NPS Form 10-900-b
(Revised March 1992)

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United States Department of the Interior
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National Register of Historic Places Multiple Property Documentation Form

This form is used for documenting multiple property groups relating to one or several historic contexts. See instructions in *How to Complete the Multiple Property Documentation Form* (National Register Bulletin 16B). Complete each item by entering the requested information. For additional space, use continuation sheets (Form 10-900-a). Use a typewriter, word processor, or computer to complete all items.

X New Submission ___ Amended Submission

A. Name of Multiple Property Listing

Historic and Architectural Resources of Lee County, North Carolina, ca. 1800-1942

B. Associated Historic Contexts

(Name each associated historic context, identifying theme, geographical area, and chronological period for each.)

Early Development in Lee County, 1740-1849
Transportation-Related Development in Lee County, 1850-1879
Urbanization and Agricultural/Industrial Expansion in Lee County, 1880-1919
Urbanization and Agricultural/Industrial Expansion in Lee County, 1820-1942

C. Form Prepared by

name/title J. Daniel Pezzoni

organization Preservation Technologies, Inc. date March 1993

street & number P.O. Box 7825 telephone 703/342-7832

city or town Roanoke state Virginia zip code 24019

D. Certification

As the designated authority under the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966, as amended, I hereby certify that this documentation form meets the National Register documentation standards and sets forth requirements for the listing of related properties consistent with the National Register criteria. This submission meets the procedural and professional requirements set forth in 36 CFR Part 60 and the Secretary of the Interior's Standards and Guidelines for Archeology and Historic Preservation. (☐ See continuation sheet for additional comments.)

William S. Price, Jr. 6-22-93

Signature and title of certifying official Date

State or Federal agency and bureau

I hereby certify that this multiple property documentation form has been approved by the National Register as a basis for evaluating related properties for listing in the National Register.

Patrick W. Andrus 8/18/93

Signature of the Keeper Date of Action

Table of Contents for Written Narrative

Provide the following information on continuation sheets. Cite the letter and the title before each section of the narrative. Assign page numbers according to the instructions for continuation sheets in *How to Complete the Multiple Property Documentation Form* (National Register Bulletin 16B). Fill in page numbers for each section in the space below.

Primary location of additional data:

- ☒ State Historic Preservation Office
- ☐ Other State agency
- ☐ Federal agency
- ☐ Local government
- ☐ University
- ☐ Other

Name of repository:

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PREFACE

The Lee County Architectural Survey was conducted over a one-year period in 1991 and 1992 by J. Daniel Pezzoni of the firm of Preservation Technologies, Inc. (hereafter described as the consultant). The survey was funded by the Railroad House Historical Association in Sanford, the City of Sanford, and Lee County, with a matching Survey and Planning grant from the North Carolina Division of Archives and History. Catherine W. Bishir of the Division of Archives and History oversaw the work of the survey. Mary Ellen Bowen of the Sanford Downtown Revitalization Department served as the local Project Coordinator, and James Vann Comer served as the Project Historian. Lee County, including the City of Sanford and the Town of Broadway, constituted the project area.

The survey began with a short planning phase that included a windshield reconnaissance survey of the county and the preparation of a preliminary report on the history and known architectural resources of the county. Field survey commenced in August 1991 with the objective of documenting 700 primary resources, although in the end 834 primary resources were recorded. Information on these resources is contained in files curated by the Division of Archives and History in Raleigh with a duplicate set in Sanford. Survey and evaluation were conducted in accord with North Carolina Division of Archives and History standards and guidelines, and thus with the Secretary of the Interior's "Standards for Identification" and "Standards for Evaluation." As a result of the survey, seventy-six individual resources and districts were listed in the state's Study List of properties that warrant consideration for the National Register of Historic Places. Other products of the survey included the preparation of site maps, the taking of approximately 1,000 slides for curation by the Division of Archives and History, presentations to local historical and civic organizations, and the preparation of this final report. (A full account of the objectives and methodology of the survey is contained in Section H.)

Many individuals and groups helped with the project. The Board of Directors of the Railroad House Historical Association provided guidance throughout the survey. Well over a hundred individuals provided historical information on specific sites, too many to list here. A number of individuals accompanied the consultant in the field, guiding him to sites that might otherwise have gone overlooked. These individuals included Warren Austin, James Vann Comer, Jimmy Haire, Ted Lawrence, Doris McCracken, Philip McDavid, George McRae, Mr. and Mrs. Oroon Palmer, Ed Paschal, Ed Patterson, Todd Powell, Robert Thomas, Mack Wicker, and Laura Young. Four of these individuals--Comer, Lawrence, Patterson, and Wicker--were especially helpful in locating notable early vernacular houses. Mike Matochik of the Lee County Library was instrumental in arranging curation of duplicate files and slides for the locality. Todd Powell of the Sanford Planning Department, Leisa Powell of the Lee County Planning Department, and Ed Paschal provided maps and information on property ownership. Pilot John Ogburn flew the consultant and NCDAH personnel in an aerial reconnaissance of the county at the beginning of the survey. Mac's Business Machines and Stan Clinard loaned computer hardware to the survey. Claudia Brown, Jerry Cross, and Margaret Rothman of the Division of Archives and History assisted Catherine Bishir in reviewing reports, preparing the county study list, and other aspects of the survey. Special thanks go to Doris and Mack McCracken, who provided lodgings for the consultant.

E. STATEMENT OF HISTORIC CONTEXTS

INTRODUCTION

Lee County is a small county of 255 square miles located at the geographic center of North Carolina (see exhibit 1). The county was formed in 1907 from parts of Chatham and Moore counties, although for the sake of brevity, the area comprising the county will be referred to as "Lee County" throughout the report, even when the topic under discussion antedates 1907. Lee County is bordered by Chatham, Harnett, and Moore counties, with a 1992 estimated population of 44,000. At the center of the county is the City of Sanford, the largest incorporated community in the county and the county seat, with a 1992 population of 20,100. The town of Jonesboro was annexed by Sanford in the late 1940s and is now officially known as Jonesboro Heights, although for the purpose of this report the town will be referred to by its original name. The only other incorporated community is the small town of Broadway, located at the eastern edge of the county. Unincorporated towns and villages of note include Lemon Springs, Cumnock, Tramway, and Osgood.

Lee County is located at the head of the main branch of the Cape Fear River at the confluence of the river's two main tributaries: the Deep River, which forms the county's northern boundary, and the Haw River. The county is drained by a number of watercourses flowing into the Cape Fear and Deep rivers, namely Little Governors Creek (which forms part of the county's western boundary), Pocket Creek, Patterson Creek, Big Buffalo Creek, Little Buffalo Creek, Lick Creek, Fall Creek, Beaver Creek, and the drainage of the Upper Little River (a tributary of the Cape Fear River). The county is situated on the fall line at the transition between the North Carolina coastal plain and the Piedmont. The lowest elevation is at the county's eastern tip on the Cape Fear River (less than 150 feet above sea level) and the highest elevation is at Quail Ridge two miles west of Lemon Springs (over 540 feet above sea level).

Quail Ridge is one of a number of elevated sandy ridges in the southern corner of the county, the northern tip of the area known as the North Carolina Sandhills. One nineteenth-century traveler described Lee County's Sandhills as a "regular series of undulations, not unlike the ground-swell of the ocean" (U. S. Navy Department: 23). The more level, sandy topography of the coastal plain characterizes the area to the south and east of Jonesboro. The longleaf pine once covered the sandy sections of the county, an important source of naval stores and lumber but a hindrance to large-scale agriculture until the last stands were cleared in the early twentieth century. The northern and western sections of the county have been described as "a level or rolling plateau, cut by numerous valleys, whose width and depth varies with the size of the streams which have formed them" (Holmes: 5). A gravely soil and in some places a red clay soil predominate in the northern and western sections, and the original forest cover was largely deciduous.

Lee County's varied geological substrate includes the Deep River Coal Field, the state's largest coal deposit, which extends from east to west along the northern edge of the county. Commercially important deposits of stone and ore include brownstone, located throughout the northern half of the county but quarried primarily at Sanford in the 1890s; copper, located on Copper Mine Creek in the northeastern quadrant of the county and mined from the 1870s into the early twentieth century; and clay and shale, the basis of the nationally-significant brick industry established at Colon in the 1920s. Gravel and sand are mined in the county at present.

The following discussion of Lee County's history through 1942 is divided into four historic contexts that reflect major changes in the county's development. The first context covers the early development of the county and extends from 1740, the approximate date of the first non-aboriginal settlement, through the 1840s. The second context begins with the decade of the 1850s, when transportation improvements transformed the county's economy, and extends through the 1870s, the decade of the establishment of the important railroad community of Sanford. The third context embraces the years 1880 to 1919, a period of agricultural and industrial expansion and community growth. The fourth context traces later trends in the industrial and agricultural development of the county from 1920 to 1942, notably the introduction of tobacco cultivation and the beginnings of the nationally significant Lee County brick industry. For the sake of narrative flow, information on the early development of certain historic themes is carried over to discussions for later periods. For instance, the eighteenth-century ironworks on the Deep River is mentioned as an introduction to the discussion of the more extensive industrial developments of the mid-nineteenth century. Likewise, information on later developments is sometimes included in discussions for earlier periods. References to sources are contained in parentheses and appear after a sentence or paragraph. Information from the site files generated by the survey is referenced "(LE #)" or "(see LE #)."

EARLY DEVELOPMENT IN LEE COUNTY, 1740-1849

The settlement of Lee County by Europeans (mostly Highland Scots) and African-Americans commenced about 1740. The early economy of the county was based primarily on agriculture, naval stores production, and lumbering, although the establishment of an ironworks at Gulf in the 1760s presaged the larger-scale extractive industries to come. Unpaved roads and the Cape Fear and Deep rivers provided the principal means of transportation. Presbyterianism developed as the principal religious denomination, although Quakers were present, and towards the end of the period Baptist and Methodist congregations were formed. Nearly all of Lee County's early inhabitants lived on dispersed farmsteads. Most dwelling houses were probably small log and frame structures, although the county's elite constructed larger frame dwellings with Georgian, Federal and (at the very end of the period) Greek Revival detailing. Few dwellings and apparently no domestic or agricultural outbuildings survive from the period. Highland Scot cemeteries with notable wood and stone grave markers (some dating to the late eighteenth century) survive in the northern and western quadrants of the county.

Settlement and Ethnicity

The Lower Cape Fear Valley experienced sporadic European settlement beginning in the late seventeenth century. English from other parts of North and from South Carolina and Virginia probably settled as far upstream as Lee County by the mid-eighteenth century, and a scattering from other ethnic groups such as the Scotch-Irish and Germans may have reached the area from the north. However, early land records and other sources indicate that the principal settlement group in the Lee County area during the eighteenth century was the Highland Scots.

The first wave of Highland Scots emigrated to the Upper Cape Fear Valley during the thirty-year period following the Jacobite rebellion of 1745 and ending with the American Revolution, although some are known to

have come over as early as 1732. More Highlanders emigrated to the area during a less well-defined period beginning in 1783 and continuing into the early nineteenth century, perhaps tapering off gradually as emigration shifted to Canada. Highland Scot settlement in North Carolina centered on Cross Creek (Fayetteville) and extended as far north as the Deep River in Lee County and as far south and west as the South Carolina line. According to one source, some land grants to Highlanders were made along the Cape Fear in what is now Lee County as early as 1740, before the main surge of emigrants ("Maps of Early Land Grants"). During the ten-year period from 1745 to 1755, approximately seven land acquisitions were made by Highlanders on the Deep River in present-day Lee County; from 1755 to 1765 approximately six more acquisitions were made in the same vicinity and several were made on Big Buffalo Creek. By the eve of the Revolution approximately twenty acquisitions had been made by Highland Scots along the Cape Fear and Deep rivers in present-day Lee County, and thirty-five to forty acquisitions had been made on many of the county's secondary watercourses (Meyer: 98-100).

The Highlanders emigrated to North Carolina for a variety of reasons--economic, social, and political--motivated as much by the prospect of advancement in the new world as by a desire to escape conditions in Scotland (Meyer: 30; Bailyn and DeWolfe: 504-06). The circumstances that prompted the emigration to Lee County of members of the McGilvary and McIver families, substantial tenants from the Parish of Sleat on Skye, have been studied in detail (Steiner and Steiner). The experiences of the McGilvarys and McIvers provide a glimpse of the broader historical trends attending the Highland emigration to Lee County.

During the second half of the eighteenth century, the Isle of Skye suffered with the rest of the Highlands the cumulative effects of the dissolution of the clan system of mutual dependence among the lairds, the leaseholding tacksmen, the leaseless tenants, and the cotters or sub-tenants. The Scottish lairds, including Lord Macdonald of Skye, sought to maximize income from their estates through the practice of raising rents to the highest possible level (known as "rack-renting") and--even more devastating to the social fabric--through the introduction of the Cheviot sheep in the 1790s. The shift from a labor-intensive crop and cattle economy to a sheep economy, which required only a few shepherds (usually skilled Lowlanders), led to the "Highland clearances," the wholesale eviction of thousands of Highland tenants and cotters (Prebble: 21-33). In 1800, the tenants of Skye pleaded: "May God inspire them [Lord Macdonald of Skye's estate managers] with compassion and mercy towards the poor tenants as its a very hard affair that a hundred souls should be removed for one man in order to be stocked again with a few sheep" (Steiner and Steiner: 169). Compounding the problems of rack-renting, evictions and the threat of eviction, and competition among tenants for farmland on the overpopulated island were the harsh winters and bad harvests of 1801 and 1802. Consequently, in May 1802, one of Lord Macdonald's agents reported that "the best Tenants of Strath & Slate were going to America." Six hundred of these Skye tenants, their families, and their sub-tenants, including members of the McGilvary and McIver families, sailed aboard the "Duke of Kent" to Wilmington, arriving in October 1802 (Kelly).

The McIvers and McGilvarys who arrived on the "Duke of Kent" had been preceded by other members of their families. The brothers Alexander, Angus, and Archibald McGilvary joined a fourth brother, Martin, who had emigrated to the Upper Cape Fear region in 1789 and acquired one hundred acres on Little Pocket Creek in present Lee County in 1792 (Steiner and Steiner: 319-321). Duncan McIver joined other members of his family who had settled between Sanford and Cumnock on Buffalo Creek. Although they were relative late-comers to the Lee County area, the McGilvarys and especially the McIvers and their progeny rose to the rank of prosperous landowners. Other families probably of Skye origin who gained prominence in Lee County were the Dalrymples and McLeods (Comer, "Reconstructed 1860 Lee County Census"). Such movements of clans

and related clan groups from a specific area of Scotland to a specific area in the colonies was a common occurrence during the period (Bailyn: 504).

Although no attempt has been made to estimate the proportion of Highland Scot settlers and their descendants to other ethnic groups in the area that became Lee County, late-nineteenth-century maps of Moore and Chatham counties suggest that families with Highland Scot surnames historically accounted for at least half of the white rural residents of Lee County (McDuffy; Ramsey). This is in accord with the estimated percentage of Highland Scots in the Upper Cape Fear region as a whole at the end of the eighteenth century (Bailyn: 503). The profound effect of this concentration of Highland Scots on the culture of the Lee County area is discussed throughout this report.

African-Americans undoubtedly ranked among Lee County's earliest non-aboriginal inhabitants, although their numbers may have been small. In 1755, Cumberland County, from which Lee County ultimately derived, recorded 205 households on its tax lists. Only twenty-five (or 12%) of the households held slaves, and seventeen of these households held only one or two slaves. The largest slaveholding was eight slaves (Merrens: 90). In 1790, Lee County's precursor counties Moore and Chatham were typical of piedmont and mountain North Carolina counties in that fewer than 20% of the inhabitants were slaves (Lefler and Newsome: 129). In Chatham County, the number of slaves increased substantially during the period 1790 to 1810 (Osborn and Selden-Sturgill: 8-10).

Religion and Education

Lee County's Highland Scot settlers were largely Presbyterian in religious affiliation. Consequently, the first formally established church in the county was Buffalo Presbyterian Church (LE 496), the northernmost of the Presbyterian congregations established by the Cape Fear Highland Scots in the eighteenth century. The Buffalo congregation was organized in 1797 when the Rev. William D. Paisley began to preach on a regular basis at a log chapel near the site of the present church (Lacy: 6). Earlier, itinerant Presbyterian preachers ministered to small groups at locations such as barns and beside springs (ibid: 5-6). One of Buffalo's early pastors, the Rev. Murdock McMillan, preached in Gaelic as well as English to his parishioners (Ibid: 8). The Lee County area's second oldest Presbyterian congregation, Euphronia Church (LE 157), was formed out of Buffalo in 1819 (ibid: 9).

Other denominations were established in the Lee County area during the first half of the nineteenth century, among them the Baptists and Methodists. One of the earliest Baptist congregations was Juniper Springs Baptist Church, organized in 1812 (see LE 254). Some early inhabitants of the northwest corner of the county were members of the Society of Friends, reflecting the greater proportion of English settlers in the area.

The county's religious sects placed great importance on formal education; consequently, the first schools were established in conjunction with churches. Academies were formed in Lee County beginning in the early nineteenth century. The coeducational Euphronian Academy was the first of these, established in 1811 near Carbonton and served by ministers of Buffalo Presbyterian Church (Comer, "Prominent Citizens"; Lacy: 20-21). One former student has left an account of Euphronia Academy as it was about 1824: "The Rev. Murdock McMillan was Principal, a good linguist and quite kind and fatherly old gentleman who loved the boys and loved their souls. . . . I boarded with a kind widow lady near the academy, and she had two young ministers

boarding with her" (*Central North Carolina Journal*, December 1991: 3). As in other parts of North Carolina, some of the county's larger landowners probably hired tutors for the instruction of their children and those of their neighbors.

Agriculture

Agricultural production was the economic mainstay of the Lee County area during the colonial and early federal periods. Both the European and African settlers of the area were agriculturalists in their homelands. In Lee County these settlers found rich farmland along the Cape Fear and Deep rivers and also on the alluvial strips along smaller watercourses. The area's Highland Scot settlers cultivated corn, wheat, oats, peas, beans, sweet potatoes, and flax (Meyer: 103-04). Connor O'Dowd, an early Irish planter of Loyalist sympathies who owned over 7,000 acres near Carbonton, had 1,500 bushels of corn, 150 bushels of oats, 130 bushels of wheat, and 100 bushels of rye on hand when he was forced to flee his plantation during the Revolution (Wicker: 382). Despite the abundance of corn on O'Dowd's plantation, the patriot ironmaster John Willcox, located several miles downstream across from Gulf, lamented in 1777 that, "Wheat [is] the chief grain they [Lee and Chatham county-area farmers] raise for bread or market. They have hardly any corn for sale" (Willcox:94). Willcox, who also had difficulties keeping his Highland Scot laborers at his furnace during planting season, may have been experiencing war-time disruptions, since other sources indicate that corn was by far the most significant crop in the Lee County area up until the postbellum period.

Livestock production was integral to Lee County's early agricultural economy, as it was for landowners throughout colonial North Carolina, many of whom obtained their major income from cattle and hogs (Pomeroy and Yoho: 53). Cattle fattened on the lush cane brakes along watercourses while hogs subsisted on oak mast and the seeds, roots, and tender seedlings of longleaf pines. Most farms included forested upland range, or the livestock roamed freely through unpatented tracts. Probably most of the corn raised in the region went to fattening cattle and swine for market. Cattle herds among the Highland Scots of the Cape Fear typically numbered between twenty and thirty head during the late eighteenth century, although larger herds were common (Meyer: 106).

Livestock production had two detrimental effects on the forests of the region. Overgrazing by swine interfered with the regeneration of longleaf pines, which gradually came to be replaced by short-leaved species (naval stores production was also a major factor in the decline of the longleaf pines). Also, intentional firing of the undergrowth to control cattle ticks and promote forage wreaked havoc on forests, leading to barren areas in some parts of the Sandhills (Pomeroy and Yoho: 11).

Architecture

Lee County's earliest surviving domestic architecture dates to the half century between 1800 and 1850. In many important respects the county's early houses are similar to houses from the same period in surrounding areas of the Piedmont and inner Coastal Plain of North Carolina. Frame and log construction, coastal cottages and I-houses, hall-parlor and center-passage plans, the Georgian and Greek Revival--these standard materials, forms, plans, and styles are all represented in Lee County. Also to be found in the county are a number of

unusual features that are rare in the state or that reflect particular aspects of the area's history and ethnic make-up.

Probably the most revealing documentary sources for the early architecture of the area are the claims made to the British government by Loyalists who lost property during the American Revolution. For instance, the claim of Alexander Morrison of Cross Hill in Cumberland County (which neighbors Lee County on the south) cites the loss of "eight new houses, one of them framed, floored and lofted" (Wicker: 416). In 1810 a resident of Moore County reported, "The Major part of our buildens [sic] are Log Houses" (Bishir et al: 54). The evidence of these sources and others suggests that most late-eighteenth-century houses and domestic outbuildings in the Highland Scot settlement area were rudimentary one-story log constructions. Presumably the area's Highland Scots adapted log construction from their German and Scotch-Irish neighbors, since the Highlanders were not practitioners of log building in their barren homeland.

The earliest surviving Lee County houses for which there are reasonably well substantiated dates are the Aaron Tyson House (LE 100), located in Carbonton, which probably dates to the first decade of the nineteenth century; the ca. 1815 Douglas-Lett House (LE 252), located on the high ground above the Cape Fear River in the Buckhorn Road vicinity; the McGregor-Jackson House (LE 453), located in the Sandhills, which probably dates to the early 1820s; and the original section of the Palmer House (LE 114), located across from Gulf on the Deep River, which probably dates to the 1810s, if not earlier. Other houses which may date to the first quarter of the nineteenth century include the Paisley-Spivey House (LE 162), located on the western edge of the county; the original section of the Campbell-Jones House (LE 690), located near Jonesboro; and the Samuel E. Johnson House (LE 650), located in the Sandhills. These seven houses provide case studies of the range of styles, forms, floor plans, and construction materials and techniques that occurred in Lee County during the early nineteenth century.

The Aaron Tyson House probably typifies the kinds of dwellings built by Lee County's small upper class during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Although its appearance was greatly altered in the mid-twentieth century, the hall-parlor-plan timber-frame house retains many notable features. On the south gable end rises a Flemish-bond brick chimney with double paved shoulders and a diamond motif in the stack formed by glazed headers. The interior of the house features a Georgian/Federal-style mantel in the hall with a simple architrave fireplace surround and a paneled overmantel, and portions of a paneled overmantel in the parlor. In an original rear shed room is a winder stair with delicate beaded and faceted newels topped by finials, molded and beaded handrails, and close-set turned balusters. Another early Lee County house with Federal-inspired detailing is the Paisley-Spivey House (LE 162), a one-and-a-half-story timber-frame dwelling with massive, well-constructed brownstone and brick chimneys. The Paisley-Spivey House has Federal-inspired architrave mantels with multiple panels in the friezes. Both the Tyson and Paisley houses are associated with members of Lee County's socioeconomic elite. The Tysons owned large tracts of prime Deep River bottomland and operated a grist mill, sawmill, and ferry at Carbonton. The Paisleys were staunch supporters of the Presbyterian Church; the Rev. Samuel Paisley (the likely builder of the Paisley-Spivey House) preached at Buffalo, Euphronia, and Union churches (Lacy: 10).

The Douglas-Lett House is the county's earliest surviving representative of the coastal cottage form. The hallmark of the form is a single gable roof that engages both a front porch and rear shed rooms. Coastal cottages are rare in Lee County. Only a dozen or so from all periods were identified in the county, although along the Cape Fear River they may once have been more common. The one-story timber-frame Douglas-Lett

House is one of the few buildings in the county with beaded weatherboard siding (an outbuilding on the Neil A. McNeill Farm, LE 192, also has beaded siding). The hall-parlor-plan interior features flush board wall sheathing and a board-and-batten ceiling but the house has lost its original mantel and enclosed stair to the garret. Like the Tyson and Paisley houses, the Douglas-Lett House is associated with a large landowner.

