishop's House and 1845 Jacob Siewers House (John's brother's house across the street), they are examples of the emerging Greek Revival style in Salem in the 1840s.

[235] Brian K. Coe, "The Bethania Barns: A Study of Nineteenth-Century German Rural Architecture in North Carolina," 1992, 118-124 (on file, Old Salem Department of Archaeology, Winston-Salem, NC).
[236] Ibid.
[237] Albright and Horton, "History of Properties in Old Salem," 26.

Sitting against the sidewalk with a picket fence at the north, the one and one-half story common bond (4:1) brick house on a brick foundation has a side gable roof (wood shingle) with flush ends, interior end chimneys with corbelled caps, and a corbelled brick cornice. Lightning rods are at each gable end. The house sits high above Main Street at Walnut Street on a full story brick cellar. A pedimented portico with paired Tuscan columns highlights the symmetrical five-bay façade. The centered entry is a six-panel door with a four-light transom at a granite doorsill. The portico is on a full-story brick base with a full flight of granite steps off the north end. A latticed door below is access to the full story cellar at sidewalk level. The house is a center hall, two-room deep plan. Window sash is nine-over-six hung with three-panel shutters on the first floor and six-over-six window sash hung with two-panel shutters on the cellar level. In each upper gable end at the second floor are two six-over-six sash windows hung with double panel shutters and flanked by four light casements in the attic. In the gable peaks are two cross pattern vents in the brick. Windows and door have molded casings. One shed roof dormer with casement windows is on the rear roof. There is a full façade porch across the rear (west) elevation that is screened.

Lot 102 was split out of the Tavern land in 1839 for Edwin Beitel. Beitel's lease was assumed by John Daniel Siewers, cabinet maker, in 1849, and the size of the lot was then increased at his request to accommodate a shop and to provide storage for the timber which he used in his craft. His brother Jacob, also a cabinet maker, had operated a shop on the opposite corner of Main and Walnut Streets.

John Siewers was born in 1818 on St. Thomas, West Indies, to parents who were Moravian missionaries there. He spent his youth on St. Thomas and was sent to Nazareth, Pennsylvania for school. John came to Salem from Pennsylvania in 1833 at age 14 to learn under his brother Jacob's supervision. In 1838-39, the Siewers brothers spent time in Milton, North Carolina working with Thomas Day, free black cabinetmaker.[238] John was granted the right to operate a shop of his own in 1840. John and Jacob entered into partnership in January of 1842 and requested permission to build a shop on the rear of Lot 102, which was granted. In 1844, John Siewers requested and received permission to construct a one-and-one-half story brick house on Lot 102, which was also granted. The present house was completed in December of that year. The house was originally planned to measure 30' X 40' with a center hall, four rooms, and a cellar. The frontage of the lot was changed during the digging of this cellar because the rocky condition of the lot required shifting the house to the south, which produced a jog in the run of Walnut Street where it joins Main Street. John married Rebecca Paulina Shober in December 1844, and she died at the birth of their child, Nathaniel, in November 1845 (Lots 6 and 26). In April 1845 the Siewers brothers' cabinet shop was destroyed by fire and had to be rebuilt. John remarried, and in 1857 he sold his house and the front of his lot to O.A. Keehln (Kuhln), made an addition to the shop and moved his family into the shop.[239] The Slave Schedule from the 1860 Forsyth County Census listed O.A. Keehln as the owner of two young slaves, one male age 14 and one female age 11, and one slave house.[240]

The John Siewers House changed ownership several times, but for the most part remained unaltered. Zach and Flora Ann Bynum lived in the house from 1950 until her death in 2006. She was a garden historian, founder of the Southern Garden History Society, and champion of landscape restoration in Old Salem. Her garden, in the side yard to the north, is an interpretation of a mid-century Salem garden with an emphasis on ornamentals. The house was rehabilitated by new owners, Jerry and Kathleen Keyser in 2011.

A large pecan tree (Carya illinoinensis) on Lot 102 was recognized by the Forsyth County Treasure Trees program in 2011 (height: 91 ft., diameter: 37.7 in., circumference: 118 in., crown spread: 88 ft.).[241]

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[238] Hill, "Shrinking Doors and Painted Ghosts," 24.
[239] Ibid., 107-108.
[240] Forsyth County Genealogical Society, *The 1860 Federal Census*, 207.
[241] Treasure Trees of Forsyth County.

Lot 102 Siewers Shop 1845 Contributing Building
(15 Walnut St.)

Sitting against the sidewalk of Walnut Street, the two-story gable front frame shop with a brick addition is a configuration from 1904. The frame section (weatherboard) is on a high common bond (3:1) brick foundation and is two-rooms deep. The gable roof (standing seam metal) has a box eave and there is a partially engaged exterior brick chimney on the west. The one-bay façade has two-over-two window sash, which is used on all elevations. There is a door at sidewalk grade in the front (south) foundation wall. The 1857 common bond (4:1) brick addition to the east elevation is a one-room deep building with a side gable roof (standing seam metal) with box eaves and there is an exterior end single shouldered chimney on the north side. In the gable peak are two cross pattern vents in the brick (as seen on the Siewers house). The brick addition is set back from the sidewalk the depth of a front porch with turned posts and simple balustrade on brick piers with lattice between. A two-panel Greek Revival-door on the frame section and an identical door on the brick section open onto the porch. Also on the brick section at the porch level is a window, and there is one window above at the second-floor level. Across the rear (north) of the frame/brick building is a one-story shed roof frame addition with enclosed end rooms separated by a screened porch (east room is ca. 2002).

The frame section is the remaining one-bay portion of a large shop building constructed in 1845 following destruction by fire of the Siewers' first shop built in 1842.[242] This shop is one of five extant original free-standing shop buildings in Old Salem. The brick section is an addition made by Siewers in 1857. That year, he sold his house and the north part of Lot 102 and moved his family into the converted shop/house. The Slave Schedule from the 1860 Forsyth County Census listed John Siewers as the owner of three male slaves, ages 18 to 26 and one slave house.[243] By 1870, John and family probably lived with son Nathaniel Siewers on Lot 26 in his new house. It is also likely that in 1870 cabinet maker William Siewers (son of Rachel Hege) and former slave of John Siewers (1860 Census), was living in the shop on Lot 102 with his son and mother.[244] In 1874 John Siewers purchased Lot 6 and its house, and moved his family there, and probably continued to use the shop on Lot 102.[245]

In 1890, Salt Street was pushed south and across the west end of Lot 102 where it tied into Walnut Street and the western portion of the lot was subdivided for development. Also, in 1890, at John's death, the shop passed to his son Nathaniel and was sold. Henderson Rogers, "a negro," was living in the "old shop." In the early twentieth century, Lot 102 was subdivided with at least two additional houses built on it. In 1903 James Brower purchased the shop, and having bought the Siewers house in 1890, was able to reunite Lot 102. He removed two-thirds of the frame shop building, leaving the one bay portion with brick addition. He also replaced window sash and made other stylistic changes to prepare the building for rental. The building changed ownership numerous times in the twentieth century. In 2002, it was purchased and renovated by Larry and Kaky Berry.

31FY395*102
Lot 102 Archaeology
Contributing Component to the Contributing Site

2002 Kristin Hill (graduate student), under supervision of Michael Hartley, Director of Archaeology (OSI)
Siewers Shop

[242] Hill, "Shrinking Doors and Painted Ghosts," 107-108.
[243] Forsyth County Genealogical Society, *The 1860 Federal Census*, 207.
[244] Hill, "Shrinking Doors and Painted Ghosts," 38.
[245] Ibid., 108.

916 Lot 96 Johannes Volz House 1816 Contributing Building

The Volz House introduced to Salem the full front porch on a private residence and was the first house to sit back from the sidewalk. The Tavern (1784) front porch was the first in Salem and was tied to that building's use. At the time of construction, the Volz House lay somewhat beyond the core area of the town, as lots had not yet been surveyed that far south when the retired farmer Johannes Volz applied to build his house. Johannes Volz had been the farm manager of the former Stockburger Farm from 1796 until his retirement in 1815 when he requested a lot in the southern part of the town for his retirement home.

The two-story frame (weatherboard) house with a side gable roof (concrete to simulate wood shingle) has flush ends and a box cornice. The building is on a stuccoed stone foundation and there is a central chimney with corbelled cap. The three-bay house has a side hall plan. It sits back from the sidewalk the width of a full façade shed roof front porch with five Tuscan columns and a simple balustrade on a stone foundation. The porch is one step above sidewalk grade at the entry bay, located at the right end of the three-bay façade, where a herringbone Dutch door abuts a six-over-six sash window. Two additional six-over-six sash windows are on the façade under the porch, where there is flush board sheathing; there are three windows on the second-floor façade. Other elevations have six-over-six sash windows and all are hung with double panel shutters. Two six-light casements are in each upper gable end at the attic level. Doors and windows have molded casings. A two-story engaged lean-to is across the rear elevation. The lot slopes to the west exposing a full story cellar at the rear with door and windows. A board fence surrounds the house lot.

Volz lived in his house for only five years until his death. His widow and their son, George Volz (1798-1871), a gunsmith continued to live in the house, and George built a small gun shop on the lot. George purchased the house from his mother and she moved to a house he owned on Lot 100 in 1830. He then built a larger shop (19' X 33') on the northeast corner of Lot 96 in 1831, now an archaeological component. It was about this time that Volz had his first neighbors when Timothy Vogler built his gun shop across Main Street in 1831 and this block began to be developed. The Slave Schedule from the 1860 Forsyth County Census listed George Foltz (Volz) as the owner of two male slaves, ages 56 and 50 and one slave house.[246] The gun shop may have served as the "slave house." The area north of the house is cultivated with field crops and surrounded by a rail feeder fence.

By the early twentieth century, Lot 96 had been subdivided, the Volz gunshop was gone, and there were two houses north of the Volz House and south of Walnut Street. The Volz house central chimney had been removed and interior end chimneys installed at some point. The house and lot were purchased by Old Salem, Inc. in 1963, the twentieth century houses were removed, and the Volz house was restored. A large frame barn sits at the rear of the lot. The house is owned by Salem Academy and College.

31FY395*96
Lot 96 Archaeology
Contributing Component to the Contributing Site

1974 John Bivins, (OSI)
Volz Gunshop

Barn (re-located) ca. 1825 Contributing Building

The barn was re-located to the rear of this lot in 1970. It matches in size and location an earlier barn on the lot. The barn was moved from a farm near Idol's dam on the Yadkin River (possibly the Douthit Farm). The large timber frame (board and batten siding), side gable roof (wood shingle) barn is on a partial stone foundation.

[246] Forsyth County Genealogical Society, *The 1860 Federal Census*, 207.

Built into a bank, the west gable end has large doors on hinges. The underside of the barn is partially open as a parking area for the Horton Center next door, with storage above.

924 The Frank L. Horton Museum Center 1948/1964 Noncontributing Building
This mid-twentieth century grocery store in Old Salem was transformed into a world class research facility and a collection of early Southern Decorative Arts by Frank Horton. Horton, an original staff member of Old Salem, Inc. and the energy behind the early restoration, was inspired by a remark made by Joseph Downs, Curator of the American Wing of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, at a Williamsburg Antiques Forum in 1949 when Mr. Downs said that "little of artistic merit was made south of Baltimore."[247] This statement spurred Southern collectors and museum professionals into action, and Mr. Horton assisted with a 1952 exhibition on early Southern furniture in Richmond, in response to Downs' comment. Mr. Horton and his mother Theo Liipfert Taliaferro then proceeded to create the Museum of Early Southern Decorative Arts (MESDA), as an aspect of Old Salem, Inc. They lived in Old Salem in the Philip Reich House (813 S. Church Street, Lot 20).

The museum was established at the southern end of the Old Salem in a former Kroger supermarket building located on Main Street since 1948. The one-story, flat roof, brick grocery store building with full basement was purchased and in 1964 was renovated to house the growing collection of decorative arts and historic house interiors of Mr. Horton and Mrs. Taliaferro. On January 4, 1965, MESDA opened to the public, and the magazine *Antiques* called it "the most significant event in the field of antique collecting and scholarship in more than a decade." [248]

The grocery store building core has been expanded several times to meet the needs of the growing museum. Most significantly in 1974 a brick addition with flat roof was made to the north, providing offices in the basement and gallery/meeting space on the first floor. The inaugural "MESDA Summer Institute" was held in 1976. In 1991, construction began to expand the facility with a southern brick addition with a flat roof, and a rotunda with a copper roof, which became the new entry. The stretcher bond brick with stucco highlights of the new addition was brought around to the front of the building which sat back from the sidewalk. A gallery was added which made a new façade against the sidewalk, and created a cohesive building. The design included a decorative south elevation (arcades, corner pilasters, soldier coursing) that overlooks a lower brick terrace. Designed by Newman and Jones (Michael Newman, principal), Winston-Salem, it was completed in 1994 and the building was dedicated the "Frank L. Horton Museum Center," in honor of Mr. Horton. The inaugural exhibition "Czechs Riches" in 1996 explored the place of origin of the *Unitas Fratrum*. The Heritage Bridge, a pedestrian crossing, was built in 1999 to connect the Horton Center to the new Old Salem Visitors Center, which opened in 2002.

Heritage Bridge 1999 Noncontributing structure
The Heritage Bridge was built to link the planned Old Salem Visitors Center (dedicated in 2002) to the museum area and connects visitors to the south end of Main Street for the start of touring the Town of Salem. The North Carolina Department of Transportation-funded bridge was designed by noted restoration and timber frame engineer David Fischetti and constructed in 1999 by the Blue Ridge Timberwrights of Christiansburg, Virginia. The bridge is an example of a Burr Arch design, after the nineteenth-century American bridge builder Theodore Burr. The bridge is 120 feet and is mortise and tenon timber frame construction with steel fasteners. Each end is anchored to masonry balks faced with header bricks.

The Heritage Bridge is an iconic structure, and it is also a safe pedestrian connector across the four-lane Old Salem Road much in the same way that bridges were built in this corridor to cross the 1912 Southbound railroad

[247] Griffin, *An Adventure in Historic Preservation*, 73.
[248] Ibid., 74.

tracks (which paralleled this road). Following rail construction in 1912, an iron truss bridge was built at Washington Street and a steel and wooden bridge at Bank Street, with other street crossings at grade. The rail line served the industrial heart of Salem. In the late 1980s, the train tracks were removed and the right-of-way became the Strollway, a popular pedestrian path.

S. Marshall Street
East Side

219 House 1928 Noncontributing Building
The Tudor Revival style house is on a parcel carved from the Fries block and built by Fries descendants (see S. Cherry Street). The two-story, stuccoed house with cross gable roof has a decorative brick chimney and "half-timbering" is featured on the projecting front bay, front wall dormer, and gable ends. The entry is a single arched door. A side porch at the south and a north porte cochère are heavy timber frame. The house is set back from the street with a shallow yard.

221 Adrian's Hair Salon 1983 Noncontributing Building
A parcel carved from the Fries block (see S. Cherry Street). Two-story, three-bay house form is frame with brick veneer in running bond. There is a low side gable roof. The façade has a centered entry at a brick stoop. The building sits well back from the street with a parking lot in the front.

241 Restaurant 1974 Noncontributing Building
A parcel carved from the Fries block (see S. Cherry Street). One-story stuccoed restaurant with outdoor patio and full lot parking.

411 Tar Branch Towers 2005 Noncontributing Building
After Marshall Street was extended north through the former Tannery (Lot 92) from Academy Street to join Pine Street ca. 1892, the new north-south street became known as Marshall Street. It had been named in 1857 for the important Moravian leader Frederick William Marshall (1721-1802), the first administrator of Wachovia and the architect of numerous Salem buildings. Industrial development expanded onto S. Marshall Street from New Shallowford Street (Brookstown Avenue) where the Fries Arista Mill complex and the Briggs-Shaffner Company (further west) were operating.

The Fries Manufacturing and Power Transforming Station provided electricity to the area by 1898 and across the street from the triangular building, at the southeast corner of Marshall St. and Wachovia St., an ice plant was built in 1900 by the Fries. The ice plant became known as Crystal Ice and Coal Company and operated at this location until ca.1985 when the building was demolished through the S. Marshall Street Redevelopment Plan. In 2005 Tar Branch Towers was built on the former ice plant lot. The name is taken from nearby Town Run/Tar Branch to the east.

Set against the sidewalk of Wachovia Street and set back a few feet from the sidewalk at Marshall Street on this corner lot, the large four-story building utilizes massing and features inspired by neighboring industrial buildings. The walls are brick veneer and there are twenty-four bays on Marshall St. and sixteen bays on Wachovia St. The bays consist of large windows (eight-over-eight sash) and double doors at iron balconies, all set in segmental arches. Arcades on the first floor and basement level (Marshall Street) are large segmental arches. Two pyramidal-roof towers at the west side recall the stair tower at the Arista Mill. The basement level is parking, first floor is the Meridian Restaurant, and upper floors are condominiums.

S. Marshall Street
West Side

150 Lot 154,155 Henry F. Shaffner House 1909 Contributing Building
(Note: this building faces High St. and the original address was 403 High Street. High Street was one of a group of streets named in 1958 when the Salem Congregation began to sell lots in northwest Salem.)

The construction of Interstate-40 (now I-40 Business) through downtown Winston-Salem in 1962 heavily impacted northern Salem. The four-lane highway corridor cut east-west through the blocks between High Street and First Street, severing Salem and Winston at this especially fashionable neighborhood of large homes. The Henry F. Shaffner House sits on the southeast corner of a large lot that was reduced by half, and is one of the few remaining large houses from the late nineteenth/early twentieth centuries. It is situated diagonally across the street from the 1901 William Allen Blair House and the Fries' Hylehurst block.

Henry Fries Shaffner was an active business and civic leader, and with his uncle Frank H. Fries, co-founded Wachovia Loan & Trust Company in 1893. At his death in 1941, Shaffner was Chairman of Wachovia Bank and Trust Company.[249] Shaffner was also a backer of Cyrus Briggs, inventor, who came to work for Vance Iron Works in Salem in 1892 and invented the cigarette machine in 1898 that would transform production for R. J. Reynolds Tobacco Co. He was also the first president of the Wachovia Historical Society, established in 1895 (see Lot 62, Single Brothers House). Shaffner and his wife Agnes Gertrude (Siewers) had both grown up in large fine homes in Salem (Lot 48 and Lot 6), and their stylish 1909 "half-timbered late-medieval English Revival style house is attributed to the architectural firm of Willard C. Northup and Leet A. O'Brien."[250] A local firm, Northup & O'Brien designed many of the finest early twentieth century buildings in Winston-Salem.

Fogle Brothers Company built the Shaffner House which sits on a high point, facing south and back from the northwest corner of High and Marshall Streets with a small front and side yard surrounded by a low, decorative metal fence. It is a large two-story, frame, Tudor Revival style house with "half-timber" and stucco walls and a complex hip and gable roof with dormers and multiple bracketed projecting gables. The roof is sheathed in copper shingles that have weathered to a green, and the wide-open eaves feature a kick and decorative rafter ends. The roof prominently distinguishes the house, and with the "half-timber" and white stucco walls, tall corbelled brick chimneys, wrap around front porch, and carriage porch, the effect is picturesque. Elements of the façade are repeated on all elevations and include a projecting gabled bay, hip roof dormer, two sets of three windows on the second floor, and paired and tripled windows on the first floor. Windows are double hung sash with diamond panes in the upper sash and single pane in the lower sash. The five-bay elliptical arcaded wrap-around front porch (now glassed) has a centered entry bay (enclosed with double doors) to a diamond patterned glass and wood front door. The door opens to an interior of rich dark woodwork, elaborate fireplaces, and brass fixtures. The large entry hall accesses formal living room, formal parlor, dining room, and sunroom. A side hall reaches the east carriage porch and the library and study. The hallways meet at the grand stair room. There are five bedrooms on the second floor,[251] and the attic is usable. The carriage porch on the east side has a hip roof, repeats the arches on the front porch and adds pointed arches. The house sits on a raised brick foundation and the lot slopes rather steeply to the west, revealing a full story basement.

[249] Henry F. Shaffner House (FY00901), Forsyth County Architectural Survey Files, Winston-Salem Forsyth County Historic Resources Commission, 1979; Survey Update 2007.
[250] Ibid.
[251] Ibid.

The mantel in the Dining Room is of special note. It features timbers retrieved from the Builders House on Lot 81 when it fell into ruin and was taken down in 1907. Henry F. Shaffner was grandson of potter Heinrich Schaffner, whose pottery on Lot 81 was the last pottery in Salem.

Due to the Business I-40 Highway through downtown Winston-Salem, the Shaffner House is highly visible and a readily identifiable historic resource of the neighborhood. Retaining high integrity, it was renovated in the 1990s as a bed and breakfast.

300 Commercial Building (former Grocery) ca. 1900 Contributing Building
After Marshall Street was extended north through the former Tannery (Lot 92) from Academy Street to join Pine Street ca. 1892, the new north-south street became known as Marshall Street, after Frederick William Marshall, the first administrator of Wachovia. By ca. 1900, a grocery was built on this southwest corner of Marshall Street and Brookstown Avenue, across from the Transformer Building. During the 1880s and 1890s, residential growth had been steady in the area around Arista Mill, particularly on Wachovia and Marshall Streets and additional streets in West Salem. The 1907 Sanborn Insurance map recorded the building as "grocery/meat."

The building is set against the sidewalks and is a trapezoid shape to fit the irregular corner lot. It is a two-story common bond (5:1) brick building with a flat roof and corbelled cornice. There are four bays on the Marshall St. façade and two bays on the north elevation at Brookstown Ave. Windows are two-over-two sash in segmental arches on all elevations. The lot slopes south and in the far left bay on the façade, between basement and first floor, is a door. The adjacent bay is a re-worked opening that may have been a door but is now a small window. Both have segmental arches. At the first-floor level of the northeast corner of the building, at the street intersection, the wall has been stuccoed and scored to simulate stone rubble. This alteration created a bay on Marshall with a window/door (main entry) and a bay on Brookstown with a large 32 paned window. The building was renovated as Ollie's Bakery in ca. 2000.

400 Maline Mills/Indera Mills 1904 Contributing Building
Individually listed on the National Register of Historic Places.

The Fries industrial empire, with origins in 1840 on New Shallowford Street (Brookstown Ave.), continued to grow as textile operations expanded. Henry W. Fries acquired the E. A. Vogler Store (Lot 63, 612 S. Main Street) in 1871 and by the late nineteenth century, established Twin City Knitting Mills there to produce finished knit garments. It was reorganized as Maline Mills in 1902. In 1904, the Wachovia Knitting Company, with W. L. Siewers as president, purchased the lot at the southwest corner of Marshall and Wachovia Streets, across the street from the Fries Ice Plant, and started construction of a manufacturing facility. In 1905, Wachovia Knitting consolidated with Maline Mills, and under the latter's name, operated in the new building on Marshall Street. Siewers was a nephew of Col. Frank Fries, a son of Francis Fries. The Winston-Salem Southbound Railroad spur (1912) into Salem extended lines to Maline which entered the complex from Branch Street. The complex expanded and by 1914, Siewers and Fries began Indera Mills in space within Maline Mills. In 1926 Indera Mills purchased the whole complex. Indera manufactured in the buildings until 1997 when the operation was transferred to neighboring Yadkin County and the complex was sold.[252] Tar Branch Investors purchased the complex and rehabilitated it as office space and condominiums in ca. 2000.

Except for the addition of five small garage buildings for condominium owners, the lot remains intact from the milling period and includes the ca. 1910 complex of three large buildings and the boiler room. The western boundary of the lot is Tanners Run.

[252] Sherry Joines Wyatt, "Indera Mills," National Register of Historic Places Registration Form, U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, 1998, 8:12.

Located on the east side of the lot is the prominent main building set against the sidewalks at the southwest corner of Marshall and Wachovia Streets. It is a trapezoid shape to fit the irregular corner lot and is a one-story common bond (5:1) brick building on a brick foundation. There is evidence of painted mortar joints. The very shallow gable roof has wide eaves and decorative brackets. The lot slopes south and west so that the basement floor emerges as a full story. The northeast corner of the building is a blunt end that was the former public entry and faces a blunt corner of the Transformer Building diagonally across the street. The entry door was shifted to the right in 1916[253] and the former entry was bricked up; a twenty-four-pane window in a segmental arch remains. The 1904 building was expanded to the south in 1916 by local architects Northup & O'Brien,[254] and it is a perfectly blended extension in form and style. The rhythm of the windows set in segmental arches defines the street elevations. There are twenty-five bays on the Marshall Street side (which includes the seven-bay addition from 1916) and eight bays on the Wachovia Street side. In each bay at the first floor is a large window set in a segmental arch. The twelve-over-sixteen sash windows are replacements of the original of the same configuration.[255] The basement level windows are also set in segmental arches and window sizes vary according to the exposure. Windows have granite sills, except for the 1916 addition which has brick sills. At the Marshall Street basement level (from right to left) are ten bays of eight-pane windows, eight bays of eight-over-eight sash windows, and in the 1916 addition, the seven windows are larger and have replacement sash of eight-over-eight with a transom. The basement level on Wachovia Street is five bays of casement windows set in segmental relieving arches, with one bay the entry from 1916.

Three additional buildings are part of the mill complex and repeat the segmental arch openings for doors and windows, as found on the main building. To the immediate west of the main building is the former Boiler Room. This building and a small oil house (destroyed) were also original to the 1904 Maline Mills complex.[256] The one-story brick building with a side gable roof (asphalt shingle) was rehabilitated into an office unit. Two large buildings sitting side by side were added ca. 1910 to the southwest half of the lot. The buildings are similar in form and detail: common bond brick, flat roofs and corbelled brick cornices. According to the 1912 Sanborn Insurance Map, the north building was used for bleaching and the south building for packing and shipping. The buildings were rehabilitated as condominiums.

Detached garages (5) ca. 2000 Noncontributing building
Support features for the repurposed mill include five detached one-story hip roof (asphalt shingle) garage buildings. At the northwest are two three-bay frame (beaded vinyl siding) buildings and one four-bay frame (vinyl siding) building. At the southwest, below and west of the 1910 buildings, is one three-bay frame (vinyl siding) building. At the east, just south of the main mill building, is a four-bay brick building.

Old Salem Road
West Side

426 Brickenstein-Leinbach House (moved) 1907 Noncontributing Building
Individually listed on the National Register of Historic Places.

As the restoration of Salem and the activities of Old Salem, Inc. expanded during the 1950s, vehicular traffic on Main Street was especially disruptive. At the time, Main Street was designated N.C. Highway 52, a major north-south corridor in and through Winston-Salem. The increasing use of the new museum by visitors to Old Salem made the heavy traffic particularly incompatible. To remove traffic from the historic district, a four-lane by-pass was constructed approximately two blocks west of Main Street in 1956-58 and known as the "Old

[253] Ibid., 7:1.
[254] Ibid.
[255] Ibid., 7:2.
[256] Ibid., Section 7, p. 3.

Salem Road." This road runs from Salem Avenue to Brookstown Avenue. By 1964, a new Visitors Center and Restaurant/Post Office Complex were built along this road at Academy Street at the rear of Lots 62-66.

The by-pass (Old Salem Road) was constructed immediately parallel to the 1912 Southbound Railway spur corridor which paralleled Town Run/Tar Branch. When constructed, the four-lane road was built over the creek, which had been culverted and filled for the project. This served to further diminish the Salt Street house lots and severed Salem from the archaeological industrial complex, Factory Row, etc.

As time passed and understanding of the Salem resource grew, the Visitors Center complex and Old Salem Road came to be viewed as intrusions into the historic area. By the 1980s, Old Salem, Inc. was planning the relocation of the Visitors Center. The new facility was completed in 2002, and the 1964 complex was demolished. The removal of this intrusion also permitted the reconstruction of the Single Brothers' Gardens. The removal or downgrading of the Old Salem Road is also a planning consideration.

In 1990, the Brickenstein-Leinbach House was moved from its original location on Lot 47, 426 S. Main Street. The house was moved a block east to a parcel created on Old Salem Road. This relocation was done to make Lot 47 available for potential archaeological investigation into the blacksmithing operation which began there in 1768, and potential reconstruction.

The Brickenstein-Leinbach House is a large Queen Anne style house. As designed for the original location on the corner lot on Main Street at Fish Alley, the south elevation, like the façade, features decorative elements; the north elevation is fairly simple. The two-story frame (narrow weatherboard) house has a high hip roof (slate) with wide flared eaves and box cornice, multiple dormers, four tall brick chimneys with corbelled caps, and is on a raised brick foundation (veneer). Design details add variety and texture including diagonal corner bay with tripartite windows; octagonal bay with pebble dash in gable; bracketed gable overhangs; gable, hip, and shed roof dormers; and decorative leaded glass windows on the south elevation lighting the interior stair. The Classical Revival front porch wraps to the south with a pedimented and bracketed diagonal corner bay. The three-bay, hip roof porch has open eaves, Corinthian columns, and a simple balustrade. The center bay has wide wood steps from the walkway to the porch and to the double leaf three panel door with leaded glass transom. Windows are mostly one-over-one sash with wide, plain casings and are hung with louver shutters.

The stylish house was designed by Frank Pierce Milburn, a Southern architect of some renown who designed the 1896 Forsyth County Courthouse. The house was built by Fogle Brothers Company, and the original blueprints survive. A large two-story rear ell was added in the mid-1930s which removed the original two-story rear porch and reorganized some room uses; however, the interior remains intact with dark Classical Revival woodwork, coffered ceilings, and paneled wainscoting.[257]

The house was built for Laurence Bagge Brickenstein and his wife Gwennie, Moravians from Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, who moved to Salem in the early 1890s. Trained in plumbing in New York City, Brickenstein took over the Mickey Tin Shop operation and became a successful plumbing contractor in Winston-Salem. Their daughter Margaret married C. T. Leinbach of Salem and the young couple lived with the Brickensteins. Leinbach began working for Wachovia Bank at the age of fourteen in 1903 and retired as vice-president and director. The Leinbachs lived in the house for the remainder of their lives. The children of Margaret and C. T. sold the property to Old Salem in 1980.[258] Following the move in 1990, the house was rehabilitated and is used as offices. It sits over a portion of Town Run/Tar Branch that re-emerges south of the house. The house is

[257] M. Ruth Little, "Brickenstein-Leinbach House," National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form, U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, 1991, 7:1.
[258] Ibid., 8:4-6.

adjacent to Lot 81, an open lawn that is the site of the 1766 Builders House which became the Schaffner Pottery in 1834.

S. Poplar Street
East Side

609 House ca. 1940 Noncontributing Building
Listed as a contributing resource in the West Salem National Register Historic District.

A tent revival meeting on this corner lot in 1902 was followed by the 1903 construction of the Salem Methodist Episcopal Church, South, and dedicated in 1905 with eighteen charter members. By 1917, the Sanborn map noted the "West Salem M.E. Church (South)" at the corner of Poplar and Academy Streets. Church membership outgrew the facility, and a lot was purchased four blocks away in the developing West Salem neighborhood for a new sanctuary. At the corner of Green and West Streets, a Neo-Classical Revival style church was constructed in 1921 and is known as Green Street Methodist Church.

The lot also contained a shallow duplex just south of the church building as shown on the 1917 Sanborn map. This building form was recorded elsewhere in Salem on Sanborn maps and labeled "Negro Tenement."

The lot was cleared of the church building and duplex, and they were replaced by a Minimal Traditional house set back from the sidewalk with a shallow yard. It is a one-story, frame (weatherboard), three-bay, side gable roof (asphalt shingle) house with a projecting center gabled entry bay. An engaged porch is at the north and an exterior end chimney is at south.

Outbuilding ca. 1940 Noncontributing Building
Listed as a contributing resource in the West Salem National Register Historic District.

Frame, gable roof garage is located at the side rear.

615 House ca. 1940 Noncontributing Building
Listed as a contributing resource in the West Salem National Register Historic District.

The Minimal Traditional house sits back from the sidewalk and is a frame (aluminum siding), one story building with a side gable roof (asphalt shingle) and front dormers. The three-bay façade has an attached gable front porch on wrought iron posts and there is an interior chimney, south exterior chimney, and rear ell. Associated with William and Belle Goslen.[259]

Outbuilding ca. 1940 Noncontributing Building
Frame, gable roof garage is located at the side rear.

623 Lot 204 (north)Bungalow ca. 1925 Noncontributing Building
Listed as a contributing resource in the West Salem National Register Historic District.

A frame (vinyl siding), one-story bungalow on a brick foundation has a side gable roof (asphalt shingle) with knee braces. The engaged full façade porch has paneled square posts on brick piers and shelters a center bay oak entry

[259] Sherry Joines Wyatt, "West Salem Historic District," National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form, U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, 2004, 7:81.

with single door and sidelights with a plate glass window with leaded glass transoms on either side. A large gable front dormer has a set of three windows and a diamond-shaped vent. There are interior end brick chimneys.

This parcel is half of Lot 204 which was split off ca. 1925 and the bungalow then constructed. It was associated with Mildred Goff Chambers in the late twentieth century.[260]

Outbuilding ca. 1960 Noncontributing Building
Concrete block, double-bay garage with a side-gable roof is located at the side rear.

625 Lot 204 (south) Chambers House ca. 1880 Contributing Building
Listed as a contributing resource in the West Salem National Register Historic District.

Although Allen Ackerman built the first house on what would become Poplar Street in 1843, general development of West Salem did not occur until the 1880s. The Chambers House is recorded on the 1891 Bird's Eye View of Winston-Salem and was likely built during the previous decade. A. A. Spach (see 222 S. Church Street) owned Lots 204 and 205 in 1876, as recorded on the E. A. Vogler map of 1876. The lots passed to Junius Goslen (wife Leonora Spach) at some point. Goslen sold Lot 204 to Orville Chambers in 1907. Joseph Chambers is associated with the house during the first half of the twentieth century. He was recorded in the 1945 City Directory as a foreman with Peerless Ice Cream.[261] Lot 204 was subdivided ca. 1925 and a bungalow built on the north half.

Set back from the sidewalk by a shallow picket fenced yard, the one and one-half story frame (weatherboard) house has a side gable roof (asphalt shingle) with open eaves, a central brick chimney, and is on a brick foundation. The three-bay symmetrical façade has a hip roof, three-quarter front porch with plain posts, decorative sawn brackets and balustrade. The porch is one step up from the walkway to the sidewalk. The centered front door is a two-panel Greek Revival style. Window sash is four-over-four and hung with louver shutters. In each upper gable end is a six-over-six sash window at the second-floor level. A rear ell with a gable roof is on a concrete foundation and has an addition not recorded on the 1917 Sanborn Insurance map. A full façade porch was also recorded in 1917. One outbuilding remains extant.

Outbuilding ca. 1895 Contributing Building
Listed as a contributing resource in the West Salem National Register Historic District.

To the side rear of the house is a one and one-half story frame (board and batten) outbuilding with a side gable roof (corrugated metal). There is a shed roof porch across the west elevation.

631 Lot 203 Edward Powers House ca. 1884 Contributing Building
Listed as a contributing resource in the West Salem National Register Historic District.

Orestes Kuhln (see Lot 102, 832 S. Main Street) owned Lots 201, 202, 203 as recorded on the E. A. Vogler map of 1876. George Nissen acquired the lots, and in 1880, his heirs sold them to John and Nancy Schott. In 1884, Edward Powers purchased Lot 203 and probably built the house soon thereafter. Powers was Superintendent of Arista Mills. The Powers family retained ownership until the heirs sold it to John Ruff in 1973 and it remains in the Ruff family.

Set back from the sidewalk by a shallow yard like its neighbor the Chambers House on Lot 204, the Powers House is a two-story frame (weatherboard) I-house with a side gable roof (asphalt shingle) with returned eaves

[260] Marilyn Ruff Clemmons (daughter of John Ruff), conversation with MB Hartley, 1999.
[261] Wyatt, "West Salem Historic District," Section 7:83.

and box cornice with narrow frieze board. There are interior brick chimneys at the rear and a brick foundation. The symmetrical three-bay façade has a hip roof, three-quarter front porch with chamfered posts on square paneled bases, decorative sawn brackets and balustrade. The porch is one step up from the walkway to the sidewalk. The centered entry is a double leaf door with transom and sidelights. Window sash is four-over-four with plain casings and hung with louver shutters. In each upper gable end is a single pane casement window. There is a two-story gable roof frame ell that is an enlargement of the one-story ell recorded on the 1917 Sanborn Insurance map. The ell has a shed roof addition at the south side. A picket fence surrounds the lot.

639 Lot 202 House ca. 1885 Contributing Building
Listed as a contributing resource in the West Salem National Register Historic District.

Orestes Kuhln (see Lot 102, 832 S. Main Street) owned Lots 201, 202, 203 as recorded on the E. A. Vogler map of 1876. George Nissen acquired the lots and in 1880 his heirs sold them to John and Nancy Schott. The house on Lot 202 is shown on the 1891 Bird's Eye View as a one-story, three-bay gable roof house with an ell, which is the presentation recorded on the 1917 Sanborn Insurance map. The house was raised to a two-story house ca. 1925 during the time it was associated with the Tesh family. This corner lot was not as deep as its neighbors and a parcel adjacent to the rear (east) property line was occupied by a house and a small store. The house at 639 Poplar Street was remodeled in the late twentieth century as four apartments. Outbuildings recorded on the 1917 Sanborn Insurance map are no longer extant.

Set back from the sidewalk by a shallow yard like its neighbors to the north, the two-story frame (vinyl siding) house has a side gable roof (asphalt shingle) with a partially exposed exterior end single shoulder brick chimney at the south. The three-bay façade has a full façade hip roof front porch with Tuscan columns. The centered front door has a two-light transom. At the left of the door is one four-over-four sash window and at the right of the door are paired four-over-four sash windows. The second floor repeats this fenestration with two-over-two sash windows. The shutters are applied. The rear ell is a two-story addition with a gable roof and shed addition with exterior staircase.

S. Poplar Street
West Side

608 Lot 206 Allen Ackerman House ca. 1843 Contributing Building
Listed as a contributing resource in the West Salem National Register Historic District.

Allen Ackerman was four years old when he moved with his parents into their new home on New Street (Lot 91, 500 Factory Row), which had been laid out with house lots in 1819. New Street was the first expansion of the Salem grid and was two blocks west of Main Street. The next expansion of the grid occurred off Old Shallowford Street (Academy Street) at the western boundary of Lot 93, the former Brewery lot. At this location, Allen Ackerman built his home in 1843, the year he followed Traugott Chitty as administrator of the Salem Manufacturing Company (Lot 103, 200 Brookstown Avenue), and the year he married. Poplar Street (named in 1857) must have been partially laid out then, at least to accommodate his new lot. Ackerman's house was the beginning of the West Salem neighborhood that developed on the ridge west of the town core. This former Moravian land was carefully developed in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, without the rampant speculation that often occurred.

Set back from the street with a shallow picket fenced yard, Ackerman built a two-story frame (vinyl siding over weatherboard) house with side gable roof (5V metal) with returned eaves and box cornice. There is an interior end brick chimney at the south end and a brick foundation. The façade has two bays and a nearly full façade shed roof porch on plain posts with iron railing. The two-panel Greek Revival front door, with four-light

transom and sidelights, enters a side hall plan house. Five steps at the entry bay access the porch from the short walkway to the sidewalk. Windows are six-over-six with molded casings, and although some retain shutter hardware, the existing shutters are applied. An ell with gable roof repeats the house fenestration and has a single shoulder exterior end brick chimney. The small rear shed roof porch is enclosed. Both were recorded on the 1917 Sanborn Insurance map, as well as two outbuildings (now gone). A one and one-half story gable roof addition was made to the north side of the house in the twentieth century (after 1917). It is one bay and repeats the six-over-six sash window style of the house and has one gabled dormer and an exterior brick chimney at the north end.

Allen Ackerman's house plan was used by his brother in 1856 when E. T. Ackerman built the same form in brick and with Greek Revival elements (Lot 88, 440 Factory Row).

Ackerman's daughter Ellen married Henry Reich (son of Emanuel Reich, Lot101), and after her untimely death in 1868, the house was sold to Henry in 1869 with a commitment to care for his mother-in-law, Ridelphia Ackerman. The house passed to Henry's son William in the late nineteenth century. John Ruff purchased the property from William Reich in the 1920s and the Ruff family continues to own the house. John Ruff lived in the house until his death in ca. 2000. He was an avid buyer of land throughout his life and owned several houses in the 600 block of Poplar Street. The Ruff family operated a florist business in the house next door, demolished in 2015. (The demolished house was the Grunert-Ruff Flower Shop, ca. 1884. W. C. Grunert purchased Lot 207 in 1881 when there may have been a small structure present. W. C. and R. E. Grunert operated "West Salem Greenhouses" in this location in the early twentieth century. Sanborn Insurance maps from 1917 recorded five large hip roof greenhouses, located at the rear of the house and attached to the south end of the house. John Ruff acquired the property and continued the floral business as Ruff's Flower and Gift Shop for more than seventy years, ending with the death of his daughter Marilyn Ruff Clemmons in 2013.)

At one time there were "acres of flowers" in the area behind the house.[262] Mr. Ruff also raised birds, and frame buildings at the rear of the lot housed more than 4000 parakeets. A brick framing shop is located to the rear of the house. In his early adult years, Mr. Ruff worked at Twin City Packing Company in Winston. Prior to the extension of Broad Street ca. 1920, the lots in the 600 block of Poplar Street stretched back to a small creek. The creek was culverted and filled until Lot 209, where it is emerges. The rear portion of Lot 206 is owned by the Ruff family and used for gardens.

Bird House Sheds ca. 1930 Noncontributing Building
Listed as a contributing resource in the West Salem National Register Historic District.

At the rear of the lot is a long, narrow, L-shaped frame building (cove siding) on a brick foundation. Used by Mr. Ruff for his tropical bird breeding operation.

Framing Shop/Gallery ca. 1945 Noncontributing Building
Listed as a contributing resource in the West Salem National Register Historic District.

Just behind the house is a one-story brick building with frame addition. There are side gable roofs (asphalt shingle). Windows are six-over-six sash and there is a single shoulder exterior brick chimney.

622 Lot 208 Butner-Bryant House 1854 Contributing Building
Listed as a contributing resource in the West Salem National Register Historic District.

[262] Marilyn Ruff Clemmons (daughter of John Ruff), conversation with MB Hartley, 1999.

Christian David Tesh may have built a one-room structure in 1854 that is a core of this rambling house. He received a deed to this lot in 1859 (deeds began to be issued following the end of Salem's theocratic government in 1856-57).

Samuel E. Butner acquired the property in 1865 and constructed additions to the house. He was Superintendent of Arista Mills at the turn of the century, and twice mayor of Salem (Sept. 1896- May 1901 and May 1903-May 1907). The 1917 Sanborn Insurance map recorded the house much in its present configuration. The property was acquired by Phillip Edward and Dora Tesh Bryant in 1920. Bryant was a machinist with R.J. Reynolds Tobacco Company. The house was renovated by Jack and Marilyn Ruff Clemmons in 2000 and they lived there until their deaths.

The two-story frame (weatherboard) gable front (pressed tin shingle) house with returned eaves is on a brick foundation and is set back from the street by a shaded and planted yard surrounded by a picket fence. A hip roof front porch with plain posts and simple balustrade wraps to south and has been partially enclosed on the south side for the entrance. Windows are six-over-six sash. There are several frame additions which include a one-story wing to the north and several to the south. Two out buildings were recorded on the 1917 Sanborn Insurance map. Prior to the extension of Broad Street ca. 1920, the lots in the 600 block of Poplar Street stretched back to a small creek. The creek was culverted and filled until Lot 209 where it is emerges. The rear portion of Lot 208 is owned by the Ruff family and used for gardens.

Outbuilding ca. 1925 Noncontributing Building
Listed as a contributing resource in the West Salem National Register Historic District.

At the south rear of the house is a one-story frame outbuilding with a gable front roof.

632 Lot 209 Charles Pfohl House 1870 Contributing Building
Listed as a contributing resource in the West Salem National Register Historic District.

This was the first of two Salem houses that Charles and Mary Josephine Pfohl lived in during their married life. Mary Josephine's Memoir recorded the beginning of their life in this house on Poplar Street. "On Nov. 17, 1870, she was united in marriage to Bro. Charles Benjamin Pfohl....immediately following the ceremony, the wedding party walked to the new home at the northwest corner of West and Poplar Streets, where everything had been made ready, the wedding supper was served, a happy evening was spent, and the home life was begun under God's blessing."[263] The Pfohls live on Poplar Street until 1905 when they moved to a new house on Main Street (Lot 43, 331 S. Main Street) built for them by their son Herbert, who was president of Fogle Brothers Company.

Charles Pfohl (1846-1914) had apprenticed to E. A. Vogler in Salem after completing school at Nazareth Hall in Pennsylvania. He served briefly during the final months of the Civil War and was captured at Fort Fisher. Following the war, he continued work at the Vogler Store until 1871 when Vogler's business failed. Pfohl bought Lots 209 and 210 in 1870 from T. F. Crist. Pfohl worked for Rufus L. Patterson at Patterson and Co., merchants from 1871-1879, and then as manager of the tanyard for J. W. Fries 1879-1889. His final employment was twenty-five years in the offices of Salem Academy and College, until his death in 1914. It was this position that prompted his son to bring his parents to Main Street and closer to his father's job.

Following the Pfohl's residency, the house was owned by the Bryant and Regan families[264] until it was acquired by John Ruff (Lot 206). It remained in the Ruff family until 2014. The 1917 Sanborn Insurance map recorded

[263] "Memoir of Sister Mary Josephine Pfohl, 1934," Moravian Archives, Winston-Salem.
[264] Wyatt, "West Salem Historic District," Section 7:83.

two outbuildings that are no longer extant, and there are more recent outbuildings present. Prior to the extension of Broad Street ca. 1920, the lots in the 600 block of Poplar Street stretched back to a small creek. The creek was culverted and filled until Lot 209 where it is emerges.

Set back from the street by a shallow picket fenced yard, the Italianate house is a one and one-half story frame (weatherboard) building with a steep side gable roof (asphalt shingle) and open eaves. There are single shoulder exterior end brick chimneys and a common bond brick foundation. The symmetrical three-bay façade features a centered, gabled octagonal bay wall dormer with two-over-two sash windows—there are paired round arched lunettes at either side of the bay—it rests on a full façade hip roof porch with turned posts, sawn brackets and turned balustrade. The entry is a double-leaf two-panel door with large-light three-light transom and sidelights. The porch is one step up from the short brick walkway to the sidewalk. First floor window sash is large light six-over-six. Each of the upper gable ends has a six-over-six sash window at the second-floor level and attic casements (south has one and north has two, now louvered). Shutters are applied. At the northwest rear extends a frame gable roof ell (weatherboard) and there is a gable roof addition at the south elevation of the house, both are recorded on the 1917 Sanborn Insurance map.

Shed **ca. 1940** **Noncontributing Building**
Gable-front, one-story frame shed.

Outbuilding **ca. 2000** **Noncontributing Building**
Gable-front one-story, frame shed.

638 Lot 210 (north) **House** **ca. 1907** **Contributing Building**
Listed as a contributing resource in the West Salem National Register Historic District.

Charles Pfohl purchased Lots 210 and 209 from T. F. Crist in 1870 and built his home on Lot 209. When the Pfohls moved to a new house on Main Street in 1905, their son Herbert purchased the two lots. Herbert was president of Fogle Brothers Company and may have built the houses on Lot 210. Lot 210 was subdivided in half and the north half of the lot was sold in 1907. Thomas and Viola Bryant owned the house for much of the twentieth century. Prior to the extension of Broad Street ca. 1920, the lots in the 600 block of Poplar Street stretched back to a small creek. The creek was culverted and filled until Lot 209 where it is emerges at the rear of Lot 210. This creek flows southeast into Town Run/Tanners Run and powered the fulling mill and later a gunsmith operation (see Walnut Street).

Set back from the street by a shallow fenced yard, the one-story frame (weatherboard) house has a side gable roof (new metal) with open eaves and is on a stuccoed brick foundation. The three-bay symmetrical façade has a hip roof, three-quarter front porch with turned posts with decorative sawn brackets and balustrade. The porch is one step up from the short walk to the sidewalk. The front door has an undivided transom. Two-over-two windows are on either side of the door. All windows are hung with louver shutters. In each upper gable end is a small louvered vent at the gable peak. The house is one-room deep with a rear frame gable roof ell that has a shed porch on the south that meets a small porch on the rear of the house, as recorded on the 1917 Sanborn Insurance map. The front porch in 1917 was a full façade porch. An interior brick chimney is on the ell. Window and door casings are plain. The house was renovated ca. 2000 and the asbestos siding was replaced by weatherboard, the four-over-four window sash was replaced with two-over-two, and a centered front gable with a tall arched window was added to the roof.

642 Lot 210 (south) **House** **ca. 1907** **Contributing Building**
Listed as a contributing resource in the West Salem National Register Historic District.

Charles Pfohl purchased Lots 210 and 209 from T. F. Crist in 1870 and built his home on Lot 209. When the Pfohls moved to a new house on Main Street in 1905, their son Herbert purchased the two lots. Herbert was president of Fogle Brothers Company and may have built the houses on Lot 210. Lot 210 was subdivided and the north half sold in 1907 and the south half sold in 1908. This south half was sold to Charles M. Chambers who lived there until 1925. The house was associated with several families during the twentieth century (Crater, Knott, West).[265] Prior to the extension of Broad Street ca. 1920, the lots in the 600 block of Poplar Street stretched back to a small creek. The creek was culverted and filled until Lot 209 where it is emerges at the rear of Lot 210. This creek flows southeast into Town Run/Tanners Run and powered the fulling mill and later a gunsmith operation (see Lot 268).

The house follows the set back of its neighbor and is a one-story frame (weatherboard) building with a side gable roof (asphalt shingle) and projecting gabled bay with trefoil in upper gable end. There are open eaves, three interior brick chimneys, and the house is on a brick foundation. The three-bay façade has a centered entry at a simple wood door and a three-quarter front porch that jogs with the projecting gable. The porch has paired boxed posts with lattice and simple balustrade. The house is one-room deep with a rear frame gable roof ell on the south. Window sash is two-over-two. The 1917 Sanborn Insurance map recorded a porch along the north side of the ell. A shed roof addition replaced the porch and doubled the size of the ell. Outbuildings recorded on the Sanborn map are no longer extant.

702 Lot 226 House ca. 1910 Contributing Building
Listed as a contributing resource in the West Salem National Register Historic District.

On this corner lot at Poplar and West Streets, the house sits back from both streets and faces Poplar Street. The Colonial Revival two-story frame (weatherboard) house has a steep front gable roof (copper standing seam) with returned eaves, box cornice with narrow frieze board, and interior brick chimney. An arched louver vent is in the upper gable end and there is a centered front gable on the north roof that has a rectangular louver vent. The house is on a brick foundation. There are two bays on the façade (Poplar Street) and two bays on the West Street elevation which are unified by a full façade hip roof porch with Tuscan columns that wraps both sides. At the front corner of the porch is a diagonal entry bay marked by a gable with returned eaves. There is one step down to the walkway to a corner gate. The front door is at the far left bay of the façade and is a front door with sidelights. Window sash is two-over-two. There is a one-story gable roof ell at the south. This configuration was recorded on the 1917 Sanborn Insurance map. A one-story nearly flat roof addition has been added to the west.

The 1891 Bird's Eye View of Winston-Salem recorded a one-story house on this lot. The extant house was a part of the early twentieth development of West Salem. For the first half of the twentieth century, the house was owned by W. A. Church who was recorded in the 1934 City Directory as a stableman at Crystal Ice and Coal Company (see 411 S. Marshall St.).[266]

Race Street
South Side

Lot 101 Reich-Hege House 1831 Contributing Component to the Contributing Site
Division of lots in the southern land of Salem, formerly used by the Tavern as pasture and meadow, began in the 1820s. In 1830-31, shoemaker Emanuel Reich built his house on Lot 101 at the south end of Church Street

[265] Ibid., 84.
[266] Ibid.

on Race Street. Race Street's name derives from the mill race that ran south of Lot 101. The race was built in 1819-20 for the new mill on Salem Creek south of the Stockburger farm house.[267]

The Reich House was a one and one-half story, three-bay, center chimney, side hall plan house, probably frame, on a stone foundation with a one-story wing on each side. In 1851 Reich sold his house and moved to the former Schumann Plantation house. George Hege, mill owner originally from Friedberg, purchased the Reich House and transformed it into a two-story, symmetrical, Greek Revival-style, five-bay house with a double-tiered portico, interior end chimneys brick chimneys, and a brick foundation. When he and his wife Mary Catherine moved into their new house, they brought slaves with them from their farm. Lewis Hege (1840-1918) was a teenager when he moved with his mother Rachel, and maybe a brother, to Lot 101, and they lived in a small house in the rear yard of the Hege House.[268] The Slave Schedule from the 1860 Forsyth County Census listed George Hege as the owner of one female slave, age 55, and two male slaves, ages 25 and 23, and one slave house.[269] Lewis was a leader in the African Church next door for the rest of his life. By 1870, Lewis' brother William Siewers, and William's son Tiney and mother Rachel Hege lived on Lot 102.[270]

Following the deaths of the George and Mary Catherine Hege, the Reich-Hege House was removed and Central Park School was built in 1922 on Lot 101 and parts of Lots 100 and 104. The large brick, L-shaped school had a full basement but was set back far enough to miss the Reich-Hege foundation; however, evidence of the slave house in the yard was lost.

