

# **Neighborhood History Project Report Hendersonville, North Carolina**

**Prepared by  
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## Historic Background

There was a Black presence in Henderson County from as early as the beginning of the nineteenth century. Most of these individuals were enslaved people, and although slavery as an institution in western North Carolina was not as widespread as in other parts of the State, there were slaveholders in the west. Most of these slaveholders held only a handful of enslaved individuals, but as the years progressed, by the middle of the nineteenth century there were larger holdings of enslaved people. Henderson County in particular witnessed a rise in this population as slaveholders from the “low country” of South Carolina made their way up into the mountains in the summers, bringing with them many of their enslaved population.<sup>1</sup>

When the Civil War ended, many free Blacks in the late 1860s made their way from South Carolina up into Henderson County, creating a society known as the Kingdom of the Happy Land, a place where newly freed people could live “...one for all, and all for one...”.<sup>2</sup> This communal society was not the only one that established in the county. The Society of Necessity, also born out of a need to establish a free society and needed services after the Civil War, founded by Henry Shields Simmons, began in 1885.<sup>3</sup> Focused around Mine Gap Road, this Society helped Blacks to buy land and build homes. Legal advice was offered to the Black community, and a committee to help those who were ill was also set up.<sup>4</sup> This organization continued its work on into the twentieth century, working to help the community during the years of Jim Crow legislation.

In the city of Hendersonville another important group was established, the Community Council, beginning in 1960. The Council’s purpose was to “...foster sentiment favorable to the growth, development, and improvement of living conditions in Henderson County; and to cooperate with other civic, educational and fraternal organizations and agencies whose objectives and purposes are similar to the objectives and purposes of this organization...”.<sup>5</sup> Life up until this time, like in other parts of the south, was a segregated society. Blacks in downtown Hendersonville could not drink from the same water fountains as whites, could not live in the same neighborhoods as whites, and could not attend the same schools. Blacks could not stay

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<sup>1</sup> <https://hendersonheritage.com/slave-owners-1800-1820-1850-1860/> Accessed July 24, 2025.

<sup>2</sup> Greene, Gary Franklin and the Black History Research Committee of Henderson County, *A Brief History of the Black Presence in Henderson County*, Asheville, North Carolina: The Biltmore Press, 1996, p. 2

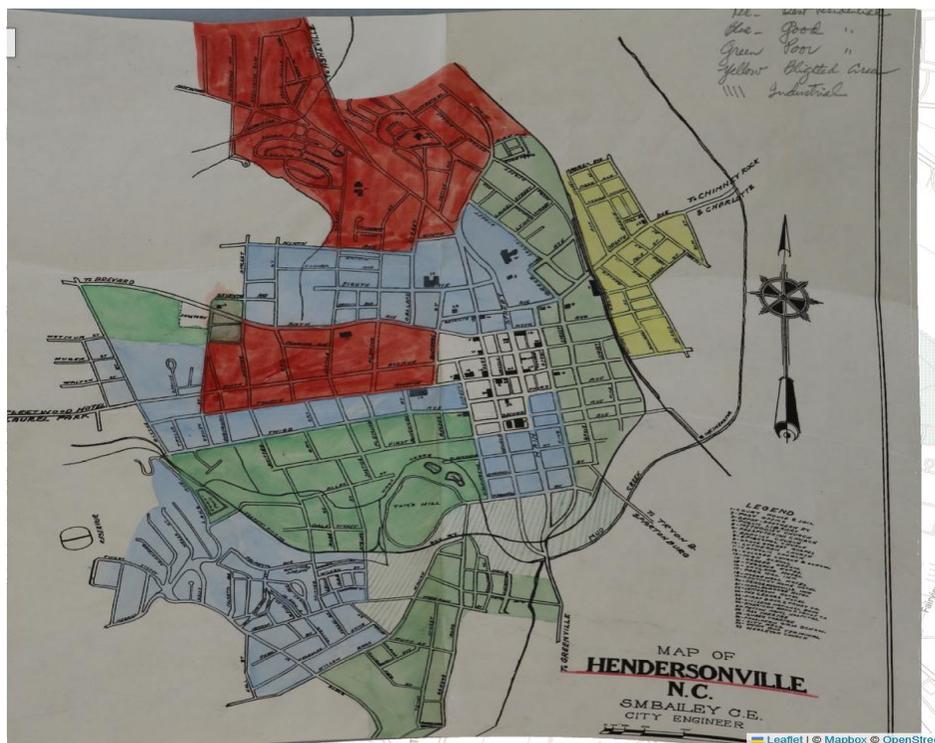
<sup>3</sup> Greene, Gary Franklin and the Black History Research Committee of Henderson County, *A Brief History of the Black Presence in Henderson County*, Asheville, North Carolina: The Biltmore Press, 1996, p. 6.

<sup>4</sup> Greene, Gary Franklin and the Black History Research Committee of Henderson County, *A Brief History of the Black Presence in Henderson County*, Asheville, North Carolina: The Biltmore Press, 1996, p. 6-7.

<sup>5</sup> Greene, Gary Franklin and the Black History Research Committee of Henderson County, *A Brief History of the Black Presence in Henderson County*, Asheville, North Carolina: The Biltmore Press, 1996, p. 11.

overnight in white hotels or eat at local restaurants.<sup>6</sup> Despite the constraints of segregation, members of the Black community owned many different types of businesses and there were many social and recreational enterprises. Some of these, in a 1920s “snapshot” taken from Hendersonville City Directories, included barbers, boarding houses, meeting halls, cleaners, dressmakers, restaurants, and groceries.<sup>7</sup>

It is interesting to note, from a map of Hendersonville created by the Federal government’s Home Owners’ Loan Corporation between 1935-1940, that many of the neighborhoods currently being surveyed and documented in this report were graded as having “poor” (green color) or “blighted” (yellow color) security in terms of buyers being able to secure loans. Additionally, adjoining white neighborhoods adjacent to the Black “poor” or “blighted” neighborhoods were also often places difficult to obtain loans. This system of grading properties was known as “red-lining”, making home ownership difficult for Black families in this time period.<sup>8</sup> Indeed, research into city directories for this time period and on into the early 1960s revealed that most homes were rented, although some individuals did own their property.



<sup>6</sup> Greene, Gary Franklin and the Black History Research Committee of Henderson County, A Brief History of the Black Presence in Henderson County, Asheville, North Carolina: The Biltmore Press, 1996, p. 10.

<sup>7</sup> Hendersonville City Directory, 1926 – 1927.

<sup>8</sup> <https://dsl.richmond.edu/panorama/redlining/> “Mapping Inequality”. Accessed July 23, 2025.

Leaders of the Community Council typically were associated with local Black churches. Reverend G. E. Weaver, pastor of Star of Bethel Baptist Church (part of the Peacock Town neighborhood) was one of these leaders, serving as the Community Council's first president.<sup>9</sup> This Council and its leaders were instrumental in dropping the walls of segregation related to housing, education, jobs, and services in Hendersonville through the remainder of the twentieth century.

The neighborhoods included in this report developed from the early part of the twentieth century through the last quarter of the twentieth century. They tell a story of the life of the Black community in Hendersonville but also document many losses of place. This history in its physical form needs to be preserved along with the memories of what has been irreplaceably lost.

## **Scope of Project**

The Hendersonville Historic Preservation Commission, as part of its ongoing study of historic Black resources within the city, requested a more detailed look at several known Black residential neighborhoods within the Hendersonville city limits, including a written report of the results. Out of this request, completion of Phase 1 of the project was awarded to the consultant, Sybil Argintar, of Southeastern Preservation. The consultant worked with the city and the community to identify extant neighborhoods, gather initial research documentation, and determine, in consultation with staff from the State Historic Preservation Office, the possibility of further study list applications for the neighborhoods and eventual listing in the National Register of Historic Places.

The scope of Phase 1 involved looking at five specific neighborhoods in the city:

Black Bottom  
Brooklyn  
Harris Street  
Peacock Town  
West End

## **Research and Survey Methodology**

As part of the completion of Phase 1 of the project, two community meetings were held to begin gathering information, introduce the project to the community, request that residents provide historic photos and other documentation they had available for scanning and collection

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<sup>9</sup> Greene, Gary Franklin and the Black History Research Committee of Henderson County, [A Brief History of the Black Presence in Henderson County](#), Asheville, North Carolina: The Biltmore Press, 1996, p. 10.

and make community residents aware of the team involved in the project. This included the consultant, Sybil Argintar; Sam Hayes, staff to the Historic Preservation Commission; and Rachel Quinn, staff from the archives at Blue Ridge Community College.

Many community residents attended these initial meetings. Following these meetings, specific collection events were held to begin gathering personal collections and to conduct interviews with residents. This will be an ongoing process as the project continues. The consultant, after the community meetings, conducted a drive-around interview with Ronnie Pepper, long-time Black resident and developer of the website <https://blackhistories.org/>. Additionally, the consultant listened to previous interviews with local residents on file with Blue Ridge Community College's Archives, and conducted a phone interview with Edward King, another long-time Black resident of Hendersonville.

The Black Histories website served as a guide to the streets that were part of these historic neighborhoods, and this was utilized, along with local community knowledge, to determine which of the five neighborhoods still existed. The consultant then conducted research into Hendersonville City Directories in different time periods in order to see who lived in these areas, and where these residents worked. Sanborn Fire Insurance Maps were also part of the research to see where these neighborhoods were located before Urban Renewal in the 1960s changed the landscape of many of these communities. Additional areas were identified in this research and personal interviews, with the area around Grey Hosiery Mill and an area where the current high school is located, historically known as Plum Nelly, being two additional areas with concentrations of Black residents.