The McGregor-Jackson House is one of the county's most unusual and significant early dwellings. The one-story v-notched log house retains apparent evidence of a former board roof, a roofing system once common in North Carolina but now virtually vanished (or gone undetected). At various points along the lengths of the skinned pole rafters in the attic of the house are pegs that formerly attached purlin poles to the outside surfaces of the rafters. These purlin poles apparently supported boards that formed the roof. The McGregor-Jackson House is one of two houses so far identified in North Carolina that apparently have evidence of board roofs. (The other house is located in Moore County.)

Other features of the McGregor-Jackson House include lightwood foundation blocks and a deep gable overhang that probably sheltered a former wood chimney. Wood chimneys constructed of logs, sticks, or upright posts with wood, clay, or rubble infill were once common in North Carolina. They were apparently built by individuals who did not have access to suitable building stone or who could not afford brick (among other possible reasons). No standing wood chimneys were identified in Lee County, although five examples have been discovered in the adjoining counties of Chatham, Harnett, and Moore (two each in Harnett and Moore, and one in Chatham County). Less than a half mile from the McGregor-Jackson House is the John Cole House (LE 452), a one-story half-dovetail-notched log house, possibly dating to the third quarter of the nineteenth century, that also has evidence of a former wood chimney. The Cole House has two wooden strips flanking the present brownstone rubble chimney that are bored with holes. The holes may once have received rungs that supported the clay daubing of a frame chimney. Both the Cole House and the McGregor-Jackson House have curious small boards and slots attached to and bored through the weatherboards of the chimney-end gables. These unexplained features often occur in conjunction with other evidence of former wooden chimneys.

Lee County's handful of antebellum log houses are typically quite small, rarely exceeding one story in height. An exception is the original section of the Palmer House, a two-story log dwelling dating to the 1810s or earlier adjoining one of Lee County's most productive river bottoms. The eighteen by twenty-two foot (interior dimensions) log house formerly had a hall-parlor plan and a stone gable-end chimney with a fireplace measuring approximately six feet across. Early hardware includes hand-wrought latches, a wood and iron lock box, and H-L hinges attached to beaded batten and six-panel doors with rose-head nails and leather washers. As with the county's other surviving early houses, the Palmer House was associated with a family of considerable means. As the examples above indicate, both heavy mortise-and-tenon timber frame construction and log building were practiced in Lee County before 1850. The three log corner notching techniques that were most common in North Carolina during the period--saddle-notching, v-notching, and half-dovetail notching--were used in Lee County, as was the less frequent diamond notch. The J. A. Mitchell House was apparently an early-nineteenth-century example of diamond notching (the house has been moved to Chatham County; Lawrence interview). The Mitchell House stood in the northeastern corner of Lee County, an area with a concentration of log domestic and agricultural buildings that employ the diamond notch. Other examples of diamond notching that date to the mid-nineteenth century include the corn crib on the John D. McIver Farm (LE 648) and the ca. 1870 Bridges House (LE 787). Lee County lies within a region of Piedmont North Carolina and Southside Virginia where diamond notching is more prevalent than elsewhere in the Eastern United States (Jordan and Kaups: 155).

Stone and brick were used to build house foundations and chimneys, although no masonry houses have been identified that were built before the early twentieth century. This is probably largely due to the abundance of timber in Lee County and, at least in the southern section of the county, the absence of suitable building stone. It is noteworthy that Lee County's numerous Highland Scot settlers apparently did not build stone houses, considering that the one-story stone "black house" was the normative dwelling form of the tenants of Skye and other Scottish source regions during the eighteenth century (MacGregor: 200-204). Indeed, several years before he emigrated to Lee County in 1802, Duncan McIver had built, as he described it, "the best stone house ever built by a small Tenant" on the farm of Kilbeg, Skye (Steiner and Steiner: 171-172). The kind of house Duncan McIver built in Lee County is unknown, but his son Evander built a typical weatherboarded frame I-house during the second quarter of the nineteenth century (see LE 232).

Cemeteries

Little is known about burial practices among Lee County's European and African inhabitants prior to the Revolutionary War. Presumably most graves during this pioneer period were marked by fieldstones or wooden markers. The earliest markers inscribed with dates survive from the early 1780s and appear in cemeteries that served related family groups (such as the McIver Cemetery, LE 232) or rural communities (such as the Carbonton Cemetery, LE 235). Several early cemeteries are located on low ridges adjoining streams, and in most instances graves are aligned in rows with markers that face eastward.

Lee County's early inhabitants availed themselves of the area's abundant and easily worked brownstone to erect walls around cemeteries. These walled cemeteries could be quite small. The Carloss Cemetery (LE 722) is enclosed by a finely crafted twelve-foot-by-twelve-foot brownstone wall containing three marked graves. Other walled cemeteries are impressively large, as is the Murchison Cemetery (LE 129), which has a brownstone rubble wall with sides measuring approximately one-hundred feet long. The Murchison Cemetery wall is also notable for its dual set of steps constructed of brownstone blocks. The steps leading over the west wall of the cemetery were made wide enough to accommodate pallbearers; the steps on the east side measure a scant one foot in width. Entry to most other walled cemeteries in the county is provided by gateways. The McIver Cemetery has a gateway flanked by large upright brownstone blocks with remnants of iron hardware for a former gate. At the Gilchrist-Campbell Cemetery (LE 197), located in the Sandhills section of the county, suitable building stone was not readily available. As an alternative to a wall, the stewards of this cemetery had a ditch or ha-ha dug on three sides of the cemetery. The fact that the ditch did not continue across the fourth side of the cemetery suggests that it may have supplemented a fence which no longer survives.

The grave markers in Lee County's early cemeteries exhibit a wide range of materials, forms, and artistic treatments. As noted above, the earliest were probably of wood or fieldstone. Markers of this sort were used throughout the nineteenth century and probably even into the early twentieth century, especially in black cemeteries. Carved from durable woods such as cedar and longleaf pine heartwood, wooden markers were generally discoid in form (ie., with an anthropomorphic round "head" on a rectangular "body") or they were simple planks. Wooden markers survive at many of the county's early cemeteries.

Fieldstones were used either individually as headstones or they were piled or spread over graves. The Douglas Cemetery, adjacent to the ca. 1815 Douglas-Lett House (LE 252), has numerous individual fieldstone markers

and several piles of white quartzite fieldstones that are said to mark the graves of slaves (although the slaveowner and his wife are buried in the midst of the supposed slave graves). A pile of brownstone rubble outside the walls of the Murchison Cemetery is said to mark the grave of a "bad man" or "witch," the stones serving to "keep him down." Superstition may have been one reason for piling stones on graves, but there may have been more prosaic reasons as well. The grave may have been covered in order to keep swine or other animals from disturbing it, or the piled stones may have served as a more lasting indication of the presence of a grave, since an individual fieldstone could be easily displaced or overlooked. Doubtless many interments received no markers at all. For example, the slaves of Dougald McDougald, carried away by typhoid in the 1850s, are supposedly buried in a mass grave at an unidentified location near the Fayetteville & Western Plank Road (Monger; Comer interviews).

The county's more permanent early grave markers were carved from a variety of indigenous and imported stones. Local brownstone was used extensively, resulting in a collection of fine brownstone markers remarkable in the state (Ruth Little interview). In the northwest section of the county, soapstone varying in color from yellow-green to pink was used for headstones and footstones. The soapstone probably originated from quarries in the Goldston vicinity of neighboring Chatham County. Several markers in the McIver Cemetery dating to the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries are carved from a hard, fine-grained, dark gray stone (possibly slate) that was probably imported to the area. By the end of the antebellum period imported marble became popular among the county's elite.

The discoid form that characterized wooden markers was also commonly employed for brownstone markers. Perhaps related to the discoid form are headstones with semi-circular tops flanked by the shoulder-like upper corners of the marker. Other early markers are indistinguishable from the stylish Georgian headstones that were erected throughout the Eastern Seaboard during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Departing radically from these typical forms are two early brownstone markers located almost side by side in the Murchison Cemetery. One of these is a brownstone ledger with a raised panel bearing small bas-relief carvings of a human figure and a peaked-lid casket. The other marker is in the form of a small casket with a peaked lid. The casket marker identifies the grave of Daniel Murchison, who died in 1788 (Kelly: 103). The ledger marker is not inscribed. Both markers may identify the graves of minors. Casket markers dating to the late eighteenth century are not unknown in Scotland and England, although they are rare (Betty Willsher and Catherine Bishir interviews). The Daniel Murchison marker resembles a casket marker in Roanoke County, Virginia, carved by a German stonecutter in the early nineteenth century to mark the grave of a child (Loth: 406).

The ledger and casket markers at the Murchison Cemetery are two representatives of a rich tradition of grave art in Lee County. The local brownstone and especially the soapstone permitted carving of considerable refinement. In the Carbonton Cemetery (LE 235) are three small, pink soapstone headstones from the 1820s and 1830s with delicate block letter and cursive inscriptions and recessed semi-circular panels with scalloped borders containing (on two markers) urn motifs. The McIver Cemetery has a number of markers (one dated 1797) with reeded sides and beaded edges. In addition to the conventional (but locally rare) urn and willow motifs popular in North Carolina during the early nineteenth century are unusual motifs such as appear on the brownstone headstones of Archelaus Carloss (died 1845) and his wife Ruth (died 1824), which have small circular recesses bearing bas-relief six-pointed stars with hearts at their centers. In the Cole Cemetery (LE 706) is the 3-1/2-foot-high discoid brownstone headstone of John Cole (died 1844), which in addition to a lengthy poetic inscription bears a tree-of-life motif painted onto the stone with an unidentified black pigment. Portions of the inscription on the Cole marker are highlighted in the same black pigment. Strong stylistic similarities

among markers in the same cemetery or in different cemeteries imply the activity of unidentified full-time or occasional artisans who were either residents of the Lee County area or itinerants, but to date the identities of these craftsmen are unknown.

In addition to their architectural and artistic merit, Lee County's early cemeteries have the potential to provide valuable information on the early settlement and social structure of the area. Several grave markers in cemeteries associated with the early Highland Scot settlers of Lee County give the place of origin of the settlers and the date of emigration. For example, the headstone for Evander "Scotch Ever" McIver [1794-1866] in the McIver Cemetery notes that McIver emigrated from the Isle of Skye in 1802. Local genealogists have long visited Lee County's cemeteries to gather information that does not survive in another form. Analysis of interments may also provide insights into the social structure and mores of the county. For instance, several of the most sophisticated early markers are for minors, suggesting a solicitude for children that was rarely lavished on deceased adults during the period. Several cemeteries (such as the McIver and Murchison cemeteries) have peripheral groupings of fieldstone or blank brownstone discoid markers that may be associated with a particular social group, possibly the impoverished and dependent sub-tenants who presumably accompanied the more prosperous tenant families such as the McIvers to North Carolina. The form and artistic treatment of grave markers and the layout and appointments of the cemeteries themselves have the potential to assist the study of cultural ties between Lee County and Scotland.

TRANSPORTATION-RELATED DEVELOPMENT IN LEE COUNTY, 1850-1879

Improvements in the area's transportation infrastructure transformed Lee County during the third quarter of the nineteenth century. Plank roads, river improvements, and railroads were constructed, opening the county's forests and mineral deposits to exploitation and enhancing access to markets. Communities such as Carbonton, Chalmersville, Egypt (Cumnock), and Jonesboro had their start during the late antebellum period, and Sanford developed at an important railroad junction in the 1870s. The prosperity of the period enabled the county's wealthier inhabitants to build large Greek Revival farmhouses, many of which have survived to the present. Slave houses and domestic and agricultural outbuildings also survive from the period.

Settlement and Ethnicity

Reconstructed 1860 population figures for the sections of Chatham and Moore counties that were later taken to form Lee County suggest that the total population of the area was slightly in excess of 5,000 persons (Comer, "Reconstructed 1860 Lee County Census"). Out of this overall population, slaves numbered close to 1,400, or roughly 28%. The ratio of slave to non-slave inhabitants in the northern Chatham County section of the area was apparently greater than in the southern Moore County section. In the Chatham County section, with roughly 400 slaves, almost 40% of the population was slave; in the larger Moore County section, where nearly 1,000 slaves resided, the figure was closer to 25%. Approximately two dozen families were listed as free blacks or mulattos in 1860. Most of the area's free blacks worked as laborers or servants but some farmed their own land and some worked in trades such as coopering, carpentry, and mattress making (Comer, "Reconstructed 1860 Lee County Census").

Lee County's African-Americans were largely employed in agricultural pursuits during the antebellum period. The largest slaveholder in 1860 was Elias Bryan, owner of sixty slaves who cultivated the rich Deep River bottoms of Bryan's 3,000-acre holdings near the present US 1 bridge (Comer, "Reconstructed 1860 Lee County Census"). The area's African-Americans were employed in non-agricultural work as well. John Willcox employed slaves at his iron works during the 1770s (Willcox: 89). Dougald McDougald employed slaves in gathering turpentine on his extensive pine plantations along the Fayetteville & Western Plank Road during the 1850s (Monger). Another Lee County turpentiner who relied on slave labor was F. J. Swann, in 1860 the third largest resident slaveholder in the area with thirty-five slaves (Comer, "Reconstructed 1860 Lee County Census").

Slave labor was also used in the construction of the river improvements, plank roads, and railroads built through the Lee County area at the end of the antebellum period. In the early 1850s, the Cape Fear and Deep River Navigation Company experienced difficulty persuading white laborers from "upper counties" to work on its improvements between Lee County and Fayetteville due to the "alleged unhealthiness" of the low-lying country along the Cape Fear. To solve this labor problem the company recruited 180 German and Hungarian immigrant workers from New York and also hired slaves from local slaveholders. In 1855 the company purchased forty slaves of its own; these and the hired slaves would have worked on improvements in the Lee County area (Hadley: 22-56). Slaves worked on the construction of the Fayetteville & Western Plank Road and its branches during the early 1850s. Contractors on the Western Railroad, built through Lee County around 1860, employed large work forces of slave and immigrant Irish laborers. In 1860, railroad contractor J. Q. A. Leach employed forty-six slaves, the second largest holding in the county (Comer, "Reconstructed 1860 Lee County Census").

After the Civil War, many of Lee County's freedmen resettled in the area's growing towns (Murchison). Communities also formed in rural locations. Slaves from the Palmer Farm (LE 114) settled in the Tempting Church community and near the intersection of the Chalmersville to Gulf branch plank road (State Road 1007) and the present NC 42 at New Hope Church. The post-bellum period also saw the formation of African-American churches such as St. Paul A.M.E.Z. Church (LE 228), founded in 1867 on the outskirts of Egypt, and Fair Promise A.M.E.Z. Church (LE 457), which built its first chapel in Sanford in 1870.

Transportation

Transportation improvements converged on the Lee County area during the third quarter of the nineteenth century, transforming the economy of the area and stimulating the formation of towns and villages. These river improvements, plank roads, and railroads were built to channel the agricultural produce of other areas through the county and to tap the area's virgin stands of longleaf pine and the extensive coal deposits along the Deep River. Unpaved roads had existed in the county since the beginning of settlement, but prior to the mid-nineteenth century the area's natural watercourses--the Cape Fear and Deep rivers--had served as the principal link to outside markets. Fayetteville was normally considered the natural head of navigation on the Cape Fear for most vessels, yet canoes, rafts, and batteaus (shallow-draft keel-bottomed boats) were used further upstream (Hadley: 7). Navigation on the rivers was made difficult by rapids such as Buckhorn Falls on the Cape Fear at the eastern tip of the county, which has a fall of sixteen feet in one-and-a-half miles. At the beginning of the nineteenth century, large vessels required an entire day to pick there way through the rapids at Buckhorn (ibid).

The region's merchants and planters made several attempts to address the problem of rapids and other obstacles. The first company formed to undertake the improvement of the river system above Fayetteville was the short-lived Cape Fear Company, incorporated in 1792. Another company, the Cape Fear Navigation Company, organized in 1815, succeeded in building a canal, locks, and a dam at Buckhorn Falls by 1834 (Hadley: 2-4). The most ambitious improvements were undertaken by the Cape Fear and Deep River Navigation Company (CF&DR), chartered in 1849. The CF&DR commenced building locks and dams near Fayetteville almost immediately upon its organization; by 1853 work was underway at Buckhorn Falls and in 1857 locks and rock-filled crib dams were under construction on the Deep River. In 1859 the "shrill notes of the steamer's whistle [reverberated] among the hills and valleys of the Deep River coal fields," as the first shipment of coal and iron passed down the rivers from Egypt (Hadley: 5-54). Despite its eventual success in reaching the coal fields, the CF&DR was plagued by financial problems and its facilities were repeatedly damaged by floods. During and after the Civil War the company's improvements deteriorated rapidly. Log rafters, who had used the rivers since the beginning of settlement, had never liked the company's dams, and by 1867 they had made openings in them for their rafts (Hadley: 63-64).

North Carolina's antebellum capitalists also undertook the construction of plank roads through the Lee County area. As the name implies, plank roads were constructed with a road bed of thick eight-foot-long heart pine planks. The roads were called the "farmer's railroads" because farmers could haul their produce to market themselves. The greatest of the plank roads, the Fayetteville & Western Plank Road, connected the town of Bethania in the Piedmont to Fayetteville on the Cape Fear. Known as the "Appian Way of North Carolina," the F&W was constructed along the present southern border of the county between 1850 and 1852 (Starling: 5-6). Toll houses and hotels such as the so-called McDougald's Folly (see LE 191) were built along the road, and land values increased as lumber and naval stores began to stream out of the area's once remote pine forests (Starling: 166; Monger).

In 1853 work was completed on a branch plank road that extended up the present western edge of the county to Gulf on the Deep River in present Chatham County, a route followed by the modern State Route 1007. The branch connected to another plank road that extended to the town of Graham in Alamance County. The now vanished community of Chalmersville developed during the 1850s at the junction of the main F&W line and the branch to Gulf. A toll house, general store, doctor's office (Chalmersville Dispensary, LE 189), blacksmith shop, turpentine distillery, and cooperage were located at the community, as was the inn of New Yorkers Uriah and Ira Schermerhorn (on the other side of the plank road in present Moore County) which contained a saloon and barber shop (Comer, "Chalmersville"). Another branch of the F&W Plank Road led to Carbonton, stimulating development in that community (Starling: 8).

Ultimately, however, it was the railroad that had the greatest effect on the economic development of Lee County. The earliest scheme to build a railroad through the area was the proposed Fayetteville and Western Railroad, chartered in 1837 but abandoned in the early 1840s due in part to the "poverty of the country through which [the road] would pass" (Starling: 3; Carriker: 22). The directors of the Fayetteville and Western Railroad later chartered the Fayetteville and Western Plank Road (Carriker: 22).

The first railroad actually built into the Lee County area was the Western Railroad, chartered in 1852 with the objective of connecting Fayetteville to the Deep River Coal Field. The company began laying track in 1858, and by the outbreak of the Civil War the railroad had reached within a mile of the coal mine at Egypt, although some sort of temporary line appears to have run the last mile. The railroad suffered extensive damage in 1865

during Sherman's sweep through the area south of Lee County. In 1867 the line was reopened between Fayetteville and Egypt, and in 1869 thirty-nine coal cars were carrying coal to the Cape Fear (Carriker: 37-40). The completion of the line to Egypt in 1867 precipitated an economic boom in the community. Work began on extending the line to High Point in 1869 (Carriker: 40).

The enterprising citizens of Raleigh were keenly aware of the profits the Fayetteville-based Western Railroad was reaping from Deep River coal. In 1855 the Chatham Railroad was chartered and planning began for the construction of a line from Raleigh to Gulf (located across the Deep River from Lee County). The line was built into the area by 1870, but it took a more southerly route directed towards the estimated 2-1/2 million-acre timber lands of the Sandhills. In 1871 the Chatham Railroad was reorganized as the Raleigh & Augusta Air-line Railroad, connecting to the Western Railroad at a point northwest of Jonesboro (Carriker: 40-42). The town of Sanford, named after the Chief Engineer of the RAALR, Colonel Charles O. Sanford, was laid out at the junction (Railroad House, *Sanford History*: 6, 24). Initial development proceeded rapidly with two hotels and several stores locating in the town within two years (Black and Bowen). Upon incorporation in 1874, Sanford had 200 inhabitants, a figure that increased to 236 in 1880 and to over 400 in 1890 (ibid: 6; Branson, 1890: 457).

Industry

The transportation improvements of the late antebellum period stimulated industrial activity in the Lee County area, although transportation had been a key element in the industry of the area from the start. In 1768 the Deep River Company established an iron works on the Lee County side of the Deep River at Gulf and shipped its product downstream to Wilmington. The iron works was one of the earliest in North Carolina and included a bloomery, forge, grist mill, sawmill, brickyard, "hands houses," and other buildings. The local iron industry was reinvigorated during the Civil War. In 1862 the Endor Iron Company built a large charcoal blast furnace on the banks of the Deep River one mile east of Egypt. The thirty-five-foot-high, rough-cut ashlar sandstone Endor Furnace supplied the Confederate navy with pig iron, blooms, plate, and hammered and rolled iron. In 1864 a bayonet factory operated in conjunction with the furnace. After the war, George G. Lobdell, president of the Lobdell Car Wheel Company in Wilmington, Delaware, purchased the furnace and converted it to a hot blast, but by 1874 iron making had ceased at Endor ("Endor Iron Furnace").

Located one mile northwest of Endor Furnace in a broad bend of the Deep River is the Cumnock Mine (LE 716; also known as the Egypt Mine), the focus of North Carolina's only significant productive coal field during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. John Willcox is credited with the discovery of the Deep River Coal Field in the 1770s, and coal was mined for local use and limited export during the first half of the nineteenth century, but about 1850 interest in the field increased. In 1852 a mine shaft was sunk to a depth of 430 feet at Egypt and by 1856 the Governor's Creek Coal and Iron Company, formed in part with New York capital, had constructed a permanent mining complex including a forty horse-power steam engine (Campbell and Kimball: 14; U. S. War Department: 2). Transporting the coal to market initially proved difficult, owing to delays in the construction of the navigation system along the Cape Fear and Deep rivers, but by 1861 the Western Railroad was extended to McIver's Depot within two miles of Egypt and a tram line was constructed to the mine by 1862 (Comer, *Jonesboro, Moore County, N.C.*: 93; Carriker: 37). Deep River coal was used by the Confederate Navy but it was not preferred because it created excessive smoke when burned and made the detection of Confederate blockade runners easier (Powell: 170). Coal mining activities at Egypt received a

boost in the late 1860s when the Western Railroad was extended to the location, providing improved access to markets. Census records indicate that many miners at Egypt were recent immigrants from the British Isles, a fact which may help to explain some of the architectural oddities of the community such as the outbuilding behind the 1850s Hensley House (LE 230), which has a gable-end wall constructed of stone.

In 1869 the Franklin, Osgood & Company of New York purchased a copper prospect off the present Deep River Road (SR 1466) near Deep River School and established a copper mine with two (or possibly three) 100-foot shafts. During its heyday the mine employed seventy-five hands, including English miners, and contributed to the brief prosperity of the community of Osgood (James Vann Comer interviews). The mine may also have been known as "Clegg's Copper Mine" and it was worked intermittently until after World War I (Jackson; Wicker interview).