Research has produced much information about the house and occupants, and archaeological investigation revealed much information about the site. The site remains open with the stone cellar, center stone chimney balk, and one brick end chimney balk all visible. A projected Hege foundation in wood and an interpretive façade suggest the building.

31FY395*101
Lot 101 Archaeology
Contributing Component to the Contributing Site

This archaeological ruin was fully revealed in an excavation by Michael O. Hartley and Martha Hartley in 2005-2006. The Reich-Hege House cellar hole, with its associated features, remains open as an exhibit in the Old Salem Museum, with interpretive signage and interpretive constructions designed by the Restoration Division to illustrate the dimensions of the builds of the house through time. These include a partial façade and a painted board outline of the rest of the structure on the ground. This display provides the visitor with a visual relationship between archaeologically exposed remains and an interpretive presentation of archive derived information.

1977 Judith Newkirk—Wake Forest University (WFU), Ned Woodall, Prin. Inv., WFU
Hege lot, testing for house

2003 Michael O. Hartley and Martha Hartley (OSI)
Reich/Hege, House ruin testing

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[267] John Larson, "A Mill for Salem," in *The Three Forks of Muddy Creek*, vol. 9, ed. Frances Griffin (Winston-Salem: Old Salem, Inc., 1983), 14.

[268] Michael O. Hartley and Martha B. Hartley, "The Reich-Hege House: Historical Archaeology on Lot 101 in Old Salem" (report for Old Salem, Inc., Winston-Salem, NC, 2006).

[269] Forsyth County Genealogical Society, *The 1860 Federal Census*, 207.

[270] Hill, "Shrinking Doors and Painted Ghosts," 38.

2005 Michael O. Hartley and Martha Hartley (OSI)
Reich/Hege Full Excavation

Salt Street
West Side

498 Lot 75 Denke House 1832 Contributing Building
See also Lot 90, Factory Row.

Nearly lost, the Denke House was saved in 1970 by moving it one block due east and into the Old Salem Historic District. The house was re-located to the street front of Lot 75 and against the sidewalk facing east, as it had on Factory Row. It has a picket fence at the sidewalk and property lines. The Denke House was built in 1832 with elements of an emerging Greek Revival-style in Salem that became more widespread by the 1840s. It is a one and one-half story frame (weatherboard) building with side gable roof (concrete to simulate wood shingle) with flush ends and a molded cornice. There are interior end brick chimneys with corbelled caps and the foundation is stuccoed. The five-bay symmetrical façade was built in 1832 with a classical pedimented portico and the house originally set back from the sidewalk with a front yard. Because the house was moved to a location to sit against the sidewalk, a centered entry with a shed-roof, stuccoed masonry stoop with chamfered posts and simple balustrade was constructed. Three wood steps lead down to the sidewalk from each end of the stoop. The six-panel Dutch door has a four-light transom and enters a center hall, two room deep plan. Window sash is nine-over-six and hung with louver shutters. In the upper gable ends are two six-over-six sash windows flanked by four-light attic casements. Windows and door have molded casings. At the rear is a shed roof addition, half of which is an open porch with chamfered posts and simple balustrade. The northern half is enclosed (frame and weatherboard) and features an exterior end brick chimney with bake oven on the north side.

The Rev. Christian Frederick Denke built the house for his retirement on Lot 90, a corner lot on New Street (renamed Factory Row) and Bank Street. The house was set back from the street and the lot was intensely cultivated with ornamental gardens in the front yard and extensive gardens and orchard in the rear. Born in 1775 in Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, Denke arrived in Salem with his first wife in 1820 after "a long and toilsome service among the northern Indians."[271] He then served two Wachovia congregations (Hope and Friedberg) before retirement to this house with his second wife, Maria Steiner, of Salem who had been very active as a single sister and had served as a leader of that choir, as well as a botany teacher and musician. Br. Denke was a gifted botanist and painter; his wife was a painter as well. A watercolor of Salem from the west (ca. 1852) by Maria Denke recorded in detail her house and garden. Outbuildings on the lot included a barn (reconstructed on Lot 75) and a wash house/well. Several archaeological investigations have taken place on Lot 90.

Br. Denke died in 1838, and Maria, about 18 years his junior, spent many active years until her death in 1868. The house passed through Julius Vogler, George Boozer, and W.G. Smothers. Old Salem purchased the house in1970 and it was sold to Eldridge Hanes for relocation and restoration. At the time of the move, the house maintained much integrity although asphalt siding and an enlarged porch were alterations. The moving of the house was not without discussion: "There were fears that even if it could be saved [on lot 90], no restoration would be possible as long as it lay outside the historic district"[272] On the other hand, one camp held that the relocation of the house into the Historic District violated the integrity of the restoration and undermined important precedents. Others felt that these concerns were important but that the house should not be lost, and that it could only be saved by moving it into the district. Old Salem, Inc. was able to purchase Lot 90 in 1980

[271] Fries, *Records of the Moravians*, 7:3434.
[272] James and Griffin, *Official Guidebook*, 80.

and the long-range plan is to return the Denke House to its original location on Factory Row. In the meantime, Lot 90 is an archaeological component which has had several investigations.

Lot 75 has a historic identity in its own right. Located at the corner of Salt and Bank Streets, Lot 75 (like other lots on Salt Street) was extra deep because Town Run (later known as Tar Branch) coursed through it, and it stretched west to New Street. It was also a wide lot (132' wide) and originally divided in half, with the northern part serving as an adjunct for Lot 52 (Dr. Bonn) on Main Street, as pasture, for fruit trees, and a laboratory (18' x 20') stood at the creek. Dr. Vierling followed Dr. Bonn on lot 52 and continued to use it until 1803 when the two sections of lot 75 were combined into one (Dr. Vierling moved into his new house on Church Street). Along the small creek on the southern half of Lot 75 was a "white tannery" for dressing deer hides, operated initially by Christian Fritz and by 1775, Br. Peter Yarrell and several subsequent tanners. By 1853, John Heisler had the lot and by 1876, F. and H. Fries owned it. By 1907 the Sanborn Insurance map recorded row houses on the street front. The map also recorded a dwelling at the location of the tannery and may have been a reused building. By 1917 this building was labeled "Negro Tenement" on the Sanborn Insurance map.

In the 1912, the Salt Street lots were greatly reduced in size. The Southbound Railroad spur was built into Salem and crossed the rear half of lots. The rear of the lots then faced New Street /Factory Row and were developed with housing. The Salt Street lots were again reduced in dimension in 1956-58, when Old Salem Road, the four-lane by-pass around the Old Salem Historic District, was constructed east of the railroad across the lots. Bank Street between Salt and Factory Row was closed then, and the street right-of-way between Lots 75 and 74 is used as the common drive for the residences, suggesting the continuation of Bank Street westward. The rear of Lot 75 is clear of buildings and planted in fruit trees.

Barn (off-site reconstruction) 1999 Contributing Building
The one-story side gable roof (concrete to simulate wood shingle) frame (weatherboard) barn with board and batten siding sits on a stone foundation at the rear of the Denke house. The east side has one door and a window in the gable. The south side has two barn doors, for the garage. All are hung on strap hinges. Archaeological excavation on Lot 90 and pictorial information provided the reconstruction details, see Lot 90, Factory Row. Reconstructed in 1999.

see 31FY395*90
Denke Archaeology
See Lot 90, Factory Row

500 Lot 74 Christman House 1825 Contributing Building
When construction of Salem began in 1766, the Square was located a block north of its present position and development began based on that location. Lot 74 was initially part of farmland allocated to the Single Brothers Diacony and they built a small log workshop for carpenter Br. Triebel and a log hay barn. When the Square was moved back to the south in 1768, the Single Brother's land moved a block south as well, to Lot 62, although they continued to farm this land until 1771.

In 1772, Br. and Sr. John George Stockburger moved to town to take charge of the farm. It was announced they would move into the "so-called Triebel house in Salem, and assume the small plantation" An inventory recorded "a 1 storey dwelling, 22' long, 18' wide, with a tile roof and two windows, each of 9 panes, in the room and one of 6 panes in the entrance" as well as a stable, a corn-crib, "a new necessary near the garden with one seat", and fencing[273] The Stockburgers lived there for a decade before establishing themselves on a new farm (Stockburger Plantation). The structures they left were evidently in "very bad condition"[274]; however, Br.

[273] Lot 74, Old Salem Research Files.
[274] Ibid.

Daniel Christman was willing to take them over, but without the farmland. The land around the buildings was surveyed and Lot 74 created in 1782. Lot 74 (like other lots on Salt Street) was larger than a typical residential lot because Town Run (later known as Tar Branch) coursed through it, and it stretched west to New Street. Br. Christman died in 1820 and his widow continued to live on Lot 74 with her son Jacob operating a shop on the lot. The lot between Lots 74 and 73 was divided between the two in 1819, with 2/3 of the neighboring lot to Leinbach's lot and 1/3 to the Christman lot. In 1824 Jacob Christman, wheelwright, was given permission to replace the old house: "Collegium permits this on condition that the front of the new house shall be in line with the other houses on Salt Lane"[275]

Christman left Salem in 1831and subsequent residents included another wagon maker, bookbinder, shoemaker, and the house passed through the Chitty and Boner families. L.N. Clinard purchased the house in 1871. By the late nineteenth century, Lot 74 was subdivided and a house built to the south. It was removed during restoration of Lot 74. Two outbuildings recorded on the Sanborn Insurance maps did not survive.

In the 1912, the Salt Street lots were greatly reduced in size. The Southbound Railroad spur was built into Salem and crossed the rear half of lots. The rear of the lots then faced New Street /Factory Row and were developed with housing. The Salt Street lots were again reduced in dimension in 1956-58, when Old Salem Road, the four-lane by-pass around the Old Salem Historic District, was constructed east of the railroad across the lots. The rear of Lot 74 is clear of buildings and planted in fruit trees.

The house retained much integrity and the property passed to Old Salem in 1965. It was sold to Tom and William Gray for restoration and the reconstruction of the smokehouse.

The 1825 house was built against the sidewalk. There is a picket fence along the sidewalk and around the house lot. The two-story frame (weatherboard) house with a side gable roof (concrete to simulate wood shingle) has flush ends, a box cornice, and a large central chimney with corbelled cap. The foundation is stuccoed. The asymmetrical façade has four bays on the first floor and two on the second. The first floor has a centered two-bay shed roof stoop with chamfered posts and simple balustrade on a stuccoed foundation. Four wood steps lead down to the sidewalk from each end of the stoop. The herringbone front door enters a side hall plan house. Window sash is six-over-six with two panel shutters and the upper gable ends each have a six-over-six sash window at the third floor/attic level. Windows and doors have plain casings. A rear shed roof addition on a common bond (4:1) brick foundation has a partially enclosed portion (frame and weatherboard) with exterior rear brick chimney and an open porch with chamfered posts and simple balustrade.

Smoke House (reconstruction) 1970 Contributing Building
To the west of the house is a single crib, half-dovetail building with a front gable roof (wood shingle) and cantilevered shed at the north side. The building is on a stone foundation, and the façade (east) has a door. The smoke house was reconstructed in 1970 based on 1832-33 view of Salem.

Outbuilding (reconstruction) 1976 Contributing Building
A single crib, half dovetail building with an extended front gable roof (wood shingle) is on a stone foundation.

508 Lot 73 Salt-Flax Shop/Boner House 1815/ca. 1850 Contributing Building
The Salt-Flax Shop is the oldest of the five extant original free-standing outbuildings that survive in Salem. Johann Leinbach built the core of this building in 1816 on the rear of Lot 56 across the street from his house and in 1820 he moved the building to his expanded house lot, Lot 73. The shed was built as a one and one-half story, frame, one-room shop. The building served Leinbach's business until 1835 when he rented it to Adam Butner. At Leinbach's death in 1838, the property passed to his son-in-law Chitty who then sold it in 1840 to

[275] Ibid.

Thomas Boner. In 1860, Boner sold the salt shed/house and 35 feet frontage to Charles Yates to settle a debt. It passed almost immediately to Henry Fries, then to Anna J. Stauber, and finally to James Garboden in 1879. It remained in Garboden hands until 1920, when the property was acquired by Della Tesh. The Tesh family held the house and lot until acquired by Old Salem Inc. in 1980.

The transition of the Salt-Flax Shop to a dwelling began in the period from 1840-1862 with the addition of a simple lean-to on the western side which had a kitchen in the cellar. In 1879 the house was enlarged and given a Victorian alteration. A ten-foot addition was added to the south and the floor plan was converted to a center hall, one room deep house. A full façade porch with turned posts and balustrade and sawn brackets was added; it was probably at that time, the large light six over six sash windows were installed. Before 1907, a wing was added to the south-west, doubling the size of the structure and providing four additional rooms. The 1895 Sanborn indicates a 1-story full length addition on the rear and an entrance bay porch. The use of four-over-four large light window sash in the enlargement may indicate the front gable dated from that period as well. The map also indicates a servants/wood house in the rear yard, potentially African American housing. This may be the slave house listed in the Slave Schedule from the 1860 Forsyth County Census. Thomas Boner was listed as the owner of one male slave, age 22, and one slave house.[276]

Following detailed architectural examination and study, the house was restored in 2014 to an interpretive date of ca. 1850. The one and one-half story frame (weatherboard) building is set against the side walk and has a side gable roof (wood shingle) with flush ends and box cornice. There is an interior brick chimney at the southeast, and the foundation is stone and brick, partially stuccoed. Centered on the façade is a small shed roof porch at a brick stoop with plain posts and simple railing with granite steps off either end. It shelters the four-panel entry door and a nine-over-six sash window of the one-room house. A lean-to addition across the rear (west) has a brick foundation and a full cellar with full story exposure at the west. An exterior end, stepped shoulder chimney is on the north end of the lean-to. Window sash is mostly nine-over-six throughout the building.

31FY395*73
Lot 73 Archaeology
Contributing Component to the Contributing Site

2014 Michael O. Hartley (OSI)
Outbuilding

512 Lot 73 Lick-Leinbach House 1787 Contributing Building

Born in Bethabara in 1759, Martin Lick was orphaned as a toddler and cared for as a child by Gottlieb Reuter and his wife Anna Catharina in Bethabara (see Lot 64) until he entered the Single Brothers' House in Salem at the age of 12. Working under master joiner Frederick Beck and then master cabinetmaker Johann Krauss, Lick was well prepared to help build in the new town of Salem and participated in most of the building of the 1780s and 90s. In 1786, Lick selected a lot on “the back street” (Salt Street) to build a home for himself and his new bride, Christine Hauser. Already present on the lot were a spring, which provided water for the Single Brothers slaughterhouse, and an orchard which also belonged to the Single Brothers. Lot 73 (like other lots on Salt Street) was larger than a typical residential lot because Town Run (later known as Tar Branch) coursed through it, and it stretched west to New Street. The Licks moved in to the house in May 1787 while it was still under construction. In 1788, Lick was in the process of building a bake oven and a smoke house, and by 1794, much of the complex was completed, which also included a well.

[276] Forsyth County Genealogical Society, *The 1860 Federal Census*, 207.

The improvements were sold to in 1795 to shoemaker, Johann Leinbach. He soon married Elisabeth Transou and immediately had changes made to the house, including the shop addition to the north. This addition was constructed of *binderwerk* plastered over, as seen on the First House (Lot 52) and at some point, was covered with matched board siding. Leinbach also constructed a four-foot street side porch in the spring of 1820, and a "new" porch, thought to be a back porch, and horse stall. It is also thought that he added a second floor over the lean-to shop in 1811 for a journeyman shoemaker. With this addition, the roof was extended and the house may have been weatherboarded at this time.

Leinbach also operated a linseed oil mill south of town and carried on an active trade in flax seed and salt. In 1815 he built a shed on the lot across the street for the storage of salt and flax seed (he leased the rear half of Lot 56). The lot between Lots 74 and 73 was divided between the two in 1819, with 2/3 of the neighboring lot to Leinbach's lot and 1/3 to the Christman lot. With an expanded lot, Leinbach moved the storage shed from the rear of Lot 56 across the street to Lot 73 in 1820. Because of his extensive trade in salt, the "back street" in Salem began to be called "Salt Lane," later "Salt Street."[277] Leinbach died in 1838 and the improvements were sold to his son-in-law, John Jacob Chitty, who then sold them in 1840 to Single Brother Thomas Jacob Boner. Boner married Phoebe Elizabeth Nading, and one of their four children was the distinguished North Carolina poet John Henry Boner.

In the 1912, the Salt Street lots were greatly reduced in size. The Southbound Railroad spur was built into Salem and crossed the rear half of lots. The rear of the lots then faced New Street /Factory Row and were developed with housing. The Salt Street lots were again reduced in dimension in 1956-58, when Old Salem Road, the four-lane by-pass around the Old Salem Historic District, was constructed east of the railroad across the lots. The rear of Lot 73 is clear of buildings and planted in fruit trees. The house had passed through several owners, and by 1919-1920 was owned by Norman P. Stone who gave the house to Old Salem, Inc. in memory of his wife Fannie Jones Stone in 1950. The house had undergone only minor alteration, and retained many features of its eighteenth-century appearance.

The records indicated several outbuildings and support features on the lot, including a 1788 smokehouse. An outbuilding, well and a brick cistern were revealed during the examination of the lot. The well dates from 1794 and has been restored with a pump. The outbuilding may post-date the 1860 split of the lot, when 35 northernmost feet was deeded to Henry Fries, as the footings of the outbuilding lie inside the 1860 north property line. The outbuilding is seen on the 1895 Sanborn map. The cistern was located at the southwest corner of the house.

Early twentieth century photographs recorded that the main house roof line continued over the shop, there was a front dormer, and a three-quarter width shed roof porch on the façade. The restoration of the Lick-Boner House was one of the first undertaken by Old Salem, Inc., in 1951 and 1952, and aside from its significance as an early extant house of Salem, it is an example of the degree and quality of study and work applied to the Salem Restoration from its inception. The copious notes by Frank Horton as well as the documentary study compiled by Mary Wiley, and the workmanship demanded of the restoration craftsmen set an early standard of rigor in the work to be undertaken.

Built against the sidewalk in 1787, the one and one-half story log building with full dovetail joints has a side gable roof (wood shingle painted red) with open eaves and extended top locking plate. There is a board fence at the sidewalk. There is a large brick central chimney with stucco band and corbelled cap. A shed roof dormer is on the rear roof. The house is on a stuccoed foundation. The asymmetrical façade has two bays with one six-over-six sash window and a herringbone Dutch door with three-light transom that enters a side-hall plan, four-

[277] Fries and Rights, *Records of the Moravians*, 8:3699.

room house. The upper gable ends are flush board sheathing. In the upper south gable are two six-over-six sash windows at the second-floor level with two circular vents in the gable peak; at the north there is one window and one vent, as a chimney rises there. Windows and doors have plain casings. A shed roof addition at the rear, on timber posts, is partially enclosed (frame with flush board sheathing) at the south, with the north end an open porch (screened) with simple posts and balustrade. Steps off the north end and under the roof descend to grade.

The 1811 shop addition at the north abuts the sidewalk and extends the full depth of the north end of the house. This lean-to addition was built of *binderwerk,* or frame, and has flush board sheathing. The narrow façade has two bays. A shed roof cover is above a herringbone door at a granite doorsill and there is an adjacent six-over-six sash window. A painted shop sign of a boot hangs from the covering and advertises a shoe shop. An exterior end brick chimney at the north end of the house and at the juncture of the shop, served the shop. There are three six-over-six sash windows on the north elevation of the shop.

Well and pump (reconstruction) 1952 Contributing Structure
At the northwest rear of the house is a well and pump. The square stone foundation has a frame cover with smooth decking. A wooden pump sits in the center over the well. Archaeologically excavated in 1950, the structure was reconstructed in 1952. An octagonal pump piece was found during excavation and is a prototype for reconstruction of wooden pumps.[278]

Smokehouse (reconstruction) 1953 Contributing Building
In the yard is a single crib, full-dovetail building with a front gable roof (wood shingle) with a cantilevered wide north eave. The building is on a stone foundation, and the façade (east) has a door. Reconstructed in 1953 based on documentary information.

Bake Oven (reconstruction) 1952 Contributing Structure
In the yard is a free-standing brick bake oven on brick piers with a front gable (clay tile) roof, facing north. Reconstructed in 1952 based on archaeological and documentary information.

31FY395*73
Lot 73 Archaeology
Contributing Component to the Contributing Site

1950- Frank Horton, (OSI)
1951 Lick-Boner lot cistern

520 Lot 72 Hagen House 1816 Contributing Building
John Joachim Hagen, a tailor born May 10, 1771 in Europe, came to Salem in 1814 by way of Lititz, Pennsylvania after a spending many years as a missionary to the "northern Indians," during which service he became crippled. In January 1816, Hagen's plans for a house in Salem were approved and by October he and his wife (Susanna Lick, daughter of Martin Lick, Lot 73) had moved in. Lot 72 (like other lots on Salt Street) was larger than a typical residential lot because Town Run (later known as Tar Branch) coursed through it, and it stretched west to New Street

Built against the sidewalk in 1816, the one and one-half story log (beaded weatherboard) house with side gable roof has open eaves and rafter ends with a decorative finish. There is a large central brick chimney with corbelled cap and a stone foundation. The asymmetrical three-bay façade has a two-bay shed roof porch with four chamfered posts and simple balustrade at grade. The herringbone front door enters a side-hall plan house. Two six-over-six sash windows are also on the façade and in each upper gable end are two six-over-six sash

[278] Frank Horton, Field Notes, Summer 1950, Old Salem, Inc., Winston-Salem, NC.

windows at the second-floor level. Windows and doors have molded casings, and windows are hung with two-panel shutters. An engaged lean-to at the rear is on a common bond brick foundation with an exterior end single shoulder chimney on the south end with an integrated bake oven projecting from the rear of the fire box. The slope of the lot reveals a full-story cellar at the rear with an exterior door and six-over-six sash windows. A picket fence is against the sidewalk and property lines.

Hagen's log house differs in its notching, the v-notch being used rather than the dovetail, which was more common in Salem. The house was weatherboarded at some point. Hagen used his house as his tailor shop as well, and he trained others there. He received permission in 1817 to build a bake oven and in 1824 enlarged the rear porch, adding a wash-kitchen to the lower portion of the porch. In 1828 he constructed a front porch on his house which extended completely over the footpath, for which he was admonished for acting against the Orders of the Community.

John and Susanna Hagen had five children. Well remembered is their son Francis Florentine Hagen, an accomplished musician who authored a favorite Moravian Christmas hymn, "Morning Star," and who served Bethania Moravian Church and its enslaved community as pastor. John Hagen died in 1844, and within the year, his widow Susanna had moved into the Widows House. In 1849 the house was purchased for Charles Reich by his mother Elisabeth. Charles lived in the Hagen house until his death in 1853, and it then passed through a succession of owners (Clinard, Shore, Wagner, etc.) until it was acquired by Old Salem, Inc. in 1953. The Slave Schedule from the 1860 Forsyth County Census listed Henry Shore as the owner of one female slave, age 12, and one slave house.[279] The 1895 Sanborn Insurance map recorded three outbuildings, one of which was likely the slave house.

In the 1912, the Salt Street lots were greatly reduced in size. The Southbound Railroad spur was built into Salem and crossed the rear half of lots. The rear of the lots then faced New Street /Factory Row and were developed with housing. The Salt Street lots were again reduced in dimension in 1956-58, when Old Salem Road, the four-lane by-pass around the Old Salem Historic District, was constructed east of the railroad across the lots. The rear of Lot 72 is clear of buildings and planted in fruit trees.

When acquired by Old Salem, Inc. in 1953, the house still retained its original form, with very little exterior modification, although by 1950 the front porch was gone, the bake oven which had been attached to the kitchen fireplace had been demolished, and a tin roof replaced the original wooden one, and there was a front dormer. The house was then purchased from Old Salem by Barbara Babcock in 1956, and she restored it to its 1828 appearance in 1957, under the direction of Old Salem, Inc. Privately owned.

Well and Pump (reconstruction) ca. 1957 Contributing Structure
The square stone foundation with a frame cover has board and wide batten decking. A wooden pump sits in the center over the brick lined well.

524 Lot 71 Solomon Lick House 1822 Contributing Building
In November 1821, Brother Solomon Lick began the necessary arrangements to acquire new living quarters in Salem. A son of Martin Lick (Lot 73), Solomon was a hatter who at that time was one of the night watchmen and lamp lighters of Salem. He received permission to build a house on Lot 71, which like other lots on Salt Street was larger than a typical residential lot because Town Run (later known as Tar Branch) coursed through it, and it stretched west to New Street. He and his family lived in the house until 1826 when they "moved out of town to the oil-mill of Br. John Leinbach, of which he will take charge. Old Br. And Sr. Martin Lick will move into the house which they have been occupying."[280] Solomon Lick apparently continued to own his house until

[279] Forsyth County Genealogical Society, *The 1860 Federal Census*, 207.
[280] Fries and Rights, *Records of the Moravians*, 8:3773.

1829. Sister Elisabeth Reich soon purchased the house. By 1848 she had requested to build a stable. Her daughter had married Br. Francis Meller, a confectioner from Nazareth, Pennsylvania, and they moved in with the ailing Sr. Elisabeth Reich. Br. Meller seems to have set up a bakers/confectioners business out of the house and it may have been at this time that the bake oven was added to the lean-to. Meller and family moved to the former Christoph Vogler House (Lot 65) in the 1870s and had major changes made to that house.

The house on Lot 71 was raised to two full stories in the second half of the nineteenth century, and after 1907, it was moved back from the street. The 1912 Sanborn Insurance map recorded that the house had been moved back from the street 10'-15'and the lean-to replaced with an ell at the northwest end. Prior to restoration, the house was a two-story central chimney (reduced chimney size) house with a full façade hipped roof front porch with turned posts and decorative brackets. First floor windows were two-over-two while second floor windows were six-over-six. Two outbuildings appear on the Sanborn maps, including the 1848 barn; these buildings did not survive

In the 1912, the Salt Street lots were greatly reduced in size. The Southbound Railroad spur was built into Salem and crossed the rear half of lots. The rear of the lots then faced New Street /Factory Row and were developed with housing. The Salt Street lots were again reduced in dimension in 1956-58, when Old Salem Road, the four-lane by-pass around the Old Salem Historic District, was constructed east of the railroad across the lots. The rear of Lot 71 is clear of buildings and planted in fruit trees.

Old Salem, Inc. acquired the Solomon Lick House from James Perryman and Miss Anna Perryman in 1966. Mr. Perryman (b.1891) recalled the ca. 1905 configuration of the house, which aided in the restoration. In 1970 a proposal was made to the Historic Districts Commission to move the house back to its original location and restore it to its original configuration with lean-to and full cellar. This was to be done by the new owner, Mrs. Suzanne La Roque, under the supervision of Old Salem Inc. Restoration work was completed in 1972.

Sitting against the sidewalk is the 1822 one and one-half story log (weatherboard) house on a raised stone foundation. The side gable roof (wood shingle) has flush ends, open eaves with exposed rafter ends, and a large central brick chimney with corbelled cap. The two-bay façade has a stoop with shed roof and chamfered posts with simple balustrade on a Flemish bond brick foundation. There are three wood steps off the north end to a granite step at the sidewalk. The four-panel door enters a side-hall plan house. There is one six-over-six sash window on the façade and on the other elevations, all hung with two-panel shutters. In each upper gable end is one three-over-six sash windows, and there is one three-over-six sash window on the north elevation. Windows and doors have plain casings. At the rear is an engaged frame lean-to on a common bond brick foundation with an exterior end brick chimney and bake oven with gable (clay tile) roof at the south end. The house lot is surrounded by a picket fence.

Barn (reconstruction) 1997 Contributing Building

The building is a one and one-half story frame barn with board and batten siding on a stone foundation. The side gable roof is wood shingle. The three-bay façade (east) has a stall door (Dutch style), a single door, and a double barn door. There are access hatches at the loft level above the double door and on the north end. All are hung with strap hinges. Archaeological investigation in 1981located the barn with attached privy and it was reconstructed 1997 based on photographic evidence and archaeology.

31FY395*71
Lot 71 Archaeology
Contributing Component to the Contributing Site

1969- Brad Rauschenberg (OSI)

1970 Solomon Lick

1981 Michael Hammond, Archaeological Research Consultants (ARC)
Solomon Lick barn

1990 Michael Hammond (OSI)
Solomon Lick privy

Wachovia Street
North Side

Bridge 1894 Contributing Structure
Listed as a contributing resource in the West Salem National Register Historic District.

Wachovia Street was an east-west street which connected Salem to the developing West Salem neighborhood in the late nineteenth century (Academy and West Streets were earlier). Wachovia Street is a westerly extension of New Shallowford Street (Brookstown Ave.) and was cut ca. 1880, as the J. A. Lineback additions to the E. A. Vogler map recorded subdivision of the former Tannery land along Tanners Run between Bank Street and First Street by 1884. Other additions of new streets with building lots included: Branch, Cotton, and Spring (called Fairview). Mill housing, associated with Arista Mills (1880), and later Indera Mills, developed along Wachovia Street and other streets in the vicinity. Wachovia Street takes its name from the 100,000-acre tract of Moravian land, which included Salem.

Wachovia Street crosses Tanners Run where a brick common bond horseshoe vault, surrounded by cut granite blocks and an upper-level brick, carries the road. The wooden bridge shown on the 1891 Bird's eye View was replaced in 1894 with this masonry structure.[281] It is one of only three late nineteenth-century bridges remaining in Winston-Salem, and all three are in Salem and all are in use. A small frame store building was constructed on this bridge and over the creek ca. 1915 and stood until 1999.

443 Moore House ca. 1887 Contributing Building
Listed as a contributing resource in the West Salem National Register Historic District.

The lot was purchased from the Moravian Church by Mary Moore in 1887. The house was built soon thereafter, as it is included on the 1891 Bird's Eye View of Winston-Salem. The Moore House and its neighbor at 503 Wachovia were the first houses built in this block and were of a more substantial quality than the mill housing closer to Arista Mills. In 1907, Edmund and Ella Moore obtained the property from August and Annie Moore. The 1908 City Directory listed Edmund and Lou Moore as occupants and his employment as watchman. By 1915, Edmund Moore was listed as an engineer with R. J. Reynolds Tobacco Co.

The house is set back from the sidewalk by a shallow fenced yard. It is a one and one-half story frame (asbestos shingle) house with a side gable roof (pressed tin shingle) with box eaves on a brick foundation. The symmetrical three-bay façade features a nearly full-façade hip roof (pressed tin shingle) front porch with turned posts. The sawn balustrade and brackets recorded in a 1979 survey were lost by 1999, and since that time, a turned balustrade and spindles along the porch frieze have been added. The porch is a step up from the short walkway to the sidewalk. The centered entry is a double leaf wood panel door with a two-light transom. Windows are four-over-four sash with plain casings and although shutter hardware remains, there are no shutters. In each upper gable end is a four-over-four sash window at the second-floor level. There is one interior brick chimney (stuccoed), as recorded on the 1891 Bird's Eye View. The center hall, one-room deep

[281] "Spanning the Past," 13.

plan has a gable roof ell. The two outbuildings recorded on the 1917 Sanborn Insurance map are no longer extant. The east property line is Tanners Run.

503 Davis House ca. 1890 Contributing Building
Listed as a contributing resource in the West Salem National Register Historic District.

The house was built prior to 1891, as it is included on the 1891 Bird's Eye View of Winston-Salem. The Davis House and its neighbor at 443 Wachovia were the first houses built in this block and were of a more substantial quality than the mill housing closer to Arista Mills. The house may have been built by R. L. Aldridge; however, by the first decade of the twentieth century, Charles and Laura Davis were the occupants and lived in the house through the middle of the century. He was a carpenter, who by the 1934 City Directory was a carpenter at R. J. Reynolds Tobacco Company.

Set back from the sidewalk by a shallow yard, the two-story frame (asbestos shingle) I-house has a side gable roof (pressed tin shingle) with open eaves. There is a shed roof dormer (casement window is boarded) and two interior brick chimneys. The house is on a brick foundation. The symmetrical three-bay façade has full-façade hip roof (pressed tin shingle) decorative porch with turned posts and sawn work balustrade and brackets. The porch is three steps up from a short walkway to the sidewalk. The centered entry is a double leaf door with a three-light transom. Windows are six-over-six sash. In the upper gable ends are louvered vents. The center hall, one room-deep plan has a two-story ell with shed roof porch on the east. The 1917 Sanborn Insurance map recorded a one-story ell. Also shown was an outbuilding which is extant.

Barn ca. 1900 Contributing Building
To the rear of the house is a one-story frame (vertical wood siding) building with a side gable roof (5 V metal). On the two-bay façade is an open barn door and a double leaf barn door. The outbuilding was recorded on the 1917 Sanborn Insurance map.

507 Ebert House ca. 1900 Contributing Building
Listed as a contributing resource in the West Salem National Register Historic District.

Built around the turn of the century as development progressed in West Salem, the house is associated with John Ebert and his wife Millie for the first half of the twentieth century. Mr. Ebert was listed in City Directories as a motorman for the Southern Railway.

The house is set back from the sidewalk by a shallow yard like its neighbors. The one-story frame (asbestos siding) house has a side gable roof (asphalt shingle) with open eaves and is on a brick foundation. The symmetrical three-bay façade has a decorative centered entry-bay hip roof porch with turned posts, sawn work balustrade and brackets. The porch is a step up from a short walkway and concrete steps to the sidewalk. The front door has a two-light transom. The windows are four-over-one sash with wide, plain casings. The center hall, one-room deep house has two ells that are recorded on the 1917 Sanborn Insurance map. The map also recorded a full façade front porch.

Wachovia Street
South Side

440 Lumley House ca. 1900 Contributing Building
Listed as a contributing resource in the West Salem National Register Historic District.

John W. Fries headed the Marshall Street Development Corporation and sold off lots in the West Salem area after ca. 1890. In 1900, M. I. Lumley purchased this lot from J. W. and Agnes Fries. Walter and Rhodema

Lumley are listed as occupants in the City Directories. Mr. Lumley was a machinist at Salem Iron Works four blocks away on Liberty Street. The house is associated with the Lumley family through at least the first half of the twentieth century.

The house sits back from the sidewalk with a shallow yard and is a two-story frame (weatherboard) I-house with a pedimented side gable roof (pressed tin shingle) and box eaves with narrow frieze board. There are two interior brick chimneys and the foundation is common bond brick. The lot slopes to the creek and the east foundation is a full story cellar. The symmetrical three-bay façade has a decorative three-quarter hip roof (pressed tin shingle) porch with turned posts, sawn brackets and turned balustrade. The porch is on a brick foundation and is two steps up from the short walkway to the sidewalk. The front door has a transom and one sidelight. Window sash is two-over-two and windows are hung with louver shutters. The center hall, one-room deep plan has a gable roof ell with shed porch on the east and south, as shown on the 1917 Sanborn Insurance map. The rear porches have been enclosed. The Sanborn map recorded a full façade porch and one outbuilding (no longer extant). The house was renovated ca. 2000. The east property line is Tanners Run.

442 Aldridge House ca. 1900 Contributing Building
Listed as a contributing resource in the West Salem National Register Historic District.

John W. Fries headed the Marshall Street Development Corporation and sold off lots in the West Salem area after ca. 1890. In 1893, W.K. and Harriet Petree bought this lot from J. W. Fries and later sold it to Robert Aldridge, a teamster. Milton Brown and wife Della owned the house for much of the twentieth century. Mr. Brown was recorded in the 1925 City Directory as a captain at the City Fire Department No. 2.[282]

Located on a corner lot at Wachovia and Poplar Streets, the house sits back from the sidewalks with a shallow front yard and narrow strip along the side. The house is a two-story frame (aluminum siding) house with a side gable roof (asphalt shingle) with returned eaves. There are two interior brick chimneys that have been stuccoed and the foundation is brick. The symmetrical three-bay façade has a decorative three-quarter hip roof front porch with turned posts, sawn brackets and balustrade (replacements ca. 1990). The porch has four brick steps to the short walkway to the sidewalk. The front door has a transom and one sidelight. Windows sash is two-over-two. Shutters are applied. The center hall, one-room deep plan has a gable roof ell with shed roof porch on the east (now enclosed) shown on the 1917 Sanborn Insurance map. A large outbuilding at the rear of the lot is no longer extant.

Walnut Street
North Side

15 Lot 102 Siewers Shop, see 832 S. Main Street

Lot 268 Abraham Loesch House 1789 Contributing Component to the Contributing Site

Abraham Loesch was given permission in 1789 to build a house and establish a fulfilling mill "on the run behind the tavern. There will be place for his frames and for his garden beyond the run, so his house shall be built on the hill near the mill on the further side of the run also. He may also build a dam."[283] The fulling mill functioned for several years and also was used by the Single Brothers as a groats mill. The property passed to gunsmith Christoph Vogler (Lot 65 and Lot 95) in 1800, and the water power provided Vogler the means to bore and to rifle his gun barrels. This use was continued by son Nathaniel Vogler after his father's death in 1827. The Slave Schedule from the 1860 Forsyth County Census listed Nathaniel Vogler as owning one male

[282] Wyatt, "West Salem Historic District," Section 7:91.
[283] "Minutes of the *Aufseher Collegium*, June 26, 1789" (Lot 268, Old Salem Research Files).

slave, age 60, and one slave house is listed.[284] The property remained in the Vogler family until 1875. By 1913 it was owned by Mrs. T. W. Davis who restored the house in the 1933 and filled it with antiques.[285] It was during this time that the house became known as "the Old Chimney House" due to the form of the chimney which "curved as it goes through the house and almost made a half circle before it finally went through the roof."[286]

In 1930, Coca Cola Bottling Co. built a bottling facility on S. Marshall St. (now Old Salem Facilities, Archaeology and Horticulture). In the 1950s, Coca Cola acquired the Chimney House and lot from the estate of Frances Davis with an eye for potential expansion. The house was offered to Old Salem; however, it was declined "since the house was located outside the area zoned by the city as old and historic."[287] Paul Carter, president of the Winston Coca Cola, decided to move the house to his home in Chattanooga, Tennessee. The house was dismantled, moved and rebuilt. In 1986 Old Salem staff visited the house and determined that too much original material had been lost to bring the house back to Old Salem. The Chimney House was subsequently moved and rebuilt on the farm of Frank Harrison in Chattanooga.[288]

The side hall plan, center chimney log house that Loesch built in 1789 was raised to two-stories in 1815 with a frame addition by Christoph Vogler.[289] The gable end of the house sat against Walnut Street and there was a barn and a well. Archaeological investigation in 1999 confirmed the location of the house. During construction of Old Salem's new Visitor Center in ca. 2001, the brick lined well appeared. The well location is outlined and marked on the sidewalk.

Well **1789** **Contributing Structure**
The well was revealed during construction of the 2002 Old Salem Visitors Center and was safeguarded. It is outlined in the sidewalk in the front of the Visitors Center with an information plaque.

31FY395*268
Lot 268 Archaeology
Contributing Component to the Contributing Site

1999 Michael O. Hartley (OSI)
Excavation of the Loesch ruin, including partial excavation of cellar hole, rear stone paving and other elements relating to the house.

2002 Kristen Hill and Kym Riewe, under supervision of Michael O. Hartley, Director of Archaeology (OSI)
Loesch well

Walnut Street
South Side

500-502 Duplex ca. 1930 Noncontributing Building
Listed as a contributing resource in the West Salem National Register Historic District.

This lot was noted a "lot 3" on the "Subdivision of Nading Place" by the Boyles Building Co. in 1927.

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[284] Forsyth County Genealogical Society, *The 1860 Federal Census*, 206.
[285] "Salem's Old Chimney House," *Twin City Sentinel,* 4 May 1935, 24.
[286] "Old House Here Goes to Tenn.," *Twin City Sentinel,* 22 December 1959.
[287] Ibid.
[288] Lot 268, Old Salem Research Files.
[289] "Minutes of the *Aufseher Collegium*, Jan. 17, 1815" (Lot 268, Old Salem Research Files).

The two-story, three bay frame (vinyl siding) duplex with hipped roof (asphalt shingle) has interior brick chimneys and a brick foundation. A projecting two-story centered front bay with hipped roof has entry bays on either side, each with a one-story flat roof porch on a single Tuscan column.

510 Stockburger Farmhouse 1782 Contributing Building
Listed as a contributing resource in the West Salem National Register Historic District.

Walnut Street began as the Tavern Land Lane, a pathway to the pasture and meadow belonging to the Salem Tavern and located west of it. On January 1, 1782 a farm of 68 3/8 acres was laid out for Johannes George Stockburger, on either side of the Tavern Lane. His farmhouse was built on the south side of the lane, and a barn and springhouse were also built. This outlying farm was to produce milk and other items for the town of Salem. The farm remained basically intact through a succession of occupants, although the farming enterprise was never very successful. In 1819 the tract was leased to the Salem Mill Company, and in 1820-21, a mill was constructed south of the Stockburger house on Salem Creek. The house served as the miller's house. In 1875 the mill tract was sold to descendants of the original lessees. A few small lots were subsequently sold off; however, the mill tract remained basically intact. C.P. Sides purchased thirty-two acres of the land, including the mill in 1886. At his death in 1891, the mill property was divided, although the mill continued to operate until destroyed by fire in 1902. By that time, the mill tract had been reduced in size as Salem had grown west and new streets laid out. Much of Ash Street (S. Broad Street) and Mill Street (Salem Avenue), on former Stockburger Farm land, became African American housing in the form of single-family houses and tenements (Stafford Place). This historic black occupation remains in place in 2015. The section of Walnut Street which contained the Stockburger Farmhouse was purchased in 1925 by the Boyles Buildings Company and developed as "Nading Place." The house was privately owned and occupied until its purchase by Old Salem.

The 1782 farmhouse, enveloped in later additions, stands on present day Walnut Street. The original building is disguised in the large house set back from and facing the street. The two-story, L-shaped frame (asbestos siding) house with gable roof (pressed tin shingle), and interior brick chimney has a gabled four-bay projection with recessed entry on the façade. Window sash is two-over-two and one-over-one, and the addition has a brick foundation.

Old Salem began study of the Stockburger Farmhouse in the 1980s, and in 1985 it was placed on the National Register Study List while it remained in private hands. Old Salem was able to purchase the house in 2006. Since that time, substantial architectural investigation has occurred. What would seem to be the rear ell of the present building is actually the one and one-half story v-notch log house with side gable roof and central chimney on a stone foundation that Stockburger built in 1782. The *flurküchenhaus* sat back from the lane with its gable end to the road. The entry was located on this north gable end with the door into the long side wall of the hall.[290] There was an engaged lean-to on the east elevation that was partially enclosed. Due to the slope of the land to the west, the south/west foundation is a full story. Like most log buildings in Salem, the house was weatherboarded at some point. There is much documentary information, archaeology is planned, and the project awaits restoration funding.

Waughtown Street

Bridge 1921 Noncontributing Structure
This location has been the historic crossing of Salem Creek since 1766. The earliest maps of Salem show a bridge crossing the Wach (Salem Creek) at this location where the road to the Cape Fear (Waughtown Street) crossed, and not at Main Street (Main Street did not have a bridge until the trolley in 1890 and shared the

[290] David Bergstone (Director of Architecture, Old Salem Museums & Gardens), e-mail message to MB Hartley, 25 April 2013.

Waughtown Street bridge). The road headed east/southeast to link to the Moravian Country Congregation of Friedland and to the Road to the Cape Fear going toward the North Carolina coastal plain. Cross Creek (Fayetteville, North Carolina) was at the headwaters of the Cape Fear River which flows to the Atlantic at its mouth in Wilmington, NC, an important port through time. This was a major colonial and post-colonial road that became the Plank Road from Fayetteville to Bethania in the 1850s. Waughtown was established in ca. 1805 as Bagge Town, by Charles Bagge, son of Traugott Bagge of Salem. James Waugh purchased much of Bagge's holdings in 1815 and the community became known as Waughtown. The Plank Road, constructed from Fayetteville to Bethania in the 1850s, crossed here.

Bridges at this location on the Waughtown Road have been refined through time. The present bridge, a concrete tee beam bridge, was constructed in 1921 by the Luten Bridge Co. of Knoxville, Tennessee for the City of Winston-Salem.[291] As part of a major reworking of the intersection of Old Salem Road, Main Street, Waughtown Street and Salem Avenue in ca. 2000, in preparation for the Southeast Gateway redevelopment, this two-lane bridge with sidewalks was downgraded to a pedestrian and bicycle crossing. Interestingly, the short connector between Waughtown and Main Street persisted until this ca. 2000 project, and Waughtown Street now T's into Main Street at a stoplight intersection.

West Street
South Side

(Note: **Lot 28, Gottlieb Schober House** is listed at 700 S. Church Street, although it faces West Street)

10 Lot 27 Traugott Bagge House (reconstruction) 1787 Contributing Building
On this prominent corner of Salem Square, the Bagge House, also known as the "pink house," stood until ca. 1920.[292] In 1967 Old Salem, Inc. was able to purchase enough of Lot 27 to reconstruct the house. In consultation with Old Salem, Inc., Mr. and Mrs. Earl Slick reconstructed the house in 1970. In 1986, Old Salem Inc. acquired the remainder of Lot 27 from the Vogler family, removed the ca. 1881 frame house, and re-established the original lot dimensions of Lot 27. Following archaeological exploration, the shed for the doctor's gig was reconstructed to Old Salem, Inc. The lot is interpreted to 1821, during the ownership of Dr. Kuehln, and is privately owned.

The Bagge House is composed of the main block and an addition from 1821. The house was built against the sidewalks of Main and West Streets and faces Salem Square. The main block of the house resembles the Community Store across the street in the choices of construction material, as stone rubble and red clay walls were stuccoed and painted to resemble cut stone. The house foundation is stone. The steep side gable roof (clay tile) with box eaves has a central chimney with corbelled cap and stucco band. The asymmetrical three-bay façade has a herringbone Dutch door with four-light transom set in a blind round arch. This doorway style is repeated on the rear (south) elevation. There are two six-over-six sash windows set in segmental arches on the façade, and six-over-six sash evenly spaced on all elevations. At the front door, the granite doorsill is two granite steps up from the sidewalk. The door enters a four-room plan. The windows are hung with single leaf two-panel shutters. There are wide window and door casings and window sills. The upper gable ends are Flemish bond brick with dark headers and with a chevron of dark headers below the rake. This differs from the Community Store which has shingled gable ends. The west gable of the house has two six-over-six sash windows set in relieving arches at the second-floor level, flanked by vertical two-light attic casements. There is a circular vent in brick above in the gable peak at the upper attic. The east gable has one six-over-six sash window set in a relieving arch and a circular vent above.

[291] "Spanning the Past," 31.
[292] James and Griffin, *Official Guidebook*, 26.

The one-story, one-room frame (beaded weatherboard) addition at the east has a side gable roof (concrete to simulate wood shingle) with flush ends and box cornice. It is on a stone foundation. There is an exterior end single shoulder brick chimney with corbelled cap. An engaged lean-to porch is on the rear (south) elevation and has chamfered posts. The symmetrical three-bay façade has a centered four-panel door flanked by six-over-six sash windows hung with single panel shutters. The door is one granite step above the sidewalk. The east upper gable end has two vertical two-light casement attic windows.

Plans to build a house on Lot 27 began when Traugott Bagge, storekeeper, was given permission in September 1774. The records then noted in June 1775 that "A sketch of Br. Bagge's own house, made by Marshall, was presented" to the *Aufseher Collegium* and the plan for the house was approved.[293] In May 1775, Bagge and his family had moved into the south end of the Community Store (Lot 63, 626 S. Main Street). The house lot (Lot 27) was measured off in October of that year; however, construction of the new house was delayed many years, apparently because of the Revolutionary War, although Bagge did begin to dig a well on the lot in 1775. In 1777 the well was again attempted, and Bagge had some rock blasted out by Andreas Volk. For whatever reason, possibly impenetrable rock, the construction of the well was abandoned and in 1785 some of the dirt from the digging of the Single Sisters cellar was used to fill it in.

In 1787, Bagge's employee, Br. Biwighausen, could not find any lodging in Salem except two blocks away in the Two-Story House (Lot 53), which had been a temporary store location in 1772-1775. This was deemed "too far away for him for his service in the store" and Bagge was willing to build him a house on Lot 27 as long as the Community Warden took care of the construction details.[294] The house was rapidly constructed and occupied in 1787 by Biwighausen, and other members of the Salem community also resided in the house in separate apartments. In January 1799, Sr. Praezel requested other accommodations several times, saying that her quarters in the Bagge House were too small for herself and her two children, "and too cold."[295]

Traugott Bagge died in 1800 and the house passed to his son Charles Bagge, who shortly sold it to the Community Diacony as part of the Community Store. Biwighausen continued to live in the house, and after his retirement, operated a small "ware shop" at the Bagge House. He died in 1806 and the house was used for a time as the Widow's House, and then in 1810 as the residence of Conrad Kreuser, Salem's second merchant. Upon Kreuser's retirement in 1819, Dr. Christian David Kuehln occupied the house. He built a horse stable in 1818, and in 1820 he received permission to build a shed for his chair. The term "chair" meant his two-wheeled horse drawn "gig" sometimes referred to as a "doctor's gig." The construction of this shed was permitted near the east lot line with Lot 28 (Shober) as long as the shed was constructed in a way that the window into Shober's shop could still receive light. To achieve this, the higher side of the shed was on the interior of Kuehln's yard with the roof sloping down toward the property line. Dr. Kuehln also added a small frame apothecary to the east side of the house in 1821, and a smokehouse in 1824. In 1830 Kuehln moved to his new large brick house two blocks south (Lot 97, 901 S. Main Street).

The Bagge house passed through several uses until 1838, when it was purchased by Emanuel Shober, who also controlled Lot 28 next door. He rented the Bagge House to Dr. Zevely in 1844. On Emanuel Shober's unexpected death in 1846, the house was inherited by his son Francis, who also opened the house for rent. On January 15, 1855 the *Aufseher Collegium* reported that Br. Elias Vogler had purchased the house from Francis Shober. Elias Vogler was a gifted artist and designer and in 1857 designed Salem Cemetery. He also designed the Shaffner House (Lot 48, 428 S. Main Street) and stylistic upgrades for several houses in Salem. The Slave Schedule from the 1860 Forsyth County Census listed E. A. Vogler as the owner of two male slaves (ages 23

[293] "Minutes of the *Aufseher Collegium*, June 28, 1775" (Lot 27, Old Salem Research Files).
[294] Ibid., Feb. 20, 1787.
[295] Ibid., Jan. 15, 1799.

and 11) and two female slaves (ages 18 and 16).[296] Vogler had a large farm, Sunnyside, at the southeast corner of the Salem Town Lot. He was greatly involved in the life of the African Moravian Church in the 1860s and 1870s, serving as superintendent during the 1860s. Vogler was an important leader in the establishment of Liberia (Happy Hill) for Freedmen in 1872.

Vogler's financial difficulties forced the transfer of this lot and the store buildings on Lots 62 and 63 to Henry W. Fries for sale to settle his bankruptcy proceedings. In January 1873, John Vogler (E. A. Vogler's father) purchased the house and Lot 27 at auction for $2,300, and Elias and family continued to live in the house.[297] Elias died in 1876 and his family continued to live on the lot. In 1881 a two-story frame house was built on the rear of Lot 27 facing Main Street, probably by his son. This house was removed in 1986.

Gig Shed (reconstruction) ca. 1986 Contributing Building
The frame, two-bay open shed has a shed roof (wood shingle) slanting to the rear with the front upper opening framed-in and sheathed with board and batten siding. The rear (east) elevation also has board and batten siding. This building would have protected Dr. Kuehln's gig, or two-wheeled horse-drawn chair.

31FY395*27
Lot 27 Archaeology
Contributing Component to the Contributing Site

1968 Brad Rauschenberg (OSI)
T. Bagge House

1986 Michael Hammond (OSI)
Gig shed and lot testing

412 Lot 211 Crim House ca. 1900 Contributing Building
Listed as a contributing resource in the West Salem National Register Historic District.

On this corner lot at West and Poplar Streets, the Victorian house faces West Street and was built back several feet from the front sidewalk and about twenty feet from the Poplar Street sidewalk. The two-story balloon frame (weatherboard) house is T-shape with gable roof (asphalt shingle). There is a central brick chimney and exterior end brick chimney at the south. The brick foundation is partially stuccoed. The façade has three bays and the front projecting gable bay has decorative bargeboard. Decoration continues on full-width hip roof front porch with turned posts and balustrade and scrolled brackets. The double-leaf centered entry has panel doors with glazed upper panels. Two wood steps at the west end of the porch access a short concrete walk to the sidewalk. Windows are two-over-two sash and the west elevation facing Poplar Street has a bay window. The southwest rear of the house has a one-story frame (weatherboard) ell with a gable roof (5 V metal). There is a wraparound two-story frame (aluminum siding) flat roof addition on the east and south elevations, which nearly doubled the size of the house. There is a garage at the rear of the lot facing Poplar Street.

John and Allie Crim likely built this house and were residents for the first half of the twentieth century.[298] City Directories listed Mr. Crim's employment at the Crim-Cantrell Furniture Company, a three-story Classical Revival-style commercial building located at 307-309 North Main Street in Winston.[299]

[296] Forsyth County Genealogical Society, *The 1860 Federal Census*, 208.
[297] Ibid.; Diary entries for 23 February 1871 and 12 May 1873 (Lot 27, Old Salem Research Files).
[298] Wyatt, "West Salem Historic District," Section 7:108.
[299] Forsyth County, North Carolina, Digital Forsyth "Crim-Cantrell Furniture Company, 1918, http://www.digitalforsyth.org/

Garage **ca. 1940** **Noncontributing Building**

Sited against the south property line and fronting the sidewalk at Poplar Street is a one-story, two-bay common bond brick garage with a corbelled parapet and shed-roof over bay at the two-bay garage with wood doors.