The five initial neighborhoods, plus the two additionally identified areas around Grey Hosiery Mill and the high school, were reviewed in the field, and of these, only three remained, Harris Street, Peacock Town, and West End. Black Botton, Brooklyn, Grey Hosiery Mill Area, and Plum Nelly, no longer exist, but some initial documentation has been pulled together about the families that lived in these areas from the 1930s through the early 1960s, before Urban Renewal programs and changes. This information is included as part of this report.

The consultant then walked each of the existing neighborhoods, taking general photographs, and determining boundaries based upon historic locations of homes, churches, meeting halls, schools, and other buildings related to the Black community. These boundaries were then presented to staff at the State Historic Preservation Office and the City of Hendersonville in an on-site walkthrough to see what areas might qualify for the next phase of work, study list applications towards listing on the National Register of Historic Places. More detailed

information about the next phases of work is noted in the Conclusion and Recommendations section of this report.

## **Lost Communities**

Detailed research in city directories was undertaken on all of the lost communities so there is documentation of the former residents and their occupations. A chart of this research is included with each of the communities.

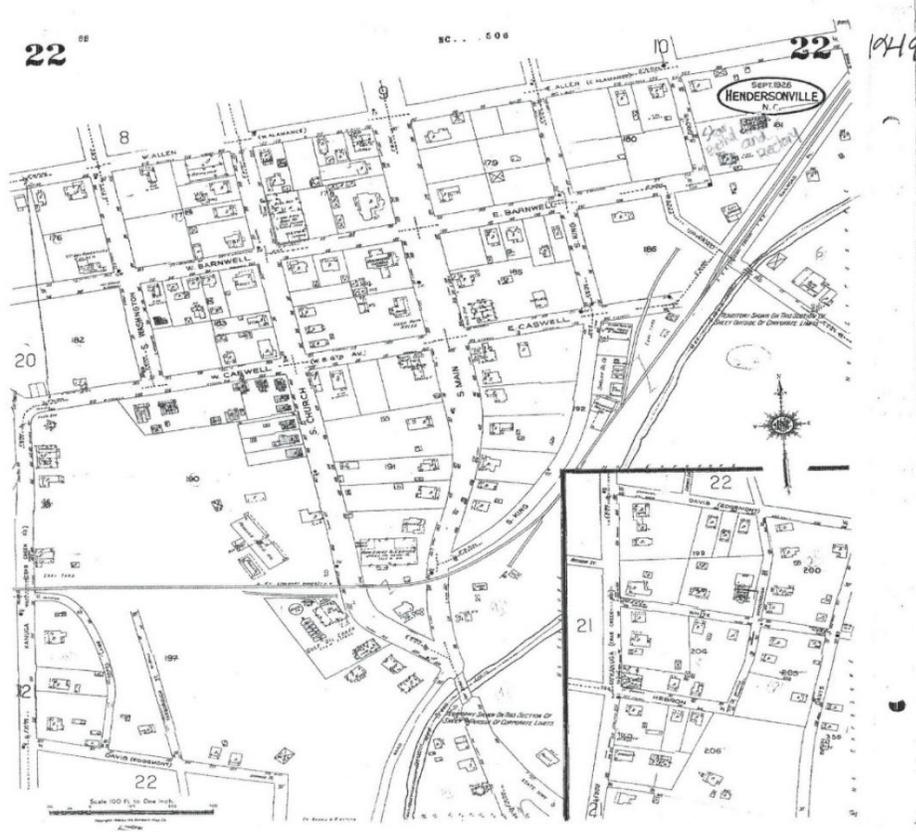
### ***Black Bottom***

Original streets in the neighborhood included S. Church Street and W. Caswell Street.<sup>10</sup> Some research notes are included on the map and additional research is noted in the table below. There were seventeen residences located in Black Bottom through the early 1960s, and none of those remain. Contemporary office and commercial buildings are currently located in this area.

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<sup>10</sup> <https://blackhistories.org/> "Black Bottom Neighborhood Map".

1949 Sanborn Fire Insurance Map (last available map before Urban Renewal)



Black Bottom 1949

*Families and occupations from Hendersonville City Directories*

<b>Street</b>	<b>Address</b>	<b>1937-1938</b>	<b>1948-1949</b>	<b>1960-1961</b>
S. Church Street	402	-----	-----	Walter Wright (Elizabeth), employed City Ice & Storage
	403	Mamie Allison, laundress	Herbert Rhodes (Alean), barber 918 Ashe Street	-----
	405	-----	Fred Lewis (Emma), laborer	-----
	407	vacant	Albert Carson (Daisy), cook	Lillie Hamilton, domestic
	408	William Owen (Laura), laborer	-----	Not listed
	411	Mamie Griffin	vacant	James Rivers (Rosa), laborer
	417	Cornell Cooley (Theodora)	Frances Hooper, Maid Hendersonville Inn	Phillip Wright (Grace), salesman
	419	Thomas H. Ford (Alberta), owner	Same	Vannie Quinn
W. Caswell St.	203	Watus Walton (Ruth), waiter, owner	Ruth Walton	Ruth Walton
	206	William Griffin (Mamie)	Same	Arthur Williams (Jean), construction worker
	210	Judson Carson (Beatrice), cook	Sylvester Adams (Beulah), yardman	Mary Greene
	211	Frances Haynes, laundress	Aggie Copeland (Florie), employed A & P Food	Emma Stevens
	214	Cecil Powell (Flora), owner	Same	vacant
	218	George Tinsley (Della), roofer	Eva Black, domestic	Not listed

Street	Address	1937-1938	1948-1949	1960-1961
W. Caswell Steet	218 ½	Katie Featherstone, cook	-----	Not listed
	226	Mamie Moffette	Same	Irvin Clay (Betty), employed Berkeley Mills
	226 rear	Leroy Carson (Exie), laborer	Sallie Foreman	-----
	300	Elisha Thomas (Lila), cook	Foster Mills	Not listed
	302	James Bowling (Janie), cook	Alfred White, owner Lucius Parks	Lucius Parks (Doris), owner

### **Brooklyn**

Original streets in the neighborhood included Ashe Street (to city limits); Beech Street (to city limits); Cherry Street (to city limits); 8<sup>th</sup> Avenue East; 9<sup>th</sup> Avenue East; 10<sup>th</sup> Avenue East; Ashe Alley (1/2 block); Cherry Alley (1/2 block); Hill Street; and Ridge Street.<sup>11</sup> The entire Brooklyn neighborhood was torn down in 1972 when a new subdivision, Green Meadow, was built as part of Urban Renewal programs in the city. Edward King, who grew up in the neighborhood, noted that his family home was moved to Howard Gap Road, but all other houses were demolished.<sup>12</sup> By far, this was one of the largest Black communities in Hendersonville, with many homes and thriving businesses, some of which were located in residents' homes. Union Grove Baptist Church served as a "base" for the community.<sup>13</sup> The area was still expanding into the early 1960s, as can be seen from the table below. Some research notes are included on the map and additional research is noted in the tables below. It does not appear that displaced families moved back into this neighborhood after Urban Renewal, but additional study should take place to determine if this was indeed the case. The State Historic Preservation Office has not yet determined eligibility for Urban Renewal neighborhoods. If this becomes an area eligible for National Register listing, the Brooklyn neighborhood could be an excellent example and should be studied further.

<sup>11</sup> <https://blackhistories.org/> "Brooklyn Neighborhood Map".

<sup>12</sup> King, Edward. Long-time Hendersonville resident. Phone interview with Sybil H. Argintar, May 16, 2025.

<sup>13</sup> King, Edward. Long-time Hendersonville resident. Interview with Rachel Quinn, Archival recording from Blue Ridge Community College Archives, Hidden Histories project. [OH HiddenHistories EdwardKing\\_001\\_20231205.wav](#)



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HENDERSONVILLE  
N.C.



← Gus Seawright  
Lunch Room

Foster Lomen  
(Barber)

Jefferson Bennett  
(Barber)  
Mills Taxi

store  
Beech Street  
Cafe 47

Alberta Manaf  
(nurse) 48

stores  
Jowers Beauty  
Carolina Grill

I.O.O.F. Hall  
"colored"

Union  
Garage  
Bapt. Ch.

23

Brooklan 1949 most is gone

*Families and occupations from Hendersonville City Directories*

<b>Street</b>	<b>Address</b>	<b>1937-1938</b>	<b>1948-1949</b>	<b>1960-1961</b>
Ashe Street	719	Orange Goodlet (Sylvia), laborer, Southern Railway	-----	William G. Perkins (Madeline), Southern Railway
	734	Edith Goodlet, laundress	John Arnold (Louella) David Rosemond (Lillian)	Leslie Bennett (Joann), laborer
	742	Annie Young, café owner	Janet Sims, owner	Corrie Greene (Patricia)
	748	Vacant	Frank Mooney (Beanie), porter	George W. Nixon (Ella), carpenter
	750	vacant	Josephine Proctor, domestic	Esther Sullivan, domestic
	754	Annie Young Café (business here)	Not listed	-----
	770	Mildred Smith, domestic	Joseph Sullivan (Jessie), presser, Collins Cleaners, owner	same
	774 ½	Marie Caldwell	Not listed	Hobert Rhodes
	776	Florine Morris, laundress	Mildred Smith, cook, owner	Hobert Rhodes, barber, owner
	780	Sanctified Church	Fire Baptised Holiness Church	Henry Hayden (Gladys), laborer, owner
	782	Pearl Titus, laundress	John W. Black (Oralee), cleaner	Oralee Black
	784	Mary Jackson	Not listed	-----
	802	Union Grove Baptist Church	Same	same
	808	-----	-----	Arthur Martin
	810	-----	-----	Arthur Martin Jr (Eleanor), employed, city schools