Another important extractive industry in the Lee County area was the collecting and processing of naval stores. Naval stores production--tar, pitch, and turpentine--flourished in North Carolina's forests from initial settlement until the final destruction of the last longleaf pine stands at the turn of the twentieth century. The industry was encouraged early in the eighteenth century by the introduction of bounties in support of the British navy. In Lee County, with its longleaf forests and its situation on the Cape Fear, naval stores production was an important early undertaking. The construction of plank roads and railroads through the area in the mid-nineteenth century further stimulated production. One of the earliest turpentine distilleries in the county was that of the firm of McNeill & Baker, which operated a still at Chalmersville during the 1850s and transported its product to Fayetteville along the Fayetteville and Western Plank Road (Comer, "Chalmersville"). Jonesboro and Swanns Station, located on the Western Railroad, were important naval stores collection points around the time of the Civil War ("Jonesboro Viewed ..."). Some evidence suggests that naval stores production was not developed to its maximum extent before the Civil War: a traveller passing through the virgin longleaf pine forests of western Lee County noted in 1859 that few trees had come under production (U. S. Navy Department: 22).

The 1860 census listed over a dozen "turpentine gitters" residing in the section of Moore County that became Lee County (Comer, "Reconstructed 1860 Lee County Census"). None are apparently listed for the Chatham County section, the more northerly, deciduous third of present Lee County. The largest turpentine farmer listed was F. J. Swann, who owned 1,525 acres along the present Lee-Harnett line near Swanns Station (his siding on the Western Railroad) and who was the county's third largest resident slaveholder with thirty-five slaves. The 1860 industrial schedule lists three turpentine distilleries in the Lee County area. Business directories of the 1870s and 1880s indicate that between four and six turpentine distilleries operated in the Lee County area at a given time.

Lee County's location on the headwaters of the Cape Fear River contributed to the early importance of lumbering. At the time of the American Revolution, Connor Dowd operated one or more water-powered reciprocating sawmills at Carbonton; Ambrose Ramsey probably operated a sawmill at his industrial complex on the Chatham County side of the Deep River near Moncure during the same period (Osborn and Selden-Sturgill: 7). As early as 1764, thirty million board feet of lumber were shipped from the Cape Fear Valley representing one-seventh of the value of all lumber exported from the American colonies (Pomeroy and Yoho: 19). Some of this lumber would have originated in the Lee County area.

By the 1850s the lands along the lower Deep River had been largely cleared of timber, and lumbering had begun its move inland (U. S. War Department: 3). The 1860 census lists five or six sawmills in the Lee County area, including a steam sawmill operated by the Fayetteville & Western Plank Road Company. Business directories show an increase in the number of sawmills from six in 1872 to fourteen in 1877, all located in the southern two-thirds of the Lee County area. The increase was probably due to the extension of the Raleigh and Augusta Air- Line Railroad into the Lee County area. Expanded rail transport encouraged the systematic exploitation of the area's remaining forest resources.

Agriculture

The lumbering activities of the eighteenth through the early twentieth centuries opened up increasingly large acreages for cultivation in the Lee County area. The bottoms along the Deep River had been cultivated since earliest settlement, and by the 1850s the lower Deep River Valley was described as being "generally cleared of its timber, and . . . under cultivation" (U. S. War Department). Agricultural census statistics were first collected in the Lee County area during the late antebellum period, indicating that large-scale cotton production had begun along the Cape Fear and Deep rivers by 1860. Some of the largest plantation owners in the county, such as Elias Bryan and Evander McIver, raised cotton, although these planters grew no tobacco in 1860. Predictably, cattle and swine raising were important; Elias Bryan owned two hundred swine.

One source dates the local introduction of cotton as a cash crop to about 1850 (Perkins: 6). Cotton cultivation was encouraged during the third quarter of the nineteenth century by the availability of rail and improved river transport, the introduction of new agricultural techniques, and the accelerated clearance of wooded uplands. One cotton gin is listed for the Lee County area in the 1860 census; by 1877 there were fourteen, all located in the southern two-thirds of the present county area (Branson, 1877-78: 205). One of the larger cotton farms in the area during the post-bellum period was the Palmer Farm (LE 114), located on the Deep River.

Commerce

In eighteenth-century North Carolina it was common practice for merchants in the principal towns to establish branch stores at rural locations, and it is possible that these existed in Lee County. During the antebellum period, the larger landowners probably maintained commissaries on their plantations for the use of their slaves, white laborers, and surrounding small farmers. The prosperity engendered by the transportation improvements of the 1850s led to the establishment of stores at a number of locations. At Chalmersville, located at the junction of the Fayetteville & Western Plank Road and its Gulf branch, the Charles Chalmers & Company store opened about 1853, and Peter Evans apparently operated a store at Egypt during the same period (Comer, "Prominent Citizens"; see LE 714). Four stores were established at Carbonton around 1850, apparently in anticipation of the trade that would be attracted when the improvements of the Cape Fear and Deep River Navigation Company reached the town--an eventuality that never occurred. Merchants at Carbonton during this period included William and Duncan Campbell, William Rhodes, Allen Jones, and also Robert A. Stuart, originally a merchant in Fayetteville who later moved to Egypt, which was served by the river improvements ("Town of Carbonton"). At least three Lee County residents were listed as merchants in 1860 (Comer, "Reconstructed 1860 Lee County Census"). These were Absalom Kelly of the Longstreet enumeration district (see LE 742); John A. Hawley of Rollins Store; and N. R. Bryan in the Buffalo Church vicinity. Kelly and

Hawley both possessed over $10,000 in real and personal estate, placing them in the ranks of the wealthiest landowners. Some individuals listed as wealthy farmers operated stores as a sideline.

Commercial activity in Lee County increased during the years after the Civil War. The completion of the Western Railroad and the Raleigh & Augusta Air-Line Railroad in the late 1860s and the early 1870s led to the growth of towns such as Egypt, Jonesboro, and Sanford and to a consequent increase in the number of commercial establishments. By the late 1870s, thirty-four merchants operated in the county area (Branson, 1877-1878: 68, 206-207).

Religion and Education

Lee County's Presbyterian, Baptist, and Methodist congregations grew with the area's increasing population. Cemeteries were established adjacent to some of the older churches during the 1850s, and after the Civil War some of the black members of largely white congregations formed their own churches. These churches, which are principally of the African Methodist Episcopal denomination, survive in rural and town locations throughout the county.

The county's leading mid-nineteenth-century academy was Harrington's Male and Female School (also known as the Carbonton Academy), established near Carbonton in 1853. The Harrington School operated into the early twentieth century and may have given rise to the Carbonton public school (*Central North Carolina Journal*, December 1991: 3-4; see LE 109). The county's early instructors often received their training at prestigious state institutions such as the University of North Carolina and the Bingham School in Orange County (Lacy: 21). The first school established in Sanford was the Sanford Institute (1872), taught by Mrs. W. T. Tucker, wife of the Raleigh & Augusta Air-Line depot agent, in what is known today as the Railroad House (Railroad House, *Sanford History*: 16).

Architecture

The architectural trends established in Lee County in the eighteenth century and the first half of the nineteenth century continued into the mid-nineteenth century. Log and frame construction remained dominant as did traditional house forms and floor plans. Transportation improvements and the resulting prosperity enabled Lee County's wealthiest inhabitants to build substantial frame farmhouses, many with Greek Revival detailing. Over forty of these Greek Revival farmhouses survive, the earliest dating to the late 1840s and the latest ones built during the 1870s. The county's Greek Revival farmhouses come in a variety of shapes and sizes, from the double-pile, two-story houses of the largest landholders to the relatively modest one-story cottages of smaller or more frugal farmers. The farmhouses employ the gamut of traditional floor plans--the hall-parlor plan, the center-passage plan, and various two-room plans--and display craftsmanship varying in sophistication from "correct" interpretations of academic Greek Revival styling to odd geometrical arrangements of elements that bear little resemblance to high-style precedents.

Five large, two-story double-pile (two-room deep) houses with Greek Revival detailing survive in Lee County. Two of these--the Carbonton Academy Girls Dormitory (LE 109) and the Duncan E. McIver House (LE 469)--

have unusual Greek Revival detailing that may be the work of a single craftsman. Both houses have boldly defined peaked window lintels and atypical mantel and stair treatments. The stair in the Carbonton dormitory has two runs that rise from both ends of the center passage and converge at the second-story landing. The stair hand rail is only one to two feet above the level of the treads--useless to an adult but just the right height for the young girls who boarded in the building. The stair in the Duncan E. McIver House has simple balusters that are set at a 45-degree forward slant. The McIver House also has a built-in dining room cabinet with punched tin doors. Also unusual is the double-pile Roberts House (LE 107), which has exterior and interior geometrical detailing formed of blank panels divided by fillets of varying width. This detailing appears in the front entry surround, where blank panels substitute for the expected transom lights, and in the design of a front parlor mantel (the two-story irregular-form Pattishall-Wicker House, LE 756, has a geometricized mantel similar to one in the Roberts House). The double-pile Hensley House (LE 230) has a number of notable Greek Revival features including tapered octagonal porch posts, a cove bed molding in the frieze, a center-passage stair with an octagonal newel post, and peaked lintels over interior doors. The only other building in the county identified as having octagonal porch posts is the ca. 1860 Absalom Kelly Store (LE 742).

In addition to Lee County's five surviving two-story, double-pile houses are three or four two-story "one-and-a-half-pile" houses that have a second set of small rooms behind the front full-sized rooms. Only one of the one-and-a-half-pile houses surveyed has a center-passage plan (the McIver-Faulk House, LE 753)--the others have plans with two main rooms of equal size without an intervening passage. Approximately a dozen Greek Revival I-houses--two-story single-pile dwellings--were identified. Lee County's Greek Revival one-and-a-half-pile houses and its I-houses are similar to the large two-pile houses in decorative treatment, although several of the I-houses have simplified mantels with exaggerated pilaster tapering and other hallmarks of a more vernacular, less academic approach to design. Also, approximately half of the one-and-a-half-pile houses and I-houses have stairs that rise from a rear room or from the back of a center passage, unlike the normal arrangement with the stair rising from the front of the center passage. This "back stair" arrangement has been observed in other parts of the state with a strong Highland Scot presence (Michael Southern and Mary Reeb interviews).

The double- and single-pile Greek Revival houses associated with the prosperous McIver family share a number of characteristics that suggest they may have been built and detailed by the same craftsman or group of craftsmen. The Henry McIver House (LE 732), the John D. McIver House (LE 648), and the McIver-Faulk House have deeply overhanging eaves supported by decorative rafter ends; on the McIver-Faulk House these rafter ends also appear in the eaves of the original second-tier of the front porch. The Dye-Cook House (LE 776) has similar eaves details as well as a gable roof with a very shallow pitch.

Several one-story houses from the period exhibit Greek Revival attributes. Four--the Hunt-Cox House (LE 705), the Robertson House (LE 633), the original section of the Thomas-Howard House (LE 253), and the James B. Yarborough House (LE 754)--have one-and-a-half-pile plans. The first three of these four houses also have paneled corner pilasters, a sophisticated Greek Revival treatment ordinarily confined to two-story houses. Perhaps the most rudimentary of the one-story Greek Revival houses identified is the Coffer House (LE 454), a two-bay, board-and-batten, hall-parlor-plan dwelling measuring roughly twenty-four feet by sixteen feet and containing a simple mantel with a single-panel frieze, flush board ceilings, and a front door hung on decorative wrought strap hinges.

A cluster of Greek Revival farmhouses in the northeastern corner of Lee County have chimneys that are the work of an accomplished brickmason or school of masons. The characteristic features of these chimneys are

tumbled shoulders and construction dates that usually appear on a circular of semi-circular painted emblem. The earliest examples are the chimneys of the dismantled Isham Rosser House (LE 740), dated 1846, and the chimneys of the McLeod House (LE 739), which appear to be dated 1847. The east chimney of the Rosser House has a wheel-like emblem with spokes painted in white at the top of the stack; the west chimney has a semi-circular pargetted emblem set between the weatherings of the shoulders. The south chimney of the McLeod House has a field of bricks set in a chevron pattern between the tumbled shoulders; the north chimney has a smaller set of chevrons and, below the shoulders, a parabolic relieving arch. The Farrish-Lambeth House (LE 736) has a chimney dated 1852, and the Obediah Farrar House (LE 687) has a chimney with a partially obliterated 1850s date.

Related to these full-fledged examples of decorative chimney treatments are other houses--extant and destroyed--located in the same general area. A one-story house (LE 247) dating to the third quarter of the nineteenth century, has a chimney with tumbled shoulders but no semi-circular date emblem. Decorative chimneys may exist on mid-nineteenth-houses in the Corinth vicinity across the Cape Fear River from the northeastern corner of Lee County in what is now Chatham County. The former Partridge House, which was located north of Broadway, is said to have had brick chimneys of an unusual color with a "basket-weave" design (Elinor Guerard interview). The Hunter House (LE 781) has conventional brick chimneys with the date "1874" painted on them in white, possibly an influence of the earlier and more lavish dated chimneys in the vicinity.

The post-bellum period saw the introduction of other styles to Lee County. In the newly-established rail hub of Sanford the Raleigh & Augusta Air-Line Railroad built the fanciful Gothic Revival Railroad House for its station master in 1872. Designed in the popular picturesque cottage mode, the two-story board-and-batten frame house features a gabled roof, gabled dormers, and a gabled front porch with bargeboards and king-post trusses. The house also has brick chimneys with pointed-arched recessed embrasures in the stacks and, formerly, crenelation. The Railroad House may have influenced chimney treatments in several Sanford-area houses built during the period, among them the Gilmore House (LE 686), which also has crenelated chimney tops. The earliest instances of later Victorian styling (such as the use of elaborate jig-sawn ornament) first appear in Lee County in the 1870s. The Atlas Groce House (LE 769), a two-story, one-and-a-half-pile, frame dwelling of about 1870, has a front porch with delicate sawn balustrades and frieze boards with star-like punch-outs, and, on the interior, remarkable mantels formed from layered sawn boards.

More is known about the housing of Lee County's poorer white and black inhabitants during the third quarter of the nineteenth century than for the years before 1850. Accommodations were simple for the area's landless whites and the majority of small landholders: most lived in one-story log houses surrounded by smaller log outbuildings. The Lemon House (LE 468) is a one-story log and frame house that illustrates the life style of the county's small landholders. The one-room, half-dovetail log section appears to have been built by Duncan M. Lemon, perhaps in 1853 (the date of a penny that was discovered in the daubing between two logs). In 1860, the forty-one-year-old Lemon and his wife Sarah owned 385 acres of sandy southern Lee County pine land valued at $800.00. Probably around 1860 the Lemons added a timber-frame hall-parlor-plan wing onto one end of their log house to provide room for their growing family of seven children. The Lemon House also features rafters that are pegged to the plates and a front porch with hewn structural members.

When Frederick Law Olmsted traversed the region's pine forests in 1853, he reported that, "A family of [the local] people will commonly hire, or 'squat' and build, a little log cabin, so made that it is only a shelter from rain, the sides not being chinked, and having no more furniture or pretension to comfort than is commonly

provided a criminal in the cell of a prison" (Olmsted: 147). Although many such minimal log dwellings once stood in the county's fields and forests, the chief surviving example dates to a much later period, perhaps the early twentieth century. This house (LE 264) is a one-story, diamond-notched log building, formerly heated by a stove, that may have served as a tenant house, grading house, or a hunting cabin.

Several buildings tentatively identified as slave houses survive in Lee County. A prime example is a late-antebellum building that stands behind the Duncan E. McIver House (LE 469). This one-story, weatherboarded, timber-frame building measures roughly thirty-eight by sixteen feet and has two rooms separated by a massive brownstone chimney with cooking fireplaces measuring five feet across. The fireplaces and the two-room arrangement probably identify this building as the quarter. Behind the 1850s or 1860s Hensley House (LE 230) in Cumnock is a small weatherboarded timber-frame building that probably served as a detached kitchen and possibly also as the residence of a slave cook. The building is distinguished by its brownstone end wall below the gable and its massive brownstone chimney. On the Neil A. McNeill Farm (LE 192), standing next to the mid-nineteenth-century farmhouse, is a one-story frame building that may originally have served as a principal dwelling and later as a kitchen and/or slave house. The McNeill building has a shutter window, hand-wrought door latches and strap hinges, and beaded ceiling joists.

Other building types from the period are architecturally notable. The thirty-five-foot-high, rough-cut ashlar sandstone Endor Furnace (NR 1974), built in the early 1860s, is a masonry structure of superb craftsmanship. Buffalo Presbyterian Church (LE 496), built at the very end of the period in 1879 by John B. Masemore, is a fine example of Gothic Revival architecture. The ca. 1860 Absalom Kelly Store (LE 742) has remnants of octagonal porch columns and decorative door and window treatments indicative of its former importance in the social life of the now-vanished Longstreet community.

Cemeteries

The changes of the mid-nineteenth-century in Lee County were also reflected in the area's cemeteries. Although certain early traditions remained strong--the preference for dispersed family plots, for instance--improvements in transportation links to the outside world and the subsequent increase in prosperity brought Lee County's populace into contact with new ideas and provided the area's more prosperous inhabitants with the economic means to express those ideas. Most indicative of these changes was the general abandonment of old, vernacular grave marker forms such as discoid brownstone markers and the new fashion for marble markers produced outside the area. Almost without exception, marble markers imported into the area during this period were produced in Fayetteville, the area's principal market town during the mid-nineteenth century. Stonecutter George Lauder operated a monument works in Fayetteville from the 1840s to the 1870s, and Lauder markers began to appear in the Lee County area during the 1840s. By the 1850s Lauder markers had become standard in the cemeteries of the county's elite. Some of the most elaborate Lauder markers appear in the Murchison Cemetery (LE 129), which has a set of marble table tombs for members of the Murchison family, and the McIver Cemetery (LE 232), which has a set of large marble headstones that combine a number of type styles in the inscriptions. Most of Lee County's Lauder markers are plain upright slabs with austere inscriptions and low peaked tops. At least eleven of the fifty-four cemeteries surveyed in the county have Lauder markers (sites LE 114, LE 129, LE 157, LE 232, LE 235, LE 242, LE 608, LE 655, LE 659, LE 706, and LE 774; also possibly LE 496 and LE 709; the unsurveyed Dalrymple Cemetery near Jonesboro is said to have Lauder markers).

Stylish markers using conventional forms and decorative motifs were also produced locally during the period. During the 1870s and into the 1890s, Charles A. Davis of Sanford carved marble markers such as that of W. D. Dowd (died 1877) at Cool Springs Baptist Church Cemetery (LE 608), which has a simple, Gothic-inspired lancet form, and the simple marker for Mary A. Johnson (died 1889) at the Johnson Cemetery (LE 655). During the early 1860s, an unidentified stonecutter produced Lauder-like markers out of local brownstone. These markers occur in the cemetery of Cool Springs Baptist Church and in the Cole Cemetery (LE 706). The first church cemeteries were established in Lee County during the mid-nineteenth-century. This was considerably later than in neighboring Cumberland County, the heart of the Highland Scot settlement area, where some church cemeteries date to the late eighteenth century (Ruth Little interview). The earliest marker original to the cemetery of Buffalo Presbyterian Church (LE 496; organized in 1797) dates to 1857, and at Euphronia Presbyterian Church (LE 157; organized in 1819), the earliest dated marker also dates to 1857. Church cemeteries sometimes had areas set aside for black church members. At Buffalo Church the black cemetery is located behind the church, whereas the much larger white cemetery is located in front. Some cemeteries also had sections known as "potters fields" where indigent persons were buried. One of these potters fields exists in the cemetery of Shallow Well Christian Church (LE 334) where interments were made, apparently without permanent grave markers, beginning in the late nineteenth century. Another potter's field is said to exist on State Route 1143 near Swann's Station. According to local tradition, the earliest interment in this cemetery was the smallpox-afflicted child of a family moving through the area (Robert Thomas interview).

URBANIZATION AND AGRICULTURAL/INDUSTRIAL EXPANSION IN LEE COUNTY, 1880-1919

The economic expansion initiated by the transportation improvements of the preceding period continued apace during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Lumbering activity consumed the county's once extensive longleaf pine stands, coal mining increased at Egypt (Cumnock), and brownstone quarrying became an important industry beginning in the 1890s. Sanford and Jonesboro emerged as manufacturing centers, and the towns of Lemon Springs and Broadway developed as commercial nodes serving the southern and eastern quadrants of the county respectively. Cotton figured as the county's principal cash crop during most of the period, with tobacco gaining importance during the 1910s. Opportunities for the cultivation of both crops attracted settlers from other parts of North Carolina, populating theretofore underutilized areas such as the Sandhills. African-Americans established commercial and residential district in most towns, with the largest black community taking shape in Sanford. Houses, farm buildings, commercial buildings, churches, and other resources survive in large numbers from this period, many ornamented in variants of the Victorian style. All of this growth contributed to the creation in 1907 of Lee County out of Moore and Chatham counties, effective April 1, 1908 (Corbitt, 136). The new county was named for Robert E. Lee.

Settlement and Ethnicity

Population growth through natural increase and through the influx of new settlers apparently continued throughout the nineteenth century in the area that became Lee County. A visitor to the area in 1859 noted that settlement was an ongoing process (U. S. Navy Department: 19). Improved transportation, the clearing of "new land" as the result of naval stores and lumber production, and general agricultural trends contributed to

the cultivation of formerly wooded or marginal areas and hence to continuing settlement. By 1910, the first census year after the formation of Lee County in 1907, the population of the county had climbed to 11,376.

New opportunities for cotton and tobacco cultivation in Lee County attracted settlers in the early twentieth century. Around 1900 a cotton farmer from Union County settled near Jonesboro; by 1907 forty-eight Union County families had moved to the recently lumbered, sandy-soiled southeastern portion of Lee County. A Jonesboro booster of the period declared, "Their glowing reports sent back to their home localities, has set in motion toward Jonesboro and adjoining country a steady and growing stream of the highest and most desirable class of settlers" ("Jonesboro Viewed..."). One cotton farmer, James P. McDavid of the Greenville vicinity of South Carolina, moved to near Jonesboro in 1923 partly to get out of range of the boll weevil (see LE 348).

A larger emigration to Lee County, originating principally in upper Piedmont tobacco counties such as Yadkin and Surry, occurred during the late 1910s and 1920s. These tobacco farmers settled recently cleared parts of the Sandhills section of the county, and may have numbered over 200 families (James Vann Comer interviews). Typically the women, children, and household furniture travelled by train to the county, while the men herded the livestock and hauled larger items by wagon. The principal point of disembarkation and supply depot for the settlement was the community of Lemon Springs.

Settlers came to Lee County from other areas of North Carolina as well. Connie Pendergrass, an industrial worker from Durham, moved to the Sanford vicinity in the early twentieth century for the opportunity to farm (see LE 644). Several Lee County industrialists of the early twentieth century originated in Randolph County. The Makepeace family, owners of the Makepeace Millworks in Sanford; G. T. Chandler, owner of the Chandler-Farlow Lumber Company in Broadway; T. L. Chisholm, an executive of the Sanford Cotton Mill; the Moffitt brothers of the Moffitt Brothers Ironworks; and J. C. Davis, owner of the Broadway Roller Mill Company of Broadway and Sanford, were all from Randolph County (James Vann Comer interviews; The Woman's Club of Broadway: 17).

The late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries saw the further development of African-American communities in Lee County's principal towns. In Sanford, African-Americans established a business and residential district centered on Pearl Street several blocks south of the town's white business district. Relations were at times uneasy between Sanford's black and white citizens. On Christmas Day, 1888, a fight between a black man and a white man developed into a small riot that did not, however, result in injuries or the destruction of property. As a result of the disturbance, several black men were jailed and Sanford's white business and civic leaders formed a special police force known as the "Sanford Light Infantry" (*Sanford Herald*, April 30, 1974).