Individual Resources

The Reservation (discontiguous) **1778** **Contributing Component to the Contributing Site**

Located on a residential lot on Second Street, near the intersection with Shady Lane north of Salem, is a remnant of the Salem Reservation. The land around these springs was set aside and remained wooded and undeveloped until the late nineteenth century. These springs at the head of Tanners Run provided water for the first Salem Waterworks (1778-1828). Bored logs connected by iron collars conducted gravity and pressure fed spring water to a stand pipe on Main Street. A water shortage in 1828 led to the construction of the second Salem Waterworks, pumped from a source at the east of Lot 7 in town. When the new Salem Cotton Company was founded in 1836, the land allotted to this textile operation included the land which became known as the Reservation and supplied water to the mill operation.

The E.A. Vogler map of 1876 shows the Reservation as bounded by First Street on the south, Spring Street on the west, a line from Third Street on the north, and Spruce Street on the east. In 1888-89, the Moravians established Calvary Chapel "on a beautiful site in the Reservation"[300] and this grew into Calvary Moravian Church which became a large Moravian church in Winston. As the church grew and as roads were pushed through and lots made available for development, the Reservation was reduced in size.

In 2000, the collapse of the surface of the lot in the vicinity of the impoundment outflow led to the archaeological examination.[301] Following examination, the component was stabilized and backfilled. The houses were removed. A park designation has been discussed. A sink hole again developed in summer 2015.

31FY395
Reservation Archaeology
Contributing Component to the Contributing Site

2000 Michael O. Hartley (OSI)
Examination and recording of a stone impoundment wall in the Reservation, designed to capture and hold the outflow of the Reservation Springs. The feature had successive builds and was apparently in use from the early period into and through the nineteenth-century.

Road System **1766** **Contributing Structure**

The road system of Salem was initially set in place by the Moravian surveyor Philip Christian Gottlieb Reuter, with input from Wachovia Administrator Frederick William Marshall about widths and placement. The first road of the Salem grid was the main street, initially with a lower case "m." This described the function and placement of the road on the Salem ridge, rather than the name of the street. The line which it follows was formally established by Reuter in January of 1766 (having been conceptually planned in 1765). This set the course and orientation of this road from Salem Creek to an undetermined point to the north of what was to be

photos/6649.

[300] Rondthaler, *The Memorabilia of Fifty Years*, 87.

[301] Michael O. Hartley, "Examination of Stone Wall, 649 W. Second Street," (report for Old Salem, Inc., Winston-Salem, NC, 2000).

Salem, termed by Marshall as "beyond." This main street determined the structure of Salem, and then Winston, and is a main street into the present.

The main street was the north-south axis of the street grid. Two parallel streets were laid out on the ridge to the east and west of the main street. Neither of these two streets extended south to the creek, nor north beyond the immediate environs of where the town was to be compactly laid out. Streets were uniformly forty feet wide with Main Street sixty feet wide. The east-west cross street then laid out on the north end of the Square connected to the road to Shallow ford, an important crossing on the Yadkin River, to the west. The cross street on the south end of the Square was a short street, only spanning the ridge that held the core of Salem. A similar cross street was laid out a block to the south that extended into the Potters' Bottom to the east and past the Tavern and into the Tavern Meadow to the west. Two cross streets were also laid out to the north of the Square as well. Reuter also laid out a third north-south parallel street to the west, across the small creek called the Town Run. This roadway did not come into use until 1819. Additionally, there was a farm road from the Potters' Bottom which crossed "Der Wach" (Salem Creek), leading directly to George Holder's house on the Salem Plantation. A number of other roads extended in various directions beyond the NHL.

This internal road system linked directly to the broader system of Carolina: the Belews Creek Road as well as the road to Bethabara and Bethania at the north end of town; the Shallowford, and the Great Wagon Road crossing of the Yadkin to the west; and the roads to Salisbury, Pine Tree (Camden, SC), Charleston, S.C., and the Cape Fear (Cross Creek/Fayetteville) from the south end of town.

Nearly forty years later these streets still had not been named. On a map of Salem from 1805, the main street is labeled "Principal Street," the connector to the Shallowford road is labeled "Shallowford Str." and all other streets are labeled "The other Streets." The road system as shown in 1805 was much the same as that laid out in the 1770s. Exceptions were a more clearly defined roadway to the east through the Potter's Bottom, to the Salem Plantation, and the map showed that it crossed the creek on a bridge. Another crossing with a bridge forked to the southeast off of the "Principal Street" and forked again to southeast and southwest paths. In 1805 there was also a new road branching off of the main street toward the southwest, to pass a mill pond and associated buildings (fulling mill, gun barrel boring mill) to Stockburger's farm on the outskirts of town.

Salem entered the nineteenth century with this road structure and it was the anchor for the subsequent activities of the community through time. The 1821 map which designated the new lot numbering system also named the core streets: Main, Church, Salt, Shallowford, New.[302] In 1819 the north-south road across the Town Run that had been projected by Reuter on his early maps, had been opened up and the first house was built there for Johann Ackermann; this was New Street. At the north end of town another east-west street was opened in 1826 and named New Shallowford, leading westerly. Roads also extended to the north from the town grid, and to the northeast. To the east of the core area, the road to the old Salem Plantation, which had since become the Schumann Plantation, remained in place. To the south a race dug in 1820 crossed the main street and a mill lane branched off from the main street to the grist mill that that race served.

New Shallowford became the focal point for an initiative into textile industrialization by the Salem community. In 1836 the Salem Manufacturing Company, a cotton mill, was built on the south side of New Shallow ford, just west of the intersection with New Street. In 1840 the Fries woolen mill was built on the north side of New Shallowford, and on the east bank of the Town Run.

With the establishment of the textile mills on New Shallowford, a short north-south street was added at the west end of the Single Brothers land, which was to become Poplar Street. The first house built on this street was

[302] Meinung, "Report of the Committee."

Allen Ackerman's 1843 home, followed by other builds in the second half of the nineteenth century. This evolved into the West Salem neighborhood.

And in 1840s, the central north-south street which was the axis of Salem (Main Street) was formally extended into the northern Salem Town Lot. In 1849, the 51 1/4-acre tract was sold for the county seat of the newly created Forsyth County. This courthouse tract was soon named Winston.

When the lease system of Salem ended in 1857 and the administration began to sell lots, they determined that for record keeping, including deeds, that streets in Salem should be named. Consequently, those running north-south were formerly named respectively from east to west, Church Street, Main Street, Salt Street, Elm Street (formerly called Factory Row), Marshall Street (from old Shallowford to the mill lane), and Poplar Street.

The east-west roads, from the north corporation line of Salem south the streets were named Belews Creek Street, New Shallowford Street, Bank Street, Old Shallowford Street (across the north end of the Square), West Street (across the south end of the Square) and Walnut Street. With land being sold by the administration additional streets were laid out north of New Shallowford (High Street and North Street), as well as additional streets west of Elm Street (Cherry, Pine and Spruce Streets).

An additional and significant expansion of the street system was surveyed following the Civil War, across Salem Creek on what had been the Salem Farm and then Schumann Plantation. Land on the old Schumann Plantation was carefully laid out in lots and streets and sold to Freedmen of Salem and the vicinity. The old lane to Schumann's house across the bottom was the main road into this little settlement. The main street into the community was called New Street (now Liberia Street), paralleled by High Street (now Pitt Street), the two joined by a cross street named Liberty Street (now Free Street). New Street and High Street came together at the crossing of Salem Creek and the linkage to Salem then proceeded across the Potter's Bottom and up onto the Salem Ridge. This Freedmen's settlement, initially called Liberia, became the Happy Hill community, the oldest African American neighborhood in Winston-Salem.

From this expansion of the street system, anchored to the core area of Salem, emerged the broad streetscape of today's Winston-Salem. The core area of Salem, however, is still clearly present on the landscape and functional, and forms the framework of the NHL.

Salem Creek and Tributaries **Contributing Site**

When Bishop Spangenberg chose the land in North Carolina that was to become Wachovia, with Salem as its administrative center, he chose an entire creek drainage basin as the Moravian Tract. Spangenberg and the English surveyor William Churton found this body of land in the Yadkin River drainage, and the drainage basin was known as both "Cargule's Creek" and also as "Muddy Creek." The latter is the name Spangenberg used in his first comments about the nearly 100,000-acre tract. He was pleased with the richness of water power, uplands for building supplies, and bottoms for pastures, cattle, and crops. The first map, drafted by Churton, shows the main channel, the Lick Fork, the Middle Fork, and the South Fork. The Middle Fork is Salem Creek.

Early in the process of establishing Wachovia, the creek now known as Salem Creek was also called "*Der Wach*" and also the "Middle Fork." The three forks of the Muddy Creek basin and related tributaries formed the most basic structure of Moravian settlement within the Wachovia Tract. The first six colonial congregations of Wachovia, including Salem, were placed in relationship to the creek system and its related elements.

For Salem, the Middle Fork (Salem Creek) was that anchor, and is the defining feature of the Salem landscape. It was a significant resource, with its springs supplying drinking water, and it and its tributaries supplying power. The tributaries of Salem Creek—Tanner's Run, Town Run, an unnamed tributary on the west, and an

unnamed tributary on the east—generally parallel the Salem Ridge (location of the core of Salem) and around which the Salem Town Lot was created. There are numerous springs associated with the creeks.

The tributary known as the Town Run came to be called "Tar Branch" because of the residue from the manufacture of gas from rosin at the Fries Gas Works on New Shallowford Road (1858-1890s).[303] Tanner's Run provided water for the tannery and ran adjacent to the brewery before its confluence with Town Run (See Academy Street). Below this confluence another small tributary joined from the west and an impoundment on it powered the eighteenth-century fulling mill in 1789, and then a rifling-mill for Christoph Vogler and his son from 1800 into the 1870s (See Walnut Street). The tributary on the east side of Salem and the significant drop from Church Street down to this creek gave pause to Salem's eastward development. A spring along this creek was the source for the 1828 Waterworks (see Lot 7, Church Street). The Academy Pleasure Ground was created along the creek and environs in the mid-nineteenth century, and it was the location for beautiful specimen water plants in the late nineteenth century.

Across Salem Creek to the southeast, the Salem Farm was established on a 300-acre tract that is bisected by a tributary creek. The creek flows down the rolling hillside to the bottom at Salem Creek.

The main channel of Salem Creek was the location of the first Salem Mill, downstream and outside the Salem Town Lot. However, a second mill was established on the creek at Salem in 1820, with the impoundment upstream where City Yard is today. A mill race ran from the mill pond, parallel to the creek for 0.8 miles, passing through Potters' Meadow, to the mill located on the former Stockburger farm (see Walnut Street).

For those coming and going from either the south or the east it was necessary to cross Salem Creek. To the south there were two streets, the main street and the street to the southeast (Waughtown Street). Since these two forked close to the north side of the creek only one bridge was built, on the Waughtown Road. On the south side of the creek, a short connector joined the Waughtown Road and Main Street. The other Salem Creek crossing was to the east of the core area of Salem, where the road to Salem Plantation/Schuman Plantation/Happy Hill crossed the creek. A bridge was built at this crossing early on, where the 1936 metal truss pedestrian bridge crosses today. The tributaries on the west also had early bridges, and the three surviving brick bridges are the only late nineteenth-century bridges remaining in Winston-Salem, and all are in use.

Salem hunters and fishermen regularly used the fish and game the creek provided to supplement their provender. Native cane growing in the creek vicinity, *Arundinaria gigantea*, provided pipe stems for the popular Salem clay pipes; a strong stand of the cane survives along Salem Creek in Happy Hill Park. Salem Creek was also a source of recreation. In addition, water was diverted from the mill race to a pond in the bottom for freezing and harvesting as ice. In times of flood, Salem Creek was a source of danger as well.

Salem Farm/Schumann Plantation 1768/1815 Contributing Component
Happy Hill/Liberia 1872 to the Contributing Site

Within the Salem Town Lot, the "Farm near Salem," or "Salem Plantation," was a 300-acre tract southeast of Salem Creek designated for the production of food for the town. It was begun in 1768, and in 1769, a log house and a stable were built and the lot was surveyed.[304] The land for the farm included a rolling hillside that slopes down to a broad bottom against Salem Creek. A tributary stream runs through the middle of the 300 acres.

[303] Manly Wade Wellman and Larry Edward Tise, *Industry and Commerce: 1766-1896*, vol. 7, *Winston-Salem in History* (Winston-Salem, NC: Historic Winston, 1976), 16.

[304] Fries, *Records of the Moravians*, 1:368, 389.

George Holder, a farmer, and his wife Elisabeth, took charge of the farm in January 1770.[305] During Holder's occupation, additional structures included: "a 'new block house' with 'roomy porch and kitchen, a smokehouse, chicken and duck house, corn crib and bake oven'" and a fenced vegetable garden and fruit trees, as well as cleared fields for crops.[306] Holder was followed by other farm managers; however, the farm was never as productive of food as the town leaders had hoped, as farm managers made most of their income from the sale of wood, straw and manure.[307]

In 1814 negotiations were underway between Dr. Friedrich Schumann in Bethania and the *Aufseher Collegium* in Salem. With Dr. Vierling aging, Salem was in need of a new physician and Schumann agreed to move to Salem and intended to bring his slave Coelia and her children. There was concern that she might have more children and that "through this the number of Negro slaves in Salem would be increased, and with it the growing unpleasantness and danger to the inward welfare of the congregation."[308] The issue was resolved when the decision was made to lease the former Salem Plantation to Dr. Schumann.

The log house built for Holder in 1769 was unsuitable and a new house was constructed in 1815 for $1500. It was a two-story frame (weatherboard) house with a steep side gable roof (wood shingle) on a stone foundation and with an ell.[309] Schumann's farm was orderly and successful, no doubt due to enslaved labor. He was a talented, complicated, and controversial man who quarreled regularly with Salem leadership. In 1836 Schumann emancipated his seventeen slaves and funded their travel to Liberia, West Africa, as well as funding the travel of six others. A ceremonial Lovefeast was held in the African Moravian Church before their departure.[310] Schumann then left the farm and moved into town to live on Lot 9 (513 S. Main Street).

The former Schumann farm was subdivided for leasing, including an attempted silkworm/mulberry farm, and there were various occupants of the former Schumann house. When the land was allocated for Freedmen's purchase in the development of Liberia (Happy Hill) in 1872, Emanuel Reich was the owner of the Schumann house. Subsequent ownership is associated with the African American Alexander family who had purchased lots in Happy Hill in the 1870s. Sanborn Insurance maps from the early twentieth century recorded the Schumann house and two outbuildings. The house had a bronze medallion which noted its historical significance as early as the 1920s.[311] The house passed to daughter Emma Alexander Joyner and husband Banner Joyner. A defaulted loan in 1934 turned the property over to W. S. Scales, who sold it at auction to Forsyth Savings and Loan. Duke Power purchased the property in 1939 and demolished the house for the new high tension power lines.[312]

The development of the former Schumann Plantation as a neighborhood for Freedmen followed Emancipation and with it, the issues that emerged, including housing those who were formerly enslaved. Following the Civil War, education was a priority for blacks in Salem, and a committee of three African Americans was formed with two black Moravians from the Salem African Church (St. Philips), Lewis Hege and Alexander Vogler, and Robert Waugh to pursue the establishment of a school for black children in Salem. Discussions with the white Salem Moravian Church Elders began in April 1866. A group in the North would provide the teacher and the

[305] Ibid.,1:384, 389.
[306] S. Scott Rohrer, "Dr. Schumann and his Slaves: Portrait of a Plantation," (report for Old Salem, Inc., Winston-Salem, NC, 1990), 3.
[307] Ibid.
[308] Crews, *Neither Slave nor Free*, 6.
[309] Rohrer, "Dr. Schumann and his Slaves," 4-5; Daniel Welfare, "Salem from the Southeast," oil on canvas, ca. 1839, Collection of Wachovia Historical Society, Old Salem, Inc., Winston-Salem, NC.
[310] Hartley, "Reflections on History."
[311] "African Americans in Salem" [walking tour brochure], Old Salem, Inc., Winston-Salem, NC, ca. 2000.
[312] Margaret E. M. Tyler, "The Schumann/Alexander House: Archaeological Investigations of 31FY1085" (master's thesis, University of South Carolina, 2005), 71-72.

black community began raising funds for a building. With funds raised, "the Salem Trustees in August 1867 'desirous of aiding the Freedmen of Salem and vicinity in their laudable undertaking,' granted them a plot on the old Henry Schuman plantation 'easterly of the Waughtown road' for a school."[313] The school was across Salem Creek and within easy walking distance of the African Moravian Church (St. Philips) and was on a hill south of the "Brothers' Spring."[314]

The land was leased for the school free of charge, and the building was constructed in 1867. It was a frame school with board and batten siding, louver shutters, and a gable roof with a bell tower.[315] This was the first school, post-bellum, for African Americans in Forsyth County and one of the earliest in North Carolina. The school functioned until the 1890s when the Depot School in Winston was built.[316]

It was during the establishment of the school that the residency of Freedmen in Salem became an issue. There had been requests as early as 1867 by blacks to live in town. These requests were denied as most citizens objected to the idea of Freedmen owning lots in town. E. A. Vogler proposed the sale of outlots to Freedmen in 1868, and the Trustees noted that:

> "the claims of common humanity, not to say Christian duty towards fellow human beings, some of whom even are members of our own church, would demand that we extend a helping hand to them in enabling them to provide suitable home for themselves and families in their new situation, and not to leave them, as is unfortunately the case in too many instances, at the mercy of individuals who ask rents for dwellings far beyond their ability to pay."[317]

A decision was then made to sell lots on the former Schumann plantation; however, this was met with great disfavor by many Salem residents who feared it would attract blacks from other places. The idea was set aside until it was realized that white residents in Salem had purchased lots for Freedmen in town. Thus, Vogler's idea from 1868 became an immediate solution to that issue.

In April 1872, the Salem "Trustees did not hesitate to approve additional land sales to African Americans on the former Schuman plantation in lots 'regularly laid out, say along a street, as in a town.' That August the Trustees planned to lay out more lots there, and they called the "'little town now springing up in that place *Liberia*.' Individuals formerly enslaved in Salem and black Moravians were founding property owners of Liberia. By February 1876 the Trustees were applying the popular name to the area: Happy Hill."[318] This was the first neighborhood for African Americans in Winston-Salem and an early neighborhood in the South where property ownership was possible by blacks.

The early road to the Salem Farm and later Schumann's Plantation became the axis for the layout of streets and lots in a rectilinear grid and for the development of Happy Hill. According to the 1876 E.A. Vogler map, the "Liberia or Happy Hill" neighborhood was recorded with the street names: New Street, Liberty Street, High Street, and Summit Street.[319] Street names were changed three times within the community before 1925. The early farm road was known as "New St." and by ca. 1925 as "Liberia St."

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[313] Crews, *Neither Slave nor Free*, 37-38

[314] Rohrer, "Freedman of the Lord," 31-32.

[315] Ibid., 32.

[316] Langdon E. Oppermann, "Winston-Salem's African American Neighborhoods: 1870-1950," Forsyth County Joint Historic Properties Committee, 1993.

[317] Crews, *Neither Slave nor Free*, 38.

[318] Ibid., p.40.

[319] E.A. Vogler, "Map of Salem and Winston North Carolina: And the surrounding Land as far as it was owned by the Congregation of United Brethren Salem NC," (Philadelphia: J. L. Smith, Publisher, 1876).

E. A. Vogler recorded the new layout on his 1876 map, and by the publication of the 1891 Bird's Eye View, at least twenty houses had been built in Happy Hill, in addition to the former Schumann house, and with fourteen on Liberia Street.[320] Simple frame houses with gable roofs, many shotgun houses and modified shotguns, were built. Black Moravians, former slaves, were the founding residents of Happy Hill and walked to church across the creek. Non-Moravians also moved to Happy Hill. In the 1880s the Happy Hill Cemetery was created with five area churches obtaining deeds (one Baptist and five Methodist). The graveyard was located at the top of the hill.

Happy Hill residents walked to work in Salem and Winston, at Salem Academy and College, as domestics, laborers, and many to tobacco factories in Winston. "Many African Americans who moved into Winston in the early 20th century for jobs in tobacco manufacturing lived in shanties near the railroads and factories. Many would later 'move up' to Happy Hill."[321] The neighborhood developed as a cohesive place with simple frame homes, gardens, and chickens, a goat here and there. Families were close and took care of one another.

Happy Hill remained stable into the mid-twentieth century when urban renewal and a highway impacted the community. In the 1950s, fourteen blocks at the east and south ends of the community were razed and the first public housing project in Winston-Salem constructed, Happy Hill Gardens.[322] Then in the 1960s, Highway 52 severed the northeast section, including part of the graveyard, as well as the new home for St. Philips Moravian Church.[323] The second half of the twentieth century saw the demolition of other homes as well. Although two shotgun houses survive, much of the housing dates from the 1920s and later. The Happy Hill Gardens housing project was removed in the late twentieth century and a new development of mixed-use housing built. Habitat for Humanity built new homes in Happy Hill in the 2000s. The street grid remains intact, as does the beautiful rolling hillside.

Memories are strong from residents of Happy Hill, and the Happy Hill Reunion (founded in 1994 by William "Rock" Bitting, who grew up in Happy Hill, and Ben Piggott) is held annually for a weekend of celebration in July. A 2010 exhibit at the Diggs Gallery at Winston-Salem State University celebrated Happy Hill and culminated with a libation ceremony at the Happy Hill Cemetery. This museum exhibit followed the first exhibit by Mel White, Old Salem's former Director of African American Programs, "Across the Creek from Salem," February 7 – June 7, 1998 at the Gallery in Old Salem. The brochure cover read: "The community of Happy Hill, starting as a slave quarter in 1816, evolved into a neighborhood rich with personalities, folklore, history, and struggle. African Americans owned land here as early as 1872. This is their story."[324]

31FY395*Schumann
31FY1085
Salem Farm/Schumann Farm Archaeology
Contributing Component to the Contributing Site

The process of survey and testing clearly demonstrates the significant archaeological potential of further investigation. This potential significance is within the NHL and extends beyond the NHL Boundaries into the activities relating to the Salem Farm, Schumann Plantation, and Happy Hill/Liberia. For Happy Hill, the potential also extends beyond the NHL Period of Significance end-date of 1913.

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[320] Ruger & Stoner, Madison, Wisconsin, "Bird's Eye View of the Twin Cities Winston-Salem, North Carolina 1891," Winston-Salem: Wachovia Historical Society Collection,.

[321] "African Americans in Salem."

[322] Oppermann, "Winston-Salem's African American Neighborhoods," 22.

[323] Crews, *Neither Slave Nor Free*, 54-55.

[324] "Across the Creek from Salem" [exhibit brochure], Old Salem, Inc., Winston-Salem, NC, 1998.

1999 Margaret Tyler[325]
This was a University of South Carolina graduate student summer project to locate the site of the Schumann House, funded by Old Salem, Inc. and conducted under the auspices of Old Salem Archaeology. The Schumann ruin was located.

2004 Scott Siebel and Terri Russ[326]
Survey work in Happy Hill

Metal Truss Bridge **Noncontributing Structure**

The metal truss pedestrian bridge, painted green, spans Salem Creek just below the mouth of the tributary stream which flows east of the Salem ridge and is culverted through the former Potter's Meadow. The bridge is a prefabricated form: "The walls are formed by a series of interlocking triangles, composed of crossed metal beams that are welded and bolted together. The walls are about 6 ½' or 7' high. The walls are flat on top, formed by a metal beam; at either end, the walls slope down to the floor of the bridge,…also metal."[327] A footpath from the west end of Liberia Street leads to the bridge and connects to a footpath on the other side adjacent to a Salem College playing field, which leads northwest to Salem Avenue.

Liberia Street is a later version of the road to the Salem Plantation (established 1769) that became the road to Schumann's Plantation in 1815. Dr. Friedrich Heinrich Schumann moved to Salem from Bethania in 1815 and because he insisted on bringing his slaves, he was located on the farm to the south, across Salem Creek from the core of the town. From town, the road ran through the Potter's Meadow, crossed Salem Creek, and then up the hill to the farm.

In 1872 when much of the former Schumann plantation was designated as "Liberia" (soon called Happy Hill) and land was made available for purchase by Freedmen, streets and lots had been laid out. The road to Schumann's was refined and named "New Street" and the street was given the noticeable "bump-out" around the Schumann house. Streets in Happy Hill were renamed ca. 1925, and New Street became "Liberia Street."

This crossing has always been heavily used, by Salem Farm managers, by enslaved people from Schumann's farm going to the African Moravian Church, by Dr. Schumann and family, by later occupants of the Schumann farm, and especially by residents of Happy Hill. Maps through time show a bridge at the road crossing of Salem Creek (at least by 1805); however, bridges are not consistently shown. A 1928 map of Winston-Salem[328] does not show a bridge at the Liberia Street crossing of Salem Creek, which by this time has become a footpath, as Alder Street was the vehicular access to Happy Hill from Waughtown Street.

Since its inception, residents of Happy Hill have been employed in Salem and Winston. Residents walked through Salem to their jobs at Salem College (maids, janitors, cooks, gardeners), RJ Reynolds, homes (domestic servants), laborers, and other places of businesses. This journey required crossing Salem Creek. Oral history relates a story about how this metal pedestrian bridge came to be. Without a bridge, residents moved and aligned rocks in the creek to create a crossing near Humphrey Street in Happy Hill. Slippery and unsafe, many people fell. In the 1930s, a woman fell and broke her leg while crossing the creek. Wade Bitting, resident of 494 Liberia Street who worked at R. J. Reynolds making plug tobacco, approached the City of Winston-Salem white alderman for the Salem Ward, J. Wilbur Crews, and requested a footbridge.[329] The bridge was

[325] Tyler, "The Schumann/Alexander House: Archaeological Investigations of 31FY1085."
[326] Scott Seibel and Terri Russ, "Archaeological Survey and Evaluation in the Happy Hill Redevelopment Area Winston-Salem-Forsyth County, North Carolina," Forsyth County and Winston-Salem City-County Planning Board, 2004.
[327] "Spanning the Past," 113.
[328] "Map of the City of Winston-Salem, North Carolina," City of Winston-Salem, NC, Department of Public Works, 1928.
[329] Oppermann, "Winston-Salem's African American Neighborhoods," 1993.

constructed in 1936 and was the first of several neighborhood improvements initiated by Bitting, which include a park and street signs. [330]

Liberia Street (also known as the road to Salem Plantation, the road to Schumann's, New St.)
North Side

511 House ca. 1930 Noncontributing Building
Peter Stockton, a black man, aged 28 and a day laborer, purchased this lot in 1875 from the Moravian Church. He also bought the lot at 519 Liberia Street and 506 Pitts Street. The properties passed to Mamie Stockton Rogers then this lot passed to Jordan Rogers. The lot containing 511 Liberia and 506 Pitts Street was split and the south half became 511 Liberia and passed to Birdie Rogers Clark in 1933. The north half became 506 Pitts Street. 511 Liberia remained in the Stockton family until being sold to Victor Harrell, Jr. in 1964.[331]

Sitting back from the street with a shallow front yard is the one-story frame (weatherboard) house with a gable front roof (asphalt shingle) with box cornice and on a stuccoed masonry foundation. A louver vent is in the gable peak. Across the three-bay façade is a three-quarter hip roof porch with square posts and prefabricated wood railing. The front door is centered with windows (replacement) on either side. Three steps descend from the porch to the walkway to the street.

519 House ca. 1920 Noncontributing Building
Peter Stockton, a black man, aged 28 and a day laborer, purchased this lot in 1875 from the Moravian Church. He also bought the lot at 511 Liberia Street and 506 Pitts Street. The properties passed to Mamie Stockton Rogers. In 1929, 519 Liberia Street passed to B. F. McCuiston. It then passed to the following: to Sanford Motor Co. in 1930, to C. C. Sanford & Sons in 1933, and to Bright M. Harris in 1948.[332]

Sitting back from the street with a shallow front yard is the one-story frame (vinyl siding) enlarged shotgun house.[333] The gable front (asphalt shingle) building with box cornice has two interior brick chimneys and is on a masonry foundation. The two-bay façade has a replacement door and window sheltered by a gable front porch on square posts with wood railing. Two steps descend from the porch to the walkway to the street. Attached to the west rear of the house by a hyphen is a two-bay gable front structure.

525 House ca. 1940 Noncontributing Building
In 1912, James Litaker purchased this lot (525) and 527 next door. The property later split and 525 was purchased by John Litaker.[334]

The minimal Tudor Revival[335] house sits back from the street with a shallow front yard that has a low stone retaining wall near the street (set back for a sidewalk, not present). The one-story frame house with side clipped-gable roof (asphalt shingle) with flush ends and box cornice is on a brick foundation. The façade is permastone and the sides are vinyl siding over brick veneer.[336] The three-bay façade features a projecting steeply pitched asymmetrical gable entry bay with round arch door. On the left side of the door is a pair of six-over-one sash windows and on the right side are a brick chimney and one six-over-one sash windows. A set of three concrete steps descends from the door to a short walkway leading to steps down at the retaining wall.

[330] Ibid.
[331] Ibid., Building Inventory.
[332] Ibid.
[333] Ibid.
[334] Ibid.
[335] Ibid.
[336] Ibid.

527 House ca. 1915 Noncontributing Building
In 1912, James Litaker purchased this lot (527) and 525 next door. The property later split and 525 was purchased by John Litaker.[337] 527 Liberia was held by John Litaker's heirs in 1987.[338]

Sitting back from the street with a shallow front yard is the one-story frame (vinyl siding) house with hip roof (asphalt shingle) with box cornice. There is an interior brick chimney and a stuccoed foundation. Across the symmetrical three-bay façade is a hip roof porch with centered gable. The porch has square posts and wood railing, but the slender Tuscan pilasters indicate the earlier columns. The entry is flanked by replacement windows. Three steps descend from the porch to a short walkway to the street. The one-room deep house has a gable ell.

567 House 2004 Noncontributing Building
Habitat for Humanity project. Sitting back from the street is a one-story frame (vinyl siding) house with a side gable roof (asphalt shingle) roof with front gable feature. House is on a raised brick foundation. The four-bay façade has a two-bay recessed porch with square vinyl posts on brick piers and simple vinyl balustrade. A set of five brick steps leads down from the porch.

619 House 2005 Noncontributing Building
Habitat for Humanity project. Sitting back from the street is a one-story frame (vinyl siding) house with gable front roof (asphalt shingle) on a raised brick foundation. The attached hip front porch has turned vinyl posts and simple vinyl balustrade. The symmetrical three-bay façade has a centered set of five brick steps that leads down from the porch.

621 House 2008 Noncontributing Building
Habitat for Humanity project. Sitting back from the street is a two-story frame (vinyl siding) house with gable front roof (asphalt shingle) on a brick foundation. A shed roof front porch has wide square vinyl posts on brick piers and a brick floor at grade. The two-bay façade has false timber framing in vinyl.

627 House 2004 Noncontributing Building
Habitat for Humanity project. Sitting back from the street is a one-story frame (vinyl siding) house with gable front roof (asphalt shingle) on a raised brick foundation. The three-bay façade has a projecting gabled bay and a four-bay side gable porch with square vinyl posts on brick piers with simple vinyl balustrade. A set of five brick steps leads down from the porch.

761 House 2009 Noncontributing Building
Habitat for Humanity project. On an elevated lot and sitting back from the street is a one-story frame (brick veneer) house with gable front roof (asphalt shingle) on a brick foundation. The three-bay façade has a projecting gabled bay and a four-bay side gable porch with square vinyl posts on brick piers with simple vinyl balustrade. Brick stairs lead down from the porch to a parking area.

771 House 2008 Noncontributing Building
Habitat for Humanity project. On an elevated lot and sitting back from the street is a one-story frame (vinyl siding) gable front (asphalt shingle) three-bay house with an engaged porch on a brick foundation. The porch has square vinyl posts on brick piers with simple vinyl balustrade. Brick stairs lead down from the porch to a parking area.

[337] Ibid.
[338] Ibid.

Pitts Street (also known as High Street)
South Side

In 1872 when much of the former Schumann plantation was designated as "Liberia" (soon called Happy Hill) and land was made available for purchase by Freedmen, streets and lots were laid out. The road to Schumann's was refined and named "New Street" and its parallel street was named High Street. High Street originally began at the Salem Creek crossing. Streets in Happy Hill were renamed ca. 1925 and High Street became "Pitts Street," named for the Columbus Pitts family, prominent residents of Happy Hill and buried in the Happy Hill Cemetery.

506 House ca. 1930 Noncontributing Building
Peter Stockton, a black man, aged 28 and a day laborer, purchased this lot in 1875 from the Moravian Church. He also bought the lots at 511 and 519 Liberia Street. The properties passed to Mamie Stockton Rogers then this lot passed to Jordan Rogers. The lot containing 511 Liberia and 506 Pitts Street was split and the north half became 506 Pitts Street and was sold to Oza Collins and husband Simeon in 1932 or 1938. The south half became 511 Liberia Street. 506 Pitts was sold to Kathleen Harrell in 1964.[339]

Sitting back from the street with a shallow front yard is the one-story frame (vinyl siding) house with clipped gable front roof (asphalt shingle) with open eaves. There is an exterior end single shoulder brick chimney (east) and a brick foundation. Across the three-bay façade is a three-quarter hip roof porch with square posts on brick piers and lattice railing. The front door is centered with a window on either side. Windows are four vertical panes-over-one sash. Two steps descend from the porch to the walkway to the sidewalk.

512 House ca. 1930 Noncontributing Building
Sitting back from the street with a shallow front yard is the one-story frame (vinyl siding) house with side clipped gable roof (asphalt shingle) with box cornice, interior brick chimney and a masonry foundation. The three-bay façade has a centered entry bay with a clipped gable roof with square posts and prefabricated railing. Door and windows are replacements. Three steps descend from the porch to the short walkway to the sidewalk.

526 House 2005 Noncontributing Building
Habitat for Humanity project. Sitting back from the street is a one-story frame (vinyl siding) house with a side gable roof (asphalt shingle) and a projecting front pedimented gable bay on a brick foundation. The three-bay façade has an attached low hip roof porch with square posts and a concrete floor at grade.

600 House ca. 1950 Noncontributing Building
Lewis Alexander purchased this lot in 1921. It transferred to Mary A. Gough in 1929 and then to members of the Snyder family in 1928-1929, and to Fulton S. Snyder in 1957.[340]

Sitting back from the street is a minimal traditional, one-story frame house (vinyl siding) with a side gable roof (asphalt shingle), two interior brick chimneys and brick foundation. The three-bay symmetrical façade has a gable roof portico with square wood posts on a brick foundation that is one step up from the walkway to the sidewalk. Windows are six-over-six sash.

604 House 2004 Noncontributing Building
Habitat for Humanity project. Sitting back from the street is a one-story frame (vinyl siding) house with gable front roof (asphalt shingle) on a brick foundation. The three-bay façade has a projecting gabled bay and a four-

[339] Ibid.
[340] Ibid.

bay side gable porch with square vinyl posts on brick piers with simple vinyl balustrade. A set of three brick steps leads down from the porch.

610 House 2008 Noncontributing Building
Habitat for Humanity project. Sitting back from the street is a one-story frame (vinyl siding) gable front (asphalt shingle) house on a raised brick foundation. Across the three-bay symmetrical façade is an attached hip roof porch with square vinyl posts on brick piers with simple vinyl balustrade. A set of five brick steps leads down from the porch.

618 House 2008 Noncontributing Building
Habitat for Humanity project. Sitting back from the street is a one-story frame (vinyl siding) gable front (asphalt shingle) three-bay house with engaged porch on a raised brick foundation. The porch has square vinyl posts on brick piers with simple vinyl balustrade. A set of five brick steps leads down from the porch.

624 House 2004 Noncontributing Building
Sitting back from the street is a one-story frame (vinyl siding) gable front (asphalt shingle) house on a raised brick foundation. Across the three-bay symmetrical façade is an attached hip roof porch with square vinyl posts on brick piers with simple vinyl balustrade. A set of five brick steps leads down from the porch.

710 House ca. 1926 Noncontributing Building
James Howard purchased this lot in 1926. He also purchased 712 Pitts Street and may have built both houses. 710 Pitts Street was sold to Cornelia G. Harris in 1936. It was sold to Horace and Ella Harris in 1955. The adjacent house at 712 Pitts Street (ca. 1926) is gone.[341]

Sitting back from the street with a shallow front yard is the one-story frame (asbestos shingle) bungalow with side gable roof (asphalt shingle) with gabled dormer, knee braces, exposed rafter ends, partially exposed exterior end brick chimney, and a raised brick foundation. The façade has an engaged full façade porch with square corner brick posts, simple balustrade, and square wood posts on brick piers at the entry bay. The three-bay façade has a centered door flanked by paired four vertical panes-over-one sash windows with side plain casings. A set of six masonry steps descends the porch to the walkway to the sidewalk.

716 House 2001 Noncontributing Building
Doublewide house on brick foundation with side entry.

734-36 Duplex ca. 1950 Noncontributing Building
Sitting back from the street with a shallow front yard is the one-story frame (German siding) duplex with a gable front roof (asphalt shingle) with open eaves, two interior brick chimneys, and a raised concrete block foundation. There is a louver vent in the gable peak. The full façade integrated hip roof porch has an enclosed centered bay with side entrances to each unit. The porch has square posts and prefabricated wood railing. Window sash is six-over-six. A set of wood steps leads from each porch to the lawn.

Bottom (Happy Hill Park) Contributing Site
The broad bottom along Salem Creek, prone to flooding, was worked as agricultural fields. It was also a clay source at times. In 1872, the Trustees recorded plans for the former Christoph Vogler House (Lot 65, 710 S. Main Street), "Br. Francis Meller wishes to make about 40,000 brick on the yard on Shuman's former bottom, for the purpose of building a 2nd story on his house; to which there is no objection."[342]

[341] Ibid.
[342] "Minutes of the Board of Trustees, Feb. 20, 1872" (Old Salem Research Files).

The tributary stream through the middle of the Salem Farm/Schumann Farm tract descends the hillside and crosses the bottom about midway of the farm's frontage along the creek. This small creek is bridged to carry the bike path.

At the southeast corner of the bottom, against the hillside below Alder Street is a forested area with mature hardwoods and wetland; the Brothers' Spring is located there.

Following the development of Liberia/Happy Hill and during the early twentieth century, the bottom was not farmed, became overgrown, and with stagnant water produced mosquitoes that plagued Happy Hill. Happy Hill resident Wade Bitting led his church men in clearing the undergrowth, and he successfully petitioned the City of Winston-Salem for a park. It was the first neighborhood park for black children in the city and led to the establishment of parks in other black neighborhoods.[343]

Today, the Happy Hill Park includes playing fields, basketball courts, swimming pool, and (beyond the NHL) an adjacent active Recreation Center on Alder Street. The bottom is a section of the Salem Creek Greenway, which has a paved pedestrian/bicycle path from Salem to Salem Lake three miles away. A bond referendum approved in 2014 by voters in Forsyth County allotted $5 million to Happy Hill Park for improvements.

There is likely archaeological potential in the bottom relating to clay acquisition, the operation of the Salem Farm and Schumann Plantation, and post-Schumann Plantation activity, as well as archaeological potential relating to the post-Civil War creation of the Freedmen's community of Liberia/Happy Hill.

Metal bridge **ca. 1995** **Noncontributing Structure**

The bridge is for the bike path crossing of the tributary creek that bisects the former Salem Farm. The creek flows down the hillside and is mostly visible.

Bath House/Pool **1985** **Noncontributing Building**

The one-story brick bath house has a low gable roof (asphalt shingle) with skylights and a small roof vent. There are multiple bays. Building is set back from Alder Street and faces a large swimming pool with surrounding concrete decking.

Picnic Shelter **1940** **Noncontributing Building**

The two-bay, gable front, open shelter is three bays deep and has a steep roof with exposed rafter ends supported by tapered stone columns. Gable ends are board and batten siding, roof is asphalt shingle. The form and materials are continued at a two-bay side wing with an exterior end stone fireplace and chimney. The floor is concrete with built-in wooden tables and benches.

Park Shelter **1940** **Noncontributing Building**

The two-bay, gable front, open shelter is one bay deep and has a steep roof with exposed rafter ends supported by tapered stone columns. Gable ends are board and batten siding, roof is asphalt shingle. The floor is concrete and open.

Brothers' Spring/Brethrens' Spring **ca. 1766** **Contributing Component to the Contributing Site**

Located at the southwest corner of the bottom and against the hillside below Alder Street are two water sources within 100 feet of each other. Each spring has laid stone, and the strongest flow is from the western source.[344]

[343] Oppermann, "Winston-Salem's African American Neighborhoods," 21.

[344] Michael O. Hartley and Martha B. Hartley, "Field Survey of Hypothesized Brothers' Spring Location," Old Salem, Inc., 17 April 2013.

These springs create a wetland in the bottom which has mature hardwood tree cover with specimen sycamore, poplar, and oak. Periwinkle and English ivy cover the ground. The "colored school" built in 1867 on Moravian land by the local African American community was located just above these springs. The Brothers' Spring was explicitly specified to be included in the land allocated to the school.[345] It was the first African American school in Forsyth County.

Lewis von Schweinitz, Salem botanist and Wachovia Administrator, noted the forget-me-nots at the Brethren's Spring in his records of flora (1812-1821).[346] These flowers were recalled by historian and Moravian Archivist Dr. Adelaide Fries in a garden lecture given in the early twentieth century. She noted, "In the pleasure grounds of the Academy this same little stream was bordered with forget-me-nots and there were more forget-me-nots at the Brother's Spring, which was a short distance to the left after we crossed the bridge over Salem Creek. Those forget-me-nots were introduced from Germany by returning Salem ladies."[347]

In the 1890s, Salem resident Augustus Fogle recorded a description of the Brothers' Spring:

> Beyond the bridge, in 1848, a charming resort had been made by the young men and boys of that day around what was termed the Brothers' Spring. Going down the sycamore avenue to the bridge and turning to the left, past great rock boulders, you followed a neat walk to a cool and shady natural basin at the foot of the hill now crowned by the colored school house. A fine spring was walled out, and a large pool enclosed by a slight railing was surrounded by the blue-eyed forget-me-nots. The rustic seats placed all about were often occupied by "talking age or whispering lovers." A white washed fence surrounded the whole; the hillside was terraced, and a pavilion or summer-house was built on its crest. E. A. Vogler, then a young man, active and enthusiastic, with other young men and boys as helpers, surveyed the place and laid it out tastefully.[348]

The springs are noted in the Moravian Records as places for travelers to refresh and to camp, including military troops in the Revolutionary War and later. During the occupation of Salem at the end of the Civil War, the Salem Diary for April 10, 1865 recorded: "Rainy… Gen. Palmer and staff took up their quarters at Bro. Josh Boner's, and in very great comparative silence and with the strictest order, about 3,000 cavalry passed through town and pitched their camp on the high ground beyond our creek." [349]

Happy Hill Cemetery (discontiguous) ca. 1880 Contributing Site
Located on Willow Street. The Happy Hill Cemetery has been violated in several ways and on several occasions. Retrieval of this sacred place began in March 2010 and continues presently. Michael Hartley, Old Salem Archaeologist, led the March 2010 clean-up in conjunction with local advocate Maurice Pitts Johnson. Over forty volunteers helped that day to begin the process of recovering the overgrown and invisible burial ground. Clean-up and advocacy continues. The history of the graveyard is complicated and recent study has revealed new information.

The African American graveyard is located on a high point of the Happy Hill neighborhood, with views northeast to the defining architecture of Old Salem and the skyscrapers of Winston beyond. The graveyard's origins are in the development of Happy Hill, the first neighborhood for African Americans in Winston-Salem that was created when the Moravian Church established a designated area for the sale of house lots to Freedmen

[345] "Minutes of the Board of Trustees of Salem Congregation, 1867" in Crews and Bailey, *Records of the Moravians*, 13:6784.
[346] Paul O. Schallert, "Schweinitz' Collecting-Ground in North Carolina," in *Bartonia,* no. 16 (1934).
[347] Adelaide L. Fries, "Dr. Fries recalls beauties of many Old Salem Gardens," transcription by M. O. Hartley (on file at Old Salem Department of Archaeology, Winston-Salem, NC, 2012).
[348] Augustus Fogle, "Reminiscences of Salem and Vicinity from 1828 to the Present Time," *Salem Press*, n.d..
[349] "Salem Diary," in Crews and Bailey, *Records of the Moravians*, 12: 6562.

in 1872. There were four Methodist Episcopal Church cemetery lots and one Baptist cemetery lot with deeds to those churches received in the late 1880s,[350] and there is surviving documentation of the undated "Constitution and Laws of the Graveyard Association of Liberia, N. C." which included a layout with family plots by name.[351] Graves may date from 1880s, and it is possible that the graveyard location is due to earlier burial practices; this remains to be determined. Study has documented 1,508 burials in the graveyard by death certificates; however, at present there are many less due to the removal of graves in the 1950s and 1960s.[352] During clean-up of the graveyard since 2010, less than 75 headstones have been recorded, as many were unmarked graves or have lost their markers.

The Works Progress Administration surveyed the graveyard in 1939 and recorded 33 graves and listed the condition of the cemetery as "very bad."[353] North Carolina Department of Transportation moved 200 graves from the Happy Hill Cemetery in the right-of-way of the corridor for the new Highway 52. These remains were reinterred in nearby Walkertown, North Carolina, and included sixteen marked graves with stones. Urban Renewal in the mid-1950s resulted in the clearing of houses in the vicinity of the graveyard and the subsequent construction of Happy Hill Gardens, the city's first project housing (now removed). Oral history recorded the removal of graves at that time.[354] Presently, the dimensions of the graveyard are approximately two acres adjacent to Willow Street, which is parallel to Liberia St.[355] It is believed that burials may have occurred outside of the cemetery plot as well.

[350] Judy Stanley Cardwell, "Background on Liberia, Moore's Field or Happy Hill and Happy Hill Cemetery," 6 July 2012.

[351] "Constitution and Laws of the Graveyard Association of Liberia, N. C.," Liberia, NC, Collection of Maurice Pitts Johnson, Winston-Salem, NC, on file, Old Salem Department of Archaeology.

[352] Cardwell, "Background on Liberia," 3.

[353] Ibid., 4.

[354] Judy Stanley Cardwell (historian), conversation with MB Hartley, 15 April 2013.

[355] Cardwell, "Background on Liberia," 4.

8. STATEMENT OF SIGNIFICANCE

Certifying official has considered the significance of this property in relation to other properties:
Nationally: X Statewide: __ Locally: __

Applicable National Register Criteria:	A X B X C X D X
Criteria Considerations (Exceptions):	A X B X C __ D __ E X F __ G
NHL Criteria:	1, 4, 5, 6
NHL Criteria Exceptions:	1, 5, 6, 8
NHL Theme(s):	I. Peopling Places 3. migration from outside and within 4. community and neighborhood 5. ethnic homelands II. Creating Social Institutions and Movements 3. religious institutions III. Expressing Cultural Values 5. architecture, landscape architecture, and urban planning V. Developing the American Economy 4. workers and work culture 6. exchange and trade VII. Transforming the Environment 1. manipulating the environment and its resources
Areas of Significance:	Exploration/Settlement; Community Planning and Development; Architecture; Landscape Architecture; Social History; Religion; Politics/Government; Ethnic Heritage; Industry; Commerce; Economics; Education; Historic-Non-Aboriginal Archaeology; Other: Historic Preservation; Other: Public History
Period(s) of Significance:	1766-1913, 1948-2010
Significant Dates:	1766, 1865, 1913, 1948, 1950, 1965
Significant Person(s):	N/A
Cultural Affiliation:	Moravian, Black
Architect/Builder:	Marshall, Frederick William; Reuter, Philip Christian Gottlieb; Fries, Francis Levin; Vogler, Elias Alexander; Fries, Henry E.; Perry, Shaw, and Hepburn
Historic Contexts:	XVI. Architecture A. Colonial XXX. American Ways of Life C. Industrial Towns

E. Ethnic Communities
XXXI. Social and Humanitarian Movements
A. Communitarianism and Utopianism
XXXIII. Historic Preservation
B. Regional Efforts: The South

State Significance of Property, and Justify Criteria, Criteria Considerations, and Areas and Periods of Significance Noted Above.

Summary

The town of Salem, North Carolina originated as a theocratically governed, utopian Southern Moravian community, and maintained itself through time by adaptation, innovation, industrialization, and secularization of the town government and economy. Participation in the practice of slavery by the Moravians added a population of African descent. In the antebellum and post-bellum periods, decisions and actions by the Moravians of Salem provide significant insight into the complex racial dynamics of this unique society and how it functioned within the wider southern culture. Moravian creation of major industrial and financial enterprises, creation of Winston, and the dynamics resulting from those actions through the period of the New South subsequently led to the 1913 merger of Winston and Salem, in which Salem ceased to exist as an autonomously governed place on the landscape.

The mid-twentieth-century effort to restore and preserve the theocratic town of Salem forged a new and creative model for restoring an urban landscape through a partnership of public and private sectors using meticulous research, zoning laws, and historical interpretation. The result was a successful effort that established preservation as a viable tool through statewide enabling legislation, municipal zoning initiatives, revolving funds, and deed covenants. Early organizers of Old Salem combined cutting-edge trends in preservation and museum interpretation and, in turn, crafted a unique approach to public history, historic preservation, urban planning, landscape restoration, and historical archaeology in the United States.

INTRODUCTION

The Old Salem Historic District, Winston-Salem, North Carolina, was designated a National Historic Landmark (NHL) in 1966 and updated in 1978. The original NHL encompassed approximately 62 acres, its boundaries based on the "Old and Historic Salem District" created in 1948 by a City of Winston-Salem and Forsyth County Zoning Ordinance, with a period of significance from the founding of Salem in 1766 to a loosely defined cut-off date of 1856, when the Moravian church divested governmental control of the historic town. Since the original designation, however, continued research has revealed the inadequacies of the original nomination documentation. As such, this updated document reexamines the district's significance, both in the geographic, temporal, and thematic scope of the town, and considers the influence of Old Salem Museums & Gardens in the fields of historic preservation, public history, and historical archaeology in the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries.

Salem is an outstanding, intact example of a theocratically governed, eighteenth-century utopian settlement established by German immigrants in the backcountry of North Carolina **(Criteria 1 and 5 and Themes I, II, and III)**. The historic town—now largely maintained and curated by Old Salem Museums & Gardens—not only includes a substantial stock of Germanic architecture but also is an exceptional reflection of the unique culture of the Moravian pioneers who settled in what would eventually become Forsyth County. Similar to the role of the Moravian town of Bethlehem in Pennsylvania (NHL, 2012), Salem was designed to be the focus of Moravian life in North Carolina from which the church could fulfill both spiritual and financial initiatives. The architectural content of the district is unmatched and unique for this period, both in its representation of the North Carolina Moravians and its character within the broader contexts of colonial and post-colonial America **(Criterion 4)**. The construction methods and style of the buildings as well as the landscape reflect the central European origins of the Moravians as well as the impact that the settlers had on the environment **(Themes III and VII)**.

The new periods of significance for the Salem Historic District NHL extend from its founding in 1766 until the merger of the town of Salem with its northern neighbor Winston in 1913, and from the 1948 initiation of preservation activity leading to the creation of Old Salem Incorporated through the completion of the most recent reconstruction (the 1841 Charles Cooper House) in 2010. Once Winston and Salem were officially consolidated in 1913, both lost their discrete geographical boundaries and individual municipal government, and became part of an amalgamated whole. The creation of Winston-Salem is therefore seen as a suitable end point for the independent and individual entity of Salem. The 1948-2010 period of significance addresses the significance of Old Salem, Inc. as a leader in the American preservation movement through its ongoing efforts to restore the 1766-1856 Congregation Town.

Together, the period of significance of the original NHL (1766 to 1856) and the expanded period of significance through 1913 provides an outstanding example of cultural maintenance and adaptation from the colonial period into the early twentieth century. An aspect of these processes through time is the participation of the Moravian community of Salem in commerce and industry, and in particular ante-bellum and post-bellum entrepreneurial industrialization during the period known as the "New South" **(Theme V)**. The presence of an enslaved population within this utopian community greatly adds to the historical significance of Salem as a unique example of cultural activity.

The new period of significance also includes the pioneering effort to restore and preserve the eighteenth- and nineteenth-century town, which ultimately led to the creation of Old Salem Incorporated as the agent for that preservation effort **(Criterion 5)**. Drawing from prevailing theories of historic preservation, urban planning, public history, and historical archaeology, Old Salem forged an innovative model for the restoration of a historic urban landscape and outdoor museum. Since 1948, the City of Winston-Salem and Old Salem have worked to both preserve the town and educate visitors, with an emphasis on the restoration of the substantial architectural heritage from the origin of Salem in 1766 to the end of the theocratic government of the town in 1856. Critical to this endeavor has been the archaeological investigations conducted within the NHL boundary **(Criterion 6)**. Old Salem operates an archaeology laboratory, where the staff examines and curates the archaeological artifacts, which are used alongside written records, historic photographs, and other archival material to inform restoration, reconstruction, and interpretation. Archaeological investigations at Old Salem have not only revealed important details used to better understand the history of the town and the people who lived there, but have helped to drive the direction of the field of historic archaeology.