<b>Street</b>	<b>Address</b>	<b>1937-1938</b>	<b>1948-1949</b>	<b>1960-1961</b>
Ashe Street	814	Bessie Maxwell	Nicie Owens, owner	same
	818	-----	-----	Floyd Miller (Barbara), laborer
	820	-----	-----	vacant
	900			
	907	-----	-----	Lonnie Staggs (Emma), laborer
	908	-----	-----	Martin W. Freeman, Freeman Cab Company (business here)
	910	-----	Happy Landing Beverages (business here)	Davis Homer Beverages (business here)
	912	-----	-----	Jeff Bennett, barber (business here)
	916	-----	-----	vacant
	918	-----	Hobert Rhodes, barber	Louella Staggs Beverages (business here)
	920	-----	Foster Lomax, barber	vacant
	1008	Nero Parks, laborer	Ernest S. Green (Mary),owner	Mary Green
	1009	Luther Bradley (Irene), mill worker	William Chapman (Della), driver	same
Ashe Alley	1	-----	Lula C. Clark, maid	Claude Haynes (Ida), laborer
	3	-----	Mary Jackson	Marion Bryson (Ada), construction worker
Beech Street	711	Della Johnson, laundress	-----	-----

<b>Street</b>	<b>Address</b>	<b>1937-1938</b>	<b>1948-1949</b>	<b>1960-1961</b>
Beech Street	724	Chris Allen, laborer, Louis Williams	James Hunt (Viola), laborer	-----
	731	Lewis Durant, laborer	-----	-----
	732	Kate Southerland	Kate Sullivan	-----
	740	Burgin Harris, laborer	Boyce Copeland (Mamie), laborer	-----
	741	John tucker, gardener	Cora Davis, childs nursery	-----
	742	Edna Johnson, laundress	Vacant	-----
	744	-----	-----	Willie Bailey (Belle), General Electric
	745	Addie Smith, owner	Same	Thomas Redden (Mamie)
	746	Bessie Bruton, laundress	Gertrude Rudisill, maid	Bessie Bruton
	751	Vacant	Abraham Austin, owner	-----
	752	-----	Mary Alexander, cook	Bert Griffin (Rebecca), textile worker
	754	Hattie Hill	-----	-----
	755	Cora Davis, laundress	Vacant	vacant
	759	Ida Walker, laundress	Ida Holly, owner	Vacant
	804	Vacant	-----	-----
	805	Anna Lann, maid	Luther Bradley (Irene), porter, Dixie Home Supermarket	same
	810	Leila Morris, cook	Maggie Sims, laundress	Albert Carson (Daisy), janitor, First Baptist Church
	813	Lizzie Dancler, laundress	Floread Hathaway, maid	Mamie Jackson, domestic

<b>Street</b>	<b>Address</b>	<b>1937-1938</b>	<b>1948-1949</b>	<b>1960-1961</b>
Beech Street	821	Estelle Avery, laundress	Same	Wilbur Landrum (Roxie), laborer
	904	William Owens, laborer, owner	Same	Earl Arnold (Gloria), General Electric
	904 rear	James Stanfield (Eunice), helper, Blue Ridge Cording Company	Nathaniel Johnson, Southern Railway	Vacant
	906	Mary Hunt, cook, owner	Same	Mary Christopher
	911	Ad Tate (Annie), bellman	John Williams (Lucille), janitor, owner	Mary Fletcher, domestic
	912	Zoye Cathcart, maid	Simpson Wheeler	-----
	913	Elizabeth Curry, maid	Caroline Mills, cook	Nehemiah Logan (Minnie), driver
	915	Caroline Mills, midwife	Beech Street Café (business here)	vacant
	918	Florene Hawkings laundress, owner	Same	George Darity (Blanch), laborer
	919	Albert Williams (Dora)	Burgess Garmany, laborer, owner	same
	923	Fred Black (Lillie), porter, Courthouse Barber	Vacant	-----
	1001	Nora Green, laundress, owner	Same	same
	1002	-----	-----	Ezra White (Mamie), yardman
	1003	-----	-----	Leroy Dunbar (Thelma)

Street	Address	1937-1938	1948-1949	1960-1961
Beech	1004	Vacant	-----	Willie Hayden
	1005	-----	-----	Dixie Sitton, domestic
	1006	-----	-----	James Robinson (Pauline)
	1007	-----	-----	Dessie Long, waitress
	1008	Henry Johnson (Cirdes), laborer, owner	Same	same
	1009	-----	-----	Lonnie Gash (Rosa), painter
	1010	-----	-----	vacant
	1025	-----	Bertie Miller, canner	same
	1055	-----	Aileen Waters, domestic	-----
	1075	-----	Samuel Hillman (Irene), laborer	-----
	1077	-----	Charles Whitmire (Bertha), farmer	-----
	1100	-----	Gus Summey (Sarah), owner	same

There were many additional homes built in Brooklyn into the mid-1960s, with addresses of 1012 – 1213 Beech Street. Additional city directory documentation of these homes is encouraged.

Cherry Street	720	-----	-----	Virgil Boyd (Etta), painter
	725	Reverend Clara P. Gray, pastor	-----	William Clay (Ruth)
	729	Anna Pullen, domestic	Claude Coleman(Edna), laborer, Southern Railway	Ed Marshall (Lillian), General Electric
	734	Vacant	-----	-----

<b>Street</b>	<b>Address</b>	<b>1937-1938</b>	<b>1948-1949</b>	<b>1960-1961</b>
Cherry Street	735	Clarence Black (Pearl), laborer	Louis Durant (Alma), janitor	John Means (Josie), laborer, owner
	739	Hattie McMillan	Sallie Poore, laundress, owner	same
	740	Mary Alexander, laundress	James Lunch (Annie), yardman	-----
	801	David Lockhart (Lizzie), laborer	Charles Abrams (Lillie), driver, owner	Lillie Abrams
	802	Louisa Lindsey, laundress	Same	Eugenia Hester
	804	Colear McCoy, cook	Marshall Staggs (Luella), laborer	Norene Tucker, Superior Cleaners & Laundry
	805	Clara Gray, laundress, owner	Same	Reverend Clara Gray (see 725 Cherry Street)
	805 rear	Mittie Wood, laundress	-----	-----
	806	Alice Mitchell, domestic	Eugene Ware (Alice), janitor	vacant
	807	-----	Vacant	Church of God
	808	-----	Earnlue Whiteside	Marg Williams
	809	Mary McCoy, laundress	-----	-----
	813	Fannie McCain, laundress	Same	Fannie Wallace, domestic
	813 rear	Lee Featherstone, laborer Josie Proctor, cook	-----	-----
	815	Lucille Choice	Colear McCory, maid	Odessa James, Miller's Laundry
	815 rear	Grace Wallace, domestic	-----	-----

Street	Address	1937-1938	1948-1949	1960-1961
Cherry Street	819	John Cunningham (Madeline), cook, owner	Same	Madeline Cunningham
	822	William Mitchell (Mary), carpenter, owner	Mary Mitchell	Stella Campbell
	824	-----	-----	Sims Turner
	828	-----	-----	Simon Guesby
	901	Aurie Poore, domestic	Sam Haywood (Eula), barber, owner	Curtis Johnson (Kathleen), Superior Cleaners
	909	Vacant	Carrie Brown, laundress	Gray Waymon (Anna), laborer
	910	Frank Stagg (Bertha), orderly	Bertha Stagg, owner	same
	910 rear	Annie McIntosh, cook	-----	-----
	911	Pearl Barker, cook	Hancy Featherstone, maid	-----
	913	Cappie Merritt, laundress	Vacant	Rev. Sam Haywood (Eula), janitor, First Union Bank
	916	Clarence Pilgrim (Hattie), cook	Maude Sears, laundress	Maurice Staggs, domestic
	920	Vacant	Gus Seawright, owner	same
	921	George Pullen (Julia), cleaner, Miller's Cleaners	Robert Rhodes (Mattie), cook, Patton Memorial Hospital, owner	Same
	1000	Vacant	-----	Haywood Means (Agnes), laborer

<b>Street</b>	<b>Address</b>	<b>1937-1938</b>	<b>1948-1949</b>	<b>1960-1961</b>
Cherry Street	1001	Allen Brown (Carrie), laborer	Joseph Walker (Martha), laborer	Clifford Green (Loretta), city
	1002	-----	-----	Roy Huggins
	1003	-----	-----	Johnnie Cotton, domestic
	1004	-----	-----	Mary Thompson, domestic
	1005	Wilson Smith (Sarah), Southern Railway	Leroy Featherstone (Modera), laborer	Charles Morgan (Susan), NC Highway Commission
	1006	Cora Bailey, cook	Lee McCoy (Susie), laborer	-----
	1009	Kate McMinn, laundress	Elvie Fernandez (Lizzie), laborer	Geneva Carson, maid
	1010	James Murphy (Anna), laborer	John Young (Cora), helper, Blue Grill	Joseph King, laborer
Cherry Alley	201	-----	Simon Goolsby (Willie), laborer	Patricia Hester, cook
	205	-----	Rosa Foster, cook	Boyce Copeland, laborer
	216	Robert Rhodes (Mattie), cook, Central Cafe	William Clay (Ruth), cook, The Blue Grill	William H. King (Willie)
Hill Street	217	-----	Minnie Heffner, laundress	Ernest Bradley (Jessie), employed City
	227	-----	Frank Lynch (Alona), laborer	Not listed
8 <sup>th</sup> Avenue East	314	Thomas J. Smith (Hattie), owner	Same	Preston Green, laborer Rose Crumlay
	322	-----	Ernest Lumpkin (Virgie), chauffeur, owner	Same