While most Lee County African-Americans farmed for a living, many also worked in the county's brownstone quarries, sawmills, and turpentine distilleries, and several became prominent in the building trades. Will Thomas farmed in the Buckhorn Road vicinity and built brick chimneys for his neighbors as a sideline (see LE 256). Mike Atkins, born into slavery in 1840, possibly in the Caswell County area of North Carolina, moved to the Cumnock area after the Civil War and began to practice brick masonry (see LE 233). Atkins built foundations for many buildings in Sanford; the former National Bank of Sanford Building at the corner of Moore and Wicker streets in Sanford was an example of his work. John and David Womack operated a brickyard near Sanford in the 1890s, and the Goldston Brothers operated a brick plant between Gulf and Cumnock during the early twentieth century (Branson, 1890: 460; Branson, 1896: 434; Byrd).

Agriculture

Cotton figured as the main cash crop in the Lee County area during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, even though by comparison to other areas of the state production was modest. In 1910 Lee County's 4,279 bales represented only 0.6% of the state's total production, yet the Lee County area was more productive than adjoining areas in Chatham and Moore counties. Although the section of Moore County that went to form Lee represented only a quarter of Moore County's land area, half of Moore County's cotton gins were located in the Lee County area prior to 1907, principally in Jonesboro and (by the 1880s and 1890s) Sanford. During the first decade of the twentieth century, clearance in the Jonesboro area attracted cotton farmers from Union County, N. C.

The sandy soils of the southern half of the county proved ideal for fruits such as peaches and dewberries. Sion Buchanan operated a large dewberry farm outside of Jonesboro at the turn of the century. Later, Duncan Buie and Wade Caldwell raised dewberries near Lemon Springs (see LE 616 and LE 697). Grass-roots political organization among farmers and the inception of an agricultural extension service were two other developments of the period. The Sanford Farmer's Alliance had formed by the 1890s, and the first county agent was appointed in 1911 (Branson, 1897: 437; *Herald*, March 3, 1967).

Transportation

The transportation infrastructure created in Lee County during the third quarter of the nineteenth century expanded during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The Western Railroad was reorganized and upgraded as the Cape Fear and Yadkin Valley Railway in the late 1880s, with a connection to the deep water port at Wilmington. This development stimulated the urbanization of Sanford and Jonesboro, and a large metropolis was laid out at Egypt (Cumnock). The coal mine was revamped and the Queen Anne-style Egyptian Inn was built before the paper metropolis of Egypt was abandoned.

One indication of Sanford's growing economic muscle was the incorporation of the Atlantic & Western Railroad Company in 1899, formed by local capitalist H. P. Edwards. The first two miles of track were built between Sanford and Jonesboro by 1903 and in 1905 the line was extended to Broadway, setting off a spurt of development in that community. In1912 the line was extended again to the Harnett County seat of Lillington (The Woman's Club of Broadway: 18).

Towards the end of the period and in the 1920s municipal authorities began to pave streets in Sanford and Jonesboro, a response to the increasing use of the automobile. Hawkins Avenue, a section of the newly inaugurated US 1, was paved by the Atlantic Bitulithic Company in the 1920s, and Lee Avenue, the main connector between Sanford and Jonesboro, was paved during the same decade (Seawell). The construction of US 1 through the county from the northeast corner near Moncure to the southwest border with Moore County enhanced access to markets outside the area and led to the appearance of new building types such as service stations and tourist homes, the latter clustering along Hawkins Avenue in the 1920s and 1930s.

Industry

Extractive industries such as lumbering, naval stores production, and coal mining continued in Lee County during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Lumber merchants descended on the area during the 1870s and 1880s, buying up huge timber tracts. In 1883 a Raleigh newspaper declared that Moore County (of which Lee County formed the eastern tip) "exports more dollars worth of natural products, perhaps than any other county in the state" (Lounsbury: 220). The forest wealth of the area did not last indefinitely, however. In 1915 a state forester remarked, "The forests of Lee have been so closely cut over, owing to the excellent transportation facilities, that there is less standing timber than in any other county so far examined" (Holmes: 3). The same observer noted the recent departure from the county of several large lumber mills, but furniture factories, sash and blind factories, and a buggy factory continued to operate at Sanford, Jonesboro, and Broadway. Although much of the marketable timber had been cut, an estimated 62% of the county was still covered in woodland in 1915. Probably a larger percentage of the county is wooded in 1992, owing to the general reforestation of the Eastern United States during the mid-twentieth century.

Before the longleaf pine forests completely vanished from the southern part of the county, they continued to provide farmers with supplemental income from tar and turpentine. Typically, farmers took their turpentine to one of the stores that dotted the countryside. J. D. Spivey, a storekeeper in the White Hill vicinity, collected his neighbors' turpentine in a barrel. When the barrel was full he sold it to a distiller (see LE 162). One such distiller was Duncan Morrison, who operated a still next to a siding on the Seaboard Railroad south of Lemon Springs (see LE 679).

Coal production at Egypt (Cumnock) underwent its greatest expansion during the period and also experienced its greatest setbacks. The formation of the Cape Fear and Yadkin Valley Railway system in the late 1880s prompted the formation of the Egypt Coal Company, which acquired 2,400 acres of coal and timber land, built a new pit head and other facilities at the mine, and mined 192 tons of coal in its first year of operations in 1889 (*Descriptive Gazette . . .*: 70; Department of Commerce: 693). On December 19, 1895, an explosion in the main mine shaft killed over forty miners; another disaster on May 23, 1900, took twenty-three more lives (Haire; Medley). As a result of these disasters, the mine owners changed the name of the locality from Egypt to Cumnock in order to dispel the stigma attached to the old name. The Cumnock Mine ceased operation during the second quarter of the twentieth century, and except for masonry and timber foundations all structures at the mine have since vanished.

Brownstone underlay much of northern Lee County and had long been used by local builders for house foundations and chimneys. The deep reddish-brown-hued sandstone was also popular with architects and builders in America's cities during the years at the end of the nineteenth century known as the "Brown Decades." By the end of the 1880s, Sanford's excellent rail connections enabled it to cater directly to this burgeoning national market. The first evidence of commercial interest in brownstone deposits near the town was expressed by the Sanford Central Express in its January 19, 1889 issue: "The people of Sanford owe it to themselves to have the brownstone quarries in a quarter mile of the depot operated. Let's agitate and force this excellent building stone upon the market. It is of the best in the U.S. and there is enough of it here to build a New York or Chicago."

And indeed, in August 1889 a Philadelphia concern leased quarry sites from several landowners in the Sanford area and by March 1890 a crew of twenty-five was at work quarrying stone for a new federal building in Wilmington (Freeman: 1). Contractor W. H. Smith, who was then in charge of the Wilmington project, established the Sanford Brownstone Quarries in June 1890 and began shipping stone out on the Cape Fear and Yadkin Valley Railroad, newly completed to Wilmington. Smith brought French stonecutters to work at his quarries, and on January 7, 1891, the *Central Express* noted the arrival of the newcomers: "As a rule, they are very reserved and well behaved. Sometimes they gather in knots on the streets and it is interesting to hear their French, but it is more entertaining to hear their 'Inglis'." A number of brownstone quarries opened at Sanford, Cumnock, and other locations in northern Lee County during the 1890s, providing stone for projects in the cities of Asheville, Charlotte, Durham, Fayetteville, Greensboro, and New Bern, N.C.; Greenville, S.C.; Bristol and Nashville, Tn.; Charlottesville, Danville, Lynchburg, Norfolk, and Richmond, Va.; Atlanta, Baltimore, Chicago, New York, Philadelphia, and Washington. Among the many prominent buildings of the 1890s that employ Sanford brownstone are Biltmore House in Asheville, N.C., and Spence Library at the Union Theological Seminary in Richmond, Va. (Freeman: 16). The largest brownstone quarry in Sanford was the Aldrich Stone Company, which was considered at the time the second largest quarry of any kind in North Carolina, the largest being the granite quarry at Mount Airy (Freeman: 17). The quarries operated into the twentieth century, but demand for Sanford brownstone dropped off as architectural tastes changed and the quarries closed by 1927 (Watson).

Most of the Lee County area's corn and flour mills of the late nineteenth century were small facilities serving the farmers of a relatively circumscribed area. By the mid-1880s as many as twenty-eight corn and/or flour mills were operating in the area (Branson, 1883: 208, 472). These mills were ordinarily supplied with waterpower from a mill pond impounded behind a crib dam. Such dams, constructed of log or hewn timber cribs filled with earth, were built in the Lee County area into the 1930s (see LE 758). Evidence of small-scale milling survives on the McNair Farm (LE 748), which has a crude frame outbuilding that contained a gasoline-powered corn mill. The chute that caught the meal and channelled it out of this building remains in situ. During the first two decades of the twentieth century several large merchant mills were established in the county. These roller mills (which used metal rollers for grinding) were established along the railroads over which they shipped their product. Large gasoline-powered cotton gins, also sometimes located on rail lines, were also established during the period.

Small-scale manufacturing, a feature of Lee County's economy since early settlement, continued to thrive in the late nineteenth century. Several small industries clustered at the now-vanished community of Longstreet, centered on the Absalom Kelly Store (LE 742), including the pottery of W. H. Hancock. Atlas Groce operated a tannery on his farm near Swann's Station (see LE 769), and the Coffer family operated a tanyard with a bark mill on Pocket Creek (see LE 454). All towns and villages and some farms had blacksmith shops. A blacksmith shop from a later period (the 1920s) survives on the Cole-Yow Farm (LE 172). The Shelton Thomas Shop (LE 318) is a brick-tile farm repair shop dating to 1949.

One unusual cottage industry was the House of Wakefield Perfumery (see LE 120). Faustina Wakefield, a native of Maine, became interested in cosmetics when she learned of herbal recipes from the Penobscot Indians. After she moved to Lee County with her husband Oscar (a coal mine operator), Wakefield established a mail order cosmetics business, producing her line of body powders, hair tonics, acne creams, and lipsticks in a Rustic-style log building next to her home in the Tempting Church area.

During the last two decades of the nineteenth century both local and Northern entrepreneurs established large-scale industries in Sanford and Jonesboro. As in many other North Carolina towns and cities, cotton cloth production developed into an important industry. The Sanford Cotton Mill was put into operation in 1900 with 400 looms and a weekly capacity of 100,000 yards of cloth ("Sanford Cotton Mills..."). The large brick factory building of the mill, with its smoke stack and campanile-like elevator tower, an adjacent brick company store dating to ca. 1900 (LE 343), and a 1940s boarding house (LE 341) still stand near the intersection of Chisholm and Wilson streets. Other turn-of-the-twentieth-century industries in Sanford included the Sanford Sash and Blind Factory; the Moffitt Iron Works Company (LE 319), manufacturer of metal street accessories, sawmills, and other metal items, established in 1888; the Sanford Buggy Factory; the Sanford Ice and Coal Company (LE 211), established in 1895 by several Northern entrepreneurs; and Sapona Mills (originally the Lee County Cotton Oil Company; LE 317), established in 1907. Lee County's hardwood forests supplied raw material for several furniture, veneer, and millwork plants in Sanford, prominent among them the Makepeace Millworks which produced much of the architectural trim used by local builders during the first half of the twentieth century. Large industries were also established in Jonesboro at the turn of the twentieth century: the Clark Manufacturing Company, producer of 50,000 yards of heavy cotton cloth a week and employer of sixty hands, organized in 1904; the Eugenia Manufacturing Company, which provided yarn to the Clark mill, organized about 1902; and an iron foundry that produced plows, stoves, grates, and small ware (Raleigh *News and Observer*, July 3, 1907; *Southern States*, September, 1894).

One of the more interesting manufacturing plants in Lee County was the Edwards Car Company, located on Rose Street in Sanford. H. P. "Harry" Edwards, the son of W. J. Edwards, builder of the Atlantic & Western Railroad between Sanford and Lillington, ran his father's railroad in the late 1910s. In 1916 he modified a gasoline-powered truck for use as a passenger coach on his line. Perceiving a market for the innovation, Edwards began the Edwards Motor Car Company and built almost two hundred cars, mainly for sale to Latin American countries (John Porter interview; Sanford *Herald*, March 3, 1967). The motor cars resembled trolleys of the period, and the one that made the local run between Sanford and Broadway was known as the "dinky" (Woman's Club of Broadway: after page 32). The Edwards Car Company was discontinued in the early 1940s and the plant was later sold to the Saco-Lowell textile machinery company (John Porter interview).

Commerce

The heightened economic development in Lee County at the turn of the twentieth century was reflected in the area's commercial growth and diversification. Over the twenty years from 1877 to 1897 the number of commercial establishments in the county jumped from thirty-four to seventy-nine, thirty-eight of which were located in Sanford (Branson, 1897: 175-176, 435-437; the 1897 figure includes some commercial types not included in the 1877 figure). Some general stores served as collection centers for turpentine gathered by local farmers. In 1897, three merchants were listed as providing this service: C. B. Kelly in the Broadway postal area; S. D. Jones in or near Sanford; and Worthy & Murchison in the Pocket area (Branson, 1897: 435-437). Stephen B. Worthy operated his store and turpentine collection center in conjunction with his turpentine distillery and saw and grist mill on Tramway Road (see LE 613 and LE 614). J. D. Spivey, a storekeeper in the White Hill vicinity, also collected turpentine during the late nineteenth century. Lack of cash in rural areas obliged some storekeepers to accept goods and services in exchange for merchandise. Indigent patrons of the commissary on the Burns Farm (LE 259) in the remote Buckhorn Road vicinity of the county worked at odd jobs for the Burns family in order to pay for purchases.

Entertainment/Recreation

Lee County's proximity to the resort centers of the Sandhills and its superior rail connections spurred resort development during the late nineteenth century. Promotional material of the period made frequent reference to the healthful "ozonated" air generated by the area's dry pine forests. The Egyptian Inn was established at Egypt concurrent with the formation of the Cape Fear and Yadkin Valley rail system around 1890. In Jonesboro, local banker and developer Sion Buchanan constructed the fanciful Tinney Inn on Lee Avenue, initiating the development of the desirable Lee Avenue residential neighborhood around the turn of the century. A gazebo associated with the Tinney Inn still stands in a Lee Avenue back yard (see LE 292). Not to be outdone by Jonesboro, in the late 1890s Sanford boosters planned the construction of the Pine Cone Inn, a bristling wood-shingled multi-story Queen Anne pile that may have been a design of Knoxville-based mail-order builder George F. Barber (Railroad House, *Sanford History*: 32; Bishir: 350-353). The Pine Cone Inn was never built.

The only watering place to survive from the period is the Lemon Springs Resort (LE 467), located in the Sandhills section of the county approximately two miles west of Lemon Springs depot on the Raleigh & Augusta Air-line Railroad. Situated beside a mineral spring on the Lemon property, Lemon Springs was the creation of Sanford industrialist and developer John W. Scott. The resort catered to guests from the surrounding countryside as well as visitors from afar. In the early twentieth century the resort was a popular picnic spot for couples and school and church groups, and a string band played at a dance hall on the property. During the Depression the resort shut down and the dances were discontinued because, according to one account, "the crowd got to drinking so bad." The improved mobility of the automobile age was probably the underlying cause of the resort's demise.

Health/Medicine

Health care in early Lee County was provided by a number of individuals with varying degrees of folk knowledge and professional training. Physicians--country doctors--ministered to the afflicted with current drugs and techniques. Folk healers and midwives also operated in the county. Will Wicker of the White Hill vicinity treated his patients with drugs prepared from herbs and tree bark (see LE 173). Wicker's neighbor, Mrs. McBryde, worked as the community midwife (see LE 181). Samuel E. Johnson, Sr. (1815-1899) served the Sandhills area as a sort of male midwife (see LE 650).

Sanford's first hospital was the Central Carolina Hospital, built on the corner of Maple Avenue and Fourth Street in the early twentieth century. Doctors Floyd L. Knight, W. A. Monroe, and J. P. Monroe worked in the two-story frame hospital (Railroad House, *Sanford History*: 53). In 1930 the hospital moved into more modern facilities on Carthage Street (LE 499).

Religion and Education

Churches were established in Lee County's towns and villages during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Many of these churches were the offshoots of rural Presbyterian, Methodist, and Baptist congregations. Episcopalians, Catholics, the Church of Christ and other Christian sects organized churches during this period, and several Jewish merchants settled in Sanford. Schools were established in conjunction with several churches, most notably Pocket Academy (LE 137) and the Methodist-affiliated Jonesboro Academy.

During the statewide public education campaign that began in the early years of the twentieth century, one- and two-room country schools and large high schools were built throughout Lee County. Vocational-agricultural departments and continuing education programs were added to some high schools starting in the 1930s (L. F. Meador interview). Educational opportunities were also available for pre-schoolers by the early twentieth century. The Ingram House on North Gulf Street in Sanford contained a private kindergarten during the 1930s (LE 479). The first circulating libraries were established during the period. The Sanford Literary Club was founded in 1905 with twelve volumes, including titles by Victorian favorites Dickens, Thackeray, and Trollope. The Literary Club collection formed the nucleus of the Lee County Library (Sanford *Herald*, March 3, 1967). During the same period Jonesboro merchant Jesse L. Godfrey operated a circulating library out of his store. Godfrey's library is preserved in his Jonesboro residence (LE 339) and numbers approximately 200 romances, Westerns, and novels in other genres popular at the time.

Architecture

Houses such as the Pickard House (LE 119), the Atlas Groce House (LE 769), and the sophisticated Railroad House heralded the various Victorian styles in Lee County during the years after the Civil War. In the 1880s and 1890s, ties to national culture grew stronger and design concepts from outside the area influenced grand and humble houses alike. Change was accelerated by innovations in manufacturing of building materials and increased access to materials made possible by the growth and enhancement of rail networks. Traditional forms--I-houses, double-pile center-passage-plans, two-room cottages--were repackaged in brightly painted exteriors and given new visual complexity through the exuberant use of wood shingles, cut-outs, and turnings produced in the county's numerous millworks. Familiar plans were enlivened by the asymmetrical extension of wings and bays, and entirely new house forms were introduced. During the first two decades of the twentieth century, professionally-designed and standardized popular house types began to supplant more traditional forms, especially in Sanford and the other towns and villages.

Three houses illustrate the staying power of the traditional forms and the new tastes and technological possibilities of the period. In 1888 William I. Brooks and his wife Susannah established Pine Knot Farm (LE 622) in the cotton country located between Jonesboro and Lemon Springs. The original section of the Brooks house consisted of a frame, one-story, center-passage-plan unit with an ell. The house grew over the following twenty years or so--faithfully photographed at each stage--into a rambling double-pile dwelling with multiple rear wings. The architectural vocabulary of the house was established at the outset: the side gables and a small front gable (the popular "triple-A" roof of the period) were sheathed in sawtooth wood shingles and fringed with delicate jig-sawn ornament, as were the gable vents and gable-end window heads, and a porch was built

across the front supported by turned posts with sawn/spindle brackets. On the inside, the center passage was sheathed in beaded tongue-and-groove boards set vertically and diagonally, and an elaborate mantel with turned pilasters, turned bosses in the frieze, and a bracketed overmantel was placed in the front parlor. Outbuildings eventually thronged the back and side yards of the house: a brick milk house (dairy), a ca. 1920 carbide house adorned with recycled sawn ornament from the house, a board-and-batten meat house and beside it a board-and-batten loom house, a latticed laundry shelter, and a brick flower pit.

The *ca.* 1880 Leslie-Winslow House (LE 786), also located south of Jonesboro, has a traditional I-house form and mantels that are akin to the vernacular Greek Revival surrounds of an earlier period. In contrast to this traditionalism is the front porch, a two-tier Victorian extravaganza of turned and sawn millwork with a lower-tier gambrel roof sheathed in sawtooth wood shingles and an upper-tier gable sheathed in diagonally-set beaded tongue-and-groove boards. Historic photographs indicate that the house front originally had a polychrome paint scheme, with individual shingles and tongue-and-groove boards picked out in different colors.

The second house of Moore County sheriff Kenneth H. Worthy, located on Tramway Road southwest of Sanford, is one of the finest 1880s Victorian houses in the county (LE 649). The two-story frame house has a traditional double-pile center-passage plan befitting the residence of one of the area's leading citizens. Across the front of the house extends a one-story porch supported by slender paired posts that are joined at the bottom by paneled pedestals and at the top by paneled and scrolled brackets. The porch roof and the hipped house roof sprout little front gables and in the frieze under the house roof are paired scroll brackets, a rare example of Italianate styling in the county. On the side elevations are small polygonal bays with delicately tinted pink window panes.

Similar Victorian houses were built in Lee County's burgeoning towns and villages during the late nineteenth century. In Jonesboro, merchant Jesse L. Godfrey built a richly appointed one-story frame residence in 1886 (LE 339). The house has a staggered double-pile, center-passage plan that creates an asymmetrical front elevation. On the south-facing side elevation of the house are small porches with quatrefoil cut-out balustrades that flank a polygonal, multi-gabled bay used by the family as a "sun parlor," a place to overwinter plants. The sun parlor has delicately tinted green and pink window panes, whereas the front door of the house has a window bordered by deep red and blue "cathedral glass." The highlight of the interior is a front parlor with a molded plaster ceiling.

Jonesboro formerly boasted a number of richly ornamented Victorian residences in a class with the Godfrey House. Many of these formerly stood on the site of the present Kendale Plaza and were moved to a property in Harnett County. One--a lavishly ornamented L-plan residence with a bay window--was moved to a site near Lemon Springs (LE 691). A number of one- and two-story frame Victorian houses still stand in Sanford, especially on older residential streets such as Hawkins Avenue and Third Street. Both Jonesboro and Sanford have a number of houses in the turn-of-the-twentieth-century Queen Anne Style. These include the George Avent House in Jonesboro (LE 332) and a house at 405 Hawkins Avenue in Sanford (LE 53).

By the early twentieth century, a varied set of house forms had been introduced to the county's towns and villages. The more prosperous citizens of Sanford and Jonesboro built two-story frame double-pile or asymmetrical L-plan residences as well as a few Foursquare-plan houses. Interestingly, few pure I-house-form residences were built in these two largest towns during the period. One-story houses, many richly ornamented, were constructed for blue collar workers, the largest concentration being in the neighborhoods of East Sanford.

In the Sanford black community, centered on Wall and Pearl streets, several shot-gun houses were built. At Cumnock, at least three rows of small one-story frame houses were built for miners. These rows (all now gone) were referred to as Red Town, Frog Town, and Black Town (Max Hall interview). The most common of these turn-of-the-twentieth-century house types and others with a longer history in the county are enumerated in Section F.

Several houses survive in isolated corners of the county that represent spirited folk interpretations of the Victorian styles. In the rugged country above the Cape Fear River in extreme eastern Lee County is the Burns House (LE 259), built in the last decades of the nineteenth century. To the gable end of their one-story single-pile frame dwelling, Patrick Burns and his son Ulysses Grant Burns added an ungainly sitting parlor with a polygonal end reminiscent of the standard bay windows of Victorian houses. For the roof of their house the Burnses built a crest running along the ridge that they sheathed in pressed metal shingle roofing. They then painted the crest so that the "shingles" alternated green and white in a checkerboard stripe. At some point the family hired an itinerant painter to paint at the top of the walls of one room a running garland of green roses and leaves with gold accents and a hatched border. Other features of the property include a white quartzite boulder in the front yard that may have served as a mounting block and a suspended dairy on a back porch, the only such example identified in the county. Two other houses of the period have dairy "cabinets." The McNair House (LE 748) had a dairy cabinet built onto the exterior wall of the kitchen ell and accessible from inside. The kitchen of the Baker House (LE 121) has a wall-mounted dairy cabinet with leaded glass doors and a slatted back to allow the flow of outside air.