CRITERION 1:
THE NATIONAL SIGNIFICANCE OF SALEM, NORTH CAROLINA
Part I: 1766-1856

Salem is significant under NHL Criterion 1 for its outstanding representation of broad national patterns of U.S. history, particularly in the context of Themes I (Peopling Places), Theme II (Creating Social Institutions and Movements), and Theme III (Expressing Cultural Values). The district is an exceptional reflection of the culture of the German immigrants who established the unique, theocratically governed, utopian town of Salem and more broadly reflects the pioneering spirit of the eighteenth century.

The Early Moravians

The history of the Moravian Church can be traced to the fifteenth century and the teachings of Jan Hus, a Catholic priest of Bohemia who advocated for reform in the church. Tried for heresy and burned at the stake in 1415, Hus generated a body of followers, initially called Hussites, who were precursors of the Protestant reformers of the sixteenth century. This group formally constituted themselves as the *Unitas Fratrum*, or Unity of the Brethren, in 1457, solidifying their identity as an organized group outside the established Catholic Church. They flourished until the pressures of the Counter-Reformation drove them underground.

The *Unitas Fratrum* reemerged in the eighteenth century under the leadership of Count Nicholas von Zinzendorf, a pious young Lutheran nobleman. On his estate in Saxony, he offered them refuge and they constructed the town of Herrnhut in 1722. In 1727 they revived the ancient Unity and with the Count's support, leadership, and connections to the governing nobility of Europe, the body, by then known collectively as the Moravians, began congregational settlement and worldwide mission works.[356]

Planning the Town of Salem

Following their vanguard mission work on St. Thomas, Virgin Islands, in 1732, a failed attempt to join the Oglethorp settlement in Savannah, Georgia, in 1735, and the successful establishment of Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, in 1741, the Moravians sought enough land in America to conduct themselves with substantial spiritual autonomy. In 1753, under the leadership of Bishop August Spangenberg, they purchased approximately 100,000 acres in the backcountry of North Carolina from the English Lord Granville. They called their new tract of land *die Wachau* (Wachovia) after a Zinzendorf ancestral estate in the Wachau region of Austria.[357]

Moravians from Pennsylvania and Germany established Bethabara (NHL, 1999), the first Wachovia settlement in 1753 followed by Bethania (NHL, 2001) the first planned town in 1759. Moravian leaders in Herrnhut closely oversaw the development of the North Carolina settlement. In 1763, they appointed Frederick William Marshall, a bishop in the Moravian Church, as the administrator of the temporal affairs of the Moravian Church in Wachovia. Known for being "a man of great working capacity and [possessing] remarkable qualifications for organization, being determined, active, methodical and prompt in thought and action," he led the planning of Salem from its inception and moved to the town permanently in 1768.[358] He profoundly influenced its governance and expansion until his death in 1802, and is regarded by many to be "the real founder of Salem, and the inspiring genius of its success and progress in its earlier days."[359]

By 1765, they began deliberating on the location for the central town of Salem, intended to be the spiritual, administrative, craft, and professional center of the Tract. The location was narrowed down to a mile-wide circle in the center of the Wachovia tract.[360] For important decisions such as this, the Moravians relied on a process they called the "Lot," in which they sought divine guidance by posing a question and then drawing one of three pieces of paper from a bowl. On one was written "yes," another "no," and the third was blank, which indicated that the question was improperly worded or submitted at an inappropriate time. A series of specific sites were selected and submitted to the Lot for approval, the seventh of which was finally approved on February 14, 1765.

Salem's location, as determined by the lot, was on a ridge between two drainages flowing into the *Wach* (Salem Creek), a location which significantly directed its growth and development. The nearby springs and streams were particularly important sources of both drinking water and power for the town's mills and other industrial activities, but also posed a challenge. Planners had to carefully consider how to build Salem a healthy distance above the *Wach*, —one of the important waterways that form the structure of the Wachovia tract. They also

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[356] John R. Weinlick, *The Moravian Church Through the Ages* (Bethlehem, PA: Comenius Press, 1966), 8-36.

[357] Chester S. Davis, *Hidden Seed and Harvest: A History of the Moravians* (Winston-Salem, NC: Wachovia Historical Society, 1973), 35.

[358] Charles Emerson, *Winston, Salem & Greensboro, North Carolina Directory, 1879-'80* (Raleigh, NC: Edwards, Broughton & Co., 1879), 12.

[359] Ibid.

[360] A question was posed to the Lot only after exhaustive deliberation by the Elder's Conference and direct guidance from the Lord was sought. The Lot was used, among other things, to grant a land lease, to approve marriage, and for the final selection of the site on which to build Salem. Davis, *Hidden Seed*, 5,22

considered the availability of a gravity-fed water source by locating the town below springs that were located to the north of the town.

In addition to the natural landscape, Salem, like all Moravian towns, was also heavily shaped by the Church's core values of egalitarianism, communal living, and religious purity. All aspects of life, both spiritual and secular, were organized around the "Choir system," which divided the Congregation into "Choirs" of Married People, Single Brethren, Single Sisters, Widowers, Widows, Older Boys, Older Girls, and Children.[361] It functioned even into death, as members were buried in the graveyard—called "God's Acre"—by Choirs, rather than family. Traditionally, Moravian towns were organized under the *"Oeconomie"* system, in which all the means of production—including land, tools, and machinery—were owned by the congregation and all the goods produced shared by the community, with each member contributing according to his ability and receiving a share according to his need. In Salem, this control was lessened with the "Congregational" system, under which control of all of the land was still retained by the church, but the opportunity for an individual to excel according to his ability was much greater. Marshall noted in a letter to the Brethren in Bethabara that, although they were leaving the *"Oeconomie"* form of common housekeeping behind, the church would continue to guide the spiritual and secular wellbeing of the people of Salem.[362]

Marshall believed that the town's layout was integral to its function as a "Congregation Town," and that the need for theocratic oversight should dictate the placement of the road system, the central square, and the institutional buildings, as well as the size and placement of the residential lots. He explained:

> A Congregation-Town differs from other Congregations in that it is more like one family, where the religious and material condition of each member is known in detail, where each person receives the appropriate Choir oversight, and also assistance in consecrating the daily life. This must be considered in deciding the form of the Town Plan.[363]

With that basic premise in mind, the physical configuration of the town reflected a pragmatism characteristic of the Moravians and a spiritual idealism that allowed the community to combine its resources and make Salem a unique planning and architectural phenomenon in the Piedmont of North Carolina. This practical approach to building caused the North Carolina Moravians to ultimately reject as unsuitable for the region's hilly terrain a circular plan prepared by Count Zinzendorf.[364] Zinzendorf envisioned a hierarchical plan with a centrally located church encircled by eight congregational buildings. Between these buildings and radiating out from the church were eight tree-lined principal streets on which were located the individual houses. God's Acre or cemetery was placed on the eastern perimeter with the whole town plan enclosed with a row of trees.[365] Although a powerful symbol of a theocratic community centered on the Church, it was declared un-buildable by Bishop Spangenberg, leader of the Moravians in America, because of the topography of North Carolina and the scale of the proposed town. He noted,

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[361] Fries, *Records of the Moravians*, 1:495.

[362] By leasing a parcel of land to raise their families and practice their trades, the individual Brethren in Salem still had restrictions placed on what could be built on the land, the prices the craftsmen could charge, the trades they could engage in, and the items an individual was authorized to produce. Davis, 61-64.

[363] Frederick William Marshall, "Remarks concerning the Laying Out of the new Congregation Town in the center of Wachovia. Bethlehem, July, 1765," in Fries, *Records of the Moravians*, 1:313.

[364] Daniel B. Thorp, "The City That Never Was: Count von Zinzendorf's Original Plan for Salem," *North Carolina Historical Review* 61 (1984), 36-58.

[365] Spencer, *The Gardens of Salem*, 24.

> the plan of the Lord's city is certainly very pretty. If only one saw first how it is suited to the place. Because I would gladly alter the plan according to the site. Otherwise, one must cut the foot to fit the shoe if one makes the plan before one knows the site.[366]

Instead, Philip Christian Gottlieb Reuter, who had been sent from Europe specifically to survey Wachovia, set out to devise a more effective plan. In the process of surveying for the roads and lots of Salem, Reuter drew a number of detailed maps of the core area surrounding Salem Square and also the "Salem Land," a 3,159½-acre tract that comprised the "Town Lot," under the control of the Salem Congregation. His maps provide important insight into its colonial configuration and early phases of development and are an invaluable historical record of landforms, creeks, and other resources in the region.

Reuter began surveying for the roadways as soon as the location of Salem was confirmed. Ultimately, Reuter's design for Salem resembled the one that he had developed for Lititz, Pennsylvania and the European Nisky town plan.[367] He and Marshall worked together to lay out the road system, which would establish the grid upon which the rest of the town could be built. Reuter strongly believed that the main street through town should run in a straight line from Salem Creek. Marshall concurred, but suggested that the main street be made sixty feet wide, as the Moravians in Lititz, Pennsylvania had discovered that the typical forty-foot width was not adequate.[368]

Reuter located the north-south axis of the Salem grid along the spine of a ridge that rose above creek valleys on both sides and sloped south toward the Salem Creek bottom. On February 10, 1766, he had tentatively "staked a place for a Square, though its permanent location was not to be definitely determined until the streets were cut at the four corners and a clearer idea secured as to the general appearance, and whether it would be better to move the Square back a little and get a better situation." [369] The next day, the diarist recorded, "Reuter ran the streets around the suggested Square."[370] Though Zinzendorf's circular plan had been supplanted by a more practical grid-based design, Reuter was still able to maintain the hierarchical relationship of Church, congregational houses, and individual homes centered on the Square. As was typical of Moravian towns, the church was the focal point with the tavern and industrial sites segregated at the edge of town. Salem's roads were immediately attached to the existing colonial road system in Wachovia with new connectors to Salem, and much of this system continues to function as modern-day transportation routes.

While the surveyor Reuter physically staked out the site, the administrator Marshall had defined Salem's future as an urban commercial and industrial center in the backwoods of the Carolina wilderness. He recognized the economic potential of the town, and wanted to avoid what he called the "Pennsylvania fashion" of town-building, where construction was allowed to take place "at all ends of the town, before the center is occupied, so that for years houses are really scattered about in the woods," making it inconvenient for the Brethren and

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[366] August Gottlieb Spangenberg to Cornelius van Laer, letter, 5 May 1756, Old Salem Research Files. See also Thorp, "The City That Never Was," 52.

[367] William Hinman, "Philip Christian Reuter: First Surveyor of Wachovia," (master's thesis, Department of History, Wake Forest University, Winston-Salem, North Carolina, 1985), 19.

[368] According to Marshall: "Br. Reuter considers it important that the main street runs in a straight line from the *Wach*, through the town, and beyond it; I think too that this will be best, so I have provided for it in all the suggested plans. I have made it 60 ft. wide, as in Lititz, where the main street was originally only 40 ft. but that was found to be too narrow, and it was learned that 60 ft. was not too wide for the main street; the other streets are 40 ft." Marshall, "Laying Out of the new Congregation Town," in *Records of the Moravians*, 1:314.

[369] "Bethabara Diary," in Fries, *Records of the Moravians*, 1:325.

[370] Ibid. In order to accomplish better water fall for the gravity system of piped water, they would ultimately move the Square south one block, leaving the first houses unexpectedly removed from the Square and the town's center.

Sisters to attend services and difficult for church officials to supervise "the daily life of the congregation as one large family."[371] He devised a long-term plan for Salem's growth, explaining that:

> This town is not designed for farmers but for those with trades, but until the town has so grown that each resident can support his family with the money earned by his handicraft or profession it will be necessary, as in Lititz, for each to have an out-lot and a meadow where he can raise his bread, flax, etc. and winter a cow, so that each family may have milk and butter, and perhaps also keep a couple of pigs, and so have food with little outlay of money.[372]

The town plan that developed reflected these concerns with narrow, deep individual house lots of uniform size. These lots were situated along wide streets, but all were to be kept close to the town square and the center of major congregational activities.[373]

With the roads and Square established, town and church leaders turned their attention to the actual construction of the Congregational Town of Salem. In January 1766, the Brethren sent to build the town quickly constructed temporary quarters off of the main grid, just to the north of the town.[374] The most important institutional buildings—including the *Gemeinhaus* (or Meeting House, where religious services and community gatherings were held), the Single Brothers' House, the Single Sisters' House, the Community Store, and the Boys' and Girls' School—were located around the Square.[375] (For a detailed discussion of the architectural significance of Salem, see the Criterion 4 section.)

Theocratic Structure of a Congregation Town

The Moravians, known in Europe and America for their "conscious concern for the total visual and functional environment of their communities," carefully managed development in Salem. They maintained control over all residential, social, and economic activity through universal ownership of land and the operation of craft monopolies.[376] In addition to the *Gemein Rath* (later known simply as the Congregational Conference), which was made up of all brethren, there were three main governing bodies in Moravian communities. The *Aeltesten Conferenz* (Elder's Conference) governed the spiritual affairs of the congregation, including marriages, community behavior, and consultation with the Lot. The *Aufseher Collegium* (Board of Supervisors) was responsible for the secular concerns of the community, including managing trades, wages, construction, and other financial affairs. The *Grosse Helfer Conferenz* included members from the other two groups, and "served as the eyes of the community," reporting any observations to the appropriate governing body and electing the members of the *Aufseher Collegium*.[377]

Within this system, the *Aufseher Collegium* established who would be allowed to practice what craft, and precluded an individual from entering into a trade without permission. Some trades could be practiced as a private enterprise. Several of the crafts and trades – pottery, store, tannery, mill and tavern - were operated as congregation businesses and the managers were paid. The profits of these businesses went to the operation of the Congregational Town, and the masters of those operations were paid a salary for their services.

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[371] Marshall, "Laying Out of the new Congregation Town," July 1765 in Fries, *Records*, 1:314-315.

[372] Ibid.

[373] See *Salem about the Year 1840* [map], collection of Old Salem Museums & Gardens. Although of a later date, it illustrates the consistency in the philosophy of land allocation. See also Spencer, *The Gardens of Salem*, 4.

[374] Indicative of the Moravian attitude of sustainability, this building would be adaptively reused as a dairy and then a pottery until it was demolished in 1907.

[375] Later additions on the Square in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries were the 1797 Bagge and 1785 Shober houses; the 1802 Home Church; and 1810 Inspector's House, built for the headmaster of the Girl's School,

[376] William J. Murtagh, *Moravian Architecture and Town Planning* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1967), 9.

[377] Davis, *Hidden Seed*, 62-63.

Single Brothers and young apprentices lived and worked in the Single Brothers' House and the Single Brothers' Workshop (1771) until they entered an approved marriage. At that point, they could request permission to individually practice a craft and lease a lot from the *Aufseher Collegium*, on which they could build a home and personal workshop. All private construction had to be approved by the *Aufseher Collegium*, and all residents were required to be members in good standing of the Salem Congregation. Violations of the rules of the community resulted in corrective admonishments, and, if these proved ineffective, the Church could cancel a lease and force the individual to leave the Congregation and the town.

Driven by the Single Brothers' Diacony (or business organization of a Choir), Salem quickly emerged as an important center of trade and commerce in the Carolina backcountry. In the 1966 National Historic Landmark nomination form, historian Horace J. Sheely, Jr. noted:

> As the Piedmont Region of North Carolina began filling up after 1750 with the influx of thousands of Scotch-Irish, Germans, and others, there was an increasing need for markets for their surplus goods as well as a considerable demand for goods which they could not produce. Salem, with its professional men and craftsmen, filled an important need in the back country. It soon became the chief commercial center for Piedmont North Carolina and probably its largest town. Two hundred miles inland and far from a navigable river or existing road, the town served as a stopping point and trading center for the frontiersmen moving westward. The whole town in its secular life was geared to producing either trade items or supplying the needs of visiting tradesmen.[378]

In addition to the crafts and industries found in Salem, trade from the congregational store, operated by Traugott Bagge, established important economic contact between the Moravians and the surrounding community. The deerskin trade, in particular, was a significant early business. Thousands of skins came through the T. Bagge Store, and from there were transported by wagon to Charleston to be shipped to England.

Controlled Expansion

As originally conceived, Salem became a center of commerce that led to its steady growth throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth century. Most construction initially took place within the tightly controlled street grid, centered on the Square. At the northeast corner of the Square, the church building designed by Frederick William Marshall was completed in 1800 and became the spiritual and architectural focal point of the community. This core area was "town" in the minds of Salem's residents, while the landscape just beyond the street grid system, although it might be close and in full view (and part of the Salem Town Lot), was regarded as "country."

Expansion beyond the town center to the east and west was somewhat hindered by the stream valleys—so steep that one nineteenth-century observer called them "ravines"— that paralleled the ridge and flowed south into Salem Creek.[379] Church Street and the outlots of the Single Sisters' Diacony marked the eastern edge of residential and institution construction, as the ravine on Salem's east side was particularly dramatic and hindered growth in this direction.[380]

The topography to the west was gentler, making it the logical direction for early expansion and outlying activities of the town. Early plans of the town indicate that outlots relating to the agriculture and industry of the Single Brothers' Diacony were laid out as part of the initial planning of the town. These activities were sited

[378] Horace J. Sheely, Jr., *Old Salem Historic District*, National Survey of Historic Sites and Buildings Form, 1966.
[379] Rondthaler, *The Memorabilia of Fifty Years*, 58.
[380] It no longer appears as dramatic as early photographs suggest because it was filled in during the first half of the twentieth century.

along the *Weg von der Shallow Ford*, or "road to the Shallow Ford," which ran west to the important crossing of the Yadkin River by the Great Philadelphia Wagon Road.

Important industrial activity has been confirmed by archaeological investigations along the tributaries of Town Run and Tanner's Run. (For a detailed discussion of the role of archaeology in the district, see Criterion 6). The Congregation-owned Tannery, established in 1769, actually predates the formal occupation of Salem in 1772. Other industries soon followed. The Single Brothers' brewery and distillery was established in 1773.[381] For at least fifty years, the western edge of the Salem grid was marked by this stretch of land between Town Run and Tanner's Run, and here the industries would play a crucial role in the economic foundation of colonial and post-colonial Salem.

The land surrounding the town and the broader Wachovia Tract provided the raw materials needed to build and maintain a town, including timber, stone, and clay. Like other pursuits, the Salem Congregation did not allow the acquisition of these resources to occur in an unplanned manner and carefully managed their extraction. The Moravians kept detailed records of where resources were and how they were being used. For example, through the nineteenth century, Salem Creek bottom below the steep ridge to the east of town was designated as a source of clay for Salem potters. Foresters also oversaw the extraction of timber from the Salem Town Lot to ensure that the area did not suffer from deforestation.[382]

While the American Revolution temporarily curtailed most construction in Salem, it did not prevent the Moravians from completing the planned, gravity-fed waterworks system by 1778. Providing a reliable source of water for fire prevention and public use had been a primary consideration in the placement and commitment to building a central town. The source was two springs located about a mile northwest of town at the head of Tanner's Run. The watershed became known as "the Reservation," and was located on the north side of what would become First Street in the town of Winston. Initially, bored logs connected by iron collars carried fresh water to two stand pipes on Main Street in Salem. [383]

Today, a remnant of the Reservation survives as a quiet, wooded lot with a flowing creek at the corner of Shady Lane and First Street, a discontiguous resource of the Historic Salem District. Evidence of this system was discovered in 2000, when a sinkhole north of Second Street revealed a stone feature in the drainage channel of Tanner's Run, which had been buried in a culvert. Subsequent archaeological investigation revealed that this was a stone dam that created a reservoir in the heart of the Reservation.[384] In 2011 the City of Winston-Salem placed a historic marker at this location to commemorate the colonial-era waterworks system.

While Marshall and the *Aufseher Collegium* intended Salem to be a commercial center rather than an agricultural community, the plan did include a large farm beyond the core area to provide necessary commodities to the town's residents.[385] The Salem Plantation was established to the southeast of town across Salem Creek, with George Holder the first farm manager in 1770. Another farm would be located to the

[381] A slaughterhouse was added in 1784, during a renewed period of expansion and construction that followed the American Revolution.

[382] In 1828, the Salem Board Minutes noted, "[t]o preserve the forests, the *Aufseher Collegium* has decided that no citizen may take more than twelve cords of firewood annually from Salem land." Martha Hartley, "Materials, Materials Procurement, and Building Activity in the First Thirty Years of Wachovia" (Winston-Salem: Old Salem Restoration Division, 2004); Adelaide L. Fries and Douglas LeTell Rights, eds., *Records of the Moravians in North Carolina*, 1823-1837 (Raleigh: State Department of Archives and History, 1954), 8:842.

[383] Later, they would use clay pipes as well. Robert W. Neilson, "Story of the Water Supply Systems," 1.

[384] Hartley, "Examination of Stone Wall, 1-5.

[385] Marshall, "Laying Out of the new Congregation Town," in Fries, *Records of the Moravians*, 1:313-315.

southwest of Salem and initially managed by George Stockburger. And the Builder's House, which had been constructed in 1766 to shelter the town's builders, was converted to a dairy by Brother Daniel Schnepf.

George Stockburger's 1782 farmhouse along the Tavern Lane, now called Walnut Street, is the only known extant structure dating to this eighteenth-century outlying development. He built the one-and-a-half story log house on a stone foundation with a central chimney to serve as his home on the 68-acre farm. In 1819 this farm ceased to operate and became part of the Salem Mill property and the farmhouse served as the miller's residence. The mill was located to the south of town on Salem Creek, along modern-day Broad Street, and was fed by a mill race that extended 4,521 feet from a dam east of Salem.[386] Late-nineteenth and early twentieth-century additions envelop the Stockburger farmhouse, and it now stands inconspicuously on Walnut Street, awaiting archaeological investigation and restoration.

The goal of Salem's administrators was a stable, considered, and well-planned presence on the landscape. Growth was desired, but with caution and thought. The nineteenth century was to challenge and test this, and many other Moravian tenets and guide for living in Salem.

Moravian Salem and the South

When the Moravians are considered within the context of the South, there is a tendency to think of them as extra-Southern because of their identity as a utopian, theocratically-governed, pietistically-oriented group separate from typical Southern culture. However, although these strictures are certainly true, and from their time on the frontier of North Carolina their culture and patterns of life were distinct, the North Carolina Moravians were in fact Southerners.

The South was never a homogenous body, and within the concept of the "Solid South" there have always been differences. Although the South prior to the Civil War was economically organized largely around plantation agriculture resting on slave labor, there was considerable variation within its whole population.

And within this variation were the Moravians. Their presence in North Carolina began on the hostile colonial frontier in 1753 as pioneer stock anchoring settlement in a carefully planned and unique fashion. Throughout the history of the region, they lived highly organized lives as members of the Southern whole, but also different. An unusual and significant aspect of the culture was the long-held Moravian view towards educating both sexes. This emphasis provided a foundation that was vital to their planning and organization.

Their identity as Southerners was frequently challenged by the broader society of the South and of North Carolina. The Moravian bishop Frederick Marshall observed in April 1772, "In general our situation is as usual, that is to say many of our neighbors are bitter against us, partly because we are a godly people, partly because of our outward prosperity, but so far it has more annoyed than injured us."[387]

The Moravians passed through successive generations, making their own contribution to the cultural mix of the South and the nation. In North Carolina they were to a certain extent creolized, but at the same time they maintained a strongly coherent core identity. Part of the acceptance of the broader pattern of the region by the Moravians was the introduction of the practice of using enslaved labor.

Slavery

Moravian acceptance of the use of enslaved labor may have emerged from a need for labor but also partially a desire to missionize. The first enslaved man they purchased in 1769, Sam, was baptized in Salem in November

[386] Larson, "A Mill For Salem," 12-19.
[387] Fries, 2:678.

1771 as Johannes Samuel and became spiritually equal as a Moravian Brother, albeit an enslaved one. [388] This was about the same time Marshall had noted the bitterness of the surrounding population toward the Moravians. The adoption of the practice of slavery was part of an effort to compete economically and at the same time, part of an effort to participate culturally. Having begun to engage in the practice, however, they found through time that it was not easily controlled and had unforeseen aspects.

The Moravian community of Salem was not uniformly in agreement that this was a suitable practice for the Brethren to adopt. In an effort to preclude individual ownership of slaves, Sam was bought by the Wachovia Administration. Other enslaved people were owned by church businesses; the Tavern, the Tannery, the Store, the Pottery, and the Girls School all used enslaved labor.

Many enslaved people of African descent who were purchased by the Moravians chose to become Moravian Brothers and Sisters and were entrusted with the responsibilities of being members of the Brethren. But there were also those who did not to join the church and were without the benefits of this membership, which might include membership in a Choir, heightened respect, and greater freedom. For some it was by choice that they declined the religion of the Moravians; others were regarded by the Salem theocracy as spiritually unprepared for membership in the Unity.

As the Moravians entered into the institutional ownership of enslaved people, regulations were established to prevent individual residents of Salem from also acquiring them; however, these rules began to be increasingly violated. Additional rules were established for the workplace, such as prohibiting the training of the enslaved in a trade, even though they might work directly in a trade-shop. This was an effort to maintain a stable work-ethic among the white population. By the late eighteenth century, however, the break-down of the rules was well underway as America had gained independence, and the population of Salem was becoming generationally detached from its founders.

Adaptation to changing conditions was in fact part of the Moravian method, oriented around sustaining the present and providing for the future. The future, in the Moravian mind, was beyond "tomorrow" and extended well over the long-term to the generations which were to follow. Living in the Southern milieu, the Moravians of Salem and Wachovia were attempting a balance between religious and spiritual distance from the broader community, while at the same time maintaining an economic integration with the society they were surrounded by.

Actions which were taken to mesh with the broader community on the issues of slavery reveal divisions within the Congregation Town of Salem. In March of 1789 the Salem Congregation Council recorded,

> As on Easter morning a good many Negroes come and sit among the white people, which does not accord with the customary thought of people in this country, the Saaldiener shall hold them at the door and then show them to a back bench if there is room.[389]

However, three years in later in 1792, a different voice was heard from the Congregation Council, saying,

> It was mentioned that we must not be ashamed of those negroes who belong to our community and, as has happened before, let them sit all by themselves in the congregational worshipings and even during Holy Communion. They are our Brothers and Sisters, and different treatment of them

[388] Ibid.
[389] Crews, *Neither Slave Nor Free*, 4.

> will degrade ourselves to the rank of ordinary people of this world, and will be a disgrace for the community.[390]

These two entries, close together in the last years of the eighteenth century, provide a graphic illustration of the pressures raised in Salem. The tensions between Salem Moravians who wished to be on good terms with the broader population, and those who were determined to adhere to a strict personal and societal morality, is seen in sharp contrast. This dynamic continued into and through the nineteenth century.

Even at this early date, the rules prohibiting individual ownership of slaves in Salem, which did not extend to the broader Salem Town Lot, created problems of regulation. The Aufseher Collegium conceded this lack of control in December of 1803, when it recorded,

> Br. Schober continues to buy more Negroes, planning to place them at the paper mill and on his farm near town, which may easily be injurious to us. The rule that no Negro slaves shall be held in town does not apply to outside farms, but properly speaking no brother should buy them without having an understanding with the directing boards of the congregation.[391]

Increasing Racial Segregation

By the turn of the nineteenth century, the segregation of the black population in church services was underway. Separate services were held in Hope, Friedberg and Bethania, and in 1802 the first service in Salem expressly for the "Negroes" was held, attended by sixty or seventy people.[392] These continued in Salem for a short period of time and then faded away. The brotherly demeanor that had brought Johannes Samuel into the fellowship of the Brethren in 1771 was difficult for some to maintain, and segregation was becoming the pattern.

At this time, the Salem Moravians initiated an enterprise that was to more closely involve them with the rest of the South: the establishment of a boarding school for girls. The town had established a school for town girls in 1772, with its move from Bethabara (evidence of the Moravian tradition of educating women). But especially after the Revolutionary War, non-Moravian families began pressing to send their daughters to be educated in Salem. Thought had been given to this, and in 1802 the Lot approved the concept and the Girls Boarding School building was soon begun. Even before completion of the structure, the first girls arrived in 1804, with the first class of eight students from Hillsborough, Fayetteville, Halifax County, and Caswell County, North Carolina joined by two selected girls from Salem. A hope was expressed at the outset that the presence of Salem girls in the school would provide the students from the outside world a greater understanding of Moravian culture.[393] At the same time, the girls and women from Salem who were involved in the Girls School were exposed to the broader world through these boarding students. The school attracted students from across the South, and the demand on admissions kept it constantly expanding. It continues today as Salem Academy and College. This intimate exposure to the broader South introduced additional pressures into Salem.

Explicit segregation occurred when the burial of black Moravians ceased in the Salem Congregation God's Acre. In 1816 the Aufseher Collegium declared, "The so-called parish graveyard shall be the burial place for Negroes, and for others for whom a place in our God's Acre has not been requested…"[394] This meant that white "Strangers" (non-Moravians) would now be allowed burial in Salem God's Acre, while black Moravians

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[390] Ibid.

[391] Fries, *Records*, 6:2748.

[392] Ibid., 2718.

[393] Gwynne Stephens Taylor, *From Frontier To Factory: An Architectural History of Forsyth County* (Raleigh and Winston-Salem: North Carolina Department of Cultural Resources, Division of Archives and History, and Winston-Salem Historic Properties Commission, 1981), 18.

[394] Adelaide L. Fries, ed., *Records of the Moravians in North Carolina* (Raleigh: State Department of Archives and History, 1947), 7: 3309.

would not. This was, in part, brought about by the realization that the Stranger's Graveyard (for non-Moravians) was not a proper burial place for any boarding student (or relation), who might pass away while in Salem -- evidence of the intimacy established with these outsiders. This segregation in burials was accompanied by the absence of Moravian religious services for the black population.

By 1822, the dearth of spiritual sustenance accessible to the enslaved population brought action from white Moravian women of Salem. The *Memorabilia*, the year-end account, of the activities of the Salem Congregation for 1822, recorded that at the beginning of the year a number of Moravian Sisters formed the Female Missionary Society, with the purpose of organizing "a little congregation of Negroes."[395] On May 5, 1822 a congregation was established with three communicants and by the close of the year, that congregation consisted of fourteen people, led by a white minister. In 1823, at the insistence of the Female Missionary Society and with their funding, a log church was built adjacent to the Negro God's Acre for services for people of the black population, whether members of the little congregation or not.

The adoption of slavery, albeit with attempts at controls and restrictions, was accompanied by constant adjustment to the economic base of Salem. From the outset, the economy rested on a concept of craft monopolies, and within this system the governing boards established which individual would be allowed to practice what craft and precluded others from also entering into that trade without permission. Certain of the trades, such as the potter's shop or the community store, were operated as congregation businesses -- with the proceeds going to the operation of the Congregational Town -- and the masters of those operations were allocated a certain salary for running those businesses. And although there was a certain amount of agriculture that took place on Salem land, Salem was designed to be an administrative, trade and professional center.

Moravian Industrialists and Entrepreneurs

Early on, beyond the traditional crafts and trades, the Salem Moravians began making economic choices that were divergent from the agrarian matrix of the broad South and initiated forays into industrial activity. Some of these attempts were the more prosaic and ordinary types of activities. In 1772 the year of the formal occupation of Salem, the Salem Congregation began operation of its grist and sawmill on Salem Creek below the Town Lot. By 1773 the Single Brothers operated a brewery and distillery, and in 1784 opened a slaughterhouse on their land. But individuals also began to explore possibilities. A fulling mill was constructed in Salem in 1789 by Abraham Loesch, and in 1790 Gottlieb Shober built a paper mill on Salem land. More unusual for the region, in 1815 Vaniman Zevely erected the first steam-driven wool carding machine in North Carolina at Salem.[396] And in 1821 the grist mill on Salem Creek near Stockburger's farm opened as a private venture by John Vogler, Heinrich Herbst, and John Jacob Blum.

Further, the early Salem Moravian interest in textile mills can be seen at the outset of that industry in North Carolina. A comment quoted in Broadus Mitchell's 1921 examination of the industry, *The Rise of Cotton Mills in the South* recorded, "The first cotton mill…in North Carolina was built in 1813 by Michael Schenck…This mill was the forerunner of that remarkable industrial development that has taken place since that time."[397] Schenk built his mill in Lincolnton, which was visited in 1829 by Salem's John Vogler, who said, "This factory

[395] Ibid., 3494.

[396] Adelaide L. Fries, ed., *Records of the Moravians in North Carolina* (Raleigh: State Department of Archives and History, 1947), 7:3254.

[397] Broadus Mitchell, *The Rise of Cotton Mills in the South* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1921; Documenting the American South, University Library, The University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 2001, http://docsouth.unc.edu/nc/mitchell/menu.html), 15.

we pronounce a most excellent display of the genius and workmanship of man…It is really elegant and the sweetest machinery we have ever seen & I think it worth 50 miles of travel to see it."[398]

Vogler would become the father-in-law of Francis Fries, a leader in the entrepreneurial movement of Salem into an industrial economic base. In 1827 the Provincial Elders Conference observed of Francis Fries, "who shows talent and a desire for study, and who is nearly fifteen years old, unites with his parents in a request that he may be received into the Paedagogium."[399] The year 1827 was the same year that New Shallow Ford Street (now Brookstown Avenue) was created to provide a shorter route from the upper part of Salem to the Shallowford Road (it was cut from Main Street in Salem two blocks north of the "old" Shallowford Street).[400]

In addition to the nascent industrial and entrepreneurial mix, a significant change included the formation of a Salem Militia unit in 1831, as directed by the North Carolina legislature for all towns in the state. Even though still governed by its own theocracy, Salem accepted this directive that had been stimulated by a broad fear of potential slave rebellions. A number of young men of Salem, by this time several generations removed from the pacifism of Salem's founders, agreed to serve in the newly formed military unit and band.

Textiles in Salem

The new Shallowford Road was to prove to be a focal point for subsequent industrial activity in Salem. In 1834 Heinrich Schaffner placed his pottery shop, kiln, and related outbuildings on New Shallowford, to continue the production of Moravian pottery. Then in 1836 the Aufseher Collegium met with the Aeltesten Conferenz jointly, and the Congregation Council met as well, to consider the erection of a cotton mill in Salem. Following these meetings, "Regarding a location…no place was better suited than the fields on the west side of Salem near the new Shallowford Road."[401]

The 1836 Salem Manufacturing Company was indeed built on New Shallowford with capital provided by the Salem Community. At age twenty-four Francis Fries, educated at Nazareth Hall in Pennsylvania, became the first superintendent of the steam powered cotton mill, only the seventh cotton mill erected in North Carolina. The enterprise was regarded by the Salem theocracy as a special case for "the common welfare," and the Aufseher Collegium expressed optimism about the new venture, saying, "we have reason to hope that such a factory would be a means to advance trade and industry anew in Salem." They further observed, "it was felt that Cong. Diacony should seek to secure dominant influence in the direction of the factory," and as a result the administration, the Congregation Diacony and the Girls Boarding School acquired the controlling interest.[402]

The establishment of the mill brought in a number of non-Moravian workers from outside of Salem who lived at the mill, and strict rules were set in place to control their presence and diminish their potential effect on the Congregation Town.[403] These workers were principally females from nearby rural areas. In 1841 the number of the operatives at the mill was 128 females and 28 males for a total of 156 employees, ratios that remained relatively constant.[404] These mill workers were restricted to a dormitory and four duplex houses built specifically for them on north Factory Row. Two administrator's houses were built just north of the mill across New Shallowford Street. The workers were subject to rigid rules limiting their access to Salem, but their

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[398] Fries and Rights, *Records of the Moravians*, 8:3903.

[399] Ibid., 3809.

[400] Robert W. Neilson, *History of Government, City of Winston-Salem, N.C.: 1766- Bicentennial-1966* Winston-Salem: Community Government Committee, 1966), 119-120.

[401] Fries and Rights, *Records of the* Moravians, 8:4225.

[402] Ibid., 4226-27.

[403] Smith, *Records of the Moravians*, 9:4868.

[404] Michael Shirley, *From Congregation Town to Industrial City: Culture and Social Change in a Southern Community* (New York: New York University Press, 1994), 70.

presence still required attention by the Salem Boards, with topics for consideration that included access to Salem God's Acre, provision of religious instruction, absenteeism, and various other issues.

Industrialization, Slavery, and Rules of Ownership

The Moravian Francis Fries altered the source and control of industrial labor in Salem. In 1838 Fries married John Vogler's daughter Lisette, and that year resigned his job as superintendent of the Cotton Mill. Fries made a move to establish himself as a private industrialist in Salem with a woolen mill, backed by his father-in-law, John Vogler, and his father, Wilhelm Fries.[405]

In considering this further move toward industrialization and Fries' proposal, the Aufseher Collegium expressed concern about his use of slave labor, but Fries placated their fears by assuring them the slaves would be merely operating machinery, not learning a trade.[406] Permission was granted to Fries by the Collegium, and the Fries Woolen Mill and his house were built on New Shallowford Road in 1840. Additionally, in 1840, a tobacco factory was established in Salem by the Brethren Evan Boner and Christian Fredrick Sussdorff.[407]

The ownership of slaves by private individuals and the use of slave labor had steadily increased through the early nineteenth century in spite of the slave regulations of Salem, and the attempts by the theocratic government to quell the practice were unsuccessful. Regulations had been reemphasized in 1815 and 1820, regulations which were designed to limit the number of slaves in Salem, to prevent the ownership of slaves by individual Moravians, and to prevent slaves from being trained in a craftsman's trade. These regulations were constantly resisted by some members of the community.

Among the members of the Salem Congregation who were singled out for continuing violation of the Slave regulations was Wilhelm Fries, Francis Fries' father. Wilhelm was found in violation for the number of enslaved people he had in town and was also viewed askance about the slave population on his "plantation" in the northwest corner of the Salem Town Lot. Similarly, Dr. Frederick Schumann was a physician who only agreed to serve in Salem from Bethania if he was approved to bring a number of his slaves. In 1815 he was placed across Salem Creek on the former Salem Plantation to the southeast as an effort to keep his enslaved people separate from the residential area of the town where individual ownership of slaves remained prohibited.[408] His occupation of that land, fully visible across Salem Creek from the town core, established that hillside as a focal point of black residence, an identification that played a key role in future decisions.

In addition to his medical practice, Schumann successfully farmed the plantation with a large number of enslaved people. But for reasons not completely clear, in 1836 he emancipated seventeen people and assisted in funding their travel to Liberia, West Africa, as well as funding six others from Salem, including five free people. A Moravian Lovefeast was held in the Log Church to bid this group farewell. In 1839, another two people in Salem, emancipated by the will of Gottlieb Schober, traveled to Liberia. The names of the people who went from Salem to Liberia were:

In 1836:
Celia Schumann
Flora Schumann Blum
Savorick Schober Blum
William Blum
Lucretia Corinna Blum

[405] Smith, *Records of the Moravians in North Carolina,* 9:4484.
[406] Ibid., 4484-86.
[407] Neilson, *History of Government*, 146.
[408] Fries, 7:3239.

Augustus Blum
Sarah Blum
Lucretia Schumann Wooten
Julius Wooten (Possibly already free)
Nancy Corinna Schumann Wooten
Joseph Wooten (Possibly already free)
Corinna Wooten
Solon Wooten
Casper Schumann
James Schumann
Clarissa Schumann
Montreville Schumann
Dorus Schumann
Willis Schumann
Susannah Schumann
Lydia Schumann
Philip Coleman (unknown relationship)
Nathan Legan (unknown relationship)

In 1839:
Enoch Morgan Gottlieb Schober
Nancy Fanny Schober[409]

Following the manumission, Schumann moved into town, and subsequently viewed the use of slave labor in the Fries' mill as special treatment that had not been granted to him. Others among the Moravians of Salem also had personal interest, pro and con, about the practice and what was or was not allowed. Fries' proposal to use slave labor in his mill brought the issue to a head, and in 1845 the Aufseher Collegium became embroiled in the controversy. The arrangement allowing Fries to use slave labor in his mill was objected to by other Salem Moravians on the grounds that he was given special privileges. One brother suggested that the rule against keeping slaves in the community be withdrawn altogether because it was not observed. This resulted in substantial discussion and argument throughout 1845.[410]

A committee of the Congregation Council was appointed in February of 1845 to consider the regulations in force in Salem regarding the ownership and use of slaves, and recorded,

> The speaker for the committee then read everything resolved in the Council since the year 1805 about the negro regulations and also the negotiations with Br. Fr. Fries and the permission given him by the Collegium to keep negro slaves for his wool factory. The same brother then presented to the Council all his reasons for applying for withdrawal of all negro regulations since they only exist on paper and are violated in every respect…

After further commentary, the committee recorded,

> A second brother stated that he had had very little share in the extra privilege granted to Br. Fr. Fries in 1839 by the Aufseher Collegium and in vivid colors painted a picture of the consequences,

[409] Michael O. Hartley, "Reflections on History" (Remarks, Liberian Flag Presentation, St. Philips Church, Old Salem, March 21, 2010, copy on file, Old Salem Research Files).
[410] Smith, *Records of the Moravians*, 9:4839, 4840-41, 4844-45, 4847, 4855.

> morally as well as economically, which would result from the increasing number of negroes in Salem.[411]

The slave regulations were not vacated and discussion continued. On February 24 the minutes recorded,

> With regard to Br. Fries' protest about the expression used with reference to his keeping of negroes, it was stated that the author of that expression, Dr. Schumann, and Br. Fries had come to terms with each other over the matter and the former declared before the Council that he did not intend to offend Br. Fries personally, with his expression of 'totally empty pretext' for obtaining certain privileges. Br. Fries was perfectly satisfied with this expression and the matter was put aside.[412]

Perhaps the matter had been put aside for the moment, but it was not laid to rest. An observation by the Salem Elders Conference in March of 1845 reflected on the process by which slavery came to be accepted in Salem. The Conference recorded that slavery was in practice in North Carolina from the time before the Brethren settled in Wachovia and that the practice was "guaranteed by the Constitution of the United States" and was lawful in North Carolina and,

> Whatever the views of the first brethren who settled here may have been about slavery and however disinclined they were perhaps to engage in it, it was nonetheless natural that their descendants who were born and brought up here, gradually drew away from the views of their fathers, became accustomed to the sight of slavery, as it presented itself all around them to their eyes, and practiced slavery as a civil right, if external advantages seemed to be united with it.[413]

The acceptance of the practice by the Brethren was not uniform, however, and the rancorous discussion continued until January of 1847, when the Aufseher Collegium recorded,

> At the last meeting of the Congregation Council the negro rules thus far existing were annulled and the keeping of negroes will be regulated in the future merely by the congregation orders and the lease. It will be necessary for the Collegium and the Elders' Conference to hold a joint meeting to clarify what stand the conferences will take in the negro question in the future especially in regard to the use of negro slaves in the trades.[414]

And so, the slave regulations in Salem ended in 1847.

However, an initiative begun in 1847 illustrates the difficulties that many of the Moravians of Salem had with slavery, even as they attempted to mitigate its effects through provision of religious instruction and guidance. In this instance,

> A Christian friend, named E. Alberti of East Florida near St. Mary's River, who is thoroughly familiar with the Moravian Church and its missions, thinks highly of its effort among the negroes, and takes an active part in the spread of the gospel, has for some time carried on a delightful correspondence with Br. Van Vleck in hope of securing a preacher and teacher from our Church for his vicinity, chiefly for the blacks. The latter would devote himself to the negro slaves entirely

[411] Ibid., 4840-41.
[412] Ibid, 4843.
[413] Neilson, *History of Government,* 154.
[414] Smith, *Records of the Moravians*, 9:4960.

> according to the custom of our Moravian missions, and serve them faithfully; his annual salary is set at $400 with free residence.[415]

This request by Mr. Alberti was met with enthusiasm by the Provincial Helfer Conferenz in Salem, Br. Jacob Siewers was selected to go as the missionary, and he and his wife departed for East Florida in November of 1847. Jacob Siewers, however, carried with him his own opinions about slavery, and these erupted in Florida in 1850. In October the P. H. C. recorded the receipt of a letter from Jacob Siewers.

> The latter reports strained relations which have developed between Mr. Alberti and Br. Siewers. They arose through an indiscreet remark of the latter, made under the stress of emotion, as to the practice of slavery in general and specifically as to the treatment of the former to his own slaves. Even though a reconciliation appears to have been effected between them, still this unhappy incident, together with the statement made by Mr. Alberti since then that Br. Siewers with *his* views on slavery was hardly fitted to fill his present position very effectively…[emphasis original].[416]

In a subsequent letter from Alberti, the P. H. C. reported that, "he definitely states that he considers *Br. Siewers* and *his wife* even *more so*, as being particularly *unfitted* for mission service among *slaves*, though he fully acknowledges the faithfulness and solicitude which they have shown."[417] [emphasis original].

It appears from this comment that not only Jacob Siewers, but also his wife Matilda Winkler Siewers, daughter of Salem baker Christian Winkler, found the practice of slavery objectionable. The issues that arose for them on Mr. Alberti's plantation must have been a focused version of the issues that arose from the practice of slavery in Salem, and their objections were also held by other members of the Moravian community.

Growing Industrial Wealth

As the contentious issues surrounding slavery were being discussed and debated, the process of entrepreneurial industrialization in Salem was further secured with the addition of another significant individual when Francis Fries' brother Henry reached the age of 21 in 1846. Henry was brought into the business as a partner, and the firm of F & H Fries was formed. By 1848 F & H Fries had constructed a large cotton mill of 528 spindles that within a year consumed nearly 100,000 pounds of raw cotton.

Francis Fries was politically active in the affairs of the state, serving in the state assembly and taking an active role in organizing the North Carolina Railroad, the first into the Piedmont region of the state. On the local level he was a key figure in guiding Salem in its broader relations with the state, and was chairman of the first board of county commissioners on the formation of Forsyth County in 1849.

In this capacity as a political leader, as well as a leader in the Moravian town of Salem, he was substantially responsible for the selection of 51 ¼ acres in the northern Salem Town Lot land to be the new county seat.[418] With the delineation of this courthouse tract, to be named Winston, secular government was grafted onto Salem, but with a separate identity.

While Francis Fries and his brother Henry appear to be the dominant individuals in the transition from a craft economy to an industrial economy, they did not act in a vacuum. Other Moravians played a significant role in

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[415] Kenneth G. Hamilton, ed., *Records of the Moravians in North Carolina* (Raleigh: State Department of Archives and History, 1966), 10:5176.
[416] Ibid., 5454.
[417] Ibid. 5455.
[418] Wellman and Tise, *Industry and Commerce*.

entrepreneurial industrialization. As already seen, this process had been set in motion in Salem by members of the Brethren in the eighteenth century and the early nineteenth century. John Vogler and others had already been a force in the movement toward industrialization.

In the later dynamics of the nineteenth century, Edward Belo, brother-in-law of Francis Fries, established a foundry in 1852 at the prior location of the Van Zevely mill. Belo, trained as a cabinet maker, began to cast iron products, some of which he used on his stylish Greek Revival house in Salem. The Belo House, with its columns and ornate ironwork, is an antebellum example of the growing industrial wealth in the Moravian town.

Maintaining the Old Trades

Although the Moravians of Salem were actively establishing an industrial economic base through the first half of the nineteenth century, the old patterns of tradesmen producing well-made goods continued. When Samuel Schulz received permission to build a separate shop on his lot in 1827, he moved his shoe shop out of his house and would begin the importation of shoes from other parts of the country. The traditional placement of a married craftsman's shop in his house was altered, and the form of the detached shop on the residential lot became common as private space gained importance. Craftsmen who continued their trade well through the nineteenth century were many. John Vogler, made jewelry, watches, and fine rifles. His kinsman Timothy Vogler began making rifles in the family tradition in Salem in 1831 and continued to make fine rifles into the 1880s. In the course of his work, he trained William Detmar to continue the craft of gunsmithing and lock making.[419] Vogler rifles made by any member of that family remain highly desired by collectors today.

Heinrich Schaffner came from Germany in 1834 to continue the production of pottery in Salem. He, and after his death Daniel Krause (trained by Schaffner), produced traditional Moravian earthenware until the turn of the twentieth century. And so too did the Winkler family continue to produce traditional Moravian baked goods into the twentieth century. Tinsmiths, tailors, carriage and wagon makers, cabinet makers, newspapers and publishing, photographers, saddle and harness makers, shoe makers, candle makers, confectioners, hat makers, coopers, doctors, storekeepers, and inn-keepers were all part of Salem's economic mix through the nineteenth century. Salem's economy was, as was its culture, a mixture of stable old ways coupled with the ongoing practice of innovation and adaptation.

Moravian Banking in the Antebellum Period

Moravian planning and forethought is exemplified by their recognition of the need for access to and management of capital. As early as 1812, the Collegium had "discussed the possibility of securing for Salem a depositary of the Salisbury branch of the new state bank" recognizing the advantages of such.[420] In 1815-16, a bank agency was established in Salem and in 1816, Br. Christian Blum became the agent and a front room of his 1815 house, with a separate entrance, served as a banking room.[421]

By 1846, Salem leadership sought to establish a "Branch Bank" of the Cape Fear Bank out of Wilmington, North Carolina to replace "the existing agency of the bank."[422] The lower rooms of the Boys School on the Square were proposed as the bank location; however, an inspection by the cashier of the Branch Bank in Salisbury found the space too moist for the purpose. The decision was made to build a two-story brick house with a fireproof vault to be rented as the bank building.[423] In regard to the new bank coming to Salem, the Aufseher Collegium determined that "a bank in Salem would mean quite a profit for many a tradesman in

[419] Penelope Niven and Cornelia B. Wright, *Old Salem: The Official Guidebook* (Winston-Salem: Old Salem Inc., 2004), 86.
[420] Fries, *Records of the Moravians*, 7: 3171.
[421] Albright and Horton, "History of Properties in Old Salem," 25.
[422] Smith, *Records of the Moravians*, 9: 4909.
[423] Ibid.,4965.

Salem, who will thus be patronized by strangers too, who come to this Community to transact business with the bank."[424]

Francis Fries had presented a proposal for a building to the Aufseher Collegium during discussion of accommodations for the bank. The bank building designed by Francis Fries was completed in 1847 and accommodated the operation of the bank as well as the family of the cashier. As with other buildings in Salem which incorporate homes and shops, the Cape Fear Bank building followed the pattern of street level business with a separate entrance sharing a stoop with the family entrance on the façade.[425] In early 1847, Israel Loesch of Bethania was chosen to replace Br. Schumann as bank cashier in Salem and occupied the Cape Fear Bank Building, still standing on Main Street in Salem. Fries is mentioned, along with E. Belo, J. G. Lash, R. W. Wharton, and J. A. Waugh, as commissioners of the bank in a bill which was introduced and passed in the 1854 session of the N.C. General Assembly: "To Incorporate a Bank in the Town of Salem, in the County of Forsyth."[426]

Francis Fries' skills as an architect were drawn on in numbers of instances in the 1840s and 1850s. He not only designed those buildings that were for his own domestic and business activities, but also designed institutional buildings: Main Hall of Salem Female Academy (1854) and the first courthouse of Forsyth County (1849; destroyed). And in addition to his own house, he designed the Bishop's House (1841) and the Edward Leinbach House (1854). During this period, he was also one of the leaders of theocratic Salem as a member of the Aufseher Collegium.

Fries' considerable talents were also employed in the concept and design for the longest plank road constructed in the world. He served as a director of the Fayetteville and Western Plank Road Company which completed the plank road in 1854. It ran 129 miles from Fayetteville, through Salem, to Bethania. From the perspective of Fayetteville, North Carolina, the linkage to Salem was an important goal, and the 1851 report by the president of the company recorded, about Salem,

> The citizens of that prosperous, enterprising and interesting Town have always looked to the Cape Fear as the channel of their trade, Fayetteville has experienced its benefits, and it would be strange if she did not appreciate the wishes of Salem to unite more closely their interests and welfare.[427]

Moravian Politics in the Antebellum Period

In the pre-Civil War nineteenth century, the conservative wing of the Whig party, with its support of commercial expansion, order and stability, and improvements such as the plank road, was a natural political home for the Moravians. Their own sense of societal order meshed well with Whig philosophy, and Whig economic policies providing support to entrepreneurial endeavor was a close fit with Salem's movement in that direction.

It was this political foundation, anchored to Moravian Whig political control of Stokes County, that made possible the splitting of Forsyth County away from Stokes in 1849. This also allowed the Moravians to graft the new county seat onto Salem with the intention of using the new entity to their purposes. That proved not to be so easily accomplished, however, since the newly formed county had a farmer and slave-holding planter

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[424] Michael O. Hartley and Martha B. Boxley, "Lot 54," in "Salem Survey, 1997," (copy on file, Old Salem Research Files).

[425] Ibid.

[426] North Carolina General Assembly, "Bill to Incorporate Salem Bank" (Raleigh: 1854). Copy in Old Salem Museums & Gardens, Lot Files.

[427] First Annual Report of the President of the Fayetteville and Western Plank Road Company, April 1850, in *North Carolina History Told By Contemporaries*, ed. Hugh Talmage Lefler (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1934), 231-32.

class surrounding the Moravians of Wachovia. These emerged as Democrats, finding themselves in conflict with the Whig businessmen of Salem.