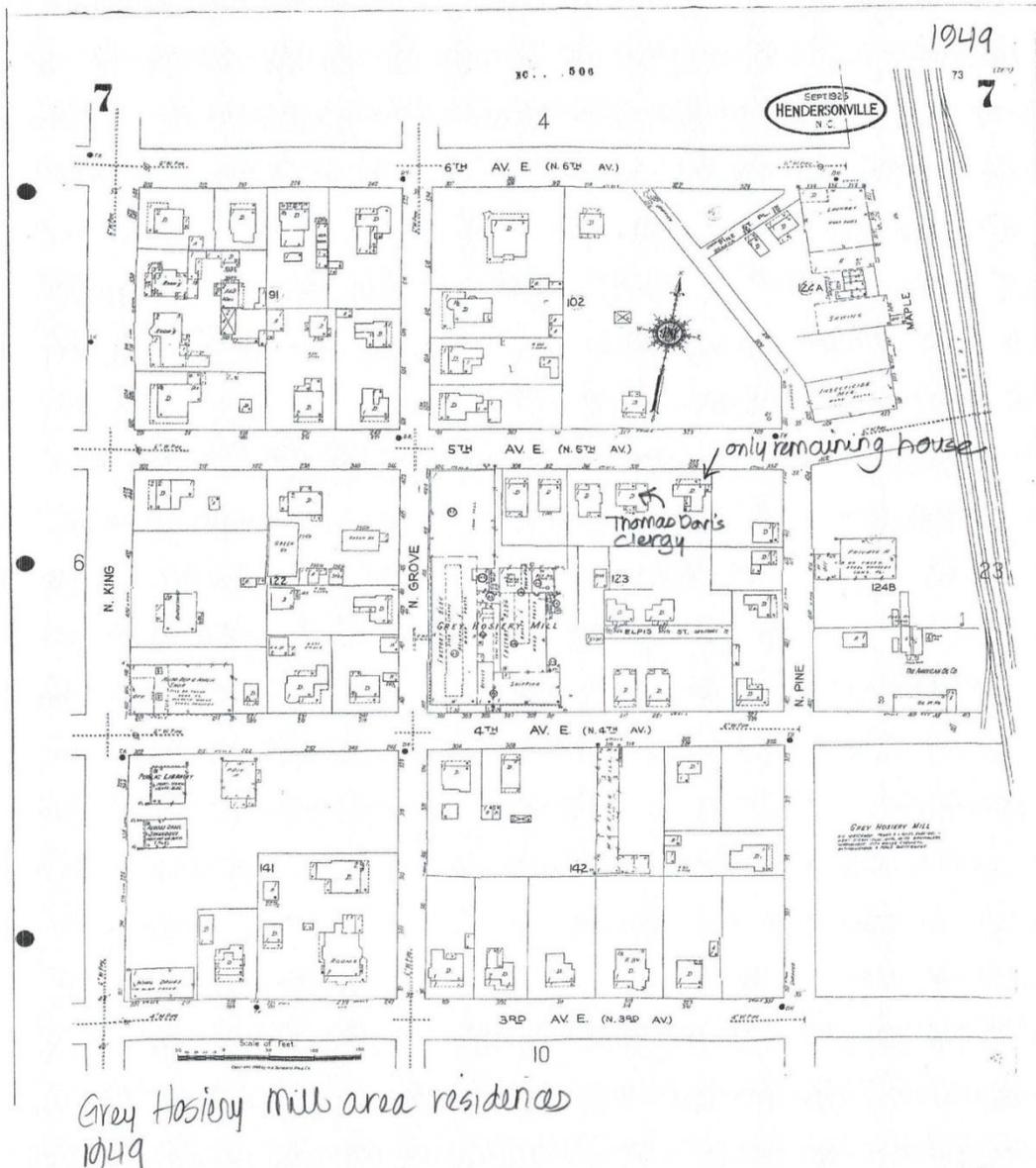
<b>Street</b>	<b>Address</b>	<b>1937-1938</b>	<b>1948-1949</b>	<b>1960-1961</b>
8 <sup>th</sup> Avenue East	507	Emmanuel Robinson (Lizzie)	Emma Williams, cook	-----
	512	Jessie Thompson, laundress	-----	-----
	608	-----	Roosevelt Edwards (Rosa), yardman	Rosa Edwards, domestic
	609	Masonic Hall	Same	same
	610	Samuel Shaw, plasterer	Same	same
	615	Jesse Fletcher (Juanita), laborer, WPA	Juanita Fletcher, laundress	same
	615 rear	John Caldwell (Mattie), helper, Star Dray Co Paris Campbell (Mamie), laborer	Mary Ellis, maid	vacant
	616	William Moon, laborer	Same	same
	617	-----	Floyd Johnson (Willie), attendant	Lucy Hazel, domestic
	619	J. C. Tinsley, laborer	Pearl Harris, maid	same
	620	-----	-----	Joncie Johnson, maid
	703	Annie McClure, domestic	Same, owner	Minnie Heffner
	708	Ulysses Cunninghm (Merzy), cook	Same, owner	same
	713	Frank Clay (Lillian), employed W. E. Cole	Millie McDowell, maid, Latta Part Inn	Ella Bell, domestic
	714	Vacant	-----	-----
	715	Odell Tucker (Nora Lee), porter	Eunice Stanfield, laundress	Luella Staggs Beverages

<b>Street</b>	<b>Address</b>	<b>1937-1938</b>	<b>1948-1949</b>	<b>1960-1961</b>
9 <sup>th</sup> Avenue East	611	-----	-----	Maude Sears
	613	Juanita Robinson, maid	Same	Same
	619	-----	-----	Sadie Cooley, domestic
	621	Nellie Lawrence, laundress	Lillian Dunlap, ironer, Superior Laundry	same
<b>Street</b>	<b>Address</b>	<b>1937-1938</b>	<b>1948-1949</b>	<b>1960-1961</b>
9 <sup>th</sup> Avenue East	704	James Brock (Beatrice), laborer	Beatrice Brock, maid, owner	John Young (Mary)
	710	-----	Eva Whiteside, maid, Patton Memorial Hospital	same
	712	Mary Wright, laundress	-----	-----
10 <sup>th</sup> Avenue East	702	-----	Lucille Booker, nurse	Lillian Dunlap
	705	-----	Pearl Mills, grocer, owner	Elphel Sitton (Alma)
	707	-----	Pearl Mills Grocery (business here)	-----
	709	-----	Not listed	Gaston Miller (Eva)
	710	-----	Mamie Jackson, canner	Garfield Clayton
	715	-----	Preston Green, laborer, Superior Laundry Mack Whiteside, helper, Community Mill	Ira Carson (Ruby)
	719	-----	Elphel B. Sitton (Elma), driver	-----

## Grey Hosiery Mill Area

Original streets in the neighborhood included 4<sup>th</sup> and 5<sup>th</sup> Avenues East (from Grove to Pine) and N. Pine Street.<sup>14</sup> Some research notes are included on the map and additional research is noted in the table below. None of these houses remain except for 324 5<sup>th</sup> Avenue East. The rest of the area has been changed primarily to office and industrial use.

1949 Sanborn Fire Insurance Map (last available map before Urban Renewal)



<sup>14</sup> City directory research noting Black-occupied residences.

*Families and occupations from Hendersonville City Directories*

<b>Street</b>	<b>Address</b>	<b>1937-1938</b>	<b>1948-1949</b>	<b>1960-1961</b>
4 <sup>th</sup> Avenue East	304	Florence Spencer, laundress	Same	Same (owner)
	317	Mary Robinson	Clinton Cannon (Elizabeth), cleaner, Superior Laundry	Same
	321	John Earle (Luella), Porter, W. K. Shipp	William Owens (Bertie) Luther Rice (Lila Mae), employed City Ice Co	Beanie Mooney, domestic James Johnson (Daisy), employed Pete Folson Motor Co
	324	Thomas Crouch (Anetha), presser, Central Cleaners	Vacant	Not listed
	327	Arthur Shields, janitor, Maxwell Apartments	Catherine Miller, domestic (owner)	Olin Clark (Mary), helper, United Cities Gas Company
	325	-----	-----	Emmett Fernandez, helper, Allied Van Lines
5 <sup>th</sup> Avenue East	308	Christopher Pilgrim (Mahala), cook, Hendersonville Inn	Fannie Patterson, domestic	Almetta Pilgrim, domestic
	312	Cornell Reed (Rosalee), cook	Neal Woodson (Henrietta), Presser, Collins Cleaners	Claude Coleman (Louise), Southern Railway
	316	Zack Lucas (Lena), laborer	Clyde Davis (Bessie), auto mechanic, owner	Bessie Davis