Many Lee County houses of the turn-of-the-twentieth-century period have notable interiors. The Gilliam House (LE 116) of about 1900 employs beaded tongue-and-groove boards in the sheathing of a barrel-vaulted center-passage and in a front parlor which has walls and a coved ceiling with panels of vertical, horizontal, and diagonal beaded tongue-and-groove boards separated by heavy molded battens. Not far from the Gilliam House is the Baker House (LE 121) with similar beaded tongue-and-groove work and also a mantel that is a tour de force of late-nineteenth-century millwork with incised patterns, free-standing spindlework, and a mirrored overmantel in a decorative frame. Several houses in the county feature mantels that are folk renditions of ornate factory-made Victorian mantels. The elaborate layered mantels of the ca. 1870 Groce House (LE 769) are one example. Across the road from the Groce House is a two-story L-plan frame house dating to the late nineteenth century (LE 768) which has several mantels formed of overlapping decorative boards. Near White Hill are several houses built by farmer and sawmiller Joe J. Tillman for himself and his sons around the turn of the twentieth century. The simple one-story frame house of Arn Tillman (LE 154) features mantels with sawtooth or zig-zag decoration that were hand-made by the elder Tillman. Similar decorative motifs characterize furniture made by Joe J. Tillman.

The Burns House, discussed above, is just one example of the range of decorative exterior and interior painting that appears in houses of the period. The core of the Sloan-Uzzell House (LE 681) may date as early as the late 1860s or 1870s; later in the nineteenth century the house was given a vibrant Victorian exterior with decorative wood shingles and tear-drop and horseshoe-shaped vents in the front gables of the house and porch, and a polychrome paint scheme (now faded) with blue weatherboards and shingles, darker blue corner boards, blue and red cornice moldings, gray window surrounds, white turned porch posts, ocher beaded tongue-and-groove porch ceiling boards, and blue and green bed molds under the porch.

Among Lee County's notable painted interiors is an upstairs landing in the 1850s John J. Gilmore House (LE 198), which may have been painted in the latter part of the nineteenth century. The Gilmore House landing features grained and sponged doors in brown and yellow, a ceiling with smoked patterns of gray on mauve, and a hatchway under the landing window with freely interpreted blue on white marbling. The ca. 1870 Groce House (LE 769) is said to have formerly had smoked ceilings. The late-nineteenth-century, two-story, frame I-house-form Underwood House (LE 704) near Lemon Springs features beaded tongue-and-groove interiors in a variety of colors and one upstairs door with green-on-cream marbling resembling malachite. Also near Lemon Springs is the late-nineteenth-century Edwards House (LE 676) which has a front parlor with beaded tongue-and-groove sheathing that was once grained.

The first brick houses were constructed in Lee County towns in the 1910s. The earliest include the ca. 1911 Samuel V. Stevens House in Broadway (LE 777) and the 1914 Thomas E. King House in Sanford (LE 21). Townsfolk jokingly referred to the King House as "King's Mansion on Piety Hill," partly because of its hill-top siting in the newly-established Rosemont neighborhood and partly because it was one of the first (if not the first) brick houses in Sanford. Brick construction became much more common in the 1920s with the establishment of large local brick plants.

One of Lee County's architectural paradoxes is the virtual absence of brownstone construction associated with the establishment of brownstone quarries near Sanford in the 1890s. The 1908 Lee County Courthouse, which has column capitals and bases and other ornament carved by French stonecutters, and several commercial buildings in downtown Sanford, are among the few buildings in the county to use the stone in a decorative fashion. Brownstone was used in landscaping with more frequency. The front yard of the early-twentieth-century Jones House on Hawkins Avenue (LE 51) is bordered by a low brownstone wall punctuated by gate posts and short pillars capped with pyramidal blocks. During a later period, brownstone was used in its natural form to build walls in front of the 1928 Edward C. Heins House (LE 36), the 1920s Womble House (LE 92), the late-1930s Oscar A. Wakefield House (LE 120), and the late-nineteenth-century house on the George Gilmore Farm (LE 686).

The late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries witnessed a diversification of building types which often received architectural treatments on a par with the more stylish houses of the period. One example in the Lemon Springs Resort hotel (LE 467), detailed in the Victorian style with sawn porch ornament and decorative mantels. In Sanford, the early-twentieth-century station of the Seaboard Railroad is a prime example of Queen Anne styling with wood--shingle gables, Palladian windows, sculptural chimney stacks, and a tile roof. In contrast to these stylish examples is Euphronia Presbyterian Church (LE 157), a weatherboarded frame building with only a small decorative vent in the front gable to relieve its dour plainness.

Cemeteries

Family cemeteries continued in use, and church cemeteries grew in size during the turn-of-the-twentieth-century period. Cemeteries also appeared in the county's bustling new towns and villages such as Sanford, Jonesboro, Lemon Springs, and Cumnock. By the end of the nineteenth century large cemeteries were established adjacent to the churches of Lee County's African-American residents. In general, the earliest dated grave markers for African-Americans date to this period. Some of the earliest and largest black cemeteries are located at Green Grove A.M.E.Z. Church (LE 652), Murchison Chapel A.M.E.Z. Church (LE 660), and Tempting

Congregational Church (LE 134). The Green Grove cemetery contains a number of notable markers, including the marble headstones of the prominent Boykin family of Cameron and Sanford, and an unusual wooden marker with wavy sides. In the Goins Cemetery (LE 132) and the cemetery at Tempting Church (LE 134), both in northwest Lee County, are several cast concrete markers dating to the first decades of the twentieth century that were probably made by local farmer Mont Campbell. These concrete markers have arched tops with recessed panels bearing ornamentation--lily of the valley is a common motif--and typewriter-like inscriptions. Crudely inscribed concrete and brownstone markers that were probably made by the family of the deceased proliferated in Lee County's black cemeteries during the hard years of the Great Depression.

The popularity of Lauder's gravestones had died out among the county's elite by the end of the 1870s. In the late nineteenth century, Raleigh replaced Fayetteville as the main supplier of marble monuments to the Lee County area. In the Harrington Cemetery (LE 450), Cameron, N.C. mayor James A. Harrington commissioned a Gothic monument for his young wife Kate (died 1877) from the I. W. Durham works in Raleigh, and Harrington' own marker was carved by C. A. Goodwin of Raleigh in 1891. This shift in supply networks may reflect the economic integration of the Lee County area with Raleigh after the establishment of rail connections in the early 1870s.

The establishment of commercial brownstone quarries at Sanford during the 1890s brought highly skilled French stonecutters to the county. Although architectural building stone and ornament were the main products of these stonecutters, they also carved grave markers for the local market and presumably for export. The most impressive brownstone markers are located in the cemetery of Buffalo Presbyterian Church (LE 496) and were carved primarily for the French stonecutters and their family members. The marker for John "Frenchy" Gonella (died 1943), part owner of a quarry, and his wife Minnie R. (died 1906) is an outstanding example of the stonecutter's art, with a complicated Eastlake-inspired overall form, incised arabesques, a crescent-shaped bas-relief panel depicting a five-pointed star with radiating rays, and a rusticated base. The rustication and decorative tops that characterize the markers produced by French stonecutters at Buffalo Church also characterize a class of brownstone markers dating to the 1890s located in other Lee County cemeteries. These rectangular markers have smooth tablet-like fronts for the inscriptions and back surfaces carved into small rock-faced blocks. A row of three of these markers in the Cumnock Cemetery (LE 227), each with individualized decorative tops, mark the graves of miners who died in the December 19, 1895 coal mine disaster at the Cumnock Coal Mine. Other markers of the type stand in the cemetery of Poplar Springs Methodist Church (LE 750) and in the cemetery of Shallow Well Christian Church (LE 334). These rusticated brownstone markers may have been inspired by imported markers such as one that appears in the Johnson Cemetery (LE 655)--a small 1902 marble marker with a slanted tablet-like front and a rusticated back. In the cemetery of Jones Chapel United Methodist Church (LE 723) is the brownstone marker of two-year-old Eddie H. Jourdan, the son of Edmond and Camilla Jourdan. This marker is a sophisticated lancet-form headstone that may have been intended for export, but was used instead for the Jourdan child because a flaw in a molding at the base of the stone made it unfit for market.

The cemetery at Cool Springs Baptist Church (LE 608) features twelve barrel-vaulted, above-ground brick tombs dating from the 1910s through the 1950s. Barrel-vaulted above-ground tombs are commonly found in poorly-drained cemeteries in the more coastal areas of the Southeast. Their presence at the well-drained inland cemetery at Cool Springs is hard to explain, unless the form was chosen for aesthetic reasons or because of some association between the interred individuals and coastal areas. The only other surveyed occurrence of a

barrel-vaulted tomb in the county is a 1927 brick and concrete-block tomb in the Buchanan family cemetery (LE 782).

A variety of plantings are associated with Lee County's historic cemeteries. Most of these plantings date from the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, although some may date from an earlier period. Cedars and crape myrtles represent the most popular ornamentals planted in cemeteries. Boxwood, yucca, and daffodils and other perennial bulbs are common. Several family and community cemeteries that were largely abandoned after the antebellum period are now carpeted in periwinkle.

By the middle of the twentieth century, Lee County's grave art had become virtually indistinguishable from that produced throughout the country, with highly-polished granite markers the dominant form. Unusual personalized markers have been produced on occasion such as the granite headstone for Ralph L. Blakely (1932-1984), which is carved with a depiction of an eighteen-wheel tanker truck. A monument maker working near Sanford during the third quarter of the twentieth century produced a number of small white marble markers with lambs resting on top, a form that was popular at the beginning of the century. One of the most recent of these, a marker for an infant who died in 1963, can be found in the cemetery of Poplar Springs Methodist Church (LE 750).

URBANIZATION AND AGRICULTURAL/INDUSTRIAL EXPANSION IN LEE COUNTY, 1920-1942

The economic growth of the early twentieth century continued during this period of Lee County's history. Tobacco eclipsed cotton as the county's principal cash crop, and log, frame, and brick tile tobacco barns and pack houses appeared on the landscape. Brick production began on a large scale at Colon in the 1920s, contributing to marked growth in nearby Sanford. Sanford's downtown expanded in the 1920s, with multi-story brick commercial blocks replacing earlier buildings. Extensive residential neighborhoods populated by Craftsman-style bungalows, Tudor Revival-style residences, and other eclectic dwellings were laid out adjacent to Sanford.

Agriculture

Agriculture in Lee County underwent dramatic change during the 1920s and 1930s. The general decline in cotton prices during the 1920s and 1930s and the depredations of the boll weevil resulted in decreased reliance on cotton in Lee and surrounding counties (Stephenson: 4). Cotton acreage peaked in 1925 at 13,891 acres (Hall). During the late 1910s and the decade of the 1920s, cotton began to be replaced by tobacco as the county's main cash crop. Tobacco cultivation was virtually unknown in Lee County before 1915, although period newspaper accounts suggest that some air-cured varieties may have been grown near Jonesboro during the 1870s and 1880s (Holmes: 1; James Vann Comer interviews). In 1909 only twenty-five acres of Lee County farmland was devoted to tobacco, and the county's crop represented a minuscule 0.012% of the state total. By 1919 the acreage had increased to 1,211 acres, by 1929 to 3,154 acres, and in 1940 the amount of acreage devoted to tobacco cultivation in Lee County peaked at 6,747 acres (Perkins: 6; Hall).

Timber clearance in the Sandhills section of the county attracted many flue-cure tobacco farmers from the north-western North Carolina Piedmont during the late 1910s and 1920s. Informants who participated in the exodus

are unanimous in their explanation for the move to Lee County: the soil was easier to plow. Underlying this basic motivation were other factors: the availability and affordability of "new land" in Lee County, overcrowding in established tobacco growing areas, and improvements in agricultural techniques, fertilizers, and transportation. The "Granville wilt" tobacco disease prompted a small number of families to move to the area from affected areas in Granville and Rockingham counties (L. F. Meador interview). Some families, such as the Uzzells of Wilson County, moved to Lee County from eastern North Carolina (see LE 681).

The tobacco farmers brought with them their farming implements and work animals and even their guano stockpiles (see LE 681). They also brought know-how. One story told by the Matthews family, who moved to Lee from Yadkin County in the 1910s, illustrates the unfamiliarity of Lee County's indigenous population with tobacco. A little Lee County girl was walking with her grandfather past the Matthews' tobacco field and asked: "Grandad, when will the plugs start coming out?" (Mrs. Ezra Q. Matthews interview). Lee County native Elmer Thomas was "farmed out" by his father to Wilson County transplant David Uzzell in order to learn how to tend tobacco properly (see LE 681).

Another development of the period was the introduction of pecan nut production to Lee County. The 1910 census counted only fifteen pecan trees in production and a total crop of 300 pounds. Interest in pecans increased in the 1930s. Lemon Springs High School's first vocational-agricultural instructor, L. F. Meador, promoted pecans in the southern section of the county, setting out with the help of his students "hundreds and hundreds" of trees at a charge of $1 per tree and $5 for digging the hole to plant it in. Lemon Springs-area farmer John Garner became interested in the tree and would drive to Georgia to pick up trees for sale in Lee County (L. F. Meador interview). Several large pecan groves in the southern half of the county date to this period. In the cooler northeastern corner of the county, farmer and industrialist Paul Barringer experimented with pecans but was unable to produce a satisfactory crop of nuts (Jane Barringer interview).

Dairy farming likewise began in Lee County on a commercial scale during the early years of the twentieth century. One of the earliest Grade A dairies was that of New York native Tom Gunn, who operated a 360-acre farm on the old Henry McIver estate and shipped his milk to Raleigh during the 1910s (see LE 203 and LE 732). Dairying peaked during the 1930s, when there were nearly 2,000 milk cows in the county (Hall). Road improvements stimulated dairy production; two early dairy farms are located along US 1 outside of Sanford (see LE 619 and LE 731). An important dairy of the period was Phil Yarborough's Fairview Dairy, which operated two Dairy Bar ice cream parlors in Sanford (Jane Barringer interview).
By the eve of World War II, Lee County was still largely agricultural. In 1940 over half the population lived on farms. In 1925 there were 1,916 mules in the county--there were still 1,396 mules in 1955 (Hall). Tobacco remained the county's principal crop well into the third quarter of the twentieth century. The 1980s saw the return of cotton as an important local crop.

Industry

Since 1920 Lee County's most celebrated industry has been the manufacture of brick. Deposits of shale and red clay--ideal for brick making--have earned the county the title "Brick Capital" of the nation. Brickmaking has a long history in the county. John Willcox established a brickyard at his ironworks in the eighteenth century, and several small brickyards operated in the county during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, including the A. W. Huntley brickyard in Jonesboro, the Thomas brickyard located between Jonesboro and

Broadway on NC 42, "Dove" Womack's brickyard near the intersection of Rose and Third streets in Sanford (in operation in the 1890s), J. C. Wicker's brickyard in Sanford (also dating to the 1890s), and an unidentified brickyard at Cumnock dating to about 1889 (Branson, 1890: 460; Branson, 1896: 434; Byrd; *Descriptive Gazette . . .*: 70). Two large brickyards operated at Colon during the 1920s. The Shale Brick and Tile Company at Colon was owned and operated by Thomas C. and John P. Dalrymple, Frank Snipes, and a Mr. Marks, and had eight or ten kilns and a commissary that issued its own scrip (LE 692; described in file LE 758). On a site next to the Shale Brick and Tile Company was the plant of the Sanford Brick and Tile Company (Robert Brickhouse interview).

The Lee County brick industry, well established by the early 1920s, was transformed by Rowan County brick manufacturer L. Calvin Isenhour, who learned of Lee County's shale deposits in 1919 and opened a plant with ten kilns at Colon in 1921. In 1925 Isenhour opened another plant with several more kilns; by the end of the 1920s the Isenhour plants may have employed as many as 200 workers (ibid). Isenhour purchased the two other brick plants at Colon in the 1930s (assuming the name of one of them, Sanford Brick and Tile), and after World War II the company grew into one of the nation's largest brick plants with a work force of 375 employees. In addition to brick, Isenhour's company produced brick tile (also known as clay block), which was promoted as "the thing for larger quick construction" (ibid). However, difficulty in controlling the dimensions of tiles during firing limited their usefulness in construction, and competition from concrete and cinder block after World War II effectively usurped the market for tile (ibid). The company also experimented in making novelty brick with patterned surfaces during the 1920s and 1930s (Warren Austin interview) An outbuilding that may use locally-manufactured novelty brick stands on the Steven B. Worthy property (LE 614). The establishment of the Isenhour plant and the others near Sanford laid the foundation for the town's prosperity during the 1920s (Black and Bowen).

Architecture

Sanford's downtown was transformed during the prosperity of the 1920s. The central business district shifted to Carthage and Steele streets where multi-story brick hotels and commercial blocks were constructed. Residential neighborhoods were laid out to the north and west of the downtown where merchants and professional men built fine residences in the eclectic styles popular during the period. New trends appeared in the architecture of the county's smaller communities and rural areas as well. A coterie of local architects and builders developed, supplemented by practitioners from outside the county.

Sanford neighborhoods such as Rosemont, McCracken Heights, and McIver Park contain some of the best representatives of Craftsman and Tudor Revival domestic architecture in the county. The earliest Craftsman houses began to appear in the town in the 1910s; by the 1920s entire blocks of one- and one-and-a-half-story Craftsman bungalows were being built. One of the most sophisticated of these bungalows is the 1926 George J. Casey House on North Gulf Street (LE 18), the home of an executive of the Isenhour brick company. The rambling one-story brick residence was built by the Sanford construction firm Jewell Riddle to a design from a pattern book by architect Lela Ross Wilburn. The house has a front porch supported by massive brick pillars and layered, broadly overhanging, low-pitched gable roofs. Approaching the Casey House in sophistication is a group of three bungalows on North Gulf Street and Hawkins Avenue (the J. F. Foster House, LE 29; the J. R. Ingram House, LE 45; and the W. R. Williams House, LE 15) that employ decorative Flemish-bond brickwork with vitrified headers.

Stylish Craftsman residences were also built in the countryside. Unlike their in-town counterparts, these Craftsman farmhouses were often two stories in height with blocky double-pile forms. Notable examples include the James P. McDavid House (LE 348) outside of Jonesboro, built in 1923 to designs by a Greenville, S.C. architect, and the James L. Thomas House (LE 767) outside of Broadway, built in 1919 with a portico supported by two-story brick columns.

Another style with notable representatives in Lee County is the Tudor Revival style. A group of imaginative Tudor Revival houses survive in Sanford, the product of talented local architect L. M. Thompson. Thompson's own late-1920s residence in the McCracken Heights neighborhood (LE 784) is possibly the best of the lot. The two-story brick house features a steep gable roof; half-timbering; cast stone quoins and door and window trim; a stained-glass coat-of-arms in the window of the front door; and on the interior Tudor- and lancet-arched openings and embrasures and chamfered ceiling beams. Another Tudor Revival residence designed by Thompson is the 1928 Edward C. Heins House on North Gulf Street (LE 36), which combines a picturesque front chimney with a half-timbered gable featuring elaborately carved bargeboards, textured stucco, and a quarrel-paned oriel window. The 1927 Harry Isaacson House on Sunset Drive (LE 94) may also be a Thompson design. The Isaacson House is constructed of textured red, purple, and olive-colored brick and has a rear chimney with fanciful red, yellow, and blue ceramic chimney pots.

Other eclectic styles popular during the 1920s and 1930s are represented in Sanford and in rural areas of Lee County. In 1927 William L. Jewell of the Jewell Riddle construction firm chose an unusual French Eclectic design for his house on Summit Drive (LE 88). The two-story Jewell House is constructed of white brick from Illinois (which contrasts with the ubiquitous locally-manufactured red brick) and has a bank of French doors on the first story surmounted by Neoclassical entablatures with consoles and swags. On Sunset Drive, one block off of Old US 1, Mrs. J. P. Coulter built a two-story brick tourist home in 1926. The Coulter-Lano House (LE 93) has a red tile roof coping that evokes Mediterranean prototypes.

The Rustic Style also occurs in Lee County. A notable example of the style is the Martha and Clarence Swaringen House (LE 224), located between Jonesboro and Lemon Springs. The Swaringens began construction of their one-story, saddle-notched, round-log vacation home in 1929 or 1930 and worked on it continuously over the following decade. The foundations and chimney of the house are constructed of white quartzite rock, many of the windows have quarrel panes, and the batten front door is hung on decorative strap hinges. In front of the house is a pebble-lined fish pond and fountain; the wooded house site features large clumps of azaleas, the product of the Swaringen's avid interest in gardening. Another Rustic-style residence is the Oscar A. Wakefield House (LE 120) located in the Tempting Church vicinity. In the late 1930s coal mine operator O. A. Wakefield took a pre-existing one-story frame house and encased it in brownstone rubble. The yard in front of the house is enclosed by a wall of piled brownstone rubble; Oscar Wakefield's sister, Marcel Wakefield, had similar walls constructed around her house outside Sanford (see LE 686).

Lee County's leading black builder of the period was Arnold Lincoln ("Link") Boykin. Originally from the Cameron area, Boykin started out building stations and other facilities for the Seaboard Railroad. During the 1920s and 1930s, Boykin operated a construction firm based in Sanford that employed up to fifty tradesmen, including brickmason Dan Goldston of the Goldston Brothers brick plant. Boykin's firm was responsible for the construction of numerous houses in Sanford, as well as residences and commercial buildings in Durham, Pittsboro, and other North Carolina communities.

Architects and builders from outside the area as well as accomplished local practitioners worked in Sanford during this period. Eric C. Flanagan of Henderson designed the Temple Theater, built by the Sanford contracting firm Joe W. Stout Company in 1925 (Butchko). The terra-cotta-trimmed beige brick building is one of several built at the same time on the 100 block of Carthage Street that feature decorative brickwork. Charles Benton and Sons of Wilson, N.C., worked with local builder L. P. Cox to design and build several fine Colonial Revival residences in Sanford and Jonesboro around 1940. The largest of these was the Arthur H. McIver House (LE 785), built in 1939 near downtown Sanford. The McIver House is a five-bay I-house-form residence graced by a Mount Vernon-inspired portico and a front entry surround with fluted Ionic pilasters surmounted by a broken scroll pediment with a central pineapple motif. The front entry opens through a small vestibule into a grand entry hall with a curving stair. An entry hall with a curving stair is a feature of another Benton-Cox collaboration, the Lonnie L. Thomas House on Lee Avenue in Jonesboro (LE 293), built in 1941. The two-story H. F. Ohler House (LE 463) is another Colonial Revival residence that may have been designed and built by Benton and Cox. The former Sanford Baptist Parsonage on Gulf Street (LE 17), which dates to about 1950, is an example of a later Colonial Revival residence constructed by L. P. Cox.

Many non-domestic buildings of the period received sophisticated architectural treatments. In Sanford, local builders and architects were responsible for many fine religious and commercial buildings. A. L. Boykin built the Gothic Revival Fair Promise A.M.E.Z. Church (LE 457); the Neoclassical Steele Street Methodist Church (demolished), with its domed sanctuary; and the former Sanford Post Office (now known as the Federal Building, 226 Carthage Street), a severe Colonial Revival edifice. L. M. Thompson, who designed the Tudor Revival houses described above, also designed several prominent churches and commercial buildings in the style. The 1928 St. Thomas Episcopal Church (LE 451), a brick building modeled on the parish churches of England, is a Thompson commission, as is the 1920s interior of the First Presbyterian Church of Sanford (LE 44). Thompson also designed the multi-story brick Carolina Hotel, which has Tudor Revival ornament and decorative terra cotta panels, and the yellow-brick Masonic Building, both buildings erected on the 100 block of Carthage Street around 1925.