By 1856 the new county seat of Winston -- although it had been called into being by the influential Moravian industrial and business cohort -- was not under the complete control of the Moravians as a secular surrogate of Salem. During the period of the 1850s, members of the Democratic Party gained control of Winston. At this point, there was a willingness by Moravian leaders to have Salem be the business and industrial center under their control that they had hoped Winston would be.[428]

The role played by Salem can be seen in the politics that were nurtured in the theocratically governed Salem of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Historian Larry Tise commented on the politics present at the creation of Forsyth County and the new County seat of Winston in 1849 in Volume 6 of *Winston-Salem in History*, "Government." Although Winston was created by entrepreneurial leadership from Salem,

> Winston would wage battle with the old Moravian town for the political control of both Wachovia and the county. From the first moment of its existence Winston became a haven for the Democratic Party. Salem, on the other hand, had become a stronghold for the Whig party two decades before Forsyth County appeared. In fact, the staunch Whiggery of Salem and Moravian Wachovia provided the primary cause for the creation of Forsyth, for Whig domination of the county before the Civil War, and for Republican domination after the war. Hence, although the Salem theocracy would soon receive its official last rites (1856), certain of the Moravian ideals would infest Forsyth and make its Civil War and Reconstruction experience practically unique in the South.[429]

The Salem leaders appealed by resolution to the North Carolina legislature for an act of incorporation that would end theocratic government in the town. With approval of the act, Salem would become a secular community within the North Carolina system of incorporated towns. This approval was not to be simply *pro forma,* and the request brought forth feelings of great distrust of the Moravians of Salem by neighbors, particularly Representative Reeves of neighboring Surry County.

As reported in the *People's Press* of Salem on December 19, 1856,

> Mr. Reeves objected to the bill. He considered the inhabitants of Salem as unworthy of receiving any corporate privileges from the Legislature of North Carolina. They were under a Feudal system opposed to the laws and customs of this state. In the Revolutionary War they closed their doors upon Greene and his army, while they welcomed Cornwallis and his troops. Governor Franklin, in passing through Salem on public business, could only procure refreshments by stealth. Their lands at present were owned in Germany, and their church government would not allow any stranger to settle in their town. He said the inhabitants were notorious for their ill-treatment of those who differed from them in politics, and until the inhabitants of Salem became more Americanized, he would oppose any bill giving them corporate privileges.[430]

However, there were those in the legislature who came to the defense of the Moravians, saying, "the objectionable customs alluded to by Mr. Reeves were lately abandoned, and the town thrown open."[431] and the

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[428] Larry Edward Tise, *Government*, vol. 6, *Winston-Salem in History* (Winston-Salem, NC: Historic Winston, 1976), 30.
[429] Ibid., 24.
[430] Michael O. Hartley, Heinrich Schaffner and the Moravian Ceramic Tradition in Nineteenth-Century Pottery in Salem, *Journal of Early Southern Decorative Arts* 31, no. 1, (Summer 2005), 40.
[431] Ibid.

act was passed. Following this, Winston leaders also requested the same recognition from the legislature and it was incorporated in February of 1859.[432] Both towns were governed by mayors and commissions.

The separateness of these Southerners, their entry into the modern realm of industrialization notwithstanding, is starkly delineated in Mr. Reeves' angry summary. It is also noted that their defender did not say that these "objectionable customs" were not true, but that they were a thing of the past. The Moravians of Salem were Southerners, and many of them were slave-owners, as civil war over these issues approached. But they, as Moravians, were consistently viewed as inherently separate.

CRITERION 4:
THE ARCHITECTURE OF THE CONGREGATIONAL TOWN
1766-1856

The body of architecture represented in Salem presents a distinct group of buildings that demonstrate the presence of a unique and substantial Moravian/Germanic culture. This distinguishing architectural vocabulary was formed during the theocratically governed Congregation Town of Salem, and was impacted by cultural and economic forces in the southern landscape over a ninety-year period of acculturation.

Over the years the Pennsylvania Germans have been thoroughly examined and their cultural contribution to colonial America well documented. Less studied is the Germanic presence in the South. By the mid-eighteenth century, Pennsylvania had begun to export its Germanic culture in a migration pattern that edged down the Great Wagon Road between the Alleghenies and the Blue Ridge Mountains through Maryland, the Valley of Virginia, and down into the Piedmont region of what was then the backcountry of North Carolina. Packed in the cultural baggage of these Germans were vernacular building plans and construction traditions that they sought to impose on the new landscape.[433] In the southern climate, they confronted a new set of environmental and social conditions. They clung tenaciously to their Germanic traditions throughout the eighteenth century but increasingly succumbed to the forces of acculturation into the mainstream of southern culture. The most cohesive, conservative, and enduring of this group of the Germanic immigrants—and therefore the most accessible to study—were the Moravians. Their excellent records preserved today in the church archives and their numerous extant buildings provide rare insights into the forces that influence the way buildings are constructed and how community values change.

When examining the architectural development of the Moravian town of Salem, one finds a well-documented blending of traditional Germanic building techniques and congregational influence, all molded by the artistic abilities of the individual builders, the materials available to them, and the topography of the tract. In the early years of Salem, it is clear that town planning and architecture were important considerations in the Moravians' quest for the perfect union of secular and spiritual needs. Architecture stands, therefore, as a useful index to the assimilation of this Germanic congregational town into the mainstream of the American entrepreneurial process.

Building a Congregation Town

Just as topography had influenced the placement of the Wachovia Tract and precluded accepting the circular plan, it would continue to impact the placement of the town and its development for decades to come. The ridge selected by Reuter provided good southern exposure but the steep eastern edge precluded development in that direction and the western slope would result in fully exposed cellars on that elevation. Thus, on Main Street, the homes on the west side of the street had their primary entrance at street level, into the middle or living floor,

[432] Tise, *Government*, 30.

[433] For transference from Pennsylvania into the Shenandoah Valley, see Edward Chappell, "Acculturation in the Shenandoah Valley: Rhenish Houses of Massanutten Settlement," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 124, No 1 (1980), 55-89.

while those on the east side of the street had their entrances into the cellar level, which traditionally served as the location for a tradesman's shop.

In January 1766, construction began on the first building, which was completed in only four days. Placed off of the proposed town grid to serve as a temporary home for the construction crews, the crude, round-log structure had a tile roof and simple "V"-notched joints. By 1768, construction of the first seven buildings, which ran north along the west side of Main Street from the corner of the Square, neared completion.

From the start, the Moravians enjoyed a distinct advantage over other settlers in the backcountry. Carpenters, masons, and even a surveyor were sent from Europe and Pennsylvania to support the building out of the Wachovia settlement. These trained craftsmen quickly moved the architecture from the rude, single-room log cabin—ubiquitous to first-period settlement throughout the region—to a much higher level of sophistication. The craftsmen came with a cultural tool kit assembled from their central European experience and often tempered with time spent in Pennsylvania. Although the desire for and the strength of cultural continuity was strong among these settlers, conditions in North Carolina quickly began to impact how the towns of Wachovia were planned and buildings constructed. An index to the forces for change in the eighteenth century can be seen in floor plans, building design, and construction detailing, all of which were dictated in no small part by the topography of the land, as well as the availability of materials and skilled craftsmen in a culturally isolated part of the country.

This environmental determinism is apparent from the very first explorations that were sent into North Carolina to identify the tract. As the leader of the survey party, Bishop Gottlieb Spangenberg, recorded his observations in his travel diary. In November 1752, he wrote,

> There is stone which can be used for building, and also sand, but no limestone, which is very rare in North Carolina; indeed, there is hardly any this side of the Alleghanies [sic]. That is the reason for the poorly built wooden houses one finds everywhere.

And in December 1752, he noted, "There is no limestone, but we are told that there is clay, which becomes hard as stone when exposed to air. The truth of this remains to be proved."[434] Ultimately, however, it would be water, not stone, that would determine which land would be included within the tract, as the Moravians mapped out the watershed of Muddy Creek to determine where to locate their Wachovia settlement.[435]

When the Brethren arrived on November 17, 1753, they took refuge in a pre-existing log cabin built by the squatter Hans Wagner.[436] Importantly, when it came to building their own first structure in Wachovia's first settlement, Bethabara, the method of log construction they choose was post-and-plank for the sleeping quarters. This was one of only three examples of this log technology known in North Carolina, and all three have Germanic origins.[437] It was a construction technology that was soon abandoned by the Moravians and, seemingly, by the other eighteenth Germanic settlers in North Carolina. For the remaining structures, the Moravians adopted a traditional log and half-timber construction of one-, one-and-a-half-, or two-story

[434] Fries, *Records of the Moravians*, 1:45, 58-60.

[435] Michael O. Hartley, "Wachovia in Forsyth" (report on file at Old Salem Museums & Gardens, Archaeology Division, 1987), 20-21.

[436] Davis, *Hidden Seed*, 39.

[437] Another example is the 1766 McLean House from Gilford Co, North Carolina, which has been reproduced in the Museum of Early Southern Decorative Arts, Old Salem Museums & Gardens, Winston-Salem, North Carolina. Also, "Hoyle House," in *A Guide to Historic Architecture of Piedmont North Carolina*, eds. Catherine Bishir and Michael Southern (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2002), 482. The Plow Tavern in York, Pennsylvania, is a well-known Pennsylvanian example.

construction.[438] Unfortunately, none of these early Bethabara buildings survive, except as archaeological ruins that document the presence of stone-lined cellars under almost every domestic or congregational building.

The initial surveying party had selected Wachovia based on environmental conditions, including availability of natural resources. The responsibility of inventorying and mapping these resources fell to the surveyor Philip Christian Reuter. He arrived in 1758, having completed the laying out of the town of Lititz, Pennsylvania, the year before, and began work on what would be known as the Great Map of Wachovia.[439] This document with accompanying narratives identified the resources available and conversely what was not available, such as the ever-elusive limestone necessary for masonry construction.[440] This map also gives some of the strongest evidence of the interrelationship between the resources of nature (recorded in the common language of astronomical symbols familiar to anyone who uses an almanac) and the needs the Moravians had as they constructed their cultural landscape. [441] It becomes quickly obvious that the problem was not a shortage of stones that precluded stone building but rather the availability of lime. Reuter identifies numerous locations for gathering stone, and investigations of those sites have turned up strong evidence of stone stockpiles and waster piles reflecting an organized gathering and shaping program.[442] Never once was a complaint raised about the quality or availability of building stone. As the Bethabara ruins illustrate, the stacking of these stones against the Carolina red clay embankment of a cellar hole is one matter; building above ground without mortar, an entirely different one.

The First Construction Phase

While Reuter roamed the woods in search of limestone, the Moravians sent wagons to the Cape Fear River to bring back shells for lime. For the next twelve years of construction, they would rely on the material most readily at hand—wood. In 1765, as plans for the construction of Salem began, the administrator of Wachovia, Fredrick William Marshall, wrote:

> I do not advise the building of log houses, as there is not enough proper timber in the whole neighborhood, but it will be better to use framework, like the apothecary shop in Bethabara, for which shorter timbers can be used; and an attempt should be made to use stone.[443]

Thus, *fachwerk*—or half-timbered construction—was used by these Germans up to the eve of the American Revolution. When construction of Salem began in January of 1766, the walls of the first *fachwerk* buildings were nogged initially with wattle and daub. The staves of wood are wrapped with straw and mud, slid into vertical slots located on the side of the posts and then finished with a pargeting of mud. They quickly shifted to a soft-fired, but more durable, brick nogging laid up in a mud mortar. As seen in the 1769 Single Brothers House, wattle and daub continued to be used on the interior walls of these buildings. A variant of that combination of mud, sticks, and straw was also used extensively in the ceilings of eighteenth-century Salem buildings.[444] A loose clay-straw mixture was also often placed between the floor and ceiling boards at each floor level, providing insulation.

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[438] Spencer, "Prospect of Bethabara," in *The Gardens of Salem*, 22.

[439] Fries, *Records of the Moravians*, 1:190, 212, 215.

[440] Fries, *Records of the Moravians*, 2:557-587; see also Erika Huber's translation of Reuter's "Flora and Fauna of Wachovia" in *Booklet for the Land Register About Wachovia Containing: 1) Definition of signs and letters in the land registers 2) Description of trees, brushes, herbs and plants, also animals and birds as far as known. Written in the year 1760.* (Old Salem Research Files).

[441] Hinman, "Philip Christian Reuter," 165-169.

[442] Michael O. Hartley, "The Bethania Town Lot Archaeological Survey" (report for the Old Salem Department of Archaeology, 1993).

[443] Fries, *Records of the Moravians*, 1:315.

[444] Often referred to as "Dutch biscuits," these provided a base for the application of plaster as well as insulation. See Indiana State Museum, "Dutch Biscuit," *YouTube* video, 31 January 2012, http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ghY_eCwiTM4.

The appearance of half-timbered framing speaks strongly of central European antecedents, though in a simplified form.[445] The three-room, central-chimney plan—often referred to as the *Flurküchenhaus* plan—is the signature of domestic architecture in early Wachovia. Surviving multiple generations, this simple house form was produced in *fachwerk*, stone, brick, and frame well into the second quarter of the nineteenth century. The 1768 Fourth House remains as the earliest extant example of this form, and was one of six such dwellings constructed in the first building campaign.

Anchored on a large central chimney that serviced a side kitchen/hall (*Küche*), the other two rooms were the chamber (*Kammer*) located to the rear of the house and the parlor or living space (*Stube*) on the front. These two rooms were heated by either a corner fireplace or a stove made of iron or ceramic tiles. The iron was imported and less common until the nineteenth century; tile stoves were made locally. A stair ran from the kitchen/hall to an attic room and below to a cellar, which was often exposed on one elevation because of the steep topography.

Simple common rafters, each with one or two collar beams, supported the clay tile roof. These rafters sat directly on the plate, requiring a change in roof's pitch to extend the eaves beyond the plane of building wall. This "kick" is a defining detail of eighteenth-century Germanic roof framing in North Carolina.[446] Regardless of the building size or use, this simplified "A" roofing system was applied. More complicated gambrel, or even jerkin-head, roofs never appeared in Salem. An exception to this simplified approach was the use of dormers, particularly the shed- roofed dormer used to supplement light in occupied attic spaces. Typically, these were located at the top of stairways.

Clay roofing tiles were high on the agenda of essential construction materials and were manufactured within three years of the Moravians' arrival in North Carolina. The shape and method of installation were featured in eighteenth century publications available to the builders in Salem and in European and Pennsylvanian prototypes. [447] The tiles were aligned rather than staggered and held in place on the lath by means of a clay lug molded to the back of the tile. Any leakage between the aligning joints was addressed with small wooden shims. Roofing tiles were not available to other Germans like Hoyle and Braun, who roofed buildings in wooden shingles, a more typical North Carolina fashion. In Salem, *fachwerk* construction, central chimneys, and roofing tiles became a visual signature, leading visitors such as William Loughton Smith to comment, "The antique appearance of the houses, built in the German style… have a pleasing and singular effect."[448]

Both horizontal-sash and casement windows were present in Salem, and probably elsewhere in eighteenth-century German buildings, but only scant evidence remains. Photographic evidence indicates a stronger presence of casement windows, most of which seem to have been two lights wide and three lights tall, than what the restored town currently illustrates. However, a wing-type casement window was recovered from the 1797 Christoph Vogler House during its restoration and there are extant examples that survive in the kitchen wing of the 1784 Tavern and the gable-end windows of both the 1785 Single Sisters House and the 1786 Single Brother House Addition.[449] At the Tavern, these sashes are relegated to the service area at the rear of the building, which retains an asymmetrical design. This is in contrast to the front elevation windows which are

[445] William Woys Weaver, "The Pennsylvania German House: European Antecedents and New World Forms," *Winterthur Portfolio* 21 (1986): 243-264.

[446] Lorenz Johann Daniel Suckow, *Erste Grude der Burgerlichen Baukunst* [The Principle Basis of Civil Architecture] (Jena: C. H. Cuno, 1763). Also see "Hoyle Family House" and "Michael Braun House," in *A Guide to the Historic Architecture of Piedmont North Carolina*, eds. Catherine W. Bishir and Michael T. Southern (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2003), 17, 436, 482.

[447] Suckow, Table IV.

[448] "Journal of William Loughton Smith 1790-1791," *Massachusetts Historical Society Proceedings* 51 (1918), 73-75.

[449] For examples from Oley Valley, Pennsylvania, see Philip E. Pendleton, *Oley Valley Heritage; The Colonial Years: 1700-1775* (Birdsboro, PA: The Pennsylvania German Society and Oley, PA: The Oley Valley Heritage Association, 1994), 66-67, 161.

designed to accommodate vertical sliding sash and reflect the symmetry of the Federal Period. Clearly, the builders of Salem were aware of the different styles, as reflected in an 1804 letter from the Minister Carl Gotthold Reichel to Bethlehem regarding the construction of the church there. He asks what kind of windows they were using there, "the English kind to push up and down or the German kind with wings to open?"[450]

The "Dutch door" may be the single strongest icon of Germanic architecture, and it appears well into the nineteenth century, even as other Germanic detailing fell away. Utilized throughout the region in both an exterior and, more unusually, interior application, the door design detail shifted from chevrons and diamonds to more traditional Federal paneling.[451] The Dutch door basically allowed the conversion of the door opening into a widow-scaled opening providing light and ventilation, while maintaining containment and separation.

With the initial housing stock in place, work began on the first of several congregational buildings to be built around the Square. The 1769 Single Brothers House (individual NHL, 1970) is the largest of the extant half-timbered buildings in Salem. As a dormitory and work space for the Single Brothers Choir, the structure's asymmetrical façade illustrates Moravian congregational functionalism overlaid on traditional Germanic architectural design. Its tile upper roof; pent roof; interior chimneys; double-leaf doors; and attention to detail, such as the subtle alternation of brick color in the nogging, exemplify a central European building heritage. Its floor plan and fenestration, on the other hand, was dictated by the spatial needs of the space, including sleeping chambers and workshops.

Masonry and the Lack of Lime

When it came to masonry construction, however, the continued lack of lime was a major frustration to the Moravians who arrived in Wachovia with a strong tradition of stone construction. They had a master stonemason, and as it turned out a goodly quantity of stone, and Frederick William Marshall believed that log construction, in particular, was a waste of scarce timber, not durable, and a fire hazard. However, there was not a large enough supply of mortar to risk building above ground more than one story. They lamented this challenge in their records throughout the 1760s and early 1770s:

> 17 July 1767: We hope to hear everyday that the old man beyond the Dan River has burned lime, so that we can fetch it. If only the man did not go about it so lazily! We will do our best to hasten it, even if we have to buy his land!
>
> 1768: Lime for building was a perplexing problem but during this year sixty bushels of lime were bought from Marshall Duncan, for 18 d. per bushel. It is probably the first lime burned in North Carolina.

As the builders turned their attention to the *Gemeinhaus*, or Congregational House, in November 1769, they deliberated on how to best deal with this challenge:

> It was brought up for consideration how the *Gemeinhaus* in Salem is to be constructed; whether altogether of wood and framework or whether a part of it should be built of stone. To build entirely of wood is not so desirable and durable. Especially in the lower storey; on the other hand, to build

[450] Carl Gotthold Reichel to George Henry Loskiel, trans. Erica Huber, Bethlehem Archives, file 3, letter 38, on file at Anne P. and Thomas A. Gray Library, Frank L. Horton Museum Center, Old Salem Museums and Gardens, Winston-Salem, North Carolina.

[451] In Salem, see the 1787 Lick-Leinbach House (formerly known as the Lick-Boner House), 1800 Winkler Bakery, 1802 Vierling House, 1822 John Henry Leinbach House, and 1831 Kuehln House; elsewhere see the 1771 Adam Spach House in Davidson County, North Carolina, and the 1766 Michael Braun House in Rowan County, North Carolina.

> of stone in the second story without mortar is not to be risked… if the lower story were built of stone ...it would be strong enough to carry the framework of wood [for the second story].[452]

The Moravian records indicate that lime remained scarce up through the Revolution:

> 1 August 1772: As the Tannery cannot do well without lime, and Marshall Duncan will not burn any more, Br. Herbst will see whether Duncan will not let him burn lime there.
>
> 19 October 1772: Br. Herbst is in great need for lime... he cannot get Marshall Duncan at the Dan River to burn any... or to let others burn it, and Keifer Evans, who pretends that he knows another place on a vacant lot where there is lime stone, demands 50 L Sterling for the discovery. There is the rumor that Evans only pretends this. One should try through a perfect stranger to get lime from Duncan because Duncan does not like us.
>
> 21 December 1772: Instead of trying to get more lime from Duncan we will see whether any can be secured from the Catawba, it may cost more… In this connection it was resolved to send a Petition to the next Assembly asking that a law might be made that any one who has limestone on his land and will not burn it for sale, may be obligated to sell the land to some one who will burn it.[453]

As such, Salem continued to use stone for cellar walls and foundations; only on rare occasions—as seen in the *Gemeinhaus* and 1775 Community Store—did they extend the masonry a story above the ground.

In 1772, the half-timbered Tavern was completed. Its remote location on the south end of town, far away from the family houses, reflects the concern the Brethren had over the influence that visitors (or, as the Moravians called outsiders, "strangers") might have on the community. This clearly intentional placement is the first strong indicator of the conflict between open commerce and a closed congregational town system.

Salem was designed to be a trade center that drew from markets well beyond Wachovia Tract. It was this commerce and the revenues it generated, the Moravians believed, that would permit the community to prosper. Not wanted, however, was the unnecessary mingling beyond that rudimentary level of trade. The Tavern was such an important element in the total town plan that, not until its completion in 1772 did the congregation make the move en masse from Bethabara to Salem. As Salem grew, the balance between commercial enterprise and congregational control became increasingly difficult to maintain. The strain of entrepreneurship tugged against the basic Moravian concepts of moderation, humility, and equality. These latter traits are tangibly illustrated in Salem's graveyard, "God's Acre," where interments are not with birth families but with spiritual families and uniformity approaches anonymity. All graves are marked with simple, flat headstones stating name, place and date of birth, and date of death—a uniformity symbolizing equality.

By 1775, the Moravians had largely abandoned half-timbering and sought to develop the use of stone. The 1775 Community Store (today known as the "T. Bagge: Merchant") reflects the continuing concern by the congregation for the overall appearance of the town while still working within technical constraints. Stone structures were still limited to one story at the street level, but town planners felt that a long, one-story building in that prominent location on the Square would look disproportionate. The shape was therefore modified to an "L" plan, which worked well on the corner lot. Here, as at the *Gemeinhaus*, stones were laid up in mud mortar,

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[452] *Grosse Helfer Conferenz* Minutes, 6 November 1769 (trans. Erica Huber, Old Salem Research Files).

[453] Johann Michael Graff to John Ettwein, Historic Bethlehem Museums & Sites, Library and Archives, file 1, ltr. 20 [translated for Old Salem Museums & Gardens by Erica Huber]; Fries, *Records of the Moravians*, 1:374-375; Fries, *Records of the Moravians*, 2:701; *Aufseher Collegium* Minutes, 19 October and 21 December 1772 (trans. Erica Huber, Old Salem Research Files).

and the exterior was stuccoed and scribed to simulate cut stone. The use of brick was limited to the window and door arches, a detail common in the Moravian town of Bethlehem, Pennsylvania.[454]

Log Construction

Despite Marshall's aversion to log construction, it was expedient, and log structures appear throughout Salem's building history. They were usually one-and-a-half stories tall with three or four logs placed above the ceiling joists to give some additional room under the roof. The initial preference was for the dovetail joint, but the simpler "V" notch became increasingly popular as buildings in Salem began to be covered with siding. Other than some detailing—such as the extended sill, plate, and purlins—the basic *Flurküchenhaus* form was the same as the half-timbered homes.[455] The 1772 home of the surveyor Reuter is one of the few frame houses constructed in Salem during the pre-Revolution period. Most residents preferred log, which quickly provided an enclosed building without the labor of making mortise and tenon joints, applying clapboards, adding brick for nogging the voids, and riving lath for plaster interior walls. Much of this same finish work would be done later to log buildings, but at a more leisurely pace. In addition to the convenience, it would not be until the 1776 Salem sawmill was constructed that weatherboard and sawn timbers would become readily available.

With the onset of the American Revolution, trade connections were disrupted and inflation ran rampant. Except for the completion of the long-planned waterworks in 1778, construction in the town of Salem came to a halt.[456] For seven years, the pacifist Moravians were occupied with preserving their neutrality and protecting their legal claim to the land.[457]

Rise of Brickwork

With the end of hostilities and a reliable supplier of lime secured, Salem faced a new construction challenge. Rather than the problem of procuring building material, the new concern was obtaining skilled labor. The master stonemason, Melchior Rasp, who had been sent south from Pennsylvania the second year of the Wachovia settlement to assist in the building effort, was now sixty-seven years old and in poor health. [458] To address this problem, the Congregation released Johann Gottlob Krause from his apprenticeship with the master potter Johann Gottfried Aust to study under Rasp.[459] This career change for the twenty-one-year-old craftsman, who was only six months away from completing his apprenticeship under Aust, would have a profound impact on the appearance of the Moravian community. For the next three years, Krause learned the mason's trade, and—perhaps drawing on his potter's experience—began to manufacture brick and roofing tile.[460] Salem had accumulated a backlog of building requirements. Foremost was the long-delayed construction of the Single Sisters House, which, like other congregational buildings, was to be located on the Square.

By January 1784, materials had been collected for the building; however, a fire at the Tavern on January 31, 1784 changed the congregation's priorities. Because it was still unsatisfactory to lodge "outsiders" in Salem residents' homes, the Tavern once again took precedence over other congregational buildings. With the stonemason Melchior Rasp too infirm to work, the project was placed in the hands of Krause. Using the

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[454] Murtagh, *Moravian Architecture*, 23-77.

[455] In Old Salem see the 1772 Miksch house, the 1795 Lick-Leinbach House, the 1816 Hagen House, the 1822 Solomon Lick House, and the 1822 John Ackerman House.

[456] Fries, *Records of the Moravians*, 3:1214; Linda LeMieux, "The Salem Waterworks," in *Selections from the Chronicle: The Fascinating World of Tools and Trades,* eds. Emil and Marty Pollack (Mendham, NJ: The Astragal Press, 1991), 180-189.

[457] For more on the Moravians during the American Revolution see Hunter James, *The Quiet People of the Land: The Story of the North Carolina Moravians in Revolutionary Times* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1976).

[458] Fries*, Records of the Moravians*, 1:149.

[459] John Larson, "Krause, Johann Gottlob," *North Carolina Architects and Builders: A Biographical Dictionary*, Copyright & Digital Scholarship Center, North Carolina State University Libraries, Raleigh, North Carolina, http://ncarchitects.lib.ncsu.edu/people/P000133.

[460] *Aufseher Collegium* Minutes, 20 March 1781, 14 January 1783, 5 August 1783 (trans. Erica Huber, Old Salem Research Files).

material that had been originally stockpiled for the Single Sisters House, Krause oversaw the completion of Salem's first two-story masonry building and the first all-brick building, earning the title of master mason.[461] The Tavern's location remained the same, isolated on the opposite end of town from the family homes. As a last element of protection, this new building was designed without windows on the front street level, eliminating any visual connection between the Salem Moravians and the Tavern patrons.

The use of local red clay, the region's most abundant of native building materials, for the 1784 Tavern (individual NHL, 1964) represents a major break in style at Salem. This change by itself made a radical visual difference. However, the building also featured Salem's first front porch, the first central hall plan, a symmetrical front façade, and a roof line without a kick at the eaves, all of which made the Tavern a building type more familiar to patrons of inns throughout the South. Some basic traditional Germanic elements of style remained, such as the corner fireplace, casement windows on the rear elevation, and a large cellar. In the Tavern, the Moravians acknowledged status and rank in society at large, as they provided segregated spaces based on wealth. It was also at the Tavern that some of the first slaves in Salem were used.

The most notable masonry characteristic of the Tavern is the oversized bricks. Measuring almost twelve inches long, five-and-one-quarter inches wide, and three inches high, these large units required two hands to heave into place, handling more like stone than the more manageable standard brick. The Tavern offers modern observers a laboratory to examine the work of a potter, trained as a stonemason, who was learning the bricklaying trade. For example, all the queen closures are molded rather than cut, more of a potter's solution to a technical problem than that of a bricklayer. Still, the versatility of this new building material allowed builders more flexibility and led to the introduction of new features, such as the barrel-vaulted cellar that allowed the Tavern to optimize food storage space. This technique was also present in other Germanic buildings in the Valley of Virginia and Pennsylvania, where there had always been an adequate supply of lime.[462]

While limitations forced the Brethren to build a Tavern that conformed to the perceived tastes of "outsiders," they also clung to their old forms while embracing brick as a new material. When the Single Sisters House was finally finished in 1786, its asymmetrical form more closely resembled the 1769 Brothers House than the symmetrical 1784 Tavern. The large, oversized brick combined with increased sources of lime now made two-story masonry feasible. During this period a new series of functional, rather than decorative details—including single-leaf shutters, over-curving window sills, and roof plate locks to tie the roof into the masonry—appear on buildings. However, it would be thirty-seven years after the construction of the Tavern before a front porch would appear on another Salem building.[463]

1788 Salem Building Regulations

In the two decades after the Revolution, the Salem congregation was unified and the theocracy effective. To control the architectural development of the town, Frederick William Marshall drafted a set of building rules, which were enacted in June 1788. This document, possibly America's earliest municipal building code, regulated a wide range of building details and gives insight into the Moravian attitude toward the built environment. It noted, for example, that "we here in Salem use for chimneys bricks in order to save space, whereas outsiders are mostly used to rough stones."[464] The code clearly stated procedures for construction. A Brother who wished to build in Salem had to apply to the *Aufseher Collegium* and prove he had the resources to cover the construction cost. Further, he had to submit a house and site plan for review and an estimate of the

[461] *Aeltesten Conferenz* Minutes, 15 December 1784 (trans. Erica Huber, Old Salem Research Files).

[462] Chappell, "Acculturation in the Shenandoah Valley," 65, 74, 76, 77-78. Pendleton, *Oley Valley Heritage* 60-63.

[463] The 1816 Voltz House with its full front porch sat off the street and at the time of its construction this building was considered more a farm house than a town house. The 1821 Herbst House would bring the front porch to Salem's domestic architecture.

[464] Frederick William Marshall, "1788 Building Regulations," Moravian Archives Southern Province, Winston-Salem, NC. Copy on file with Old Salem Museums & Gardens, Winston-Salem, NC.

total project cost. Marshall used the regulations to ensure that all personal dwellings reflected the Moravian code of ethics, explaining:

> Regarding all the decency in the building regulations we wish that no other but simple houses be built here in Salem, because costly houses will be hard to sell again for the approximate value.[465]

What he did not mention was the added motivation the governing board had in ensuring affordable housing. Should a member die or be expelled, it would be up to the Congregation to buy and resell the house. Because the Brethren saw the potential for frequent turnover in housing, they wanted to make sure that nothing was so unique or expensive that it could not be easily sold again. Architecture, then, was not to be a means for self-expression. In fact, houses were not intended to be a source of personal or family identity at all. The congregation reserved the right to determine who lived where and during this early period, a house was not intended to be passed down in a family. For the Moravians of Salem, and elsewhere, the inhabitants were to focus on the church as the main point of social contact. The Choir System, an isolated Tavern, and the acceptance of a set of building standards separated the genders, neighbors, and "outsiders." The power of architectural review was justified in the name of public health—both secular and spiritual.

Although the regulations of 1788 reflect a strong congregational consensus, an unavoidable change was occurring. In the 1780s the old master builders, that first generation of craftsmen who had emigrated from Europe, were being replaced by individuals who were born and raised in Wachovia.

The mid-1780s became a sorting time in Wachovia between stone and brick as a preferred building material. For example, the stone slaughterhouse was constructed in 1784 while Krause built the brick Tavern. Krause followed up in 1785 with a brick *flurküchenhaus* plan for the Gottlieb Shober House on the Square. The congregation continued to call upon Krause to supply both the material and the labor to construct the brick Single Sister's House in 1785 and the brick addition to the Brother's House the following year. In these, as in all of his subsequent projects, Krause would often apply paint on window arches, quoins, and door stiles to simulate rubbed brick.

In 1787, Traugott Bagge built a *flurküchenhaus* dwelling of stone on Salem's Square for his storekeeper and in 1788 the congregation engaged Abraham Loesch to construct the stone *Gemeinhaus* at Bethabara.[466] This, however, is the last major stone building built by the Moravians in North Carolina. All of these stone buildings remained a single story or story and a half and their walls were stuccoed and scribed to give the appearance of stone block. Many of Krause's brick buildings were two stories tall sitting on stuccoed stone foundations. During this later part of the 1780s, Krause operated the Salem brickyard, but by 1788, the same year as the Bethabara *Gemeinhaus*, he had a major falling out with the congregation and was forced to leave the community for a variety of misconducts.[467] He relocated to Bethabara and began to practice the pottery trade. In his absence, Salem struggled to find both a brick maker and a mason of equivalent skill. By the time they wished to begin work on the Boys School in 1793, it was clear that they would have to recall Krause to do the work.

Krause was not allowed to live in Salem, but the next eight years were his most productive and creative. In February 1794, Krause signed the contract to construct the Boys School, to be located on the north end of the Square. Designed by Marshall, it replicated the Tavern's central-hall plan and symmetrical façade. Initially Krause's brickwork resembled that of the 1780s, with a stone foundation and oversized bricks. However, it

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[465] Ibid..

[466] Fries, *Records of the Moravians*, 5: 1784-1792, 2245-2251.

[467] *Aufseher Collegium*, 18 September 1787 [obtains illegal cow], 12 February 1788 [keeping dogs], 1 July 1788 [hiring an outside laborer of ill repute], 23 December1788 [accused of stealing pig] (trans. Erica Huber, Old Salem Research Files).

evolved into a radically different style that essentially became an advertisement boasting the versatility of brick. There is a clear break at the gables, where Krause diminished the brick size to a more standardized and manageable unit, and then manipulated the pattern to form a belt course on one gable end and a decorative pattern on the other.

This significant change in masonry style may be attributed to one William Grieg, a non-Moravian hired by Krause to help him complete this project. Three months into the construction, Grieg joined the construction crew, much to the dismay of the congregational leadership. Because the outsider Grieg provided Krause a much-needed expertise, Krause refused to let him go.[468] After the Boys School, Krause never returned to his oversized bricks.

In 1797, Krause received a contract to build a home for Christoph Vogler, and Grieg was hired that same year to build the congregation's Vorsteher's House.[469] It is possible to use these two houses to compare work of the Moravian potter/mason Krause and the outsider mason Grieg. At the Vorsteher's House, Grieg continued using the central plan, replicating the symmetry seen at the Boys School, but his meager decorative attempts pale when compared to the flamboyance of Krause's work on the Vogler House. Retaining a modified *flurküchenhaus* plan, Krause's exterior is ornamented with initials, chevrons, a molded water table, and rubbed-brick arches.

The long-delayed construction on the Church finally began toward the end of the 1790s. However, its intended location on Salem Lot 15, centered on the Square between the *Gemeinhaus* and the Single Sisters' House as a focal point and symbol of the congregation, drew the objection of the Single Sisters' Diaconie, as the Sisters used the lot as a bleaching green. After consulting the Lot, the Single Sisters won the right to keep their bleaching green on the site and the town plan was modified. The Church was instead crowded into the upper northeast corner of the Square. This required Marshall to rethink his design. In order to make the church as the primary focal point of the town at this location, he oriented gable end facing Church Street.

The undertaking of the construction of the Church was a vast endeavor for a congregation of fewer than three hundred people. Although the interior was a traditional, simple design based on the segregation of the Choirs, the exterior established some new architectural trends for Salem, including the long sweeping roof without dormers or the traditional kick, the use of a belt course, and large, arched multi-pane windows with stone sills. Two other significant architectural aspects of the Church are the arched hood over the doorway and the continued use of paint around the windows, doors, and quoins to simulate rubbed brick.[470] However, the clay tile roof, stone foundation, and double-leaf front door harken back to German traditions.

The Church's detailing was quickly copied in both personal dwellings and other public buildings. The 1802 home of Dr. Samuel Benjamin Vierling was the last work of Krause and shows how far the brick mason was willing to stray from the admonition to build only "simple houses." Chevron brick patterns in the gables, exuberant use of paint on brick and cornice, and an almost exact duplication of the Church doorway clearly individualized what was the largest house in Salem at that time. Perhaps it was only the doctor's prestige that kept the congregational board quiet while the house was being built. Five years after the completion of the Church, the Single Sisters yielded their bleaching green to make room for a Girls Boarding School, which featured an entry that also mirrored the Church, with a similarly detailed paneled door and granite steps that lead up to a doorway covered by arched hood and painted brick around the door jambs.

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[468] *Aufseher Collegium*, 24 April 1794, 6 May 1794 (trans. Erica Huber, Old Salem Research Files).
[469] *Aufseher Collegium*, 14 February 1797, 12 December 1796 (trans. Erica Huber, Old Salem Research Files).
[470] Albright and Horton, "History of Properties in Old Salem," 5-37.

In many ways the Church represented the peak of congregational unity. A glimpse of the change astir can be detected in this 1808 comment by the *Aufseher Collegium*:

> An essay was published in the Raleigh papers addressed to the congressmen from North Carolina, [...] This essay had been written by Br. Steiner at the occasion of a meeting in the Tavern of several people from our neighborhood, and it concerns the political horizon of the United States. This caused a great regret in the Collegium about the fact that several of our Brethren forget the true character of a Brother, who does not take interest in politics. A Brother should be last to consider himself fit to judge publicly the Government of the country he lives in.[471]

Secularization of Salem & Rise of Individuality

The congregational consensus and isolationism that had carried the Brethren through the Revolution would be challenged in the nineteenth century, as a new generation with secular concerns and concepts of personal freedom began to create divisions within the ranks. Citizens were increasingly discontented with the congregational control of marriages, trade, production, consumption, slave ownership, and personal wealth, all of which was undergirded by the land lease system.

Home owners had an increasing problem with the terms of leases. Particularly unpopular was the provision that, upon death or removal from the town, the congregation would use a previously assigned value—rather than the current market value—be used to repurchase the house. In 1815, this provision was changed to so that houses that had been built with a design approved by the *Aufseher Collegium* would be appraised at the time of the sale, while a house built contrary to congregational guidance—that is a large or unique house—would be assigned a maximum value that congregation would pay if it took possession. Thus, for the first time an option existed: build with the community's approval and be guaranteed a market value, or exceed the community's standards with the knowledge that if the congregation was forced to purchase the house, there was a fixed maximum value beyond which was the owners' loss. This ensured that the congregation would not incur a loss because of an individual's excess.

With this alternative available, architectural individualization appeared in Salem with increasing speed and its architecture changed significantly. For example, the 1816 Voltz House featured a return of that grand social gathering point, the front porch. The Federal and Greek Revival styles were also used more frequently, replacing the traditional Germanic forms and styles that had been common up until that point.

The difficulty in reselling Dr. Vierling's house after his death in 1818 illustrates the congregation's reasoning for this new policy. Its $5,000 repurchase price, particularly in view of its size and rather remote location, proved problematic. A similar concern was expressed the following year about John Vogler's proposed house, but its prime location on the Square and a $2,000 buy-back limit allowed its construction to proceed. The resulting 1819 Vogler House was a complete break from the Moravian traditions of domestic architecture. Its central-hall plan, six-over-nine light window sash, flat-arch lintels, double-leaf shutters, small gabled hood, and individualistic decoration are more common in English rather than German traditions. Although Flemish bond was still used, the quality was on the decline, and the Dutch door, kick at the roof's eaves, and scroll-in-hand motif door handle (replicating the front door of the church in Bethlehem, Pennsylvania) were but remnants of a German-Moravian architectural tradition.

Another example of the increase in personalization of architecture is illustrated by the 1821 Heinrich Herbst House, which had a full-fledged porch that extended over the sidewalk. This had been explicitly forbidden by the 1788 Building Regulations and illustrated Salem's continued movement away from "simple houses." In

[471] Fries, *Records of the Moravians*, 6:2927.

part, this porch provided a new design solution to accommodate the steep bank into which the house was placed. The topography on the east side of Main Street made it impossible to enter the main living floor from the front of the building since the exposed basement raised the first floor well above street level. The *Aufseher Collegium* noted that his solution was "to make steps from the street to the second story, and plans a porch on the second story on the side toward the street. This has not been done on any house."[472] As such, the Herbst House created a whole new domestic architectural element in Salem—the double-story porch. Not only did it provide access to the living level, but also individualized the building and created a buffer between the public place of the street and the private space on the inside of the home.

At the same time as architectural review was growing less restrictive, the congregation was acquiescing control in other ways. For example, Brethren were finally allowed to wed without approval of the Lot. This new policy benefited John Vogler, who, as a single brother, would not have been allowed to lease a lot and build a house. With the abandonment of this requirement, Vogler—who had been denied marriage by the Lot on eight occasions—quickly married and proceeded to construct a home on his new lot.

The Single Brothers' Diaconie—and along with it, congregational control of the economy—was also declining. As early as 1815, the general management and conduct of the brothers were criticized, and in 1823, the *Aufseher Collegium* finally took the matter under consideration. They debated the benefits of eliminating "the gathering of the Single Brethren and Older Boys in the Brothers House" since, proponents argued, "it no longer fills the purpose for which it was intended" and "is doing them more harm than good."[473] The unanimous decision was to give up the house and send the young men home to their fathers.

As a consequence, after 1823, with work space no longer available in the Single Brothers House, a series of small free-standing shops were built. Construction of a house could only follow after marriage and an official lease was obtained. In the interim, the land was rented by a Single Brother without the protection of compensation should the craftsman have to sell and no private buyer found.[474] This proliferation of free-standing shops was accelerated by married craftsmen who also began to separate their work place from their dwelling. In 1829, Herbst, who had already influenced architecture in Salem with the design of his porch, would definitively privatize and eliminate any public interaction with his dwelling by constructing a free-standing shop to the south of the house.[475] That same year, Adam Butner, built a house next door to Herbst, elaborating on his design with Neo-Classical columns and multi-colored cornice. Butner had built a free-standing shop in 1825 as a Single Brother, but left Salem in 1848 because he felt the congregation would not allow him the freedom to make a decent living. However, he returned in 1850 to purchase the Tavern—the very symbol of outside influence—from the congregation.

The congregation continued to yield to the pressure of several prominent dissenters, largely entrepreneurs who had invested heavily in cotton, woolen, paper, and other manufacturing endeavors. With this industrialization, slave labor had become a more prominent feature of Salem's economic system. Although initially viewed as a threat to the apprentice system and work ethic, rather than being opposed on moral grounds, the congregation would buy slaves in increasing numbers. In 1822 a separate congregation was established for African Americans in Salem, and the following year a separate church, constructed of log, was erected at the south end of Church Street. After 1830, it was increasingly clear that the congregation could not enforce its ban on private ownership of slaves. Although challenged again in the 1840s as giving an unfair advantage to certain members of the congregation, by 1847, the *Aufseher Collegium* withdrew totally from the controversy. The architectural presence of African Americans on the Salem landscape remains elusive, with the exception of the reconstructed

[472] Fries, *Records of the Moravians*, 7:3450.
[473] Fries and Rights, *Records of the Moravians*, 8:3617, 3628.
[474] Ibid., 3742.
[475] Ibid., 3879.

1823 Log Church and 1861 Brick Church. However, with a significant African American presence in Salem, more work will be needed to document how they influenced the built environment.

The architecture of this period reflects these new attitudes toward style, land use, and exhibition of wealth, all made possible by new opportunities arising from the demise of the monopoly and trade controls that had been imposed by congregational rules. Although the town still functioned as a theocracy, by the 1840s one would be hard pressed to identify its origins as a German settlement. Perhaps the most dramatic example of new values in Salem was the Edward Belo House, a massive Greek Revival structure that he built as both his home and mercantile between 1849 into 1861. Though the relaxed regulations permitted such a large house, the congregation completely resolved itself of any responsibility for it, agreeing that:

> Since the Collegium is convinced that in this case there is no question as regards to the funds required being available and Br. Belo has also declared himself willing to provide that the Gemein Diaconie shall never be compelled to take over this building in the event of his terminating his lease, the Collegium gave its approval to this plan.[476]

The cast iron elements—including fencing, cast animals, and iron Corinthian capitals on the two- and three-story columns—some acquired from Robert Wood's foundry in Philadelphia make a powerful statement of individuality, wealth, and expanding success in a market economy outside of Salem.[477] Ironically, the Belo House is located on Main Street directly across the street from the 1760s half-timbered houses which are a very symbol of congregational egalitarianism and consensus.

The 1849 creation of Forsyth County was another manifestation of the influence of these business leaders in Salem. In a quest for more economic and political freedom, these business leaders of Salem had been able to establish the new county in hopes of Salem becoming the county seat. However, their plan was thwarted by a last-ditch effort by the faithful few to protect the town's dwindling isolation. The Forsyth County Courthouse was not permitted in Salem proper; instead, it would be built just to the north of Salem on a fifty-one-acre parcel of land that the congregation sold to the newly appointed Forsyth County Commission.[478] The close proximity of the fine Greek Revival courthouse, designed by the Moravian entrepreneur Francis Fries, foreboded the end of the congregational theocracy. An alternative to congregational control was now simply a few hundred yards to the north of Salem.

Ending of the Congregational Town

That same year, the Collegium received a disturbing legal opinion regarding its all-important land lease system. It stated that,

> Both the lessee and lessor have the right to terminate the lease at pleasure…the lessor is bound by the lease to take over from the latter the buildings…erected with the consent of the congregation authorities and other improvements at their appraised value…as a result of such an interpretation of the lease the Gemein Diaconie is placed in a most unfavorable situation, since the lease could be terminated by the lessee at the end of each rent year…Even to have such an interpretation of

[476] Hamilton, *Records of the Moravians*, 10:5344-5345.

[477] Proctor, "Authentic History." See also Bishir, *North Carolina Architecture*, 221-223; Roger G. Kennedy, *Greek Revival America* (New York: Stewart, Tabori & Chang, for the National Trust for Historic Preservation, 1998), 53, 216.

[478] "City of Winston-Salem Government Meeting Notes: Town of Winston; 1849-1869," Town of Winston History, City of Winston-Salem, http://www.cityofws.org/1079/Town-of-Winston.

> the lease become generally known would represent danger…the Collegium pledges itself to scrupulous silence concerning this communication.[479]

A dramatic visual manifestation marking the end of the congregational system and the lifestyle it sought to maintain came with the 1854 demolition of the 1771 *Gemeinhaus* to make way for a new building for the Girls School. In September 1853, Francis Fries was commissioned to undertake the project. For this massive Classical Revival building, Fries drew inspiration from Asher Benjamin's *Builder's Guide* of 1839.[480] Though he drew an elevation and a floor plan, on October 31, 1853, he traveled to New York to consult with architect A. J. Davis, who provided two elevations. [481] Main Hall rivals the Moravian Church next door in scale and design. It reflects the arrival of nationally influential and professional architects onto the Salem landscape.

Institutions and even wealthy individuals outside of the church were now visibly dominant in the town of Salem. An inability to enforce leases—and thus the building rules—became obvious as more and more Moravians leased or even sold their homes to outsiders without congregational approval.

On January 31, 1856, ninety years to the month of Salem's beginnings, the obituary was written for the congregational town, as the *Aufseher Collegium* acknowledged:

> … for a number of years now the state of affairs in regard to the continued preservation of the congregational settlement or—what might in some sense have the same significance—of the lease system had become, if not entirely impractical, yet at least so involved in difficulties and deficiencies that under the present state of affairs one would yield to a delusion—if one would consider this still to be a true congregational settlement. This development had been brought about by regulations being rescinded due to the force of circumstances at the time—e.g. the regulations regarding negroes and the abolition of monopolies; also, by the expansion and extension of trade and commerce; also, as a result of the construction of a whole list of buildings; some of them being of considerable size; and also, by allocating a great many town lots during the past 25 to 30 years.[482]

Salem had grown too large to remain one harmonious family. With that analysis, the *Aufseher Collegium* agreed to end the lease system and to sell the land, thus divesting Church control of the town. The congregational town of Salem officially ended with the election of a mayor and a town council in January 1857.[483] Though English had been used in some church records in the early nineteenth century, English replaced German as the language for official records for the secular town that same year.

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[479] Hamilton, *Records of the Moravians*, 10:5337 -5338.

[480] Francis Fries Journal "Building Estimates" and "Poor Fund" page 17 makes reference to several plates in the "Builder's Guide" with specific reference on page 27 to "Roof make on plan Plate – Fig.2 Benjamin's Builder's Guide." on file at Old Salem Museums & Gardens. Winston-Salem, NC. Original Fries drawing on file at Salem Academy and College. Date of meeting established in Fries Day Book as 29 October and payment made 31 October. Fries Day Book, on file in Moravian Archives Southern Province, Winston-Salem, NC.

[481] Fries paid Davis $25 for the drawings. Alexander Jackson Davis's 1853 daybook, page 6 in a collection of his papers at Columbia University's Avery Architectural and Fine Arts Library, "Design for Francis Fries, Salem, N.C. 2 elevations for a Female Seminary, 4 stories high" recorded on October 29 and 31 with a cost of $25. Edward T. Davis and John L. Sanders, *A Romantic Architect in Antebellum North Carolina: The Works of Alexander Jackson Davis* (Raleigh, NC: Historic Preservation Foundation of North Carolina and the State Capitol Foundation, 2000), 57.

[482] Hamilton, *Records of the Moravians*, 11:5980-5981.

[483] John Larson, "Salem Moves toward the Hyphen: The History Behind the Merger of Winston and Salem," *Old Salem Museum & Gardens Magazine* (Spring 2013): 12-15.

CRITERION 1, CON'T.
THE NATIONAL SIGNIFICANCE OF SALEM, NORTH CAROLINA
Part II: 1857-1913
Context Discussion Resumed

On the Eve of the Civil War

The theocracy was ended but Salem remained Moravian in thought, governance, and population. In his comprehensive review of public documents pertaining to Salem and Winston, Robert Neilson made the following observations about the first commissioners of the newly incorporated town of Salem.

> The names of these commissioners are quite familiar, since these men have previously served on the Aufseher Collegium or other directing boards. There is one noticeable difference: the men are no longer addressed or referred to as 'Brother' or 'Brethren.' They are now identified by their given names or initials, and by the simple prefix 'Mr.', as commonly used in our present day.[484]

Moravian identity notwithstanding, secular opportunities were taken. A prominent feature on the landscape reflected immediate change in a profound way. In 1857 the Moravian E. A. Vogler designed a new cemetery to the east of and adjacent to Salem's God's Acre. Named Salem Cemetery, Vogler laid out the new cemetery for family plots on the undulating land in the curvilinear form popular in mid nineteenth-century America, a plan that remains. A group of Salem and Winston citizens had formed the Salem Cemetery Company which was incorporated by the N.C. General Assembly 24 January 1857, and four months later the Moravian Church allowed the purchase of 8 acres of land for $50. Subsequent purchases brought the total acreage to about 15 acres. Burial in God's Acre remained exclusively for Moravian Church members; however, Moravian families of Salem and non-Moravians from Winston bought plots in the new ground and gravesites were embellished with upright markers, obelisks, and sculpture amid ornamental plantings, certainly a departure from the tradition of the Moravian God's Acre.[485]

In 1859, contiguous to and east of Salem Cemetery, a black cemetery known variously as "The Second Colored Cemetery," "The Negro Cemetery," and similar designations, was consecrated. This graveyard replaced the one at the Log Church, where no further burials took place thereafter. In use until the 1960s, there are an unknown number of burials in the 1859 graveyard, some marked with stones but many unmarked. The establishment of this graveyard removed black burials from within the old residential area of Salem.[486]

There were, however, black people living in Salem, as recorded in the 1860 census, and it is known from the census records that a number of the Moravian slave holders in Salem had slave houses. It is also clear from various references that enslaved people were living in white households in Salem and that separate houses were constructed on white residential lots as residences for slaves held by that white household. This knowledge puts the black population directly onto the residential lots of Salem and interspersed within the white population. According to the 1860 record, there were at least 158 enslaved people, men, women and children, with ages ranging from one year to sixty-five years old, and at least thirty-seven slave houses on residential lots in Salem.[487]

The memorabilia of the Salem Congregation for 1860 recorded about the "colored division" of the church: "The number of communicants is 39. The Sunday School numbers from 50 to 60 scholars, and the stated hearers are

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[484] Neilson, *History of Government,* 170.

[485] Michael O. Hartley and Martha B. Hartley, "Cemetery Street, South Side," in "Town of Salem Survey" (Raleigh: N.C. Division of Archives and History; Winston-Salem: Old Salem, Inc., 1999).

[486] Ibid.

[487] Forsyth County Genealogical Society, *The 1860 Federal Census.*

at least 150."[488] In comparison, the white Salem Congregation had a membership of 390 communicants and seventy-four non-communicants (forty-seven Older Boys and Girls, twenty-three Single Brothers, one Single Sister, and three Married People) in 1852, not counting two hundred and twelve children.[489] These numbers indicate a substantial presence of a black population, particularly since many members of the black community could forego church membership, or for that matter, any formal spiritual connection.

Within this mix of people and cultural dynamics, many Moravians of Salem began to draw the cloak of the ordinary North Carolinian about themselves. However,

> He was a thoroughgoing Southerner, who, having lost his parents' German accent, so to speak, did not forget or forsake his native traditions, heritage, or language. In religion, education, and cultural foundations the Moravians were still Moravians; and in many ways, they were still German. But in a broader sense, they were irrevocably bound to their new environment and the attitudes and habits of its people.[490]

It is clear that if there remained tensions within the community regarding whether to hold slaves or not, or how to proceed toward the future, there were also tensions remaining between the still distinctive Moravians and the broader South. Salem continued in motion toward substantial economic power and influence. The Fries operations in particular had set the course:

> By 1860 F. and H. Fries employed seventy-seven operatives and produced $87,300 in woolen and cotton goods in a market that extended from New York through the South, including consignees in Mississippi, Louisiana, and Texas. With the success of the F. and H. Fries mill, textile manufacturing took root in Salem and propelled the community toward its industrial future.[491]

The Civil War

In those prewar years, there was general opposition to secession in Salem, even though the town fielded Confederate military companies when the war came. Still, as it had been in the past, the community was not uniform in its attitudes. Jacob and Matilda Siewers, who had been participants in the conflict over slavery in the East Florida Mission, had been assigned to the Bethania Congregation in Wachovia as pastor and wife during the Civil War.