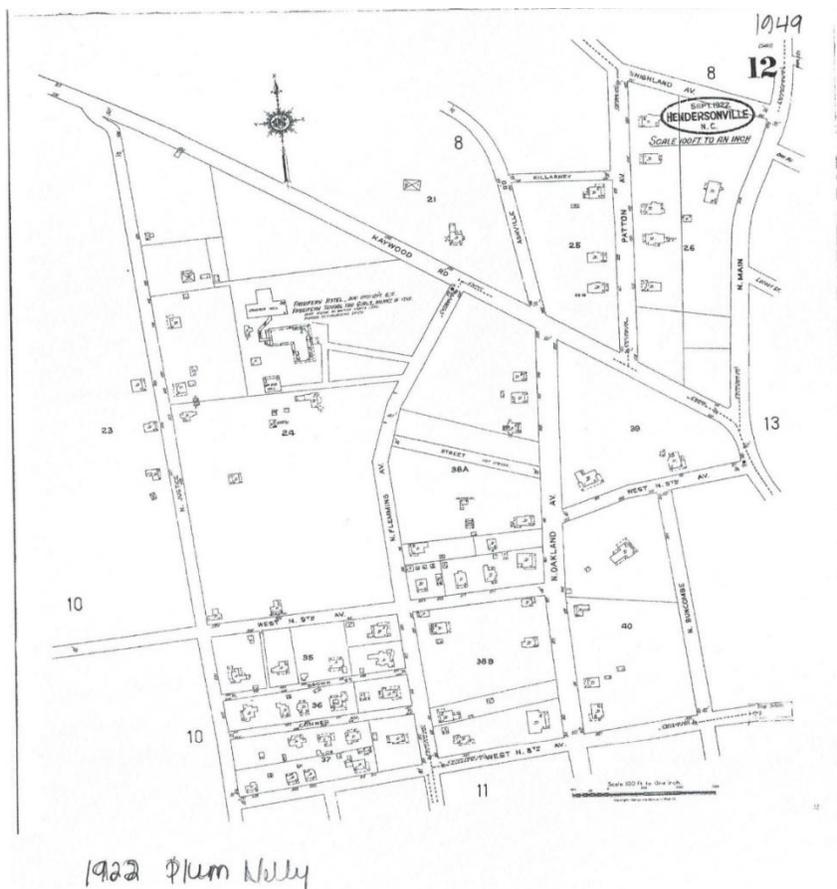
Street	Address	1937-1938	1948-1949	1960-1961
5 <sup>th</sup> Avenue East	320	Rev. Thomas Davis (Susie), Saluda Baptist Church	same	Same
	324	Sarah Davis, cook	Leanna Green, owner	Luther Pilgram (Flora), driver, Louis Williams & Sons
	506	-----	-----	Fred Wallace (Edna), laborer
	508	-----	-----	Sydney Adams (Annie), laborer
	510	Shuler King (Sallie), laborer	Mills Campbell (Helen), helper, Barber's Book Shop, owner	Elzie Fernandez (Bertha)
	516	Clarence Thompson (Birdie), laborer	same	Myrtle Thompson, domestic, owner
N. Pine Street	401	Ernest Mangum (Lucy), cook, G & M Café	Not listed	-----
	409	Claude Henderson (Lizzie), laborer	Not listed	-----
	411	Arthur Sims (Louise), porter, Skyland Barber Shop	Jesse Anderson, laborer	Lee Russell (Mossie), employed Pardee
	417	Roy Anderson (Martha), Southern Railway	Lee Russell (Eva), cook	Vacant
	423	Myrtle Anderson, cook	Malissa Drake, domestic	Vacant
	507	Maggie Sims, cook	Not listed	-----
	530	-----	Robert Johnstone, laborer	Not listed

Street	Address	1937-1938	1948-1949	1960-1961
N. Pine Street	532	-----	Berry Dodd (Myrtle), employed Lentz Brothers	Not listed

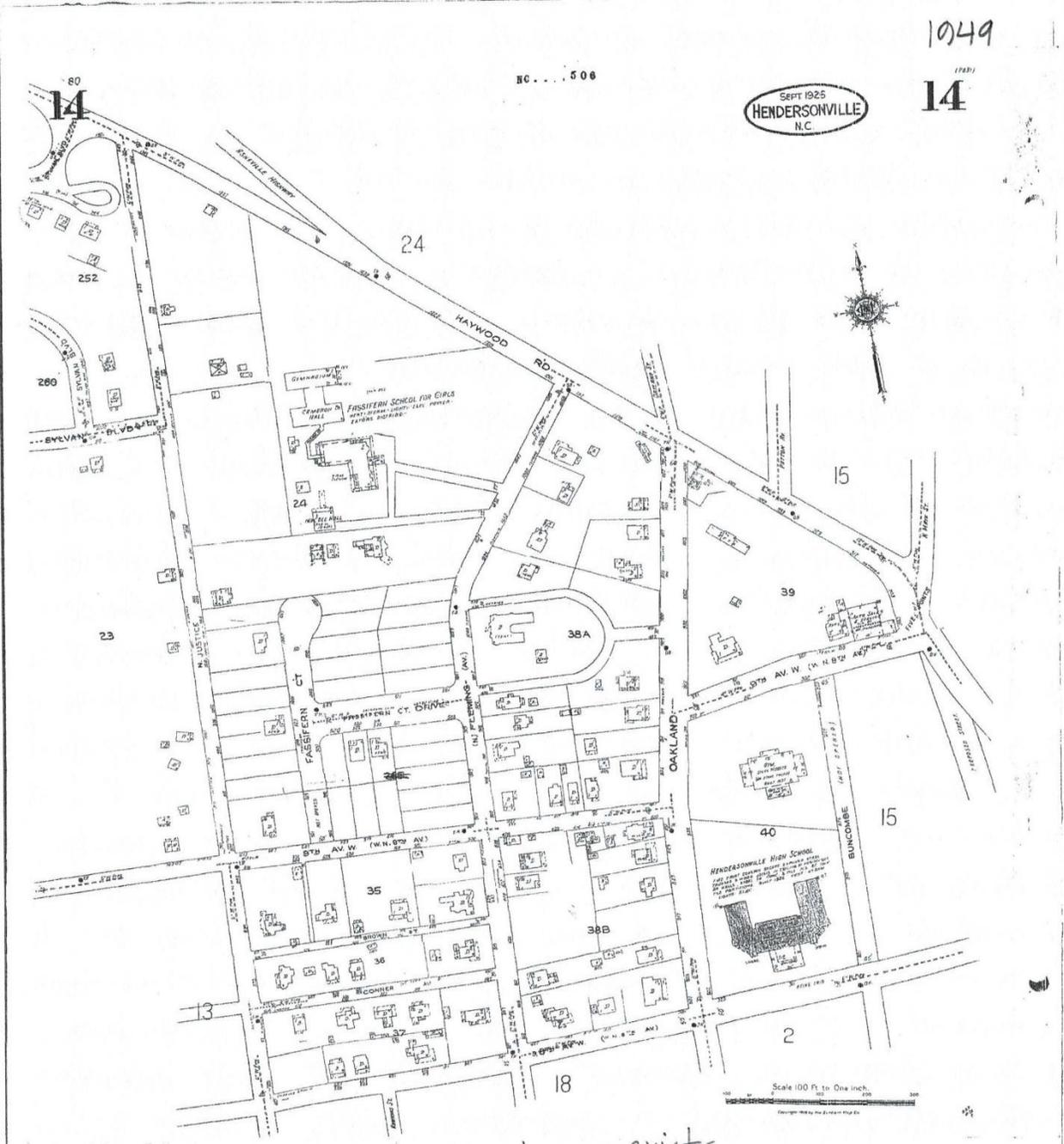
### ***Plum Nelly***

Original streets in the neighborhood included N. Oakland; West North 9<sup>th</sup> Avenue; West North 8<sup>th</sup> Avenue; and N. Buncombe.<sup>15</sup> Some research notes are included on the map and additional research is noted in the table below. None of these houses, located in a plum thicket, remain. They were all torn down when the current high school was built in 1926.

*1922 and 1949 Sanborn Fire Insurance Maps (last available map before Urban Renewal)*



<sup>15</sup> City directory research noting Black-occupied residences, and Sanborn maps 1922 and 1949.



1949 Plum Nelly area no longer exists  
(h.s. built)

*Families and occupations from Hendersonville City Directories*

<b>Street</b>	<b>Address</b>	<b>1921-1922</b>		
N. Oakland	1000	Priscilla Townsend, laundress		
	1000	Lemuel and Lucille King; Lemuel machinist with King Motor Co.		
	Near 8 <sup>th</sup> Avenue	Annie M. Rice, cook		
	No street address	Ezelle Cuth, janitor, Asheville Telephone & Telegraph Co		

## Neighborhoods Remaining Today

### *Harris Street*



### *Harris Street streetscape, looking southeast*

Harris Street, located to the east of downtown Hendersonville, is potentially eligible for listing in the National Register of Historic Places, with a period of significance of ca. 1920 – 1976. The original streets in the neighborhood included Harris Street (from 4<sup>th</sup> Avenue East to 6<sup>th</sup> Avenue East); Williams Street (from 4<sup>th</sup> Avenue East to 6<sup>th</sup> Avenue East); B Street; 5<sup>th</sup> and 6<sup>th</sup> Avenues East (from Grove Street to Harris Avenue); and Walnut Street from Harris to the dead end.<sup>16</sup> A portion of this neighborhood, on the north side was converted to public housing in the 1960s.