LEE COUNTY SINCE 1942: A SYNOPSIS

The transportation infrastructure and industrial base established during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries enabled Lee County to participate in the unparalleled national economic expansion of the post-World War II years. In 1948, Sanford Brick and Tile (now Cherokee Sanford Group, Inc.) embarked on a modernization program that led to the construction of a vast facility at Colon with a peak production of 400,000 bricks per day (Sanford Herald, March 3, 1967). Lee Brick and Tile was formed in 1946 and presently operates a large brick plant north of Sanford. By mid-century, the complex of Lee County brick plants was one of the most productive in the nation (Robert Brickhouse interview). Several Lee County-based firms established regional service areas during the post-war period. Arthur H. McIver's five-and-dime store, opened in 1923 on Steele Street in Sanford, eventually grew into the Mack's (later Maxway) chain with forty-four stores and 866 employees in four southern states by the late 1960s (Sanford *Herald*, March 3, 1967). Another, more recent Sanford-based commercial concern is the Pantry convenience mart chain. The L. P. Cox

construction firm became Lee County's largest contractor after the war with operations in three southern states and a headquarters building on West Main Street in Jonesboro Heights in the 1960s (see LE 309).

Locally, as throughout the nation, the automobile had a profound effect on the character of development. Major highways, such as US 421, US 15-501, and the new US 1 alignment, were constructed through the county. Subdivisions were built outward from the hub of Sanford and Jonesboro Heights and adjacent to smaller communities such as Broadway and Lemon Springs. The quasi-resort satellite communities of Carolina Trace and Quail Ridge were established, focused on lakes, golf courses, and other amenities. In 1963 ground was broken for Kendale Plaza in Jonesboro Heights, said to be the "longest straight-line shopping center in the world." The immense shopping center accommodated 2,500 cars by 1967 and served a regional clientele (Sanford *Herald*, March 3, 1967). Another transportation development of the period was the construction of the Municipal Airport west of Jonesboro, begun in the late 1950s (ibid).

The changes of the post-World War II period are reflected in the county's architecture, although some pre-war trends in domestic construction continued. Simplified versions of the Tudor Revival houses of the 1920s and 1930s were built in Sanford and elsewhere in the late 1940s and 1950s (they are known as "period cottages"), as were scaled-down versions of the two-story Colonial Revival-style houses popular during the 1930s. Homogenous rows of simple one-story aluminum-sided stick-built houses were put up near downtown Sanford immediately following the war. The best local examples of these "Victory Villages" can be found on Circle Avenue and Bracken Street. Modernism made its Sanford debut in the late 1940s and early 1950s in buildings such as the Sanford Armory at 147 McIver Street, a two-story brick building with streamlined concrete trim, and the second home of Lewis D. Isenhour at 300 Carbonton Road, a two-story brick residence with a low-pitched hip roof, corner windows, a semi-detached guest wing, and other Wrightian characteristics. Houses with modernist details such as flat roofs, cantilevered porches, and broad expanses of glass are concentrated in the Palmer Drive-Denada Path neighborhood near downtown Sanford.

F. ASSOCIATED PROPERTY TYPES

RESIDENTIAL: HOUSES, DOMESTIC OUTBUILDINGS, AND RESIDENTIAL LANDSCAPES

The Lee County Architectural Survey resulted in the survey of 633 primary domestic resources (mostly individual houses) and 596 secondary domestic resources (mostly outbuildings) for a total of 1,229 domestic resources. The earliest houses surveyed date to the first quarter of the nineteenth century and the latest date to the late twentieth century. The majority of the houses--approximately 250, or roughly 40%--date to the period 1886 to 1915, with the next largest group--approximately 200, or roughly 30%--dating to the period 1916 to 1930. Forty-one houses (roughly 6% of the survey) are estimated to date to the period 1826 to 1865, and fifty-one houses (roughly 8%) are estimated to date to the period 1866 to 1885. Only a half dozen or so houses appear to date to the first quarter of the nineteenth century. No houses are known to survive from the eighteenth century, although the core of the recently burned Stokes-Bryan House (LE 696) is believed to have dated to the late eighteenth century.

Houses

A range of styles, forms, plans, and construction materials characterizes the houses included in the survey. The most common style encountered is the Craftsman Style; 227 houses, or roughly 35% of the houses surveyed, have attributes of this style. Craftsman-style bungalows make up entire blocks in Sanford's early suburbs. Many houses in the towns as well as in the countryside are Victorian in styling; 201 houses, or roughly 30% of houses surveyed, fall into this category. Fifty-four houses surveyed have characteristics of the Colonial Revival Style, which was especially popular in the county's towns during the second quarter of the twentieth century. A total of forty-five houses dating from the 1840s to the 1870s have attributes of the Greek Revival Style.

Bungalows, I-houses, period cottages, one-story side-gable houses, and one-story front-gable houses are among the late-nineteenth- and early-twentieth-century popular house forms encountered in Lee County. Craftsman-style bungalows were most popular in Sanford and Lee County's smaller towns and villages, whereas Craftsman-style one-story front-gable houses and generally Victorian or astylistic one-story side-gable houses predominate in the countryside. I-houses (two-story one-room-deep houses), period cottages (Tudor Revival-inspired one- or one-and-a-half-story houses) were generally less common than the bungalows and the one-story side-gable and front-gable houses. A total of 226 bungalows, 56 I-houses, 51 period cottages, 519 one-story side-gable houses, and 528 one-story front-gable houses were surveyed or map-coded in Lee County.

Traditional house plans common to other areas of the state and the South characterize the county's nineteenth-century residences. A total of twenty-four hall-parlor-plan residences were identified by the survey. The county's earliest documented residences, the ca. 1805 Aaron Tyson House (LE 100) and the ca. 1815 Douglas-Lett House (LE 252), have hall-parlor plans with a large room (the hall) beside a smaller room (the parlor). Seven one-room-plan houses were encountered, although it is possible that some of these houses originally had hall-parlor plans that were stripped of their partitions. The 1850s log Lemon House (LE 468) has a one-room plan that may be original. Several mid-nineteenth-century houses have two-room plans that differ from hall-parlor plans in that the two rooms are equal in size. The Gunter House (LE 749), the McLeod House (LE 739), and the Neil A. McNeill House (LE 192) have such two-room plans. The most popular house plan of the mid-

nineteenth century and later is the center-passage plan, with two more-or-less equal-sized rooms arranged on both sides of a central passage. This plan was commonly employed for the county's I-house-form residences and large double-pile houses. A total of seventy-four center-passage-plan houses were identified by the survey, most of which date to the nineteenth century but some of which date to the twentieth.

Documentary sources indicate that log houses were once common in the Lee County area. However, only fifteen log houses were identified by the survey, several of which are Rustic-style dwellings dating to the second quarter of the twentieth century. It is possible that some houses containing log cores were surveyed but not recognized. Probably the earliest log house to survive in the county is the original section of the Palmer House (LE 114), which dates to the 1810s or earlier. The latest vernacular log house identified during the survey was the Robert L. Goins House (LE 159), a one-story one- or two-room dwelling built about 1944 with hewn rafters and a front porch supported by log sapling posts. Common southern corner-notching techniques such as the saddle notch, V-notch, and half-dovetail notch are found in Lee County's nineteenth-century log dwellings. Also represented is the unusual diamond notch. Log construction is far more common among the county's domestic and agricultural outbuildings; a total of sixty-four log outbuildings were surveyed, and as many as twenty more (mostly twentieth-century tobacco barns) were observed but not surveyed.

Frame construction was preferred for the houses of the county's nineteenth-century elite. The early-nineteenth-century Tyson and Douglas-Lett houses referred to above are frame, as are all of the county's forty-five Greek Revival houses dating to the mid-nineteenth century. Masonry construction, other than for foundations and chimneys, is not known to have been used for domestic purposes during the nineteenth century, although a large meat house on the John D. McIver Farm (LE 648) was constructed of ashlar brownstone blocks at mid-century. The first brick houses were constructed in Lee County towns in the 1910s.

Outbuildings and Domestic Landscaping

Domestic outbuildings played an important role in the day-to-day functioning of Lee County's historic houses. Types of domestic outbuildings and features encountered in Lee County include car shelters, carbide plants, carriage houses, cellars, dairies, dog houses, electric generator houses, fences, flower gardens, flower houses, flower pits, garages, laundry shelters, loom houses, meat houses, privies, pump houses, root cellars, smokehouses, spring houses, stables, storage sheds, tool sheds, vegetable gardens, walls, wash houses, wells, wood sheds, and work shops. One of the most complete assemblages of domestic outbuildings survives at Pine Knot Farm (LE 622), established in the late nineteenth century. Outbuildings throng the back and side yards of the farmhouse: a brick milk house (dairy), a ca. 1920 carbide house embellished with recycled sawn ornament from the house, a board-and-batten meat house and beside it a board-and-batten loom house, a latticed laundry shelter, and a brick flower pit.

Meat houses and smoke houses were common features in many back yards. These relatively small log or frame structures were used to cure meat for keeping. The J. W. Wicker Farm (LE 473) near Sanford has a saddle-notched log smokehouse with an early feature: meat hooks made from twisted vines. A brick tile smokehouse survives on the Sloan Farm (LE 744) near Broadway. Semi-subterranean cellars were used to store other perishable foods. An early cellar that is also one of the earliest structures in the county survives on the Palmer Farm (LE 114): a finely-constructed Flemish-bond brick structure with closer bricks and pencilled mortar joints. Another early cellar is a brick example located next to the 1850s Carbonton Academy Girls Dormitory

(LE 109). Another common domestic outbuilding type was the wash house or laundry. Wash houses featured a hearth for building a fire and usually also a built-in wash pot for boiling water. Sometimes washing was performed in a shelter with open sides, as at Pine Knot Farm, or it was done in the open near a spring or other water supply, as on the 1940s McNeill Farm (LE 122). Behind the Underwood House (LE 704) is an example of a combination wash-house/meat house. Combination wash house/garages survive at the Joe J. Tillman Farm (LE 152) and the John W. Jackson Farm (LE 603). A wash house/generator house survives on the Shaw Farm (LE 667).

Outbuildings were also constructed for conveyances such as carriages and automobiles. One of the finest carriage houses to survive in the county is located near the Hensley House (LE 230) in Cumnock, a two-level board-and-batten frame structure dating to the late nineteenth century. The Shaw Farm, mentioned above, also has a buggy house. In the 1910s and 1920s garages began to appear in Lee County. The earliest of these are simple frame buildings that are similar in form to other utilitarian outbuildings. Architects and builders in Sanford experimented with other arrangements. Two Craftsman bungalows located across the street from each other in Sanford--the Cheek House (LE 60) and 601 Hawkins Avenue (LE 61)--have basement garages. The house at 601 Hawkins also has a porte cochere or automobile drive-through, a common feature houses of the period. L. M. Thompson designed houses with semi-attached garages that harmonize in materials and decorative treatments with the houses they serve. Examples of these are the garages of Thompson's own house (LE 784) and the Edward C. Heins House (LE 36).

An adequate water supply was an important factor in house location and function. Early houses such as that on the Palmer Farm (LE 114) were located next to boldly flowing springs. The Palmer spring is enclosed by a brownstone retaining wall measuring over ten feet square and may originally have been sheltered by a roof. Leading down to the spring are two flights of converging stone steps. Other early houses had wells, some with square brownstone curbs. Handsome nineteenth-century brownstone well curbs survive at the John D. McIver Farm (LE 648), the Duncan E. McIver House (LE 469), and on the A. H. McIver property (LE 785); the latter site has a well curb with a shaped lip that is associated with an earlier house on the property. Located between Lemon Springs and Swann's Station are a cluster of farms with cast-concrete well curbs with recessed panelled sides. The fanciest of these is the one at the Cameron-Holt House (LE 217), which has three panels on each side. The Cameron-Holt well curb and the others (located at the Fore House, LE 220, and the McPhail House, LE 223) probably date to the first half of the twentieth century.

Another domestic outbuilding of note is the flower house, built to keep flowers and other plants over winter. Flower houses are generally small, semi-subterranean, well-insulated structures with south-facing windows. The six flower houses identified by the survey are all brick and date to the first half of the twentieth century. They are located at sites LE 172, LE 222, LE 240, LE 729, LE 743, and LE 779. The only flower pit identified is located on Pine Knot Farm (LE 622). Related to these structures is the so-called "sun parlor" on the south side of the 1886 Jesse L. Godfrey House (LE 339), a south-facing bay-windowed conservatory.

Domestic outbuildings are typically arranged in rows or loose groupings behind or to the sides of houses. Occasionally Lee County homeowners adopted a more formal approach to the spatial organization of their yards. In Broadway are two sites with outbuildings arranged symmetrically along a curving access drive. The ca. 1911 Samuel V. Stevens House (LE 777) and the 1919 James L. Thomas House (LE 767) have hip-roofed frame dependencies located behind and to either side of the houses. Another approach was adopted by farmer and part-time carpenter John W. Jackson, who harbored a fondness for gambrel roofs. Jackson built gambrel

roofs on his 1910s one-and-a-half-story frame house and his later garage, barn, and pack house, creating a harmonious ensemble (LE 603).

Residential Landscapes

Landscaped yards rarely survive from before the early twentieth century. One of the few remnants of early ornamental plantings identified was discovered at the J. P. Gilliam Farm (LE 127). Mary Eliza Gilliam laid out flower beds divided by walkways in front of her two-story frame house during the first decade of the twentieth century. The beds were bordered by violets and contained hyacinths, jonquils, hardy phlox, and chrysanthemums. Also in the yard were shrubs such as euonymous and cape jasmines (gardenias) and herbs such as pennyroyal, bloodroot, and sage. Gilliam swapped plants with her neighbors and brought bulbs from her parents' house in Chatham County. Another garden of note is that in the side yard of the Stephen B. Worthy House (LE 614), established in the nineteenth century and modified continuously through the first half of the twentieth century. The garden features clumps of forsythia and japonica, a rock-lined fish pond, and cast concrete bird baths with round and star-shaped basins. In the isolated White Hill section of the county are two vernacular mid-twentieth-century ornamental gardens of note. In front of the 1940s Robert L. Goins House (LE 159) is a yard bordered by a low brick wall and thickly planted with a variety of ornamental trees and shrubs such as magnolia, dogwood, and crape myrtle. The 1953 Will Newby House (LE 149) has another front yard garden crowded with ornamentals, flowers, and ground covers including a "cotton bloom" shrub (rose of Sharon), apple trees, a pecan tree, a coffee tree, azalea, hydrangea, iris, cana, marigolds, and a "rooster comb," a plant which was believed to repel moles.

SIGNIFICANCE

Lee County's domestic resources are potentially eligible for listing in the National Register under criterion C in the area of architecture. The county's houses and domestic outbuildings illustrate the range of styles, forms, plans, materials, and construction techniques available to local builders from the early nineteenth century through 1942. Some historic houses preserve features that are rare in the state; others are the work of accomplished local builders and architects. Certain Lee County domestic resources may be eligible under criterion A in the area of European ethnic heritage, for their association with first-generation or prominent members of the local Highland Scot community, or for architectural traits that may be Scottish in origin. Similarly, other Lee County domestic resources may be significant under criterion A in the area of African-American ethnic heritage for their association with members of the county's African-American community. Certain domestic resources may be eligible under criterion B as the residences of persons of local, state, or national significance.

REGISTRATION REQUIREMENTS

In order for a Lee County domestic resource to be eligible for the National Register, it must meet certain registration requirements. First, the resource must date to 1942 or before. Under criterion C the resource must illustrate some aspect of the county's architectural development, either as a rare survival or representative example of a style, form, plan type, construction type, or use of materials, or as the work of an accomplished architect or builder. In these cases, the resource should have a high degree of architectural integrity, that is, it

should be in good repair and it should retain original or early features with a minimum of modern alterations or additions. In the case of individual houses, the survival of early landscaping and domestic and (in the case of farm houses) agricultural outbuildings would contribute to eligibility. The resource should have integrity of setting, that is, its rural, suburban, or urban surroundings should have a semblance of the character they had during the period of significance chosen for the resource. All of these requirements can be relaxed somewhat in the case of resources with extremely rare or otherwise notable features, or if the resource is of sufficient importance under another National Register criterion.

FARM COMPLEXES

The Lee County Architectural Survey resulted in the documentation of 554 agricultural buildings and structures. The majority of these buildings are grouped together as farm complexes in association with a farm house; a total of 181 such farm complexes were surveyed. Most of the county's farm buildings are of frame construction, but at least sixty-four farm complexes feature one or more log buildings (usually tobacco barns), and some buildings are of brick, brick tile, concrete, or metal construction. Most farm buildings surveyed date to the first half of the twentieth century; in fact, nineteenth-century and especially antebellum farm buildings are rare. The first half of the twentieth century was the period when flue-cure tobacco cultivation was introduced to Lee County, and at least 110 farm complexes have buildings associated with tobacco processing and storage (usually tobacco barns and pack houses).

Lee County's farm buildings can be placed in three general functional categories: 1) produce storage facilities, 2) produce processing facilities, and 3) animal facilities. Produce storage facilities include tobacco packhouses, corn cribs, cotton houses, grain elevators, hay barns, potato houses, and silos. Produce processing facilities include tobacco barns, ordering pits, and grading houses. Animal facilities include cattle barns, dairy barns, cow lots, chicken houses, pig pens, stables, and slaughter houses. In addition to facilities in these three main groups are miscellaneous buildings, structures, and sites such as wagon shelters, farm wells, windmills, gas pumps, tobacco stick sheds, implement sheds, fences, and fields.

Some farm buildings accommodated a number of functions; for example, most barns served both for produce storage and animal shelter. Also, some buildings such as meat houses, tool sheds, and dairies are partly agricultural and partly domestic in function. Because these buildings are usually grouped immediately adjacent to the house with non-agricultural buildings such as wash houses and garages, and because they represent an extension of the day-to-day domestic activities of the household, they are included in the discussion of residential resources.

Utility traditionally dictated the lay-out of Lee County farms. Farm buildings were generally located close enough to the farmhouse for convenience and security but far enough away to separate the noise and other sensory stimuli of the barnyard from the more genteel precinct of the dwelling. Most farms appear to be informally arranged. Some farm buildings (especially tobacco barns) were scattered around a large farm to be close to fields or far-flung tenant houses. In other instances the farms consist of orderly rows of three or four buildings. Perhaps the most formal complex identified is that at the William B. Thomas Farm (LE 743), which has barns and a wagon shelter arranged around three sides of a rectangular barn yard. The Connie Pendergrass Farm (LE 644), established in the 1910s, has cedar rows lining the main road and farm lanes--a rare local instance of plant material used to partition farm space. These general observations on farm lay-out apply to

late-nineteenth- and twentieth-century farms; too few farm buildings and apparently no farm complexes survive from earlier periods to allow for a similar analysis.

Cotton and tobacco cultivation created a distinctive agricultural landscape in the relatively flat and sandy eastern and southern quadrants of Lee County, with farm complexes surrounded by broad fields interspersed with pine and hardwood stands. Farming has been largely abandoned in the rugged, clay-soiled northern third of the county, except on the rich bottoms along the Cape Fear and Deep rivers. Old river-bottom fields survive at Carbonton (associated with the Aaron Tyson House, LE 100), and across the Deep River from Gulf (associated with the Palmer Farm, LE 114) and Haywood (associated with the Obediah Farrar House, LE 687, and an old house on the Lower Moncure Road, LE 239). An agricultural enclave centered on Buffalo Church persists in the largely suburbanized western part of the City of Sanford. Several notable nineteenth- and twentieth-century farm complexes survive in their original agricultural context at Buffalo, notably the Duncan E. McIver farm (LE 469), the Seymour Farm (LE 635), and the Spence Kelly Farm (LE 688).

Early descriptions of farm building types in the Lee County area are contained in the Loyalist claims that resulted from the Revolutionary War. One Moore County farm of the late eighteenth century featured a barn, a stable, and a "crib for holding Indian corn" in addition to the dwelling and its associated outbuildings (Wicker: 371). The dispersed Southern pattern of farm layout was probably established at the outset in the Lee County area. Unlike the large multifunctional barns of Europe and certain areas in the northern United States, Lee County's individual farm buildings often accommodated a single function or at most two or three related functions.

Several produce storage facilities rank among the oldest farm buildings in Lee County. Perhaps the most remarkable of these is the corn crib on the John D. McIver Farm (LE 648). The antebellum McIver crib is constructed of four-inch-by-four-inch straight-sawn timbers laid like logs and joined with a diamond notch at the corners. The crib has two halves (or "cribs") for the storage of husked corn separated by a central drive-through. Other features of the crib include hatches with doors hung on decorative wrought strap hinges and tall brownstone foundation piers that lift the crib over two feet above the ground and out of reach of vermin. Another notable corn crib dates to the late nineteenth century and is found on the Palmer Farm (LE 114). The Palmer crib has side drive-throughs and circular-sawn slats for providing ventilation to the corn. Its large size (larger than many houses of the period) testifies to the magnitude of agricultural production on the extensive Palmer farm during the nineteenth century. Most surviving corn cribs have slatted sides like the Palmer Crib. In some instances the slats are crossed at right angles forming latticework (LE 192 and LE 679). A rare example of a log corn crib, a small square-notched hewn-log structure dating to the 1920s, is found on the Peter C. Gladden Farm (LE 140). Another, larger example survives on the Wicker Farm (LE 320).

Granaries were constructed for the storage of small grains such as wheat and oats grown either for the market or for home and farm use. Adjacent to the antebellum McLeod House (LE 739) is a one-story, board-and-batten, frame structure that probably served as a granary. Perhaps built during the third quarter of the nineteenth century, the building is constructed of circular-sawn timbers mortise-and-tenoned and pegged together. On the Spence Kelly Farm (LE 688) is a two-level vertical-board-sided frame granary dating to the turn of the twentieth century that formerly contained a grain bin measuring approximately six feet by eight feet. Other granaries may survive on the Thomas C. Dalrymple Farm (LE 758) and possibly adjoining the Kenneth H. Worthy House on the Fayetteville & Western Plank Road (LE 190).

Other produce storage facilities include hay barns, cotton houses, and potato houses. Hay barns served for the storage of hay and other fodder for animals. A notable example is the hay barn on the Cole-Yow Farm (LE 172), which is a two-level, half-dovetail-notched hewn-log structure. Cotton houses were presumably quite common in Lee County during the second half of the nineteenth century and the first third of the twentieth century; however, only one cotton house has been identified with certainty--a small, plain, weatherboarded frame structure on the William B. Thomas Farm (LE 743). Another, locally rare storage structure is the potato house. Three potato houses were identified in Lee County: a weatherboarded frame structure featuring walls filled with insulating sawdust on the Hunt-Cox property (LE 705); a diamond-notched round-log structure on the Charles B. Crutchfield property (LE 238); and a large brick-tile and frame house with a fire box for drying the potatoes that stood until recently on the Leslie-Winstead property (LE 786). Not all Lee County farm families stored their potatoes in a permanent structure. The Jackson family in the Dignus vicinity constructed "tater hills," six-foot-diameter piles of sweet potatoes (or turnips) that rested on a bed of pine straw and were covered over with dirt. A central bundle of corn stalks protruding from the top of the hill provided a means of escape for gasses. The Jacksons built their potato hills in the early fall and the potatoes kept until spring (see LE 603).

Tobacco pack houses, which comprise the majority of produce storage facilities surveyed, were built in a variety of forms. Most of the surveyed pack houses date to the second quarter of the twentieth century and are two-level frame buildings with weatherboard, board-and-batten, tarpaper, or metal siding. They often have a window or two to admit light and they often stand over an ordering pit. Less often pack houses are one-level in height, as are the ones adjoining the Baker House (LE 122) and the J. B. Rosser House (LE 779). Abandoned houses often served as pack houses. Thurman Flynn, a Surry County-born tobacco farmer who lives in the Sandhills section of the county, built an unusual pack house on his father's farm in 1940. Rather than the customary two levels, the Flynn pack house has a single tall interior space spanned by numerous tier poles. Cured tobacco was hung on the tier poles so that the ambient moisture in the air would make it supple enough for handling (see the Key-Flynn Farm, LE 665). Near the Flynn farm are two other pack houses with a similar tier pole arrangement; one, located on the Blakely-Marion Farm (LE 194), also has an ordering pit, which served the same purpose of moisturizing the tobacco.