> It was the misfortune of Matilda Siewers and her husband Jacob Siewers to be a Unionist ministerial couple at Bethania, a hotbed of Confederate sentiment. To say the least, pastor and congregation did not see eye to eye. Church membership declined precipitously. For his part, Siewers baptized two little boys, giving one the middle name of "Ulysses" and the other "Grant"[492]

The Siewers were then assigned to a congregation in Illinois at the end of the war. After Jacob Siewers death in 1867, Matilda Siewers returned to Salem where she lived and taught Sunday school for another 32 years, and was buried in Salem God's Acre on her death in 1900.[493]

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[488] Crews Bailey, *Records of the Moravians*, 12:6349.
[489] Hamilton, *Records of the Moravians*, 9:5743-44.
[490] Fries, Wright, and Hendricks, *The History of a County on the March,* 81.
[491] Shirley, *From Congregation Town to Industrial City*, 67.
[492] Starbuck, *Civil War Notables*, 8-9.
[493] Ibid.

The 1861 African Church
The relationship between the white Moravians and the black Moravians of Salem was marked by a dramatic event in 1861, aside from the opening shots of the war that would determine the future of slavery in the South. The census of 1860 indicated that there were 1,766 enslaved people in Forsyth County, with an additional population of 219 free blacks, and the white population of the county was 10,707.[494]

In 1861, the Salem Moravians were about a tenth of the white population of Forsyth County, yet they undertook the construction of a fine classic brick structure for the new African Church building to serve the black population of the county. This building is the oldest Black church standing in North Carolina, and is located at the south end of Church Street.

May 21, 1865—Freedom
The church was practically brand new and overflowing in attendance on May 21, 1865 when a Union Cavalry chaplain read *General Orders 32* from headquarters of the occupying Union Army informing the assembled people that they were now free. And although slavery in Salem became a thing of the past, the interrelationship between blacks and whites, as well as between whites with differing views on the subject, remained issues to be dealt with.

Francis Fries did not live to see the day that the enslaved people of Salem learned they were free. He died in 1863 at age 57, having set his mark on the identity and processes of Salem. During the war the Fries enterprises suffered major blows. They lost 1700 bales of cotton stored in High Point, burned during Stoneman's raid through North Carolina at the end of the war. The company's supply of wool was stolen in Texas, and forty people they had enslaved were emancipated. The value of these losses totaled a million dollars in property.[495] The influence of the Fries family and their extended relationships in the Moravian community was not at an end, however, for Francis Fries's brother Henry Fries was fully prepared to continue exercising that influence with the help of Francis' three sons.

The New South
It was under the influence of men like Henry W. Fries, joined by the sons of Francis L. Fries, that industrialization in Salem, and Winston, continued to expand following the Civil War. In terms of the "New South" movement, the industrialization of Salem had far preceded the initiative called into being in the early 1880s. The post-war capitalization of Salem, in all its diversity, rested on what had gone before in the Moravian community.

The movement toward the "New South" began and was initially concentrated in the years of the nineteenth century following the Civil War. This movement is treated in such classic works as *The New South* by Holland Thompson in 1919, and W. J. Cash in *The Mind Of The South,* 1941, as having its origins following the ending of Reconstruction in the South in the late 1870s.[496]

A leading voice advocating, publicizing and promoting the need for an industrialized "New South" during this period was Atlanta *Constitution* editor Henry Grady, who is regarded as originating the term in a speech given in 1886 at the invitation of the New England Society of New York City.[497] Thompson, however, believes that

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[494] Forsyth County Genealogical Society, *The 1860 Federal Census*.

[495] Gwynne S. Taylor and Brent D. Glass, "Salem Cotton Manufacturing Company and Arista Cotton Mill (Fries Mill Complex," National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form, U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, 1979), 8:4.

[496] Wilbur J. Cash, *The Mind of the South* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1941; New York: Vintage Books Edition, Random House, Inc., 1991).

[497] Holland Thompson, *The New South: A Chronicle of Social and Industrial Evolution* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1919), 4-6.

the beginning of this movement began earlier, with the withdrawal of Federal troops and the end of Reconstruction in 1877. At issue in his mind was the prospect of uniting the South in a common effort.

> The task of creating a permanently solid South was not easy. The Southerner had always been an individualist, freely exercising his right to vote independently, engaging in sharp political contests before 1861, and even during the War…So strong was the memory of past differences, that old party designations were avoided. The political organization to which allegiance was demanded was generally called the Conservative party, and the Republican party was universally called the Radical party. The term Conservative was adopted partly as a contrast, partly because the peace party had been so called during the War, and especially because the name Democrat was obnoxious to so many Whigs.[498]

The concept of the New South was epitomized by a broad recognition that with its enslaved labor force now free, the Southern feudal plantation economy must be replaced. The answer was industrialization, and most particularly, cotton mills. Following the call for an industrialized South, the 1880s and thereafter were a time of major construction of mills.

The role of the antebellum forerunner textile mills and their founders was challenged by Broadus Mitchell, Ph.D. in his 1921 analysis, *The Rise Of Cotton Mills In the South*. His argument was that, "A manufacture which is a forerunner in time is not necessarily antecedent in effect."[499] This argument was countered by John Nichols in 1916, when he said,

> In the older mills, before the War, the seed had been planted, and cultivation was renewed after the War. The ante-bellum mills were pretty well known throughout the country. The woolen mills in Salem, and the cotton mills in Alamance and a few in Gastonia were known. The fact that such goods as 'Alamance' had a name already was an advantage.[500]

Mitchell's argument that the fluorescence of New South industrialization rests on a dynamic other than the creation of factories in the ante-bellum period does not fully account for the forces involved in those earlier industrial activities. Mitchell does acknowledge a cultural distinction in the origin of these earlier industrial initiatives, saying,

> it is worth notice here that there is a difference between the old and the later mills in the character of their promoters and managers. In the earlier period men came to cotton manufacturing in the South by more normal channels than at the outset of the subsequent development. Like Michael Schenk, they had foreign industrial habits and traditions back of them, and they set up mills in communities populated by Swiss, Scotch-Irish and Germans.[501]

C. Vann Woodward, in his classic treatise, *Origins of the New South 1877-1913*, touched on this question and observed,

> Rising in the Old Order, the cotton mills of the South showed a rather remarkable tenacity and even prosperity in the troubled decades that followed secession. Of the three leading cotton-manufacturing states of the South, North Carolina doubled the value of her output between 1860 and 1880, Georgia tripled her ante-bellum record, and South Carolina quadrupled hers. These

[498] Ibid, 5-6.
[499] Mitchell, *The Rise of Cotton Mills in the South*, 10.
[500] Ibid.
[501] Ibid., 11.

> gains continued right through the supposedly blighting years of Reconstruction…These and other facts call into serious question the tradition of dating the beginning of the cotton-mill development of the South from 1880.[502]

The Moravians of Salem After the War

Within the post-war impetus of the "New South", Salem and Winston had their own trajectory, one which meshed with the broader dynamic of post-war Southern recognition of the need for industrialization in the region. But Salem had its own particular origin as an industrial culture that occurred well before the collapse of the traditional South as a result of the military defeat. Additionally, Salem played its role with its own particular and unique political stance, one which influenced Winston's direction as well, but which was a product of Moravian thought and planning through time.

Salem's early movement toward industrialization, a focus that had its beginnings in the eighteenth century, presaged the kind of direction advocated by Grady in the post-bellum South. In regard to the textile industry in the South, the first edition of the *American Cotton Handbook* noted in 1941,

> The stimulus toward greater progress was largely due to individuals and families who had founded mills prior to 1870 rather than to new establishments by men who had not been connected with the earlier ventures.[503]

Moravian industrial leadership consistently moved to position Salem as the anchor of their economic activity. And, in fact, Salem was the location for the creation of regional influence in textiles, railways, banking, hydroelectric power, tobacco, and numbers of other activities involving manufacturing and the manipulation of capital. Further, while Winston was not totally under the control of the Moravian dynamic, the Moravian role in Winston was one of profound influence.

C. Vann Woodward noted, "Winston could never be quite so crassly new for growing up under the shadow of old Salem…"[504] That shadow of "old Salem" noted by Woodward, in its tree shaded antiquity, masked the profound influence and direction for the creation of Winston and the growth of Winston and Salem by Moravian planning, industrialization, and manipulation of capital. More particularly, in regard to the post-war growth of industry in North Carolina, Woodward recorded a particularly cogent observation, saying, "One writer finds 'no evidence of any cotton mill established in North Carolina by Northern interests before 1895.' This could not be said of any other mill state."[505]

Moravian Banking in the Post-Bellum Period

Salem's ability to finance entrepreneurial activity at the end of the war quickly emerged. The prewar foundations of Salem's power, influence, and control of capital, although slowed by the war, appeared almost immediately in 1866.

> At the end of the war, Israel Lash, who had headed the Salem branch of the defunct Bank of Cape Fear, was able to muster enterprise and resources to found a bank of his own. In 1866, in the brick

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[502] C. Vann Woodward, *Origins of the New South*, vol. 9, *A History of the South* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1951), 9: 131.

[503] G. R. Merrill, A.R. Macormac, and H.R. Mauersberger, eds., *American Cotton Handbook* (New York: American Cotton Handbook Co., 1941), 22.

[504] Woodward, *Origins of the New South*, 136.

[505] Ibid.,134-35.

> building he had raised for the branch bank nineteen years earlier, he opened the First National Bank of Salem.[506]

At the time immediately following the Civil War there were only five banks in North Carolina, with a combined capital of $395,000.[507] It is not clear what the amount of capital was that the First National Bank of Salem held in 1866, being reported as "modest," but within ten years, in 1876, it was capitalized in the amount of $150,000.[508] From these figures it can be speculated that the Salem bank controlled a substantial amount of the banking capital available in North Carolina at the end of the Civil War.

It is also not clear where this capital came from in 1866, but the Moravian Israel Lash resumed financing Salem (and Winston) industry. A commentary from Betty Koger (Cofer) the daughter of a man enslaved by Israel Lash, provided an opinion about this, given from her perspective, as interviewed in Bethania in the 1930s.

> Yes'm, I remember Marse Israel Lash, my Pappy's Marster, he was a low, thick-set man, very jolly an' friendly. He was real smart an' good too, 'cause his colored folks all loved 'im. He worked in the bank an' when the Yankees come, 'stead of shuttin the door gainst 'em like the others did, he bid 'em welcome. (Betty's nodding head, expansive smile and wide-spread hands eloquently pantomime the banker's greeting.) So the Yankees done took the bank but give it back to 'im for his very own an' he kep' it but there was lots of bad feelin' 'cause he never give folks the money they put in the old bank.[509]

The 1850 census provides information about Israel Lash's slave ownership, but in Bethania, not Salem, when he owned 37 people.[510] Presumably Betty Koger's father was one of these. Whatever the facts are about Lash's founding of the First National Bank of Salem, that enterprise lasted until his death in 1879. In June of 1879, Wyatt F. Bowman and Edward Belo took over the assets of Lash's Salem bank and founded the Wachovia National Bank in Winston with Salem Moravian capital. Israel Lash's nephew, William Lemly, who had been cashier of the First National Bank of Salem, continued as cashier of the Wachovia National Bank. Lemly was also Edward Belo's son-in-law, an illustration of the interlocking family relationships connecting Moravian business activities. The Wachovia National Bank began with a capital of $100,000, which was increased to $150,000 before the end of the summer.[511] Indicative of Moravian interest in Winston, the Wachovia Bank located just north of First Street but still convenient to Salem.

The presence of the well-capitalized Wachovia Bank is illustrative of the diversity of economic activity brought to bear in Salem, and by extension, in Winston, by Moravian entrepreneurial leaders. The cotton-mill is emphasized in the study of the emergence of the New South, and this industry certainly played a role in Salem's development of its economic stance, but tobacco was also strongly present prior to the arrival of Richard Joshua Reynolds in 1874 and his subsequent development of the RJR Tobacco empire.

Pleasant Henderson Hanes was also marketing plug tobacco throughout the South from Winston in the early 1870s, in partnership with his brother John Wesley Hanes. These direct descendants of Marcus Hoenes, a Moravian from Yorktown, Pennsylvania who had settled in the Wachovia Country Congregation of Friedberg in 1770, were eventually to transition from tobacco to production of knitted goods. From this turn-of-the-

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[506] Wellman and Tise, *Industry and Commerce: 1766-1896*, 17.

[507] Samuel Huntington Hobbs, Jr., *North Carolina: Economic and Social* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1930),151.

[508] Wellman and Tise, *Industry and Commerce: 1766-1896*, 18, 22.

[509] Betty S. Cofer (Koger), *American Slave Narratives, North Carolina* (Federal Writer's Project, Works Progress Administration, ca. 1935).

[510] Forsyth County Genealogical Society, *The 1860 Federal Census*, 223-24.

[511] Wellman and Tise, *Industry and Commerce: 1766-1896*, 23.

century enterprise, the vast Hanes textiles empire emerged in Winston. Other less visible enterprises were in motion in Salem such as the Hege Iron Works, the Vance Iron Works, the Meinung Carriage Works, and others.

The Vance Iron Works of Salem was to play a vital role in the emergence of the R. J. Reynolds tobacco empire, ultimately founded on cigarettes. In 1892 Cyrus Briggs was engaged as an inventor for the Vance Machine shops, and with the backing of William and Henry Schaffner, Frank Fries, and W. T. Brown, he perfected a machine that produced 300,000 cigarettes a day in 1898. The Briggs-Schaffner cigarette machine enabled the R. J. Reynolds Company to compete with the Duke's American Tobacco Company, and to position the R. J. R. Tobacco Company to be a dominant factor in the production and sale of cigarettes.[512].

Freedmen

On the issue of the presence of black Freedmen after the Civil War, Salem Moravians found that differences among themselves remained. The tensions that had existed in Salem regarding the practice of slavery continued into attitudes about the black population in the post-war years and were evident in the Reconstruction period when the governing boards of the town considered their responsibilities toward the Freedmen.

In 1867 the Salem Moravian Church provided land for a "colored school" free of rent, on the hill above the Brother's Spring. A short distance across Salem Creek from Salem's black church, the school and the church worked closely together.[513]

In August and September of 1868, the Board of Trustees of the Salem Congregation began to address the question of where Freedmen would live. The lands on which the old Schumann Plantation had stood came under consideration, land that had previously been closely associated with enslaved people.

> Sept 8, 1868. Board took up the unfinished matter…having reference to setting apart some portion of the Diacony land for the freedmen to build houses on. Altho' aware that this is a subject that will most probably not be viewed in a very favorable light by some of the citizens, it nevertheless appears to the Board as if the claims of a common humanity, not to say Christian duty towards fellow human beings, some of whom even are members of our own Church, would demand that we extend a helping hand to them in enabling them to provide suitable homes for themselves and their families in their new situation.

The Board continued,

> Such and similar reasons induced the Board unanimously to resolve to act in the case and set apart a locality at a convenient distance from town where they might procure lots to build on, the idea being that they purchase lots and hold them as their own. That part of the former Shuman plantation S.E. of the barn, which is now lying vacant and without a fence, having been mentioned as suitable for the purpose…"[514]

By November, however, the Board found that it had to "postpone" consideration of the matter because of strong opposition to the plan in the town.[515]

The matter seemed to quietly resolve itself, because four years later, in April of 1872, the Board recorded,

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[512] North Carolina Department of Cultural Resources, Marker J-52, http://www.ncmarkers.com/Markers.aspx?MarkerId=J-72, (accessed 4/30/2013).

[513] Rohrer, *Freedman of the Lord*, 32.

[514] Crews and Bailey, *Records of the Moravians*, 13:6832.

[515] Ibid.

> Rich Siewers (coloured) speaks of buying an acre of ground on the former Shuman's plantation. If parcels of ground are sold on that plantation they should be regularly laid out, say along a street, as in a town. Board concluded to give them the size of our common town lots, viz., 100 ft. front and 200 ft. deep, and to ask $10 for a lot of that size.[516]

This move was accepted by the community, in part, to prevent further black purchases of lots within the core area of Salem. Although there was a resolution not to sell lots in town to Freedmen, white individuals had purchased lots from the Salem Congregation and then sold them to Freedmen.[517] Selling lots on the old Schumann land then became more broadly acceptable in Salem.

By August of 1872 the demand for lots across the creek was great enough that the Board resolved to run another street there, and "For the sake of convenience it was proposed to call the little town now springing up at that place *Liberia*." [518] By 1876 Liberia had acquired the name "Happy Hill." [519] This land was laid out in lots for a Black population that was already present. The founding lot owners of Happy Hill were formerly enslaved in Salem, some who were black Moravians. They would soon be joined by an ongoing influx of Freedmen from the old agrarian South who were also trying to find their way in the changing economy of the New South.

Moravian Politics in the Post-Bellum Period

At the same time the Moravians of Salem were acting to establish their distinctive political stance. With the dissolution of the Whig party prior to the war, Salem Whigs had found themselves without a broader political base, and so called themselves Old Whigs, without a national party affiliation. "The aversion of Forsyth's Whigs to cooperation with Democrats (and particularly with those of Winston) caused them to pursue a course before, during, and after the Civil War that was radically different from much of the South."[520]

> Local Whigs reached the height of their radicalism in 1867 when they followed the lead of John Henry Boner, editor of the *Salem Observer*, into the Republican Party. Disgusted with the war and Democratic domination of the South, old line Whigs, after a decade without a national party, rushed to the man into the party of Lincoln. Forsyth had elected Boner to the state senate in 1866. During his campaign and in the *Observer*, he advocated the organization of a local Republican Party among former Whigs and free Negroes. With Republican mayors of Salem (John P. Vest, Augustus Fogle, E.A. Vogler, and Rufus L. Patterson), Republican controlled boards of commissioners in Winston, and Republican controlled county courts, the Grand Old party staked a claim in Forsyth that would not be budged until 1880 and that would not be removed until after 1900. In 1867 Forsyth sent its last native son to Congress during the nineteenth century, Israel G. Lash. From 1867 to 1871 Lash (1810-1878), born in Bethania but later a Salem Moravian, merchant, banker, and cigar manufacturer, served as Republican representative from one of the strongest Republican areas of the South.[521]

While Salem's forward-looking Moravians had not maintained control of Winston in the prewar years, the political environment following the Civil War was a different matter, and they acquired a portion of the influence over the county seat they had originally intended. Michael Shirley, in his detailed discussion of the dynamics of Winston-Salem's growth into a business-oriented metropolis wrote:

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[516] Ibid., 6995.
[517] Crews, *Neither Slave Nor Free*, 40.
[518] Ibid., 6997-98.
[519] Ibid., 7202.
[520] Tise, *Government*, 30-31.
[521] Ibid., 33.

> The key development in the economic history of Winston and Salem was the growth of an influential entrepreneurial class which guided the postwar economic expansion of the two towns. In no area of community life are the differences between Winston and Salem so evident as in the composition of their respective business elites. In Salem there was continuity as the antebellum business enterprises of the town formed the core around which the post-bellum economy was built, and Salem's post-war business leadership had deep antebellum roots.[522]

In 1872 the population of Forsyth County was listed as 13,050, with twenty-six manufactories, thirty-nine merchants and twenty-nine mills. By 1877 the population had moved to 18,000, with seventy-six manufactories, 102 merchants and thirty-one mills.[523]

Salem Following Reconstruction

The year 1877 brought about the end of Reconstruction in the South. That year was also important in Salem because of the arrival of another of the important Moravian spiritual leaders who played so meaningful a role in the creation and ongoing continuity of Salem. This man was born in Pennsylvania in 1842, educated at the Moravian Boy's School of Nazareth Hall and then at the Moravian College and Theological Seminary in Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, and,

> On October 19, 1877, the Reverend Edward Rondthaler arrived with his family in Salem, North Carolina, where God had elected that he become the spiritual leader of the Moravians. For fifty-four years, God blessed the Reverend Edward Rondthaler's labors in the Southland: under his inspired guidance, the Southern Province of the Moravian Church emerged from the enervation circumstances of the Reconstruction and entered a period of prosperity and expansion.[524]

Rondthaler, was indeed a steady spiritual hand at this critical time. Theocratic government of Salem had ended shortly before the beginning of the Civil War, and the South was struggling to find its way out of Reconstruction when he arrived. And even though Salem was heavily influenced by Moravian industrial entrepreneurs, Rondthaler was a powerful and influential counterweight who maintained and guided the Moravian religious identity of Salem, Wachovia and the Southern Province into the twentieth century. Rondthaler's annual *Memorabilia*, reported to the Salem Congregation on the evening of each December 31, provided a view of the year in Salem, as well as Winston, from the perspective of the church. These documents are incisive records as well as insightful predictive views of what present activities would mean for the future.

The 1877 Memorabilia recorded that the three-story high Salem Iron Works, owned by Constantine Hege, built and exported more than a hundred sawmills to various parts of the country through the year. By this time F. and H. Fries had acquired the old Salem Manufacturing Company building, which was now the Wachovia Flour Mills. In 1880 the new, state of the art F. and H. Fries Arista Cotton Mills was built next door to it. The Wachovia and the old Salem Flour Mills frequently ran night and day; the shuttle factory's use of persimmon wood "proved a god-send to farmers during the hard winter of 1881-82," and a Cotton Gin erected by Dr. J. F. Shaffner, "has already begun to develop a new industry in our place." The Memorabilia reported more than three hundred workers employed in manufacturing, and continued,

> Winston and Salem are so situated that their prosperity is inseparable; as much so is the sunlight which shines on them both. We are reminded of this fact by the freight returns of the joint Railroad

[522] Shirley, *From Congregation Town to Industrial City*, 30:162.
[523] Taylor, *From Frontier to Factory*, 35.
[524] Edwin L. Stockton, Jr., *Salem's Remembrances: Seven Historians Who Presented Their Papers before The Wachovia Historical Society of Salem, North Carolina 1898-1910* (Winston-Salem: The Wachovia Historical Society, 1976), 187.

> Depot, amounting in the past year to about twenty-five million pounds, and making it one of the most important in the State.[525]

Michael Shirley observes that much of Winston's entrepreneurial activity coalesced around tobacco and the manufacture of tobacco products.[526] This burgeoning industrial and manufacturing center required rail connections, and Salem's Edward Belo led the formation of the North Western North Carolina Railroad Company, with connection to the Richmond and Danville Railway completed in 1873. With this critical capability established, R. J. Reynolds arrived in Winston in 1874 with some $7,000 of his own capital. Reynolds came with energy, ambition, intelligence, and knowledge of the tobacco business gained through working for his family in their Critz, Virginia enterprise just north of Forsyth and Stokes Counties. What Reynolds needed was a railroad connection. The two towns were far from a business vacuum when he appeared, and his ability to function was substantially undergirded by Moravian financial and industrial participation in Winston as well as Salem. This combination is addressed by Shirley when he says,

> Thus, Winston and Salem had a solid entrepreneurial core around which newcomers coalesced and a vital business class emerged. United by membership in trade organizations, fraternal societies, business endeavors, and politics, the business and political leaders of Winston and Salem shared a common identity and formed an elite that exercised unparalleled influence over community affairs…Furthermore, this elite had the effect of uniting the two towns into a single community that transcended the municipal boundaries. It was no mere coincidence that during the 1880s Winston and Salem came to be regarded as the 'Twin City.'[527]

Although Salem and Winston had established a railroad connection in 1873, it was a felt that there was a need to improve ties to the broader systems. In 1888 Bishop Rondthaler said in his Memorabilia for the year that a critical issue was the resolution of this need for better railroad communication with the rest of the world, without which,

> towns cannot grow to any extent or even maintain their previous growth…Our citizens have been obliged to work and contribute energetically for every inch of advantage to be secured…The enterprise and public spirit of some of our citizens, supported by the subscription of the township, have materially changed this outlook. The Roanoke and Southern Railroad is, to all intents and purposes, a home enterprise.[528]

The Bishop went on to say that this expanded connection was proceeding "under the direction of a Construction Company of which Mr. Frank Fries is President."[529]

This individual was Francis Henry (Frank) Fries, the son of Francis Levin Fries. Born in 1855, he graduated from Davidson College in 1874 and then began immediately to work in the Fries mills as a laborer. He did not remain in that position. He and his brothers became partners in F. & H. Fries when each reached the age of twenty-one, and he was superintendent until 1887. During this period, he built Arista Mill in Salem in 1880, the first mill in North Carolina to have electric lights, and later started Indera Mills. His interest in the railroad

[525] Rondthaler, *The Memorabilia of Fifty Years*, 32.
[526] Shirley, *From Congregation Town to Industrial City*, 162-63.
[527] Ibid.
[528] Rondthaler, *The Memorabilia of Fifty Years*, 79.
[529] Ibid.

emerged in 1887 when he was urged by R. J. Reynolds to build the 122-mile railroad across the mountains to Roanoke, which he completed in 1891.[530]

The ongoing influence of the Salem Moravian Congregation in the growth and development of the physical town at this time is seen in Bishop Rondthaler's Memorabilia of 1890, in which he said,

> The policy of the Moravian Church by preventing speculation, as far as possible, with its remaining lands, and requiring a suitable home to be erected on every lot that is sold, has been a wise help in this salutary direction.[531]

These holdings by the church continued beyond the ending of the theocratic government of Salem and involved land not only in and surrounding Salem but also around Winston, which had been established in the Salem Town lot. This attitude was in a sense a continuation of the requirements of the lease system which had been a means of control in the theocratic period. The formal opening by the Fries's of the electric railway in Salem and Winston in 1890 provided more convenient linkages within the two towns as well as making possible the development of outlying "streetcar neighborhoods".

The 1880s and 1890s were a time of increased growth of Salem to the west. Land which had been held by the Tannery, was now held and built on by Frank Fries' Marshall Street Development Company after 1890.

And, even though Happy Hill had been established, the Sanborn Insurance maps of the late 1880s, 1890s, and into the twentieth century show the presence of "Negro tenements" in Salem, in addition to the residential area of Happy Hill across the creek. These tenements are found in an enclave off Church Street at Blum Street in Salem on the crest of the hill overlooking the Potters Meadow, and on land of the former Salem Grist Mill (1820), which had been subdivided and roads extended through. City directories of the 1890s show that many of the residents of these houses worked in tobacco factories, in laundries, as plasterers, domestics, cooks, barbers, farmers, drivers, laborers, and included the principal of a graded school. The black population of Winston was much larger, and was heavily involved in the tobacco industry, but with other activities also present.

In 1893, Frank Fries became the president of the Wachovia Loan and Trust Company, the first trust company in North Carolina. This firm had been organized in 1891 by his uncle, Henry W. Fries, his brother John, and others. He was to remain president of this firm, which would become one of the largest in the South and then in the nation, until his death in 1931. By this time, he had received the honorary title of "Colonel" from North Carolina governor Alfred Scales, an honorific that he used from that point on to distinguish his name from his father's.[532]

By 1896 the Roanoke and Western Railroad that he had built had been acquired by the Norfolk & Western Railway Company. Colonel Fries turned his attention back to the great expansion of cotton mills that was taking place in the South, and in that year, he dammed the Mayo River, in Rockingham County, North Carolina, and built a mill of 22,000 spindles between it and the railroad line, which ran closely parallel to the river. This was the Mayo Mill, and the town of Mayodan, North Carolina grew around it.

Bishop Rondthaler noted the ties that this new town had to Salem in the Memorabilia of 1896, explicitly pointing out the broader implications of new industrialization of the South. Rondthaler's consistent attention to

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[530] "Francis Henry Fries," in *Dictionary of North Carolina Biography*, ed. William S. Powell (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1979-1996), http://docsouth.unc.edu/browse/bios/pn0000547_bio.html (accessed 4/1/2013).

[531] Rondthaler, *The Memorabilia of Fifty Years*, 96.

[532] "Francis Henry Fries," in *Dictionary of North Carolina Biography*.

these details also illustrated the continuing interest of Salem as a congregation in these matters, even though Salem was no longer theocratically governed:

> Our dear South has perhaps more thoroughly recovered itself than has been the case with some other parts of the country. The great Exposition at Atlanta has been the means of drawing more attention to this part of the United States than has ever been the case before…It is becoming more and more evident that much of the activity of manufacture which has given prosperity to New England is now to move southward. North Carolina is taking a leading share in the new movement. The great mills which are rising at Mayodan, in which our own people are specially and variously interested, are an indication near home in this promising direction. By the close of another year a large manufacturing centre will thus have grown up in near and sympathetic connection with our own.[533]

In 1899 the corporation papers for a second mill two miles up-river to the north from Mayodan resulted in the Fries construction of Avalon Mills with dam-fed turbines powering 13,000 spindles in the new town of Avalon. A third mill, Washington Mill, was built on the New River in Virginia, and the town of Fries, Virginia grew around that operation.[534] Frank Fries' participation in business was extensive, serving variously as president of Brown and Williamson Tobacco Company, president of the North Carolina Bankers Association, and head of the trust section of the American Bankers Association.

Remaining close to his Moravian identity, he was active in the Moravian Congregation of Salem as a Sunday school superintendent for twenty-five years, and his uncle Henry Fries occupied a similar position. Colonel Fries was also a trustee of Salem Academy and College, and the creator of the Winston-Salem Foundation.[535] This last, a highly regarded philanthropic foundation, continues today, listing its assets in 2015 at almost $344 million dollars.[536]

In 1898 Bishop Rondthaler's Memorabilia recorded another major step forward, brought about by Colonel Fries' brother Henry E. Fries:

> The leading business event among us in 1898 was the formal opening of the new electric power, transmitted from the Yadkin River to Salem by the Fries Manufacturing and Power Company…The present full capacity of one thousand horse-power is now nearly all employed in running a large number of factories in Salem, Winston and Southside, and the introduction of cheaper power has, as far as man can foresee, settled the future of this community as a prosperous manufacturing centre.[537]

This dam and power plant was the first hydroelectric plant built in the state of North Carolina.[538] This entry into long distance transmission of electricity, more than thirteen miles into Salem, was important enough to acquire electrical pioneers Thomas Edison and Frank J. Sprague as backers.[539]

These post-war years of industrial expansion saw an increase in population and presence of newcomers, white and black, who came from the farms and small towns of the South to work in the mills and factories. Salem had

[533] Rondthaler, *The Memorabilia of Fifty Years*, 139-40.
[534] "Francis Henry Fries" in *Dictionary of North Carolina Biography.*
[535] Ibid.
[536] http://www.wsfoundation.org
[537] Rondthaler, *The Memorabilia of Fifty Years*, 164.
[538] Taylor, *From Frontier to Factory*, 38.
[539] "Idol's Hydroelectric Generating Station, Forsyth County, NC," Regional Historic Mechanical Engineering Landmark, The American Society of Mechanical Engineers, Carolina Section, 7 September 1984.

begun its residential expansion to the west in the prewar years, first to New Street, now named Factory Row, (1819), then to Poplar Street (1843), and then beyond into what is now called West Salem (1880s). Following the Civil War and in the post-Reconstruction years, this area filled with people who were looking for employment in Salem, Winston, and the New South.

In like manner the black population of the two towns also grew. They came to find work in the industries of Salem and Winston, and in particular in the tobacco factories. The burgeoning tobacco industry of Winston in particular, and also Salem, actively recruited black labor, much of it formerly enslaved, from the rural lands and the plantation agricultural areas. R. J. Reynolds recruited black labor from rural South Carolina, bringing an influx of population from there.

The result was that Salem and Winston were forming a rapidly growing city, with a rapidly growing population that was diverse in its origins. These new people were not uniformly satisfied with their working conditions, and Winston and Salem were not completely free of labor unrest, but the two towns continued to grow.

In the face of this change Salem itself experienced changes in architecture. Industrial buildings were a predictable outgrowth of the economic dynamic set in motion years before, and New Shallowford Road (now named Brookstown Avenue) was a focal point. In the same neighborhood of northern Salem, buildings to house governmental functions, the town hall and fire department, were constructed on Liberty Street just north of the intersection with New Shallowford. The woolen mill from 1840 came down in 1911, to make way for the freight depot that still stands in that location, and another town hall building was constructed just across Liberty in 1912. It still stands there, with its Moravian hood entrances and firehouse that was part of it, a monument to the last year of Salem as a discreet entity.

While Salem's Moravians were in large part the creators of the combined creature that the two towns were becoming, much of the cultural substance that had been part of their identity since the earliest days on the North Carolina frontier remained. There is a tendency for historians examining Moravian culture to believe that it disappeared when the Salem Congregation ceased control of this or that aspect of the town. Scholars studying pottery say that the Moravians of Salem went into dissolution in 1829 when the church no longer operated the pottery as a congregation business. Others will say it was when the attempts to control slave-ownership ceased in 1847. And others will say it was when the theocratic government of Salem was brought to an end in 1856. However, in fact, none of these events brought an end to the Moravian presence as a coherent culture anchored in Salem.

Leland Ferguson, in his analysis of slavery in Salem, has argued that racism and the practice of enslaving people by the Moravians corrupted the white population to the extent that this brought about a relinquishment of their ideals.[540] There is a danger in this blanket assessment of the behavior of the community of Salem, in that we see that the Moravians were not uniformly participants in these practices, nor that all were silent in their condemnation of the practice. And, while the practice of slavery (and quarrels about it) clearly contributed to the conclusion of theocratic government in the town, the scale of racism interpreted by Ferguson cannot be applied to all, nor a complete abandonment of their cultural ideals implied.

Michael Shirley considers the movement into entrepreneurial industrialization to be a major dynamic in the ending of congregational Salem, and the ending of the participation which meant being a Moravian. Shirley argues that between the 1830s and the 1850s the secular became more important in determining behavior. He argues that the ending of the lease system, and the resulting lack of control by the church that this would bring would end the Moravian nature of Salem. He says of the ending of this level of control, "Hence the

[540] Ferguson, *God's Fields*, 199.

congregation as a unified community in Salem with a common purpose would cease to exist."[541] However, there are complexities in identifying and understanding what 'ceased" and what continued with "common purpose" and Shirley himself moderates his interpretation with the recognition that,

> Despite the stresses and strains introduced into the community by the townspeople's new interests and loyalties, it would be inaccurate to see in the differentiation described here evidence of declension among the Moravians of Salem. The declension model so popular with historians of the religious communities of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century New England reveals little of and in fact misinterprets the nature of the Moravian's experience in Salem. That they dismantled the congregational structures of life in Salem and embraced the civil and economic institutions of a secular society does not demonstrate a decline in piety or religious feeling among the Moravians. While the people of Salem embraced the economic changes that were occurring around them, they held fast to their religious faith. They were no less Moravians for creating a municipal government in Salem or joining the Odd Fellows, Masons, or Sons of Temperance. They still felt their faith and worshiped as their fathers and mothers had, attending services and religious celebrations, hearing the liturgy, and singing the hymns. But by the 1850s their lives were more complex in a world that was changing around them. Moving from the simple and homogenous congregation village toward the heterogeneous complexity of a municipality, the community at Salem was changing to meet the realities of this new world.[542]

The declension model Shirley mentions above "posits a largely linear process of change from gemeinschaft to gesellschaft, from community to individualism, from traditional to modern…"[543] Shirley discards this theoretical tool of the historian as not applicable to the Moravian experience in Salem. It can also be proposed that contrary to his thought that the Moravians of Salem "embraced the economic changes that were occurring around them," that to a certain extent they were actually the generators of such change. As one scholarly examination of Forsyth County during and after Reconstruction stated,

> Historians may debate over the nature and even the existence of the New South, but it is certain that Forsyth County turned increasingly to industry during the last quarter of the nineteenth century. Newcomers like Hanes and Reynolds joined Moravians Fries, Nissen, Spach, and others to produce a remarkable industrial growth. The industrialists attracted railroads, workers, and smaller competitors, and the economy flourished.
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> The sound economic base of the Moravian settlement, already more than one hundred years old, was probably responsible for the fact that most of Forsyth's economic development came without the importation of capital from outside the region. Most of the industries started small and grew from the reinvestment of their own resources. The emergence of several large fortunes by the turn of the century was proof not only of the favorable business atmosphere of the time and place but also of the financial acumen of many of Forsyth's early industrialists.[544]

Salem reached a point when its common identity with Winston became so apparent that the two were consolidated in a burgeoning metropolis in 1913. It was then that Salem's discrete identity on the landscape was compounded by acknowledgement that it was also Winston, and vice-versa. The entity that was then

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[541] Shirley, *From Congregation Town to Industrial City*, 117.
[542] Ibid., 119-20.
[543] Jack P. Greene, *Pursuits of Happiness: The Social Development of Early Modern British Colonies and the Formation of American Culture*, (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1988), 55
[544] Fries, Wright, and Hendricks, *County on the March*, 196.

formally recognized has a significance in its own right, as it moved forward into the new century to become the largest and wealthiest city in North Carolina prior to the Great Depression.

The Moravian hand was at the helm of that merger. Predictably, it was the Fries family who James Howell Smith saw as principal architects of that further step, saying about the ideals that brought the twin city into being,

> One man that represented these ideals was Henry E. Fries, who might well be called the father of modern Winston-Salem. He was mayor of Salem from 1889 to 1892 and a member of the Salem Board of Commissioners for eighteen years afterward. As president of Fries Manufacturing and Power Company, president of the Winston-Salem Southbound Railroad, officer of the chamber of commerce, and representative of the Fries family's interest in textile manufacturing, Henry E. Fries was instrumental in bringing to Winston-Salem its street paving, road extensions, electric streetcars, electrical lighting, railroads, board of health, and sanitary sewage system. He also led in the merger of the Winston and Salem fire department services, which with several other progressive projects symbolized Winston-Salem's emergence as a well-coordinated city. His brother John W. Fries was an early leader in the chamber of commerce, president of Arista Mills, and inventor of the centrifugal humidifier whose manufacture was the origin of the Bahnson Company. Another brother, Francis Henry Fries, established the Wachovia Loan and Trust Company and was one of the promoters of the Briggs cigarette machine. Together the family represented an essential cohesion between the Moravian heritage of Salem and the entrepreneurial zest of Winston.[545]

In 1910, H. E. Fries had continued the constant effort to enhance the railway connections of Salem and Winston, as president of the Southbound Railroad of eighty-nine miles to Wadesboro that was completed in that year. This line was brought into the Atlantic Coastline system and was regarded as a "main line" connection.[546] The memorabilia of 1911 noted that,

> Another move, which will have a material effect on the future of the town of Salem, is the proposed extension of the Southbound Railway up the Tar Branch for the purposes of establishing a freight depot on the corner of Liberty and Cemetery Streets. This will have the tendency of altering the future character of the town to a considerable extent from a residential standpoint.[547]

Bishop Rondthaler was perceptive in recognizing that this was a change in kind rather than degree, for prior to this the residential area of the old town of Salem had been buffered from the industrial section. That growth had largely taken place on New Shallowford, with residential growth to the west of Salem, or in Winston, or to the east with black neighborhoods emerging there. Running the corridor up Tar Branch put the railroad in close proximity, just down slope, and two blocks from the Salem Square and core area, and through the old Single Brothers' land, and signaled an "altered future character for Salem. In 1913 the "extensive Southbound Railway Station for freight traffic" was opened at the corner of Liberty and Cemetery Streets, which Bishop Rondthaler then pronounced, "will be of very great value to the community."[548]

The year 1913 was in fact a year of significant change for Salem, the year that Salem and Winston were consolidated. From that time neither Salem nor Winston were discretely identifiable entities on the landscape,

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[545] James Howell Smith, *Industry and Commerce: 1896-1975*, vol. 8, *Winston-Salem in History*, (Winston-Salem, Historic Winston, 1976), 8-9.
[546] Rondthaler, *The Memorabilia of Fifty Years*, 282-83.
[547] Ibid., 293.
[548] Ibid. 303, 314.

each becoming part of a larger entity that was Winston-Salem. An aspect of this blurring of bounded identities produced special problems for Salem, as governmental and economic decision making relating to Salem passed more and more out of the control of the Moravian community. These pressures were soon resisted by members of the Salem community with the intention of preserving the significant architecture and landscape that was old Salem. This gathering of concern and activity, largely by twentieth century members of the Salem community culminated in 1950 with the creation of Old Salem, Inc., now Old Salem Museums & Gardens (discussed below).

COMPARISON OF THE SALEM NHL WITH SIMILAR RESOURCES

The Salem Historic District compares with three other NHL properties.

- Bethabara, designated as an NHL in 1999, is recognized for Criteria 1 and 6. This NHL is comparable to Salem in that it was the administrative and craft center of the Wachovia tract from its founding in 1754 until Salem was formally occupied in 1772. At that time Salem assumed its position as the planned central town of the Wachovia Tract, and Bethabara became a farming community. In the nineteenth century Bethabara's role diminished to the point that its resources became progressively buried archaeological remains. Today Bethabara is primarily an archaeological park operated by the City of Winston-Salem, with the contributing resources consisting of 41 sites and three buildings representing early Moravian settlement in Wachovia.

- Bethania, designated as an NHL in 2001, is recognized for Criterion 1. The NHL district represents a town that was under the direction of the administrative center of Wachovia, first Bethabara, and then Salem after 1772. The NHL period of significance extends from 1759-1822. Unlike Salem, Bethania did not participate in entrepreneurial industrialization on the national scale that Salem did, and remained a small and stable Moravian village into the twentieth century. The contributing resources of the Bethania NHL consist of 11 buildings, 7 sites, 2 structures, and a significant landscape representing early planning.

- The third Moravian property is Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, designated an NHL in 2012. Bethlehem is recognized under Criteria 1 and 4, with a period of significance of 1741-1810. Bethlehem is directly comparable to Salem as both were and are administrative centers of the Moravian Church; Bethlehem covers the Northern Province of the Church in America, and Salem covers the Southern Province of the Church. However Historic Bethlehem's principal focus is the eighteenth century, and within that context its contributing resources are 9 buildings and 1 site.

- There are also three other colonial Moravian towns in Pennsylvania; Lititz, Nazareth, and Emmaus. There is a district in Lititz listed on the National Register of Historic Places. All three are in many ways comparable to the early history of Salem. The Pennsylvania Moravian settlements, however, did not have the unifying feature of a large containing tract such as Wachovia. Additionally, these settlements did not have the history of an enslaved population such as Salem had, nor did these Northern Moravian communities address the issues of Reconstruction and participation in the post-war "New South" economics.

COMPARISONS OF THE NATIONAL SIGNIFICANCE OF THE SALEM, NORTH CAROLINA, POST-THEOCRATIC IDENTITY (1857-1913)

The significance of the Moravian historic presence in the United States has been clearly established through the recognition of Moravian towns, buildings, and places by the National Park Service through the National

Historic Landmarks and National Register programs. In addition to the Old Salem National Historic Landmark, two other Moravian towns of North Carolina's Wachovia, Bethabara and Bethania, are also National Historic Landmarks, evidence of the significance of Moravians on the national scene. Of three Pennsylvania Moravian towns, Bethlehem is recognized as a National Historic Landmark, and Lititz and Nazareth are National Register sites. Lititz has many physical and cultural similarities to Salem in its period of theocratic government, but did not have Salem's theocratic authority or post-theocratic Moravian entrepreneurial activity and continuity. In addition, the U.S. Virgin Islands also have recognized Moravian historic sites.

Salem originated in 1766 as a theocratically-governed utopian Moravian community. It was the central town of the 100,000-acre Wachovia Tract. As such, it had oversight of this broader Moravian landscape. Salem maintained itself through time by adaptation, innovation, industrialization, and secularization of the town government. Participation in the practice of slavery by these Southern Moravians added a population of African descent. In the ante-bellum and post-bellum periods, significant decisions or the actions by the members of the community resulted in a nationally significant impacts by the Moravians of Salem. Moravian creation of major industrial and financial enterprises, the creation of Winston, and the dynamics resulting from those actions through the period of the New South subsequently led to the 1913 merger with the adjacent town of Winston at which time Salem ceased as an autonomously governed place on the landscape.

Salem is currently acknowledged as nationally significant from its origins in 1766 to the end of the theocracy in 1856. The period of national significance should extend from 1857 to 1913 because during that period (as a North Carolina municipality prior to consolidation with Winston in 1913), the secular Town of Salem was in all respects an extension and continuum of the theocratic Moravian identity, culture, leadership, citizenry, policy, religion and place.

COMPARISON AND CONTRAST WITH BETHLEHEM, PENNSYLVANIA

Salem is unique in its perpetuation of Moravian identity of place for 147 years. Among Moravian communities in America, only Bethlehem, Pennsylvania is appropriate to compare and contrast with Salem. Bethlehem is and has been historically the administrative and spiritual seat of the Northern Province of the Moravian Church in the United States, and Salem has occupied the same position for the Southern Province of the Moravian Church. Thus, there are parallels between the history of these two major Moravian centers in America; however, the second half of the nineteenth century was a period of transition away from theocratic government for each, during which time they were distinctly different from one another in maintaining the Moravian identity and character of their respective towns.

Bethlehem's abandonment of the lease system and theocratic government was driven by disaster, debt, and urgency. Salem's transition from theocracy to North Carolina municipality was, in contrast, the product of adaptation to changing circumstances and the need to more fully articulate the Moravian town within a broader economic landscape while maintaining its Moravian identity.

To summarize the dynamics that brought Bethlehem's theocracy to an end, an obvious reason was the introduction of external pressures on Bethlehem. Unlike Salem, which was surrounded and buffered by the 100,000-acre Wachovia Tract (including vast acreage held by Moravians), Bethlehem was in a smaller area of Moravian influence and in a more vulnerable and exposed position.

Bethlehem, Coal and the Canal

An aspect of Bethlehem's exposure was the pressure to develop coal fields that were upriver from the town. Bethlehem's economic issues were tied to industrial speculation, a dynamic that can be seen with the opening of the coal fields and the subsequent construction of the Lehigh Canal by outside interests through Bethlehem land

to accommodate transportation of this commodity. Construction of the canal through the town was begun in 1827 and completed in 1829, establishing a water-born connection between the coal fields and Philadelphia. Moravian Bishop Joseph Mortimer Levering described how the immediate results indicated future problems for Bethlehem:

> The period of new prosperity that opened with the completion of the canal did not last long. The financial reaction that so generally followed the inordinate rush of public improvements in the country and the attendant headlong ventures in speculation, soon affected Bethlehem also, and many who had encumbered themselves in over-confident undertakings were stranded, for their resources were too meager to enable them to survive the crisis. A season of dire perplexity for those who controlled the property and managed the finances of the Congregation and of the Unity or Church General at Bethlehem ensued. The enlargement of the credit system that had proceeded beyond the limit of safety almost proved ruinous. The Bethlehem Diacony was heavily in debt to the Administrator who represented the General Wardens of the Unity, for several successive years closed its annual accounts with a considerable deficiency and yet had abundant resources latent in the land held for it in trust by the Proprietor. The increasing desire of property owners to have the lease-system abolished and the disposition of all the interests that needed to be guarded by proceeding with much deliberation and caution; even the readiness of some to use various little advantages of the situation to embarrass and undermine, with a view to forcing the issue, served to render the state of affairs produced by this financial crisis very perplexing. There had been what would be called in present-day speech "a building boom." The straits into which various individuals were brought subjected the Administrator and the Congregation Diacony to the necessity of purchasing numerous houses in order to prevent them from coming under alien ownership at sheriff's sale; for it must be remembered that the real reason for maintaining the lease-system had been, not financial policy in view of increasing value, but to preserve the exclusive church-village organization by enabling the authorities to thus discriminate and restrict in the matter of possession of buildings and residence in the place.[549]

The movement toward abandoning the lease-system and the "church-village" was moved further forward by a disastrous flood of the Lehigh River and the Monocacy Creek in January, 1841 which brought about a "hard blow to material interests at a time when none were in a position to bear it well."[550] This occurred during a period of broader financial strain, when capital was not available and was soon followed in October of 1842 by a financial crash and a period of business turmoil and demoralization. The lease system required the church to purchase any improvements to the rented land (house, other buildings) when an occupant of the town could no longer maintain solvency and was driven to sell. The system was put under such strain by the flood and the economic collapse that the abandonment of this method and of the church-village organization was seriously discussed.

After consideration by each of the governing boards of Bethlehem, and a declaration in 1843 by the Moravian leadership in Europe that no further money would be advanced by their Administrator "for the purchase of houses at Bethlehem, in order to maintain the existing system," the Congregation Council resolved in January of 1844 to abolish the lease system, and with this decision, the theocratically governed church-village of Bethlehem disappeared.[551] In March of 1845 Bethlehem was incorporated as a Borough in Northampton County, Pennsylvania.

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[549] Joseph Mortimer Levering, *A History of Bethlehem, Pennsylvania 1741-1892 with Some Accounts of its Founders and Their Early Activity in America* (Bethlehem, PA: Times Publishing Company, 1903), 650.

[550] Ibid., 673.

[551] Ibid., 679-680.

Following this action, the Congregation in Bethlehem remained in substantial debt to the European Administration of the Moravian Church, and to relieve this debt, preparations were made between 1845 and 1847 to sell its 1,380 acres, including seven farms and considerable woodland, to private parties. In 1851 these sales were completed and the *Aufseher Collegium*, which handled material affairs of the Congregation, ceased to exist.[552]

Bethlehem changed from a Moravian theocratically governed town, holding exclusive rights to a large amount of property, to a borough with the previous church holdings transferred into private (and in many cases non-Moravian) hands. Significantly, in Bethlehem, other religious denominations immediately established themselves. Lutheran and Reformed Church congregations built a joint sanctuary in 1850; the Methodists began holding services in Bethlehem in 1849 and built a church in 1854; and a Catholic Church was built in Bethlehem in 1856.[553]

Bethlehem's transition from a theocracy to a municipality and the resulting dilution of Moravian identity of place was a reaction to external forces and pressures. Not only was there financial crisis, there were also non-Moravian pressures. The resulting dissolution of Bethlehem's *Aufseher Collegium*, which functioned as the village Board of Supervision in place since 1769, in effect eliminated an agency of Moravian civic leadership in the new borough. Bethlehem's post-theocratic Moravian identity was submerged in the new structure of a Pennsylvania borough.

The effect of these actions on Bethlehem's Moravian identity was profound. John Hill Martin, a member of the Moravian Historical Society in Pennsylvania wrote in 1872, "There are but few indications now of Bethlehem being a Moravian settlement."[554]

Salem, North Carolina

Bethlehem's experience is distinctly different from the stable, economically sound Moravian identity of Salem following its transition from a theocratically governed town in 1856, as discussed. Salem orchestrated its own course of action. Civic identity of the new municipality was secular in name only, as it was a direct extension of the theocracy. That transition continued through and after the Civil War and was, characteristically, a product of Salem Moravian adaptation to the changes brought about as the post-bellum South emerged. Again, characteristically, these Moravian adaptations rested on foundations that had been carefully prepared from the beginning of their presence in North Carolina in the colonial period, and continued through the nineteenth century.

Also, in contrast to Bethlehem, when Salem ended its theocratic government and the lease system in 1856-57, it did so for carefully considered reasons, and not because of urgent economic crisis. The Moravian Congregation remained in control of the substance of its land within the Town of Salem, as well as lands in former Salem Town Lot, and would use that control to direct the growth of Salem, as well as influence the growth of Winston. The Salem *Aufseher Collegium* remained in place and functioned in concert with the municipal government of Salem, which was also effectively directed by the Moravian community. The Salem Moravian Congregation remained the sole religious presence in Salem until after the turn of the twentieth century, and Edward Rondthaler, the pastor of the Congregation, was a regular commentator and guide in the decisions affecting the town. Although Salem became a North Carolina municipality in 1856, it remained Moravian in its population, government, and evolution through the remainder of the nineteenth century.

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[552] Ibid., 687-688.

[553] Ibid., 695-697.

[554] John Hill Martin, *Historical Sketch of Bethlehem in Pennsylvania, with some account of the Moravian Church* (Philadelphia: Orrin Rogers, 1872), 184.

CRITERION 1:
THE NATIONAL SIGNIFICANCE OF OLD SALEM, INC., 1948-2010
A Vanguard Institution in Public History: Salem becomes Old Salem

The mid-twentieth-century efforts to restore and interpret the theocratic town of Salem, NC, as it existed between 1766 and 1856, drew from prevailing theories of historic preservation, urban planning, preservation zoning ordinances, historical interpretation, and historical archaeology to forge an innovative model for the restoration of a historic urban landscape. Through its dedication to meticulous research, restoration, and reconstruction standards, Old Salem, Inc. has successfully restored not only a singular example of an eighteenth-century Moravian congregation town but also one of the nation's largest collections of Germanic-Moravian architecture in the United States. Old Salem, Inc., is nationally significant under Criterion 1 in that it uniquely conveys an important story in the history of the preservation movement in America. In order to save the historic town of Salem, the city of Winston-Salem pioneered the use of zoning overlays to be used as a tool to protect and preserve historic districts. Correspondingly, the establishment of Old Salem, Inc. as a proactive agent created an innovative and effective public/private partnership using deed covenants and revolving funds along with the zoning ordinance to undertake the restoration of the whole town. Guided by a master plan prepared in 1948 and revised and updated in response to evolving state-of-the-art preservation practices, NHL Exception 8 also applies. The period of significance begins in 1948 with the first preservation plan and the adoption of a new zoning ordinance complete with a provision for the protection of the Old and Historic Salem District, and concludes in 2010 with the reconstruction of the Charles A. Cooper House and Shop, a critical component of the historic streetscape on South Main Street.