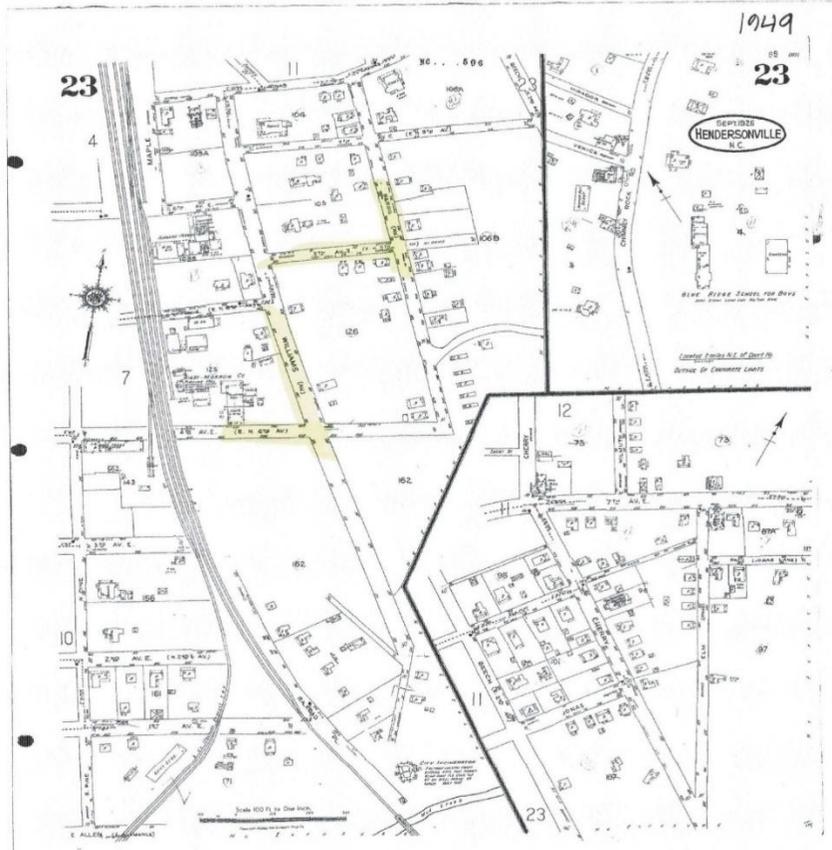
The current boundaries of a potential historic district are shown on the map below. Public housing replaced many of the homes in this neighborhood, and at the present time this type of housing is not included in the proposed National Register district boundary, under consultation with staff from the State Historic Preservation Office. This is under study by this office, however, and inclusion might be an option in the future. This neighborhood appears to be eligible for the next phase of the project, completion of a study list application, the first step required by the

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<sup>16</sup> <https://blackhistories.org/> "Harris Street Neighborhood Map".

North Carolina State Historic Preservation Office towards listing in the National Register of Historic Places. Some notes are included on the 1949 Sanborn Map, but more detailed research documentation and confirmation of boundaries will take place in the next phase of the project.

*1949 Sanborn Fire Insurance Map (last available map before Urban Renewal)*

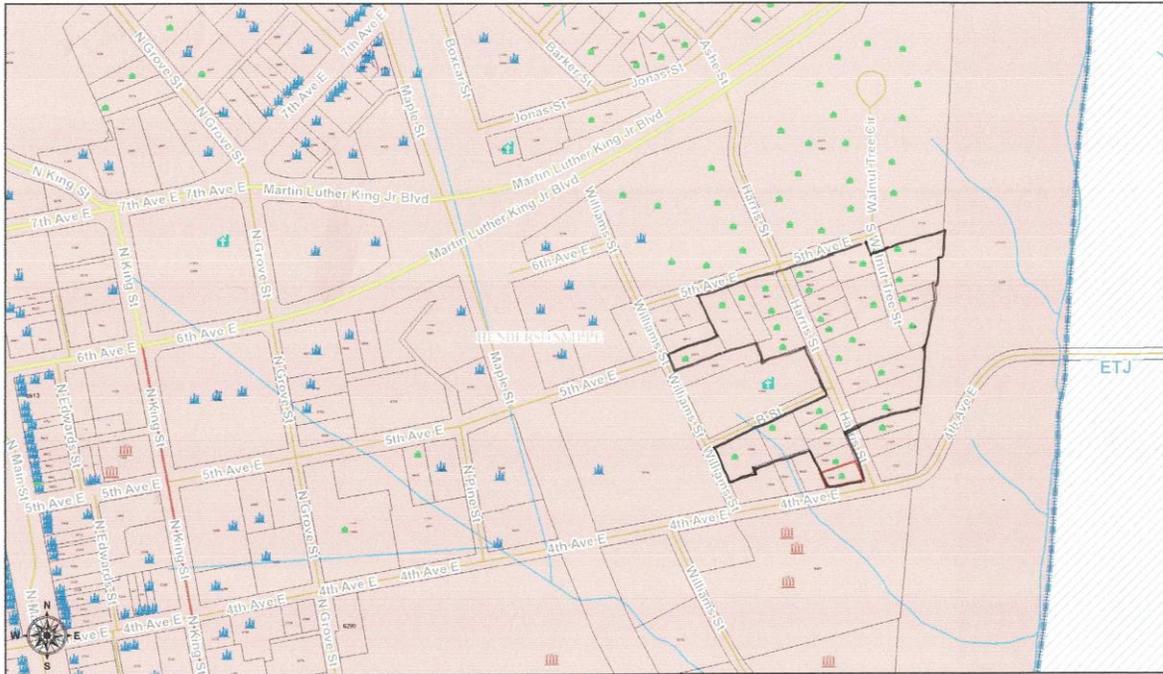


Harris Street  
1949

✓

Current map denoting preliminary boundaries

GoMaps

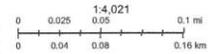


July 3, 2025

- |                             |              |
|-----------------------------|--------------|
| <b>Streets and Highways</b> | THOROUGHFARE |
| FREEWAY                     | COLLECTOR    |
| INTERSTATE                  | Local Roads  |
| BOULEVARD                   | Parcels      |

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Proposed Harris Street Historic District

## *Peacock Town*



*Pilgrim House and Funeral Home, 836 Third Avenue West*

Peacock Town, located to the west of downtown Hendersonville, is potentially eligible for listing in the National Register of Historic Places, with a period of significance of ca. 1910 - 1976. The original streets in the neighborhood included Justice Street (from 1<sup>st</sup> Avenue West to 3<sup>rd</sup> Avenue West); S. Oak (from 1<sup>st</sup> Avenue West to 3<sup>rd</sup> Avenue West); Jones Alley; Jones Street (from 1<sup>st</sup> Avenue West to 3<sup>rd</sup> Avenue West); S. Whitted (from Allen to 3<sup>rd</sup> Avenue West); First Avenue West (from Justice to S. Whitted St.); Geneva Street (from Justice to N. Oak); and 3rd Avenue West (from Justice to S. Whitted Street).<sup>17</sup> Included within this potential historic district are the Pilgrim House and Funeral Home, the Landina Guest House (included in the Green Book for Hendersonville), Star of Bethel Baptist Church, and numerous other residences.

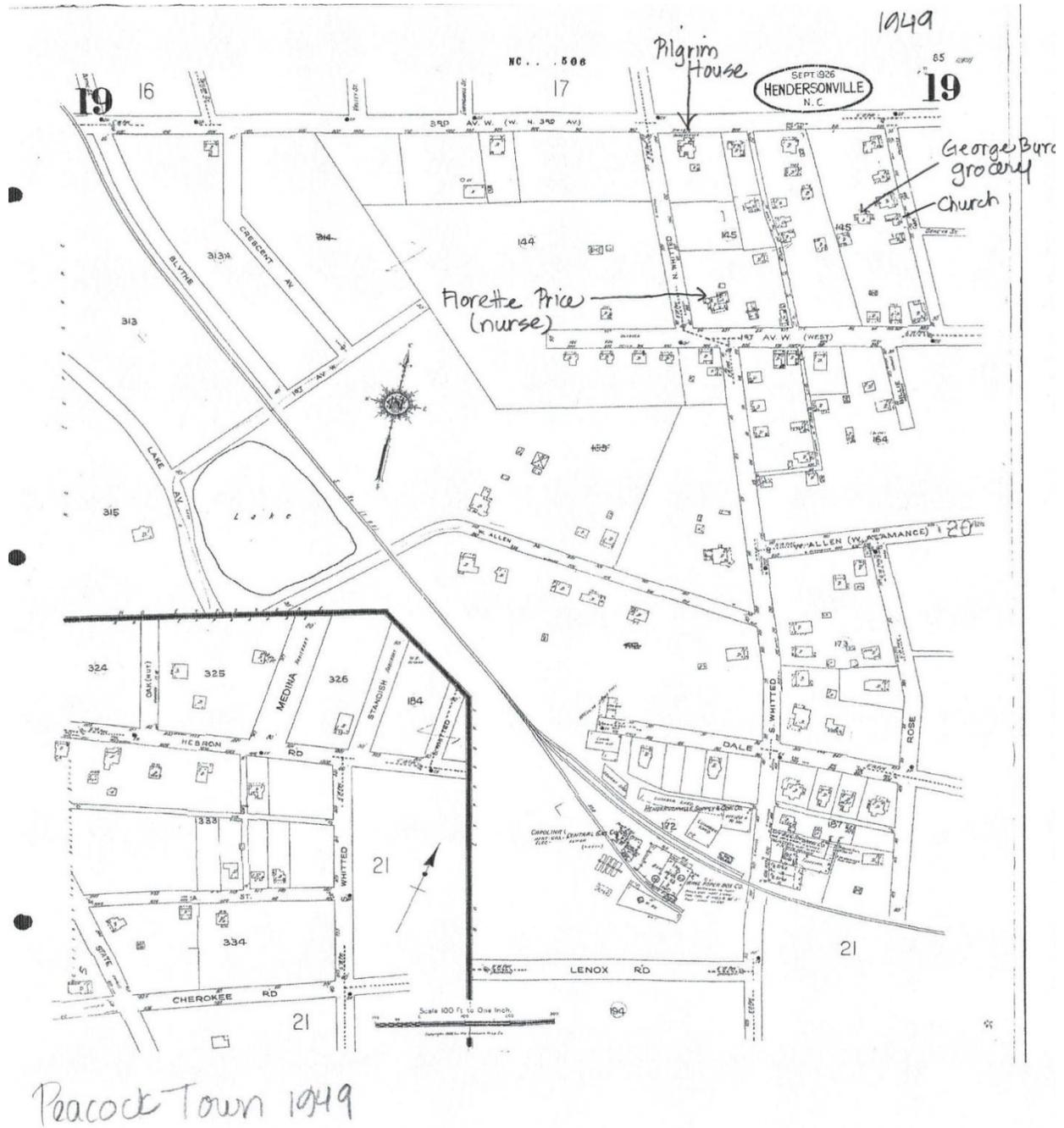
The current boundaries of a potential historic district are shown on the map below. This neighborhood appears to be eligible for the next phase of the project, completion of a study list application, the first step required by the North Carolina State Historic Preservation Office