The most common of Lee County's produce processing facilities is the tobacco barn. Typically, Lee County tobacco barns have a conventional form with a square plan, a tall interior space spanned by numerous tier poles for hanging the tobacco during curing, and a set of sheet-metal flues running along the floor and supplied with hot air from fire boxes flanking the entrance to the barn. The earliest identified examples in the county, such as the two log barns on the Blakely-Marion Farm (LE 194), date to the 1910s. Log and frame construction were the most popular construction techniques, at least until the late 1930s when frame construction became dominant (L. F. Meador interview). During the 1920s and 1930s, Lee County tobacco barn builders experimented with brick tile, which was produced in the county's brick plants. Several brick tile tobacco barns were identified: see files LE 215, LE 622, LE 687, LE 759, and LE 772. An important consideration in the design of a tobacco barn was the retention of the heated air that cured the tobacco. Joseph W. Gunter, a farmer in the Broadway vicinity, built a frame tobacco barn with a plaster-and-lath interior finish that created an air-tight seal (see LE 749). A consideration for farmer Robert Pierce was convenience; in the mid-twentieth century Pierce built a concrete-block and metal-sided tobacco barn into a bank so that he could access the upper tier poles from ground level (see LE 653). By the mid-twentieth century, many barns were heated with propane or oil burners.

After the tobacco was cured it was stored in the pack house or it was graded; that is, the tobacco leaves were separated into batches of varying quality. Grading sometimes took place in the open air, sometimes under a brush arbor, or in a special grading house. A good example of a grading house survives on the William B. Thomas Farm (LE 743): a simple weatherboarded frame building with a front door flanked by shuttered windows and a brick flue rising from the ridge (grading could take place in the winter, hence the need for a stove). Occasionally grading took place in the pack house, or in a grading room attached to the pack house. Two examples of the latter occur on the Thomas Farm (LE 257) and the Shaw Farm (LE 667).

Prior to grading, tobacco was often taken from the pack house and placed in an ordering pit. As its name implies, an ordering pit was dug into the ground. The natural moisture from the ground permeated the tobacco leaves, making them supple enough to be handled without crumbling. In Lee County, ordering pits were usually situated under the pack house so the tobacco could be passed back and forth through a trap door. Some pits were lined with stone, brick, brick tile, or concrete blocks. Examples of ordering pits occur on the McNeill Farm (LE 122), the Blakely-Marion Farm (LE 194), and under a pack house adjoining the Lex Tomberlin House (LE 612).

Up until the early twentieth century, when free-range livestock herding gave way to the present system of fenced pasture herding, most of Lee County's farmers had little need for large livestock barns. The barns they did build were generally small log or frame structures with space for cows, horses, and mules and overhead lofts for hay. One of the finest animal facilities identified in the county is an early-twentieth-century mule and horse stable on the Shaw Farm (LE 667), a weatherboarded frame building with a longitudinal drive-through and an arrangement of hatchways for conveying hay and fodder to the animals. Commercial dairy farms began to appear in the county in the early twentieth century, and milking parlors were added to the range of traditional farm building types. Milking parlors were usually built of brick or concrete-block, since masonry construction was favored by state regulating agencies. Resources associated with dairying can be found on the Ezra Q. Matthews Farm (LE 146), the Payne-Jones Farm (LE 472), behind the Jeff D. Johnson House (see LE 619), and on the Amos Bridges Farm (LE 731).

Almost every farm and many in-town residences had chicken houses. The chicken houses that survive are typically small, crudely-constructed, shed-roofed frame buildings with ample window openings for ventilation. Two unusual chicken houses were identified during the course of the survey. One is a small gabled structure like a miniature A-frame described by its builder, Minniemae Talley, as being like an "Indian tater hill" (see LE 320). The other is a diagonally-slatted frame structure replete with a slanting slatted roost located on the Edwards Farm (LE 735).

Another common Lee County animal facility was the slaughter house. Often a single slaughter house served several farms. One of the best examples to survive in the county is on the McNeill Farm (LE 122) northwest of Sanford. The McNeill slaughter house is an open-air structure supported by poles that was erected in the early 1940s. The slaughter house functioned like an assembly line with specific zones for scalding the hogs, scraping the hair from the hides, and draining and butchering the carcasses. At the McNeill Farm, no part of the pig went unused. For example, the fat back was boiled down to make lard "during the full of the moon" in accordance with family tradition.

Prominent among the county's miscellaneous farm buildings are the large buildings called wagon shelters constructed by several branches of the Thomas family near Broadway around the turn of the twentieth century.

These long, one-story, weatherboarded frame buildings had longitudinal drive-throughs where wagons and machinery were parked. To the sides of the drive-through were other storage areas. Wagon shelters survive on three Thomas farms (LE 743, LE 765, and LE 767). Some farms had buildings called "fertilizer mixing houses," as did the James B. Yarborough Farm (LE 754). The Thomas C. Dalrymple Farm (LE 758) has a shed built onto the back of a pack house that sheltered a hard-packed clay floor used for mixing fertilizer. Tobacco sticks, the sticks on which tobacco leaves were hung for curing, were usually stored in an open-air shed on the side of a tobacco barn, but farms such as the Ivey J. McNeill Farm (LE 634) had specialized structures for storing the sticks.

Many Lee County farms had wells located near their animal barns. The John D. McIver Farm (LE 648) has a mortise-and-tenon timber frame well shelter with a gable roof over its farm well. The McIver Farm also features Lee County's only identified historic windmill, a 1930s "New Eclipse" model with a wooden reservoir. Other farm wells can be found on the Riddle-Gladden Farm (LE 131), adjacent to the Fore House (LE 220), on the William B. Thomas Farm (LE 743), the Thomas Farm (LE 765), and possibly behind the Arthur H. McIver House (LE 785). No vernacular fence types (such as worm fences) were identified in the course of the survey. The vast majority of surviving fences are barbed wire. The Morrison Farm (LE 679) has a cattle lot surrounded and subdivided by board fences.

SIGNIFICANCE

Lee County's historic farm complexes are potentially eligible for listing in the National Register under one criterion and one area of significance in particular: criterion A for agricultural significance. More than any other historic resource, Lee County's farms illustrate the history of agriculture in the county. Farm buildings are intimately associated with the production of crops and the rearing of livestock, and with the processing of such cash crops as tobacco. Some farm complexes and individual farm buildings may also be eligible under criterion C in the area of architecture for the quality of workmanship exhibited in the construction of the buildings, or as representatives of early or rare construction techniques. Certain Lee County farm complexes may be found eligible for the National Register under criterion A in the areas of European or African-American ethnic heritage.

REGISTRATION REQUIREMENTS

In order for a Lee County farm complex or individual farm building or structure to be eligible for listing in the National Register, it must meet certain registration requirements. First, the complex should date to 1942 or before, or the majority of buildings and structures in the complex should antedate 1942. The farm complex should have a number of buildings that clearly illustrate a theme in the county's agricultural development (for instance, tobacco production) and that retain integrity of form, material, and workmanship. Large complexes generally fulfill the requirements more readily than small complexes owing to the wider range of themes and agricultural building types they illustrate. Unless it is of extraordinary significance due to age or rarity of type, construction, or design, an individual farm building would ordinarily not be considered eligible. Integrity of setting contributes to the eligibility of a farm complex due to the natural relationship between the buildings and the surrounding fields that supported the farming activities, although the lack of historic setting does not necessarily detract from eligibility. Integrity of location--that is, the preference for resources that have

remained in their original location--should be considered. They should not be automatically disqualified if they have been moved within the farm complex, however, because many of the smaller farm buildings were inherently movable, and they were often moved according to the changing functional requirements of the farm.

TRANSPORTATION-RELATED BUILDINGS AND STRUCTURES

The Lee County Architectural Survey resulted in the documentation of eight transportation-related buildings and structures. These buildings and structures are associated with the county's historic road, water, and railroad networks. Historic road-related structures include the roads themselves, such as a section of the Fayetteville & Western Plank Road (LE 678) at the site of Chalmersville, and bridges and bridge remains such as the 1920s concrete Lockville Bridge (LE 658) over the Deep River and, just upstream, the massive stone piers and abutments of a former covered bridge (LE 657).

Significant among the county's historic water-related structures are the extensive remains of a navigation works at Buckhorn Falls on the Cape Fear River (LE 780). This impressive masonry structure extends for nearly a quarter mile along the west bank of the river. It may have served as a sluice for hauling batteaus (shallow-draft keel-bottom river boats) upstream, and it probably dates to the first half of the nineteenth century, apparently pre-dating the 1850s river improvements of the Cape Fear and Deep River Navigation Company. The structure consists of a channel approximately ten feet wide with a stone wall running along its east side. The ruins of crib dams and locks associated with the Cape Fear and Deep River Navigation Company are found at many locations. One relatively accessible and clearly delineated lock and dam ruin is located a quarter mile upstream from the Endor Furnace near Cumnock. Informal landings were also located along the rivers; one, approximately a mile upstream from Carbonton, was used for rolling logs into the river for transport to sawmills (Clingman Woolard interview).

The coming of the railroad was the most significant event in the transportation history of Lee County prior to the automobile age, and railroad-related buildings rank among the best-known historic sites in the county. The Railroad House, located on Carthage Street in downtown Sanford, was constructed in 1872 as the home of the Raleigh & Augusta Air-Line Railroad depot agent. The one-and-a-half-story, board-and-batten frame dwelling is one of the county's finest representatives of the Gothic Revival style. Near the Railroad House are a handsome turn-of-the-twentieth-century Queen Anne-style passenger station and a more utilitarian board-and-batten freight depot.

Stations and the houses of depot and section agents existed elsewhere in Lee County but only a small station moved from Colon is known to have survived (Jane Barringer interview). Another possibility is a group of buildings in Lemon Springs (LE 618) that may have served as housing and auxiliary buildings associated with the Raleigh & Augusta. Railroad beds (active and abandoned), bridges, trestles, and culverts are numerous in the county, dating from the 1850s to the present. During the first and second decades of the twentieth century the Norfolk Southern railroad built large metal truss bridges over the Deep River at Cumnock and over the Cape Fear River at McKay Island (LE 260).

SIGNIFICANCE

Lee County's historic transportation structures are potentially eligible for listing in the National Register under one criterion and one area of significance in particular: criterion A for transportation significance. Historic roads, bridges, railroads, and river improvements illustrate the development of a transportation infrastructure in the county, which in turn had a profound affect on the broader economic development of the area. Some transportation structures may be eligible under criterion C in the areas of architecture or engineering as representative examples of a certain construction technique or design.

REGISTRATION REQUIREMENTS

In order for a Lee County transportation resource to be eligible for listing in the National Register, it must meet certain registration requirements. First, the resource must have been constructed before 1942. The resource should clearly illustrate a theme in the county's transportation development and it should retain integrity of form, material, and workmanship. Physical condition is not of major concern, due to the fact that many historic transportation resources have been superceded by more modern forms and are therefore abandoned.

INDUSTRIAL BUILDINGS AND STRUCTURES

The Lee County Architectural Survey resulted in the documentation of forty-three industrial buildings, structures, and sites. A number of manufacturing facilities were surveyed in downtown Sanford on sites located along the Seaboard Railroad. Another cluster of facilities associated with Lee County's brick industry was surveyed at Colon. Resources associated with the following industries have been identified in Lee County: iron and iron casting manufacturing, coal mining, brick manufacturing, corn and flour milling, cotton ginning, cloth manufacturing, naval stores processing, small-scale (cottage) manufacturing, and power generation. Above-ground resources associated with the important brownstone industry were not identified with certainty; however, a pile of brownstone boulders near Cumnock (LE 229) and another pile near Fitts Street in Sanford may represent the remains of brownstone quarries.

The range of buildings and structures associated with the industrial history of the county is extensive. Endor Furnace (NR, 1974) is the principal historic structure associated with Lee County's iron industry, which has roots in the colonial period. The principal historic power generating facility identified in the county is the Sand Hill Power Company Hydroelectric Plant (LE 106), a concrete and brick building and dam dating to the 1920s and sited at an early mill seat near Carbonton on the Deep River. The extensive facilities associated with the coal mine at Cumnock have nearly vanished above ground, leaving only a railroad bed, some foundations, a water supply pond, and possibly an overgrown log and earth crib structure (LE 716). However, the village of Cumnock itself, the support community for the mine, is still a thriving community with residences, stores, a church, and a cemetery. As a historic coal mining community, Cumnock may be unique in the state.

Eight buildings and structures associated with the 1920s brick plants at Colon survive: a kiln (also known as a "periodic"), three grinding mills, three offices, and a draft stack (LE 692, LE 693, and LE 721). The kiln--one of almost fifty that once stood at Colon--was probably built by the Shale Brick and Tile Company in the early

1920s, and is constructed of brick in a domed beehive form thirty-two feet in interior basal diameter. It is probable that this surviving kiln has been rebuilt several times, considering the five- or six-year average life span of a beehive kiln (Robert Brickhouse interview). The three grinding mills also date to the 1920s and are large gable-roofed brick buildings where shale was ground and formed into bricks. The three offices are one-story brick buildings dating to the 1920s; two have decorative houndstooth and corbelled courses in their parapets. The draft stack, located beside the grinding mill of the 1925 Sanford Brick and Tile Wayne County Plant (LE 721), was used to convey heated air from fired kilns to ones that were being heated for use via a system of underground ducts. Also located at Colon are extensive clay and shale pits, the houses of brick plant employees, a 1920s company store and post office (LE 695), and the late-1940s main office of the Sanford Brick and Tile Company (LE 694).

The naval stores industry was a major component of Lee County's forest-based economy up until the beginning of the twentieth century. No turpentine distilleries were identified in the course of the survey (such facilities are rare or non-existent in North Carolina), but a pair of tar kilns were surveyed off Blakely Road in the Sandhills section of the county (LE 195). The kilns are oblong earthworks that probably date to the turn of the twentieth century and are built into the side of a stream bank. Tandem kilns are probably rare in North Carolina. Another structure associated with Lee County's naval stores industry is Worthy's Pond (LE 613), a turpentine distillery supply pond dating to the 1870s.

Water-powered mills were once common in Lee County, but apparently only one has survived to the present: the Joe Kelly Mill (LE 265). Built surprisingly late, in 1925, the Kelly corn mill was powered by a turbine located at the bottom of a brick and concrete shaft. Inside the perfectly intact mill are a run of stones, a stone crane, another mobile mill, and a cast iron stove. On Pocket Creek is Gilliam's Mill (see LE 119), an accurate and functioning reproduction of the original three-story frame Gilliam's Mill located on the same site. Another resource associated with milling is the Little Governors Creek Millstone Quarry (LE 455), which is excavated from an outcrop of brownstone and conglomerate next to the creek with machinery and half-finished millstones scattered about.

Three large merchant mills dating to before 1942 survive in Lee County: the Seaboard Milling Company of ca. 1900 on Maple Avenue in Sanford; the late-1910s Sanford Milling Company (LE 486) located between downtown Sanford and Jonesboro; and the 1943-1945 Stevens Milling Company (LE 775) on the outskirts of Broadway. The Stevens Milling Company complex includes an industrial building of another sort, a cotton gin building dating to 1934. The all-metal building was fabricated by the Murray Gin Company of Fort Worth, Texas, and replaced a frame gin house that had burned. Also associated with cotton processing is Sapona Mills in Sanford (LE 317), begun in 1907 as the Lee County Cotton Oil Company, a cotton seed oil mill.

SIGNIFICANCE

Lee County's historic industrial buildings and structures are potentially eligible for listing in the National Register under criterion A in the area of industry. The county's industrial heritage includes sites and areas of more than local significance, such as the coal mine and mining village at Cumnock and the brick plants at Colon. Many sites survive that illustrate the range of industrial activities in the county, from the deep-rooted lumber, naval stores, and iron industries to twentieth-century textile and machinery production. Some industrial resources may also prove to be eligible under criterion C in the areas of architecture and engineering,

for the quality of workmanship exhibited in the construction of the buildings and structures or the rarity of construction techniques.

REGISTRATION REQUIREMENTS

In order for an industrial resource to be found eligible under the criteria and areas of significance listed above, it must meet certain registration requirements. First, the resource must have been constructed before 1942. The resource should be a good representative of a particular functional type. The resource should have good integrity; it should retain its original form without major modern alterations and additions and it should occupy its original site. Since few industrial resources retain their original machinery, the presence of historic machinery should not be an issue of paramount concern, although the eligibility of sites that do have original machinery (the Joe Kelly Mill, for example) would be enhanced. Many industrial resources are no longer in use and are consequently in deteriorating condition. Unless they are of exceptional significance and are the best surviving representatives of a certain functional type (the Sanford Brick and Tile Company Wayne County Plant, for example), deteriorated resources would not ordinarily be considered eligible under the criteria and areas of significance discussed here. An exception to this would be sites such as the tar kilns on Blakely Road and the Little Governors Creek Millstone Quarry; although they have been abandoned for many years, they retain their defining characteristics of form and could even conceivably be placed back into operation. An industrial structure like the beehive kiln at Colon (see LE 692), which was periodically rebuilt on the same foundation up until about 1960, would not necessarily be considered ineligible for listing if reconstruction was an inherent aspect of the resource. Some industrial resources (the manufacturing plants in East Sanford, for example) may not have sufficient individual integrity to warrant inclusion in the National Register but may be considered contributing resources in a potential district.

COMMERCIAL BUILDINGS

The Lee County Architectural Survey resulted in the documentation of seventy-two commercial buildings. The largest surveyed concentrations of historic commercial buildings are located in the downtown areas of Broadway and Jonesboro and date to the first half of the twentieth century (an even larger, previously surveyed concentration exists in downtown Sanford). These one- and two-story commercial buildings are generally of brick construction and are usually built contiguously forming unbroken commercial streetscapes. Another sizable group of commercial buildings are stores located on farms. Twelve of these often small, frame commissaries were identified. Other buildings with a quasi-commercial character include resorts and other places of entertainment and recreation, and health-care facilities such as doctors offices and hospitals. Post offices, because they were typically contained in commercial buildings, are also discussed here.

The earliest surviving commercial buildings date to the third quarter of the nineteenth century. Among these early stores are the Absalom Kelly Store (LE 742), the Edwards Store (LE 735), and the original J. D. Spivey Store (see LE 162), all of which are one-story frame buildings. Whereas most small-scale store buildings of the nineteenth century shared a similar front-gable or short-end-entry form, the Kelly and Edwards stores have principal entries located on their non-gable sides, an arrangement which is more typical of dwellings of the period. The Kelly Store features an engaged full-front porch that was formerly supported by octagonal wood columns, dual double-leaf front doors sheathed in narrow boards forming chevron patterns, and front windows

with plank shutters and evidence of unusual former casement windows that swung inward. The Edwards Store originally had a gable-end chimney. The Spivey Store is believed to be the antebellum Center Church building, moved to its present site after the Civil War and remodeled as a store. The Spivey Store has the traditional gable-end entry and interior shelving. Both the Spivey and Edwards stores are accompanied by small, crudely constructed buildings that may have functioned in some sort of supporting role to the stores, perhaps as bulk storage. The Spivey Store, probably the Kelly Store, and a commissary dating to about 1900 located on the Morrison Farm (LE 679) also served as turpentine collection centers.

The earliest commercial buildings to survive in Lee County's smaller towns and villages date to the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. A group of three frame stores survives along the railroad tracks in Lemon Springs and includes the Edwards & Booth Store (LE 641), the Greenwood Hardware and Post Office (LE 624), and the Thomas-Ferguson Store (LE 630). The Thomas-Ferguson Store retains floor-to-ceiling shelving with decorative supports and portions of an early beaded tongue-and-groove counter.

Diversification is evident in the commercial buildings of the first half of the twentieth century. On the periphery of the Sanford Downtown Historic District are a number of specialized commercial buildings including a tobacco warehouse (LE 639), a commercial mule and horse stable (LE 623), the company store of the Sanford Cotton Mill (LE 343), and the Howard-Bobbitt Company, Inc. Warehouse (LE 202; see also LE 27), which also served as the headquarters of the state-wide Progressive Stores chain. Little survives of Sanford's black business district centered on Pearl Street, except for the Goldston Building (LE 456), a two-story building featuring decorative brickwork. The Goldston Building once housed a cafe, a pharmacy, a barber shop, a printing office, a shop where chairs were recaned, and second-story rooms for boarders.

Jonesboro's nineteenth-century commercial architecture was depleted by a series of early-twentieth-century fires. What survives dates primarily to the second quarter of the twentieth century. One exception is the McIver Building (LE 310), a two-story brick building of about 1900 with segmental-arched windows, a corbelled houndstooth parapet, and intact second-story professional offices. Also in downtown Jonesboro is the W. M. Arnold Stable (LE 286), a utilitarian frame commercial mule and horse stable dating to the 1930s with a later brick front. Prominent in Broadway's early-twentieth-century downtown is the Bank of Broadway (LE 267), a diminutive brick building with round-arched openings and a corbelled houndstooth parapet. At Colon is the company store of the Sanford Brick and Tile Company (LE 695), a utilitarian 1920s two-story brick building that also contained the Colon post office.

Historically, post offices were often contained in commercial buildings; other examples include the Coffer Post Office (see LE 178), the Cumnock Post Office (LE 714), the Forkade Post Office (see LE 781), the Gilbert Post Office (see LE 162), the Greenwood Post Office (see LE 624), and the Jonesboro Post Office (see LE 308). The Cumnock Post Office is the most intact of the group. The office is housed in one corner of a small gable-fronted frame building of about 1900 that also served as a general store. Letter boxes, counters, and a mail slot under a front window indicate the building's former role as the community post office.

Several notable farm stores or commissaries survive in rural locations. These include the Gilliam Store (see LE 116), a small frame gable-fronted building dating to around 1900 with simple interior shelves and counters and a back office; the commissary on the Burns Farm (LE 259), a small gabled frame building with a side entry and a front porch sheltering two large bins used to store bulk items such as animal feed; and a store adjoining the

Thomas-Lett House (LE 246), a brick-tile building dating to the 1940s. A small frame store dating to the 1940s located on the McNeill Farm (LE 122) served as a gathering place for the Tempting Church black community.

The most common type of building associated with entertainment and recreation in Lee County is the dance hall. The Danny Morris Dance Hall (LE 218), which probably dates to the second quarter of the twentieth century, is an open octagonal pavilion sited on the shore of the Morris Millpond between Lemon Springs and Swann's Station. At the Lemon Springs Resort (LE 467) is another dance hall from the same period. The Lemon Springs dance hall is a ruinous, formerly open-sided frame building that is built over a stream in a picturesque fashion. The dance hall was converted into a dwelling around 1940. Other dance halls from the mid-twentieth century include a now mostly demolished side shed of a neighborhood store on Chatham Street in Sanford (see LE 481) with a dance floor that attracted patrons from as far away as Fort Bragg, and a one-story brick juke joint on Register Street in Sanford's East Side black community (LE 320). A recreational resource of another sort is the Sanford Golf Course and Club House (LE 727), developed in the mid-1930s with funds from the Town of Sanford and the Economic Recovery Administration (ERA). The course was laid out by acclaimed golf course designer Donald Ross and originally had sand greens.