Introduction

The transformation of the historic town of "Salem" into "Old Salem" is a nationally significant benchmark in the development of public history, historic preservation, and historical archaeology in the United States. Merging the Charleston, South Carolina model of historic district zoning and the museum standards established by Colonial Williamsburg, Virginia, the Old Salem Historic District is a product of both local activists and early-twentieth-century trends in the national historic preservation movement. The result was a unique vision for an often-groundbreaking and singularly successful experiment in preservation.

By the turn of the twentieth century, the former congregation town had become threatened by the growth of the neighboring town of Winston, located north of First Street. Though new commercial investment was largely drawn to Winston, the original town of Salem was still affected by development pressures. Original town lots that had once extended the full depth of a city block had been subdivided to allow for new houses, some of considerable size, and the historic buildings along Main Street had been swallowed by new commercial enterprises. Still, a significant number of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century-buildings had survived, albeit altered with additions and renovations. Among them were the community anchors of the Single Brothers' and Single Sisters' houses, the 1800 Moravian Home Church, and the Salem Academy and College. Salem Square and God's Acre also continued to be major features in the landscape.

Threats to *old* Salem and the potential loss of historic place prompted local community members to take action. Their efforts resulted in the first Historic District Zoning Ordinance in North Carolina in 1948 and the establishment of Old Salem, Inc. in 1950. Since then, the organization has adhered to a carefully thought-out master plan and capitalized on a wealth of archival documentation and archaeological resources to authentically restore and accurately interpret the historic town within the 1766-1856 period. In the process, forty buildings have been restored, ten gardens have been recreated, twenty-six buildings or support features have been reconstructed, and landscape features such as fencing has been reintroduced to define space. To successfully undertake this endeavor, the organization has removed nearly 160 noncontributing buildings from the core area. Also crucial to the process has been archaeological studies; researchers have investigated fifty-eight

subterranean components since 1950. (For a detailed discussion of the archaeological significance of Old Salem, see the Criterion 6 section.)

Old Salem, Inc. has led the movement to restore and preserve the town, adhering to a professionally developed master plan adopted in 1949 and utilizing deed covenants to enforce its design guidelines. To achieve its vision, the institution has worked diligently with other property owners, including the Moravian Church, the Wachovia Historical Society, Salem Academy and College, the National Society of the Colonial Dames of America, and private residents. Old Salem has collaborated with the City of Winston-Salem to develop a sensitive approach toward the historic fabric, including an extensive set of design guidelines and municipal architectural review. Private investment has been stimulated by rehabilitation tax credits and a local historic landmark program that includes a 50 percent property tax abatement. As a result of these collaborative efforts, the organization has successfully been able to save and preserve a built environment that is quintessentially Moravian and remarkably distinct, both regionally and nationally.

Early Outdoor Museums in the United States

The early leaders of the movement to save Salem were local residents inspired by their personal connections to the town; their methods were often influenced by national trends in historic preservation and historical interpretation. While the early historic preservation movement in America had been motivated largely by a sense of patriotism, by the early twentieth century the focus had begun to expand to include a broader "appreciation of America's tangible heritage."[555] In addition to preserving buildings with architectural or aesthetic significance, a number of institutions began to see the built environment *in toto*—not just individual buildings—as a way to educate the public about the past.

The first American open-air museums in the early twentieth century drew inspiration from Skansen, "an open-air living folk museum" founded in 1891 in Stockholm, Sweden, which featured an assemblage of buildings from across the country to create a constructed landscape that reflected the nation's history.[556] In the United States, the Essex Museum (today the Peabody Essex Museum) in Salem, Massachusetts, began a similar project in 1910 when its curator, George Francis Dow, had the ca. 1684 John Ward House moved three blocks to the museum's property. [557] Dow had been the first American to use "period rooms" as an interpretive tool, creating historical vignettes in three galleries using historically accurate artifacts to create "an "illusion of actual human occupancy."[558] He used the same approach with the John Ward House, restoring it to its eighteenth-century appearance and furnishing the interior with both original and reproduced artifacts to evoke "the atmosphere of livableness."[559] Dow's vision expanded over time, and the Essex Museum ultimately acquired "more than twenty pre-Civil War buildings," becoming one of the first outdoor museums of architecture in the country.[560]

Over the following three decades, a number of other outdoor museums opened, many of them following the Skansen model. Henry Ford led the way, setting out in the 1920s to acquire a wide variety of artifacts—including buildings—that represented "life as lived" during periods of American history, specifically those that reflected his faith in the legacy of technological innovation and progress.[561] He relocated nearly one hundred buildings from across the country to his 255-acre Greenfield Village in Michigan, which opened to the public in

[555] Suzanne B. Schell, "On Interpretation and Historic Sites," *The Journal of Museum Education*, 10, no. 3 (Summer 1985), 6.
[556] Ibid., 7.
[557] Ibid.
[558] Ibid.
[559] Ibid.
[560] Since 1911, the Essex Museum (today the Peabody Essex Museum) has acquired "more than twenty pre-Civil War buildings." "Historic Houses," *Peabody Essex Museum*, accessed August 24, 2015, http://www.pem.org/visit/historic_houses.
[561] Schell, "On Interpretation and Historic Sites," 7.

1933.[562] By 1949, six more "constructed" outdoor museums would either be open or in the planning stages: the Farmer's Museum in Cooperstown, New York; Sturbridge Village in Southbridge, Massachusetts; Mystic Seaport in Mystic, Connecticut; Plimoth Plantation in Massachusetts; and the Shelburne Museum in Vermont.[563]

Other museums utilized the architectural heritage of extant communities rather than constructing a synthetic museum arrangement. In Deerfield, Massachusetts, and Williamsburg, Virginia, local groups sought to revitalize the legacies of landscapes that had fallen into disrepair. Visions for both projects were born in the early 1920s, and both were successfully implemented over the course of a number of decades. In particular, the scale and stringent standards of authenticity of the Williamsburg restoration would dramatically influence the future of outdoor museums and the burgeoning field of historic preservation.

Early Preservation Efforts in Salem

The idea of preserving historic Salem did not suddenly appear in 1950. The ground work had been laid in dozens of individual efforts undertaken in the decades before the establishment of Old Salem, Inc. The Wachovia Historical Society, founded in 1895, had partnered with the Southern Province of the Moravian Church to open a museum in the 1794 Boys' School, which both protected the building and provided a space in which to showcase the area's Moravian heritage.[564] In 1907, local residents persuaded Salem College not to demolish the 1810 Inspector's House to make way for a new Memorial Hall.[565] In 1936, the Forsyth Committee of the National Society of Colonial Dames acquired and undertook a restoration of the 1768 Fourth House, Salem's oldest extant building. Other initiatives were led by private citizens with an appreciation of the history and architecture, including Ada Allen, one of the leaders in the rally to save the Inspector's House, who had also single handedly saved the 1784 Tavern by acquiring a lease and making it her residence. William Hoyt, a Winston-Salem newspaperman and President of the Chamber of Commerce, bought and preserved the 1793 Ebert-Reich House. [566]

These efforts were strengthened by the continued visibility of Moravian traditions in the town. The Easter Sunrise Service and Christmas Eve Lovefeasts were well-attended, and Salem's picturesque buildings were published on postcards and in national publications, such as the *White Pine Series*.[567] Additionally, the work of local Moravian archivist Adelaide L. Fries made the vast tome of documents held by the Moravian Church accessible through the publication of seven volumes of the *Records of the Moravians in North Carolina*, which preserved this history of the town, its people, and their culture.[568] In the 1930s and 1940 the Historic American Buildings Survey recorded a series of buildings, including the 1784 Tavern, 1794 Boys' School, and 1822 John Henry Leinbach House. In addition to the detailed measured drawings, photographers Thomas T. Waterman, Charles E. Peterson, Archie A. Briggs, Frederick D. Nichols, and Frances Benjamin Johnston all contributed to the documentation of the early architecture of Salem.[569]

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[562] National Park Service, "Greenfield Village & Henry Ford Museum (Edison Institute)," *Detroit: A National Register of Historic Places Travel Itinerary*, https://www.nps.gov/subjects/traveldetroit/index.htm.

[563] For more on these early outdoor museums, see Charles B. Hosmer, Jr., *Preservation Comes of Age: from Williamsburg to the National Trust, 1926-1949*, vol.1 (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia for the National Trust for Historic Preservation, The Preservation Press, 1981), 74-132.

[564] Rauschenberg, *The Wachovia Historical Society*, 61-65.

[565] David Bergstone, *Images of Old Salem*, 13, 58-59.

[566] Griffin *An Adventure in Historic Preservation*, 5.

[567] Crews, "Old Salem, Now a Part of Winston-Salem," 31-50.

[568] Fries, *Records of the Moravians*, vols. 1-7; Mary Barrow Owen, ed., *Old Salem, North Carolina* (Winston-Salem, Winston Printing Co, 1941).

[569] Historic American Buildings Survey, Prints and Photographs Division of the Library of Congress, http://www.loc.gov/pictures/search/?q=Winston-Salem%2C+NC&sp=14

As early as 1938, a prominent Moravian and textile executive named R. Arthur Spaugh pitched the idea of an overall restoration of the complete town of Salem to Charles H. Babcock, a wealthy banker from Greenwich, Connecticut. Spaugh no doubt hoped that Babcock, who was married to Mary Reynolds, daughter of Winston-Salem tobacco magnate R. J. Reynolds, would become a primary patron of a restoration effort, just as John D. Rockefeller Jr. had done in Williamsburg.[570] While the master plan of Old Salem would ultimately diverge from that of Colonial Williamsburg in a number of ways, Spaugh was the first to envision a preservation program for the town on that large of a scale.

Zoning as a New Preservation Tool

The movement to preserve Salem reached a crisis point in the summer of 1947, when independent grocer R. Howard Gains proposed the construction of a new store in Salem on the site of the 1768 Fifth House. Earlier that year, the city of Winston-Salem had contracted with Russell Van Nest Black from New Hope, Pennsylvania, to update the city's zoning ordinance, which had been last adopted in 1930. Though the proposed grocery store conformed to the existing code, the Colonial Dames (who owned the 1768 Fourth House next door), local residents, and the Moravian Church petitioned the city to rezone the proposed store site from local business to residential. Ultimately, Gains sold his property to a buyer who was willing to preserve the Fifth House site, but leaders of the movement to restore Salem continued to pursue ways to use city planning as a tool in their efforts to save the town from further modern encroachment.

The Board of Aldermen heard the rezoning petition in October 1947. Though local merchants strongly opposed the proposal, Alderman William Shaffner, the representative of Salem's ward, proposed that a committee be appointed to "study the feasibility of establishing the area as a historical reservation."[571] With this action, the City of Winston-Salem formally expanded the discussion beyond a simple rezoning question and became an active partner in the preservation effort.

The Aldermen placed a moratorium on all construction in Salem while the newly appointed Citizen's Committee for the Preservation of Historic Salem sought advice from other historic cities, including Charleston, South Carolina, which had in 1931 adopted a historic zoning ordinance that established a Board of Architectural Review with authority to issue Certificates of Appropriateness, and from Alexandria, Virginia, which passed a similar ordinance in 1946.[572] The committee's work influenced Black, who issued his final report on suggested revisions to the zoning ordinance to the city in November 1948. In addition to proposing a joint Winston-Salem/Forsyth County Planning Board, he devoted a section to the historic Salem area and formalized the term "Old Salem" as a distinct part of the city. "In Old Salem," he argued, "the community has an important historic and architectural asset meriting protection, maintenance, and where need be, restoration."[573] After describing the town and the threats to its preservation, Black stated:

> The question of desirable and feasible restoration of the old village by such means as reconstruction of the buildings that have disappeared and remodeling of others to bring them back to their original form is left for later consideration and further study. Our proposals at this time are directed toward promoting a climate calculated to encourage the maintenance and improvement of the remaining architecture and historic features and to discourage their further dissolution.[574]

[570] While Babcock was initially unwilling to take on the task, he would eventually play a significant role in the development of Old Salem. Griffin, *Adventure in Historic Preservation*, 5.
[571] Ibid., 9.
[572] Hosmer, *Preservation Comes of Age*, 360-365.
[573] Griffin, *An Adventure in Historic Preservation*, 10.
[574] Ibid., 11-12.

The zoning ordinance was to be a blocking agent to prevent further loss through inappropriate development. On December 21, 1948 the new ordinance, complete with its provisions for the protection of the "Old and Historic Salem District," as well as the original Moravian settlement of Bethabara, was approved by the Board of Aldermen.[575] The special designation did not include a special-use zoning classification for the historic areas. While the contested area that had started the preservation movement was rezoned from local business to residential, several blocks in the historic district remained zoned for business and commercial development. However, a Board of Architectural Review was established to protect newly established historic districts in Salem and the original Moravian settlement of Bethabara. Composed of five members with various applicable backgrounds and local interests who were appointed by the Board of Aldermen, they were empowered to

> pass upon the appropriateness of exterior architectural features of buildings and structures, including signs and other exterior fixtures, hereafter constructed, reconstructed, altered or restored in the old and historic Salem District. The Board of Architectural Review shall also pass upon any request for occupancy permits that may be referred to it.[576]

The review process required submittal of plans, elevations and other relevant documentation along with the zoning or building permit application. The board was to evaluate "the general design, arrangement, texture, material and color of the building or other structure in question and the relation of such factors to similar features of buildings in the immediate surroundings," but interiors were not considered. The overall intent was "preventing developments or occupancy incongruous to the old historic aspects of the surroundings." Their deliberations resulted in either the issuance or denial of a certificate of appropriateness.[577]

When the Board of Aldermen accepted Black's plan in December 1948, they did so, knowing that the provision requiring architectural review for Salem was not supported by any state enabling legislation. Black admitted when he unveiled an early draft of the plan that while the majority of the ordinance followed "well-established and court-approved practices and procedures," he explained that it did "contain a number of more or less untried innovations designed to meet special local problems."[578] The city's zoning code would finally be given legislative backing in 1965. The innovative actions by the City of Winston-Salem and the activists who fought to save the historic town of Salem spearheaded a new age of preservation in North Carolina in which zoning overlays could be used as a tool to protect and preserve historic districts across the state.

Andrew Hepburn and the Master Plan

Although the new zoning legislation put safeguards in place, it was more reactive than proactive and rested on shaky legal status. Even after the approval of the ordinance in December 1948, the Citizens Committee for the Preservation of Historic Salem continued to meet to discuss the best way to restore the town, not simply prevent incompatible development. In consultation with Colonial Williamsburg, the committee was directed to the architectural firm of Perry, Shaw and Hepburn from Boston, Massachusetts to conduct a survey and make specific recommendations regarding the feasibility of restoring the town.

On October 18, 1949, Andrew Hepburn made his first visit to Winston-Salem. In his final recommendations presented in late November, Hepburn stated that he had no doubt "that the restoration of Salem is a most worthwhile project and one which will be of lasting benefit to its inhabitants and the whole country."[579] Hepburn's assessment provided the philosophical base for the restoration effort. He had conducted a house-by-

[575] Ibid., 12; Zoning Ordinance, City of Winston-Salem & Forsyth County, December 21, 1948.

[576] Zoning Ordinance, City of Winston-Salem & Forsyth County, December 21, 1948, Section 48-14 Old and Historic Salem District. Paragraphs c and e.

[577] Zoning Ordinance, City of Winston-Salem & Forsyth County, December 21, 1948, Paragraphs f and g.

[578] Griffin, *An Adventure in Historic Preservation*, 12.

[579] Ibid., 17.

house evaluation coupled with specific treatment recommendations, which clearly reflected his preference for returning the built environment to an earlier appearance. He noted that,

> if the proposals seem somewhat ruthless in the frequency with which the words 'destroyed,' 'demolished,' 'disposed of,' and the like appear, it must be remembered that the proposer is working with one aim in mind and that is an eventual unanimity of appearance of the old town of Salem, one that will appeal to the historian, the architect, the casual visitor and above all to the people of Salem who, like everyone else will travel miles to examine with intense interest the towns of others, and through over familiarity disregard the wonders of their own.[580]

Hepburn also encouraged Salem leaders to adhere to rigorous research standards:

> It is one of the aims of the proposer that true reconstruction be undertaken by the Restoration and only in those cases where sufficient data are available. Care should be taken that no wishful thinking be of any part in the reconstruction or the whole purpose will be lost sight of. In many cases plans and photographs of the exterior are extant and the restoration should follow these faithfully. Where later buildings already exist that for some reason cannot be disposed of, they should not be altered in an attempt to fake their appearance into similarity with older buildings. Such procedure smacks of stage scenery and satisfies no one in the end. An unattractive building should be made attractive by rebuilding in such a manner that it can never pose as or be mistaken for an old building. If new shops or other buildings are needed they should, in my opinion, be built of good material and be of good design and of sufficiently different style so that they can never be mistaken for the older Moravian buildings.
>
> In some cases, it may be desirable to consider moving an old building into the restoration area. By and large I am against such a procedure. However, in the case where an important building might otherwise be lost, moving may be the only answer. In such an event it should be moved to an unobtrusive location where there is no possibility of its interfering with future reconstructions and where there is not the remotest possibility of evidence turning up pointing to the existence of earlier buildings.[581]

With the Hepburn master plan in hand, the Citizens Committee had fulfilled its intent to determine a way to preserve historic Salem. The question that remained was what organization could undertake the proposed restoration of the town?

Old Salem, Inc. Established

During that same summer the fault lines and limitation of the architectural review board's authority were becoming evident in a specific case. R. J. Rizik, the property owner located adjacent to the north of the 1800 Winkler Bakery, requested approval to expand his building onto a piece of vacant land. The Board had outlined the conditions for allowing the construction to proceed but the owner had objected and the case was appealed to the Zoning Board of Adjustment. Having been in place for less than a year, it was far from certain that the preservation components of the 1948 zoning ordinance would be able to withstand a legal challenge. On December 19, 1949, two days before the Zoning Board of Adjustment was to meet, Mayor Marshall Kurfees deflected the crisis much in the same way Alderman Shaffner had done in October of 1947 by creating a blue ribbon committee "to proceed immediately with a study of ways and means for the restoration of Old Salem." While this committee was undertaking their important work, the Mayor asked that all property owners in the Old Salem area "postpone any contemplated building changes until this committee has had time to make its

[580] Ibid.
[581] Ibid., 15-17.

report."[582] Thus the Zoning Board of Adjustment was able to defer its deliberation and the immediate crisis was averted. As was the case in 1947, the Mayor's action had clearly placed the City of Winston-Salem firmly and publicly into the restoration effort. There was no longer a question as to "whether" the area should be restored, or even the best approach. Mayor Kurfees' Investigating Committee was to answer who was to lead the restoration effort.

The committee commenced its work on January 10, 1950. That same day James A. Gray, who was chairing the committee, met with Mr. Rizik about the contested property. He was able to procure a purchase option on the building and vacant parcel thus ending the appeal.[583] The committee worked quickly and on March 4 held its last meeting. Their work had included: (1) an inventory of the old buildings still standing, (2) compiled information on old buildings that were then missing but might be reconstructed, (3) surveyed restorations in other communities, (4) estimated the amount of community interest, (5) studied the various types of organization, (6) estimate the amount of funds needed, and (7) estimated the amount of revenue that would be generated for the community compared to operating cost.

Mayor Kurfees called for a public meeting to be held on March 16 for the committee to present their findings and recommendations. In a gala event held in the ballroom of the Robert E. Lee Hotel, the Moravian band played, paintings of early Salem decorated the walls, and historic artifacts were displayed on tables. Andrew Hepburn spoke enthusiastically about the possibilities for restoration. Jim Gray read endorsements from the Moravian Church Central Board of Trustees Southern Province, Salem Academy and College, and the Wachovia Historical Society. He then gave the committee's specific recommendations,

> We believe that it is not only our privilege as a community but also our duty to preserve and restore Old Salem….The committee recommends that Old Salem be restored. We recommend the establishment of an overall plan of restoration in Old Salem with the advice and help of experts in this field. In general, we believe the overall plan should be that of restoring Old Salem as closely as possible to the way it appeared in the early 1800s…Also we recommend that close attention be given to attractive landscaping and restoration of the gardens…. We recommend establishment of a permanent, non-profit corporation to be known as Old Salem, Inc. to be governed by a representative board of trustees.

The report and its recommendations were enthusiastically embraced by those attending, and a Board to Trustees was elected that night.

Restoration of Salem Commences

The first meeting of the Old Salem, Inc. Board of Trustees was convened on March 30 and the charter of incorporation was issued on April 3, 1950. In its first fiscal year, Old Salem, Inc. acquired four properties, including the 1787 Lick-Boner (since renamed the Lick-Leinbach) House and the 1797 Christoph Vogler House; hired its first employee to make a master map of the area; raised $45,000; and began discussion on leasing the Tavern from the Wachovia Historical Society and several of the buildings from the Salem Congregation of the Moravian Church. The private/public partnership now in place would allow a proactive program of restoration work to proceed under the protection of municipal zoning. What had been R. Arthur Spaugh's vision in 1938 could now become a reality. As Jim Gray, Old Salem's first president, said at the first annual meeting, "Our aims are lofty indeed. We hope eventually to restore the entire town of Old Salem."[584]

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[582] Ibid., 18.

[583] Ibid., 19-20.

[584] Ibid., 23. Jim Gray was the first of several noteworthy presidents to lead Old Salem, Inc. He would serve two terms, 1950-1955 and 1962-1970. He held other preservation positions in Mobile, Alabama and with the National Trust for Historic Preservation;

Salem's restoration was a broad-based community effort. The City of Winston-Salem, the Moravian Church, the Salem Academy and College, the residents within the historic district, the Wachovia Historical Society, the Colonial Dames of America, and other interested parties now had an agency in which to consolidate their support for an active program of restoration. This unity of purpose and support compensated for the lack of the single large patron originally envisioned by R. Arthur Spaugh in 1938. Between 1951 and 1961, Old Salem, Inc. restored nine buildings, including the 1794 Boys School, 1771 Miksch House, and 1819 John Vogler House, as exhibit buildings; replaced the fencing, walkways, and landscaping of Salem Square; and reconstructed six buildings, including the Market-Fire Engine House and water pump on the Square, which were opened to the public.[585]

The Board of Architectural Review continued to oversee architectural changes within the district, though the museum greatly simplified the Board's role. Many of the applications for certificates of appropriateness were generated by Old Salem, Inc. As one board member noted:

> Cases coming to our board are rather infrequent due largely to the acquisition of property and the restoration work of Old Salem, Inc. The review by our board is a formality only, because it [Old Salem, Inc,] is achieving the basic purpose for which the Board of Review was established.[586]

The Board did, however, encourage the city to consider amendments to the building ordinance that would allow for a greater degree of historic integrity in the district, allowing for the restoration of wood-shingle roofs on many of the buildings and the construction of front porches or stoops over city-owned sidewalks. In the area of public works, the Board sought support for brick sidewalks, pebbled streets, and specially designed signage and street lamps.

Although the Historic District Commission had review authority on all architectural matters, Old Salem, Inc. added another layer of review by placing deed covenants on any parcel of land or building that passed through its ownership and then back into the private sector. The amount of control evolved over the years. Initially the covenant provided exterior architectural review and a right of first refusal upon resale. Over time, landscape review, archaeological access, and even some interior elements were added, as well as the right to review any proposal to rent or lease all or part of the property. Because early covenants relied on a forced sale of the property in the case of non-compliance, the fines for zoning violations initiated by the Historic Districts Commission proved to be a more effective tool where required.[587]

Because Old Salem, Inc. absorbed much of the responsibility for architectural changes, the organization established a Restoration Committee of the Board of Trustees to oversee all real estate matters.[588] This committee held properties it owned or held deed covenants on to higher standards of accuracy and authenticity than the more general H-District guidelines. Its responsibilities included setting the standards for restorations

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and he established the North Carolina Fund for Historic Preservation which joined with the Historic Preservation Society of North Carolina in 1984 to become The North Carolina Preservation Foundation (today called Preservation North Carolina). He would be followed by Robert R. Garvey Jr., 1955-1960, who became Executive Director of the National Trust and Vice President of International Council on Monuments and Sites. R. Arthur Spaugh, Jr. (1973-1986) was the son of one of the original founders and continued the Moravian leadership tradition providing continuity within the community. William T. Alderson, past president of the American Association of State and Local History, served 1986-1991 and was the first president to be recruited from outside Winston-Salem. Hobart G. Cawood past Superintendent of Independence National Historical Park served 1991-2001.

[585] Bergstone, *Images of Old Salem*, 46-49.

[586] Griffin, *An Adventure in Historic Preservation*, 26.

[587] Recent deed covenants allow Old Salem, Inc. to bring suit for non-compliance. Griffin, *An Adventure in Historic Preservation*, 87-88; Old Salem, Inc. real estate files.

[588] This committee maintains this function today.

and reconstructions; approving demolitions; and enforcing deed covenants. Once actions were approved by the Restoration Committee, they would be forwarded to the Historic District Commission.

Authenticating the Restoration

From Old Salem's inception, it was clear that for the preservation initiative to be successful, it would be necessary to take a comprehensive approach, focusing on the whole town rather than individual buildings. Thus, the restoration procedure fell into three categories: the identification and restoration of extant buildings to their eighteenth- to mid-nineteenth-century appearance; the removal of non-contributing elements; and the reconstruction of buildings, landscapes, and historic land-use patterns. It was the richness, density, and integrity of the original fabric that encouraged Andrew Hepburn to recommend—and for the citizens of Winston-Salem to undertake—a restoration effort of such magnitude.

It was clear from the start that the restoration of any historic building in Salem would require the replacement of modern material with material more historically appropriate and authentic. In the same vein, a complete restoration of the town would require the replacement/reconstruction of missing buildings and landscapes. In his 1949 report Andrew Hepburn established a standard for considering reconstructions that Old Salem, Inc. continues to follow today:

> It is one of the aims of the proposer that true reconstruction be undertaken by the Restoration and only in those cases where sufficient data are available. Care should be taken that no wishful thinking be of any part in the reconstruction or the whole purpose will be lost sight of. In many cases plans and photographs of the exterior are extant and the restoration should follow these faithfully.[589]

In the case of a restoration, the building itself provided a primary documentary resource which was confirmed with evidence from other research files. In the case of reconstruction, a set of basic requirements had to be developed to allow a building to be returned to the landscape with an assurance of authenticity. The standards established by the museum stated: [590]

> Additions and new construction are not allowed unless they are authentic reconstructions of what existed on the property during the period of interpretation. Evidence for such an alteration should include archaeological findings, archival records, photographs, paintings and other historical information. Before any reconstruction may be built, the following information should be documented:
>
> a. The time period that the structure existed.
>
> b. Location of the structure.
>
> c. Size of the structure.
>
> d. Materials of construction.
>
> e. Appearance of the structure including the placement of such features as doors and windows.
>
> f. Use of the structure.

[589] Andrew Hepburn, "Recommendations for Restoration in a Part Of The 'Old and Historic Salem District' of Winston-Salem, N.C.," November 1949, 2, copy on file with Old Salem Collection; Griffin, *An Adventure in Historic Preservation*, 15-17.

[590] *Living with the Past: a Guide for Residents of Old Salem*, 3rd ed. (Winston-Salem: Old Salem Museums & Gardens, 2012), 45.

Old Salem, Inc. has from the outset employed these strict standards of research to direct the restoration effort. Following the recommendations of the Hepburn report, the Restoration Committee assembled a small professional staff, with Frank L. Horton and Dr. Frank Albright sharing the responsibilities of archaeological and architectural research.[591] According to the museum's standards, all alterations to the landscape must be preceded by comprehensive research into all existing archival material on the Lot and its occupants, which typically reveals the basic information on the date of construction, use, size, and appearance.

This committee had at their disposal a trove of information compiled over centuries by the Moravian Church, which kept comprehensive records on all aspects of community life. These records are housed in the Archives of the Moravian Church, Southern Province, in Winston-Salem, located in the historic district. In addition to the more than a million pages included in the collection, the North Carolina State Archives have published thirteen volumes to date of the *Records of the Moravians in North Carolina* covering the period 1752-1876. This material is supplemented by photographs, manuscripts, maps, paintings, and illustrations in the collections of the Wachovia Historical Society (established in 1895), the Colonial Dames, the Salem Academy and College (established in 1772), and numerous families throughout Forsyth County. Additionally, the Moravian Archives in Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, and Herrnhut, Germany, maintain Salem collections. Over the years, the active research program of Old Salem, Inc., has aggressively built its own research collection from these and other sources.

In the 1950s, in order to manage and organize the voluminous and varied research data, the museum established multiple research files. These files were arranged using the historic land parcel or lot numbering system. During the theocracy, Salem land was divided into lots with size based on use (all residential lots were of approximately equivalent size), and each lot was assigned a number. Many of these lot numbers endure into the present-day tax records. This numbering system provided the overriding structure for organizing the various documentary files. Thus, records collected or generated pertaining to archaeology, architecture, or photographic images, paintings, and illustrations and other historical documentation are arranged according to the lot numbers. Separate research files have been compiled on the individual historical occupants of the town through the mid-nineteenth century. Also created were subject files with more than three hundred categories from "andirons" to "windows." The objects in the collection are organized in separate files. The museum's collection continues to expand as its staff undertakes new research initiatives and technologies to organize and index materials.

In addition to archival records, maps, paintings, and photos, Old Salem has from the outset relied heavily on archaeological resources to guide their restoration efforts. Archaeological excavations are undertaken to supplement historical documentation of a Lot through the recovery of architectural details specific to Salem as well as contribute new information to more broad research questions. (For a discussion on the impact of Old Salem archaeologists on the field of historical archaeology, see the discussion of Criterion 6 below). Where possible, archeological remains are left in situ and are incorporated into the reconstruction. Artifacts recovered are stored in the archaeological collection that is organized by lot.[592] If historical and archaeological documentation meets established standards to justify a reconstruction, then plans and specification are developed to properly execute that reconstruction with appropriate material, design, color, and textures.

[591] Old Salem would hire as staff or under contract the expertise needed. Local and national architectural firms included Perry Shaw Hepburn, Luther Lashmit, Edward Bouldin, Calloway Johnson Moore and West, John Milner, and Venturi, Scott, Brown. Frank Albright came to Old Salem having served as one of the Monument Men for repatriation of stole artwork after World War II. Archaeologist Brad Rauschenberg and historian John Bivins were added to the staff in the 1970s. In 1976 Old Salem hired Charles Phillips as it first trained preservation architect. Since the 1980 and the rise of paint analysis Frank Welsh, and recently Susan Buck have supported Old Salem. See archaeological section for archaeologist.

[592] Michael O. Hartley and Martha B. Hartley, "Archaeology at Old Salem," 12-18.

The "Old Salem Act" of 1965

The legal status of the 1948 zoning ordinance remained unchallenged into the early 1960s. In 1963, the State Department of Archives and History succeeded in getting the North Carolina House of Representatives to undertake a study of existing preservation enabling legislation specifically looking at the authority of municipalities to preserve historic areas and sites. The goal was to then make recommendations for appropriate legislation. The report prepared by Philip P. Green, Assistant Director of the Institute of Government at the University of North Carolina, noted that the current zoning enabling act did not grant the authority to adopt such provisions as those contained in the Winston-Salem 1948 ordinance. The corrective legislation that was then drafted in 1964 to address this issue did not, however, garner enough support to be introduced as a statewide bill.

Deeply concerned over the status of the Board of Architectural Review and with time running out, the City-County Planning Board, Old Salem, Inc., and the Board of Aldermen pressed to have the legislation enacted as a local bill. With minor modification, the statewide bill became applicable only to Forsyth County and Winston-Salem. It was enacted into law on May 12, 1965. Along the way three other historic North Carolina towns were included but it remained a local act and was popularly known as the "Old Salem Act." The legislation authorized the listed municipalities to create historic districts and to regulate both the use and the exterior appearance of building within those districts. The districts could be either separate use districts or overlay districts. Additional historic North Carolina towns were subsequently added during the 1967 and 1969 legislative sessions to the list covered by the Old Salem Act. In 1971 the General Assembly repealed the local act and made the legislation statewide in application.

In 1966, with the "Old Salem Act" in place, Winston-Salem revised the 1948 ordinance. For the first time a separate special use district was established for Old Salem and Bethabara. Unlike the 1948 ordinance, the 1966 ordinance was not an overlay but rather a distinct "H" zoning that regulated use as well as appearance.[593] Both districts had a strong museum use component that would drive a restoration agenda. New boundaries were established and the Board of Architectural Review was replaced by a Historic District Commission. The intent remained the same and the regulations and guidelines developed by the Historic District Commission were designed to continue to support the restoration effort that was being spearheaded by Old Salem, Inc. [594] In November of that same year Old Salem was designated a National Historic Landmark District.[595]

Interpretation

In addition to driving the restoration effort, the second primary initiative of Old Salem, Inc. was to interpret the buildings and landscape in a way that educated visitors about the eighteenth-century Moravian town and the people who lived there. Preservation and interpretation are inextricably linked in the organization's mission statement:

> The purpose of historic Old Salem is to restore authentically the environment of the original, planned Moravian town of Salem from its colonial beginnings through the mid-nineteenth century, including the town's buildings, landscape, gardens and the material culture; present the town in an accurate and entertaining way, helping visitors understand the social, economic and religious life of this congregational community; conduct ongoing programs of research, publication, education,

[593] In addition to residential and institutional uses, the code allows for "any use found by the commission to have existed on the particular property in or prior to 1856." Winston-Salem/Forsyth County Planning Board, *Unified Development Ordinances*, Chapter B, 4.6-1 (A).

[594] *Old Salem Historic District: Guide to the Certificate of Appropriateness Process and Design review Guidelines* (City County Planning Department of Winston-Salem and Forsyth County, North Carolina. 2012), 21-68.

[595] Sheely, "Old Salem Historic District; Polly M. Rettig, "Old Salem Historic District" National Register of Historic Places Registration Form, U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, 1976.

> and exhibition collections in order to expand the public's knowledge of the town of Salem, its history and its relationship to broader American history and culture; and ensure, through proper preservation and maintenance, that future generations will also be able to enjoy and learn from their visits to historic Old Salem.[596]

To fulfill these goals, Old Salem has diligently adhered to a carefully considered restoration plan. By methodically and academically extracting modern intrusions and by reconstructing lost elements of the landscape, the museum staff has been able to better understand and interpret the town's architectural development, town plan, and its Germanic and Moravian heritage.

The museum staff implemented new techniques in interpretation to develop a rich educational experience for visitors, who were increasingly demanding to have historic sites, buildings, and landscapes "explained, as well as saved."[597] Old Salem began drawing visitors almost immediately, necessitating the creation of a small Visitor Center in 1952, before the first exhibit buildings were complete. The museum began opening buildings to the public in 1954 with the completion of the Boys School restoration. In 1954, the John Vogler House was added to the tour, followed by the Salem Tavern in 1956. Initially volunteers served as building hosts, but, as the museum grew, paid costumed interpreters were added to enhance visitors' experience.

By the time the enabling legislation of the "Old Salem Act" had become statewide in 1971, the Winston-Salem Historic District Commission was well established in the zoning code and Old Salem, Inc. was well into its restoration plan. Jim Gray returned as president in 1962, providing continuity in leadership in the execution of the original restoration vision. That decade, Old Salem, Inc. completed twenty-five restorations and sixteen reconstructions.[598] Of the twenty-five restorations, eight were opened to the public—six as exhibit buildings, one as a store, and one (the 1816 Tavern) as a restaurant. Fifteen of the restorations and six of the reconstructions served as private residences.

In addition to playing a key role in the rise of outdoor museums and historic sites in the United States, the mission of Old Salem reflects the mid-twentieth-century trend in the museum profession to eschew the grand narratives of the founding fathers and other "great white men" in favor of more common, everyday people who built the nation, often with their own hands. As part of that narrative, Old Salem researchers and interpreters have diligently sought to understand the experience of *all* the residents in the Moravian town, including slaves and—later—freedmen.

Interior restorations

While not all of Salem's buildings are open to the public, exhibit buildings include active interpretation of the interiors. Floor plans have been restored to their historic layout and period artifacts are utilized to help visitors better understand how eighteenth-century Americans in the backcountry of North Carolina lived their everyday lives.[599] Most of Old Salem's exhibit buildings have been restorations; however, a handful of buildings integral to the function of the historic town have been reconstructed. All reconstructions in the district are limited to exterior details—interiors are allowed flexibility in plan and materials—and are clearly marked with plaques that identify them as such, noting the date of original construction and the date of reconstruction. Each reconstruction is unique but an integral part of the larger mosaic of the Salem townscape, and the success of Old

[596] The wording and exact text of the Old Salem, Inc. mission statement has varied slightly over the years, but consistently covers the directive of preservation and restoration of the town and its interpretation.

[597] Schell, "On Interpretation and Historic Sites," 7.

[598] Bergstone, *Images of Old Salem*, 107-108.

[599] For buildings not open to the public, Old Salem only enforces guidelines on the exterior appearance.

Salem's preservation effort has been made possible by this cohesive and comprehensive approach with reconstructions as an important contributing part of the historic district.

Restoring the Landscape

After twenty-two years of restoration work, Old Salem, Inc. began to formally address the goal that was part of the plan stated in 1950 that "close attention be given to attractive landscaping and restoration of the gardens." In 1972, the museum launched a landscape restoration program. Although specific efforts had been made to remove modern intrusions—such as overhead power lines, modern street lights, signage, and asphalt roads—until the historic property lines could be reestablished, most of the restoration efforts were focused on the buildings.

In 1974, the museum hired Peter Hatch as its first trained horticulturist and established the Landscape Restoration Committee chaired by Flora Ann Bynum—a trustee, long time garden club member, a founder of the Southern Garden History Society, and Old Salem resident. The program consisted of research on par with the architectural restoration effort and used the same rich documentation from the Moravian records. The gardens have been authentically planted with open-pollinated heirlooms that have been propagated from the museum's heritage seed saving program. The goal in the selection of the plant material; arrangement of the garden squares; development of orchards, field crops, grape, and gourd vine plantings; and replacement of elements such as fencing has been to return—as accurately as possible—these features to the landscape and provide context for the eighteenth- and nineteenth-century architecture. Because the period of significance of the historic district spans a ninety-year period from 1766 to 1856, the landscape for each individual building lot has been designed to reflect the period to which each building has been restored.[600] In partnership with the Southern Garden History Society, Old Salem has played a pivotal role in historic landscape restoration, and the museum has made major contributions to the heirloom seed-saving program.

Expanding the Vision

On July 21, 1978 the Old Salem National Historic Landmark District nomination was updated and the official boundaries were set to coincide with the local Historic District boundaries that had been established in the 1968 zoning ordinance. However, Old Salem, Inc. had already begun to expand its geographical reach to both archaeological sites and extant buildings outside the Historic District boundaries particularly to the area west of Old Salem Road ("Old Salem Bypass"), which was constructed in 1958 to reroute traffic from U.S. Route 52 around the historic core of the district. National Register listing was granted to several properties beyond the Historic District, including the 1836 Salem Manufacturing Company and Arista Cotton Mill. Three houses dating from 1839-1857 on South Trade Street (Factory Row) were listed and placed under deed covenant, and Old Salem acquired the archaeological sites of the 1784 Slaughter House and 1773 Brewery which were also placed on the National Register. In June, 1982 the local "H"-District was enlarged to the west to include the Moravian industrial sites of the Brewery, Slaughter House, and Tannery. In October, 1992 it was expanded again to the south to include Salem Lots 100 and 101. Both enlargements were generated by Old Salem, Inc. to embrace property that had been acquired by the museum. In the 1980s Old Salem began to aggressively acquire land southwest of the historic district. This property would be used not only to relocated the 1964 Visitor Center out of the heart of the historic area but also acquire land around the 172 Stockburger Farm as it became available. The farm house itself, which is the only surviving house from the early farm, is located two blocks outside of the current district boundary but has been included in the expanded Landmark boundary.[601]

By the late 1990s, Old Salem, Inc. was increasingly aware of important architectural and archaeological resources outside of the geographic and traditional temporal boundaries that had defined Old Salem's previous

[600] Spencer, *The Gardens of Salem*, 3-15; Griffin, *An Adventure in Historic Preservation*, 63-65.
[601] Old Salem, Inc., acquired the house in 2007 (Stockburger Farm, Old Salem Real Estate Files).

preservation effort. In 1997 and 1999, two Certified Local Government grants funded inventories of properties within the historic district proper and in areas surrounding the district, specifically looking within the corporate boundaries of the secular, post-1856 town. Old Salem, Inc. moved into the post-congregational town period with the acquisition of a lease on the 1861 African American Moravian St. Phillips Church—with its 1890 addition—and successfully pursued an individual National Register listing for the property, since it was not considered a contributing structure to the original Landmark District. Old Salem also placed deed covenants on the 1857 Patterson House, the 1875 Belo-Stockton House, and the ca. 1875 Nathaniel Siewers' House, and helped with the preservation of the 1860s Edward Belo House. These buildings from the 1857-1913 period, provided a more complete interpretation of the Moravian experience as it moved toward the merger with Winston in 1913.

By 2013, more than 160 non-contributing buildings had been removed as a result of the restoration effort. Most of these were removed by Old Salem, Inc. in its initiative to reunify the original town lot property lines and reestablish historic land-use patterns. The Moravian Church, Salem Academy and College, and individual residents have also removed non-contributing buildings under authorization of the Historic Resources Commission. Using largely local, private funding, as of 2013, Old Salem had undertaken the restoration or reconstruction of seventy-two buildings. Of these, the museum holds deed covenants on twenty-five original and eleven reconstructed buildings, and retains direct oversight on twenty original structures and six reconstructions.

A Living Community

The continuation of Old Salem as a shared space between the museum, private residents, Home Moravian Church, and Salem Academy and College marks a significant difference between Old Salem and other historic sites, such as Colonial Williamsburg. The historic district was heavily influenced by the restoration activities of the museum but it was to remain a living community. Old Salem, Inc., never sought complete ownership of the site, nor did the organization have the resources to restore or reconstruct every building or site it acquired. The goal was to restore the town, but not every building would be open for exhibition or even owned by Old Salem, Inc. The museum would open exhibit buildings based on their interpretive value; other buildings could support the institutional needs of the Moravian Church, Salem Academy and College as well as Old Salem, Inc. Individual houses were converted back into privately held residences. The Historic District zoning gave priority to residential use and limited commercial or business activity to any documented use that existed on the site prior to the end of the theocracy in 1856.[602]

The hybrid union of the Charleston historic district zoning with a Williamsburg private sector's vision of restoring a complete town resulted in a unique but very successful preservation experience. This vanguard preservation effort occurred as new methods were being sought nationally to preserve more than single structures as museums but rather save whole neighborhoods, even towns. The models and methods available were limited but Old Salem was able to combine two preservation techniques to form a new mechanism that could stretch preservation's reach and accomplish what few were able to accomplish at the time. The result was neither a Williamsburg nor a Charleston but something that worked exceedingly well for Winston-Salem, North Carolina and continues today to fulfill the preservation vision established sixty-five years ago.

[602] Winston-Salem, North Carolina/Forsyth County Unified Development Ordinance (UDO) , Chapter B- Zoning Ordinance, 4-6-H and HO District Uses and Dimensional Requirements, 4-6.1 (A) Permitted Uses 1-3. http://library.municode.com/index.aspx?clientId=84486&stateId=33&stateName=North%20Carolina

CRITERION 6 - ARCHAEOLOGICAL SIGNIFICANCE OF SALEM

Archaeological analysis in Salem involves questions in historical archaeology addressing material culture and the utopian community. In particular archaeological analysis in this context can strongly address the transformation and creolization that occurred within the community of Salem from its origin in 1766 through the nineteenth century. In addition, the ownership of enslaved people within this utopian community contributed significantly to the dynamics of transformation and creolization within both the white and black populations of Salem through time. The exercise of agency within this context also merits study.

Archaeology in Salem

The presence of archaeological remains and significance of Salem as an archaeological site have been clearly demonstrated over the past sixty-three years by the work of the many archaeologists who have worked there. Excavations have consistently revealed the presence of substantial and important archaeological remains in Salem. With the treatment of Salem as a single site (31FY395), each excavation of a lot or other location in Salem is an examination of a component of the archaeological site of Salem.[603] Salem was historically organized into a numbered lot system, with the system currently in use being set in place in 1821. This system continues in use today as the organizational framework of Old Salem Museums & Gardens and the original NHL. Excavations on a historic lot are assigned that lot number as the component number of the excavation. Artifacts are curated in the Old Salem Archaeology Laboratory using this system.

The broad diversity of component locations within 31FY395 and the great range of component types which have been examined constitute a substantial test of the Salem site. Each component is in itself a complex archaeological presence. Within Salem some 58 components have been examined archaeologically. This includes excavations beyond the original dimensions of the NHL district or the local district.

Past archaeology in Salem and the North Carolina Moravian resource has resulted in an extensive artifact collection which is invaluable for research and comparative purposes. Because of the range of sites excavated, comparisons can be made within Salem, lot to lot, chronological period to chronological period and in some cases individual people to one another. An extensive archive of primary documentation enhances the ability of the archaeologist to develop awareness of cultural and historical themes. A similarly substantial body of secondary writings provides access to well-developed intellectual and academic thought on Salem and Moravian culture and history.

Archaeology conducted in Old Salem has played a significant role in the development of Historical Archaeology. Initial investigations were conducted by Frank Horton and Frank Albright in the 1950s and early 1960s, and shortly after their work, professionals who were participating in the creation of the new discipline of historical archaeology worked here and in Bethabara.

In 2004 and 2005, Old Salem Archaeology conducted a Certified Local Government project in which Stanley South, Brad Rauschenberg, John Clauser, Ned Woodall, Kathleen Gilmore, Loretta Lautzenheiser, Leland Ferguson and Michael Hartley were the subjects of filmed interviews relating to their work in Old Salem, conducted from the 1960s into the present, all interviews except his own were conducted by Hartley. Each interview was also summarized in written form, and the interviews combined as a compendium of the thoughts of archaeologists who have worked here regarding historical archaeology and the placement of Old Salem in the discipline.[604] A particularly visible historical archaeologist is Stanley South, whose work in the Moravian

[603] Michael O. Hartley and Martha B. Hartley, "Archaeology at Old Salem: Assessment and Inventory" (Winston-Salem and Raleigh: N.C. Division of Archives and History, Archaeology Section and Old Salem, Inc. Department of Archaeology, 2001), 2.

[604] Michael O. Hartley and Martha B. Hartley, "Old Salem Archaeology: A New Look at Old Sites," (Winston-Salem and Raleigh: N.C. Division of Archives and History, Archaeology Section and Old Salem, Inc. Department of Archaeology, 2005).

material of Bethabara and Old Salem in the 1960s played an important role in the development of his stance as one of the principals in the founding of the discipline of historical archaeology.

South summarized the historical archaeologist's responsibility to the archaeological record in the conclusion of his 1977 treatise, *Method and Theory in Historical Archeology*. It is significant that the year South originally wrote the below quote, 1968, he was excavating the Fifth House on Lot 49 in Salem with Garry Stone. South wrote:

> The historical archeologist has an increasingly expanding responsibility to inquire beyond the mere validation of an historic site through correlation with documentary evidence; beyond merely listing the presence or absence of artifact types for establishing the temporal position of the site; beyond the revealing of architectural features for the purpose of reconstruction and restoration; beyond exposing ruins for the entertainment of the visiting public to historic sites; and beyond the process of recovery and preservation of relics from the past to be hoarded in repositories and museums! His view must be as broad as the questions being asked by archeologists, sociologists, anthropologists, ecologists, biologists, archaeo-parasitologists and other scientists who are increasingly turning to historical archaeology to reflect some light on their special problems and spheres of interest. However, although archeology is broadening its scope, the primary emphasis will continue to be in the area of material culture where so much must still be explored.[605]

The context of Old Salem in the 1960s can easily be seen in the formulation of this passage, producing a pointed requirement of broadening the questions asked of the resource.

The Archaeology of Utopian Communities

Salem is a significant example of the utopian community, a category of community that has been a particular focus of archaeological research. The archaeology of utopian communities was emphasized in 2006 in a publication of the Journal of Historical Archaeology issue dedicated to the subject. In the initial article in the volume Thad Van Bueren and Sarah Tarlow wrote cogently about the interpretive potential of utopian settlements. Included in the dynamics of the subject discussed by these authors were: sectarian groups seeking refuge in isolation, the attractiveness of the New World on the periphery of Europe, the significance of the Western frontier and an untamed wilderness, freedom from the restraints of a dominant culture, and "utopian ventures as acts of social resistance that explicitly criticized dominant group values and practices."[606]

The "potential" noted in the article includes filling gaps in the historical record, and going deeper than either archaeology or documentary evidence, taken without testing each against the other. Further, the issue of

> Exposing discrepancies between aspiration and practice should not be to produce a mere catalog of human frailty. Instead, it is the responsibility of researchers to respect and study the lives of utopian communards with honesty, accuracy, and a good dose of empathy, interpreting the artifacts, buildings, and trash pits of communards within the context of their lived experience, struggles and bold experimentation.[607]

Van Bueren and Tarlow also bring forward the concept of consciously chosen norms that departed from those of the dominant culture, with participants in these norms highly conscious of their choices. Within this intense self-consciousness the participants of such a community produced a variety of material arrangements that were

[605] Stanley South, *Method and Theory in Historical Archaeology* (New York: Academic Press, 1977), 321.

[606] Thad M. Van Bueren and Sarah A. Tarlow, "The Interpretive Potential of Utopian Settlements," *Journal of the Society for Historical Archaeology* 40, no. 1 (2006), 2.

[607] Ibid., 3.

symbols and conveyors of identity, beliefs and values. Material arrangement and organization were also mechanisms for defining deeper arrangements of power and control.

A particularly pertinent observation made by these authors is the ability of archaeology to observe diachronic change and evolution within a utopian community. All of the communities studied and analyzed in the body of articles in this SHA volume were abandoned. Van Bueren and Tarlow propose that even in the case of failed communities, archaeology in combination with other historical data can illuminate ideological adaptation.[608] Salem's archaeological potential encompasses all of the points proposed by these authors, with the exception that into the early twentieth century, Salem demonstrated longevity and endurance rather than abandonment.

The study of the processes present in Salem from 1766 through its merger with Winston in 1913 present the opportunity to study adaptive mechanisms operating around core cultural beliefs. Rather than viewing Salem as an "abandoned" attempt at a utopian community, examination of the maintenance of cultural identity tied to place on the landscape as well as the strengths, weaknesses, and implications of adaptations through time can be undertaken.

Recent archaeology on residential Lot 33 in Old Salem has explored the nineteenth century contrast between the public Moravian identity as opposed to the private Moravian identity as revealed in archaeologically excavated household ceramics. In analysis of the ceramics recovered on Lot 33, ceramics used in the privacy of the kitchen were found to be Moravian produced lead-glazed earthenware, while those used on the more visible dining table were the Staffordshire and whiteware prevalent in popular culture. This indicates Moravian tenacity regarding their inward cultural identity while they modified outward appearances to minimize conflict with the broader community. This example illustrates the archaeological potential of Salem in illuminating dynamics of identity, adaptation and transformation in a utopian community.[609]

These questions are further heightened by the occurrence of Moravian adaptive activities occurring in the broader context of the antebellum and post-bellum South. The tensions, external and internal, that derived from Moravian choices and stances in Salem, and the material evidences of those choices, offer a fertile area of ongoing research. The path chosen by Moravian leadership during the emergence of the "New South", the relationship of that path to antebellum choices, and the effect of those choices on Moravian identity requires further study.

An Enslaved Population, Then Freed

The presence of an enslaved population within the community from the colonial period through the proposed period of significance adds another level of complexity and importance to Salem. This enslaved population was interwoven with the white Moravian population of Salem on the landscape of the town. And, within the black population some were Moravians and some were not. Those who chose not to be members of the Moravian church exercised a choice not available to white residents during the theocratic government of the town.

The black population of Salem who lived and worked in the town through time are far less clearly visible than the more carefully recorded white Moravians, and have an important potential archaeologically. Substantial attention has been directed toward the Strangers/"Negro" burial ground by Leland Ferguson, his students, and Old Salem archaeologist Michael Hartley, and this has led to a broader interpretation of black presence in Salem. This consideration, however, has not included extensive excavation and archaeological study of elements such as residential locations of blacks, and material evidence of their presence as occupants and participants in the day-to-day activities of the town.

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[608] Ibid., 4.
[609] Michael O. Hartley, "Heinrich Schaffner," 28-44.

There have been archaeological examinations in the 1970s and 1980s of one ruin on a Salem residential lot that was known to be the house of a slave named Christian David (Lot 7, Vierling House on Church Street). Christian David was owned by the Unity Administration, lived for a time in the home of the Administrator (the Vierling House), and then lived in a house built for him in 1835 in the Vierling House yard by Wachovia Administrator Theodore Schultz. Christian David was also a baptized member of the black Moravian Congregation of Salem, and well respected in the community. It is unlikely that in 1835 that houses like his were a common occurrence, but it was built and he did live there.[610]

The fact that a house was built for Christian David on Lot 7 established a precedent for similar houses in Salem, and there is evidence for such similar houses. The census records of Salem in 1860 indicate that there were approximately thirty-seven "slave houses" on residential lots that also held the residences of the white Moravian owners of the enslaved occupants of those houses, and there were approximately 158 enslaved people in Salem.[611] Archaeology conducted in Salem has demonstrated that house remains are accessible through excavation, yet no project focusing on the archaeological excavation and study of black households has been conducted.