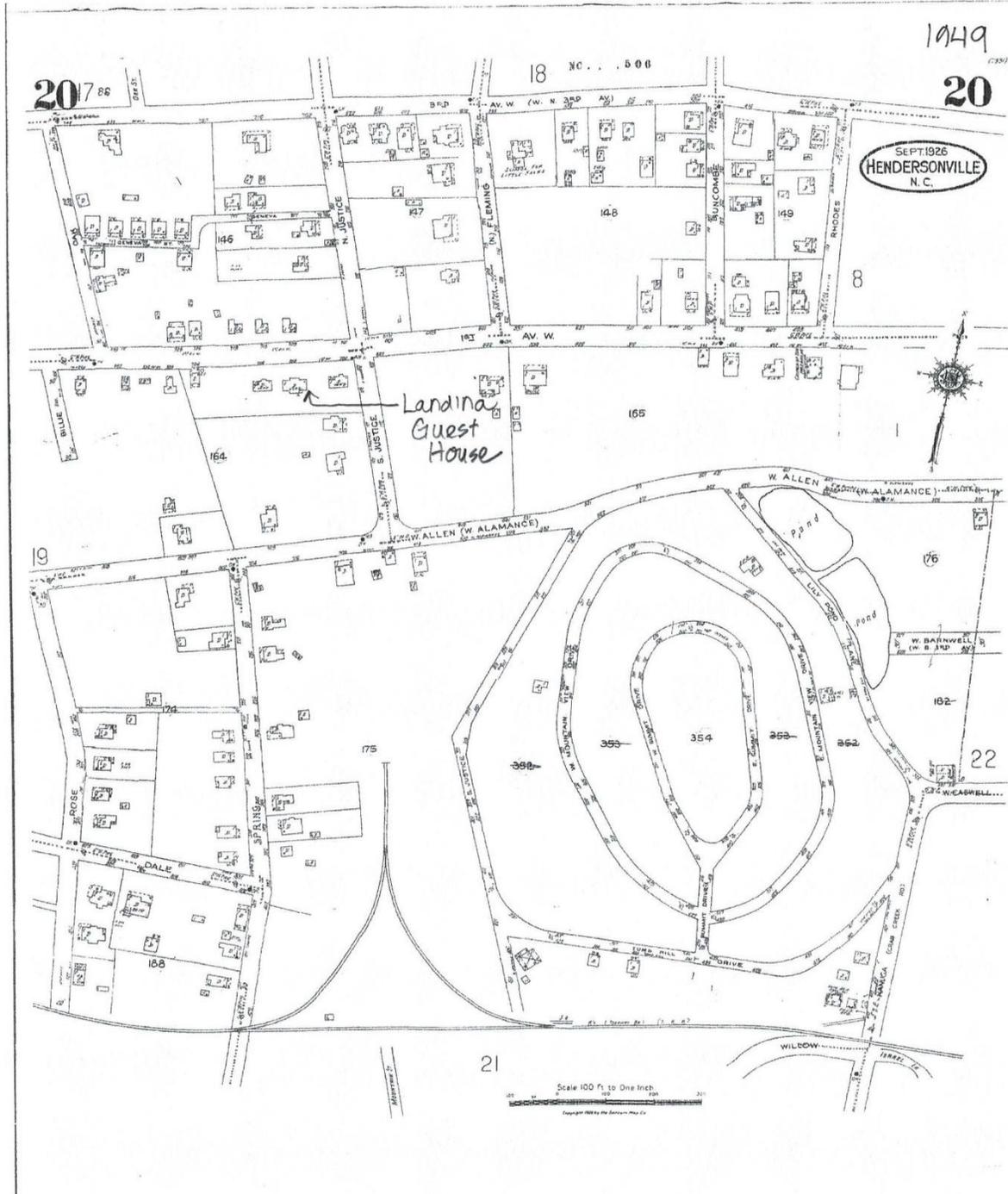
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<sup>17</sup> <https://blackhistories.org/> "Peacock Town Neighborhood Map".

towards listing in the National Register of Historic Places. Some notes are included on the 1949 Sanborn Map, but more detailed research documentation and confirmation of boundaries will take place in the next phase of the project.

*1949 Sanborn Fire Insurance Maps (last available map before Urban Renewal)*

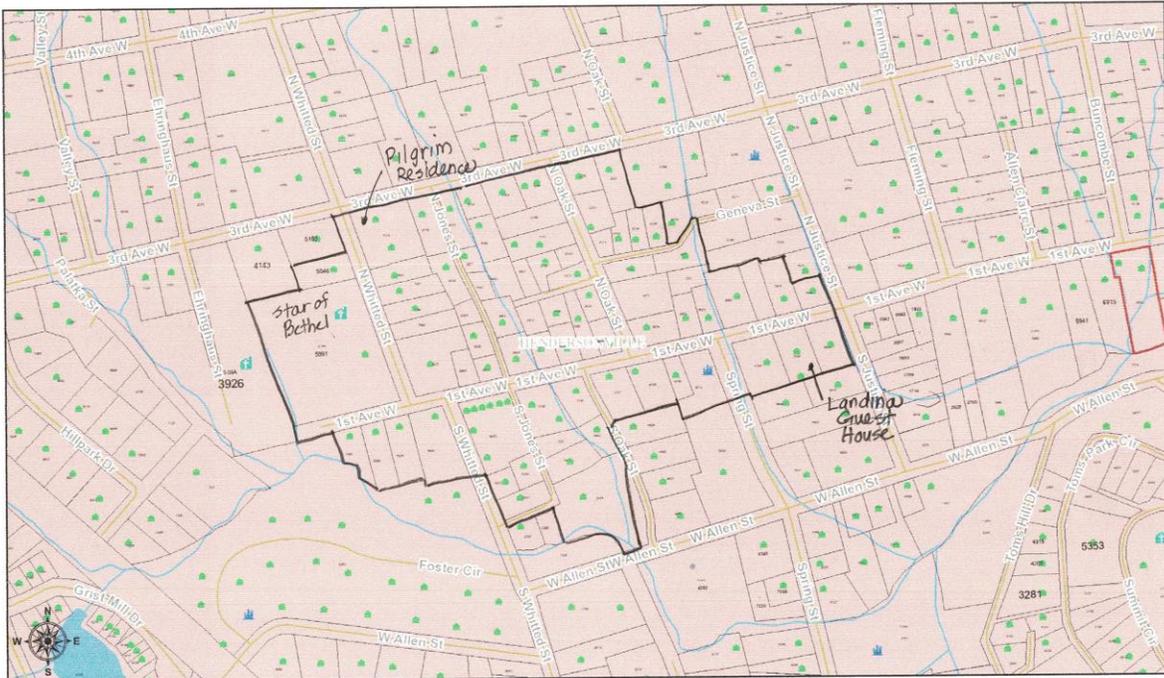




Peacock Town 1949

Current map denoting preliminary boundaries

GoMaps

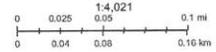


June 19, 2025

- |                             |                |
|-----------------------------|----------------|
| <b>Streets and Highways</b> | — THOROUGHFARE |
| — FREEWAY                   | — COLLECTOR    |
| — INTERSTATE                | — Local Roads  |
| — BOULEVARD                 | □ Parcels      |

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*Proposed Peacock Town Historic District*

## *West End*



*825 Sixth Avenue West*

West End, located to the west of downtown Hendersonville and north of Peacock Town, is potentially eligible for listing in the National Register of Historic Places, with a period of significance of ca. 1940 - 1976. The original streets in the neighborhood included 6<sup>th</sup> Avenue West between N. Justice and Prince; 7<sup>th</sup> Avenue West; Sam Mills Street (former 8<sup>th</sup> Avenue West); Conner Avenue (from N. Oak going west); 9<sup>th</sup> Avenue West beginning at Justice; N. Justice from 6<sup>th</sup> to 9<sup>th</sup> Avenues West; N. Oak from 6<sup>th</sup> to 9<sup>th</sup> Avenues West; N. Whitted from 6<sup>th</sup> to 9<sup>th</sup> Avenues West); Prince Street; Robinson Avenue; and Curry Street.<sup>18</sup> Included within this potential historic district are the former site of the Sixth Avenue School, St. Paul Tabernacle Church, Rising Star Masonic Lodge, and numerous residences. The Ninth Avenue School, now part of the middle school, is located to the northwest of the district, and the Black cemetery, part of Oakdale Cemetery, is located to the southwest of the district. Due to the presence of the non-historic middle school that separates the historic Ninth Avenue School from the