The only nineteenth-century resort hotel to survive in Lee County is the ca. 1890 main building at Lemon Springs, a two-story gable-fronted frame structure with a stylish Victorian two-tier front porch and an unusual jig-sawn vernacular Victorian mantel on the interior. In front of the hotel are an annular brownstone curb containing the mineral spring that figured as the ostensible attraction of the resort, and the trace of a carriage drive lined with crape myrtles, roses, and other ornamentals. The main building may once have been surrounded by guest cottages. The earliest motor courts identified in the county date to the late 1940s. One example is the Jefferson Motel (LE 619) on old US 1 west of Sanford.

Health care facilities in nineteenth-century Lee County were similar to domestic and small-scale commercial buildings. The country doctor of the period often maintained an office in the yard of his residence. One of these doctors' offices formerly stood in front of the McIver-Faulk House (LE 753). Sometimes the office was contained in the residence, as at the Samuel E. Johnson House (LE 650), a log dwelling with a rear frame office wing illuminated by tall 9-over-6-sash windows. At the site of the vanished plank road community of Chalmersville is the 1850s Chalmersville Dispensary (LE 189), a small frame building with a commercial gable-front form.

Doctors' offices in Lee County's towns and villages were generally located in the residence of the doctor or in the upper story of one of the commercial blocks built during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The county's earliest surviving hospital is the Central Carolina Hospital complex (LE 499) on Carthage Street in Sanford. The 1930 main building has been greatly expanded and altered through the years, but the adjoining power plant and 1930s nurses home--a two-story brick building with Colonial Revival and Mission Style attributes--appear much as they always have.

SIGNIFICANCE

Lee County's historic commercial buildings are potentially eligible for listing in the National Register under criterion A in the area of commerce. The county's surviving farm commissaries, village stores, and downtown commercial blocks illustrate the growth and diversification of commercial activity from the mid-nineteenth

century onward. Some store buildings that contain post offices may also be eligible under criterion A in the area of politics/government. Resort hotels, dance halls, golf courses, and other commercial establishments with an entertainment or recreational function may also (or alternatively) be eligible under criterion A in the area of entertainment/recreation. Health-care facilities such as doctors offices and hospitals illustrate the development of health care from the days of country doctors, herbalists, and midwifes to large-scale commercial enterprises serving regional clienteles; these facilities may be eligible under criterion A in the area of health/medicine. Some commercial resources may be eligible under criterion C in the area of architecture, for the quality or rarity of workmanship exhibited in the construction and detailing of the buildings or as representatives of a particular building type.

REGISTRATION REQUIREMENTS

In order for a commercial resource to be found eligible for listing in the National Register, it must meet certain registration requirements. First, the resource must have been constructed before 1942. They also should be representative of the types of commercial buildings that historically existed in the county. Commercial resources that also supported an additional governmental function (post offices), an entertainment or recreational function (resort hotels or golf courses), or a health-care function (doctors offices or hospitals) should retain evidence of those functions in order to be eligible under the appropriate areas of significance. Commercial buildings should retain their historic forms and exterior finishes, that is, they should have good architectural integrity. Attributes such as doors and windows with metal bar fasteners, interior shelving and counters, and letter boxes, if they survive, would contribute to eligibility. Some commercial resources (for instance, the frame stores in Lemon Springs) may not have sufficient integrity to warrant individual listing in the National Register but may be considered contributing resources in a potential district.

INSTITUTIONAL BUILDINGS

Institutional buildings--churches, schools, and government buildings--were historically important features in the social life of Lee County. The Lee County Architectural Survey resulted in the documentation of fifty-six buildings that are institutional in nature. Forty-four of the surveyed institutional buildings were churches or church-related facilities. Educational facilities comprised the next largest group. As may be expected with such a heterogeneous grouping, institutional buildings were constructed in a variety of forms. However, early churches and schools often shared similar gable-fronted forms, a product of their related and sometimes interchangeable functions.

Lee County's nineteenth-century churches rank among the largest and finest early buildings in the county. Two of particular note are Buffalo Presbyterian Church (LE 496) and Euphronia Presbyterian Church (LE 157). Buffalo Church, a large weatherboarded frame building, was built in 1879 by John B. Masemore and is detailed in the Gothic Revival style with lancet-arched windows, doors, and gallery railing panels. Euphronia Church, which dates to the mid-1880s, is similar to Buffalo Church in form but features only a single Gothic Revival detail: a pointed louvered vent in the belfry. Euphronia's reserved exterior features square-headed doors and windows and a polygonal apse. The equally plain interior has plaster-and-lath walls, a stained flush board ceiling, and a gallery supported by chamfered posts. Both Buffalo and Euphronia have traditional nave plans with entries in the front gable ends.

A number of architecturally sophisticated churches were built in Sanford in the early twentieth century. St. Thomas Episcopal Church (LE 451) on Steele Street was designed by Sanford architect L. M. Thompson and built by O. Z. Barber in 1928. The compact brick church evokes a medieval English parish church, a genre of the Gothic Revival style that was popular among Episcopalians. The interior of St. Thomas is distinguished by an unadorned scissor-truss roof structure, rough plaster walls, and a pulpit with a belled octagonal wooden canopy. Several blocks from St. Thomas at the corner of Steele and Summit is the First Baptist Church of Sanford (LE 491), a monumental brick structure graced by a front portico with fluted columns *in antis* and large round-arched stained glass windows. First Baptist was designed by Philadelphia architect Herbert L. Cain and built in 1925. On Wall Street in the heart of Sanford's black community is Fair Promise A.M.E.Z. Church (LE 457), which was built in 1926 by A. L. ("Link") Boykin after a design by an out-of-town architect. Fair Promise is a brick building with a corner belfry tower and lancet-arched stained glass windows.

In a continuation of the nineteenth-century tradition of simplicity, Lee County's rural churches of the early twentieth century are plain in design. The least-altered rural church from this period is Lebanon Christian Church (LE 354), a weatherboarded frame nave-plan building with a small polygonal apse. The majority of Lee County's rural churches and many in towns were brick-veneered during the mid- and late twentieth century partly as a consequence of the availability of locally-manufactured brick. This process of veneering plus the addition of period porticoes, steeples, and trim gave these churches a decidedly Colonial Revival appearance. The result was often attractive, as at St. Paul A.M.E.Z. Church (LE 228), remodeled in 1976.

Only one school building clearly dating to the nineteenth century was identified during the course of the survey. Pocket Academy (LE 137; also known as Pocket High School) was established about 1883 by Annie McGilvery and a simple weatherboarded frame school building was built. The now-ruinous school has a gable-fronted nave plan--an appropriate form considering the building doubled as a church during the 1890s. A girls' dormitory dating to the 1890s (LE 138) still stands across the road from the school, but the simple three or four two-room dwellings occupied by the male students have disappeared. Near Carbonton is another girls dormitory associated with a nineteenth-century academy. The 1850s Carbonton Academy Girls Dormitory (LE 109) is an impressive two-story residence with vernacular Greek Revival detailing and a low stair hand rail that seems to be scaled for the young girls who boarded at the dormitory.

During the statewide public education campaign that began in the early years of the twentieth century, weatherboarded frame schools were built throughout the county. Surveyed examples and examples that stood until recently included the New Hope School (LE 126), a ruinous frame church building that may have doubled as a school; a large, one-story, frame school for black students that stood south of downtown Jonesboro until recently demolished; and a putative schoolhouse with a gable-end chimney that stood until recently at Carolina Trace. Some schools were disassembled and the lumber used to build houses (see LE 104, LE 612, and LE 744 for examples). The 1910s Yadkinville School was incorporated as a rear wing of a house (see LE 194).

Lee County's small rural schoolhouses were superceded by the large consolidated schools and high schools of the 1920s and 1930s. These one- and two-story brick facilities include the 1932 Deep River School (LE 725); the 1920s W. B. Wicker School (LE 266), built by A. L. ("Link") Boykin to serve Sanford's black community; the Sanford High School (LE 480); the Sanford Graded School (LE 208; also known as the McIver School); and the 1939 St. Clair School (LE 12), a stylistically unusual Colonial Revival/Moderne building.

In addition to schools, a number of buildings with an auxiliary or quasi-educational function survive in the county. Behind the Deep River School is a brick building that may have functioned as a vocational education annex, and another (LE 771) may survive behind the modern Broadway School in Broadway; both buildings date to the second quarter of the twentieth century. The Lee County Girls National Youth Administration Homemaking Center (LE 699) is a simple frame building constructed in 1940 in what was then Sanford's municipal park. On Wall Street is the mid-twentieth-century Maggie Hoke Library (see LE 470), a small concrete-block building that served as a public library for Sanford's black community. Other institutional buildings are associated with local and federal government. Two of Lee County's more prominent government buildings are the 1909 Lee County Courthouse and the 1909 Sanford Town Hall, both of which have been listed individually or as part of a district in the National Register.

SIGNIFICANCE

Lee County's historic institutional buildings are potentially eligible for listing in the National Register under criterion A in the areas of religion, education, and politics/government. The county's surviving churches, schools, and government buildings illustrate the growth and diversification of social institutions from the mid-nineteenth century onward. Lee County's rural historic churches testify to the importance of religion in the social fabric of the county, and the large stylish churches of Sanford illustrate the prosperity of the town's various congregations during the early twentieth century. The county's surviving historic educational facilities illustrate the shift from an exclusively rural society where schooling was the responsibility of particular religious congregations or narrowly-defined local communities, resulting in the construction of small, traditional schoolhouses, to an increasingly urbanized society with a centralized school system resulting in the construction of large consolidated facilities. Government facilities such as the Lee County Courthouse and the Sanford Town Hall illustrate the role of government in county life. Certain institutional resources may also prove to be eligible under criterion C in the area of architecture, for the quality or rarity of workmanship and design exhibited in the construction and detailing of the buildings.

REGISTRATION REQUIREMENTS

In order for an institutional resource to be found eligible for listing in the National Register, it must meet certain registration requirements. First, the resource must have been constructed before 1942. The resource also should be a good representative of the types of institutional buildings that historically existed in the county. It should retain its historic form and exterior finishes; that is, it should have good architectural integrity. For historic churches, which must also meet criteria consideration A, the presence of an adjoining cemetery or significant grave markers would contribute to the building's eligibility. Many historic schools, especially those that continued in use over many years, now stand in the midst of modern school buildings; the proximity, scale, materials, and design of these modern buildings and the manner in which they are connected to the historic section should be taken into consideration when weighing the eligibility of the resource. The construction of modern buildings adjacent to a 1920s or 1930s consolidated school building can be interpreted as perpetuating a practice dating to the historic period, when vocational-agricultural buildings and other annexes were often added to a school campus. In such a case the modern buildings would not be considered harmful to the integrity of setting. However, if the modern construction obscures or overpowers the historic resource, then it may be considered to compromise the architectural integrity of the resource.

CEMETERIES

The Lee County Architectural Survey resulted in the documentation of fifty-four cemeteries. The cemeteries fall into three general categories: 1) family cemeteries, 2) church cemeteries, and 3) community cemeteries. Some of the surveyed family cemeteries are quite small, encompassing an area of several square yards with two or three markers. The Carloss Cemetery (LE 722) and the Gilmore-Woodard Cemetery adjacent to the Minter C. Johnson House (LE 709) are good representatives of small family cemeteries. Other cemeteries are large; the one at Buffalo Presbyterian Church (LE 496) covers approximately twenty-five acres and contains hundreds of graves. Several of the family and community cemeteries have grave markers or other features dating to the late eighteenth century. These cemeteries rank among the oldest above-ground historic resources in the county. The most venerable are the Carbonton Cemetery (LE 235), the McIver Cemetery (LE 232), and the Murchison Cemetery (LE 129). Many of the family cemeteries were used only during the period before 1942 and consequently have no modern grave markers. In contrast, most church cemeteries have continued to grow up to the present and contain a low ratio of pre-1942 grave markers to post-1942 grave markers.

Historic cemeteries contain markers fashioned from a wide range of materials. Indigenous stone such as brownstone, sandstone, and quartzite was used, as was imported stone such as marble, soapstone, granite, and possibly slate. Many of the earliest markers were carved from durable woods such as cedar and longleaf pine heartwood. Concrete and brick were popular materials for markers and tombs by the early twentieth century.

Markers exist in a variety of forms ranging from unworked fieldstone to vernacular discoid headstones to stylish works of sculpture produced by commercial monument works. Among the more interesting marker forms are the eighteenth-century ledger and casket markers in the Murchison Cemetery, the discoid markers that appear in most cemeteries dating to the first half of the nineteenth century, the accomplished Eastlake-inspired markers produced by French stonecutters around the turn of the twentieth century, and the barrel-vaulted tombs of the Cool Springs Baptist Church Cemetery (LE 608), dating from the 1910s to the 1950s. Most historic cemeteries also have other notable features such as walls, ditches, fences, walkways, drives, signage, and plantings.

SIGNIFICANCE

Lee County's historic cemeteries are potentially eligible for listing in the National Register under a number of criteria and areas of significance. Certain cemeteries are potentially eligible under criterion A in the area of exploration/settlement as tangible reminders of the county's early settlers and their particular funerary customs. Also under criterion A, some black cemeteries may be eligible in the area of African-American ethnic heritage, and some Highland Scot cemeteries may be eligible in the area of European ethnic heritage, for their respective association with the two ethnic groups. Under criterion C, some cemeteries may be significant for the artistic quality, rarity, or distinctiveness of their grave markers. Also under criterion C, some cemeteries may be important in the area of landscape architecture for protective enclosures such as walls or ditches or for early plantings and other landscape features.

REGISTRATION REQUIREMENTS

In order for a Lee County cemetery to be eligible for the National Register, it must meet certain registration requirements, among them criteria consideration D. First, the cemetery should date to before 1942 in whole or in part. The cemetery should have grave markers and/or landscape features that retain the characteristics of material, form, design, information content, and association defined in the statement of historic context. The cemetery should have integrity of location; in other words, a cemetery or group of markers that have been moved would not ordinarily be considered eligible or contributing to eligibility. The cemetery should have a high ratio of markers dating to the historic period, or, failing that, it should have a definable section where historic markers predominate and can be nominated separately from the rest of the cemetery. In some instances, the great age of a cemetery relative to other historic resources in the county will contribute to its eligibility. A cemetery that may not be eligible individually may qualify as a contributing resource in conjunction with an eligible church, residence, or farm, or as an integral part of an eligible historic district.

G. GEOGRAPHICAL DATA

Lee County, North Carolina.

H. SUMMARY OF IDENTIFICATION AND EVALUATION METHODS

The Lee County Architectural Survey began with a short planning phase that included a windshield reconnaissance survey of the county and the preparation of a preliminary report that addressed the history and known architectural resources of the county and set forth the survey methodology. Field survey commenced in August, 1991. The survey methodology involved dividing the county into survey units (usually defined as blocks of one or two USGS quadrangle maps) and surveying the units on a month-by-month basis. USGS maps were used to locate potential survey sites, generally defined as those resources that appeared to be fifty years old or older. Ordinarily, sites were located by vehicle or on foot, but on one occasion in November 1991 the consultant, North Carolina Division of Archives and History (NCDAH) Survey Coordinator Catherine Bishir, and Architectural Historian Kelly Lally flew over the county in a plane to search for sites that had been missed on the ground, to photograph historic areas, and to gather general information on the topography of the county.

Once a potential site was located it was recorded in one of two ways. For a site with notable historical associations and/or architectural qualities, and usually a sufficient degree of architectural integrity, the site was photographed and a North Carolina survey form was completed. Historical information on the site was solicited from knowledgeable individuals and garnered from primary and secondary documentary sources. A total of 834 primary resources were ultimately recorded in this fashion. Narrative descriptions combining architectural and historical information were prepared for each site file.

For a site that did not appear to meet the criteria for in-depth survey, or that was located in a survey unit that had been adequately sampled, the location of the site was plotted on a USGS map or, for the City of Sanford, a planimetric map with a notation providing basic information on the resource's height and form. A total of 1,186 primary historic resources with classifiable forms were ultimately recorded in this fashion. Ideally, these map-coded sites will be documented in future surveys. Probably many sites that deserve to be surveyed or map-coded were missed by the survey. Often these sites are located on private property that was not accessible or visible from a public thoroughfare. Sites that could not be reached (historic or otherwise) are denoted "no access" or "n a" on the USGS and planimetric maps. Information on surveyed and map-coded resources is contained in files curated by the Division of Archives and History in Raleigh with a duplicate set in Sanford. Survey and evaluation were conducted in accord with NCDAH standards and guidelines, and thus with the Secretary of the Interior's "Standards for Identification" and "Standards for Evaluation."

Several products resulted from the survey. One product is this final report, arranged in the Multiple Property Documentation Form format conceived by the National Park Service and designed to provide historic contexts and property type descriptions for the county's National Register-eligible resources. The consultant and NCDAH Survey and Planning Staff used National Register criteria to generate a list of seventy-six individual resources, neighborhoods, small towns, and rural areas that appear to be eligible for listing in the National Register of Historic Places. These resources were presented to the North Carolina State Professional Review Committee on July 8, 1992, and sixty-four individual sites and twelve districts were listed in the state's Study List of resources that warrant consideration for listing in the National Register. A separate list of resources that may be eligible for the National Register but were not included in the initial study list submission also was prepared. As a supplement to the survey, Project Historian James Vann Comer reconstructed population schedules for Lee County from the 1860 Chatham and Moore county census schedules. Approximately 1,000

slide photographs were taken for curation by the NCDAH; an additional 300 or so duplicate slides will be curated by the Railroad House Historical Association and the Lee County Library in Sanford.

Seventeen formal slide presentations were made to local historical and civic organizations during the course of the survey, including the Carolina Trace Questers, the City of Sanford Historic District and Appearance Commission (two presentations), the Dig and Dream Garden Club, the Jonesboro Historical Society (two presentations), the Jonesboro Rotary Club, the Lee County Genealogical and Historical Society, the Lee County Kiwanis, the Railroad House Historical Association (two presentations), the Sanford Camp of the Sons of Confederate Veterans (two presentations), the Sanford Chapter of the Association of Federal Employees, the Sanford Lions Club, the Sanford Rotary Club, and a group of school children at Deep River Elementary School. These presentations were often made in conjunction with Project Coordinator Mary Ellen Bowen and Historic District and Appearance Commission Chairperson Katheryn Doster. The Sanford *Herald* newspaper provided coverage on all aspects of the survey.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL RESOURCES

Archaeological investigations were outside the scope of the survey; however, a few comments on the potential for historic archaeological resources are in order. Technically speaking, nearly all of the historic resources documented by the survey have archaeological components, that is, below-ground evidence of site occupation and use usually survives under and around old houses, farm buildings, industrial sites, etc. unless disturbed by more recent development. This archaeological evidence complements the historic record and the information provided by the architecture itself; oftentimes it can help to frame and resolve research questions that cannot be answered by other sources.

Lee County's historic archaeological resources may shed more light on the early settlement of the area. The date and extent of early settlement, ethnic composition and the process of acculturation, and types of lifeways and economic activities are just a few of the matters that could be resolved at least in part through the investigation of archaeological resources. Another cluster of research questions concerns Lee County's major historic industrial activities: iron manufacture, coal mining, brownstone quarrying, and brickmaking. The eighteenth-century ironworks site across the Deep River from Gulf (if the site survives intact), the Endor Furnace (NR, 1974), and the Cumnock Coal Mine potentially rank among the state's most significant historic industrial sites. Many Lee County industries (and transportation works) relied on slave and immigrant labor; archaeological remains associated with work camps may help illuminate the lives of these little-known population groups. The brownstone quarries around Sanford have the potential to yield valuable architectural information; for example, cast-offs may help document the type of ornamentation produced at the quarries and shipped throughout the United States. Also of assistance in tracing the architectural development of the county are house sites. Considering only a handful of houses survive from before the late antebellum period, house sites may provide information on early domestic construction techniques, house size, and function. Finally, Lee County's cemeteries also constitute archaeological sites. Many cemeteries contain more graves than are marked; both marked and unmarked graves have the potential to yield information on burial practices and osteological data of archaeological importance.

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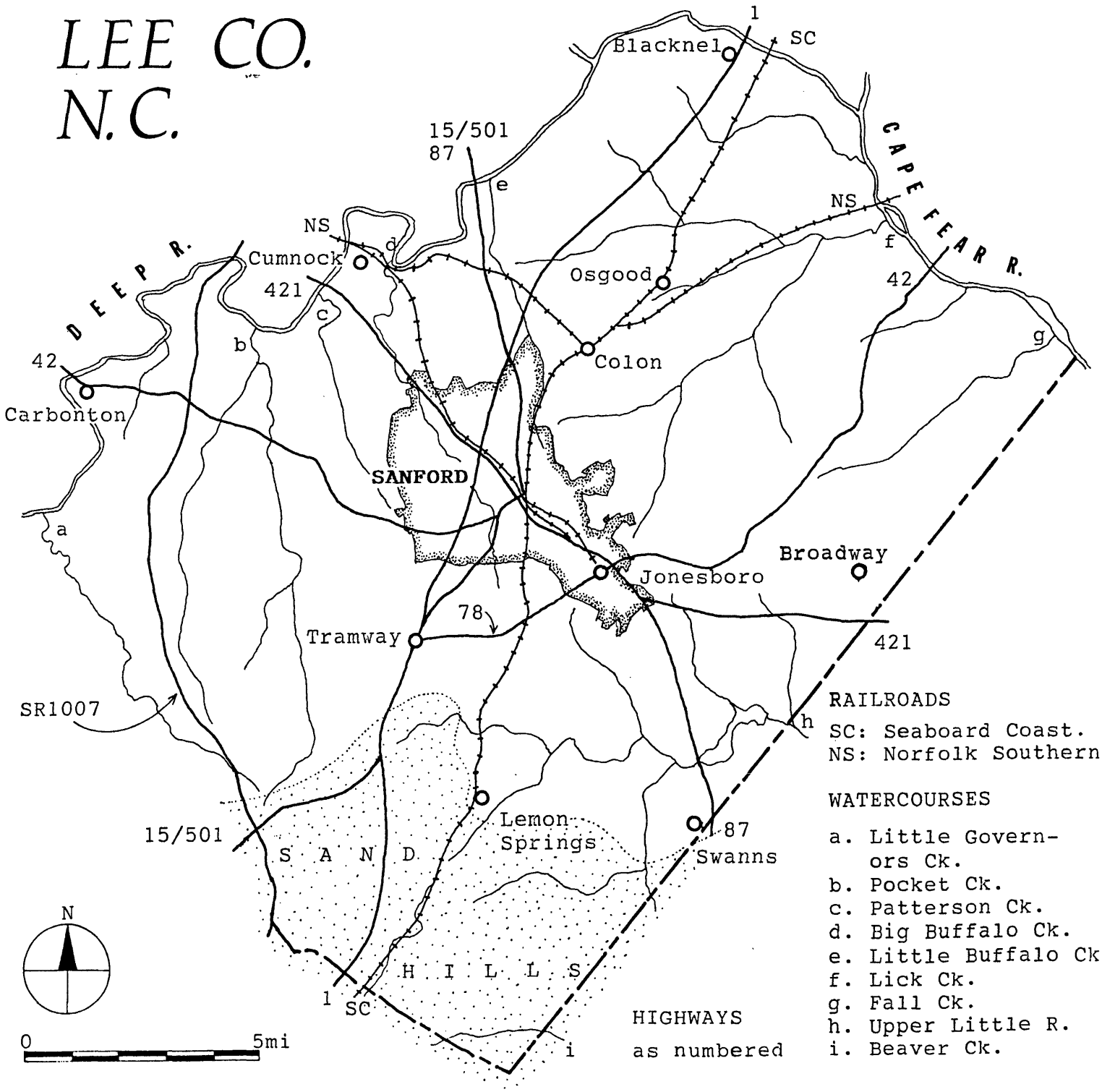
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RAILROADS
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NS: Norfolk Southern
WATERCOURSES
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