The Sanborn Insurance maps dating from the post-bellum nineteenth century indicate the presence of a "residence" to the rear of a number of known white households, as well as "negro tenement" or "servants" on some of the residential lots. Research focusing on these locations has great potential for addressing aspects of enslaved and postbellum black culture within Salem. The Sanborn maps record a number of locations that predate freedom, and show the potential locations of some slave houses.

Tests of the Schumann Plantation/Liberia/Happy Hill component across Salem Creek have located the remains of the house built by Dr. Schumann in 1815, but location of evidence relating to the enslaved population on this land has not yet been firmly located and remains to be done.

Liberia, or Happy Hill

The presence of a substantial black population in Salem resulted in the post-bellum creation of a significant black community on Moravian Church land. Discussion of the establishment of this town-like neighborhood began in the Salem governing boards in 1868, to be located on what was commonly known as "The Schumann Plantation," a location previously known as a focal point of black residence. The implementation of this idea was begun in 1872 with the surveying of a road system and lots, sold for $10 each, in a tract initially named "Liberia," and which immediately became known as "Happy Hill." The Happy Hill community, located on the hillside directly across the potter's bottom and Salem Creek from Salem, was from the time of its origin, a focal place for members of the black population with ties to Salem.

Although the neighborhood suffered the disruption of urban-renewal projects in the 1950s, the core area of the origins of Happy Hill has significant archaeological integrity and potential. The road system, laid out in the 1870s, is still in place. The hub of the area, the location of the 1816 Schumann House site, has been tested archaeologically and the ruin located (31FY1085). There is also evidence of archaeological potential in the direct vicinity of the Schumann House ruin of the eighteenth-and early nineteenth century Salem Plantation occupation.[612] Additionally, archaeological tests of approximately three acres in the vicinity of the Schumann ruin have been conducted for evidence of ante-and post-bellum occupation. These limited tests have not yet

[610] Jon Sensbach, "Christian David and the 'Davy House'" (report for Old Salem Inc., Winston-Salem, NC, 1992), 1-6
[611] Forsyth County Genealogical Society, *The 1860 Federal Census*.
[612] Margaret Tyler, "The Schumann/Alexander House: Archaeological Investigation of 31FY1085" (master's thesis, University of South Carolina, 2005).

provided information on the broader black occupation that is expected in Happy Hill. However, the archaeologists conducting these tests noted,

> This site has the potential to contribute to our existing knowledge concerning early Moravian farmsteads, the plantation activities of Friedrich Schumann and the Alexander family. Current investigations indicate that intact deposits related to site 31FY1085** were found to extend into the project area. This site is eligible for listing in the National Register under Criterion D-Data. It is recommended that this site and these lots be avoided by development activities [613]

The absence of contributing architecture in Happy Hill heightens the importance of the archaeological potential of the place, as does the need for recognition of the black presence throughout the history of Salem. Experience in Wachovia has been that early African American architecture has not survived. And that is certainly the case in Happy Hill.

Within the past three years, the Happy Hill cemetery has been recovered from choking undergrowth and trash, revealing gravestones from the nineteenth century and into the twentieth. This effort, largely undertaken by black residents of Winston-Salem, has been revelatory for the community as the large numbers of graves are brought into view, either as unmarked sunken burials or as marked graves.

As Erika Seibert wrote in 2000,

> African-American archaeological sites are important to the National Register because they become part of the public memory, they can be used in planning and management, and because often, archaeological sites are the only evidence which survives of historic properties. African-American archaeological resources may provide detailed information that neither the documentary record nor the architectural record of historic structures may reflect, such as details about housing size, construction techniques, and floor plans for structures that are no longer standing, material evidence of folk beliefs and practices, data on mortality, nutrition, and quality of life, or information about industrial sites where free and enslaved Africans labored.[614]

The above comments are directly pertinent to the Salem NHL resource. Study and awareness of the black presence in the Moravian town has only been emphasized for the past twenty years, and much remains to be learned. A study involving the particularly unusual relationships of people enslaved within a theocratically governed community as well as the post-theocratic and post-slavery period can be informative in ways not available on other sites. This places the research into a very specific social and cultural urban environment. Added to this is the complexity of black relationships to a religious German community that is undergoing its own creolization. There are also possibilities of examining free black activities, but this research is expected to be more difficult in the archaeological context.

During Leland Ferguson's work examining Salem using the Stranger Graveyard and its transition to the black graveyard as a point of perspective, students wrote seven theses that treated people, landscapes and racism. In one of these theses Geoff Hughes joined the issues of utopian Salem to issues of racialization. He presented a discursive analysis of Salem God's Acre and the Parish Graveyard in which he addressed the placement of both

[613] Scott Seibel and Terri Russ, "Archaeological Survey and Evaluation in the Happy Hill Redevelopment Area Winston-Salem-Forsyth County, North Carolina" (Forsyth County and Winston-Salem City-County Planning Board, 2004), 6, 10.

[614] Erika Seibert, African-American Archaeological Sites & the National Register of Historic Places: Creating Public Memory, *Newsletter of the African-American Archaeology Network* 27 (Late Winter 2000), https://newsouthassoc.com/African%20American%20Archaeology%20Newsletters/newsletter27.html.

graveyards on the Salem landscape, their aesthetic qualities, the use of gravestones as language, and control of access and ritual behavior. In doing so he treats issues of power and its distribution.[615]

Ferguson himself has also presented his findings in a book entitled *God's Fields*: *Landscape, Religion and Race in Moravian Wachovia*. Ferguson's view was that slavery and Moravian racism caused the white members of the community of Salem to "relinquish their ideals."[616] He interpreted the placement of racially determined elements on the landscape of Salem as evidence of this disintegration of the culture of Salem. As he said, however, "Archaeological and historical research offer answers to some of these questions and raise new ones along the way."[617] This is certainly where the resource stands today, presenting the potential for the revelation of new understandings of this very complex place and its various people.

Racialization

A concept that allows examination of these fluid shifts in groups, culture, and cultural exchange is the idea of racialization. This theoretical approach is moving to the fore in historical archaeology and is a theoretical device presented in the New Philadelphia NHL nomination as a useful tool for gaining new and significant information from that site.[618]

This concept addresses the imposition of a racial identity by a dominant group upon a minority group, which allows differential and unequal treatment of the minority group. This touches on Anthony Giddens theory of structuration, which provides for agency within individuals or groups to alter the rules of behavior.[619] This theoretical formulation raises questions of how Giddens' concept meshes with the concept of racialization. The question becomes who decides what and why? Who is able to impose restricting identity, what is the contextual foundation that allows this imposition, and what are the evidences of this process in the archaeological record?

Within the context of Salem significant questions emerge about how the imposition of identity takes place within a closed society such as this? What are the contrasts between acceptance of pressure from outside groups to behave in a certain way (Moravians reacting to pressure from the outside society) and that which is generated internally from a desire to alter power relations between groups (issues of racialization)? Further, questions emerge about who within the nominally dominant group accepts the legitimacy of imposition, who rejects it and why? How does acceptance or rejection affect the identity of the dominant group as well as the minority group. And further, what are the attributes of the imposed identity of the black members of the community and how did these attributes transition through time. What are the processes involved and how will they be manifest in the archaeological record of the place over time?

These questions are particularly relevant in the utopian community of Salem in view of the transition of the town residents from an accepted brotherly relationship between white and black members of the community to a strictly determined role of dominant group and subservient group. Within this broad framework, however, is the added tension of resistance to this imposition of identity by members of the ostensibly dominant group who question the legitimacy of the imposition. And again, how is this manifest in the archaeological record through time. Is the cultural identity of the dominant group maintained through time in spite of these dynamics?

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[615] Geoffrey Ryan Hughes, "Salem Asleep: A Discoursive Archaeology of God's Acre 1771-1815" (master's thesis, University of South Carolina, 2005), 4-5, 48.

[616] Ferguson, *God's Fields*, 199.

[617] Ibid., 200.

[618] *New Philadelphia Townsite*, National Historic Landmark Nomination Form. U.S. Department of the Interior, National Historic Landmarks Program, Washington, D.C., 25.

[619] Anthony Giddens, *Central Problems in Social Theory* (London: Macmillan, 1979).

A point of departure for the study of these sorts of questions is in the residential evidence of these groups on the landscape of Salem, the traditional approach of archaeology to the study of black culture. However, beyond the baseline information of the detailed material content of residential locations, work and institutional locations in the urban setting of Salem and on related outlots are expected to be fruitful areas of investigation.

Four important archaeological components outside the district, but immediately adjacent to the original boundaries, relate to questions about the functioning of Utopian Salem as well as being work places for members of the black population. These are the industrial sites on Academy Street, and the Builder's House, which is also the location of the Schaffner/Krause Pottery, on the south side of Brookstown Avenue (New Shallowford Road).

The Industrial sites are the location of a group of crafts industries operated in Salem, beginning in the colonial period. These are the Slaughterhouse and the Brewery, which were excavated in 1997 and 1984 and subsequently listed on the National Register of Historic Places. The Tannery Diacony business, the third component of this complex lies directly across Academy Street, also in an open grassy field by Tanner's Run Creek.

Beyond Salem, ongoing studies of related Moravian activities from the colonial period and onward are also available for comparison within the Moravian settlements. Excavations and studies at Bethabara, Bethania, and Friedberg demonstrate the presence of this comparative data. An example of an important line of inquiry within the context of Wachovia is the ongoing research in the ceramic taxonomy of Moravian potters. This research spans more than a quarter of a century in Wachovia, and continues today. Data from Lot 33 (Herbst) and Lot 81 (the Schaffner-Krause pottery) are currently adding significant knowledge to our understanding of pottery produced in Salem and Wachovia. Changes seen in production and use of pottery on these sites are leading to an understanding of underlying cultural changes affecting the Moravian community in the mid-nineteenth century.

Excavations in the broader region of Carolina provide further resources for comparing and contrasting colonial and post-colonial behaviors across different groups, whether they be English, German, Scotch-Irish, African American or Native American. While Salem and Wachovia were inhabited by a group tightly bounded by their spiritual and theocratic structure, they were not detached from the processes of settlement in Carolina. On the contrary, Wachovia and the Moravian towns performed the vital function of providing an urban anchor for colonial settlement along the frontier of Carolina[620]

The methods selected in careful Moravian planning which allowed their successful occupation of the frontier also provided support for non-Moravian settlers as well. The behaviors chosen by colonial Moravians provide an important contrast and comparison with other groups settling in the Piedmont and backcountry of Carolina.

In Wachovia, Salem was an important culmination of plans for settlement on the frontier which had been formulated in the 1740s. Evidences of Salem's colonial origins are present archaeologically in the present-day town, as well as in outlying congregations that fell under the authority of this administrative center. It is expected that archaeological remains of Country Congregations such as Friedland will expand knowledge of these relationships.

The significance of Salem's archaeological resources is not limited to the eighteenth century or to the colonial period. Salem's Moravians wielded great importance in the transition of North Carolina to industrialism, with an array of groundbreaking changes taking place in the town. Salem was the location of innovation in textile

[620] Hartley, 1987.

milling, in railroading, in banking, and in hydro-electric power. Many evidences of these innovative changes, which began in the 1830s, are materially present in Salem, either as extant or archaeological remains.

Archaeological exploration and interpretive analysis of these remains are of particular importance in the understanding of the changes which these new economic foundations wrought. That the origins of the industrial center which became Winston-Salem lie in Moravian families of Salem is of particular significance. The influence of these families ultimately resulted in the creation of whole textile towns, linked by railroads and resting on financial institutions all of which were directed from the small town of Salem.

This resource is by no means exhausted in its potential, but rather is really just beginning to come into its own. What has gone before has been exploratory; what remains is the coherent study of an archaeological resource with vast importance on the local, state, regional, national, and international levels.

Salem Historic District, North Carolina

Timeline of Archaeological Investigations in Old Salem (31FY395)
1950-2015

1950	Frank Horton, Old Salem, Inc. staff (OSI) Lot 99 Eberhardt lot (shop, house) Lot 24 Ebert-Reich lot (Reich shop)
1950-1951	Frank Horton, (OSI) Lot 73 Lick-Boner lot (cistern, other?)
1952	Frank Horton (OSI) Lot 65 Christoph Vogler Lot
1956	Frank Albright (OSI) Lots 39 & 49 Pottery operation
1958	Frank Albright (OSI) Lot 59 Miksch yard
1959	Frank Horton (OSI) Lot 51 Third House
1960	Frank Albright (OSI) Lot 20 Reich rear yard (well, drains, brick wall) Lot 55 Leinbach yard Lot 66 Schultz yard
1961	Frank Albright (OSI) Lot 68 Tavern back barn yard
1963	Frank Albright (OSI) Lot 62 Single Brothers House rear yard testing
1964	Frank Albright (OSI) Lot 62 sidewalk area east of E.A. Vogler

Lot 50 Fourth House testing

1965 Stanley South, George Demmy (Office of State Archaeologist)
Lot 49 Fifth House

1966 Frank Horton, Brad Rauschenberg (OSI)
Lot 51 Third House additional excavation of foundation

1966 Brad Rauschenberg (OSI)
Lot 52 First House excavation of foundation

1966 or 67 Brad Rauschenberg (OSI)
Lot 68 excavations at rear of Salem Tavern

1967 Stanley South, Garry Stone
Lot 49 Fifth House continued work
Brad Rauschenberg (OSI)
Lot 31 Bakery yard and bake oven
Lot 57 Schroeter house excavation of foundation

1967 or 68 Brad Rauschenberg (OSI)
Lot 15 Single Sisters

1968 Brad Rauschenberg (OSI)
Lot 27 T. Bagge

1968- Stanley South, Garry Stone

1969 Lot 49 Fifth House continued excavations

1969-1970 Brad Rauschenberg (OSI)
Lot 71 Solomon Lick

1974 John Clauser (consulting archaeologist)
Lot 7 Vierling House rear yard explorations
Lot 39 Van Vleck lot, exploration for kiln and pottery remains
Potters Meadow salvage
John Bivins
Lot 96 Volz Gunshop ruin

1975 John Clauser, Jill Loucks (consulting archaeologists)
Lot 61 Single Brothers Workshop

Ca. 1976 Charles Philips and John Larson, (OSI)
Lot 40, Hall Wash House Foundations.

1977 Judith Newkirk—Wake Forest University (WFU), Ned Woodall, Prin. Inv., WFU
Lot 7 Vierling yard (Davy house, smokehouse complex, well, bakeoven)
Lot 41 Cooper Shop
Lot 95 Anna Johanna Vogler yard, testing for carriage house

Lot 101 Hege lot, testing for house

1978 Kathleen Gilmore, Ned Woodall (WFU)
Lots 93 & 94 Industrial sites
Melonie Coats (WFU)
Lot 7 Vierling porch and north yard
Lot 68 Tavern woodhouse

1981 Ned Woodall (WFU)
Lot 54 Cape Fear Bank woodshed
Michael Hammond, Archaeological Research Consultants (ARC)
Lot 23 Zevely bakeoven testing
Lot 71 Solomon Lick barn

1982 Michael Hammond (ARC)
Lot 41 Schulz-Cooper House—OSI/Salem College Field School
Lot 90 Denke lot testing

1982-1983 Julie Risher and Beth Pearce (Salem College)
Lot 15 Single Sisters Kitchen floor

1983 Michael Hammond (consulting arch.), Michael Hartley (consulting arch.)
Lot 91 Ackerman house and lot—OSI/Salem College Field School
Ned Woodall (WFU)
Lot 93 salvage at west end of Brewery lot

1984 Michael Hammond (OSI), Michael Hartley (consulting arch.)
Lot 90 Denke lot—OSI/Salem College Field School
Michael Hammond (OSI)
Lot 20 Reich fence line testing
Lot 91 Ackerman feature
Lot 7 Vierling barn testing

1985 Michael Hammond (OSI), Michael Hartley (consulting arch)
Lot 7 Vierling barn—OSI/Salem College Field School
Michael Hammond (OSI)
Lot 30 Boys School lot, testing at west wall of Annex

1986 Michael Hammond (OSI), Michael Hartley (consulting arch)
Lot 7 Vierling lot, terraces, Davy's house—OSI/Salem College Field School
Michael Hammond (OSI)
Lot 27 T. Bagge lot, carriage shed and lot testing
Lot 62 Single Brothers House, testing at south end
Lot 62 post hole survey for chicken yard

1987 Michael Hammond (OSI)
Lot 93 Brewery site (DuPont grant for teachers)

1987 Michael Hartley (consulting archaeologist)
Wachovia Study Survey

1988 Michael Hammond (OSI)
Lot 93 Brewery site (DuPont grant for teachers)

1989 Michael Hammond (OSI)
Salem Square, corpse house (Field School??)

1990 Michael Hammond (OSI)
Lot 88 E.T. Ackerman outbuilding testing
Lot 71 Solomon Lick privy (Field School??)
Lot 59 Miksch, testing yard south of house

1991 Leland Ferguson, University of South Carolina (USC)
Lot 104 St. Philips preliminary testing-May and July

1992 Leland Ferguson (USC)
Lot 104 St. Philips rear lot testing

1993 Loretta Lautzenheiser, Coastal Carolina Research (CCR)
Lot 23 Zevely yard
Brad Bartel, University of North Carolina Greensboro (UNCG),
Michael Hartley (OSI consulting arch)
Lot 67 Blum yard (OSI/UNCG Field School)
Leland Ferguson-USC
Lot 104 St. Philips graveyard

1994 Brad Bartel (UNCG), Michael Hartley (OSI consulting arch.)
Lot 67 Blum yard-OSI/UNCG Field School
Michael Hartley (OSI consulting arch.)
Lot 104 St. Philips graveyard-Field School for high schoolers

1995 Michael Hartley (OSI consulting arch.)
Lot 104 St. Philips graveyard-Field School for high schoolers
Michael Hartley (OSI consulting arch.), Brad Bartel (UNCG)
Lot 33 Herbst house, shop and lot-OSI/UNCG Field School

1996 Michael Hartley (OSI consulting arch.)
Lot 104 St. Philips NW Sunday School room

1996 Michael Hartley (OSI consulting arch.), Brad Bartel (UNCG)
Lot 33 Herbst shops and outbuildings-OSI/UNCG Field School

1997 Michael Hartley (OSI consulting arch.), Brad Bartel (UNCG)
Lot 33 Herbst shops and outbuildings-OSI/UNCG Field School
Leland Ferguson (USC)
Lot 104 St. Philips graveyard-USC Field School
Roger Kirchen, Aaron Russell (WFU), Ned Woodall, Prin. Inv.;
Michael Hartley (OSI project coordinator)
Lot 90 Denke wash house
Michael Hartley (OSI consulting archaeologist)
Lot 104 Log church exploration

1998 Michael Hartley (OSI consulting arch.)
Lot 90 Denke barn
Michael Hartley (OSI), Brad Bartel (UNCG)
Lot 33 Herbst shops and outbuildings-OSI/UNCG Field School
Leland Ferguson (USC), Michael Hartley (OSI)
Lot 104

1999 Michael Hartley (OSI)
Lot 168 Loesch house-OSI/UNCG Field School
Lot 33 Herbst shop student practicum
Roger Kirchen (WFU), N. Woodall, K. Robinson (Prin. Inv.),
Michael Hartley (OSI project coordinator)
Lot 88 E.T. Ackerman lot
Jeff Hughes (USC) under Leland Ferguson
Lot 104 St. Philips Sunday School rooms
Maggie Tyler (USC) under Leland Ferguson (USC) and Michael Hartley (OSI)
Schumann lot

2000 Michael Hartley (OSI)
Lot 81 Schaffner pottery-OSI/UNCG Field School
The Salem Reservation on Second Street
Leland Ferguson (USC)
Lot 104 St. Philips-USC semester Field School

2000 Linda Stine (consulting arch.), Michael Hartley (OSI Project Coordinator)
Lot 98 T. Vogler barn

2000-2001 Kim Riewe and Jennifer Garrison (UNCG) under Michael Hartley (OSI)
Lot 98 T. Vogler shop

2001 Michael Hartley (OSI)
Builder's House/Lot 81 Schaffner Pottery-OSI/UNCG Field School
Michael and Martha Hartley (OSI)
Inventory and Assessment of Archaeological Work in Old Salem 31FY395. CLG funded project through Archaeology Section, N.C. Archives and History

2002 Michael Hartley (OSI)
Builder's House/Lot 81 Schaffner Pottery-OSI/UNCG Field School
Kristin Hill,
Lot 102, Siewers Shop, Thesis Archaeology, supervised by Michael O. Hartley
Kym Riewe, under direction of Michael Hartley
Testing in rear yard, clearance for planting

2003 Michael Hartley
Builder's House/Lot 81 Schaffner Pottery-OSI/UNCG Field School
Michael and Martha Hartley
Lot 101 Reich/Hege, House ruin testing.
Michael and Martha Hartley
Archaeological Survey of Southern Country Congregations

2004 Michael Hartley (OSI)
Builder's House/Lot 81 Schaffner Pottery-OSI/UNCG Field School
Lot 22 Traugott Leinbach Yard, testing for garden.
Lot 246 Well at Roundabout, -NCDOT

2005 Michael Hartley (OSI)
Builder's House/Lot 81 Schaffner pottery-OSI/UNCG Field School
Michael and Martha Hartley
Lot 101 Reich/Hege Full Excavation
Old Salem Archaeology, "A New Look at Old Sites" CLG Project
Dana Priddy, directed by Michael Hartley
Lot 81 Schaffner Pottery well excavation

2006 Michael and Martha Hartley (OSI)
Reich/Hege Full Excavation. "The Reich –Hege House"
Lot 61 Single Brother's Well, with Jennifer Garrison
Michael Hartley (OSI)
Builder's House/Lot 81 Schaffner Pottery-OSI/UNCG Field School

2007 Michael and Martha Hartley (OSI)
Old Salem Forum of North Carolina Historical Archaeologists
"Old Salem Archaeology: Protocols for Component Evaluation" CLG Project- Included excavation on Lot 38
Michael Hartley (OSI)
Builder's House/Lot 81-Schaffner Pottery-OSI/UNCG Field School

2008 Michael Hartley (OSI)
Builder's House/Lot 81-Schaffner Pottery-OSI/UNCG Field School

2010 Michael Hartley (OSI)
Lot 104-St. Philips Graveyard-OSI/UNCG Field School

2011 Chet Tomlinson, under direction of Michael Hartley
Lot 59 – Miksch House - Excavation to determine location of Bake Oven

2013 Michael Hartley (OSI)
Lot 104-St. Philips Graveyard-OSI/Salem College Field School

2013 Michael Hartley (OSI)
Lot 30-Boys School west wall

2014 Michael Hartley (OSI)
Lot 73-Salt-Flax outbuilding

2015 Geoff Hughes, UNC-CH Archaeology Fellow and Beau Lockard Intern/OSI, under direction of Michael Hartley (OSI)
Lot 81-Builders House/Schaffner-Krause Pottery

CONCLUSION

Salem, North Carolina, was built in the colonial period by a pietistic religious group, the *Unitas Fratrum*, also known as the Unity of the Brethren, or the Moravians. The town they established was owned by the Unity, and was the administrative center of a broader holding of the Unity, a nearly 100,000-acre tract called Wachovia. Salem was theocratically governed, and organized around a craft and trade economy integrated with the broader economy of the Carolinas. Salem maintained this economic relationship with the broader community, while also strongly emphasizing spiritual isolation and separateness for its residents, who by residency were also members of the Salem Congregation. Their system of beliefs required a simple and productive lifestyle for congregation members. Because of its goods, services, and professions Salem provided a unique urban anchor for the colonial settlement of the backcountry of North Carolina.

The Moravians of Salem consistently applied careful planning and were committed to a long-term presence in Salem rather than short-term exploitation of resources. Part of the method they used was adaptation while maintaining cultural stability, coupled with political sensitivity and astuteness.

As the economic systems of North Carolina underwent change in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, the Moravians of Salem began to diversify their economic base. Rather than abandoning the traditional craft economy, Salem Moravians began coupling entrepreneurial industrialization to their traditional economy. In the course of the nineteenth century the practice of slavery as part of their economic stance increased. They had first entered into the ownership of enslaved people in 1769 and attempted to rigidly control the practice within Salem. However, this was an activity that regulation did not suppress, and slavery became a source of discord in the community.

Because of their economic integration with the broader community and the increasing complexity of that integration in the mid-nineteenth century, Salem revised its form of internal government. In 1849, with the formation of Forsyth County, closely enclosing Wachovia, the Moravians, led by their entrepreneurial industrialists, attempted the grafting of the county seat (Winston) onto Salem. By 1857 they recognized that they did not have the degree of control over Winston that they wanted because of the Democratic orientation of the surrounding county as opposed to the Whig orientation of the Moravians in Salem. With that realization, they converted Salem's government from the insular form of a theocracy to the more easily integrated form of a secular North Carolina municipality, but still distinctly under Moravian control.

Moravian control of industry, capital, business, and capital met with consistent success because of their ability for careful planning. With the ongoing mixture of traditional crafts, industrial innovation, and control of capital, a number of Moravian families acquired wealth, the community of Salem maintained economic soundness, and the culture of Salem remained in place.

Beyond Salem, particularly in Winston, Salem's economic foundation provided support for successful entrepreneurial initiatives through the late nineteenth and into the twentieth-century. Salem's well-planned logistics and infrastructure contributed substantially to the creation of economic and industrial empires based in Winston as well as Salem.

Salem today is a combination of elements, including landscape, road system, gardens, houses, institutional buildings, and industrial buildings that demonstrate the cultural continuity of the community from its origins in 1766 to its consolidation with Winston in 1913. Ongoing historical, archaeological, and architectural research continue as significant activities within Old Salem Museums & Gardens.

Salem remains the seat of the Moravian Church in the southern United States. In Forsyth County there are now more than thirty Moravian Congregations and more than fifteen thousand communicant Moravians. There are also many more thousands of "ethnic" Moravians in the county, who trace their ancestry directly to the original Moravian settlers but are now members of other denominations.

Numbered among those who trace their ancestry back to the early history of Salem is the black Moravian congregation of St. Philips, the only historic black Moravian Congregation in the United States. Although they have a sanctuary in north Winston-Salem, the historic Brick Church in Old Salem is still consecrated and is used by the congregation for services quarterly.

As an archaeological site, Salem presents a unique combination of components relating to the unique cultural content of the place. Added to this is the long-term occupation of Salem and the adaptations that have been part of the life of Salem. The archaeological investigations that have already taken place in Salem have demonstrated a rich resource to which many questions may be addressed in the future.

Salem is nationally significant for its deep and unique historical continuity.

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Previous documentation on file (NPS):

___ Preliminary Determination of Individual Listing (36 CFR 67) has been requested.
_X_ Previously Listed in the National Register. NR# 66000591, Listed November 13, 1966
_X_ Previously Determined Eligible by the National Register.
_X_ Designated a National Historic Landmark. NR# 66000591, Designated November 13, 1966
_X_ Recorded by Historic American Buildings Survey: # 21
_X_ Recorded by Historic American Engineering Record: # 1

Primary Location of Additional Data:

_X_ State Historic Preservation Office
_X_ Other State Agency
_X_ Federal Agency
_X_ Local Government
_X_ University
_X_ Other (Specify Repository): Moravian Archives, Southern Province and Northern Province

10. GEOGRAPHICAL DATA

Acreage of Property: 193 acres

UTM References:		Zone	Easting	Northing
Segment 1		17	567381	3994814
Segment 2	A	17	567464	3994504
	B	17	568617	3994551
	C	17	569196	3993366
	D	17	568559	3993100
	E	17	568027	3993080
Segment 3		17	569212	3993164

Verbal Boundary Description:

The majority of the district is within Segment 2, encompassing the central part of the historic Town of Salem. Beginning at the southernmost edge at a point just south of the Tar Branch confluence with Salem Creek, proceed east in alignment with the north side of Waughtown Street where it intersects S. Main Street. Follow the north side of Waughtown Street to the intersection with Alder Street and follow the north side of Alder Street to the intersection with Liberia Street.

Follow the southern side of Liberia Street to the intersection with the east side of Free Street. Proceed along the east side of Free Street to the intersection with Pitts Street. Follow the north side of Pitts Street past the intersection of Alder Street. Continue that alignment, crossing Salem Creek, to the east side of Salem Avenue. Follow south a short distance to the Salem Academy and College playing field property line, and then southeast to the turn in that property line to the southwest. Follow that alignment to the property line with City of Winston-Salem at the tennis courts.

Follow the City of Winston-Salem property line northwest to the east edge of Salem Avenue, then northeasterly along Salem Avenue to the north right-of-way line for Race Street. Go west for a short distance on this right-of-way alignment to the intersection with the original east boundary of the Old Salem Historic District NHL. Follow this NHL boundary line north a short distance north across to the Old Salem property line for the Log Church. Follow east edge of this property line north then around the eastern end of the St. Philips lot owned by Salem Congregation to the north edge where it intersects with the existing east boundary of the Old Salem Historic District NHL. Follow this NHL boundary line north. This boundary line is in its original location with the exception of minor adjustments to exclude or include buildings that were originally bisected by the NHL boundary line. Continue north to the Home Moravian Church property line.

At the Home Moravian Church property line, follow east to the historic property lines at the rear of lots on Church Street. Follow that line north to the intersection with the south property line of Salem Cemetery. Follow the south property line of Salem Cemetery east to the east side of Salem Avenue and continue north along the east side of Salem Avenue to the intersection with the alignment of the north side of Cemetery Street. Follow the north side of Cemetery Street west to the intersection with the east edge of Liberty Street.

Cross Liberty Street to the west in alignment with the north property line of the Southbound Freight Depot Building and proceed on that property boundary around the Depot to the front property line, and follow it south and then east across Liberty Street to the north property line of the Goltra building. Exclude this building by following that line and then its rear property line south to Brookstown Avenue.

Turn west on the north side of Brookstown Avenue and follow it to the east side of S. Cherry Street. Proceed north on S. Cherry Street to the intersection with High Street. Proceed west diagonally across the intersection to the north side of High Street. Follow the north side of High Street to the east side of S. Marshall Street, turn north on that line to the intersection with the Business 40 right-of-way, then west along the rear property line against US 421/Business 40 right-of-way to the west side of Spruce Street, then south on that line to the south side of High Street, and back east to S. Marshall Street. Proceed south on west side of S. Marshall Street to Brookstown Avenue.

Follow the north side of Brookstown Avenue and cross Brookstown in alignment with the west property line of the small brick bakery building at south west corner of intersection. Follow that line to a property line along the south edge of the building then turn directly east to separate the two buildings (to exclude the southern building), returning to west side of S. Marshall Street.

Proceed a short distance south on the west side of S. Marshall Street to the north side of Wachovia Street, then southwest along this line to the intersection with Tanners Run creek. Follow the property line of the lot and along the creek north to the rear lot line of lots that front on Wachovia Street, proceeding westerly along that line, then south back to the south side of Wachovia Street. Proceed a short distance east on Wachovia Street to the west edge of S. Poplar Street, south on that street to an alignment with the south property line of lots on the south side of Wachovia Street and along that line to an intersection with Tanners Run. Follow Tanners Run south along west property line of Indera Mill. Follow the Indera Mill south property line and extending across S. Marshall Street to the rear property lines of the historic lots fronting on Factory Row.

Follow those rear (west) property lines south to the south side of Bank Street, then east on Bank Street, again turning south at the rear property lines of lots fronting on Factory Row south of Bank Street and continuing around the property of the southeast corner of S. Poplar Street and Bank Street back to S. Marshall Street and continuing that line to the west side of S. Marshall Street. Follow S. Marshall Street south to Academy Street, with a slight jog in the northwest corner of the intersection to include the former gas station building. Then

proceed west along Academy Street to the intersection with S. Poplar Street to the point aligning with the west side of S. Poplar Street south of Academy Street.

Follow the west side of S. Poplar Street to the northern lot line of the first house facing Poplar on that side. Follow that property line west to the rear lot line and follow the rear property lines of lots facing S. Poplar Street south to its intersection with West Street continuing that line to cross to south edge of West Street. Follow the south side of West Street east to the west (rear) property line of the corner lot on the southwest corner of the intersection of S. Poplar Street. Proceed south on that line and turn east on the southern property line. Cross S. Poplar Street at slight angle to the southern lot line of the house on the southeast corner of the intersection of West Street and S. Poplar Street. Follow the south property line to the east then turn north on the east property line of the lot. Angle across West Street to the rear property lines of the lots facing S. Poplar Street on its east side. Follow this lot line north then follow the alignment of the north line of the lot east to Marshall Street and across to east edge.

Follow S. Marshall Street south along its east side to an intersection with the rear of line of buildings, turning east and going to the property line at Tanners Run Creek. Follow the west side property line along Tanners Run (which joins Town Run) south to the intersection with Walnut Street and is called Tar Branch. Turn west on north edge of Walnut Street and follow the curb alignment to turn southwest past the Old Salem Visitor Center, across S. Marshall Street to its west side. Turn south to the north side of Walnut Street. Proceed west on the north side of Walnut Street to the west side of S. Poplar Street. Turn north to the north boundary of the corner lot on northwest corner of S. Poplar Street and Walnut Street. Follow this north lot boundary to the east side of Broad Street and turn south on Broad Street to the south side of Walnut Street. Once past the first corner lot on Broad St., turn south along this property line and follow the rear southern property lines of the lots on Walnut Street. Cross Poplar Street and follow the south property line of the southern lot on Walnut Street between S. Poplar Street and S. Marshall Street. Cross S. Marshall Street and then turn north along the property line on the south side of the former Walnut Street. Going north along this alignment, then turning north and following the footprint of the Old Salem Visitor Center building until it returns to the curb line of driveway/Walnut Street. Going east along this southern edge of the driveway to where it meets the Strollway (former Winston-Salem Southbound Railway). Then turn south and follow the western edge of the Strollway back to the point of origin.

There are also two discontiguous parcels included in the NHL.

Segment 1 is the archaeological site of the Salem Reservation impoundment. It is contained in two city owned lots on the north side of Second Street diagonally northeast from the intersection of Shady Lane with Second Street (Forsyth County Parcel Identification Numbers 6035-06-3045, 6035-06-2094).

Segment 3 is the Happy Hill Cemetery lying in five cemetery lots at the east end of Willow Street in Happy Hill (Forsyth County Parcel Identification Numbers 6035-60-0467, 6035-60-1529, 6035-60-2524, 6035-60-3501, 6035-60-2475).

Boundary Justification:

The boundary of the historic district encompasses a substantial body of land (193 acres) containing resources relating to the period of national significance of Salem, North Carolina, from its founding in 1766 to its merger with Winston to form Winston-Salem in 1913. These boundaries include the significant core area focused on Main Street, Church Street, Salt Street, New Street (Factory Row), and God's Acre, as well as land beyond this area.

To the southeast and east, the boundaries encompass the significant bottom land of the Salem Farm/Schumann Plantation, the Brother's Spring, and a portion of Salem Creek, a contributing site. The eastern boundary also

includes the upland location of the Salem Farm house site, the Schumann House archaeological component, and the core area of the post-bellum Liberia/Happy Hill Freedmen's settlement. Aside from the extant road structure, the significant content of this area is archaeological. The Happy Hill Cemetery is a discontiguous contributing site as well.

The eastern boundary through Salem Academy and College land is the boundary from the existing Old Salem Historic District NHL, with modification to adjust that boundary in accordance with NPS policy as the original boundary bisected several buildings.

To the northeast the boundary encompasses God's Acre, Salem Cemetery, and the St Philips Graveyard Number Two, all contributing sites. The north boundary follows Cemetery Street to the west and to the Salem Town Hall and Southbound Freight Warehouse.

The Northwest area of the district, west of Main Street, contains a concentration of contributing buildings relating to the continuum of industrialization by the Moravians of Salem, from the 1830s into the accumulation of industrial wealth in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. This aspect of the cultural continuity of Salem is also represented by contributing elements in the core area of Salem, particularly mid-to-late 19th century architecture reflecting this economic thrust. Similarly, the boundary on the west encompasses buildings and sites relating to the growth of Salem from the colonial period into and through the nineteenth century.

To the southwest the boundary encompasses the only extant outlying eighteenth century farmhouse of Salem, the Stockburger Farmhouse and related land, and the historic road corridor that connected this house to Main Street. To the south of that corridor the boundary follows Town Run Creek.

A second discontiguous boundary encompasses the site of the springs that fed the 1778 Salem water system that provided flowing water to buildings in the core area. This boundary encloses the archaeological site of a stone dam that formed a reservoir of the system.

11. FORM PREPARED BY

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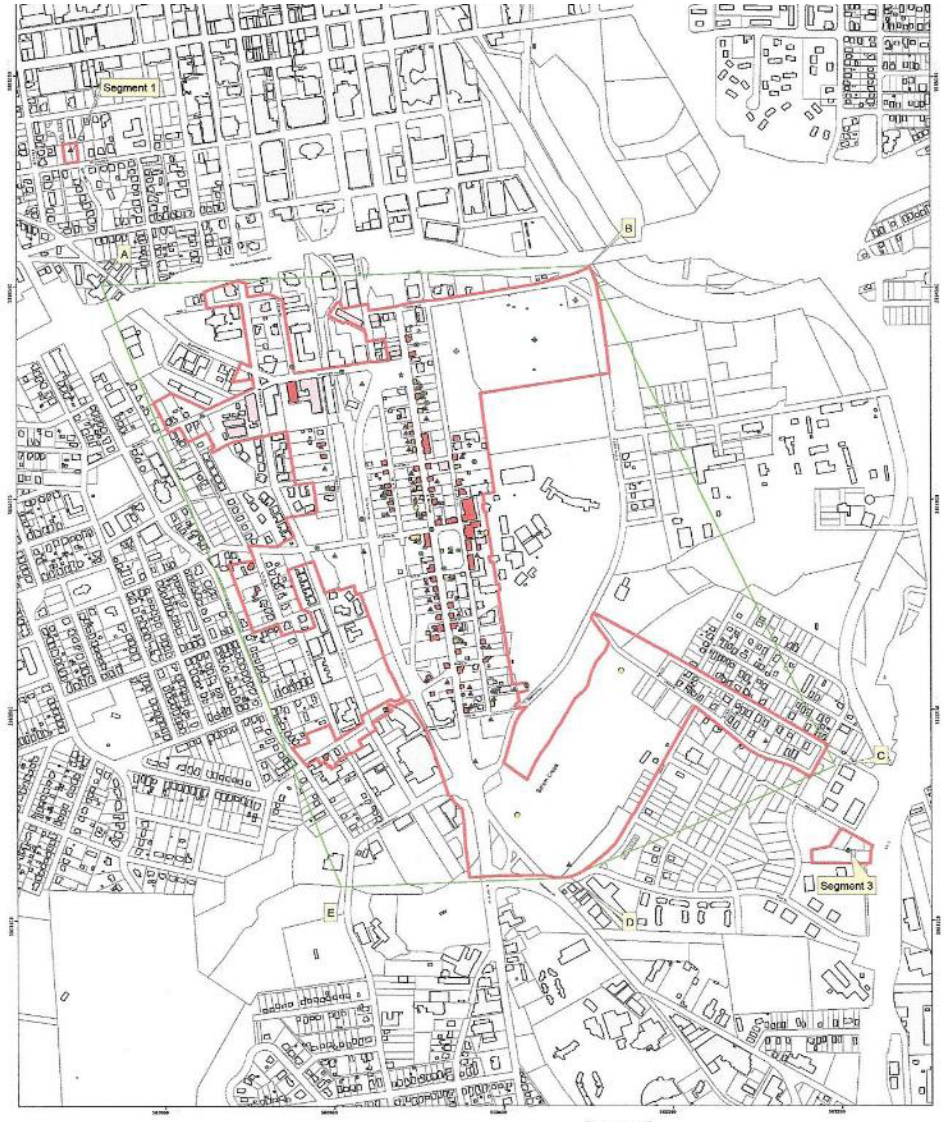
Date: February 29, 2016

Assistance by: David Bergstone, Director of Architecture, Old Salem Museums & Gardens
(mapping and editing architectural descriptions)
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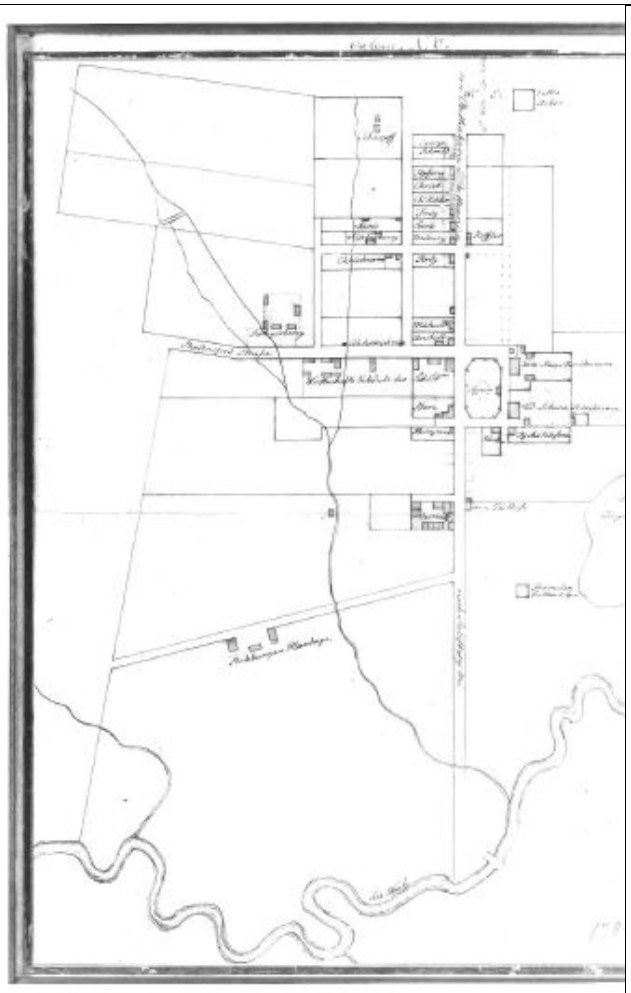
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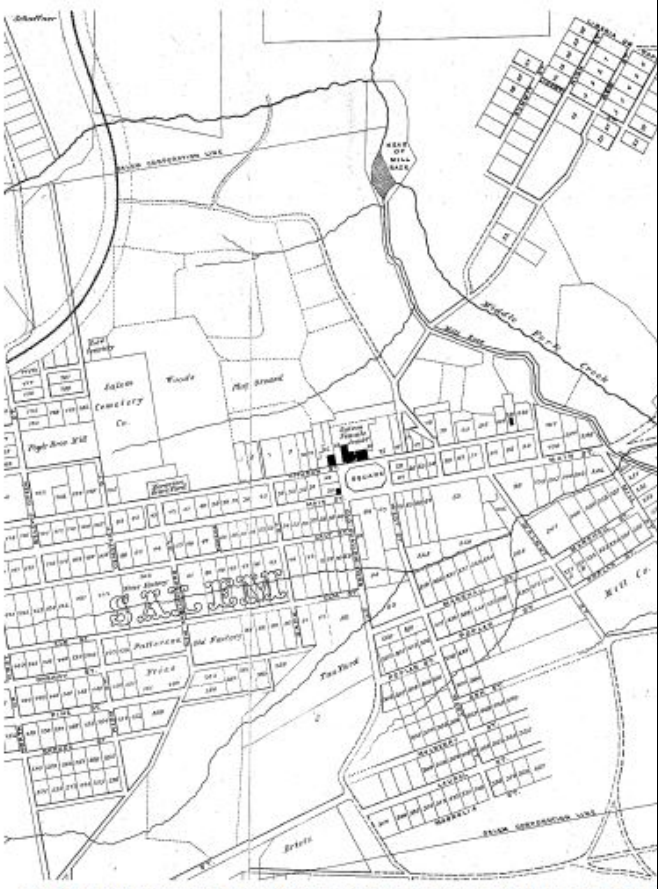
NATIONAL HISTORIC LANDMARKS PROGRAM



UTM References:		Zone	Easting	Northing
Segment 1		17	567381	3994814
Segment 2	A	17	567464	3994504
	B	17	568617	3994551
	C	17	569196	3993366
	D	17	568559	3993100
	E	17	568027	3993080
Segment 3		17	569212	3993164



Salem, N.C. Unknown Mapmaker, 1785. North is up.
Collection of Old Salem Museums & Gardens.



Detail from *Map of Salem and Winston North Carolina: And the surrounding Land as far as it was Congregation of United Brethren Salem N. C.*, by E. A. Vogler, 1876. J. L. Smith, Publisher, Phila
The lot numbering system, as shown, was established in Salem in 1821. North is to the left.
Collection of Moravian Archives, Winston-Salem.

Historic maps showing growth of Salem between 1785 and 1876.



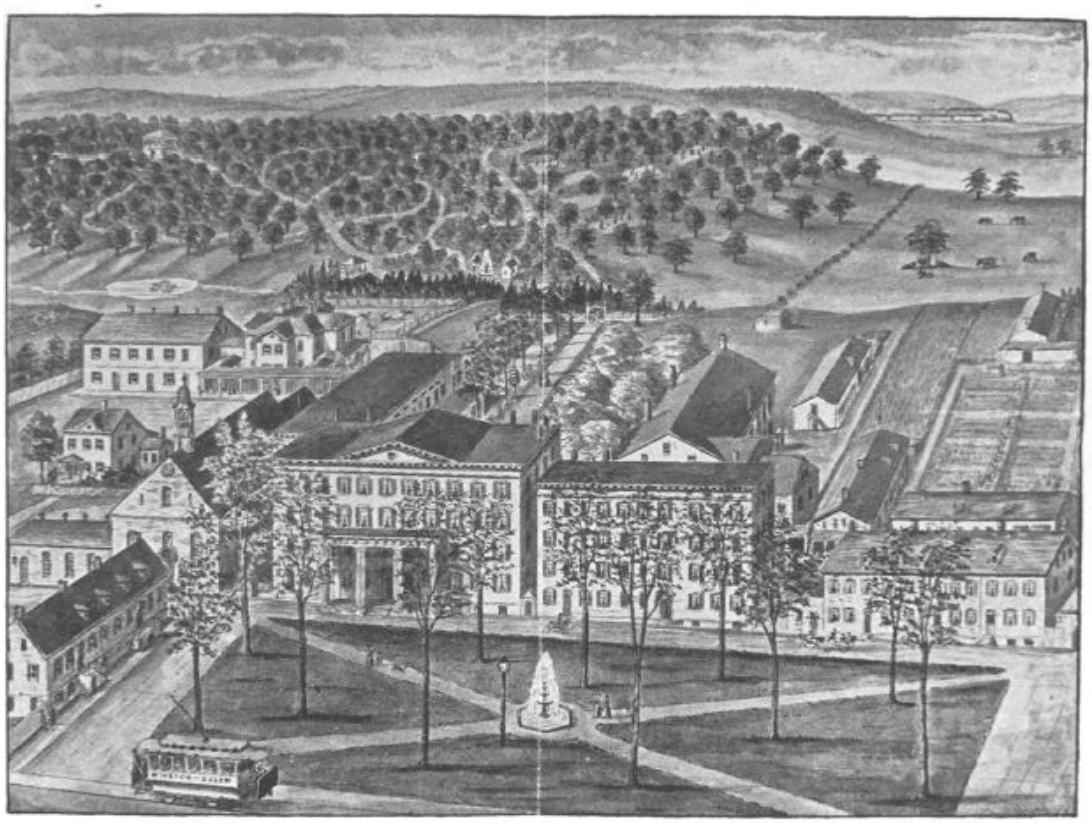
Main Street, attributed to Henry A. Lineback, Salem, NC, ca. 1862. Collections of Old Salem Museum & Gardens. Camera facing north/northwest from roof of Traugott Leinbach House. From left, Tavern annex (with double tier porch). Blum House, Shultz House and Shop, Christoph Vogler House, John Vogler House, Community Store (two stories), Single Brothers House.



Church Street, Main Street rear lots and vicinity, photograph attributed to Henry A. Lineback, Salem, NC, ca. 1862. Collection of Old Salem Museum & Gardens. Camera facing southeast from roof of Traugott Linebach house. The African Moravian Church (now St. Philips) is center rear and Log Church is visible to its right, as is the Hege House (double tier portico). At the left rear near horizon is the Salem Farm/Schumann Farm, the house the occupied by Emanuel Reich (two-story white house).



"Entrance – New Shallowford Street Salem." Collection of Old Salem Museum & Gardens. View from Main Street looking west along New Shallowford Street (Brookside Avenue). Cotton Mill (1836) is the last structure on the left. Francis Fries house (now gone) is to the right with front portico and across from his house, at left is the Schaffner Krause Pottery, now an archaeological component.



BUILDINGS AND PARK OF SALEM FEMALE ACADEMY.
SALEM, NORTH CAROLINA.

Salem Academy and College promotional booklet from ca. 1900. Collection of Old Salem Museums & Gardens. The school's Lower Pleasure Grounds were initiated in 1858 by Principal Robert deSchweinitz in the ravine to the east of the school and seen in background of the image. The May Dell is a remnant of this park. The fountain shown in the center of Salem Square was relocated to the Upper Pleasure Grounds at the rear of Main Hall.



Single Brothers Garden and Academy Street activity. Collection of Old Salem Museum & Gardens. Camera facing west from rear of Single Brothers House, ca. 1890. Single Brothers terraced garden in foreground, Academy Street at right. Industrial complex just beyond garden squares (Slaughterhouse and Brewery buildings together with Tannery at right across Academy Street, now archaeological components). Academy Street is seen in center background climbing the hill. Allen Ackerman house, on Poplar Street, at left rear, with some coming out of chimney.



Inspector's House (left), Home Moravian Church (center), Main Hall (right) looking east.
Martha B. Hartley Photographer, April, 2013



Single Brothers' House, east façade.
Martha B. Hartley Photographer, April, 2013



Single Brothers' Garden, facing west.
Martha B. Hartley Photographer, April, 2013



Salem Square (west side at Main Street) showing Boys School (left), Inspector's House (center), tulip poplar (native species), Market-Fire Engine House (foreground), looking north/northwest.
Martha B. Hartley Photographer, April, 2013



Main Street at West Street across from Salem Square showing Community Store (left) and E. A. Vogler Store (brick at right), facing west/northwest.
Martha B. Hartley Photographer, April, 2013



Salem Square (SW corner) showing pump over cistern and circle of cedars looking north/northwest.
Martha B. Hartley Photographer, April, 2013



Single Sisters' House, west façade.
Martha B. Hartley Photographer, April, 2013



Main Hall, west façade.
Martha B. Hartley Photographer, April, 2013



Upper Pleasure Grounds at rear of Main Hall with fountain and class gifts, looking east toward Rondthaler Science Building outside the NHL.
Martha B. Hartley Photographer, April, 2013



St. Philips Moravian Church and Log Church with path to Happy Hill in rear, looking east.
Martha B. Hartley Photographer, April, 2013



Happy Hill street grid intersection of Liberia and Free Streets, looking northwest.
Martha B. Hartley Photographer, April, 2013



Happy Hill Cemetery looking northwest.
Martha B. Hartley Photographer, April, 2013



Salem Farm/Schumann Farm Bottom with Salem Creek Greenway.
Salem Creek at left and Happy Hill Park at right, looking northeast.
Martha B. Hartley Photographer, April, 2013



Vierling House (rear view) with Davy's House site in foreground.
Salem Boys School at left and Cedarhyurst at right, facing west.



Vierling House terraced gardens showing brick wash-bake house (left).
In background is Moravian Archives (within NHL), looking north.
Martha B. Hartley Photographer, April, 2013



View across God's Acre to Salem Cemetery, looking east.
Martha B. Hartley Photographer, April, 2013



Salem Cemetery showing filled area in foreground and partial ravine edge at left, looking east/southeast.
Martha B. Hartley Photographer, April, 2013



500 block Main Street (east side), looking north/northeast
Belo House, Vorsteher House, Herbst House, Butner House, Butner shop, Winkler Bakery (r-l).
Martha B. Hartley Photographer, April, 2013



Miksch Garden looking west. View shows garden squares of vegetables and border beds with herbs, flowers, espaliered fruit trees and apple trees.
Martha B. Hartley Photographer, April, 2013



500 block Main Street (west side) looking southwest.
Miksch House, Schroeter House, Levering House, Leinbach House (l-r).
Martha B. Hartley Photographer, April, 2013



Gardens of 500 block Main Street, west side, looking southwest.
Martha B. Hartley Photographer, April, 2013



Reconstructed outbuildings at Lick-Boner House (bake oven and smoke house), looking south.
Martha B. Hartley Photographer, April, 2013



400 block Main Street (west side) with row of *Fachwerk* houses,
First, Third, Fourth, and Fifth (l-r) looking south.
Martha B. Hartley Photographer, April, 2013



Tavern and Tavern Barn on Main Street, looking north.
Martha B. Hartley Photographer, April, 2013



Single Brothers industrial sites (slaughterhouse and brewery/distillery on Academy Street, looking west.
Martha B. Hartley Photographer, April, 2013



Brick barrel vault bridge over Tanners Run at Academy Street, looking north.
Martha B. Hartley Photographer, April, 2013



400 block of Factory Row (west side) with the Sussdorft, Ackerman and Patterson houses and Arista Mill in distance, looking north.
Martha B. Hartley Photographer, April, 2013



Arista Mill facing Brookstown Avenue, looking east.
Martha B. Hartley Photographer, April, 2013



400 block Wachovia Street with Lumley and Aldridge houses (l-r), looking south.
Martha B. Hartley Photographer, April, 2013



Hydehurst. South façade looking north.
Martha B. Hartley Photographer, April, 2013