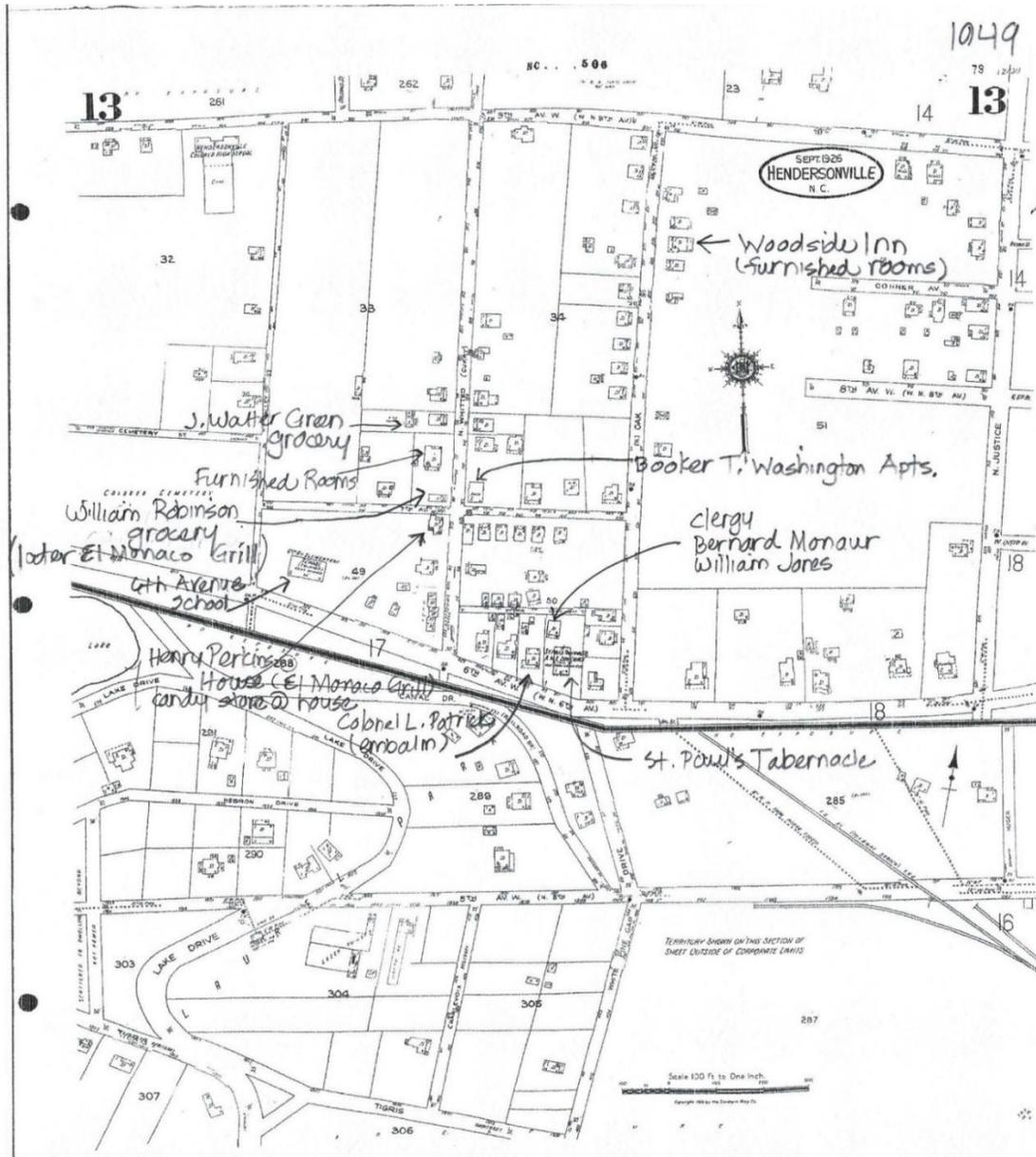
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<sup>18</sup> <https://blackhistories.org/> "West End Neighborhood Map".

remainder of the district, it is recommended that a historic marker be placed in the right-of-way along Sixth Avenue West denoting the importance of these two properties.

The current boundaries of a potential historic district are shown on the map below. This neighborhood appears to be eligible for the next phase of the project, completion of a study list application, the first step required by the North Carolina State Historic Preservation Office towards listing in the National Register of Historic Places. Some notes are included on the 1949 Sanborn Map, but more detailed research documentation and confirmation of boundaries will take place in the next phase of the project.

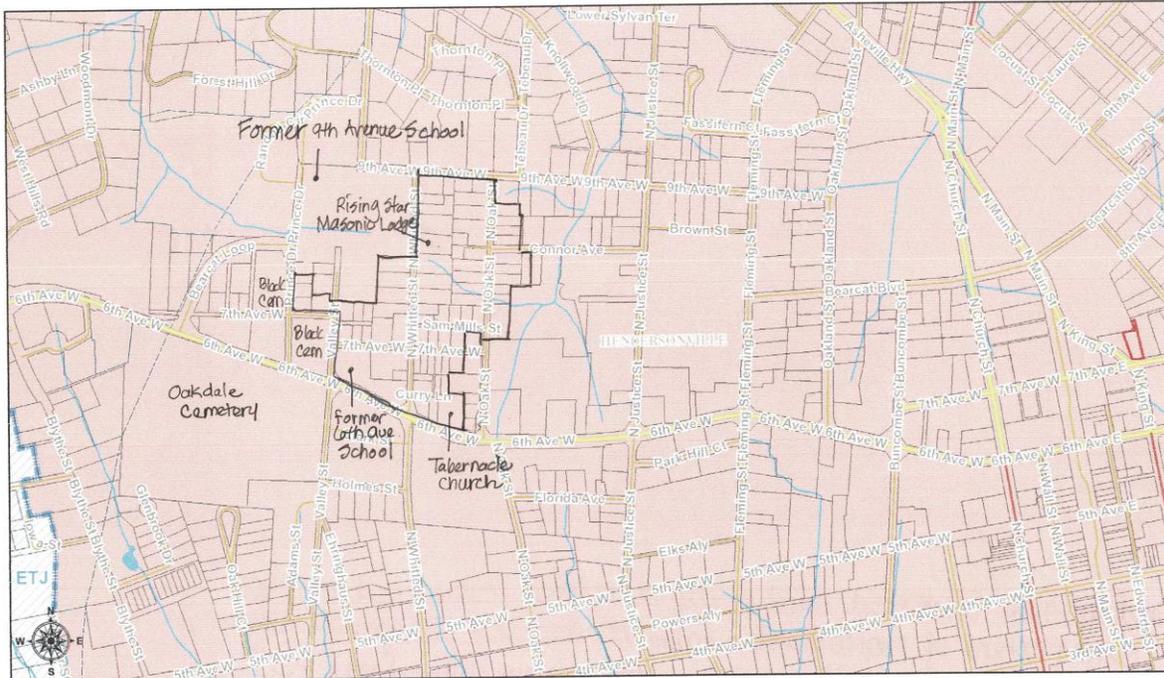
1949 Sanborn Fire Insurance Map (last available map before Urban Renewal)



West End 1949

Current map denoting preliminary boundaries

GoMaps

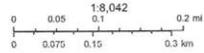


June 19, 2025

- |                             |                |
|-----------------------------|----------------|
| <b>Streets and Highways</b> | — THOROUGHFARE |
| — FREEWAY                   | — COLLECTOR    |
| — INTERSTATE                | — Local Roads  |
| — BOULEVARD                 | □ Parcels      |

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Proposed West End Historic District

## Conclusion and Recommendations

As can be seen in this report, many historic Black neighborhoods, businesses, churches, and fellowship halls have been lost through the years. It is critically important that the history of these places, some of which is included in this report, continue to be added to the already-existing wealth of information located on the Black Histories website as well as within the Blue Ridge Community College Archives. Additionally, for the remaining existing neighborhoods, and if the communities want to move in this direction, it is important to preserve these neighborhoods through listing on the National Register of Historic Places, and possibly to include them as local historic districts for their future preservation and protection. While Urban Renewal neighborhoods have not as yet been included in listing on the National Register, this is under consideration at the present time by the State Historic Preservation Office. If this becomes an area of eligibility, the former Brooklyn/Green Meadows neighborhood should be included in this as a good example of this type of property, as well as areas north of the Harris Street neighborhood among others.

### *National Register Listing*

If, upon further discussion of a steering committee and the communities to proceed, the first step for National Register listing is the submission of study list applications to the State Historic Preservation Office. These are reviewed three times per year (October, February, and June) by the National Register Advisory Committee for the State. In these applications, boundaries will be refined if needed, and additional research will take place. If approved, full nominations can then be prepared. *Placement on the National Register does not place any restrictions on property owners.* If the residents of the neighborhoods would like an additional layer of protection, they can apply to become local historic districts under the Historic Preservation Commission. Changes to the exterior of buildings will be reviewed by this Commission, but there is no review of any interior changes.

Additional benefits to property owners for properties listed as “contributing” in a National Register Historic District are tax credits for renovation work. For income-producing properties, this is a 20% Federal income-tax credit on the total rehab expenditure, plus 15% at the State level. For owner-occupied houses, renovation tax credits are 15%, with no Federal equivalent. There are interior and exterior design guidelines that must be followed for these tax credits. It should be noted that the creation of local districts and the use of tax credits are *OPTIONAL* programs for future preservation of properties. Listing alone does not place any restrictions on a property owner, but also only provides minimal protection.

Before proceeding with any additional documentation and/or National Register listing, this report should be reviewed carefully through additional public meetings so everyone is clear on what is being presented, understand how boundaries are selected, and to provide additional overview information on all of the programs.

#### *Additional Research and Oral History*

Even if National Register nominations are not seen by the communities as the next step, additional research should still take place. City directories should be consulted, as they were for the lost communities, to document the families and their occupations within the existing neighborhoods. This information should be added to the Black Histories website.

Further research should also take place into the photo collection at the Housing Authority for documentary photos of houses that were demolished for Urban Renewal. This is an important piece for the history of the lost communities in particular. A contact for this is Connie Stewart at the Hendersonville Housing Authority, [cstewart@hendersonvilleha.org](mailto:cstewart@hendersonvilleha.org). The photos in their archives should be scanned and made part of the record of the Black Histories website, as well as part of the collections at Blue Ridge Community College Archives.

Oral history and collections of historic photos and memorabilia should continue to take place under the guidance of Blue Ridge Community College Archives. Notes should be made onto the enlarged Sanborn maps as part of this process and if possible, current photos with addresses should be made available to participants. Seeing a photo of a place can trigger memories.

#### *Architectural Survey*

In the future, a full county-wide survey of additional Black resources should be completed, since there is a great deal of history related to other parts of Henderson County. This report has focused only upon those resources located within the city of Hendersonville.

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